IN THE SHADOW OF THE CASTLE: POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS CONFLICT IN DUDLEY, WORCESTERSHIRE, C. 1815-1867

by

JUDITH MARY DAVIES

A thesis submitted to the University of Birmingham for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Centre for Midlands History and Cultures

School of History and Cultures

College of Arts and Law

University of Birmingham

September 2024

UNIVERSITY OF
BIRMINGHAM

University of Birmingham Research Archive

e-theses repository

This unpublished thesis/dissertation is copyright of the author and/or third parties. The intellectual property rights of the author or third parties in respect of this work are as defined by The Copyright Designs and Patents Act 1988 or as modified by any successor legislation.

Any use made of information contained in this thesis/dissertation must be in accordance with that legislation and must be properly acknowledged. Further distribution or reproduction in any format is prohibited without the permission of the copyright holder.

ABSTRACT

This thesis is a study of politics and religion in the Black Country town of Dudley in the early and mid-nineteenth century. It demonstrates how political and religious conflict in Dudley connect with, and illuminate regional and national events, whilst also indicating what was distinctive about Dudley's experience. It highlights challenges to the status quo and analyses the resultant division and conflict. Politics and religion were two of the major conduits of power and authority, and they are studied in a town experiencing unprecedented change. Situated on the South Staffordshire coalfield, in the southern part of the fast-developing Black Country, Dudley grew from a small Worcestershire market town into a rapidly expanding centre for mining and metalworking which was increasingly overcrowded. By 1851, life expectancy in Dudley had declined to sixteen years seven months, the lowest in England and Wales.

Dudley was traditionally insular, Anglican and conservative, with a weak local government structure and lords of the manor who preferred to live elsewhere. Those trying to preserve the status quo faced an influx of newcomers, an increase in religious diversity and growing demand for political change. In this period, politics and religion aroused strong passions and this thesis shows how some of the most dramatic controversies reached down to street level, from the raucous support for Queen Caroline in 1820, to the effects of the Murphy meetings in 1867/68.

This is the first detailed academic study of Dudley from 1815 to 1867 and also the first to look at politics and religion together. This thesis acknowledges the

major contributions to the historiography made by, amongst others, George Barnsby and Richard Trainor although it rejects Barnsby's Marxist analysis, preferring a more nuanced explanation of political and religious conflict. This thesis augments Trainor's study of elites by considering the significant role played by non-elites, particularly the hitherto neglected shopkeeper class. Furthermore, the thesis contributes to Katrina Navickas's study of 'space and place', by showing how Dudley's leaders used space, both in real terms and symbolically, to reinforce their authority.

This is also a town study which compares Dudley with similar urban areas, but the majority of the other towns are larger than Dudley with well-established local government, or they are studied from a particular point of view, as for instance, Paul Phillips focuses on sectarianism. This present study is objective and adds a smaller, Black Country town to the available comparisons.

The approach taken by this thesis is both chronological and thematic. The period 1815 to 1867 is broken down into three sub-periods which are studied in separate chapters whilst individual case studies consider three major themes in more detail: the evolving role of print culture, the church rates controversy and anti-Catholicism. The methodology is based on a detailed re-assessment of primary sources, particularly documents and ephemera held at the Dudley Archives and Local History Centre, augmented by other sources, which have not previously been used in studies of Dudley, such as the records of a Dudley church rates case at the Court of Arches and the political writings of the radical, Thomas Parkin.

This work is dedicated to the memory of
my parents: Joyce and Stan Davies

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I should like to begin by thanking my PhD supervisor, Dr Malcolm Dick, for inspiring me to start, encouraging me to finish and cheerfully supporting my studies throughout.

I am grateful for the help of staff in libraries and archives across the country but especially to those at Dudley Archives and Local History Centre, where I have spent most time. I thank successive archivists at Dudley, as well as past and present archive assistants. Particular thanks are due to Jane Humphrey, the Senior Archives Assistant, for sharing her encyclopaedic knowledge of Dudley's local history collection.

I should like to thank Black Country scholars who have kindly responded to my requests for advice, including Drs David Brown, David Cox, Trevor Raybould and Marie Rowlands. I also acknowledge specialist advice, from Dr Peter King on the Black Country iron industry, from the late Dr John Hinks on radical printers, and from the late Stephen Roberts on Chartism in the West Midlands. I am also grateful to Keith Hodgkins for sharing his knowledge of the history of Tipton.

I acknowledge the help and advice in researching Dudley's Baptist history which I have received from Anne and George Roland Burrows of the Christian Heritage Centre, and David Watts and Mair and Brian Granthier. I am indebted to Professor Frank James and Dr Neil Dickson for their insights into aspects of nineteenth-century religion. I am most grateful to Fathers Gerard Skinner and Ben Lodge for generously sharing unpublished material on Ignatius (formerly George)

Spencer. I am indebted to Dr Simon Briercliffe for reading and making helpful comments on chapter 8, my study of anti-Catholicism.

Special thanks are due to my former colleague, Jenny Sinfield for her willingness to help with numerous genealogical queries. I also thank Professor Christopher Baker for help with analysing maps.

I gratefully acknowledge assistance from Dr Claire Noble during the covid epidemic, particularly for taking numerous photographs on my behalf at the National Archives when I was unable to travel. More recently, my thanks are due to David Beattie for professionally proof reading the substantive chapters of my thesis and the biographical appendix.

I am grateful to have been part of a research community which gave me opportunities to present papers at various conferences, particularly associated with print culture. My thanks are due to Drs Ian Cawood and Lisa Peters for commissioning and publishing my chapter in *Print, Politics and the Provincial Press in Modern Britain* (Oxford, Peter Lang, 2019).

I should like to pay tribute to the many former and current students I have worked alongside and the mutual support networks that have developed, particularly, but not exclusively, the Post Graduate Support Group which originated in the Centre for West Midlands History, University of Birmingham. I am pleased to acknowledge the influence of Dr Susan Thomas, whose field of research overlapped with mine and thank Dr Robert Hodge for advice on technical computer matters. More recently, thanks are due to Teresa Jones for sharing her extensive knowledge of Worcestershire's archives and I am indebted to Dr Justine

Pick for using her acquired expertise to advise on thesis format, presentation, accessibility and much more.

My personal thanks go to my friend Jane Williams for encouraging me in my studies from our school days to the present venture. I thank my brother John and all his family for their ongoing support and my cousin, Janet Whalley for getting me out into the fresh air.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT ii

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS v

LISTS OF FIGURES AND TABLES xii

COPYRIGHT ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS AND IMAGE CREDITS xvii

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS xviii

CHAPTER 1, Introduction 1

Literature review 8

Methodology and Primary Sources 30

Structure 43

CHAPTER 2, Politics and religion in Dudley before 1815 46

Introduction ***46***

Historiography and primary sources 47

Economic power 50

The impact of demographic and social change 56

Town Commissioners 67

Aftermath of revolution 71

Loyalism 75

Social unrest 82

Religion 85

Conclusion 93

CHAPTER 3, Tories versus Radicals: Dudley 1815-1832 96

Introduction 96

Historiography and primary sources 98

Dudley, 1815-1820 ..... *101*

Post-war distress *101*

Reaction to Peterloo *104*

The Queen Caroline affair *107*

Dudley, 1821 to 1829 ..... *110*

Samuel Cook and dissent *110*

Removal of religious inequalities *120*

Dudley, 1830-1832 ..... *126*

The growing demand for parliamentary reform *126*

Battle for reform: Commons v Lords *129*

Effect of the Reform Act *139*

General election, 1832 ..... *142*

Conclusion *148*

CHAPTER 4, Print on both sides: Conservatives and Reformers in pamphlets and posters, 1815-1832 **150**

Introduction *150*

Historiography and primary sources *150*

Literacy, printing and print culture *154*

Dudley, 1815-1820 ..... *157*

Dudley, 1821-1829 ..... *167*

Dudley, 1830-1832 ..... *176*

Conclusion *203*

CHAPTER 5, Aftermath of the Reform Act: Conservatives versus Reformers, 1833-1850 **206**

Introduction *206*

Historiography and primary sources *206*

Magistracy and policing *210*

Tory resurgence, 1833-1837 ..... *214*

The Anti-Corn Law League and Chartism, 1838-1843 ..... *230*

Dudley, 1844-1850 ..... *246*

Conclusion *257*

CHAPTER 6, The church rates controversy in Dudley, c. 1833-1853 260

Introduction *260*

Historiography and primary sources *261*

Church rates challenged, 1833-1845 ..... *266*

Denouement, c. 1845-1853 ..... *291*

Conclusion *307*

CHAPTER 7, Dudley, 1851-1867: Conservatives, Liberals and Radicals 311

Introduction *311*

Local government *312*

Dudley's parliamentary borough and Lord Ward's loss of power *326*

Working-class political activity, c. 1850-67 ..... *343*

Conclusion: Dudley incorporated *360*

CHAPTER 8, Anti-Catholicism in Dudley, c. 1840-1867 364

Introduction *364*

The growth of Catholicism *369*

Anti-Catholicism in the 1840s *375*

Dudley's Irish population *380*

The Papal Aggression controversy, 1850-1851 and Protestant lecturers *383*

Local anti-Catholicism: the Dudley Union Board of Guardians *388*

William Murphy in Dudley *394*

Conclusion *405*

CHAPTER 9, Conclusion **408**

Research findings and historiographical significance of the thesis *408*

Methodological significance *434*

Limitations to present research *436*

Suggestions for further research *437*

APPENDICES **443**

Appendix 1 **443**

Biographies of key people in the religion and politics of Dudley, c. 1779-1867 *443*

Appendix 2 **595**

Women ratepayers who voted in Dudley's 1834 church rate poll *595*

Appendix 3 **599**

1851 censuses – of religious worship and of education *616*

Appendix 4 **610**

Timeline *610*

BIBLIOGRAPHY **616**

Primary sources: *616*

Secondary sources: *653*

LISTS OF FIGURES AND TABLES

Figures

Figure No.	Heading	Page
Figure 1.1	Dudley from the Wren's Nest (detail), Charlotte Murchison, c. 1839	2
Figure 1.2	Map of Dudley parish and borough by R.K. Dawson, 1832	6
Figure 2.1	A plan of the navigable canal from Birmingham to Autherley, c. 1783	54
Figure 2.2	Occupations, broadly categorised, of fathers from Dudley presenting children for baptism at the parish church in 1813, together with illegitimacy figures	61
Figure 2.3	Town Hall & High Street, Dudley, 1832	66
Figure 2.4	A 'Dudley token' with a revolutionary motto, eighteenth century	73
Figure 2.5	Parade of the Loyal Association in Dudley Castle Courtyard, 9 August 1798, by Thomas Phillips, 1798	78
Figure 3.1	Handbill by *The Black Dwarf,* 1822	111
Figure 3.2	Notice attributed to Samuel Cook, questioning Luke Booker about 'the Dudley Terrier' (n.d.)	113
Figure 3.3	Samuel Cook's warning to ratepayers that they might be expected to pay Edward Guest's damages, c. 1823	115
Figure 3.4	Samuel Cook's written remarks for which he was tried for seditious libel, 1826/27	118
Figure 3.5	Great Meeting of the Political Unions, on New Hall Hill, Birmingham, May 1832	137
Figure 3.6	Questions to be put to John Campbell, 1832?	144
Figure 4.1	Handbill warning publicans to discontinue the circulation of radical papers, 1819	160
Figure 4.2	*The Patriot,* No.1, 6 November 1819	164

Figure 4.3	Handbill by Samuel Cook concerning a proposed Anglican church at Netherton, 1823	171
Figure 4.4	Handbill advertising a ‘full report’ of Samuel Cook’s trial, 1827	175
Figure 4.5	Handbill announcing that the mayor had refused to hold a meeting to celebrate ‘French Independence’, 1830	178
Figure 4.6	Pro-reform handbill attacking Henry Beachamp Lygon, Worcestershire’s Tory MP, 1831	181
Figure 4.7	Results of the first day’s poll in the Worcestershire election, 1831	185
Figure 4.8	Handbill celebrating the success of both Worcestershire’s reform candidates, 1831	186
Figure 4.9	Handbill advertising a special meeting of the Dudley Political Union, 1831	189
Figure 4.10	Handbill announcing Earl Grey’s return to government, 1832	192
Figure 4.11	Tory election handbill supporting Sir Horace St Paul, 1832	195
Figure 4.12	Handbill by Thomas Parkin condemning both Whigs and Tories, 1832	199
Figure 4.13	Handbill denouncing Pakington’s entry into Dudley, 1832	200
Figure 4.14	A secular, pastoral address by Luke Booker, 1832	202
Figure 5.1	The Chairing of Thomas Hawkes, 1834.	218
Figure 5.2	Some of the Principles of Dudley Radicalism, by Samuel Cook, 1834?	220
Figure 5.3	Numbers of men taking the oath as Dudley Town Commissioners, 1791-1853	221
Figure 5.4	Occupations, broadly categorised, of ninety-five new Dudley Town Commissioners, sworn in 4 April 1834	223
Figure 5.5	Handbill supporting Thomas Hawkes’s re-election, c. 1835	225

Figure 5.6	Handbill by Samuel Cook appealing for help to defend a libel case against Thomas Badger	228
Figure 5.7	Handbill by Samuel Cook, 1847	252
Figure 6.1	Handbill satirising the election of Dudley's churchwardens, 1833	268
Figure 6.2	Samuel Cook's denunciation of those opposing the admission of dissenters into universities, 1834	270
Figure 6.3	Handbill opposing a 10d church rate in Dudley, September 1834	273
Figure 6.4	Church rates seizures in Dudley, 1837	282
Figure 6.5	Result of the Dudley church rate poll, 27 June 1840	287
Figure 6.6	A pro-voluntaryism handbill by Samuel Cook, 1848	295
Figure 6.7	Appeal to support a church rate in Dudley, 1853?	303
Figure 7.1	Occupations of Dudley Borough Councillors, broadly categorised, 1865-1867	324
Figure 7.2	Handbill satirising Lord Ward's involvement in Dudley's parliamentary election, 1857	336
Figure 7.3	Handbill satirising Lord Ward, Frederick Calthorpe and well-known Liberal supporters, c. 1859	339
Figure 7.4	Lecture programme for the Mutual Improvement Society, Dudley, October 1852?	348
Figure 7.5	Manifesto of the National Reform Association, 1852	351
Figure 7.6	Handbill advertising Dudley Working Men's Institute, 1860	356
Figure 7.7	The Earl and Countess of Dudley opening Dudley's new drinking fountain, *The Illustrated London News*, 26 October 1867	362
Figure 8.1	'A new plan of Dudley' from *Bentley's Directory of Dudley*, detail, c. 1841	373
Figure 8.2	Handbill announcing a public meeting to oppose 'Papal Aggression', Dudley, 1850	384

Figure 8.3	William Murphy's programme of a week's lectures at Ebenezer Baptist Chapel, Netherton, 1867	397
Figure 8.4	Dudley Castle taken from Kates Hill, lithograph, c. 1860, showing the Catholic church	400
Figure 9.1	Louise Rayner, Dudley Market Place (1870)	442
Figure A1.1	Penny token issued in 1811 by Richard Wallis of Birmingham and Thomas and Isaac Badger of Dudley	447
Figure A1.2	Map of the centre of Dudley showing places associated with the Badger family	449
Figure A6.1	View of Dudley from the Castle Hill, T. Radclyffe after T. Creswick, c. 1836	464
Figure A11.1	Construction of a railway bridge for India at Messrs. Cochrane and Co., Woodside, Dudley, *The Illustrated London News*, 18 September 1858	483
Figure A12.1	Handbill by Samuel Cook calling for improved safety for miners, 1846	494
Figure A14.1	Priory Hall, Dudley, formerly known as The Priory, residence of the Dudley estate's chief agent	501
Figure A17.1	An appeal by Thomas Hawkes for volunteers to join his proposed Himley Troop, 1819	515
Figure A18.1	Handbill supporting Thomas Hill's candidature for Churchwarden in Dudley, 1832	519
Figure A20.1	Dudley Town Commissioners: men who chaired six or more meetings, 1815-1853	530
Figure A20.2	View of Dudley Market Place showing one of Lester's shops, early twentieth century	532
Figure A23.1	Illustration appertaining to Parkin's Windmill Railway	545
Figure A25.1	Cartoon of H.B. Sheridan, MP, undated	552
Figure A27.1	Handbill supporting Foley and Spencer, 1831	561
Figure A32.1	Overview of the Ward family tree from 1621	580

Figure A32.2	Detail from the Ward family tree (1720-1885)	581
Figure A.C.1	Census of Religious Worship, 1851: Spatial distribution of churches and chapels outside the continuously built-up area of Dudley town	602
Figure A.C.2	Census of Religious Worship, 1851: Total attendances of Dudley's denominations expressed as percentages	605

Tables

Table No.	Heading	Page
Table 2.1	Population figures for Dudley c. 1750-1871	57
Table 2.2	Marriages in Dudley, 1770 to 1815: sample survey showing the proportion of newlyweds who signed the register, together with national comparisons	59
Table 4.1	Numbers of men and women signing their names in Dudley's marriage registers in 1815 and 1832, with national comparisons	155
Table A.B.1	The women ratepayers who voted in the 1834 Dudley parish poll	595
Table A.B.2	The women ratepayers who voted in the 1834 Dudley parish poll and whose occupations can be ascertained	597
Table A.C.1	Census of Religious Worship, 1851: Places of worship in Dudley which submitted census returns	600
Table A.C.2	Census of Religious Worship, 1851: Dudley's data from the official report	604
Table A.C.3	Census of Religious Worship, 1851: Indexes of Attendance for Dudley, Worcestershire and England and Wales	607
Table A.C.4	Census of Education, 1851: Numbers of Sunday schools and their scholars in Dudley	608
Table A.C.5	Census of Education, 1851: Numbers of denominational day schools and their scholars in Dudley	609

COPYRIGHT ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS AND IMAGE CREDITS

Copyright, used with permission:

The British Library Board: figure 8.3, Newspaper image © The British Library Board. All rights reserved. Courtesy of: The British Newspaper Archive, Home | Search the archive | British Newspaper Archive, *The County Express; Brierley Hill, Stourbridge, Kidderminster and Dudley News,* 10 August 1867.

British Museum: figure A1.1, BM, T.6351, penny token issued by Richard Wallis of Birmingham and Thomas and Isaac Badger of Dudley, 1811.

Dudley Council Museum Collection: **figures, 2.5**, Parade of the Loyal Association in Dudley Castle Courtyard, 9 August 1798 by Thomas Phillips (1937/161), **5.1**, The Chairing of Thomas Hawkes, 1834, artist unknown (1949/11a), **8.4**, Dudley Castle taken from Kates Hill, c. 1860, lithograph by Newman & Co. (1985/15) & **9.1**, Dudley Market Place, 1870 by Louise Rayner (1989/2).

JNCoins: figure 2.4, Dudley, Spence's mule halfpenny token.

Wellcome Institute: figure A.C.1, reproduction of: Day & Son, Map of Dudley from: Lee, W., *Report to the General Board of Health on a Preliminary Inquiry into the Sewerage, Drainage and Supply of Water, and the Sanitary Condition of the Inhabitants of the Parish of Dudley etc.* (London, Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1852).

Image credits (photographs taken by the author, with permission to use):

Bishopsgate Institute: figures 5.7 & **A12.1**, Labour History Manuscript 14, two handbills by Samuel Cook.

Dudley Archives and Local History Service:

Poster Collection:
figures, 3.1, PO/334, **3.6,** PO/327, **4.5.** PO/154, **4.6,** PO/235A, **4.7,** PO/395, **4.8,** PO/524, **4.9,** PO/1A, **4.10**, PO/64, **4.11,** PO/42B, **4.12,** PO/25A, **4.13,** PO/159, **4.14,** PO/32B, **5.5,** PO/43B, **6.1,** PO/5, **6.3,** PO/6, **6.4,** PO/340, **6.5,** PO/304, **6.7,** PO/297, **7.2,** PO/324, **7.3,** PO/495, **7.4,** PO/644, **7.5,** PO/269, **7.6,** PO/318, **8.2,** PO/363, **A17.1,** PO/346, **A18.1,** PO/17, **A25.1,** PO/296 & **A27.1,** PO/392

Samuel Cook Collection:
Printed handbills: figures, 4.3, SC/106, **4.4,** SC/105, **5.2,** SC/23, **5.6,** SC/3, **6.2,** SC/25 & **6.6,** SC/121.
Hand-written notices: figures 3.2, SC/81 & **3.3,** SC/65

The National Archives: figures 4.1, HO 42/194, handbill, 1819, **4.2** & TS 11/80/253, *The Patriot,* 6 November 1819.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACLL	The Anti-Corn Law League
BAC	Birmingham Archives and Collections
ASCA	The British Anti-State Church Association
BCLM	The Black Country Living Museum
BPU	Birmingham Political Union
CCEd	Clergy of the Church of England database
CRAS	Church Rate Abolition Society
DALHC	Dudley Archives and Local History Centre
DALHS	Dudley Archives and Local History Service
DPU	Dudley Political Union
GMA	General Mining Association (Nova Scotia)
LPL	Lambeth Palace Library
LWMA	London Working Men's Association
MC	Miscellaneous and Small Items Collection (at DALHS)
NCSU	National Complete Suffrage Union
PC	Poster Collection (at DALHS)
SCC	Samuel Cook Collection (at DALHS)
SRO	Staffordshire Record Office
TNA	The National Archives
WAAS	Worcestershire Archive and Archaeology Service

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Even as a ruin, set high above the town, Dudley Castle remains a symbol of the neo-feudal power that long dominated the district (figure 1.1). In the nineteenth century, ‘the Castle' or ‘the castle influence’ were euphemisms for its aristocratic owners, the Ward family, and the power which they still possessed.[1] Although the town lies well below the castle, it is situated on a ridge and it was not until the transport revolution of the eighteenth century that communications between Dudley and the rest of the region improved markedly. Those petitioning for turnpike roads to Dudley in 1726 emphasised that the roads to the town were impassable by wheeled vehicles for much of the winter.[2] By 1727, acts of parliament had established turnpike trusts which included several of the main roads linking with Dudley.[3] By the early nineteenth century, industrialisation and the prospect of employment were attracting newcomers to Dudley in unprecedented numbers. These migrants came from many different places, making the town – especially the central area around the market place – a melting pot for new ideas which challenged old assumptions. This thesis analyses politics and religion as two spheres where power and authority were disputed. The study developed from

---

[1] See, for instance: *The Sun,* 9 August 1844, p. 7; *Aris’s Birmingham Gazette,* 11 April 1859, p. 2; *The Birmingham Daily Post,* 15 June 1865, p. 5.

[2] The Dudley petition was put forward as an addition to a petition already made by the inhabitants of Birmingham for repairs to the road from Birmingham to Wolverhampton. In the subsequent committee enquiry, John Ward testified that, in winter, the road from Birmingham to Wolverhampton was ‘in a very ruinous condition’. *Journals of the House of Commons,* 20 February 1726*,* p. 746 and 23 February 1726, p. 768.

[3] Using their short titles, the earliest were Birmingham and Wednesbury Roads Act, 13 Geo 1 c. 14 and Bromsgrove and Birmingham Roads Act, 13 Geo 1, c. 15. Both received the royal assent on 24 April 1727. turnpikes.org.uk/English turnpike table.htm [accessed 23 December 2024]; *Journal of the House of Commons,* 24 April 1727, p. 845.

research begun for the author's MA dissertation on the Reverend Luke Booker, vicar of Dudley from 1812 to 1835.[4] That research left questions unanswered, particularly concerning the interplay between religion and politics in Dudley during the middle decades of the nineteenth century. This thesis attempts to place the conflicts which it identifies in Dudley within a regional and national setting. This introductory chapter outlines the purpose of the thesis, states its research questions and sets its parameters before discussing the historiography of both the wider framework and that relating to Dudley. It then explains the methodology, looks at the strengths and limitations of primary documentation and outlines the individual chapters.

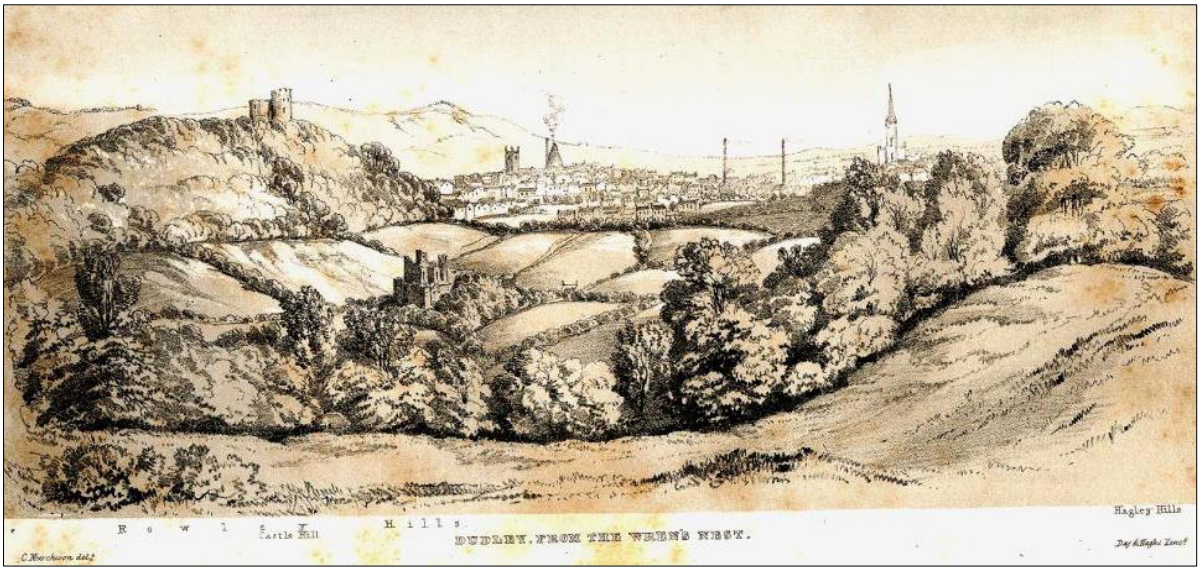


Figure 1.1. Dudley from the Wren's Nest (detail), Charlotte Murchison, c. 1839.[5]

[4] J. Davies, 'The Reverend Luke Booker, Vicar of Dudley: an Anglican clergyman in the industrial Black Country' (Unpublished MA dissertation, University of Birmingham, 2013).
[5] Although Murchison's drawing is primarily a geological sketch, it contains the symbolic elements of authority in Dudley: the castle, two Anglican churches, a glasshouse which is probably the Phoenix Glassworks belonging to the Badger brothers, major industrialists in Dudley, and, left of centre, Priory Hall, built by the first Earl of Dudley, but lived in by his main agent, arguably to keep watch on the town. Detail from: C. Murchison, 'Dudley from the Wren's Nest', c. 1839, in R.I.

This thesis is a study of politics and religion in the Black Country town of Dudley in the early and mid-nineteenth century, which demonstrates how political and religious conflicts in Dudley connect with and illuminate regional and national events, whilst also indicating what was distinctive about Dudley's experience. The analysis is framed by asking and offering answers to four connected research questions: To what extent were politics and religion in Dudley interconnected in the period from 1815 to 1867? How did the political and religious controversies of this period impact and shape society in Dudley? How significant for Dudley's political and religious conflicts were the leaders on both sides? To what extent did political and religious conflict in Dudley reflect the national situation? In answering these questions, a major theme to emerge is the relationship between people and place and this study evaluates contributions made to the political and religious life of the town by many from non-elite backgrounds, including immigrants and some whose time in Dudley was comparatively brief, those who have often been neglected by historians.

It was only in the second half of the twentieth century that the Black Country began to be studied academically and in depth, whilst detailed studies of Dudley are scarce.[6] Trevor Raybould was one of the first to analyse the economic history of the Black Country, particularly the role of the Ward family and the administration of their Dudley estate.[7] The social historian, David Philips, was an

---

Murchison, *Silurian System, Founded on Geological Researches etc.* (London, 1839), plate between pp. 480 and 481. This print has been sepiaed.

[6] One example is: V.L. Davies and H. Hyde, *Dudley and the Black Country, 1760 to 1860* (Dudley, 1970).

[7] T.J. Raybould, 'Systems of management and administration on the Dudley estates, 1774-1833', *Business History,* Vol. 10, Issue 1 (January 1968), pp. 1-11; T.J. Raybould, 'The development and organization of Lord Dudley's mineral estates, 1774-1845', *The Economic History Review,* Vol. 21,

early researcher into both law enforcement and socio-political control in the Black Country.[8] Although he concentrates on the Staffordshire portion of the Black Country his findings are relevant to the whole. George Barnsby's contribution to the social and political history of the Black Country is discussed below. Other scholarly investigations of aspects of Black Country History are to be found in various issues of *The Blackcountryman* magazine.[9] Two recent theses include the political and religious interactions in Oldbury and Wolverhampton, but there is none for Dudley.[10]

This lack of attention to nineteenth-century Dudley is surprising considering its commanding position in the southern Black Country, its long history as a market town and its development into a centre for mining and iron manufacturing. It was also a town of stark contrasts. By mid-century, it had the highest death rate in England and Wales, and the nailers, one of the largest sectors of Dudley's workforce, were some of the most down-trodden industrial workers in the country.[11] Yet, men from Dudley made fortunes, not least from nail manufacture,

---

No. 3 (December 1968), pp. 529-544; T.J. Raybould, *The Economic Emergence of the Black Country: A Study of the Dudley Estate* (Newton Abbot, 1973).

[8] D. Philips, *Crime and Authority in Victorian England: The Black Country, 1835-1860* (London, 1977).

[9] Several articles are referenced in this thesis but there are many other valuable additions to local history including several items by C.J.L. Elwell, H. Jack Haden, and Peter Skidmore. For instance: C.J.L. Elwell, 'The first General Strike in the Black Country' (in four parts), *The Blackcountryman,* Vol. 18, No. 2 (Spring 1985), pp. 6-13; Vol. 18, No. 3 (Summer 1985), pp. 43-49; Vol. 18, No. 4 (Autumn 1985), pp. 6-12 and Vol. 19, No. 1 (Winter 1986), pp. 39-42; H. Jack Haden, 'The Lords of Dudley' (in three parts), *The Blackcountryman,* Vol. 18, No. 4 (Autumn 1985), pp.34-43; Vol. 19, No. 1 (Winter 1986), pp. 26-34 and Vol. 19, No. 2 (Spring 1986), pp. 43-53; Peter Skidmore, 'Sir John Campbell: Dudley's first modern MP' (in two parts), *The Blackcountryman,* Vol. 30, No. 2 (Spring 1997), pp. 31-36 and Vol. 30, No. 3 (Summer 1997), pp. 42-48.

[10] J.C. Sullivan, 'Paying the price for industrialisation: the experience of a Black Country town, Oldbury in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries' (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Birmingham, 2014); S. Briercliffe, '"The blackest shadows are cast by the Irish Quarter": the making of Stafford Street, 1832-1882' (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Birmingham, 2022).

[11] For a discussion of 'the West Midlands proto-nail trade' see: F.G.N. Sjögren, 'Entrepreneurship and technological change: the Birmingham and district cut-nail trade, c. 1811-1913' (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Birmingham, 2019), pp. 59-66.

and the Dudley estate was becoming ‘one of the most valuable landed estates in England’.[12] Between the two extremes was an increasingly active middle class. By concentrating on politics and religion, this study features two of the most aspirational aspects of nineteenth-century society: the quest for power and influence in this life coupled with spiritual preparation in anticipation of another life to come. The next section outlines the parameters of the thesis, before looking at the definitions which it uses.

The thesis focuses chronologically from the end of the French wars in 1815 to the Second Reform Act of 1867, a milestone in the extension of the parliamentary franchise in Britain. However, chapter 2 also considers the late eighteenth-century and early nineteenth-century context, illustrating how many important issues, such as the rise of loyalism and the evangelical revival, had begun to shape Dudley’s experience. The geographical focus is the ancient parish of Dudley, an exclave of Worcestershire, surrounded by Staffordshire. When Dudley became a parliamentary borough in 1832 and again, when incorporated in 1865, the same boundaries were used (figure 1.2).[13]

[12] Dudley Archives and Local History Service (DALHS), DE, The Earl of Dudley Estate collection, extract from history given in the catalogue.
[13] R.K. Dawson, Dudley (map), engraved by G.G. Chappell, ‘Reports from Commissioners on proposed division of counties and boundaries of boroughs in England and Wales’, *House of Commons Papers,* Paper No. 141 (1832), fold-out map opposite p. 131.

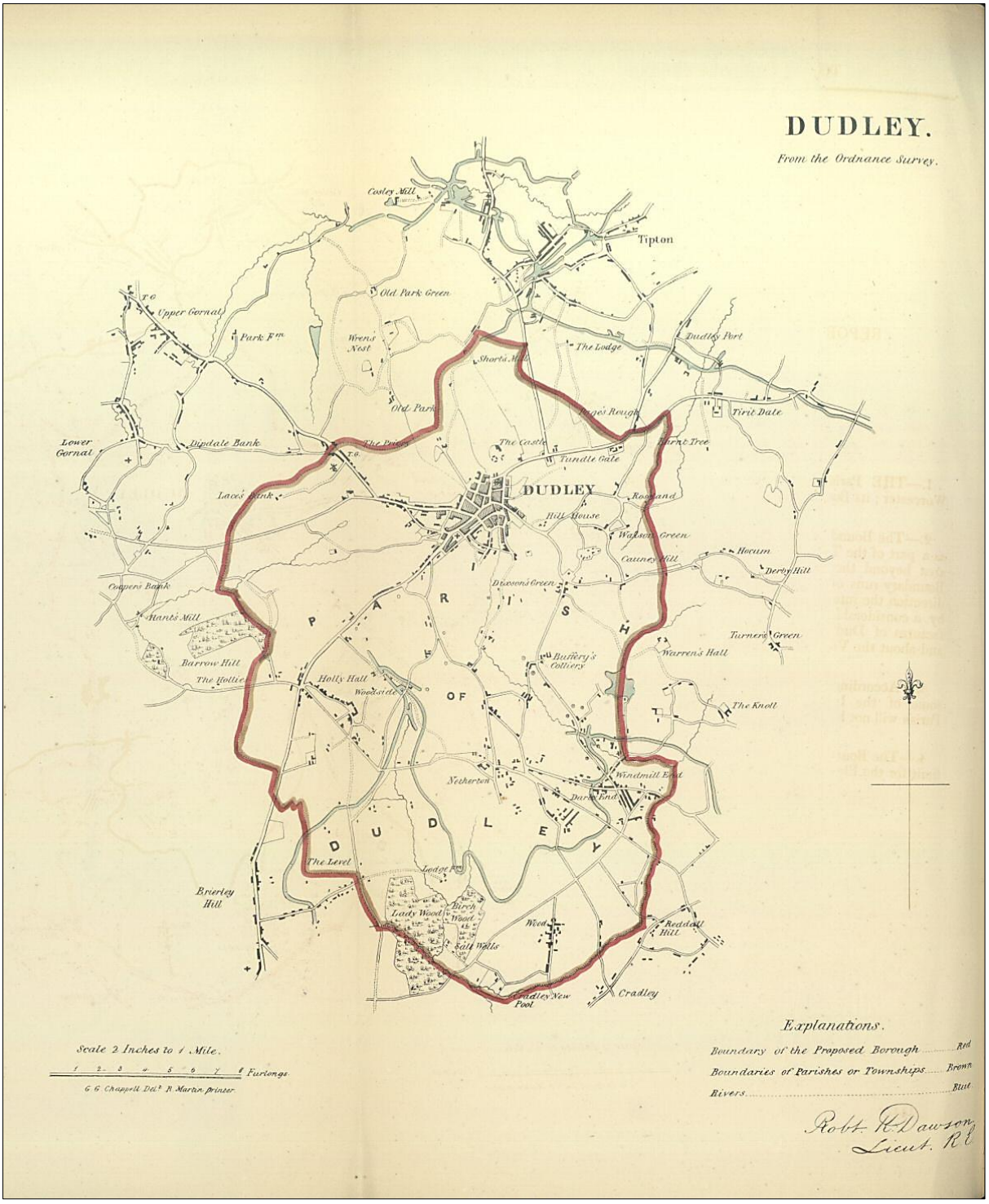


Figure 1.2. Map of Dudley parish and borough by R.K. Dawson, showing proposed parliamentary borough boundaries, 1832.[14]

[14] R.K. Dawson, Dudley (map), engraved by G.G. Chappell, 'Reports from Commissioners on proposed division of counties and boundaries of boroughs in England and Wales', *House of Commons Papers,* Paper No. 141 (1832), fold-out map opposite p. 131.

Philosophers from Aristotle onwards have debated the nature of politics. This thesis uses the definition that politics are 'concerned with the acquisition or exercise of power, status, or authority'.[15] The power dynamic is taken to include exercising power, seeking it, or challenging that of others. Dudley was lacking in local government in the early part of the period when the significant power relationships were economic and social as much as political in the narrow sense. Religion in this thesis is concerned with its social aspects rather than theology, focusing on how men and women with shared beliefs joined together to worship God as they perceived him to be, and organised themselves to perpetuate their religious beliefs. Neither politics nor religion existed in the abstract but were rooted in the society of the day. Religion in Dudley was predominantly Christianity but, for a few years around the mid-nineteenth century, the town had a small Jewish synagogue, the only one in Worcestershire.[16] The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints was also successful for a time.[17]

The interactions between politics and religion in Dudley were considerable. Although this was not exceptional, the specific circumstances and the individuals involved made the ensuing conflicts in Dudley particularly distinctive. One reason was that many leading protagonists were active in both politics and religion. Samuel Cook, the draper, is the prime example of a man who was equally involved

[15] This definition of politics is one of several given by *Oxford English Dictionary.* E. Barker (ed.), *The Politics of Aristotle* (Oxford, 1995); politics, n. meanings, etymology and more | Oxford English Dictionary [accessed 17 September 2024].
[16] Appendix 3 gives the results of the Census of Religious Worship, 1851 for Dudley in tables and charts. J. Aitken (ed.), *Census of Religious Worship, 1851. The Returns for Worcestershire*, Worcestershire Historical Society, New series, Vol. 17 (2000), pp. xxxv & 6.
[17] Members of the Church of Christ of Latter-day Saints consider themselves to be Christians, but that claim is disputed by many mainstream Christians. At the time of the 1851 census, they were renting a chapel in Chapel Street.

in political and religious disputes but there were many others, including three successive vicars of Dudley, and at least one minister each from the Unitarians, Baptists and Independents.[18] One of the bitterest struggles of the period, the church rates controversy, was both religious and political. Although some controversies were short-lived, others were drawn out, or recurring. This study identifies the opposing groups and tries to give equal weight to the competing sides. Often the conflicts resulted in hardened battle lines, of which the clearest cut were Anglicans versus nonconformists; Protestants versus Catholics; Tories versus reformers; moderates versus radicals; and Conservatives versus Liberals. Less well defined was the influence of social class in these disputes. The next section looks at relevant historiography to explain how historians have dealt with the questions raised in this thesis.

Literature review

This literature review is in three sections: the first deals with political and religious issues, the second looks at local historiography and the third considers whether comparable town studies exist. Historiography that is chapter-specific is dealt with in the relevant chapters. As a town study, this thesis draws together disparate themes, but its focus is on politics and religion, the interconnections between them and the conflicts they caused. The perception of the relationship between religion and politics is controversial. Although his ideas were not immediately influential, Karl Marx was writing in the period covered by this thesis when he described

[18] Appendix 1 gives biographical information for key figures in politics and religion in the Dudley area c. 1789-1867.

religion as 'the opium of the people'.[19] Marx believed that religion was largely illusory although it could comfort people in otherwise desperate conditions and would wither away when it was no longer needed. In his theory of historical materialism, Marx's criticism of religion was twofold: firstly, that it made mankind more passive and less likely to press for political change, and secondly, that organised religion became part of the status quo, bolstering the ruling elite and resisting change.[20] The Church of England was the 'established' or state church and in Dudley it was part of the establishment. However, this thesis argues that nonconformists, particularly those belonging to 'old dissent' in Dudley, led the demands for religious equality and political change.

In the early twentieth century, the historian Elie Halévy put forward what became known as 'the Halévy thesis', arguing that nonconformist religion, particularly Methodism, saved Britain from revolution such as affected other parts of Europe in the mid-nineteenth century.[21] This view is challenged by Marxist historians, including Eric Hobsbawm and Edward Thompson. Hobsbawm argues that there were other reasons for Britain avoiding revolution.[22] Thompson re-awakened the debate on connections between religion and politics in *The Making*

---

[19] The German wording, 'Opium des Volkes', has also been translated as 'the opiate of the masses'. It occurs in the introduction to *Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right,* written in 1843 but not fully published until after Marx's death. J. O'Malley (ed.), *Marx's Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right* (Cambridge, 1970), p. 131.
[20] A. Dawson, *Sociology of Religion* (London, 2011), pp. 40-42.
[21] H.S. Jones, 'Halévy, Elie (1870-1937), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (23 September 2004), Halévy, Élie (1870–1937), historian and philosopher | Oxford Dictionary of National Biography [accessed 2 December 2022].
[22] Hobsbawm further argues that Wesleyan Methodism on its own would not have been strong enough to prevent revolution; that within Methodism, groups such as the Primitive Methodists, which were favourable to radicalism, had gained ground; and that there were regional variations both within Methodism and radicalism. E.J. Hobsbawm, 'Methodism and the threat of revolution in Britain', *History Today,* Vol. 7, No 2 (1957), pp. 115-124.

of the English Working Class.[23] He argues that religion, as one aspect of popular culture, played a positive role in working-class lives and he notes links between 'old dissent' and radicalism.[24] Thompson claims that 'old dissent' and the Methodist secessions were more democratic in outlook than Wesleyan Methodism.[25] Thompson also suggests that the growth of Methodism amongst the working class in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries took place in waves that related inversely to the success of radicalism.[26] Thompson's theories are criticised by more conventional historians, but he rejects such arguments.[27] By concentrating on the lives of some of the lower classes, which had been ignored by most historians, Thompson developed an approach to history which became known as 'history from below'.[28] This thesis differs from Thompson in finding no direct correlation between the success or failure of radicalism and the growth of Methodism in Dudley. However, this study reinforces Thompson's view of the connections between 'old dissent' and radicalism and, as discussed below, its methodology is influenced by Thompson's approach to 'history from below'.

---

[23] E.P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (London, 1963; paperback ed., Harmondsworth, 1968).
[24] Thompson identifies 'slumbering Radicalism' in the writings of John Bunyan and names Bunyan's classic, *The Pilgrim's Progress* together with Thomas Paine's *The Rights of Man* as 'the two foundation texts of the English working-class movement'. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (1968), p. 34.
[25] Thompson argues that Wesleyan Methodism exerted greater control over its adherents. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (1968), pp. 40-42, 45, 47-50, 58, 387-388 & 435-436.
[26] Thompson contends that when radicalism was thwarted, the working class turned to religion, in what he calls 'the chiliasm of despair'. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (1968), pp. 411-429 etc.
[27] Thompson summarises the criticisms in a postscript to the paperback edition (1968). E.P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, with new preface (Harmondsworth, 1980), pp. 917-923.
[28] Thompson famously claimed that he was 'seeking to rescue the poor stockinger, the Luddite cropper, the "obsolete" hand-loom weaver, the "utopian" artisan, and even the deluded follower of Joanna Southcott, from the enormous condescension of posterity'. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (1980 ed.), p. 12.

A significant part of this thesis concerns the long-lasting effects of the Industrial and French Revolutions on both local and national society, and this is reflected in the historiography. Both revolutions affected, and thereby connected, the history of politics and religion. According to W.R. Ward, the French Revolution 'altered for ever the terms on which religious establishments … must work'.[29] However, he also argues that internal developments, such as population growth, enclosures and the rise of 'euphoric religion' in England undermined 'the old order', including the Church of England. Similar developments are shown to be significant in Dudley.[30] A.D. Gilbert, in his study of religion and social change in 'industrial England', argues that 'industrialisation abetted the secularisation of English society' but acknowledges that it was a slow process.[31] There is no strong evidence of secularisation in Dudley in the period of this thesis, but there was a growing diversification of religion (chapters 2 and 8).[32] Gilbert concludes that 'in the long term, the Industrial Revolution was instrumental in diminishing the cultural and institutional role of religion in English society' but, in the short term, religion ameliorated the social dislocations caused by industrialisation.[33] He argues that location affected the occupational break-down of those attending individual chapels but further claims that 'in the nail-manufacturing areas of the Black Country, nailers provided the bulk of all chapel communities'.[34] Nothing in the

[29] W.R. Ward, *Religion and Society in England, 1790-1850* (London, 1972), p. [1].
[30] Ibid., pp. 2 & 7-12.
[31] A.D. Gilbert, *Religion and Society in Industrial England: Church, Chapel and Social Change, 1740-1914* (London & New York,1976), p. viii.
[32] Appendix 3 gives tables and charts based on the Census of Religious Worship in 1851 which show the diversity of religion in Dudley.
[33] Gilbert, *Religion and Society in Industrial England*, pp. 205-207.
[34] Ibid., p. 64.

surviving chapel records for Dudley substantiates this claim.[35] However, this thesis endorses Gilbert's arguments that the religious establishment fought back against 'nonconformist encroachment' and that there were particularly strong connections between the religious and political crises of the late 1820s and 1830s.[36] Although many historians of the nineteenth century agree that secularisation took place, they often disagree as to its timing. Hugh McLeod begins his history of 'secularisation in Western Europe' in 1848, the year of revolutions, but notes that the English experience was very different from France and Germany.[37] According to McLeod:

> The period from the 1850s to the 1880s was a period of exceptional prosperity in the history of the English churches, in which every social class and political faction was to some degree reached by one of the many religious denominations and levels of involvement were high.[38]

This conclusion equates with the findings for Dudley. The results of the census of religious worship in 1851 in Dudley show that church or chapel attendances for nonconformists were collectively much greater than for the Church of England (appendix 3). Although there were no surveys of religious attendance in Dudley after 1851, the proliferation of chapels, churches, mission rooms and schools used for services on Sundays continued into the 1870s.[39] More detailed research is

---

[35] Gilbert claims to base his analysis on samplings of non-parochial registers. Very few of the surviving chapel records for Dudley include occupations. In a collection covering several chapels produced by A.A. Rollason, the occupation of nailer (or nailor) occurs only about a dozen times, mainly amongst Wesleyan Methodists. A.A. Rollason, *The Old Non-parochial Registers of Dudley etc.* (Dudley, 1899).
[36] Gilbert, *Religion and Society in Industrial England*, pp. 120-128 & 162-166 etc.
[37] H. McLeod, *Secularisation in Western Europe, 1848-1914* (Basingstoke, 2000), pp. 31-51.
[38] Ibid., p.48.
[39] For instance, Littlebury's Directory of 1873 lists forty-six places of worship in the Dudley borough, compared with the thirty-three listed in the 1851 Census of Religious Worship. *Littlebury's Directory*

needed into the growth of secularisation in Dudley but religious activity remained lively throughout the period, including the provision of denominational day schools as well as Sunday schools, with church and chapel activities frequently reported in local newspapers.[40] The degree of nonconformist religious activity in Dudley was similar to that Janet Sullivan found in Oldbury, but there is more evidence of Dudley's nonconformists being politically active (chapter 3).[41]

Whilst the French Revolution was important for British religious history, it was even more significant for British political history. The lines of political debate were drawn almost immediately when Edmund Burke's conservative *Reflections on the Revolution in France* was countered by Thomas Paine's radical *Rights of Man*.[42] Writing of this period, in opposition to Thompson's model of 'the making' of different classes, David Cannadine argues that the social order 'was wrenched and transformed by a succession of seismic shocks'. These were 'ideas of liberty and equality' unleashed by the French Revolution; changes to rural and urban economies caused by the agricultural and industrial revolutions; population increases in urban areas; and the worst period of widespread social distress since 1688.[43] This study balances the effects of Cannadine's 'seismic shocks' with more

---

and Gazetteer of the County of Worcester (London, 1873), pp. 202-203 & 231; Appendix 3, Table A.C.1.

[40] Whilst individual Sunday School events were frequently reported, so too were occasional collaborative displays such as seen in the celebrations for the wedding of the Prince of Wales in March 1863. *The Birmingham Daily Post,* 11 March 1863, p. 4.,

[41] Sullivan particularly draws attention to the social activities, charitable work and education provided by nonconformist chapels. J.C. Sullivan, 'Paying the price for industrialisation: the experience of a Black Country town, Oldbury in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries' (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Birmingham, 2014), pp. 312-315, 320-321 & 341-343.

[42] Burke published his work in 1790. Paine's response was published in two parts, the first in March 1791 and the second in February 1792. E. Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (London? 1790); T. Paine, *Rights of Man: Being an Answer to Mr Burke's Attack on the Revolution in France* (London, 1791-2).

[43] D. Cannadine, *Class in Britain* (Yale, 1998), pp. 25-31 & 59-60 etc.

gradual developments, including the evangelical revival, the rise of nonconformism and the growing availability of print culture, as well as individual and local factors. Boyd Hilton studies the political interactions of the evangelical revival, but focuses on national events, particularly parliamentary activity, whilst this thesis evaluates the impact of the evangelical revival at a local level.[44]

The question of how Britain avoided revolution has continued to interest historians. Edward Royle identifies several explanations, including the impact of religious change, but also notes that some potential revolutionaries, Luddites, Spenceans and anti-Poor Law protesters, took inspiration from the Bible.[45] His conclusion is tentative, suggesting that the religious revival may have 'softened the edges of social conflict' and, where it did contribute to radicalism, turned it into 'constitutional and non-revolutionary channels'.[46] The evidence from Dudley supports the view that nonconformists championed reform rather than revolution. Susan Thomas takes a different approach by focusing on one radical, the Birmingham lawyer, George Edmonds.[47] She shows how the Particular Baptist denomination in which Edmonds was raised, might have influenced the development of his radical politics.[48] This thesis shows Edmonds helped influence the reform movement in Dudley and there are close connections between Thomas's study and the present work.

---

[44] B. Hilton, *The Age of Atonement: The Influence of Evangelicalism on Social and Economic Thought, 1785-1865* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 203-251.
[45] E. Royle, *Revolutionary Britannia? Reflections on the Threat of Revolution in Britain, 1789-1848* (Manchester, 2000), pp. 139-198, especially pp. 164-168.
[46] Ibid., pp. 167-168.
[47] S. Thomas, 'George Edmonds and the development of Birmingham radicalism' (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Birmingham, 2020).
[48] Ibid., pp. 38-49 & 52-73,

Radicalism in Britain in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries has attracted more interest from historians than loyalist or conservative politics, but the last quarter of the twentieth century witnessed moves to re-assess conservatism and the support that it enjoyed.[49] Writing specifically about 1792/23, Mark Philp uses the expression 'vulgar conservatism'.[50] The long wars with France boosted nationalism and loyalism, and the establishment encouraged a growing reverence for the monarchy.[51] The rise of loyalism and clashes between conservatives and reformers are major themes in this thesis.

After a decline in interest in both religion and its history in the twentieth century, recent decades have witnessed revived interest in the history of religion, including its relationship with politics and society. Stewart Brown looks at the national perspective, combining the chronological with the thematic, a similar approach to that used in this thesis, but whereas Brown identifies the forces that he thought were shaping an empire, this study analyses how similar forces shaped one parish.[52] Alan Kidd and David Nicholls claim that Thompson's study of the working class emphasised the role of 'class consciousness' and cultural factors, and thereby 'influenced British social history towards an overly culturalist

[49] See, for instance, M. Roberts, 'Popular conservatism in Britain, 1832-1914', *Parliamentary History,* Vol. 26, Pt. 3 (2007), pp. 387-410.
[50] M. Philp, 'Vulgar conservatism 1792/3' in M. Philp (ed.), *Reforming Ideas in Britain: Politics and Language in the Shadow of the French Revolution, 1789*-1815 (Cambridge, 2013), pp. 40-70.
[51] M. Philp, 'Introduction' in M. Philp (ed.), *The French Revolution and British Popular Politics* (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 1-17; L. Colley, 'The apotheosis of George III: loyalty, royalty and the British nation, 1760-1820, *Past & Present,* No. 102 (February 1984), pp. 94-129; J. Dinwiddy, 'England', in O. Dann & J. Dinwiddy (eds.), *Nationalism in the Age of the French Revolution* (London: 1988), pp. 53–70.
[52] S.J. Brown, *Providence and Empire: Religion, Politics and Society in the United Kingdom, 1815-1914* (London & New York, 2008).

approach'.[53] Their argument seems to be that by divorcing social or cultural factors from the old economic concept of class, various aspects have lost significance, including conflict and coercive power relations.[54] Whilst not denying cultural factors, conflict and power relations are at the heart of this study – particularly challenges to the status quo, both political and religious.

A further concept that informs this thesis is that of 'space and place' as developed by Katrina Navickas. She argues that 'understanding the experience of physical space … is highly important for understanding both unique events and everyday life in the past. Whereas space situates people in society, place situates them in history'.[55] Navickas developed her ideas from the so-called 'spatial turn' which emphasises the importance of 'symbolic representations of space', but in seeking to understand protests more clearly she expands the concept to include the protesters' sense of space and place.[56] Navickas also equates exclusion from space with 'exclusion from representation in the civic body politic' and emphasises the local nature of the struggle. Although her research centres on northern England, much of her argument resonates with the situation in Dudley as when she writes: 'Local and national elites defended their own ideal of the body politic,

---

[53] A. Kidd and D. Nicholls, 'Introduction' in A. Kidd and D. Nicholls (eds.) *The Making of the British Middle Class? Studies of Regional and Cultural Diversity since the Eighteenth Century* (Stroud, 1998).
[54] Ibid., pp. xix-xxiii.
[55] Navickas further argues that 'whereas space is useful for understanding the relationship between physical and symbolic environments and historical actors, place gives those actions meaning, historical context, and geographical identity.' K. Navickas, '"Why I am tired of turning": a theoretical interlude', *History Working Papers Project* (December 2011), n.p., archived at: https://wayback.archive-it.org/14458/20200715141646/http://www.historyworkingpapers.org/?page_id=225 [accessed 17 March 2025]
[56] K. Navickas, *Protest and the Politics of Space and Place, 1789-1848* (Manchester, 2016), pp. xii-xiii.

based as it was on privilege and property.'[57] Navickas is mainly concerned with the contest for real space (as opposed to symbolic use of space) and this features in Dudley, especially in times of increased protest. However, the authorities were also adept at using buildings and space symbolically to reinforce their control. The Castle and the Market Place were frequently used for this purpose. The next section considers local historiography.

Dudley's boundaries were complex; although the parish was an exclave of Worcestershire, Dudley Castle and Castle Hill were in Staffordshire. Some of the earliest histories of the parish are in the county histories of Worcestershire, but the castle and surrounding geography and geology often come under Staffordshire histories.[58] *The Victoria History of the County of Worcester* (1913) has a section on Dudley which typifies the traditional preoccupation of county histories. It concentrates on aristocrats, heraldry, manorial holdings, the castle, religious buildings and charities.[59] Whilst noting that 'it is to the coal and iron trades that all the manufactures of Dudley owe their origin and development', there is almost no account of social history and nothing about popular politics.[60] Nonconformity is acknowledged by little more than a list of Dudley's chapels with dates of origin,

[57] Ibid., pp. xii & 8-9.
[58] For instance: 'Dudley Castle' in The Rev. Stebbing Shaw, *The History and Antiquities of Staffordshire etc.,* Vol. II Pt. I (London, 1798-1801), pp. 138-146; J. Keir, 'Mineralogy of the south-west part of Staffordshire', in The Rev. Stebbing Shaw, *The History and Antiquities of Staffordshire etc.,* Vol. I (London, 1798-1801), pp. 116-125, especially p. 116.
[59] H.M. Light and M. Campbell-Curtis, 'Dudley', in J.W. Willis-Bund and W. Page (eds.), *The Victoria History of the County of Worcester*, Vol. III (London, 1913), pp. 90-105.
[60] *The Victoria History of the County of Worcester*, Vol. III, p. 100; Vol. II of *The Victoria County History* for Worcestershire deals with general themes such as religion, political affairs and industry in the county and mentions Dudley where relevant, but not in any detail: J.W. Willis-Bund and W. Page (eds.), *The Victoria History of the County of Worcester* Vol. II (London, 1906), pp. 85-88, 234 and 264-273.

where known.[61] The 'first continuous history' of the town (1949), sponsored by 'the Dudley Corporation', was begun by Ian Hannah and completed by George Chandler.[62] Much of the book's focus is on the existing records rather than historical analysis and in places it lacks objectivity, for instance, denigrating Luke Booker, the conservative vicar but praising the radical Samuel Cook.[63] A more analytical study by V.L. Davies and H. Hyde looks at Dudley and the Black Country between 1760 and 1860.[64] The authors were historical geographers and their study was issued with reprints of several maps. Their analysis is linked to the maps and provides a spatial aspect for communications and industry but is less helpful for religion and politics.

Academic studies by A.G. Cumberland, Vichai Tunsiri, Roger Leese and Geoff Robson look at aspects of religion and politics in the Black Country and include references to Dudley but not in such detail as this thesis.[65] The Marxist historian, George Barnsby, analyses social conditions in the Black Country from 1800 to 1900 and the politics of Dudley's working class.[66] Barnsby rightly emphasises economic change and social problems caused by the industrial revolution, but this thesis rejects his Marxist model which sees social history

---

[61] Light and Campbell-Curtis, 'Dudley', pp. 103-104.
[62] Hannah was both an antiquarian and the Unionist MP for Bilston, whilst Chandler was Dudley's Borough Librarian and Archivist. G. Chandler, in Acknowledgments, G. Chandler and I.C. Hannah, *Dudley As it Was and As it Is To-day* (London, 1949), p. x.
[63] For instance, Chandler & Hannah, *Dudley As it Was and As it Is To-day*, pp. 67-71, 73, 110, 115 etc.
[64] V.L. Davies and H. Hyde, *Dudley and the Black Country, 1760 to 1860* (Dudley, 1970).
[65] A.G. Cumberland, 'Protestant nonconformity in the Black Country, 1662-1851' (Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Birmingham, 1951); V. Tunsiri, 'The party-politics of the Black Country and neighbourhood, 1832-1867' (Unpublished MA dissertation, University of Birmingham, 1964). R. Leese, 'The impact of Methodism on Black Country society, 1743-1860' (Unpublished PhD thesis, Manchester University, 1972); G. Robson, *Dark Satanic Mills? Religion and Irreligion in Birmingham and the Black Country* (Carlisle, 2002).
[66] G.J. Barnsby, *Social Conditions in the Black Country, 1800-1900* (Wolverhampton, 1980); G.J. Barnsby, *The Dudley Working Class Movement, 1750 to 1860* (Dudley, 1986).

primarily through the prism of class conflict. Whilst the beliefs held by many historians influence their judgement, Barnsby was an active Communist and his Marxist beliefs shaped his historical analysis, as, for instance, when he argues that the nineteenth-century Black Country was an early example of 'the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie'.[67] He claims that 'the ruling class sought to control all aspects of working class life'.[68] Barnsby mainly saw religion as a tool of repression, but religion contained many different strands and whilst the Church of England was the state church, many nonconformists led opposition to it. Anglicans like the Reverend Booker, believed that the Church of England formed part of the constitution and helped to guarantee social order. The desire to protect the status quo further inclined men like Booker to conservative politics and his increasingly reactionary views can be seen in rough jottings he made in the back of an old parish register (chapter 3).[69] Dissenters, such as Samuel Cook, thought that religion was a personal matter, that all faiths should be treated equally and none of them should be associated with the state. The Independent denomination to which Cook belonged had a comparatively democratic structure, with members of the congregation having a role in choosing their minister and in the running of the church. This religious tradition encouraged its members to want a similar role in choosing their political leaders.[70]

---

[67] G.J. Barnsby, *Dictatorship of the Bourgeoisie: Social Control in the Nineteenth Century Black Country* (London, 1972).
[68] Ibid., section 3 (n.p.).
[69] DALHS, PR17/1/1, Baptisms: 1794-1812 (with notes written at the back by the Reverend Luke Booker).
[70] David Cornick argues that Congregationalism, another name for Independentism, had radical roots going back to the Reformation. D. Cornick, *Under God's Good Hand: A History of the Traditions Which Have Come Together in the United Reformed Church in the United Kingdom* (London, 1998), p. 23.

Barnsby argues that the established church had ‘a commanding presence’ in the Black Country, where ‘the predominant form of dissent was main-stream Methodism’, which he disparages.[71] He compares the Black Country unfavourably with Birmingham where he identifies a longstanding ‘progressive religious culture’, something which, he argues, was ‘woefully weak in the Black Country’.[72] However, this thesis shows not only that ‘old dissent’ was active in Dudley but also that it played a major role in the reform movement of the early 1830s. Richard Trainor criticises Barnsby for not defining what he meant by ‘working class movement’.[73] Barnsby might, in communist tradition, have been thinking of a ‘vanguard of the proletariat’, rather than the whole of the Black Country’s working class. This would explain some of his otherwise inexplicable generalisations, as when he argues that ‘from 1850 … the prevailing working-class culture became Secularism’, which he describes as ‘a virulently atheist organisation championing rational thought against Christian “superstition”’.[74] This was not true in Dudley, in this period, when Daniel Wallwork was the only known atheist amongst leaders of the working class and he was eventually dismissed by the rank and file of his own organisation (chapter 7). Furthermore, although claiming that Cook, for many years Dudley’s leading radical, was entitled to ‘a place of high honour in the annals of the British working

[71] G. Barnsby, ‘The Labour movement, religion, and the churches in Birmingham and the Black Country in the nineteenth century’, in W.R. Garscha and S. Weigang (eds.), *Arbeiterbewegung – Kirche – Religion* (Vienna, 1991), pp. 181-192, especially p. 186.
[72] Barnsby was particularly critical of the Reverend Luke Booker, Vicar of Dudley: Barnsby, *The Dudley Working Class Movement,* pp. 6-7, 9, 15 & 30; G.J. Barnsby, *Socialism in Birmingham and the Black Country, 1850-1939* (Wolverhampton, 1998), p. 8.
[73] R.H. Trainor, ‘George Barnsby and the social and political history of the 19th century Black Country’, *The Blackcountryman,* Vol. 12, No. 3 (Summer, 1979), pp. 53-58, especially p. 55.
[74] Secularism is better described as a set of beliefs rather than an organisation. Barnsby may have been thinking of various secularist organisations. G.J. Barnsby, *Radical Dudley,* (Wolverhampton, n.d.), p. 3.

class movement', Barnsby never acknowledges that Cook was a religious as much as a political dissenter.[75]

Eric Taylor, who studied the Black Country working-class movement from 1863 to 1914, also criticises Barnsby for 'partiality', stemming from 'his political creed' which made him over-eager to find 'manifestation[s] of militancy' with insufficient evidence.[76] Far from agreeing with Barnsby's view of the Black Country as a hotbed of radical thinking, Taylor begins his doctoral thesis by remarking that: 'the Black Country was, and remains, an area characterised by insular and conservative social attitudes'.[77] Taylor was the co-author of the entry for Cook in *Dictionary of Labour Biography* which, whilst concentrating on Cook's political activity, gives a more accurate appraisal than Barnsby, noting, for instance, that 'Cook's political beliefs were founded upon his religious convictions'.[78] In contrast to Barnsby, Trainor focuses on the higher echelons of society and compares the influence exerted by the earls of Dudley and the earls of Dartmouth, in Dudley and West Bromwich respectively.[79] In another study, Trainor analyses what he terms 'Black Country elites', although he also gives an overview of the other classes.[80] He takes Dudley as one of his three sample towns, but his main period of study is

---

[75] G.J. Barnsby, *The Dudley Working Class Movement, 1750 to 1860* (Dudley, 1986), p. 61.
[76] E. Taylor, 'The working class movement in the Black Country, 1863-1914' (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Keele, 1974), pp. 483 & 486-489.
[77] Ibid., p. 1.
[78] J. Rowley & E. Taylor, 'Cook, Samuel (1786-1861), Chartist and radical', in J.M. Bellamy & J. Saville (eds.), *Dictionary of Labour Biography* Volume VI (London, 1982), pp. 64-68, quotation from p. 66. This has become the standard biography of Cook, notwithstanding some errors and, despite its long list of sources, the lack of footnotes seriously detracts from its usefulness for further research.
[79] R. Trainor, 'Peers on an industrial frontier: the earls of Dartmouth and of Dudley in the Black Country, c. 1810 to 1914', in D. Cannadine (ed.), *Patricians, Power and Politics in Nineteenth-century Towns* (Leicester, 1982), pp. 70-132.
[80] R.H. Trainor, *Black Country Elites. The Exercise of Authority in an Industrialized Area, 1830-1900* (Oxford, 1993), pp. 47-86.

not the same as for this thesis.[81] Trainor acknowledges the role of religion, and studies its connections with politics, arguing that 'religion and politics were important aspects of the civic life that local elites were fashioning, but as vital factors in the Victorians' search for personal and social identity they had much potential for division as well as unity'.[82] This thesis builds on Trainor's work, both by extending his period to include earlier decades and highlighting leadership challenges in politics and religion. Many of these came from groups below the elite, such as small businessmen and shopkeepers, who have been neglected hitherto.[83] There is disagreement amongst historians as to how to define 'elites'. Douglas Hay, for instance, sees property ownership, and the influence it brings, as being key.[84] For Trainor, '"elites" consist of those individuals, from whatever class or stratum, who held leadership posts in the major institutions of the district or one of its towns', whilst John Scott argues that 'the word "elite" should be used only in relation to those groups which have a degree of power.'[85] This thesis focuses on power, how it was exerted and who was challenging for it. Lawrence and Jeanne C. Fawtier Stone counter the argument that the higher echelons of English society had been marked, and stabilised, by the existence of an 'open elite', but they also argue that what gave English society 'a basic fluidity of status' was the growth of

[81] Trainor gives the dates for his study as 1830-1900 but he includes more detail for the later part. Trainor, *Black Country Elites.*
[82] Trainor, *Black Country Elites,* p. 175.
[83] Trainor excludes 'self-employed retailers' from the middle class: Trainor, *Black Country Elites,* p. 17.
[84] Hay's views proved controversial and were challenged but then defended by Hay. D. Hay, 'Property, authority and the criminal law', in D. Hay et al., *Albion's Fatal Tree: Crime and Society in Eighteenth-Century England* (London, 1975), pp,17-63, especially pp. 18-19; J.H. Langbein, 'Albion's fatal flaws', *Past & Present,* No. 98 (February 1983), pp. 96-120; D. Hay, 'Writing about the death penalty', *Legal History,* Vol. 10, Nos. 1-2 (2006), pp. 35-51.
[85] Trainor, *Black Country Elites*, p. 18; J. Scott, 'Modes of power and the re-conceptualization of elites', *Sociological Review,* Vol. 56, Issue 1, pp. 25-43, especially p. 28; J.H. Langbein, 'Albion's fatal flaws', *Past & Present,* No. 98 (February 1983), pp. 96-120; D. Hay, 'Writing about the death penalty', *Legal History,* Vol. 10, Nos. 1-2 (2006), pp. 35-51.

'the middling sort', especially between 1660 and 1800.[86] This 'fluidity' was present in Dudley where the middle classes were growing and widening in range, although they remained numerically smaller than the working classes.[87] It was from the higher echelons of the middle classes that the magistrates for the area covering Dudley were increasingly drawn (chapter 5). Of the eighteen magistrates most closely associated with Dudley, who were appointed between 1830 and 1854, eleven were coal and ironmasters or metal manufacturers, six were professionals and there was one clergyman. No Liberals were appointed until 1850 (chapter 5).[88]

Far from being a society of rigid, fixed classes, there was a state of flux in Dudley with different groups competing for influence and important amongst these groups were shopkeepers and small businessmen. In the earlier period, before the Reform Act of 1832 widened the franchise, there is only limited evidence of shopkeepers in Dudley owning property.[89] The poll book for the 1831 Worcestershire election shows that only eleven of Dudley's 184 voters were

[86] L. & J.C.F. Stone, *An Open Elite? England 1540-1880,* abridged ed. (Oxford, 1986), p. 290.
[87] David Philips analyses male occupations in Dudley from the 1851 census. Although only about 8% are demarcated as 'upper and middle classes', a further 38% are 'skilled workers and retail trades', the latter being 5% of the whole. Philips, *Crime and Authority in Victorian England*, p. 166, table 23.
[88] The data used for analysing the magistrates' social and economic status and political persuasion has been extracted from newspapers and directories. There are no definitive lists of magistrates covering Dudley before the borough obtained its own bench of magistrates after incorporation in 1865.
[89] For instance, both the rate assessment book for 1787 and a parish survey carried out for the Town Commissioners in 1824 suggest that the bulk of shops were rented. In the 1787 rate assessment book only twenty-seven entries, out of 2062, are for owner-occupiers with shops, but it is hard to know if this figure is reliable. The listings look fairly detailed but, for instance, there is no indication what constituted a shop. The 1824 parish survey may also under record shops, but taking a sample of the central shopping area (High Street, Castle Street and Queen Street), owner-occupiers, whether of house or shop, only accounted for approximately 14.09% of premises. DALHS, DE/4/9/6, The Earl of Dudley Estate Collection, Estate records, Poor rate assessment of the parish of Dudley, with plan, 1787; DE/ 4/4/1/1, The Earl of Dudley Estate Collection, Book of Reference to the map of the parish of Dudley, 1840. This is dated 1840 by Dudley Archives because some amendments have been added to estate holdings, but it is primarily a copy of a parish survey ordered by the Town Commissioners, c. 1824-25.

shopkeepers, with a further nine being victuallers.[90] Although a few shopkeepers became very wealthy, many more struggled to remain solvent and George Elwick's *The Bankrupt Directory* for 1820 to 1843 shows that 55.9% of bankruptcies in Dudley were shopkeepers or small businessmen.[91] This thesis argues that, at the start of the period, shopkeepers were not part of the elite, but many of them were sufficiently independent to begin to challenge several traditional power monopolies and by the end of the period they had increased in power and influence but not so much as to justify the description of a 'shopocracy'. The final part of the literature review looks at comparable case studies.

Comparing towns with different social and economic structures is difficult, but this section looks at studies of towns with some similarities to Dudley. One detailed study of religion in an industrial town is Mark Smith's work on Oldham and Saddleworth.[92] Although his study is primarily about religion, there are occasional references to politics. Oldham was larger than Dudley and there are better contemporary accounts of its social class structure, which was different from Dudley's, but there are similarities in its politics. For instance, Smith argues that class was not necessarily the dominant factor in politics and that 'denominational' and 'political' loyalties cut across the social networks.[93] On the question of church rates, there were similarities and differences. Rates caused controversy, but based

[90] Worcestershire Archives, b154 BA827/3, Elections, poll books, 1831, for Worcestershire, Lower Halfshire.
[91] This was not a large sample as there were only thirty-four Dudley bankruptcies and the large proportion of shopkeepers would partly reflect their numbers in the population. The second largest category was the iron trade, widely defined, which accounted for 29.4% of bankrupts. G. Elwick, *The Bankrupt Directory: Being a Complete Register of All the Bankrupts from December 1820 to April 1843* (London, 1843), data for Dudley found throughout the book.
[92] M. Smith, *Religion in Industrial Society: Oldham and Saddleworth, 1740-1865* (Oxford, 1994).
[93] Ibid., pp. 21-22.

on geography rather than religion, as some areas were expected to fund church buildings in other communities.[94] There are also more examples of Anglican conciliation than in Dudley as, for instance, the Rector of Middleton abolished church rates voluntarily as early as the 1830s.[95] Such a stark contrast with the lack of Anglican compromise in Dudley supports the argument that the controversy in Dudley was exacerbated and drawn out by unbending Anglicanism.

Also comparable with this thesis are studies by Paul Phillips of four 'Victorian cotton towns' from 1832 to 1870, which consider the relationship between religion and politics.[96] His focus is on 'sectarianism', which he defines as ''religiously' related segregation and attendant animosity within a society'.[97] Phillips argues that 'the lines of animosity were sharply drawn and ran deep … [and] this was most obvious and important in the area of politics'.[98] His four towns – Bolton, Preston, Stockport and Blackburn – had larger populations than Dudley and their local government structures, together with party politics, developed earlier. Preston and Stockport were ancient boroughs which were reformed by the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835.[99] Bolton was incorporated controversially in 1838 and Blackburn followed, but amicably, in 1851, whilst Dudley waited until 1865 (chapter 7).[100] In a short appraisal of other regions, Phillips acknowledges that 'in the Midlands, diversity in patterns of sectarianism paralleled to some extent the rich

[94] Ibid., pp. 238-239.
[95] Ibid., p.240.
[96] P.T. Phillips, *The Sectarian Spirit: Sectarianism, Society and Politics in Victorian Cotton Towns* (Toronto, 1982).
[97] Phillips, *The Sectarian Spirit*, [p. 3].
[98] Ibid., p. 4.
[99] Great Britain, Parliament, *An Act to Provide for the Regulation of Municipal Corporations in England and Wales,* 5 & 6 Will 4 cap 76, (9 September 1835).
[100] Phillips, *The Sectarian Spirit*, pp. 27-28 & 125-6.

diversity of social and economic situations to be found in each town'.[101] Although his studies provide useful comparisons for this thesis, the picture that emerges in Dudley is more complex, with shifting alliances, rather than the rigid segregation associated with sectarianism.

Richard Floyd has used a comparative approach to study 'religious dissent and political modernization in nineteenth-century England'.[102] He shows the degree to which dissenters (or nonconformists) contributed to the development of the Liberal party and thereby promoted the development of a two-party system. He studies six towns in different areas, including the industrial Midlands, where his chosen example is Nottingham, another of the ancient boroughs that was reformed by the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835 and much larger than Dudley. Floyd concludes that 'the dissenters of Nottingham were a potent liberal force in Nottingham politics in the mid-nineteenth century'.[103] This can be compared with Dudley, where the church rates disputes fed into the rise of the Liberal party (chapter 6).

Several historians of social class have also used town studies but comparison with Dudley is difficult because most of the towns studied were larger, with established local government and different economic structures, many being in the industrial north-west. John Foster uses a Marxist analysis in his study of 'early industrial capitalism' in Oldham, Northampton and South Shields.[104] Foster's

[101] Phillips, *The Sectarian Spirit*, p. 142.
[102] R.D. Floyd, *Church, Chapel and Party: Religious Dissent and Political Modernization in Nineteenth-century England* (Basingstoke, 2008).
[103] Floyd, *Church, Chapel and Party*, p. 67.
[104] J. Foster, *Class Struggle and the Industrial Revolution: Early Industrial Capitalism in Three English Towns* (London, 1974).

'central theme is the development and decline of a revolutionary class consciousness in the second quarter of the [nineteenth] century.'[105] He focuses on changes to capitalism that have been variously described as 'liberalization', maturing industrial society, 'social imperialism' or the rise of a 'labour aristocracy'.[106] He saw 'liberalization' as 'a collective *ruling-class* response to a social system in crisis and integrally related to a preceding period of working-class consciousness.'[107] Most of Foster's examples are taken from Oldham which had a very different economy to Dudley. Dudley's labour force was dominated by miners, labourers and ironworkers, who showed little involvement in politics, at least before the general strike of 1842 (chapter 5).[108] Oldham's workforce was predominantly formed of textile workers of whom the large number of handloom weavers were particularly badly affected by the introduction of 'effective weaving machinery' into factories in the late 1820s and early 1830s.[109] With their livelihood under threat, it was textile workers who provided a large part of the radical leadership, described by Foster as 'a continuing history of radical activity from the 1790s to 1848.'[110]

Foster numbers the Black Country amongst regions where 'class consciousness' was previously strong and might therefore have been expected to

---

[105] Ibid., p. [1].
[106] Ibid., p. [1].
[107] Ibid., p.3. The italics are Foster's.
[108] Evidence for occupations prevalent in Dudley comes from parish records 1815-1820 together with census data from 1831, 1841 and 1851. The 1831 census did not give a separate figure for miners. 'Abstract of the answers and returns made pursuant to … An Act for taking an Account of the Population of Great Britain … Enumeration Abstract, Vol. I, 1831', *House of Commons Papers,* Paper No. 149 (1833), pp. 714-715; 'Abstract of the answers and returns made pursuant to Acts … Occupation Abstract, 1841…', *Command Papers,* Paper No. 587 (1844), pp. 206-210; 'Census of Great Britain, 1851. Population Tables. II. Vol, I', *Command Papers,* Paper No. 1691-1 (1852-53), pp. 504-509.
[109] Foster, *Class Struggle and the Industrial Revolution*, p, 79
[110] Ibid., pp. [1] & Table 8, pp. 151-152.

follow a similar pattern to that which he found in Oldham.[111] However, unlike Oldham, Dudley had not produced a large number of militant working-class leaders and, therefore, did not have the 'working-class vanguard' to 're-isolate', which Foster drew attention to in Oldham.[112] Trade depressions which affected Dudley frequently gave rise to strikes in the main mining and metal working industries and this led to increased trade union activity from 1858 to the end of the period of this thesis.[113] The increased union activity did not translate directly into other political action, but this thesis shows that the leaders of Dudley's working class favoured allying with middle-class reformers and working-class politics in Dudley became increasingly respectable (chapter 7).[114] R.J. Morris edited a collection of essays concentrating on 'class, power and social structure'.[115] In that collection, David Gadian continues Foster's comparative approach, concentrating on 'the creation … of a working class', with all his examples coming from towns in the north-west.[116] Whilst the middle class appears alongside the working class in some of these studies, other historians began to focus on the middle class in its own right. One of the most detailed is Morris's study of Leeds.[117] John Garrard looks at leadership and power in industrial towns and considers whether urban

---

[111] Ibid., p. 252,
[112] John Saville questions whether Foster proves the existence of a revolutionary vanguard in Oldham. J. Saville, 'Class struggle and the Industrial Revolution' (book review), *The Socialist Register* (1974), pp. 226-240, especially pp. 237-239. Foster, *Class Struggle and the Industrial Revolution,* especially p. 205.
[113] G.J. Barnsby, *The Working Class Movement in the Black Country, 1750-1867* (Wolverhampton, 1977), pp. 168-176.
[114] Foster, *Class Struggle and the Industrial Revolution,* pp. 204-210 & f.
[115] R.J. Morris (ed.), *Class, Power and Social Structure in British Nineteenth-century Towns* (Leicester, 1986).
[116] D. Gadian, 'Class formation and class action in north-west industrial towns, 1830-50' in R.J. Morris (ed.), *Class, Power and Social Structure in British Nineteenth-century Towns* (Leicester, 1986), pp. 24-66.
[117] R.J. Morris, *Class, Sect and Party: The Making of the British Middle Class, Leeds 1820-1850* (Manchester and New York, 1990).

elites became a new ‘squirearchy’, with his examples coming from the north-west (Rochdale, Bolton and Salford).[118] Very different from Dudley, Leeds and the three north-western towns were dominated by the textile industry and this economic base resulted in different social and political structures, thus making comparisons with Dudley less relevant.[119]

Closer to Dudley geographically and economically, two Black Country towns – Oldbury and Wolverhampton – have been the subject of recent theses.[120] Janet Sullivan primarily looks at the effects of industrialisation on Oldbury, but includes the politics of public health, the development of local elites and the role of nonconformists.[121] She does not record the same degree of nonconformist political involvement, particularly at shopkeeper level, that this thesis finds in Dudley. Simon Briercliffe investigates the poorest part of Wolverhampton, and the Irish community who lived there.[122] The Irish were predominantly Catholic and were demonised because of anti-Irish and anti-Catholic prejudice. Roger Swift’s work on Wolverhampton, both as to criminal justice and the treatment of Irish people, provides illuminating comparisons for this study of Dudley which are discussed in chapters 5 and 8.[123] In particular, this thesis shows that anti-Catholicism and anti-

---

[118] J. Garrard, *Leadership and Power in Victorian Industrial Towns, 1830-80* (Manchester, 1983), pp. 109-221; J. Garrard, ‘Urban Elites, 1850-1914: The rule and decline of a new squirearchy?’, *Albion: A quarterly journal concerned with British studies*, Vol. 27, No. 4 (Winter, 1995), pp. 583-621.
[119] Morris, *Class, Sect and Party,* p. 64 etc.
[120] J.C. Sullivan, ‘Paying the price for industrialisation: the experience of a Black Country town, Oldbury in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries’ (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Birmingham, 2014); S. Briercliffe, *‘“*The blackest shadows are cast by the Irish Quarter”: the making of Stafford Street, 1832-1882’ (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Birmingham, 2022).
[121] Sullivan, ‘Paying the price for industrialisation’, especially pp. 311-324.
[122] Briercliffe, *‘“The blackest shadows are cast by the Irish Quarter”.’*.
[123] R. Swift, ‘Anti-Catholicism and Irish disturbances: public order in Mid-Victorian Wolverhampton’, *Midland History,* Vol. 9, No. 1 (1984), pp. 87-108; R. Swift, ‘The English urban magistracy and the administration of justice during the early nineteenth century: Wolverhampton 1815–1860’, *Midland History* Vol.17, No. 1 (1992), pp. 75–92.

Irish prejudice in Dudley, although not so severe, reflected that recorded in Wolverhampton by both Swift and Briercliffe (chapter 8). This thesis adds an in-depth study of Dudley to stand against those of the other two Black Country towns. The next section examines the methodology and research techniques used in this thesis, together with an evaluation of the primary sources.

Methodology and Primary Sources

This study of political and religious conflict in Dudley analyses archival and printed primary and secondary sources, using them to show how Dudley's experience related to both region and nation and illuminated wider issues. As befits a wide subject, using a large range of primary sources, this thesis uses a mixed methodology. Christopher Dyer advocates 'the use of local examples to deal with large problems' and claims that local studies provide the opportunity to bring together many different strands, which is what this thesis aims to do.[124] In explaining her views on 'space and place', Navickas argues that her work is more than a case study because 'social movements by their very nature were conduits between the local and the national and the global, their ideas and their spaces'.[125] This is reflected in the current thesis. This study has also been influenced by two other approaches – the first, 'history from below' as developed by Thompson and the second, microhistory.[126] There are insufficient personal records for the lower classes in Dudley to make it possible to construct fully a 'history from below', but

[124] C. Dyer, '*Midland History*, vol 1, no 1 (1971). Was it a good idea?' Keynote address to New Voices in Midlands History Conference, University of Birmingham, 11 June 2022 and email to the author, 20 November 2022.
[125] Navickas, *Protest and the Politics of Space and Place, 1789-1848*, p. xiv.
[126] J. Tosh, *The Pursuit of History: Aims, Methods and New Directions in the Study of History*, 6th ed. (London and New York, 2015), p. 67.

by evaluating the existing documentation, particularly regarding shopkeepers and other non-elite groups, this thesis highlights contributions to politics and religion that have previously gone unnoticed. Similarly, by studying what was happening at street level and analysing some of the smaller conflicts, it has been possible to use techniques from microhistory, such as focusing on small units of research, thereby making it possible to highlight the lived experience of small groups or individuals at key moments and, as John Tosh claims, fill out 'in small-scale and human detail some of the social and cultural features that are otherwise known only as generalizations'.[127]

Primary material for this thesis varies greatly in coverage and depth and getting the best results from it has necessitated a variety of research methods. Where quantifiable data exists, it has been analysed using social science techniques. Statistical analysis has been particularly useful in studying the censuses, both in drawing conclusions from the census for religious worship (1851) and in examining the decennial censuses to determine rates of population growth and movement. Statistical analysis has also been possible with data extracted from parish registers, comparing, for instance, the numbers of newly married people who signed their names and those who did not. To keep the results manageable, five yearly samples were taken and then the results analysed to show trends and compared with national figures (chapters 2 and 4). Comparative

[127] 'History from below' seeks to concentrate on ordinary people at the bottom of the social scale, rather than those at the top and is particularly associated with British Marxist historians such as E.P. Thompson. Microhistory focuses on studying small units in depth which can then illuminate the wider whole. An example of microhistory in this thesis is the in-depth study of the church rates case against Thomas Wood (chapter 6). Two of the witness statements were by members of his family and, building on these, using family history methods, it was discovered that five of his brothers and their brother-in-law all had shops – some more than one – in central Dudley, with further research showing that the three eldest brothers shared Liberal political views but differed as to religion.

analysis, supplementing the study of Dudley by making comparisons with neighbouring or similar towns, has been undertaken where possible.

Detailed study of newspapers, which are considered in more detail below, has been fundamental to the research, whether using the British Newspaper Archive online or individual holdings in local archives. To maximise their usefulness, a searchable summary has been drawn up of relevant newspaper articles in this period. Spreadsheets have been used to keep track of overlapping timelines such as local bodies, MPs and the production of local newspapers. The dates of building of chapels and churches – and closures when known – have also been charted as this information has not been collected elsewhere. A number of databases has been used, ranging from the very general, such as UK Parliamentary Papers to the more specialised, like the Clergy of the Church of England database.[128] Improved online search facilities, including online archive catalogues, have ensured better access to primary sources of long standing.

Alongside searching primary and secondary sources thematically and chronologically, research for this thesis has drawn attention to significant individuals in the history of Dudley and they have then been used as a further focus for research. Available records are insufficient for constructing a full prosopography of those involved in politics and religion in Dudley, but names of people and as much information as possible have been taken from directories, petitions, electoral material, tax books, lists of shareholders, subscribers and other miscellaneous listings, and entered onto spreadsheets. These have made it

[128] ProQuest - U.K. Parliamentary Papers; CCEd | Clergy of the Church of England Database (theclergydatabase.org.uk);

possible to track people and identify connections between individuals and groups. Very few of Dudley's political and religious leaders left personal papers so they have been studied in other ways by, for instance, using techniques more associated with family history. This has helped discover unexpected connections, correct and expand published biographical material, and identify individuals and families whose contributions to Dudley's history have hitherto gone unacknowledged.[129] Primary documentation that has been available to earlier researchers has been re-examined in detail, together with analysis of sources not previously used for Dudley's history. The next section evaluates the available manuscript sources, considers why and by whom they were created, and why and by whom they were kept, helping to disclose potential bias. It also considers what might be absent from the records. Resources that are chapter-specific are evaluated in individual chapters.

The largest manuscript sources, and those that are best preserved, were created by local bodies, the larger churches and the Dudley estate. The records of the local bodies and the Anglican church are official records, but they are often 'order books' rather than minutes, giving only a bare outline of the business conducted. The larger, successful nonconformist denominations also kept records, although they are inconsistent both in quality and coverage. The smaller, short-lived chapels, especially those led by the working class, left no records of their own. Some, like the Baptist group which met in a former nail warehouse in

[129] Biographical information concerning Samuel Cook discovered for this thesis has probably shown up the most errors or omissions in previous works, especially his year of birth, the number of children he had and what became of them, the fact his business was, to an extent, feather-bedded because he had a wealthy father-in-law and that the credit he should have received for being president of the Dudley Working Men's Institute was wrongly given to his son.

Wolverhampton Street, are mainly known from the brief data in the census of religious worship in 1851, whilst most information about 'Tommy Pee's chapel' comes from a preacher's memoir.[130] A group of 'spirit rappers' meeting in Dudley would be completely unrecorded had they not tried to hijack a Primitive Methodist meeting in 1858, thereby causing a sensation which was reported in local newspapers.[131]

The establishment and Tory records are generally better preserved than those of the opposition. One reason is that the establishment used local family solicitors to act as clerks to their meetings, so the records are usually professional, and were often preserved by the law firms. For instance, the Bourne family solicitors supplied clerks to many bodies, both public and private, including the Dudley Pitt Club, which explains how its records came to be preserved, even though some of them are fragmentary.[132] One case where opposition records are better preserved than Tory ones is the rich collection of ephemera relating to the struggle for reform in the early 1830s held by Dudley Archives and Local History Service (DALHS) (chapter 4). This may be because the reformers produced more items, or their publications were more attractive, or because their supporters were more enthusiastic about saving material.[133]

---

[130] E. Ashdown, *Gleanings by a Watchman on a Dark Corner of Zion's Walls…* (London, 1904), pp. 128-130; R. F. Chambers, *The Strict Baptist Chapels of England, volume 4: The Industrial Midlands* (London, 1963?), pp. 28-29.

[131] *The Birmingham Daily Post,* 22 December 1858, p. 4.

[132] The Bourne firm was taken over and merged, eventually becoming Messrs Slater and Camm, solicitors. Their archive is now at DALHS where it is second in extent only to the Dudley estate papers. DALHS, DSCAM/6/2/7, Messrs Slater & Camm, Solicitors, Records of the Dudley Pitt Club (1813-1821).

[133] The men associated with collecting or preserving this material – the Cook family, C.F.G. Clark and Elliott Hollier – were all radicals or Liberals. See DALHS, poster collection and Samuel Cook collection.

Newspapers form a major source of primary material, and their coverage of Dudley improved throughout the period of this thesis. Whilst not only valuable in itself, newspaper reporting provides a corrective to bias or cover-up in the minutes of local bodies. These were reluctant to allow press reporting of their meetings, but this was finally permitted in the 1850s, enabling comparisons to be made between their official minutes and newspaper reports. However, newspaper proprietors and editors often held strong opinions, leading some local newspapers to be associated with a political party or religious outlook. *The Worcestershire Chronicle* was specifically founded in 1837 to redress the apparent imbalance in Worcestershire by producing a local newspaper that supported 'the great principles of political reform'.[134] The advent of the British Newspaper Archive has made for simpler and more detailed searching of newspapers, both national and local.[135] It has proved useful for finding articles relating to Dudley that featured in newspapers some distance away, but which cannot be traced in those nearby.[136] Further research than has been possible for this thesis, using national newspaper databases, particularly The Times Digital Archive and The Guardian and Observer digital archives, might reveal more about how Dudley was perceived from a London viewpoint. Sampling from their earlier years shows a preponderance of

[134] DALHS, PO/155, New Liberal paper (Worcester, 1837).
[135] The British Newspaper Archive produces digital copies of newspapers, primarily those held by the British Library: www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk
[136] For instance, a report that Samuel Cook had displayed a pike in his shop window at the height of the Chartist troubles can only be found in *The Hereford Times* before being reprinted in *Berkshire Chronicle. The Hereford Times,* 1 June 1839, p. 4; *Berkshire Chronicle,* 8 June 1839, p. 4.

articles concerning Dudley's aristocracy, but they also copied bankruptcy information from *The London Gazette*.[137]

The collection of ephemera at DALHS has been consulted by several earlier researchers but for this thesis much of the large, unstructured collection has been re-examined piece by piece and copied digitally, thus making it possible to interrogate individual items in greater detail and make new connections across the collection. This has also made it easier to compare the DALHS ephemera with material assembled and published by the chemist, C.F.G. Clark in 1881.[138] Using Clark's book is problematic as he rarely gives the source of his items and neither is it clear whether some are newspaper extracts or separately printed ephemera, nor whether some comments originate with Clark himself, rather than from items he collected. Nevertheless, Clark's collection repays careful study, and to assess its usefulness a comparison was made between his collection and DALHS holdings for a particular incident, namely Dudley's hotly contested parliamentary election of 1857 (chapter 7). Clark includes nineteen pieces of ephemera (excluding items that look like newspaper extracts), of which only five are also present at DALHS.[139]

---

[137] For instance, in the Times Digital Archive, using the search term 'Dudley', but excluding advertisements, for the period 1 January 1785-31 December 1800 produces 326 results of which 171 are relevant. Of these, 65 are for Viscount Dudley and Ward and family and 50 are bankruptcies from the London Gazette. A further 24 cover miscellaneous subjects, 23 the Dudley Canal Bill and 9 concern disturbances. A similar search in the Observer database from its start in December 1791 to 31 December 1800 produces 65 results of which 34 are relevant. Fifteen items concern the Dudley and Ward family, twelve are bankruptcies and seven miscellaneous. Times Digital Archive: The Times Digital Archive [accessed 4 January 2025]; ProQuest Historical Newspapers. The Guardian and The Observer (1791-2003) ProQuest Historical Newspapers™ [accessed 5 January 2025]. The British Newspaper Archive increasingly picks up national newspapers and this thesis references several from the 1830s and onwards such as *The Morning Herald, The Morning Chronicle, Morning Advertiser and (Evening) Standard.*

[138] C F.G. Clark (comp. & ed.), *The Curiosities of Dudley and the Black Country from 1800 to 1860 etc.* (Birmingham, 1881).

[139] Clark was politically active in Dudley at this time which might explain why he had so much material relating to this event. He also collected material retrospectively, dating from the time before he moved to Dudley. Clark, *The Curiosities of Dudley and the Black Country*, pp. 202-213. More biographical detail about Clark is given in appendix 1, A10.

Concomitantly, as well as the five items they have in common, the DALHS has a further six items (excluding duplicates). This comparison shows that Clark is invaluable for reproducing important items of ephemera that are no longer extant but, where possible, it is preferable to have other sources to help make sense of Clark's sometimes wayward arrangement.

Also useful, and first published shortly before Clark's collection, are *Blocksidge's Almanacks*, but they too require cautious use.[140] Although they were produced after the period of this thesis, the printer, Edwin Blocksidge, was interested in local history and reproduced many items of historical interest. For some, where the originals have been lost, the almanacks are now the only available primary source. Blocksidge was closely connected with the Mechanics Institution and the almanacks are particularly useful for providing a history of that institution, apparently based on minute books that are no longer available.[141] It was probably his connection to the Institution that enabled Blocksidge to reproduce some of their collection of political posters.[142] Unfortunately, most of the articles in the almanacks are anonymous and difficult to corroborate. One particular article that has misled historians is an apparent history of Dudley

[140] The title altered slightly over the years, but *Blocksidge's Almanacks* ran without a break from 1879 to the First World War, although the proprietor, Edwin Blocksidge, died in 1909. *Blocksidge's Illustrated Dudley Almanack, Diary and Directory* (Dudley, 1879-1915). Copies of the early years are scarce, but they contained comparatively little local information. Edwin Blocksidge was closely connected to the Mechanics Institution (in 1897 he was the Honorary Secretary of 'The Institute' as it was then called) and this probably gave him access to many of the political handbills that were subsequently transferred to Dudley Borough's Reference Library. *Blocksidge's Illustrated Dudley Almanack, Diary and Directory 1898* (Dudley, c, 1898), plate opposite p. 86 and *1902* (Dudley, c. 1902), pp.36-53.

[141] E. Blocksidge, revised by E. Hollier … and others, 'History of the Dudley Mechanics' Institution, afterwards called "the Dudley Institute"', in *Blocksidge's Illustrated Dudley Almanack, Diary and Directory, 1905* (Dudley, c. 1905), pp. 73-105, with plates, and concluded the following year: *Blocksidge's Illustrated Dudley Almanack, Diary and Directory, 1906* (Dudley, c. 1906), pp. 45-59.

[142] See, for instance, *Blocksidge's Illustrated Dudley Almanack, Diary and Directory, 1902* (Dudley, c. 1902), pp. 38-50.

Working Men's Institute, which states that the president of this institute was Samuel Quartus Cook (that is, the son of Samuel Cook, the well-known radical).[143] On the strength of this anonymous article and, it seems, little else, S.Q. Cook was given an entry of his own in *Dictionary of Labour Biography*.[144] However, the article from the almanack, which was published forty years after the events it describes, and nine years after the death of S.Q. Cook, is contradicted by contemporary accounts which indicate that the president of the Institute was Samuel Cook, senior. In these accounts, the president is usually named simply as 'Samuel Cook' but two newspapers described him as 'Samuel Cook, sen'.[145] A report on a meeting of the Dudley Working Men's Institute, presumably by Daniel Wallwork, the secretary, described Cook, its president, as 'the oldest Reformer in the town'.[146] Furthermore, the death of the older man in November 1861 proved the end of any Cook involvement in the Institute (chapter 7). Unlike more frequent publications, where readers could point out mistakes and ask for corrections, annual almanacks were difficult to correct.

The writings of Thomas Parkin form one printed source that has been largely ignored by historians of Dudley. He was a London radical who lived in Dudley in the early 1830s and was also a member of the Birmingham Political Union. Parkin took part in 'the war of the unstamped' as editor of a radical journal, *The Christian Corrector*, which contains several references to the political situation

---

[143] 'Working Men's Institute', in *Blocksidge's Illustrated Dudley Almanack etc., 1899* (Dudley, Blocksidge, c. 1899), pp. 121-123.
[144] J. Rowley & E. Taylor, 'Cook, Samuel Quartus (1822-90), Chartist' in J.M. Bellamy & J. Saville (eds.), *Dictionary of Labour Biography, Volume VI* (London & Basingstoke, 1982), p. 69.
[145] *The Birmingham Daily Post,* 14 December 1860, p. 4; *The Advertiser, Brierley Hill and Stourbridge Gazette,* 15 December 1860, p. 3.
[146] There is a mistake, in that Cook's initials are given as 'W.S.' rather than simply 'S.', but it is clear that the reference is to the older man. *The National Reformer,* 16 March 1861, p. 3.

in Dudley (chapters 3 and 4). A pamphlet by Parkin*, An Address to the Strange Folks at Dudley*, is important because it shows him castigating Dudley's moderate reformers.[147] He published it himself, probably in a very short print run, and it is extant only as a badly damaged copy at DALHS, thus highlighting the fragility of such ephemera. Another under-used source, from the opposite political and religious tradition, is the oeuvre of the Reverend Luke Booker, which includes sermons, prayers, poetry and a well-respected history of Dudley Castle. One example of an important manuscript source not mentioned by other researchers is the record of the Dudley church rates case at the Court of Arches kept in Lambeth Palace Archives (chapter 6).[148] Similarly, property deeds relating to High Street Dudley, now at the Black Country Living Museum, have not been utilised by other researchers. These show that Cook's shop remained the property of his wealthy father-in-law, George Jones, until the latter's death in 1844.[149] The property was then secured by various members of Cook's family ahead of a public auction.[150]

Reports, surveys and censuses provide invaluable information. Two dating from 1851 are particularly relevant. Firstly, the report of William Lee's enquiry into the state of Dudley's sanitation gives the most authoritative description of Dudley's

[147] T. Parkin, *An Address to the Strange Folks at Dudley, who, by a Monstrous Perversion of Language Call themselves Real Reformers…* (London, 1833).
[148] Lambeth Palace Library (LPL), Arches, H532/1-29, Court of Arches, Nineteenth Century case papers, Baker and Downing v Wood, 1835.
[149] The Black Country Living Museum (BCLM), 1988/2008/025-027, Papers relating to F.W. Cook Limited, 1779-1844.
[150] It seems likely that Cook was long estranged from his father-in-law, but Cook's children were beneficiaries of Cook's marriage settlement, and this was repeated in the terms of their grandfather's will. Thus, the shop where they lived was secure when Cook went bankrupt in January 1843. This helps to explain how he was quickly able to set up a partnership with his eldest son and return to trading. The deeds suggest that Cook was more securely middle-class than other historians acknowledge. BCLM, 1988/2008/025-027.

living conditions in this period.[151] However, enquiries like this may have had some inbuilt bias, especially if they were part of a wider agenda. Lee was one of the inspectors appointed by Edwin Chadwick and may well have been predisposed to find in favour of Dudley's adopting the 1848 Public Health Act.[152] Secondly, the census of religious worship provides the best available data about the comparative strength of organised religion in mid-nineteenth-century Dudley.[153] It gives a snapshot of attendances at places of worship on one particular Sunday.[154] Christian groups emphasised that it was Mothering Sunday when attendances were often lower than normal but that was true for all churches, so the results can be taken as a rough indication of the relative strengths of the different denominations.[155] The attendance figures were collected by people from the places of worship and, beginning with contemporary critics, the accuracy of the attendance figures has been challenged.[156] Also, the number of attendances does not equate with the number of worshippers, because in the many places of

---

[151] W. Lee, *Report to the General Board of Health on a Preliminary Inquiry into the Sewerage, Drainage and Supply of Water, and the Sanitary Condition of the Inhabitants of the Parish of Dudley in the County of Worcester* (London, 1852).

[152] Edwin Chadwick was a civil servant and a major force behind the introduction of the 1848 Public Health Act. P. Mandler, 'Chadwick, Sir Edwin (1800-1890), social reformer and civil servant', *ODNB,* (published 23 September 2004, version 3 January 2008), Chadwick, Sir Edwin (1800–1890), social reformer and civil servant | Oxford Dictionary of National Biography [accessed 1 February 2025]; D. Gladstone, 'Introduction' in E. Chadwick, *Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Great Britain* (reprint of 1842 ed. with new introduction, London, 1997), pp. v-xv; C. Hamlin, *Public Health and Social Justice in the Age of Chadwick: Britain, 1800-1854* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 282-289.

[153] The 1851 religious census was the only such census of religious attendances ever attempted. Great Britain, *Census of Great Britain, 1851. Religious Worship. England and Wales. Report and Tables* (London, 1853). Appendix 3 gives tables and charts summarising the census's findings for Dudley.

[154] The small Jewish synagogue filled in its returns on the Saturday, the day before everyone else.

[155] Mothering Sunday is the fourth Sunday in Lent, the period before Easter. It was traditionally, the Sunday when Christians returned to their mother church. By extension, it became a favoured day for visiting family.

[156] K.D.M. Snell and Paul Ell have made a detailed assessment of the census and discuss the criticisms levelled against it, but they affirm the 'basic accuracy of the source'. K.D.M. Snell and P.S. Ell, *Rival Jerusalems: the geography of Victorian religion* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 35-53.

worship which had two or more services on Sunday, it is likely that a proportion of the worshippers went to more than one of the services.[157] In his detailed analysis of the census returns for Worcestershire, John Aitken highlights differences within the Black Country and the difficulty of census analysis for Dudley because it was a sub-district of '37,000 people' that was not further subdivided.[158] However, another difficulty he found with Dudley – namely, that the thirty-three places of worship could not all be placed in a particular community – has been resolved by the research for this thesis which has located each place of worship to a small area, if not an exact location.[159] In his analysis, Aitken uses the concept of an 'index of attendance' developed by K.S. Inglis.[160] This is derived by expressing total attendances as a percentage of population. Its chief advantage is that it can be used for comparisons, both between denominations and across geographical areas, and it has been adopted for this study.[161] The most notable feature of Dudley's results was that Anglicans accounted for only a quarter of total attendances, whilst Methodists, taken together, accounted for nearly a half.[162]

---

[157] Horace Mann, the civil servant in overall charge of the census, made this point in his report to parliament: H. Mann, *Census of Great Britain, 1851. Religious Worship. England and Wales. Report and Tables* (London, 1853), p. clii.
[158] J. Aitken (ed.), *Census of Religious Worship, 1851. The Returns for Worcestershire*, Worcestershire Historical Society, New series, Vol. 17 (2000), p. xxxiii.
[159] In appendix 3, the map in figure A.C.1 gives approximate locations of chapels outside the continuously built-up area of the town. The vaguest description on the schedules, 'Wesleyan Methodist, Dudley' (36 in Aitken's list) can be identified as the short-lived Wesleyan chapel at Hartshill. The street location is not known and part of Hartshill lay in Brierley Hill rather than Dudley, but the whole place covered a relatively small area. Aitken (ed.), *Census of Religious Worship, 1851*, Dudley Sub-District, p 7; *Worcestershire Chronicle,* 21 August 1850, p. 5
[160] Aitken (ed.), *Census of Religious Worship, 1851*, pp. xvi-xix; K.S. Inglis, 'Patterns of religious worship in 1851', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. 11, No. 1 (1960), pp. 74-86, especially p. 79.
[161] Table A.C.3 in appendix 3 gives the comparative indexes of attendance.
[162] Figure A.C.2 in appendix 3 shows the percentages of total attendances.

Three large groups – women, children and the working class – are poorly represented in primary sources, particularly in the earlier part of the period. Like most of Britain at this time, Dudley was predominantly a patriarchal society, but early nonconformist chapel records show that women participated in the worship and the running of the chapels.[163] Also, a rare example of women ratepayers voting in a parish poll is highlighted in chapter 6.[164] The generally low level of material relating to the working class in Dudley was probably exacerbated by its poor literacy levels, which are discussed in chapters 2 and 4. Other gaps in the primary sources include personal records such as diaries, journals or private letters. To counter this, a mixture of methods and techniques have been used to maximise the quality of the available information. Family history techniques have been applied to enhance the biographies of some of the leading players and their families. These have been particularly beneficial with the radical, Samuel Cook, the Chartist, Daniel Wallwork, and the Wood family of shopkeepers.[165]

Scarcity of records and time constraints have made it impossible to research all the political and religious factors that helped shape society in Dudley. More information about working-class attitudes to authority could have been drawn out by a detailed investigation of the results of the criminal justice system, as

---

[163] For instance, for the Methodists: DALHS, Accession number 8363, Dudley Circuit Records (i.e. Methodist), An account of the members in the Dudley Circuit (1810-1828); Walsall Local History Centre, 42/1/1, Records of Darlaston (Slater Street) Primitive Methodist circuit; minutes, 1824-1832.
For the Independent chapel: DALHS, N/C/DUD/KIN/2/1, King Street Congregational Church, including Church books etc.

[164] Appendix 2 gives more details of the women ratepayers who voted in the 1834 parish poll.

[165] For instance: J. Davies, *A large family of small shopkeepers: the Wood family of Dudley in the middle decades of the nineteenth century, conference blog (2019 available at*: 2019 Conference blogs – A large family of small shopkeepers | RetailHistory (wordpress.com) Biographical information about Cook (A12), Wallwork (A30) and the Wood family (A34) is given in appendix 1.

demonstrated by David Philips, concentrating on the Staffordshire portion of the Black Country.[166] However, no petty sessions records have been traced for Dudley before 1848 and there has not been sufficient time for an in-depth study of either the original Worcestershire Quarter Sessions records or the contemporary reports of the same in Worcestershire newspapers.[167] Regrettably, there has not been time or space to deal with many other issues in detail, including public health, education and the temperance movement. However, by studying politics and religion in Dudley, many themes have emerged that illuminate national trends or events, such as the growth of a political print culture, the battle over church rates and the persistence of anti-Catholicism. The final section explains the thesis structure and outlines the chapters.

Structure

The approach in this thesis is both chronological and thematic. The period 1815 to 1867 is broken down into three sub-periods which are studied in separate chapters. These analyse the impact of political and religious conflicts in Dudley and the inter-connections between them. They demonstrate how those conflicts related to regional and national developments, helping to illuminate what was happening on a wider stage, whilst also highlighting recurring themes. The investigation of each sub-period is followed by a case study which picks out a major theme for analysis in greater depth.

---

[166] Philips, *Crime and Authority in Victorian England,* pp. 36-37 etc.

[167] The only known Petty Sessions records for Dudley are a short run of Justices' Notebooks which begin in 1848 but are not complete. They offer significant insights into the operation of the criminal justice system at its lowest level and into the lives of those in the lowest echelons of society. They would repay greater study, but they are not easy to read, and the officiating magistrates are only identified by initials which are not always decipherable. DALHS, MDU/9/1-4, Dudley Magistrates' Court, Justices' Notebooks, 1848-1855 and 1857-1858.

The chapter outline is as follows: this introductory chapter, which has included an explanation of the purpose of the thesis and a review of the subject's historiography, is followed by chapter 2 which looks at Dudley's late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century context and analyses the dynamics of change, highlighting some of the processes that continued to mould politics and religion in Dudley, such as the rise of loyalism, problems of law and order, and the evangelical revival. Chapter 3 focuses on the period 1815 to 1832, from Waterloo to the Great Reform Act. It balances national developments in politics and religion with local actions and reactions. Key issues are the Peterloo Massacre and reaction to it, the Queen Caroline affair, government moves to increase religious toleration, and the renewed impetus for parliamentary reform. Attention is drawn to the career of the radical draper Samuel Cook. Chapter 4 is a case study of the role of print media in Dudley's political and religious controversies. It illustrates how the near monopoly of print enjoyed by the town's Tory Anglican establishment was increasingly challenged by religious and political protesters until, by the time of the heightened reform controversy in 1831/32, the print initiative was with the reformers. Chapter 5 covers the sub-period 1833 to 1850, focusing on the continuing struggle between Conservatives and Reformers in the aftermath of the 1832 Reform Act. It shows that, despite the reformers' success in the first election for the new Dudley borough, the Conservatives soon re-asserted their dominance. It then compares support within Dudley for the Anti-Corn Law League and Chartism and shows how Lord Ward began to interfere in politics and manipulate Dudley's parliamentary representation. Chapter 6 is a case study of the church rates controversy. This was a long-running affair which saw dissenters pitched

against the establishment and it is considered from the start of Cook's agitation against Anglican fees in the 1820s to the denouement of the controversy in the 1850s. Chapter 7 covers the sub-period 1851 to 1867 and focuses on political divisions within Dudley, concentrating on three main areas of activity: Dudley's emergent local government, the parliamentary constituency, and working-class politics. It highlights continuing disputes between Conservatives, Liberals and Radicals, but also reveals that circumstances brought forth new alliances. Chapter 8 is a case study of anti-Catholicism in Dudley; it serves to highlight the close connection between anti-Catholicism and anti-Irish prejudice and compares Dudley's experience of both with that of neighbouring towns. Chapter 9 is the conclusion. It draws together the themes that have been discussed and considers how well the questions posed at the beginning of this thesis have been answered. It also highlights areas that would benefit from further research. As a reference tool to support the text, appendix 1 presents biographies of the leading players in Dudley's political and religious conflicts. Appendix 2 provides details of the women ratepayers who voted in Dudley's 1834 church rates poll, appendix 3 presents results for Dudley from the 1851 censuses of religious worship and education, whilst appendix 4 gives a timeline from 1750 to 1868.

CHAPTER 2

Politics and religion in Dudley before 1815

Introduction

This chapter asks to what extent and how economic, social and political changes in Dudley before 1815 shaped the political and religious history of the town after 1815. In answering the question, the chapter begins by considering the historiography on the subject and analysing the strengths and limitations of the primary material. It then evaluates where power lay and how this was affected by the dynamics of change. It argues that economic and demographic changes altered the social structure of the town but that the effects only emerged slowly, and traditional political and religious authority largely remained intact. The chapter also considers experiences which impacted on politics and religion in Dudley, particularly loyalism, issues of law and order, and the evangelical revival. It shows how local, regional and national developments interacted in Dudley before 1815, setting the stage for the political and religious controversies that followed. Although the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries have attracted historians, few have looked at Dudley and its immediate vicinity. Dudley is an important subject for study as a long-established market and service town that was being re-defined by mining and metal trades. It was a town of contrasts with a rapidly expanding population attracted by industrial activity but still dominated by the Ward family, the lords of the manor. Local historiography of wide-ranging significance was discussed in chapter 1, but that more specific to this period is discussed below.

Historiography and primary sources

Trevor Raybould and David Brown examine the growing economic power of the Viscounts Dudley and Ward and their Dudley estate, which had both political and religious significance. Raybould shows how the Ward family used the late eighteenth-century enclosure acts to increase their regional economic power.[1] Brown looks at the role of the 2nd Viscount Dudley and Ward in developing the economy of Birmingham and the Black Country whilst noting that, politically, he was a committed Tory.[2] This chapter looks in greater depth at how power and society were structured in Dudley. In his study of 'industrial enlightenment', Peter Jones considers the evolution of 'Birmingham and the West Midlands' into a region that was integrated and had a sense of its own identity.[3] Jones names 'Wolverhampton, Stourbridge, Walsall and Dudley' as 'urban centres of some antiquity whose local economies were well placed to take advantage of the opportunities materialising in the second half of the eighteenth century'.[4] This study shows that Dudley's increasingly confident commercial class reinforced the conservative status quo. Detailed research on religion in the Black Country in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries is limited but A.G. Cumberland looks at 'Protestant nonconformity' from 1662 to 1851 whilst Roger Leese concentrates on Methodism in the Black Country.[5] This discussion builds on their

[1] T.J. Raybould, *The Economic Emergence of the Black Country: A Study of the Dudley Estate* (Newton Abbot, 1973), pp. 35-51 etc.
[2] D. Brown, 'The industrial revolution, political economy and the British aristocracy: the second Viscount Dudley and Ward as an eighteenth-century canal promoter', *The Journal of Transport History,* Vol. 27, No. 1 (March 2006), pp.1-24.
[3] P.M. Jones, *Industrial Enlightenment: Science, Technology and Culture in Birmingham and the West Midlands, 1760-1820* (Manchester, 2008), pp. 26-32.
[4] Ibid., p. 31.
[5] A.G. Cumberland, 'Protestant nonconformity in the Black Country, 1662-1851' (Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Birmingham, 1951); R. Leese, 'The impact of Methodism on Black Country society, 1743-1860' (Unpublished PhD thesis, Manchester University, 1972).

work by re-evaluating primary sources and using them to focus on one parish in greater depth. As part of his investigation into working-class politics in Dudley, George Barnsby uses coins or tokens from the 1790s to argue that 'radicalism was already firmly entrenched' in Dudley but his claims are disputed by this thesis.[6] In a comparative study of Oldham, Northampton and South Shields, John Foster looks at 'class struggle and the industrial revolution'.[7] Although they were different from Dudley, there are some parallels. For instance, South Shields became a mining centre as well as a port. Foster describes mining and shipping as 'two naturally militant industries', without explaining his observation.[8] In Dudley, in this period, there is no evidence of miners being involved in any sort of politics. In analysing Dudley's political and religious development in the decades before 1815, this chapter balances the effects of David Cannadine's 'seismic shocks' (chapter 1) with more localised changes, thus highlighting Dudley's distinctive characteristics and how they were reflected in its politics and religion.

Most of the relevant manuscript documents for this period are held by Dudley Archives and Local History Service (DALHS). They include the Dudley estate papers, the Town Commissioners' minutes and church and chapel records. The estate records mainly pertain to property and industry rather than Ward family affairs. Also preserved among the estate papers is Dudley's rate assessment book for 1787 which can be used with a parish map, from a few years earlier, to study late eighteenth-century land holdings in the parish.[9] These documents have

---

[6] G.J. Barnsby, *The Dudley Working Class Movement, 1750 to 1860* (Dudley, 1986), pp. 4-5.
[7] J. Foster, *Class Struggle and the Industrial Revolution: Early Industrial Capitalism in Three English Towns* (London, 1974).
[8] Ibid., p. 2.
[9] The surviving map is undated. If it is the one referred to by J. S. Roper, he believed it was earlier, possibly early 1780s; however, the Archives catalogue still dates it at c. 1787. Dudley Archives and

limitations. For instance, the Town Commissioners' records are better described as an 'order book', with very few accounts of discussions and, apart from noting who chaired the meeting, little evidence of who was exerting power. Personal records are limited and most relate to the privileged. There is little specific material relating to women, except those who were property holders or who featured in church and chapel records. Newspapers are an important printed source, but their coverage of Dudley is patchy. For local news, the town relied on Worcester, Birmingham and Wolverhampton newspapers.[10] Parliamentary papers provide information about transport developments and local acts of parliament, but they rarely explain what was happening in Dudley itself. The writings of Luke Booker, minister of St Edmund's in Dudley from 1789 to 1805, offer some insights and information.[11] He returned, after a few years away, to become the Vicar of Dudley in 1812. Although his conservative political views attracted criticism, Booker was an important cultural figure, well-read in matters of science and industry, an early advocate of inoculating children with 'cow pox', and a campaigner against cruelty to animals. He wrote poetry which he used to raise his own profile and ingratiate himself with the landed gentry. His apparent attempt to combine poetry with science in *The Hop Garden* was dismissed as 'Darwinian' and lampooned in *The Anti-Jacobin*

Local History Service (DALHS), DE/4/9/6, The Earl of Dudley Estate Collection, Estate records, Poor rate assessment of the parish of Dudley, with plan, 1787; DE/16/3/2, The Earl of Dudley Estate Collection. Maps and plans, Map of the parish of Dudley, c. 1787; J.S. Roper, *Dudley: The Town in the Eighteenth Century* (Dudley, 1968), p. 26 and note 54.

[10] These were chiefly: *Berrow's Worcester Journal, Aris's Birmingham Gazette* and *The Wolverhampton Chronicle.* Despite some short-lived efforts in the 1850s, it was 1863 before a successful local newspaper was based in Dudley, namely *The Dudley Guardian.* There are no extant copies before July 1869 but some of its items were reprinted in other newspapers.

[11] Booker was also head of Dudley Grammar School from 1794 to 1806. T. Raybould, *Dudley Grammar School, 1562-1975* (Southampton, 2010), pp. 35-39.

Review.[12] The sermons, prayers and poetry, which form the bulk of his work before 1815, can be sifted to show Booker's views on matters of the day, the state of society, the benefits of social order and the role of government. They show that Booker used religion to reinforce both the existing social hierarchy and the rule of law.[13] However, Booker's writings are from an Anglican perspective, and no one in Dudley in the late eighteenth century published work from opposing religious or political viewpoints. Using these sources, the following sections evaluate where power lay in Dudley, beginning with economic power before looking at demographic and social changes.

Economic power

Industrial development in Dudley affected its economy and society and, therefore, also its politics and religion. The main determinant of Dudley's industry was its position on the South Staffordshire coalfield, which provided the essential mineral resources for ironmaking: iron, coal and limestone for flux. A smith was amongst Dudley's sixteen inhabitants recorded in the Domesday Book, and mediaeval sources refer to mining and allied industry.[14] Local eye-witness accounts in the seventeenth century contended that the major division of its labour force was between metal workers, especially nailers, and miners.[15] This remained

---

[12] 'Darwinian' referred to Erasmus Darwin, the poet, a favourite target of *The Anti-Jacobin Review*. L. Booker, *The Hop-garden: A Didactic Poem* (Newport, 1798); 'Poetry, Art. XVI, The Hop-Garden; a didactic poem. By Luke Booker, LL.D etc', *The Anti-Jacobin Review and Magazine,* Vol. IV (December 1799), pp. 537-542.
[13] L. Booker, *Doctrinal and Practical Illustrations of the Litany, of the United Church of England and Ireland, including the Lord's Prayer, to which are added Admonitory Prayers calculated for Family and Private Use* (London, 1807).
[14] F. & C. Thorn (eds.), *Domesday Book: Worcestershire* (Chichester, 1982), 23.10; J.W. Willis Bund (ed.), *The Inquisitiones Post Mortem for the County of Worcester, Part 1,* Worcestershire Historical Society (Oxford, 1894), p. 35.
[15] R. Baxter, *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ: or, Mr Richard Baxter's Narrative of the Most Memorable Passages of his Life and Times* (London, 1696), p. 14; T. Habington, *A Survey of Worcestershire, Vol. 1,* J. Amphlett (ed.), the Worcestershire Historical Society (Oxford, 1893-5), pp. 17-18 & 195.

the case into the nineteenth century and was significant for Dudley's social and political experience. Although long-established, the Black Country's iron industry had been retarded by insufficient power and transport difficulties. Technological refinements in the later decades of the eighteenth century helped to alleviate shortage of fuel and power.[16]

Addressing the lack of suitable transportation for moving large quantities of industrial material necessitated the participation of the largest landowners. One of these was the Ward family, Dudley's local aristocrats and the most powerful family in the Black Country.[17] Their power was derived from a peerage, landownership, feudal rights, mineral resources, industrial activity and patronage in the Church of England. Although they owned property in other parts of the country, and abroad, the Wards' interests were centred on the Black Country with holdings which lay between Wombourne and Rowley Regis, including 921 acres in Dudley parish.[18] The 1787 Dudley rate assessment book shows the Wards' dominance as landowners, with almost a quarter of the book taken up by the holdings of Viscount Dudley and Ward, or 'Lord Dudley' as he was known. Most of that land was leased out. His half-brother, William, also owned land in the parish which was not rented

[16] For instance, James Watt made steam power more effective with the first commercial Boulton and Watt steam engine being installed at Bloomfield colliery, Tipton in 1776, whilst in the 1780s, two processes patented by Henry Cort, rolling (1783) and what became known as 'puddling' (1784) meant that coal-based refining could produce better iron, in greater quantities, although the Midlands was slower to adopt puddling than some other ironworking areas. *Aris's Birmingham Gazette,* 11 March 1776, p. 3; R. Hayman, *Ironmaking: The History and Archaeology of the Iron Industry* (Stroud, 2005), pp. 46-63.

[17] Baron Ward became the 1st Viscount Dudley and Ward in 1763. The heads of the family from then, up to 1815 were: John Ward, 1st Viscount Dudley and Ward (1704-1774), John Ward, 2nd Viscount Dudley and Ward (1725-1788) and William Ward, 3rd Viscount Dudley and Ward (1750-1823). More biographical information and the Ward's family tree are given in appendix 1, A32. H.M. Light and M. Campbell-Curtis, 'Dudley', in J. W. Willis-Bund and W. Page (eds.), *The Victoria History of the County of Worcester*, Vol. III (London, 1913), pp. 90-105, especially p. 94.

[18] The data is based on 1824 survey figures. Raybould, *The Economic Emergence of the Black Country*, p. 93.

out.[19] The Wards' traditional seat was Dudley Castle, close to the town, but they increasingly preferred their country house, Himley Hall, which was rebuilt and its gardens landscaped during the eighteenth century.[20] After the castle suffered a major fire in 1750, they made no attempt to live there again, thus distancing themselves physically from the townspeople whilst they increased their own economic and social standing.[21] The head of the Ward family remained Dudley's lord of the manor and the court leet, one of the archaic local bodies, was subservient to him, whilst retaining the power to elect a few local officials, chief of whom was the mayor of Dudley. Ward also owned the market tolls and much of the market place, including the town hall. Amongst other Anglican patronage, the Wards held the advowson for Dudley's parish church and their power in relation to the Church of England was highlighted during the rebuilding of St Thomas's in 1818.[22]

Although he did not always support the government of the day, the 2nd Viscount (1725-1788) was a Tory, keen to uphold law and order in the Dudley region, whilst being paternalistic in his approach to the living standards of local people. He also appreciated that government policy was not necessarily good for

[19] DALHS, DE/4/9/6, The Earl of Dudley Estate Collection, Estate records, Poor rate assessment of the parish of Dudley, with plan, 1787, pp. 10-30 & 80-81.
[20] D. Brown, 'Ward, John, second Viscount Dudley and Ward (1725–1788), industrialist and politician', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (published 23 September 2004, version, 3 October 2013), https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-57563 [accessed 5 January 2025].
[21] E. Chitham, *The Story of Dudley* (Stroud, 2014), p. 99.
[22] Although the 3rd Viscount was a generous donor towards the new church, he also behaved despotically, using an ancient feudal right to claim that he owned the chancel and insisting on the organ being moved from there, despite having apparently passed the plans in advance. DALHS, PR/17/3/7/3, Parish of Dudley, St Thomas, The re-building of St Thomas's Church, Account of William Brooks, architect for the re-building of the Church, 1814-1820, 3-18 January 1818; DALHS PR/17/3/7/4, Parish of Dudley, St Thomas, Order book of the Trustees for re-building St Thomas's, 1815-1837, 6 January and 17 September 1818.

his local area and although he backed the war with the American colonies in 1775, 'he deplored … the Decline of Trade; and in particular he lamented the Hardships the Nailors began already to feel'.[23] Brown argues that Ward was committed to improving agriculture and food supply and was aware of the likelihood of bread riots when food was scarce. Consequently, he promoted mixed arable rotation to increase food production and, for the same purpose, kept land in agriculture rather than turning it to more profitable pasture.[24] By 1833, although still considerable, the Wards' income from agricultural rents had been surpassed by that from their mineral and industrial undertakings.[25] The family, therefore, had many tenants in both the agricultural and industrial sectors over whom they had a high degree of influence.

The 2nd Viscount carried out two policies that had significant effects on the social and power structure of the southern part of the Black Country: transport improvements and enclosure acts. The area south of the Dudley ridge, where the Wards had major holdings, was being by-passed by transport developments to the north (figure 2,1). Ward invested in turnpike roads and used his influence in parliament to promote canal building. The improved communications benefited Dudley town, particularly when the Stourbridge and Dudley canals were finished in December 1779. Then, in 1792, a tunnel under the Dudley ridge linking the Dudley canal to the Birmingham canal at Tipton meant that the Dudley area finally had a

[23] Before the American rebellion, Britain's North American colonies had provided by far the biggest overseas market for British nails. The American War of Independence also disrupted Britain's trade with other colonies which normally imported large numbers of nails: P.W. King, 'The iron trade in England and Wales 1500-1815: the charcoal iron industry and its transition to coke' (Unpublished PhD thesis, Wolverhampton University, 2003), pp. 258-261; *Aris's Birmingham Gazette,* 20 November 1775, p. 2.
[24] Brown, 'The industrial revolution, political economy and the British aristocracy', p. 11.
[25] Raybould, *The Economic Emergence of the Black Country* p. 96.

direct link to both the Severn and Birmingham.[26] The chief beneficiary was Ward's Dudley estate. The Dudley canal, which mainly ran along the 'ten-yard' coal seam was ideally positioned for exploiting the estate's mineral holdings.[27] According to Raybould, up to 1833, 'a considerable proportion of the Dudley estate's industrial enterprise developed along the line of this canal'.[28]

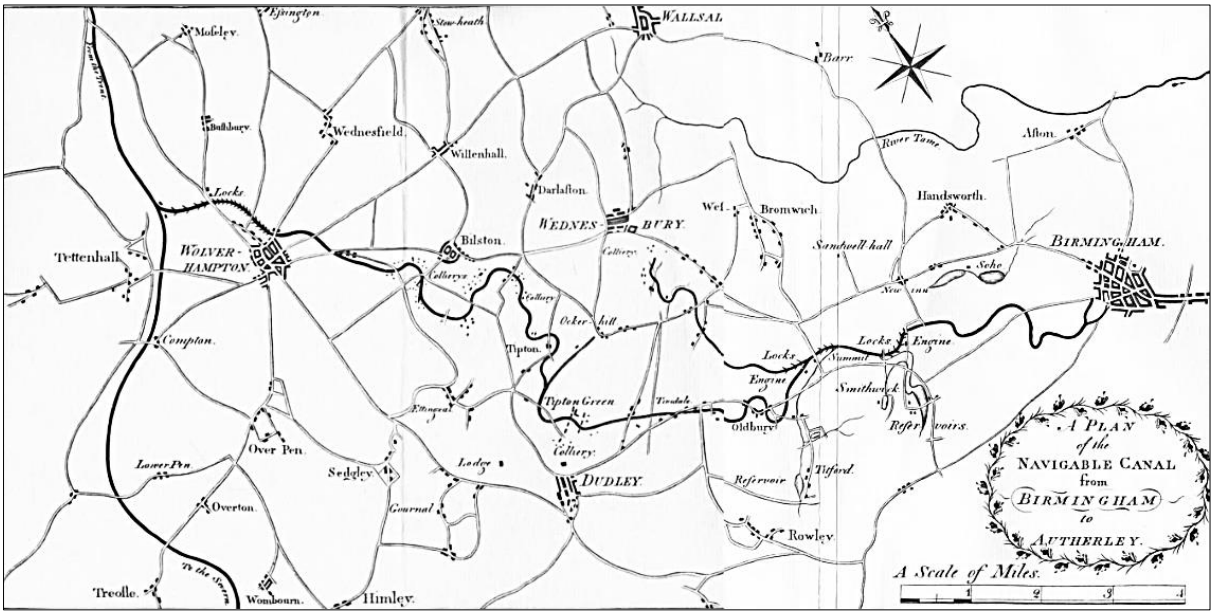


Figure 2.1. **A plan of the navigable canal from Birmingham to Autherley, c. 1783.**[29]

In close association with their transport policy, the Viscounts Dudley and Ward were involved in five enclosure acts between 1776 and 1799, which increased the area of their holdings and their mineral rights.[30] They did particularly well in those areas where they were Lords of the Manor, as in Dudley and

[26] C. Hadfield, *The Canals of the West Midlands,* 2nd ed. (Newton Abbot, 1969), pp. 75-80.
[27] For instance, it was written into the act that coal immediately beside the canal, much of which was Ward's, would be transported at a lower rate. Raybould, *The Economic Emergence of the Black Country,* pp. 58-60.
[28] Raybould, *The Economic Emergence of the Black Country,* p. 60.
[29] J. Snape, *A Plan of the Navigable Canal from Birmingham to Autherley,* in W. Hutton, *An History of Birmingham*, 2nd ed., (Birmingham, 1783), fold-out map, opposite p. 266.
[30] Raybould, *The Economic Emergence of the Black Country,* pp. 35-36.

Kingswinford. Raybould points out that the parliamentary bills were drawn up to be favourable to the Viscount, the commissioners overseeing them came from the Midlands and may have treated him sympathetically, and the secretaries to the commissioners were his agents. Enclosure within a specified area abolished the ancient, open field system of farming, together with the villagers' access to commons, and re-allocated land. Frank Sharman claims that it was done to increase the efficiency of farming.[31] The first enclosure overseen by the 2nd Viscount Dudley and Ward, Ashwood Hay, Kingswinford (1776) was mainly of agricultural significance.[32] It has been argued that enclosure exacerbated rural poverty.[33] If poor people were granted any land in the enclosure allotments, their allocation was often so small to be unviable for subsistence, whilst those with the smallest allocations bore a disproportionate amount of the costs, such as the requirement to fence it in.[34] Moving beyond agriculture, the enclosure acts for Pensnett Chase and Dudley Wood in 1784 were extremely important for the development of mining and industry in the area.[35] Sharman mentions the Dudley enclosures as examples of the mineral rights being secured separately.[36] Raybould and Brown evaluate the Wards' role in developing the region, but Barnsby is condemnatory, numbering the Viscounts Dudley and Ward amongst 'the robber barons of the industrial revolution'.[37] Barnsby argues that they secured

---

[31] F.A. Sharman, 'An introduction to the Enclosure Acts', *The Journal of Legal History*, Vol. 10, No. 1 (May 1989), pp. 45-70, especially p. 46.
[32] Raybould, *The Economic Emergence of the Black Country,* pp. 35-42.
[33] Sharman, 'An introduction to the Enclosure Acts', pp. 66-67.
[34] Enclosure speeded up an already existing trend for agriculture to be organised in larger units. Sharman, 'An introduction to the Enclosure Acts', p. 67.
[35] Raybould, *The Economic Emergence of the Black Country,* pp. 35-51.
[36] Sharman, 'An introduction to the Enclosure Acts', p. 68.
[37] G.J. Barnsby, Review of T.J. Raybould, *The Economic Emergence of the Black Country. A Study of the Dudley Estate* (Newton Abbot, 1973), *The Economic History Review,* Vol. 27, No. 3 (August 1974), pp. 475-476, especially p. 475.

their own fortune 'with unbelievable effrontery' and 'banditry' in four enclosure acts.[38] The Wards certainly increased their own wealth, but they also stimulated growth in the local economy which affected the demographic and social structure of Dudley. In the later decades of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the Ward family was weakened by family rifts and a shortage of male heirs. John, the 2nd Viscount Dudley and Ward, was alienated from his half-brother William, who was the next male in line of succession and therefore heir to the Dudley estate. John established a separate fortune for his illegitimate daughter, Anna Maria and when she married the landowner and industrialist Sir Horace St Paul in 1803, he gained control of her 772-acre estate in the Dudley area.[39] The economic stimulus provided by the Wards and their associates attracted migrants looking for opportunities and employment. How the resultant population growth affected the area's power dynamics is evaluated in the next section.

The impact of demographic and social change

Before the census of 1801, Dudley's population figures can only be studied from estimates. The figure usually quoted for the 1780s is '2000 families'.[40] Estimates for the second half of the eighteenth century by C.M. Hall have been used to calculate the rate of increase of Dudley's population from 1750 (table 2.1).[41] The estimates suggest that the population of Dudley grew by 106% in the

[38] Ibid., p. 475.
[39] D. Brown, 'Ward, John, 2nd Viscount Dudley and Ward (1725–1788), industrialist and politician', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (published 23 September 2004, version 3 October 2013), http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/57563 [accessed 2 September 2024].
[40] T.R. Nash, *Collections for the History of Worcestershire,* Vol. 1 (London, 1781-1782), p. 360; M. Ransome (ed.), *The State of the Bishopric of Worcester, 1782-1808,* Worcestershire Historical Society, New series, Vol. 6 (1968), p. 37.
[41] C.M. Hall, 'Sources for urban history, 4. Some notes on the urban population of England and Wales in the eighteenth century', *The Local Historian,* Vol. 10, No. 1, February 1972, pp. 13-26, especially p. 26.

fifty years prior to 1800 whilst the censuses show that the rate of growth in the fifty years after 1800 was 268% (table 2.1).[42] The eighteenth-century population figures indicate how the population of what had been a small market town was expanded by migration, with consequences for changing the social structure and local power dynamics.

Table 2.1. Population figures for Dudley c. 1750-1871.[43]

Date	Population – estimated before 1801	Percentage change over preceding quarter century
1750	5,000	n/a
1775	8,000	+37.5%
1801	10,107	+22.4%

Date	Population	Decennial percentage increase or decrease
1801	10,107	n/a
1811	13,925	+35.1%
1821	18,211	+30.8%
1831	23,043	+26.5%
1841	31,232	+35.5%
1851	37,962	+21.5%
1861	44,975	+18.5%
1871	43,791	-2.6%

[42] The latter percentage is based on the 1851 census for Dudley which gave its population as 37,962. 'Census of Great Britain, 1851. Population Tables', *Command Papers*, Paper No. 1631 (1852-53) Table 42, p. cxxvii.

[43] The data was gathered from various sources and analysed as part of the research for this thesis. Whilst there are fluctuations in the rate of population increase, there are clear peaks at the start of the nineteenth century and again in the 1830s. From 1841 the rate of increase slowed down and the population showed a slight decrease in the 1860s. The estimates for 1750 and 1775 are by C.M. Hall. The figures for 1801-1871 are taken from the censuses and they are for Dudley parish as a whole. The town was not recorded separately. C.M. Hall, 'Sources for urban history, 4. Some notes on the urban population of England and Wales in the eighteenth century', *The Local Historian,* Vol. 10, No. 1, February 1972, pp. 13-26, especially p. 26; 'Abstract of the answers and returns made pursuant to … an Act for taking Account of the Population of Great Britain …, Enumeration, Part I … 1801', *House of Commons Papers,* Paper No. 9 (1801-02). p. 395;

An analysis of Dudley's parish marriage registers for this period provides evidence of social change. Five-yearly samples between 1770 and 1815 document the number of marriages and the proportion of newlyweds who signed their name in the register. The results show that the number of marriages rose steeply in the early decades of the nineteenth century which both corroborates the rise in population and reinforces Booker's arguments, which are discussed below, that the Church of England needed enlarged capacity to prevent the growing population drifting off to nonconformist chapels (table 2.2) The results also show the proportion of newlyweds who did not sign their names compared with the estimated average for England.[44]

''Abstract of the answers and returns made pursuant to … An Act for taking an Account of the Population of Great Britain … Enumeration Abstract, Vol. I, 1831', *House of Commons Papers,* Paper No. 149 (1833). p. 714; 'Census of Great Britain, 1851. Population Tables. I … Vol. I', *Command Papers,* Paper No. 1631 (1852-53), p. cxxvii (this gives figures for 1801-1851 but there are some discrepancies with earlier reports); 'Census of England and Wales … 1861, Population Tables, Vol. I', *Command Papers,* Paper No. 3056 (1862), pp. xxii & 795; 'Census of England and Wales 1871, Population Abstracts, Vol. III', *Command Papers,* Paper No. C.872 (1873), p. 290.

[44] The advantages and disadvantages of using this as a measure of literacy are discussed further in chapter 4.

Table 2.2. Marriages in Dudley, 1770 to 1815: sample survey showing the proportion of newlyweds who signed the register, together with national comparisons.[45]

	Total number of marriages	Man & woman both signed	Man signed but woman did not	Woman signed but man did not	Neither signed the register	Percent-age of Dudley men not signing	England: estimated percent-age of men unable to sign	Percent-age of Dudley women not signing	England: estimated percent-age of women unable to sign
1770	63	5	21	1	19	31.7	41	63.5	62
1775	33	6	6	1	20	63.6	40	78.8	63
1780	52	11	19	1	21	42.3	40	76.9	61
1785	68	18	16	2	32	50	39	70.6	61
1790	66	16	6	3	41	66.7	40	71.2	60
1795	58	8	14	5	31	62.1	37	77.6	59
1800	70	11	18	3	38	58.6	38	80	56
1805	118	21	28	11	58	58.5	39	72.9	58
1810	189	32	37	14	106	63.5	40	75.7	57
1815	242	26	42	5	169	71.9	39	87.2	57

The sample figures fluctuate, but there are clear findings. Firstly, far fewer women signed their names than did men. Secondly, there is only one instance of the Dudley percentage of non-signing being below the estimated average for England

[45] The sampling for this research was based on data extracted from Dudley's parish registers at five yearly intervals, which were then compared with estimated annual percentages for England from research done by R.S. Schofield. DALHS, PR17/1/2, Church of England records, Dudley, St Thomas, marriage registers, 1770-1791, 1791-1808, 1808-1812, 1813-1818; R.S. Schofield, 'Dimensions of illiteracy, 1750-1850', *Explorations in Economic History,* Vol. 10, No. 4 (Summer 1973), pp. 437-454, figure 2, p. 445. Unfortunately, Schofield presents his findings as a graph, and it is difficult to extract exact figures for particular years.

and that is Dudley's men at the start of the sample period. Thirdly, in 1810 and 1815, the years that show the greatest increase in numbers of weddings, which probably reflects population growth, the non-signing rates went up significantly, suggesting that immigration into Dudley increased the poorer and poorly educated classes disproportionately. This is original research and could be built on, particularly looking at the continuing unequal access to education for men and women but also comparative studies of neighbouring parishes would illustrate if the results for Dudley were typical of the Black Country.

Another indicator of Dudley's economic and social experience is given by its occupational breakdown. There are no detailed figures before the censuses in the mid-nineteenth century, but from 1813 the Anglican baptismal records included the father's occupation, and the registers for 1813 have been analysed to provide a snapshot of the commonest occupations in Dudley (figure 2.2).

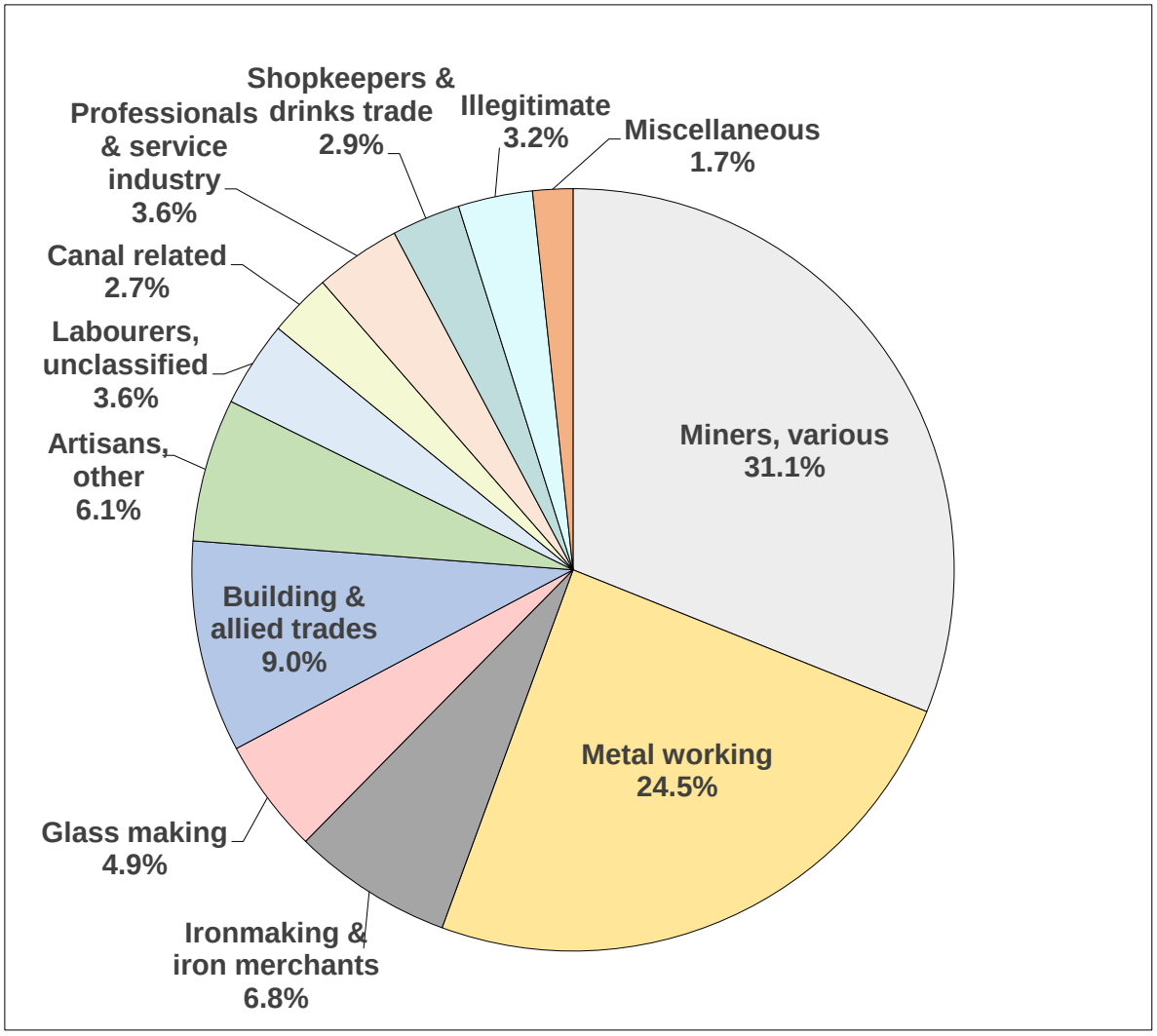


Figure 2.2. Occupations, broadly categorised, of fathers from Dudley presenting children for baptism at the parish church in 1813, together with illegitimacy figures.[46]

The results from the baptismal registers show that the major division of the work force was between miners and the iron trade. Miners formed the largest

[46] This research took the fathers' occupations from Dudley's baptismal register for 1813. The occupations have been sorted into broad categories. Some occupations were hard to interpret and there is some overlap between the categories. 'Artisans, other' comprises artisans who have not been counted under metal working, building or glass making. Fathers who presented more than one child for baptism have only been counted once and men who lived outside the parish have not been included. This results in a sample size of 412. DALHS, PR17/1/1, Parish of Dudley, St Thomas: Baptisms, 1813-1816, data from 1813.

single category, but they were equalled by the metal trade, that is ironmaking and metal working taken together. Mining and the metal industry dwarfed all the other categories. The 1813 parish registers suggest that the glass industry, which had been important in the eighteenth century, now accounted for relatively few men. The comparatively large proportion engaged in building and allied trades may reflect the rapid growth of the town. Shopkeepers, and 'white collar workers' only formed a comparatively low percentage of the total, reinforcing the view that the middle classes were numerically small. This research also indicates that there was a large proportion of poor people, with nailers and general labourers making up 15.8% of the sample.[47] As a further indication that two occupations dominated the town, miners and nailers together formed 43.2% of the whole. Taken together, the demographic and occupational data suggest that the greatest change in Dudley was a large influx of migrants, with low educational attainments, going into low-skilled or semi-skilled jobs, and this had economic, social and political ramifications. Coal production and the iron industry were closely aligned and a depression in one often caused a depression in the other, leaving the lower classes in Dudley over-exposed to the cyclical depressions of the early nineteenth century. Dudley's large workforce of miners had a natural affinity with miners across the Black Country. Although, as noted above, there is no evidence that they were radicalised in this period, industrial unrest could spread across the coalfield and draw in other groups.[48]

[47] The figures were fifty-six nailers and twenty-six unclassified labourers. DALHS, PR17/1/1, Parish of Dudley, St Thomas: Baptisms, 1813-1816, data from 1813.
[48] For instance, disturbances in summer 1793 involved miners and nailers. *Sheffield Register,* 21 June 1793, p. 3; *Ipswich Journal,* 22 June 1793, p. 2.

Questions of law and order are closely related to power dynamics and politics, not least because of the power and authority wielded by local magistrates and other figures of authority (chapters 3 and 5). The administration of justice was carried out by various individuals and bodies. The Manor Court continued hearing minor disputes and small claims up to the middle of the nineteenth century.[49] Although under the aegis of the Lord of the Manor, the court was administered by his Steward who had legal training.[50] Policing was traditionally the responsibility of the parish constable. The position was elected and unpaid, but the constable could claim expenses and was expected to liaise with the local magistrates.[51] In Dudley the constable was appointed by the court leet. By 1791, the standard of 'watching' was deemed inadequate and it was one of the reasons given for needing the Dudley Town Act of that year (discussed below).[52] The themes that emerge from this early part of the study are of a society in flux with power diffused amongst various groups and individuals. The next section looks at how economic, social and political changes affected the middle classes.

The growth of mining and metalworking in the Dudley area gave potential entrepreneurs more opportunities. Although numerically small, the business and

[49] DALHS, DE/3/3/1/28, The Earl of Dudley Estate Collection, Manorial Records, Dudley, Court Book for the Manor of Dudley, 1798-1866.
[50] The Steward had been the Dudley estate's main agent until the appointment as agent of a non-lawyer in 1823, resulting in the two posts being separated. The Steward was subsequently drawn from the Bourne family of Dudley solicitors for three generations. Raybould draws attention to the necessary change of policy but there may be confusion as to which member of the Bourne family was appointed. Raybould names him as Joseph Bourne but it was his father, James Bourne who became Steward in 1823. DALHS, DE/3/3/1/28; Raybould, *The Economic Emergence of the Black Country,* p. 226.
[51] G. Woolnough, 'Parish constables' in J. Turner et al (eds.) *A Companion to the History of Crime and Criminal Justice* (Bristol, 2017), pp. 165-166.
[52] An Act for better Paving, Cleansing, Lighting, Watching, and otherwise improving the Town of Dudley in the County of Worcester, and for better Supplying the said Town with Water, 1791 (31 Geo III, cap 79), title page.

commercial classes increased their wealth and, with it, their power. Even earlier in the eighteenth century, there were those like the Finch family who were middlemen in the iron trade (ironmongers) and had become very wealthy.[53] At the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries men acting specifically as nail ironmongers also grew wealthy. The Badger family provides an example of men who began to accrue wealth as nail ironmongers and then used their money, firstly to break through into other industries and secondly to be a dominant force in Dudley's politics for half a century.[54]

Alongside industrial development, there were moves to enhance Dudley's role as a commercial centre. The Wards were the major backers of an initiative for building the Dudley Arms Hotel as a place where men could meet and transact their business but it was built with subscriptions from a wide cross-section of society, from the Wards down to men described in the schedule simply as 'shopkeeper', 'mercer' or 'chapman'.[55] Begun in 1786, it fulfilled its role as a business centre, became an important coaching inn and included the town's first 'assembly room', giving it a social and cultural role as well. By 1831/32 it had a rateable value in the town second only to Thomas Hawkes's glass works.[56] Often simply referred to as 'the Hotel', it became the power base of the conservative establishment. The town commissioners met there, it hosted the annual Court Leet and, on occasions, the magistrates used it too.[57] When required, a large window

[53] See appendix 1, A15 for biographical details of the Finch family.
[54] See appendix 1, A1 for biographical details of the Badger family.
[55] Ibid., p. 2.
[56] This was the rate levied by the Town Commissioners which only covered the town itself. DALHS, Z53, Small and miscellaneous accessions (MC), Dudley Town Rate Book, 1831-1832.
[57] The Town Commissioners' minutes invariably identify the Hotel as the venue of meetings whilst newspaper reports, such as for the committal proceedings against Arthur O'Neill in 1842 also name the Hotel as the location. DALHS, Town Commissioners' minutes, Volumes 1 & 2, 1791-1853; *The*

overlooking the Market Place proved useful for reading the Riot Act to the crowd below.[58] Katrina Navickas notes how larger inns in some towns became 'arenas of local government and justice', but even more specifically, the Dudley Arms came to symbolise Tory power.[59] A picture from the 1830s shows how the Hotel and other major buildings associated with the town's Tory and Anglican leadership dominated the landscape of the town centre as physical manifestations of the power of the establishment (figure 2.3).[60] Another major initiative, to secure an act of parliament to create Town Commissioners, is discussed in the next section.

Wolverhampton Chronicle, 30 October 1839, p. 3; 'Staffordshire magistrates. Copies of affidavits filed in the Court of Queen's Bench, on the application for a criminal information against certain magistrates of Stafford':- also, 'Copies of affidavits in answer to such application, together with a copy of the role of court made thereon', *Parliamentary Papers*, Vol. 44, No. 96 (1843).

[58]*Aris's Birmingham Gazette,* 2 May 1842, p. 2.,

[59] K. Navickas, *Protest and the Politics of Space and Place, 1789-1848* (Manchester, 2016), p.33.

[60] In later political controversies, such as accompanied the coronation of George IV in 1821, this space was contested. On that occasion, rioters attacked the Dudley Arms. C.F.G. Clark (comp. & ed.), *The Curiosities of Dudley and the Black Country from 1800 to 1860 etc.* (Birmingham, 1881), picture opposite p. 38; *Birmingham and Lichfield Chronicle,* 25 October 1821, p. 2.



Dudley town centre showing the dominance of Tory/Anglican buildings

Key: A - The Dudley Arms Hotel

B - St Thomas's parish church

C - The subscription library (run as a private club)

D - The Town Hall (owned by Viscount Dudley and Ward)

Figure 2.3. Town Hall & High Street, Dudley, 1832, artist unknown.[61]

[61] Neither the drawing, nor its original production is very sophisticated, and there are no other known sources of this picture. C.F.G. Clark (comp. & ed.), *The Curiosities of Dudley and the Black Country from 1800 to 1860 etc.* (Birmingham, 1881), picture opposite p. 38.

Town Commissioners

Dudley's growth increased population, traffic and commerce and highlighted the inadequacy of existing bodies, such as the parish vestry and court leet, for dealing with the resultant environmental problems.[62] As in other expanding towns, leading inhabitants in Dudley sought powers to establish a body of Town Commissioners with a remit for activities such as street improvements, watching, and providing a water supply.[63] Without naming the 'principal inhabitants' who were seeking change, a petition was presented to Parliament in March 1790. Worcestershire's two MPs (Dudley did not have separate representation as a borough until 1832), William Lygon and Edward Foley, were tasked with drawing up a bill and steering it through Parliament, but nothing happened.[64] However, another petition presented in February 1791 resulted in the Dudley Town Act of 1791.[65] Its preamble summarises the problems caused by rapid expansion:

> the streets and other public passages and places within the town of Dudley … are not properly paved, lighted, cleansed, or watched, and are subject to various incroachments, obstructions, nuisances and annoyances, and are in some parts narrow and incommodious for passengers and carriages; and the said town is not properly supplied with water…[66]

---

[62] For population growth see figure 2.1.
[63] 'Watch' was used in the sense of guarding or safeguarding.
[64] Great Britain, Parliament, Journals of the House of Commons (1688-1834), 5 March 1790, pp. 227-228 and 28 February 1791, p. 235.
[65] This time the two MPs appointed were Lygon and Sir Edward Littleton, one of the Staffordshire MPs. Great Britain, Parliament, *Journals of the House of Commons* (1688-1834), 21 February 1791, p. 203.
[66] Great Britain, Local and Personal act, 31 Geo III, cap 79, *an Act for better Paving, Cleansing, Lighting, Watching, and otherwise improving the Town of Dudley in the County of Worcester, and for better supplying the said Town with Water* (commonly shortened to the Dudley Town Act, 1791), p. 1.

The Act set up a body of unelected commissioners, each of whom had to meet a property qualification. Of the ten commissioners sworn in on the first day, 21 June 1791, two were Anglican clergymen, two were bankers, one was an ironmaster and one a glass manufacturer.[67] These were soon joined by some of the town's wealthier shopkeepers, including the Unitarian grocer John Twamley who had become rich as a tea dealer. In the first two years, seven out of twenty-three were either dissenters or connected to them. Thus, the commissioners were a cross-section of Dudley's wealthier middle class and included Independents and Unitarians as well as Anglicans. They were exclusive economically and socially but not on religious grounds. By the early years of the nineteenth century, the proportion of known dissenters becoming commissioners seems to have reduced. This probably reflects the comparative decline of the economic and commercial power of the Unitarians, who had been important in the local iron industry and banking in the eighteenth century. One important Unitarian was the later minister, James Hews Bransby, who was a commissioner and chaired the meetings on occasions.[68] The Town Commissioners took over some responsibilities from both the leet and the vestry. Their main enthusiasm was for widening streets, clearing the Market Place and erecting lamps, a similar pattern seen in neighbouring Wolverhampton where there were Town Commissioners from 1777.[69] The Dudley Commissioners did not achieve very much in the early decades, probably because of inertia and lack of funds. For instance, between 1791 and 1810 they discussed

[67] DALHS, Town Commissioners' Minutes, Volume 1 1791-1832, 21 June 1791.
[68] DALHS, Town Commissioners' Minutes, Volume 1 1791-1832, 8 December 1826, 22 November 1827 etc.
[69] DALHS, Town Commissioners' Minutes, Volume 1 1791-1832; F. Mason, *Wolverhampton, the Town Commissioners, 1777-1848: Their Story in their Minutes and the Files of the Wolverhampton Chronicle* (Wolverhampton, 1976), pp. 3-14.

various schemes for procuring a piped water supply to the town, but they all ended in failure, so by 1815 the town was still reliant on wells and other local sources of water.[70] The Commissioners were also slow to use the power that they had been given to appoint watchmen and it was not until 1816 that they first employed night watchmen and only in winter.[71]

There is no record of popular politics obtruding into the Town Commissioners in this period, or, indeed, before 1826 (chapter 3). The records do not show how the Town Commissioners chose new members, but Dudley's may have resembled the self-perpetuating oligarchy seen in Wolverhampton in the same period.[72] In Dudley this was challenged to good effect in the 1830s (chapter 5). The Town Commissioners before 1815 gave some men the experience of governing town life but it was not open to the lower middle classes, particularly small shopkeepers, who are the subject of the next section.

---

[70] The most ambitious scheme had been to build watercourses and several reservoirs to bring water from Roundshill, Rowley to Waddams Pool, Dudley. Parts of the scheme were begun but later abandoned and deemed to be 'inoperative'. J. Van Leerzem and B. Williams, *The History of South Staffordshire Waterworks Company, 1853-1989* (South Staffordshire Water Archives online documents, n.d.), p. 32, http://www.southstaffswaterarchives.org.uk/SSHISTRY2.pdf [accessed 28 December 2019]. Other sources of water were of greatly varying quality: there were some springs, some wells were pumped, a scheme was initiated to collect rainwater from the roof of St Thomas's, some used other 'cisterns and butts' with possibly the worst source being what was described as 'cellar water'. W. Lee, *Report to the General Board of Health on a Preliminary Inquiry into the Sewerage, Drainage and Supply of Water, and the Sanitary Condition of the Inhabitants of the Parish of Dudley in the County of Worcester* (London, 1852), pp. 43-45 & 70.

[71] In November 1827 they appointed four watchmen for the winter months and planned to discuss later if they were needed in the summer, but there is no record of a follow-up discussion. DALHS, Town Commissioners' Minutes, Volume 1, 1791-1832, 15 November 1816 and 13 & 22 November 1827; G. Chandler and I.C. Hannah, *Dudley As it Was and As it is To-day* (London, 1949), pp. 152 & 157; V.L. Davies and H. Hyde, *Dudley and the Black Country 1760 to 1860* (Dudley, 1970), p. 21.

[72] The Act setting up Dudley's Town Commissioners did not stipulate the number of commissioners or make provision for replacing men who died or became disqualified, unlike a similar improvement act establishing Town Commissioners for Wolverhampton in 1777. Mason, *Wolverhampton, the Town Commissioners,* pp. 1-2.

Some shopkeepers can be studied through trade directories, but Dudley was not well served by these before the end of the eighteenth century. Sketchley's and Adams's directory of Birmingham for 1770 is the first known to specifically include Dudley and listed ninety-seven traders.[73] This and the Pearson and Rollason directory of 1780, which listed only eighty-seven traders, both under-represented commercial activity in Dudley.[74] However, Andrew Hann uses figures from the shop tax of 1785, together with trade directories, to show that the number of shops in Dudley increased significantly from the late eighteenth century into the early decades of the nineteenth century and that the ratio of persons per shop decreased markedly in the same period.[75] Even so, Hann also claims Dudley as an example of a market town with developing industry and 'precipitate' growth where the increase in retail provision lagged behind non-industrial, established towns.[76] Shopkeepers rarely achieved positions of note at this time and when they did begin to engage in politics, many of their early leaders were newcomers, men who had experience from elsewhere and rejected the subservient role assigned to them in Dudley. Samuel Cook, who arrived in 1819, was the prime example, but later men, such as Thomas Lester, Elliott Hollier and C.F.G. Clark also made significant contributions to the political life of Dudley.[77] V.L. Davies and H. Hyde's

---

[73] The early directories under-represented commercial activity. Not only was their data-gathering limited but shopkeepers and small businessmen did not immediately realise the benefits of being listed, especially when they were asked to pay for the privilege. *Sketchley's and Adams's Tradesman's True Guide or an Universal Directory for the Towns of Birmingham, Wolverhampton, Walsal [sic], Dudley…,* 4th ed. (Birmingham, 1770).
[74] *The Birmingham, Wolverhampton, Walsall, Dudley, Bilston, and Willenhall Directory; or Merchant and Tradesman's Useful Companion* (Birmingham, Pearson & Rollason, 1780). Provision lagged behind established
[75] A. Hann, 'Industrialisation and the service economy' in J. Stobart and N. Raven (ed.), *Towns, Regions and Industries: Urban and Industrial Change in the Midlands, c. 1700-1840* (Manchester, 2005), pp. 42-61, especially, 48-51.
[76] Ibid., p. 52.
[77] Appendix 1 includes biographical information for Clark (A10), Cook (A12), Hollier (A19) and Lester (A20). Clark, *The Curiosities of Dudley and the Black Country from 1800 to 1860.*

study of 'the growth of a communication system' in the Dudley area concentrates on economic development.[78] However, improved communications also helped to open the town to less tangible influences. Although the effects were gradual, the continuing population growth resulted in a larger, more articulate, middle class, increasingly prepared to challenge the establishment. Alongside the growth of the commercial market place, there was opportunity for a greater exchange of ideas. This was encouraged by printers setting up in Dudley and the first three were all men who came from outside. John Rann, the town's first printer, worked at *Aris's Birmingham Gazette* before opening shop in Dudley in about 1784.[79] One of Booker's sermons, dated 1791, seems to be Rann's earliest surviving publication.[80] Rann remained the establishment's printer of choice, but others came too: the Unitarian William Maurice by at least 1802 and, in about 1812, they were joined by George Walters who later made his name as a radical printer.[81] This period set the stage for the print wars of the 1830s (chapter 4).[82]

Aftermath of revolution

The French Revolution of 1789, one of Cannadine's 'seismic shocks', did not immediately affect Dudley. Like other intellectuals who had hoped that France might model itself on the British constitution, Booker was soon disillusioned and

[78] V.L. Davies and H. Hyde, *Dudley and the Black Country 1760 to 1860* (Dudley, 1970), pp. 7-16.
[79] *The Staffordshire Advertiser*, 28 January 1854, p. 5; British Book Trade Index (BBTI), Rann, John (1788-1819), http://bbti.bodleian.ox.ac.uk [accessed 17 January 2018].
[80] L. Booker, *A Sermon, Preached at St. Edmund's Church, in Dudley; and Published for the Purpose of Erecting a Monument, within the said Church, to the Memory of its Pious Founder, Mr. George Bradley, who died Dec. 8, 1721* (Dudley, 1791).
[81] The first evidence of Maurice printing in Dudley is from 1802 but when he married by licence in Walsall in 1801, he gave his residence as Dudley and his occupation as printer.
[82] J. Davies, 'A 'Paper War': John Rann, George Walters and the political print culture in Dudley, Worcestershire, c. 1814–1832', in I. Cawood and L. Peters (eds.), *Print, Politics and the Provincial Press in Modern Britain* (Oxford and New York, 2019), pp. 31-55.

made this known in an assize sermon in 1792.[83] He also referred to the aftermath of the revolution in France when he used 'the deeds of atrocity an infidel-code produced' as one of many reasons for bolstering the Church of England.[84] Although there is no textual evidence for revolutionary, or even radical, activity in Dudley immediately following the French Revolution, Barnsby drew attention to the existence of several tokens, minted in this period, with radical and revolutionary messages.[85] The tokens were sold by the radical bookseller, Thomas Spence in Holborn, London. On one side they bear the legend 'DUDLEY TOKEN' above a view of Dudley Castle, whilst on the other side they have either a reclining shepherd or a selection of revolutionary and other motifs from Spence's collection (figure 2.4). Barnsby saw the radical designs as proof that radicalism was present in Dudley as 'a strong and well organised movement'.[86] Although the tokens are intriguing, they need to be treated with caution and there is no proven link to any radical groups in Dudley. Charles Pye, a contemporary expert, queried whether they had any connection with Dudley at all, naming Dudley and Brighton as towns that had tokens named after them but where no one knew they existed.[87]

---

[83] L. Booker, *Britain's happiness; an assize sermon… exhibiting an historical review of providential interpositions in favour of the British Empire, - a faithful representation of its present prosperity: and recommending a line of conduct to prevent its declension or its fall* (Dudley, 1792), pp. 17-18 (note).
[84] L. Booker, *An Address to the Imperial Legislature of the United Kingdom etc. on Subjects of Importance to Church and State* (Monmouth, 1808), p. 15.
[85] Barnsby, *The Dudley Working Class Movement*, pp. 4-5.
[86] Ibid., p. 5.
[87] C. Pye, *Provincial Copper Coins or Tokens, Issued between the Years 1787 and 1796, Engraved by Charles Pye of Birmingham etc* (London & Birmingham, n.d.1796?), n.p., note to Advertisement on opening page.



Illustration source: www.jncoins.co.uk. (reproduced with permission)

Figure 2.4. A 'Dudley token' with a revolutionary motto, eighteenth century.[88]

These tokens are known as 'mules' (coins with a front and a back that were not originally designed to go together) and the same radical designs which feature on the Dudley tokens also appear on tokens purporting to derive from other places, including the very small parish of Hagley. It is wrong, therefore, to think that the Dudley examples are proof of a strong, well-established radical group in Dudley. Some historians of numismatics argue that Spence's later tokens were deliberately manufactured as curiosities to take advantage of the coin collecting craze of the 1790s.[89] Even authors such as R.H. Thomson, who take the propaganda role of the tokens seriously, see them primarily as expressing the views and philosophy of

[88] As well as the motto: 'We were born free and will never die slaves', the design uses the symbol of a caduceus, a winged staff with two snakes entwined around it. On one end, there is a crown representing authority and, on the other, a cap of liberty.
[89] M. Perkins, *Dudley Tradesmen's Tokens of the Seventeenth, Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries, with Descriptive and Historical Notes of Issuers, etc.* (Dudley, 1903), p. 44.

Spence himself.[90] Barnsby is alone in thinking that Spence's 'Dudley tokens' indicate radical activity within the town.

Although Dudley does not seem to have been affected by the French Revolution, the town nearly got caught up in the so-called Priestley riots that began in Birmingham on 14 July 1791. These were sparked by publicity for a dinner to celebrate the second anniversary of the French Revolution. A newspaper report that 'several thousand colliers from Dudley, Woodside and Wednesbury … proceeded to Birmingham' and joined in the Priestley riots of 1791 is not substantiated.[91] In his thesis on the Priestley riots, Jonathan Atherton does not mention any involvement from Dudley, but comments on the inaccuracy of the initial newspaper reports.[92] Barnsby may be referring to these early reports when he claims: 'it is known that people from Dudley joined in the rioting and looting'. As the rioting cannot be confirmed, neither can Barnsby's additional claim that 'this was the last time a Church and King mob could be raised in the Black Country'.[93] During the Birmingham riots, the mob destroyed dissenting meeting houses and the homes of leading dissenters.[94] Their fury was particularly aimed at the Unitarian, Joseph Priestley, who escaped to the house of his son-in-law, William Finch, an ironmaster at Wombourne near Dudley.[95] However, Priestley did not stay

[90] R.H. Thompson, 'The dies of Thomas Spence (1750-1814)', *British Numismatic Journal,* Vol. 38 (1969), pp. 152-154.
[91] *The Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Mercury,* 22 July 1791, p. 2.
[92] J. Atherton, 'Rioting, dissent and the Church in late eighteenth-century Britain: the Priestley riots of 1791' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Leicester, 2012), p. 115.
[93] Barnsby, *The Dudley Working Class Movement,* p. 4.
[94] R.E. Schofield, 'Priestley, Joseph (1733–1804), theologian and natural philosopher', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (published 23 September 2004, version 3 October 2013), http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22788 [accessed 3 June 2014].
[95] J. Priestley, *An Appeal to the Public, on the Subject of the Riots in Birmingham etc* (Birmingham, 1791), pp. 31-32.

there after hearing his son-in-law's report on the volatile nature of the crowds gathering in Dudley.[96] Newspapers continued to report rumours of disturbances in other parts of north Worcestershire. They were unconfirmed but as a Worcestershire magistrate, Joseph Cartwright, the Vicar of Dudley, was active in maintaining order and, without a civilian police force, the magistrates had to rely on the army.[97] The next section investigates the rise of loyalism which formed a major strand of conservative politics in Dudley after 1815, but its beginnings can be traced back to at least the 1790s.

Loyalism

Between 1775 and 1815 Britain's wars were fought overseas, but the wars with France from 1793 to 1815 brought conflict closer to home. Wartime patriotism and the need for defence contributed to the growth of loyalism. By 1792, William Pitt's government had become so alarmed by the situation in revolutionary France that it determined to crack down on radicalism at home. One target was Thomas Paine, the radical who had written *Rights of Man* as a refutation of the conservative *Reflections on the Revolution in France* by the Whig MP, Edmund Burke.[98] Paine escaped to France before his trial for seditious libel but was convicted *in absentia* in December 1792. At the same time, a false rumour claimed that an insurrection was planned in London. The effect of the rumour, which the government did nothing to quash (and may even have encouraged), was an

[96] Ibid., p. 32.
[97] *Jackson's Oxford Journal,* 23 July 1791, p. 2.
[98] Burke published his work in 1790. Paine's response was published in two parts, the first in March 1791 and the second in February 1792. E. Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France etc* (London, 1790); T. Paine, *Rights of Man: Being an Answer to Mr Burke's Attack on the Revolution in France* (London, 1791-1792).

outpouring of loyalist sentiment.[99] This included the first recorded statement by Dudley's loyalists in January 1793.[100] It came at a meeting chaired by Cartwright with the support of the Worcestershire MP, Edward Foley.[101] Their resolutions were printed in *Aris's Birmingham Gazette*, alongside similar resolutions from several neighbouring towns. The Dudley loyalists pledged to support the 'excellent Constitution, consisting of King, Lords, and Commons', to bring to justice anyone writing, publishing or distributing seditious material, and to aid the civil magistrates in the suppression of riots and other disorder.[102] The loyalists also resolved to form an association to further their ends. Although there are no subsequent records of an association, loyalist activity in the town was demonstrated in February 1793 when Dudley participated in the burning of Paine in effigy. Although loyalists liked to portray the burnings as spontaneous outpourings of popular disgust, Frank O'Gorman notes that most were carefully planned and executed melodramas.[103] Dudley's burning is only known from a short newspaper report, which shows that Paine was not burnt alone and that the loyalists commandeered the most prominent part of the Market Place: 'on Thursday last effigies of Citizens Paine and Priestley were carried about the streets of Dudley by the populace, and burnt opposite the Town Hall, after hanging some time on a gallows affixed to the

---

[99] C. Emsley, 'The London "insurrection" of December 1792: Fact, fiction or fantasy?', *Journal of British Studies,* Vol. 17, No. 2 (Spring 1978), pp. 66-86.
[100] B. Hilton, *A Mad, Bad, and Dangerous People? England 1783-1846* (Oxford, 2006), p. 65; C. Emsley, 'The London 'Insurrection' of December 1792: Fact, fiction, or fantasy?', *Journal of British Studies,* Vol. 17, No. 2 (Spring, 1978), pp. 66-86; *Aris's Birmingham Gazette,* 14 January 1793, p. 4.
[101] Biographical information about the Cartwright family is given in appendix 1 (A9).
[102] These policies remained central to the loyalist cause in Dudley and are discussed further in chapter 3. *Aris's Birmingham Gazette,* 14 January 1793, p. 4.
[103] F. O'Gorman, 'The Paine burnings of 1792-1793', *Past & Present*, No. 193 (November 2006), pp. 111-155, especially pp. 136-141.

whipping post'.[104] Other towns included an effigy of Joseph Priestley in their burnings, which O'Gorman argues 'chimed with current prejudice against Dissenters'.[105] Dudley probably reflected the hostility shown to Priestley in Birmingham. Another manifestation of loyalism that Dudley participated in was the formation of loyal associations.

In 1794, the government began to encourage the formation of voluntary military associations for home defence.[106] These roused mixed feelings as some thought that they might prove to be radical and democratic organisations and it was dangerous to arm so many civilians without stricter controls.[107] However, the voluntary associations were loyal and proved useful to the authorities for maintaining law and order. Their numbers peaked in 1804.[108] Austin Gee notes that there were frequently connections between the volunteer associations in the late 1790s and earlier loyalist organisations, which had often been anti-radical, but there is insufficient evidence to conclude that this was the case in Dudley.[109] Although the records of the Dudley Loyal Association are limited, a meeting at the Dudley Arms on 13 April 1798 resolved 'to form corps of cavalry and infantry, to aid the civil magistrates in defence of the king, the constitution, and the town and neighbourhood of Dudley.'[110] The association received its colours, donated by the Ward family, on 7 August 1798. Booker gave a speech and consecrated the

---

[104] *Aris's Birmingham Gazette,* 25 February 1793, p. 3.
[105] O'Gorman, 'The Paine burnings of 1792-1793', p. 141.
[106] The Volunteer Consolidation Act of 1804 aimed at aligning volunteers more closely with the regular military forces and helped encourage volunteers from the less wealthy classes. A. Gee, *The British Volunteer Movement, 1794-1814* (Oxford, 2003), pp, 45-46, 67 & 208.
[107] Ibid., pp. 4-6.
[108] Ibid., pp. 1-2.
[109] Ibid., pp. 17-21.
[110] *Aris's Birmingham Gazette*, 16 April 1798, p. 3.

colours, thus further emphasising the strong connection between Anglicanism, loyalism and support for authority. [111] This ceremony was held in the South Staffordshire countryside, but a painting by the Dudley-born artist, Thomas Phillips, two days later shows the Dudley Loyal Association parading at Dudley Castle in front of what seems to be the local gentry (figure 2.5).[112]



Figure 2.5. Parade of the Loyal Association in Dudley Castle Courtyard, 9 August 1798, by Thomas Phillips, 1798. (Dudley Council Museum Service)

The castle ruins added grandeur to the occasion. There are no newspaper reports of this event, but a coloured print of the painting was later offered for sale with a fulsome dedication to Viscount Dudley and Ward and an explanation that the

[111] *Aris's Birmingham Gazette,* 13 August 1798, p. 3.
[112] *The Staffordshire Advertiser,* 11 August 1798, p. 4; *The Derby Mercury,* 16 August 1798, p. 4; T. Phillips, *Parade of the Loyal Association in Dudley Castle Courtyard, 9 August 1798*, oil painting, 1798 (Dudley Council Museum Service).

parade celebrated the birthday of his son, the Honourable Mr Ward.[113] Thus, from its inauguration, the Dudley Loyal Association was linked to the Ward family.

The activities of this Loyal Association were not restricted to Dudley. It trained outside the parish and one of its recorded actions, in May 1800, took place over the border in Staffordshire during food shortages and high prices. A group described by *The Staffordshire Advertiser* as being made up of 'colliers, nailors etc' at the nine locks, near Brierley Hill, managed to stop 'two boats laden with wheat and barley, which they threatened to sell at a reduced price'.[114] The Dudley Loyal Associations of Cavalry and Infantry, joined by 'the Inniskillen Dragoons' challenged the workers. Accounts vary, but one states that the Loyal Cavalry fired in self-defence and several rioters were badly wounded, with one dying from his injuries.[115] Shortly after this incident, the Dudley Loyal Association inserted a 'declaration' in *Aris's Birmingham Gazette*. It did not mention the canal incident, but the timing suggests that the two were connected. The declaration's purpose was to distance the association from 'an opinion … generally circulated' that unscrupulous farmers and traders had used the presence of 'armed associations' such as this one in Dudley to restrict the flow of food to market and artificially raise prices. It refuted this, saying that the association had been formed 'at the time of great national danger to defend our King and constitution, and to secure the public peace of the town and neighbourhood of Dudley'.[116] If there was a misconception

[113] T. Cartwright after T. Phillips, *Interior View of Dudley Castle with the Loyal Association of the Town and Neighbourhood as assembled on the 9th of August 1798* (published by T. Phillips, 1 May 1799). For a reproduction of the print see: Dudley Loyal Association | This Re-illuminated School of Mars [accessed 1 October 2022].
[114] *The Staffordshire Advertiser,* 3 May 1800, p. 4.
[115] Ibid.
[116] *Aris's Birmingham Gazette,* 19 May 1800, p. 3.

by the populace it could have been aggravated by a fulsome piece inserted in the same newspaper by the owners of the rescued barges, thanking 'the Gentlemen of the Dudley Loyal Cavalry for their timely and spirited Exertions in taking Care of the Property on Board their Boats, and preventing the Mob from plundering the same'.[117] Gee argues that volunteers in many parts of the country were reluctant to take part in suppressing food riots.[118] The declaration by the Dudley Loyal Association ended with an appeal to farmers and 'dealers' to bring food to market and sell it to the poor at the lowest possible prices. Immediately below this was a list of local charitable subscriptions in 1799 and 1800 for supplying the poor with 'good nourishing soup and bread of the best quality'.[119] The list had been augmented to indicate those of the subscribers who belonged to the Loyal Association, thus providing the names of fifty-two members of the association.

As a precursor of controversies to come, the list of members of the Loyal Association is dominated by the Tory, Anglican establishment, including Cartwright and members of the Badger, Bennitt, Bourne, Dixon, Fellows, Hawkes and Wainwright families. However, the list also features Unitarians, including Twamley, whose family became important reformers in the 1830s and beyond. The newspaper declaration shows how quickly the volunteers had become associated with enforcing law and order but that they were sensitive to accusations of oppressing the poor. It is not clear when the Dudley volunteers were disbanded, but J.R. Williams suggests that for the infantry it was about 1815, and for the

[117] *Aris's Birmingham Gazette,* 5 May 1800, p. 3.
[118] Gee, *The British Volunteer Movement, 1794-1814*, pp. 236-239.
[119] *Aris's Birmingham Gazette,* 19 May 1800, p. 3.

cavalry about 1827.[120] In his history of Dudley Castle, Booker, who became a leader of the loyalists, described the volunteers who drilled in the castle grounds as 'meritorious Individuals' and 'genuine British Patriots'.[121] Hawkes became the Loyal Association's chief commanding officer and helped take loyalism into post-war politics. His subsequent political career is discussed in chapters 3 and 5.[122]

Another precursor of Dudley's post-war loyalism was the Dudley Pitt Club. William Pitt, the former prime minister who died in 1806, was revered, particularly as a war leader, by patriotic Tories who formed 'Pitt Clubs' in his honour. Boyd Hilton shows how Pitt's followers re-defined his legacy to serve their own agendas.[123] With Booker in the chair on 30 November 1813, Dudley's Pitt Club was formed to celebrate 'the Birth-Day of that great and illustrious Statesman'.[124] The annual birthday dinner, with numerous patriotic toasts, was their main activity but members had to be 'well affected to the king and constitution' as well as approving Pitt's political principles.[125] The Pitt Club leaders were all Tories and loyalists.[126] Another major plank of Toryism was their emphasis on maintaining law and order and the next section looks at the establishment's reaction to perceived lawlessness and its political implications.

---

[120] The last traced newspaper report is of their planning to attend a 'venison dinner' to celebrate the birthday of J.W. Ward, MP and heir to the viscountcy. *Aris's Birmingham Gazette,* 7 August 1820, p. 2; J.R. Williams, 'The Dudley Loyal Association', *The Blackcountryman,* Vol. 10, No. 4 (Autumn 1977), pp. 56-65, especially p. 65.
[121] L. Booker, *A Descriptive and Historical Account of Dudley Castle and its Surrounding Scenery* (London, 1825), pp. 101-103.
[122] Appendix 1 includes biographical information for Hawkes (A17).
[123] B. Hilton, *A Mad, Bad, and Dangerous People?* p. 203.
[124] DALHS, DSCAM 6/2/7/1, Messrs Slater & Camm, Solicitors, Dudley Pitt Club, minutes etc., The rules of the Pitt Club, 1813.
[125] Ibid.
[126] DALHS, DSCAM 6/2/7/12, 17 & 21, Messrs Slater & Camm, Solicitors, Dudley Pitt Club, minutes etc., 1814-1818.

Social unrest

Although Dudley largely avoided the Priestley riots, outbreaks of violence were common, particularly in times of distress when food riots and protests at wage reductions were often linked. As the minister of St Edmund's, Booker was to the fore in advocating the benefits of law and order and linking civil disturbances with new 'revolutionary' ideas. At Easter 1793, with wages having been reduced, Booker claimed to know that a riot was expected on Easter Monday. He added a condemnation of rioting to his Easter sermon and published the whole as a pamphlet.[127] He condemned all riotous behaviour, mentioning, albeit obliquely, the Gordon riots in London and the Priestley riots in Birmingham.[128] One of several reasons that Booker gave for condemning the anticipated riots was that they were unpatriotic in a time of war.[129]

For those excluded from government and facing desperate times, mob violence was the most basic of 'political' expressions. John Stevenson suggests that two-thirds of popular protests in the eighteenth century were food riots. Other issues included: 'elections, religion, politics, recruiting and enclosures'.[130] Some of the most widespread food riots, including in the West Midlands, occurred in 1795/96.[131] The rather chaotic newspaper reporting gives a flavour of the times,

---

[127] In an advertisement for his pamphlet, Booker implied that demand had been so great, the pamphlet had had to go into a second edition. L. Booker, *A Sermon Preached in the Parish Church of St Thomas at Dudley, on Friday 19th April 1793, and an Address to the Common People etc. on the Subject of Riots* (Dudley, 1793); *Aris's Birmingham Gazette,* 29 April 1793, p. 3.
[128] Booker, *A Sermon Preached in the Parish Church of St Thomas at Dudley, on Friday 19th April 1793,* p. 32.
[129] Ibid., pp. 38-39.
[130] J. Stevenson, 'Food riots in England, 1792-1818', in R. Quinault and J. Stevenson (eds.), *Popular Protest and Public Order: Six Studies in British History, 1790-1920* (London, 1974), p. 33-36 & 46.
[131] Ibid., p. 33.

although a later newspaper report claimed that some of the earlier, lurid accounts from Dudley and neighbourhood were 'all fabricated'.[132] With disturbances happening in several parts of the West Midlands, the magistrates realised that they had insufficient troops at their disposal. A letter from the Birmingham magistrates to the Home Secretary on 23 June 1795 implied that, having been asked to send two troops of the 3rd Dragoons 'to prevent a riot by colliers' in Dudley, they were left short themselves when, the next day, a corn mill at Snow Hill, Birmingham suffered a sustained attack in which one rioter was killed and two others wounded.[133] Later the same year, newspapers from as far afield as Hampshire reported bread riots in Dudley and Tipton which went on for at least two days.[134] The rioters were described as 'colliers etc' and a reading of the Riot Act, dragoons and a troop of horse were needed to restore order.[135] The report of this incident is unusual in naming a ringleader of the action. Four men and one woman were detained as being 'the most active in the riot'. The men were allowed to go except for John Jukes who had rescued the woman from the constables and was said to have 'been noticed as a principal in every disturbance of late in that part of the country'.[136] These are the only specific Dudley riots that Stevenson lists in his country-wide survey of food riots from 1792 to 1818, but there must have

---

[132] *Aris's Birmingham Gazette,* 8 June 1795, p. 3; *The Kentish Chronicle*, 26 June 1795, p. 4; *The Staffordshire Advertiser,* 27 June 1795, p. 3; *The Norfolk Chronicle,* 27 June 1795, p. 2; *The Chester Chronicle* included an erroneous report that 'eight dragoons' had been killed in a serious riot 'at Dudley and Stourbridge'. *The Chester Chronicle,* 26 June 1795, p. 3.

[133] The National Archives (TNA), HO/42/35/16, Great Britain, Home Office, Domestic correspondence, George III, Letters and papers, June-August 1795, letter from three Birmingham magistrates to the Home Secretary, the Duke of Portland, 23 June 1795.

[134] The original report seems to be that in *Aris's Birmingham Gazette. Aris's Birmingham Gazette*, 21 September 1795, p. 3; *The Derby Mercury,* 24 September 1795, p. 4; *Hampshire Chronicle,* 28 Sept 1795, p. 2.

[135] *Aris's Birmingham Gazette*, 21 September 1795, p. 3

[136] Nothing more is known of Jukes, except that he was 'discharged by proclamation' when his case came to court. *Aris's Birmingham Gazette*, 21 September 1795, p. 3; *The Glocester (sic) Journal,* 14 March 1796, p. 3.

been several other smaller ones in the area, such as the attack on the canal barges in 1800.[137] Brown draws attention to an orchestrated use of violence in 1798 when the butties encouraged miners to protest against plans by the 3rd Viscount Dudley and Ward to modernise colliery working practices.[138] Although the dragoons had been called out to 'a turbulent assemblage of a number of colliers and other miners', a delegation of the men was allowed to go and put their case to 'Lord Dudley' at Himley.[139] He agreed to their wishes, the men dispersed and the troops returned to their barracks. Unfortunately, an opportunity was lost to implement improved safety measures for working coal in the Dudley estate's pits.[140]

The disturbances of 1795 and 1798 were probably contributory stories behind the Dudley miners' best known folk song, *The Brave Dudley Boys*, which celebrates the paternalism of 'Lord Dudley Ward' and the protection he gave them from the soldiery:

> God Bless Lord Dudley Ward.
> He know'd as times been hard
> THe called back the sojermen,
> And we'll never riot again.[141]

Thus, violence, or the threat of violence, could occasionally prove successful and it would be a later period before more subtle forms of dialogue, including the

---

[137] Stevenson, 'Food riots in England, 1792-1818', p. 36.
[138] A butty was a middleman, or charter master, in the coal mining industry. He leased the mines from the owner and employed miners to work the coal. Brown, 'The industrial revolution, political economy and the British aristocracy', p. 15: *Aris's Birmingham Gazette,* 5 March 1798, p. 3.
[139] *Aris's Birmingham Gazette,* 5 March 1798, p. 3 & 12 March p. 3.
[140] Brown, 'The industrial revolution, political economy and the British aristocracy', p. 15.
[141] 'Sojermen' would be local pronunciation for 'soldier men' or 'soldiers'. 'The Brave Dudley Boys', in J. Raven, *The Folklore and Songs of the Black Country Colliers* (Wolverhampton, 1990), pp. 19-20.

development of popular politics, played a significant role. The Tory party became associated with policies to ensure law and order which were supported by landowners and industrialists who had most to lose from riot and lawlessness. The over-reliance on the military for tackling mass unrest was only addressed when Dudley was finally placed under the Worcestershire Constabulary in 1845.[142] The next section looks at changes in religion that affected Dudley and, particularly, the rise of non-Anglican denominations.

Religion

Not only was the Church of England the established church but to many Anglicans and Conservatives it was a pillar of the state.[143] Until the late 1820s, laws discriminated against non-Anglicans.[144] Religious dissent was often equated with political dissent. At a local level, the patrons in the Church of England had considerable influence. Church patronage added to the power of the Ward family who owned the benefices of several parishes including Dudley, Kingswinford, Sedgley and Himley.[145] Appointments were often decided by nepotism, or patronage networks, which is probably why Booker, a man with no family connections or ties to the region, ingratiated himself with the 3rd Viscount Dudley

---

[142] B. Pooler, *From Fruit Trees to Furnaces: A History of the Worcestershire Constabulary* (Pershore, 2002), p. 94.
[143] For the relationship between Church and State see: O. Chadwick, *The Victorian Church, part 1* 3rd ed. (London, 1971), pp. 2-4. For an example of the use of the expression 'pillar of the state' see the speech by Edward Litton, MP ['Should not they who looked on the Church as a pillar of the state, and as a necessary and valuable establishment…'], Tithes (Ireland, adjourned debate, *Hansard,* Vol. 42, House of Commons debate, 15 May 1838, cc. 1268-1271.
[144] The Test and Corporation Acts, which were not repealed until 1828, barred those not taking Anglican communion from being elected to a corporation or holding public, civic or military office. Various pieces of legislation prevented Catholics from sitting in Parliament or holding various civil offices by demanding that they take oaths denying fundamental Catholic beliefs such as transubstantiation and the invocation of the saints. Moves towards greater religious toleration are dealt with in chapter 3.
[145] CCEd. For instance: Appointment Evidence Record, ID 93663 (theclergydatabase.org.uk) [accessed 27 May 2023].

and Ward.[146] Booker's flattery succeeded and, after Cartwright died in October 1811, the Viscount made Booker the Vicar of Dudley.[147] Unlike Cartwright, Booker, who was not wealthy, lived at the vicarage in the heart of the town, helping increase his influence over parishioners.[148] One of Dudley's two mediaeval churches, St Edmund's, had been destroyed in the Civil War and was only rebuilt, by private benefactions, during the 1720s and 1730s.[149] Thus, there were two Anglican churches within half a mile of each other, but no others in the parish. The most useful estimate of the numbers who supported non-Anglican sects in Dudley in the late eighteenth century comes from a survey of the bishopric of Worcester for the Bishop, Richard Hurd, in 1782 and partially updated until 1808.[150] The statistics for Dudley seem to come from the earlier part of that period. Putting the population of Dudley at 2,000 families, it claimed that 600 of them were dissenters: 'viz. Presbyterians, Quakers, Anabaptists, Methodists, and 7 Papists', thus suggesting that the nonconformist population was already thirty per cent of the whole.[151] Of Worcestershire towns that were comparable with Dudley, only Bromsgrove and one parish in Evesham had higher percentages.[152] Before the eighteenth century, the dissenters' meeting houses known to exist in Dudley were

---

[146] Booker helped to build the 3rd Viscount's legend as 'the rich man's model and the poor man's friend', beginning shortly after the Viscount's burial in 1823. Booker would almost certainly have been amongst those who commissioned a commemorative medallion bearing the Viscount's likeness and the 'model' legend, which Booker included as an engraving in his history of Dudley Castle. L. Booker, *A Sermon Preached in the Parish Church of Dudley, on the Sunday after Internment of the Late Right Honourable William, Viscount Dudley & Ward* (Dudley, 1823); M. Perkins, *Notes on Old Dudley Institutions, with Facsimiles of Medals and Checks* (Dudley, n.d., c. 1910), p. 4; L. Booker, *A Descriptive and Historical Account of Dudley Castle, and its Surrounding Scenery* (London, 1825), opposite p. 76.
[147] *Hereford Journal,* 18 December 1811, p. 3.
[148] Appendix 1 includes biographical details for Booker (A6).
[149] Roper, *Dudley: The Town in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 9.
[150] Ransome (ed.), *The State of the Bishopric of Worcester, 1782-1808*, p. 37.
[151] Ibid., p. 37.
[152] Ibid., pp. 55 & 76.

those of the Society of Friends and the Presbyterians in the town centre, whilst Baptists had a meeting house at Cinder Bank, Netherton.

As in much of Britain, the evangelical revival changed Dudley during the mid- eighteenth century.[153] Three of its leading proponents, George Whitefield, John Wesley and the Countess of Huntingdon, were all influential in Dudley. Although the most obvious result of the evangelical revival was the rise of Methodism, it affected other denominations and the Church of England. Booker was more evangelical than Cartwright had been. The first tangible result of the revival in Dudley was a group of Particular Baptists who formed about 1772 and built their first chapel in 1777.[154] Whitefield had preached in Dudley occasionally and in 1788 'a new Calvinistic chapel' was begun.[155] This became better known as the Independent chapel, one of the single most important nonconformist churches in Dudley, but its early years are unclear. The most authoritative account should be that given in its own 'church book' but it was not written till at least 1801.[156] It emphasises the role played in its beginnings by students from the Countess of Huntingdon's training college at Trevecca in Wales.[157] The Countess established the college to train evangelical preachers and its students proved a boon to many small chapels. The antiquarian, Arthur Rollason, believes that the Dudley chapel was formed by a secession from the Old Meeting in Wolverhampton Street, but

---

[153] The Evangelical Revival was driven by Anglican clergymen such as George Whitefield and John Wesley who feared that the Church of England had become debased, and who thought that religious practice should emphasise personal salvation. Condemned as 'religious enthusiasts', they were frequently barred from preaching in Anglican churches and turned to open-air preaching instead.
[154] D. Watts, *A History of the Black Country Baptists* (Stourbridge, 1994), p. 9.
[155] DALHS, N/C/DUD/KIN/2/1/1 King Street Congregational Church, Church books, first volume, (1801-1849).
[156] Ibid.
[157] Ibid.

this is not mentioned in the Independents' church book.[158] Rollason also claims that it was sold by the Countess in 1788 to the Independents but this seems wrong.[159] In her 'Plan of Association', confirmed in 1790, the Dudley chapel was still listed as part of a small Wolverhampton circuit.[160] The Countess died in 1791 and, with her fortune spent, there was no money left for her chapels. Like many others, the Dudley chapel had to fend for itself and, according to the church book, in 1792 the chapel was put into a trust to become an Independent chapel, which is what it remained. Its leaders, with a small congregation and a large debt, found it hard to attract preachers, still less a minister, until in 1801 they applied to the dissenting academy at Hoxton to supply them with a student. The man who came was James Dawson and, after being ordained, he remained the minister at Dudley until his death in 1843.[161] Dawson played an important role in the religious and political history of dissent in Dudley. Independent chapels were run on more democratic lines than many denominations and their adherents often became political reformers.[162]

---

[158] There may well have been a secession from the Old Meeting which joined with the Huntingdon remnants. A very similar merger took place in Stourbridge at the same time when a small Independent society joined with a group alienated by the Presbyterian chapel having embraced Unitarianism. It may have been the same issue that caused the split at the Old Meeting in Dudley. A.A. Rollason (ed.), *The Old Non-parochial Registers of Dudley etc.* (Dudley, 1899), p. [35]; Dudley, Stourbridge Library, Local Studies Collection, LD 285.8P, Stourbridge Congregational Church: *Stourbridge Congregational Church, 1672-1972: Tercentenary Brochure* (Stourbridge? 1972?), n.p., section: A brief history of the congregation.

[159] Rollason seems to have had access to original documents which are no longer available for scrutiny.

[160] The 'Plan of Association' outlined how the Countess hoped that her connexion would continue after her death, 'The Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion: Articles and Plan of Association', in E. Welch (ed.), *Two Calvinistic Methodist Chapels, 1743-1811: The London Tabernacle and Spa Fields Chapel*, London Record Society, Vol. 11 (1975), pp. 88-95.

[161] DALHS, N/C/DUD/KIN/2/1/1, King Street Congregational Church, Church books, first volume, (1801-1849).

[162] Appendix 1 includes biographical information for Dawson (A13).

Two of the oldest nonconformist groups in Dudley – Quakers and Presbyterians – declined during the evangelical revival. Dudley's Quakers relied on a few families and when they moved away, or died out, the congregation shrank. However, one of those families, the Paytons, provided an important female preacher in the mid-eighteenth century. Catherine Payton (later Payton Phillips) travelled extensively, spreading the word in Britain, Ireland and the Netherlands as well as the United States. She campaigned against slavery and advocated a larger role for women within the Society of Friends.[163] The 'Chapel of Protestant Dissenters' in Wolverhampton Street, like other Presbyterian chapels, embraced Unitarianism at some point in the eighteenth century, although it is not clear exactly when.[164] The chapel had wealthy patrons in the first half of the eighteenth century who endowed charities.[165] Although membership remained comparatively small, several of their surviving families remained wealthy and influential. One of the most notable was the Finch family.[166] Just before the shock of the French Revolution in 1789 halted a movement campaigning for reforms to religious disabilities in Britain, the chapel's minister, William Denny Wood, had chaired a meeting of dissenting ministers from Worcestershire and neighbouring counties which resolved to work together to keep pressing for the repeal of the Test and

[163] G. Skidmore, 'Phillips [née Payton]. Catherine (1727-1794), Quaker minister and writer', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (23 September 2004), Search Results for Catherine Phillips | Oxford Dictionary of National Biography [accessed 17 August 2022].
[164] 'Chapel of Protestant Dissenters' was the name on trust deeds. J. Aitken (ed.), *Census of Religious Worship, 1851. The Returns for Worcestershire,* Worcestershire Historical Society, New series, Vol. 17 (2000), p. 6.
[165] Roper, *Dudley: The Town in the Eighteenth Century*, pp. 10-11; *An Account of the Charities in the Parish of Dudley… from the Report of the Commissioners … 10th July 1832* (Dudley, 1834), pp. 28-33 etc.
[166] Biographical details about the Finch family are given in appendix 1 (A15).

Corporation Acts.[167] This is the earliest indication of a reform movement in the town. The next section looks at the growth of Methodism, sometimes called 'new dissent', in Dudley.

Numerically, by far the greatest effect of the evangelical revival in Dudley was the growth of Methodism. John Wesley, who never intended to establish a separate denomination, is credited with visiting Dudley fifteen times, but his earliest visits provoked a mixed response, as they did in other parts of the Black Country.[168] In 1749, his first attempt to preach in Dudley Market Place was broken up after about half an hour by 'Satan's servants … raging and blaspheming, and throwing whatever came to hand'. Later the same day, Wesley drew comfort from preaching to 'a nobler people' at Wednesbury.[169] However, Dudley quietened down and by 1761 Wesley could comment: 'The scene is changed since the dirt and stones of this town were flying about me on every side.' Dudley's first Methodist meeting house was built in the Mambles but it was too small and a much larger one was planned. Coincidentally, it was begun in 1788, the same year as the Countess of Huntingdon's chapel, and almost next door. Wesley lived long enough to preach in the new Methodist chapel, praising it as 'one of the neatest in England'.[170]

---

[167] He was sometimes just referred to as William Wood. *Aris's Birmingham Gazette,* 8 June 1789, p. 3.
[168] W.H. Cross (comp), *King Street Methodist Church, Dudley, 150th Anniversary Souvenir, 1788-1938* (Dudley, 1938?), pp. 14-17.
[169] S.G. Davies (comp), *Wesley Chapel, Dudley, 1829-1929, a Centenary Souvenir* (Dudley, 1929), p 6.
[170] Cross (comp), *King Street Methodist Church, Dudley*, p. 14.

David Hempton argues that 'Methodism appealed most to those skilled manual workers, including miners, who dominated the first stage of Britain's industrial revolution'.[171] This is reflected in the early growth of Methodism in the parish of Dudley, particularly in mining villages like Woodside which had the earliest known Methodist chapel outside of Dudley town.[172] The Methodists' 1810 circuit book shows that Dudley had 243 class members, with Woodside (twenty-three), Derby End (fourteen) and Netherton (twenty-one) listed separately.[173] A society of fifteen at 'Moshom' (Mushroom) Green was grouped under Cradley, although the village was within Dudley parish.[174] Thus there were over three hundred active members in the parish and, in Dudley itself, women were well represented.[175] Although many of the early societies met in houses, some of the larger groups, like the one at Woodside, built their own chapels. There are no further, overall statistics for Dudley's Methodists until the census of religious worship in 1851 (appendix 3) but the number of chapels erected suggests that Dudley was part of the national trend that A.D. Gilbert described as 'a period of

---

[171] D. Hempton, 'Evangelical revival and society: a historiographical review of Methodism and British society c. 1750–1850', *Themelios,* Vol. 8, Issue 3 (April, 1983), pp. 19-25.
[172] Bentley's directory gives the date of erection as 1812 but the church census return in 1851 gives the date as 1814. Apart from the early Baptist chapel at Cinder Bank, this is the first known case of a religious group opening a place of worship away from the town, in the poorer hinterland. *Bentley's History and Guide to Dudley, Dudley Castle and the Castle Hill etc* (Birmingham, n.d. [c. 1842?]), p. 44; Aitken (ed.), *Census of Religious Worship, 1851. The Returns for Worcestershire,* p. 8.
[173] DALHS, Accession number 8363, Dudley Circuit Records (i.e. Methodist), An account of the members in the Dudley Circuit (1810-1828).
[174] The handwriting is not always clear, but what is now known as Mushroom Green seems to have been spelt Moshom, Moshem or Mosham in the same book. Derby End was sometimes known as Darby Hand and is now spelt Darby End. DALHS, Accession number 8363, Dudley Circuit Records (i.e. Methodist), An account of the members in the Dudley Circuit (1810-1828).
[175] DALHS, Accession number 8363, Dudley Circuit Records (i.e. Methodist), An account of the members in the Dudley Circuit (1810-1828).

sustained rapid expansion … to about 1840'.[176] Dudley was an important early Methodism hub. The original Dudley circuit included several towns which later became circuits in their own right: Wolverhampton (1804), Stourbridge (1828) and, in 1859, both Oldbury and Tipton.[177] With the exception of the Baptists, the other nonconformist groups in Dudley were single-building denominations.

The burgeoning of nonconformity was noted by Booker who argued that '*the church* [i.e. the Church of England] *and the state must stand or fall together'.*[178] Although he did not name places or denominations, he used his time away from Dudley to petition Parliament, voicing concerns about 'the vast increase of Sectarists among us'.[179] He was probably speaking of Dudley or Stourbridge when he wrote that 'meeting houses are there "*springing up like mushrooms*"'.[180] His argument was that Anglican church-building had not kept pace with urban population growth, and that the seats in existing churches had been increasingly 'annexed' by the wealthy, leaving no room for the poor. Booker thought that made it difficult for the Church of England to proselytise and left the poor more susceptible to the blandishments of the 'sectarists'. He quoted an example from his own experience when the head of a household told him that there was no room for him and his family in either Anglican church, so 'we must go to the methodist meeting'. Booker claimed that thousands were not leaving the Church of England

[176] The chapels that survived until 1851 are listed in the census. A.D. Gilbert, *Religion and Society in Industrial England: Church, Chapel and Social Change, 1740-1914* (London & New York,1976), p. 30; Appendix 3. Table A.C.1.
[177] Ibid., p. 21.
[178] J. Davies, 'The Reverend Luke Booker, Vicar of Dudley: an Anglican clergyman in the industrial Black Country' (unpublished MA dissertation, University of Birmingham, 2013); Booker, *An Address to the Imperial Legislature of the United Kingdom,* p. 3. The italics in the quotation are Booker's.
[179] Booker, *An Address to the Imperial Legislature of the United Kingdom etc.* from the preface, n.p.
[180] Ibid., p. 8. The italics and quotation marks are Booker's.

but were being ‘excluded’ from it and he predicted a future where there would be ‘an established church and a sectarian people’ which he thought would result in anarchy. Booker called for extra room to be made by adding galleries, extending existing churches or building new ones. He was less clear where the money would come from, except that poorer people should not be expected to pay.[181] Booker continued his drive for church extension when he returned to Dudley as its vicar. The rest of Booker’s address to Parliament was concerned with tightening up the licensing of dissenting teachers or preachers.[182] Yet, even as it was growing, nonconformism was splintering into smaller sects. Divisions amongst Baptists increased and, after the death of Wesley, Methodism also split. The main Methodist groups retained much of Wesley’s innate conservatism, which often left them positioned rather uncomfortably between the Church of England and ‘old dissent’.

Conclusion

This chapter asks the question to what extent and how did economic, social and political changes in Dudley before 1815 shape the political and religious history of the town after 1815 and it has identified several relevant developments. As the Black Country region was developing economically, Dudley was exposed to new influences. The Viscounts Dudley and Ward remained the most important figures, even if absentee lords of the manor. Regardless of his motives, the 2nd Viscount used his territorial power and parliamentary connections to secure transport links and enclosure acts which impacted on society in the Black Country

[181] Ibid., pp. 9-17.
[182] Booker, *An Address to the Imperial Legislature of the United Kingdom etc.,* p. 17 and following; Davies, ‘The Reverend Luke Booker, Vicar of Dudley…*’,* p. 45.

by furthering the industrial development of the region. Entrepreneurs and industrialists were able to take their chance to make money and, in Dudley, a newly confident commercial class, that was predominantly Tory, reinforced the establishment and took up the limited opportunities for exerting authority, as, for instance, by becoming Town Commissioners. There were a few wealthy shopkeepers, but they did not form an independent grouping. As Dudley's population grew rapidly, the largest number of new arrivals were poorly educated, low-skilled workers. Many of the lower classes lived at subsistence level and, consequently, periods of distress, wage reductions or food price rises could occasion rioting. The magistrates had little alternative to calling in troops to restore order.

The 'shock' of ideas released by the French Revolution was less obviously significant in Dudley, helping strengthen the view that it was a conservative town. The long wars with France moulded the Tories' preoccupation with loyalism and law and order, reinforcing beliefs like Booker's that maintaining social order was of paramount importance – themes which all recurred after 1815. Given the scale of social change, more challenges to the establishment might have been expected but the Tories continued to assert their authority. Barnsby was wrong to think that there were revolutionary cells within the town, but the middle classes were starting to expand in number, wealth and occupation and the town was becoming more open to new ideas and practices. For instance, all of Dudley's earliest printers were newcomers to the town. The evangelical revival also opened the town to new religious beliefs and practices. Whilst it touched most of Dudley's religious denominations, it was particularly significant for introducing Methodism to Dudley.

Booker’s address to Parliament made it clear that he, for one, saw Methodism as the biggest threat to the established church. Methodist willingness to take their message to poor, highly populated industrial or mining communities proved successful, and, in Booker’s words, meeting houses were ‘springing up like mushrooms’. The rise of nonconformism gave women more opportunities to participate actively in religious organisations. Although it was less apparent at the time, economic and social changes in the period up to the end of the French wars altered the balance of power in Dudley and influenced the political struggles that followed.

CHAPTER 3

Tories versus Radicals: Dudley, 1815-1832

Introduction

From the battle of Waterloo in 1815 to the Reform Act of 1832 Britain experienced economic depression and political repression, accompanied by protests from various movements demanding greater religious equality and parliamentary reform. Dudley's history reflected Britain's. The town's establishment was overwhelmingly Tory, loyalist and Anglican, with a vested interest in resisting change. However, there was no resisting the greatest change – Dudley's increasing population.[1] The rate of growth had slowed, but the population of 23,043, recorded in 1831, equated to a decennial increase of 26.5%.[2] Whilst much of the population growth came from workers, the service sector also grew. Many incomers brought with them new ideas and aspirations and joined those already seeking change. The political authority of the establishment was challenged, briefly following Peterloo and then sporadically in the 1820s before the reform movement reached its height in the early 1830s.[3]

Reverend Luke Booker and other leading Anglicans re-asserted themselves against the rise of nonconformity. In 1815, they secured a private act of parliament to demolish the mediaeval parish church of St Thomas and re-build it on a grander

[1] An overview of Dudley's population figures throughout the period of this thesis is given in chapter 2, especially table 2.1.
[2] *Abstract of answers and returns under the Population Act*, *1831: Enumeration Abstract,* Vol. 1 (London? 1833?), p. 714. Note: the census figures for Dudley were for the parish as a whole; there were no separate figures for the town.
[3] The trajectory of the rise of the reform movement in Dudley closely followed that seen nationally, for which see: E.A. Smith, *Reform or Revolution? A Diary of Reform in England, 1830-1832* (Stroud, 1992).

scale.[4] Part of the funding was allowed to come from a parish rate, payable by all ratepayers, regardless of their religion.[5] The Anglicans then hoped to build a district church at Netherton. Dudley also witnessed the first major splits within Methodism. As early as 1818, followers of the Kilhamite break-away were meeting in the town and Primitive Methodists formed a group there shortly afterwards.[6] Despite the growth of Methodism, or 'new dissent', most of those leading political opposition in Dudley came from ‘old dissent’, particularly Unitarians and Independents. This chapter asks the question: to what extent and how did the growth in demand for change in Dudley in the period from 1815 to 1832, and the reaction against it, reflect national political and religious conflict and to what extent was it shaped by local factors? To answer the question, the period is broken into three sub-periods. The first, 1815 to 1820, covers the end of the French wars to Peterloo and the Queen Caroline affair. The second, 1821 to 1829, includes Samuel Cook’s early campaigns and the reduction of religious inequalities. The third, 1830 to 1832, focuses on the battle for parliamentary reform. This chapter begins with a discussion of the historiography on the subject, followed by a critical overview of the main primary sources.

---

[4] Great Britain, Acts of Parliament, Local and Personal Act, 55 George III, cap. 44: *An Act for Taking Down and Rebuilding the Parish Church of Saint Thomas, in the Town of Dudley, in the County of Worcester* (12th May 1815).
[5] Ibid., p. 1.
[6] The founding dates of the Kilhamites (later known as the Methodist New Connexion) are better documented than the early history of Primitive Methodism in the Black Country which relies on memoirs. From 1824 there are surviving minutes for the Darlaston circuit of the Primitive Methodists which included Dudley. These show that by 1827 Primitive Methodists in Dudley had 79 members with a further nineteen at Netherton. Walsall Local History Centre, 42/1/1, Records of Darlaston (Slater Street) Primitive Methodist Circuit; minutes, 1824-1832, Circuit membership list, March 1827; S.G. Davies, (comp), *Wesley Chapel, Dudley, 1829-1929, a Centenary Souvenir* (Dudley, 1929), p. 13; J, Petty, *The History of the Primitive Methodist Connexion: from its Origin to the Conference of 1860, the First Jubilee Year of the Connexion,* rev ed. (London, 1864), p. 116.

Historiography and primary sources

James Hobson describes the period after 1815 in Britain as years of 'darkness'.[7] At times, this darkness was real as well as figurative. The volcanic eruption at Mount Tambora in April 1815, together with other climatic changes, led to 1816 being termed 'the year without a summer' and harvests failed over a very large area, including Britain.[8] Less tangibly, Hobson relates the 'darkness' of these years to 'the consequences of Britain's first "total war"' which left the country in economic depression.[9] Large numbers of demobilised soldiers and sailors ('no less than 300,000 men', according to Lord Castlereagh) swelled the ranks of unemployed, while the ending of the wars depressed both the iron trade and the dependent mining industry.[10] This chapter looks at the local aspects of the postwar period and their implications for politics and religion. Three studies provide different perspectives on the period. Edward Royle considers the fear of revolution that permeated British governing classes and similar concerns were prevalent in Dudley.[11] Eileen Growth Lyon concentrates on the contribution by 'Christian radicals'.[12] She claims Samuel Cook as a member of the 'coterie', but she also argues that 'Christian radicalism was in no sense tied to a specific denominational outlook'. This thesis emphasises Cook's position within the Independent religious

---

[7] J. Hobson, *Dark Days of Georgian Britain: Rethinking the Regency* (Barnsley, 2017), pp. 1-4.
[8] Mount Tambora is on the island of Sumbawa in present-day Indonesia. For a consideration of the fallout from its eruption on 10 April 1815 see: G. D'Arcy Wood, *Tambora: The Eruption that Changed the World* (Princeton, 2014). The original source of the expression 'the year without a summer' has not been traced.
[9] Hobson, *Dark Days of Georgian Britain,* p. 7.
[10] Lord Castlereagh (the Foreign Secretary) in the House of Commons: 'Motion for a committee on the public income and expenditure', *Hansard,* Vol. 35, 7 February 1817, cc. 253-273, especially col. 255.
[11] E. Royle, *Revolutionary Britannia? Reflections on the Threat of Revolution in Britain, 1789-1848* (Manchester and New York, 2000).
[12] E.G. Lyon, *Politicians in the Pulpit: Christian Radicalism from the Fall of the Bastille to the Disintegration of Chartism* (Aldershot etc., 1999).

tradition.[13] Katrina Navickas draws attention to the 'politics of space and place', with a study based on Manchester before and after 'Peterloo'.[14] On a smaller scale, 'space and place' are shown to be significant in the political and religious development of Dudley. None of the histories of Dudley analyses religious developments in this period or discusses the scandal over the plans for a new church at Netherton, as is done here. This chapter corrects mistakes, including Ian Hannah's incorrect assertion that the same architect designed both St Thomas's and St Andrew's church at Netherton.[15] It also challenges George Barnsby's failure to identify nonconformism as a significant factor in Dudley's reform movement.[16] Unlike Barnsby, Roger Leese notes that some Methodists in Dudley were active in the reform agitation of the early 1830s but, like Barnsby he fails to separate the two political unions established in Dudley, which this chapter corrects.[17] Both David Cox and J.R. Williams study civil unrest in the Black Country; this thesis builds on those earlier studies, adding political context for the reaction to the unrest seen in Dudley.[18] Charles Elwell's study of the Dudley Pitt Club is one of the few to consider Tory politics in this period.[19] This thesis evaluates both the Tories

[13] Ibid., p. 5.
[14] K. Navickas, *Protest and the Politics of Space and Place, 1789-1848* (Manchester, 2016).
[15] I.C. Hannah, 'V. Priory and churches', in G. Chandler and I.C. Hannah, *Dudley As it Was and As it Is To-day*, (London, 1949), pp. 68-69.
[16] G.J. Barnsby, *The Dudley Working Class Movement, 1750 to 1860* (Dudley, 1986), pp. 14-17.
[17] R. Leese, 'The impact of Methodism on Black Country society, 1743-1860' (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Manchester, 1972), pp. 284-285.
[18] D. Cox, 'Civil unrest in the Black Country 1750-1837 (Part 2: the colliers' march of 1816)', *The Blackcountryman*, Vol. 36, No. 1 (2002), pp. 9-12; J.R. Williams, 'The 1831 riots in the Black Country', in 3 parts; *The Blackcountryman*, Vol. 7, No. 3 (1974), pp 17-25, Vol. 7, No. 4 (1974), pp. 23-30 and Vol. 8, No. 1 (1975), pp. 40-46; J.R. Williams, 'Trials ensuing from the 1831 Black Country riots', in 2 parts; *The Blackcountryman,* Vol. 12, No. 1 (1979), pp. 18-25 and Vol. 12, No. 2 (1979), pp. 10-14.
[19] C.J.L. Elwell, 'The Black Country Pitt Clubs, Part 1 – Dudley', in C.J.L. Elwell (ed.), *Black Country Essays and Reviews,* 2nd revised ed. (Kingswinford, 1998), pp. 94-98.

and their opponents, analysing fluctuations in power between the opposing factions.

Archival materials, held by Dudley Archives and Local History Service (DALHS), include a rich collection of pamphlets and other political ephemera, together with material attributed to Samuel Cook, but the coverage is uneven, and some material is undated, lessening its usefulness. DALHS also has minute books for various local bodies. Relevant documents at the National Archives include Home Office documents and court papers. Local newspapers form the second most important primary source. Without its own local newspaper, Dudley's news is found in those of its neighbours, particularly Birmingham, Wolverhampton and Worcester. Newspapers reflected the bias of the male-dominated, propertied class that supported them. In this period, probably only Birmingham, in the West Midlands, had a large enough radical element to support local radical papers for any length of time. The published works of Reverend Luke Booker, as well as jottings he made in the back of a parish register, provide insights into this period and show him becoming increasingly reactionary in later life.[20] However, Booker was either absent or inactive during the cholera epidemic of 1832 and there are no accounts of Dudley's outbreak to compare with those written by the incumbents of Bilston and Sedgley.[21] The town experienced extensive social and political activity between 1815 and 1820.

---

[20] Dudley Archives and Local History Service (DALHS), PR17/1/1/10, Parish of Dudley, St Thomas, Parish Register, Baptisms: 1794-1812, notes written at the back by the Reverend Luke Booker.
[21] W. Leigh, *An Authentic Narrative of the Melancholy Occurrences at Bilston, in the County of Stafford during the Awful Visitation in that Town by Cholera, in the Months of August and September, 1832* (Wolverhampton, 1833); C. Girdlestone, *Seven Sermons, Preached during the Prevalence of Cholera, in the Parish of Sedgley: Together with a Narrative of the Awful Visitation, and of the Religious Impression Produced in the South of Stafford Mining District* (London, 1833).

Dudley, 1815-1820

Post-war distress

The Black Country, including Dudley, experienced widespread distress in the post-war years. This caused social unrest in response to hardship rather than overt political activity. In November 1815, miners in the South Staffordshire coalfield took strike action over wage reductions. Local newspapers carried confused reports of colliers demonstrating or rioting in several Black Country towns.[22] In January 1816, Dudley was mentioned as one of the centres of 'agitation'.[23] For the authorities, the strikes were a law-and-order issue which necessitated military intervention. Thomas Hawkes, a Dudley glass manufacturer destined to become Dudley's first Conservative MP, was a prominent magistrate.[24] He chaired a meeting in Dudley which began a subscription 'for defraying the expences (sic) of apprehending and prosecuting offenders' and praised the military for 'repressing the late disturbances'.[25] Booker, another Tory magistrate, concentrated on the humanitarian role of organising distress committees, getting press coverage and raising money for those suffering.[26] The committees were keen to distinguish 'real want from artful imposition' which seems similar to the conditional help, or 'cold charity' that Hobson notes in other towns.[27] Support for the Dudley Pitt Club, which was established in 1813 and lasted till 1821 (chapter

---

[22] *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 15 November 1815, p. 2 & 22 November 1815, p. 2.
[23] *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 31 January 1816, p. 3.
[24] Appendix 1 includes biographical information for Hawkes (A17).
[25] The greatest contribution to the subscription was made by Viscount Dudley and Ward, but several coal and ironmasters also made large contributions. *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 28 February 1816, pp. 2-3.
[26] Appendix 1 includes biographical information for Booker (A6).
[27] For a discussion of how the poorest classes continued to be viewed and treated see: T. Murphy, 'The nomenclature of the *underserving (sic)* poor: an enduring history of marginalisation', *Journal on European History of Law,* Vol. 6, No. 1 (2015), pp. 103-108; *The Courier,* 21 August 1816, p. 1; Hobson, *Dark Days of Georgian Britain,* pp. 49-53.

2), also showed Dudley's conservative and loyalist propensity.[28] Discussing the club's leadership, Elwell claims that Booker was its 'moving spirit', although Elwell makes errors in his assessment of Booker.[29] Following Waterloo, the loyalists continued to express their patriotism. In 1819 members of the Pitt Club found it convenient to move their annual dinner from Pitt's birthday to Waterloo Day.[30] Barnsby incorrectly claims that the Pitt Club was established in 1819 as a response to 'the strength of Dudley radicalism'.[31] He was confusing the Pitt Club with the Constitutional Association which is discussed below.[32]

Despite, or because of, the widespread distress across Britain, the country's radicals tried to resurrect the pressure for parliamentary reform. They tried various initiatives, with some, like Henry ('Orator') Hunt, holding large, open-air rallies.[33] Hampden clubs or Union societies, were revived in many localities to petition for change.[34] Several were formed in the Midlands, but not including Dudley, where no active radicals have been identified before 1818/19.[35]

---

[28] DALHS, DSCAM 6/2/7, Records of Messrs Slater and Camm, Records of the Dudley Pitt Club (1813-1821).
[29] Elwell perpetuated the story that Booker was a pluralist, despite lack of evidence and there are other inaccuracies over Booker's career and dates. Elwell, 'The Black Country Pitt Clubs, Part 1 – Dudley', pp. 94-95 & 98.
[30] This move was fairly simple as Pitt's Birthday was 28 May and Waterloo Day was 18 June. DALHS, DSCAM 6/2/7/22 & 24, Dudley Pitt Club, minutes etc, 1819.
[31] Barnsby, *The Dudley Working Class Movement,* pp. 7-8.
[32] DAHLS, DSCAM 6/2/7, Records of the Dudley Pitt Club (1813-1821); DAHLS, DSCAM 6/2/2, Records of Messrs Slater and Camm, Papers of the Dudley Constitutional Association and other materials relating to riot and sedition (1819-1821).
[33] John Belchem terms this practice 'the radical mass platform': J. Belchem, *Popular Radicalism in Nineteenth-century Britain,* (Basingstoke, 1996), pp. 41-42.
[34] Belchem, *Popular Radicalism in Nineteenth-century Britain,* pp.38-39 & 42; Royle, *Revolutionary Britannia?* p. 43.
[35] The radical, George Edmonds presided over an important Hampden Club in Birmingham: S. Thomas, 'George Edmonds and the development of Birmingham radicalism' (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Birmingham, 2020).

Dudley's loyalist leaders held positions of authority from which they could challenge radicals. Booker was appointed a 'Chaplain in Ordinary' to the Prince Regent, before being officially presented at a levee in June 1816.[36] When the Prince's carriage was attacked as he returned from opening Parliament in January 1817, Booker held a meeting which drew up a loyal address to the Prince Regent.[37] It blamed radicals for agitating the populace with 'wild and visionary plans of pretended reform'.[38] Radicals were also criticised for their objectives of '"Universal Suffrage, Annual Parliaments'', and what they term ''a more equal Representation of the People"'.[39] Although no reformers in Dudley refuted Booker's analysis, he was challenged by the Birmingham radical, William Hawkes Smith, editor of *The Birmingham Inspector*.[40] The attack on the Prince Regent's coach, and other alleged conspiracies, gave the government an excuse to introduce repressive measures, including the suspension of habeas corpus.[41] Booker published a letter on 'Christian Loyalty' in *The Birmingham Commercial Herald*.[42] Although using figurative language, he backed the government's measures, arguing that they safeguarded people and property. Referring to radicals or reformists, Booker condemned 'wild empirics and designing demagogues' for 'scattering … their noxious notions over the prurient minds of unwary people'. He argued that, by opposing both God and the King, these men

[36] *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 22 February 1815, p. 2 & 5 June 1816, p. 2.
[37] *Birmingham Commercial Herald and General Advertiser,* 8 February 1817, p. 3.
[38] *Birmingham Commercial Herald and General Advertiser,* 8 February 1817, p. 3; *Aris's Birmingham Gazette,* 10 February 1817, p. 3.
[39] *Birmingham Commercial Herald and General Advertiser,* 8 February 1817, p. 3; *Aris's Birmingham Gazette,* 10 February 1817, p. 3.
[40] *The Birmingham Inspector,* 15 February 1817, p. 76.
[41] Royle, *Revolutionary Britannia?* pp. 45-51; Wright, *Popular Radicalism: The Working-class Experience, 1780-1880*, pp. 68-70.
[42] *Birmingham Commercial Herald and General Advertiser*, 15 March 1817, p. 3.

promoted atheism and anarchy and he recommended that his ‘fellow Britons’ should ‘shun them as ye would a pestilence’.[43]

In contrast, Hawkes Smith addressed an editorial in *The Birmingham Inspector* ‘to the inhabitants of Dudley’, defending ‘the friends of Reform' against Booker who, he claimed, offered no proof for his accusations.[44] However, Smith criticised ‘the inhabitants of Dudley’ for not attending the local meeting and challenging the terms of the loyal address. It was, he argued, ‘this lukewarmness, this indifference, which injured the cause of truth’.[45] Such criticism confirms how little the loyalist preponderance was challenged within Dudley. That changed in August 1819 when a peaceful reform meeting in Manchester was violently dispersed by the forces of law and order, at the behest of local magistrates.[46] Several leading journalists wrote eye-witness accounts, spreading the news of what critics called the massacre of Peterloo. The reaction to Peterloo in Dudley mirrored that seen nationwide.[47]

Reaction to Peterloo

Whilst Peterloo outraged radicals, the Prince Regent, the government and loyalists backed the actions of the magistrates and the troops. According to Boyd Hilton, the Home Office’s reaction to Peterloo was to ‘mobilize a loyal press’ and encourage local meetings to make public declarations of loyalty.[48] They also tried to crack down on ‘seditious’ material, which was any printed matter that was

[43] Ibid.
[44] *The Birmingham Inspector,* 26 April 1817, pp. 169-175.
[45] Ibid., p. 172.
[46] R. Poole, *Peterloo: The English Uprising* (Oxford, 2019), pp. 293-325.
[47] Ibid., pp. 355-359.
[48] B. Hilton, *A Mad, Bad, and Dangerous People? England 1783-1846* (Oxford, 2006), p. 252.

critical of the government. Booker's drive against such material in Dudley is considered in chapter 4.[49] However, it was not Booker but Francis Downing, the mayor and Lord Dudley's main agent, who called a meeting on 1 October 1819 to discuss another loyal address to the Prince Regent condemning recent 'turbulent Meetings' and 'seditious and blasphemous Publications'.[50] Again, they argued that the call for parliamentary reform was only a pretext for subversion.[51] The resolution sent to newspapers claimed that 'it is not Reform, but Revolution, Anarchy and general Plunder, and the Subversion of the Laws, Government, and Religion of the Country, that is their ultimate Object'.[52] Radicals tried to disrupt the meeting which they claimed was rigged. The only named radical was their leader, Francis Finch, who later became Walsall's first radical MP.[53] Finch was a businessman and a member of the Dudley Unitarian Finch family.[54] He seems to have tried to read a prepared statement condemning Peterloo but was prevented because it was deemed 'irrelevant'.[55] The loyalists claimed that many of the disruptive radicals at the meeting were outsiders, particularly from Birmingham.[56] The disagreements between the two sides continued in the following weeks, firstly in a fairly genteel pamphlet exchange, then later in a hard-hitting, but short-lived, radical paper, *The Patriot.* Finch and John Wallace, who edited *The Patriot* and

---

[49] The National Archives (TNA), HO 42/194, f.35, Home Office: Domestic Correspondence, George III, Letters and papers, Handbill, 1819.
[50] Booker seems to have been away from town for a short spell.
[51] *Berrow's Worcester Journal,* 7 October 1819, p. 3.
[52] Ibid.
[53] Appendix 1 includes biographical detail for Finch (A15).
[54] Francis Finch married into a well-known nonconformist family with radical connections, the Rogers family of Stourbridge and Stoke Newington: J. Ellis, *Glassmakers of Stourbridge and Dudley 1612-2002. A Biographical History of a Once Great Industry* (Harrogate, 2002), pp. 77-78 and notes, especially note 44, p. 89.
[55] *A Reply to the Faithful Unvarnished Narrative, Concerning the Late Dudley Meeting* (Dudley, 1819), pp. 9-10.
[56] Ibid., p. 3.

may have been its sole contributor, are the only known radical leaders connected to Dudley in this period.[57]

After Peterloo, the loyalists continued to re-assert themselves, both regionally and locally. In November 1819, the size of the Staffordshire Yeomanry was increased.[58] Shortly afterwards, Hawkes raised a troop at Himley under his command.[59] His call for recruits was addressed to 'All Enemies of Blasphemy and Rebellion – all lovers of Church and King'. To Hawkes, 'revolution or radical reform' were indistinguishable, and he identified the enemies of the state as 'licentious sons of violence' and 'Traitors to their King, their Country and their God'. Hawkes was close to Booker, both in the way he used religious and political arguments and his tone and expressions. Following the establishment of 'the Birmingham Loyal Association', in December 1819, Dudley's loyalists formed a similar society 'for the suppression of blasphemy and sedition', supported by annual subscriptions of a guinea per member.[60] Renamed 'the Dudley constitutional association for the suppression of disloyalty, blasphemy and sedition', it pressed the Home Office to prosecute both Wallace and his printer, George Walters for publishing *The Patriot*

[57] Both men were Unitarians, and both had experience of living in other towns. Finch was born in Cambridge whilst Wallace had been born in Dudley but had been living in Wolverhampton. More biographical information about Wallace is included in appendix 1 (A29).
[58] *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 10 November 1819, p. 2 & 17 November 1819, pp. 2-3. Note: Himley was a village about four miles from Dudley. Hawkes lived next door to Viscount Dudley and Ward's main residence, Himley Hall.
[59] DALHS, PO/346, PC, Religion! Loyalty! and Himley! (Dudley, 1819). This handbill is reproduced in appendix 1, figure A17.1.
[60] TNA, HO 42/199, f. 103, Birmingham Loyal Association, statement of purpose, 20 November 1819 (Birmingham, 1819); DALHS, DSCAM 6/2/2/2, Records of Messrs Slater and Camm, Dudley Constitutional Association, resolutions, 1819.

(chapter 4).[61] Politically, the loyalists were in the ascendant, but this was not the end of political conflict.

The Queen Caroline affair

Political controversy revived during the Queen Caroline affair in 1820 and 1821. When the Prince Regent ascended the throne as George IV, he persuaded the government to introduce legislation to allow him to divorce his estranged wife, Caroline, and bar her from his coronation.[62] Opposition groups, including radicals, rallied to support Caroline.[63] When the government abandoned its 'bill of pains and penalties' in November 1820, radicals across the country celebrated, including in Dudley.[64] The 'Constitutional Association' praised Dudley's magistrates for acting to prevent 'riot and seditious tumult' following what some called 'the triumph of the Queen', but *The Black Dwarf* printed a satirical account of their actions.[65] To counter the abuse being aimed at the King, Dudley's loyalists drew up another loyal address in their accustomed style:

> This meeting contemplates with emotions of grief, indignation and horror, the present unexampled and atrocious attempts of wicked, daring and revolutionary demagogues, to delude and entrap the ignorant and unwary,

---

[61] DALHS, DSCAM, 6/2/2/22-31, Records of Messrs Slater and Camm, Dudley Constitutional Association, Correspondence between the Dudley Constitutional Association and Home Office officials, 1819-20; Appendix 1 includes biographical information about Wallace (A29) and Walters (A31).
[62] See, for instance, J. Robins, *Rebel Queen: How the Trial of Caroline Brought England to the Brink of Revolution* (London, 2006), pp. 95-97 & 142-143.
[63] William Cobbett was one of the first to rally to defend Caroline. *Robins,* Rebel Queen, pp, 146-164 etc.
[64] However, Boyd Hilton argues that the revelations of Caroline's conduct, which came out at her trial and the rowdiness of some of her supporters, had begun to alienate 'respectable reformers'. B. Hilton, *A Mad, Bad, and Dangerous People? England 1783-1846* (Oxford, 2006), pp. 269-270.
[65] *The Black Dwarf* was a satirical journal edited by the radical, T.J. Wooler. DALHS, DSCAM, 6/2/2/3, Records of Messrs Slater and Camm Dudley Constitutional Association, minutes, 1820-1821, draft resolution 19 November 1820; *The Black Dwarf,* 22 November 1820, p. 724.

> and particularly those of the poor and labouring classes, and to seduce them from their allegiance to their King, their reverence for the laws, and the devotional service due from them to Almighty God.[66]

The text reveals how the loyalists were particularly concerned that, in their view, the working classes might be corrupted by the radicals. By emphasising together, allegiance to the king, the rule of law and religious devotion, the loyalists demonstrated how closely they linked politics and religion. The loyalists also criticised the Queen for:

> having suffered herself to be deluded by the artifices of designing men, and having stooped to become the Mob-Idol of the day - the rallying point of a factious populace - whose leaders, under the specious name and guise of liberty, aim at the subversion of the throne and the constitution, and are forging for this free people fetters of the most servile bondage.[67]

This extract shows the loyalists taking a different view of 'liberty' from that used by the radicals. Whether consciously or not, this address reflects the views of the conservative philosopher Edmund Burke who equated liberty with ‘social freedom’ and argued that ‘liberty can only flourish and be beneficial in an orderly society of moral, religious people’.[68]

More disturbances followed George’s coronation on 19 July 1821. Members of Dudley’s Constitutional Association thanked Hawkes for suppressing ‘a daring

---

[66] DALHS, DSCAM 6/2/2/5, Records of Messrs Slater and Camm, Dudley Constitutional Association, minutes, 1820-1821, Address to the King’s Most Excellent Majesty, (1820).
[67] Ibid.
[68] J. Attarian, ‘Edmund Burke: champion of ordered liberty’, *The Intercollegiate Review,* Vol. 33, No. 1 (Fall, 1997), pp. 37-43, especially p. 40.

and dangerous riot'.[69] They also pressed charges against the rioters and were indignant that a petition and subscriptions were organised to aid convicted rioters.[70] One of those arrested for rioting, but not found guilty, was Thomas Wood.[71] He was then described as 'a shopman', but he and several of his brothers became important shopkeepers and some of Dudley's first Liberals.[72] Barred from the coronation, Caroline died shortly afterwards. Thereafter, radicalism in Dudley, as in the rest of Britain, abated for a time.

Dudley was dominated by a loyalist establishment which was closely connected to the government, whilst also having links with like-thinking men in the West Midlands. Their priority was maintaining law and order and protecting their dominance of the status quo. They supported the monarchy and the government with arguments that were political, religious and philosophical. Before Peterloo caused a nationwide radical backlash, there are no records of overt political conflict in Dudley. The two radical spokesmen who emerged, Finch and Wallace, were Unitarians with experience of the wider world. Radicalism in Dudley relied on outside support, particularly from Birmingham. The discussion of the next period begins with an evaluation of the part played by Samuel Cook in opposing Dudley's establishment, and how this connected with growing opposition to the Anglican and political establishment, locally and nationally.

---

[69] DALHS, DSCAM, 6/2/2/8, Records of Messrs Slater and Camm, Dudley Constitutional Association, minutes, 1820-1821, resolution, 26 July 1821.
[70] DALHS, DSCAM, 6/2/2/2, Records of Messrs Slater and Camm, Dudley Constitutional Association, minutes, 1820-1821, minutes 4 October and 15 November 1821.
[71] Appendix 1 includes biographical information about the Wood family (A34).
[72] Wood had been present and supported Caroline, but he was one of several who had charges against them of violent conduct dropped for lack of evidence. *Birmingham and Lichfield Chronicle,* 2 August 1821, p. 2; *Berrow's Worcester Journal,* 25 October 1821, p. 2; *Aris's Birmingham Gazette,* 29 October 1821, p. 4.

Dudley, 1821 to 1829

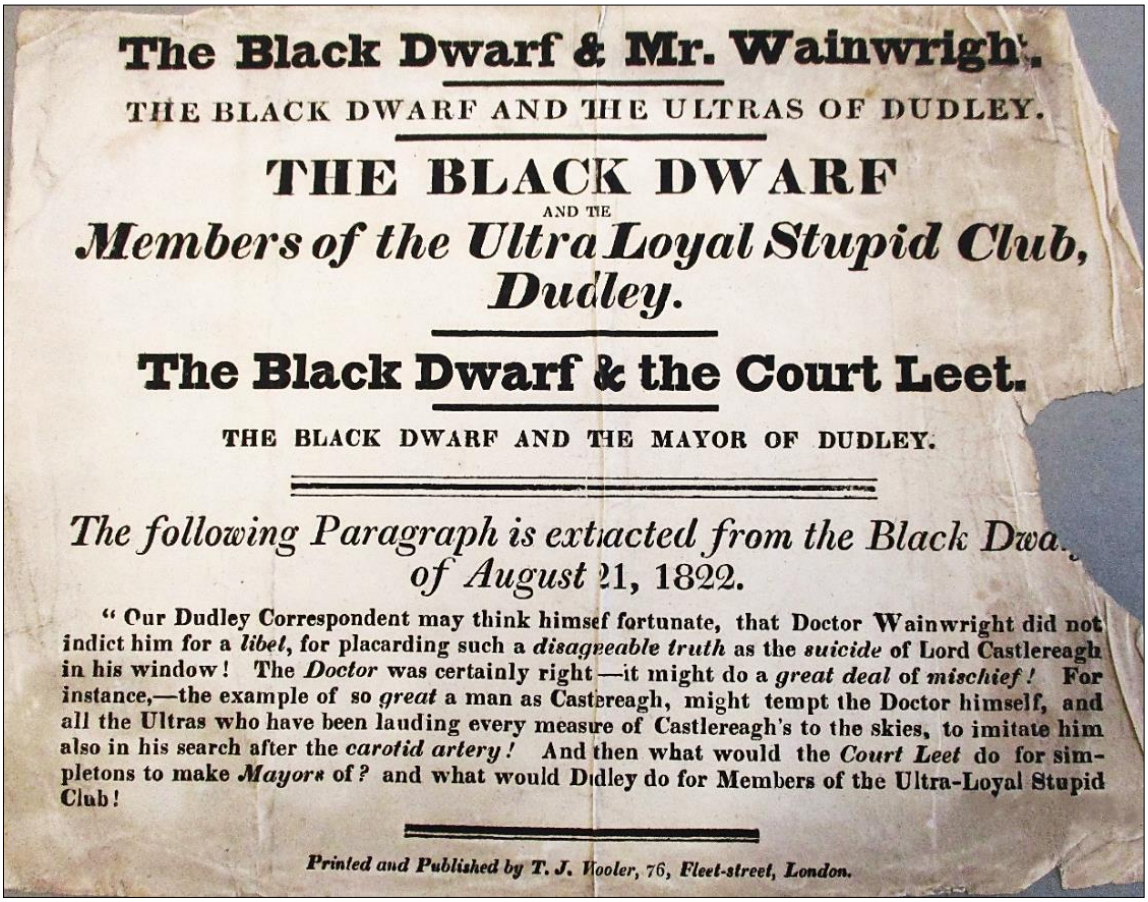
Samuel Cook and dissent

After the Peterloo and Queen Caroline controversies abated, neither Finch nor Wallace took further part in Dudley's politics.[73] However, 1819 saw the arrival in Dudley of Samuel Cook who opened a draper's shop at the top of Dudley's High Street, near the parish church and became the chief voice of radicalism in the town until his death in 1861.[74] Cook, who was a native of Trowbridge, Wiltshire, but had spent time in Birmingham, Liverpool, and Manchester, embodied the early nineteenth-century alliance of religious and political dissent.[75] An advocate of free speech and open government, he used his shop window as a noticeboard, disseminating information and his opinions. As a radical and nonconformist, Cook was the opposite of Booker, and the two men locked into mutual hostility. In the 1820s, Cook's was the lone voice of protest in Dudley, so he sought encouragement from further afield, corresponding with national dissenters and radicals such as John Wilks and Thomas Wooler.[76] Cook was probably the source of *The Black Dwarf* article about the Dudley magistrates in November 1820.[77] On 21 August 1822, an article by Wooler noted that an unnamed Dudley

---

[73] Biographical information for Finch and Wallace, including what they did after ending their association with Dudley, is given in appendix 1; A15 for Finch and A29 for Wallace.
[74] George Barnsby reproduces a poster (which is not available elsewhere) in which Cook announces that he has opened his new shop on 8 May 1819. Therefore, he had arrived before the fractious meeting about Peterloo, but he is not recorded as taking part in it, possibly because the reports concentrated on the part played by Francis Finch, though even he is not named in newspaper reports. G. J. Barnsby, *The Dudley Working Class Movement, 1750 to 1860* (Dudley, 1986), p.12; *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 6 October 1819, pp. 2 & 3.
[75] Biographical information for Cook is given in appendix 1, A12.
[76] Wilks was secretary of the Protestant Society for the Protection of Religious Liberty. Wooler was best known as the editor of the satirical paper *The Black Dwarf*. DALHS Z44, MC, Material relating to Samuel Cook and the Dudley Working Men's Institute (1822-1860), Draft or copy letter to John Wilks, with reply (1823), Draft letter to Mr Wooller (sic) (8 July 1823).
[77] *The Black Dwarf,* 22 November 1820, p. 724.

correspondent (almost certainly Cook) had infuriated Dr Wainwright and other Tories by 'placarding' the news of Lord Castlereagh's suicide.[78] Wooler also produced a handbill and, presumably, sent it to Cook for him to continue 'placarding' (figure 3.1).



The Black Dwarf & Mr. Wainwrigh.

THE BLACK DWARF AND THE ULTRAS OF DUDLEY.

THE BLACK DWARF
AND THE
Members of the Ultra Loyal Stupid Club, Dudley.

The Black Dwarf & the Court Leet.

THE BLACK DWARF AND THE MAYOR OF DUDLEY.

The following Paragraph is extracted from the Black Dwa[rf] of August 21, 1822.

" Our Dudley Correspondent may think himsef fortunate, that Doctor Wainwright did not indict him for a *libel*, for placarding such a *disagreable truth* as the *suicide* of Lord Castlereagh in his window! The *Doctor* was certainly right—it might do a *great deal* of *mischief!* For instance,—the example of so *great* a man as Castlereagh, might tempt the Doctor himself, and all the Ultras who have been lauding every measure of Castlereagh's to the skies, to imitate him also in his search after the *carotid artery!* And then what would the *Court Leet* do for simpletons to make *Mayors* of? and what would Dudley do for Members of the Ultra-Loyal Stupid Club!

Printed and Published by T. J. Wooler, 76, Fleet-street, London.

Figure 3.1. Handbill by *The Black Dwarf,* publicising an incident in Dudley, following Lord Castlereagh's suicide, 1822.[79]

[78] Lord Castlereagh was the Foreign Secretary and a major figure in the government. The original 'placard' has not survived. *The Black Dwarf,* 21 August 1822, p. 268.
[79] DALHS, PO/334, PC, The Black Dwarf & Mr Wainwright (London, 1822?).

On occasions, crowds gathered to read the material in Cook's shop window. Wooler's handbill disparaging Dr Wainwright, a pre-eminent man in Dudley, would have drawn much attention (figure 3.1).[80]

When political controversy abated, Cook concentrated on religious issues. In Trowbridge, he had been baptised as a Presbyterian, although afterwards he attended Independent chapels.[81] From both religious traditions he drew an active dislike of Episcopalianism and the concept of a state church.[82] As well as his doctrinal opposition, Cook was a reluctant ratepayer, demanding value for money, open decision-making, and public accountability.[83] He attacked compulsory church levies with both religious and legal arguments, but fuelling his opposition was his opinion that the Church of England was profligate with the people's money.[84]

---

[80] 'Mr Wainwright' was Thomas Wainwright, a surgeon, as was his father (known by a painting by Thomas Phillips: *Doctor Joseph Wainwright*). Thomas Wainwright was not, as the handbill might imply, the current mayor, though he had been and may have still been a member of the court leet.
[81] Wiltshire and Swindon Archives, Chippenham, Church records: Silver Street Presbyterian Chapel, Trowbridge, register of baptisms, 1757 to 1837; Cook claimed to have taught in the Sunday School where George Holyoake was later a scholar, which would have been the Independent chapel in Carrs Lane, Birmingham. This was in a letter from Cook originally published in *The British Banner. The Reasoner,* No. 13, 30 March 1853, pp. 197-198; The Cooks' first child was baptised at the Independent chapel in Great George Street, Liverpool, 11 July 1813: England & Wales, Non-Conformist and Non-Parochial Registers, 1567-1936, accessed through Ancestry.Com [accessed 25 November 2023]; there are many references to Cook attending the Independent chapel in Dudley, for instance: DALHS, N/C/DUD/KIN/3/2/1, King Street Congregational Church (formerly the Independent Chapel**),** Pew rent book, 1847-1898.
[82] Several of Cook's handbills are critical of episcopalianism. His continuing opposition to church rates is studied in chapter 6. DALHS, SC/99, SCC, Is Protestant Episcopalianism alias what is called Church of England-ism… (Hand-written notice attributed to Samuel Cook, n.d.); SC/100, SCC, Do Protestant Episcopalians derive their Religion from the Bible… (Hand-written notice attributed to Samuel Cook, n.d.); SC/23, SCC, Some of the principles of Dudley radicalism (Dudley, 1834?); SC/121, SCC, To all People, That Religion which requires Physical force … (Dudley, 1848).
[83] These are frequent themes in Cook's handbills. See, for instance: DALHS, SC/1, SCC, The duties of Parish Officers and Rate Payers (Birmingham, 1824); SC/52, SCC, One thousand pounds. There is an entry in one of the parish books, (Hand-written notice attributed to Samuel Cook, n.d.); SC/18, SCC, To the inhabitants of the world. Men and women. (Dudley, 1854); SC/73, SCC, To Mr James Bourne Junr., Sir, I hereby inform you… (Hand-written notice attributed to Samuel Cook, 1826); SC/83, SCC, A meeting of the trustees of St Thomas's Church takes place on Saturday next … (Hand-written notice attributed to Samuel Cook, 1823).
[84] This is made apparent in his condemnation of the Fehr's affair and the controversy over a new church at Netherton, which is discussed below. DALHS, SC/65, SCC, Brookes (sic) has succeeded to the full amount (Hand-written notice attributed to Samuel Cook, n.d.); SC/67, SCC, A very pretty piece of business (Hand-written notice attributed to Samuel Cook, n.d.) SC/69, SCC, Mr Fehr's

Alongside political material in his shop window, Cook displayed both printed and hand-written notices challenging the church authorities, and Booker himself. One example of this is Cook asking questions about 'the Dudley Terrier' which is discussed below (figure 3.2).[85]

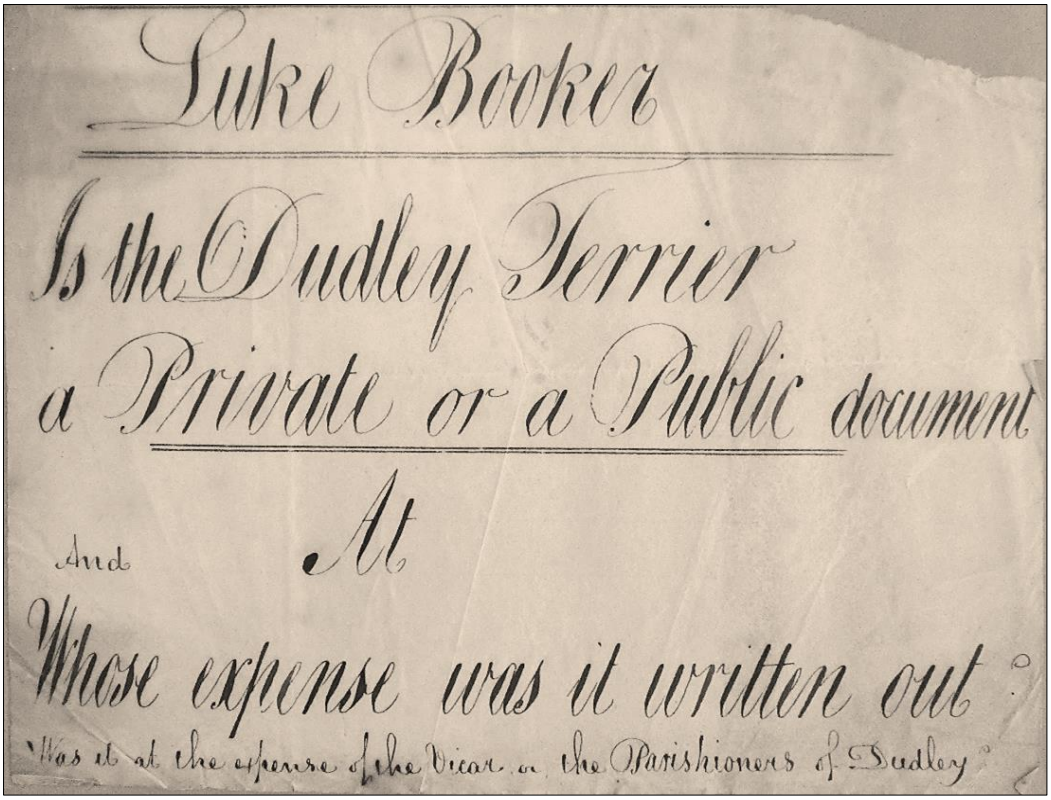


Figure 3.2. Notice attributed to Samuel Cook, questioning Luke Booker about 'the Dudley Terrier' (n.d.).[86]

business with the trustees is settled (Hand-written notice attributed to Samuel Cook, n.d.); SC/71, SCC, Every church rate payer. Your duty on Friday next… (Hand-written notice attributed to Samuel Cook, n.d.); SC/72, SCC, Rate Payers (Hand-written notice attributed to Samuel Cook, n.d.).

[85] A terrier was generally a land survey, but this probably refers to a 'glebe terrier' which were specifically drawn up to identify land and buildings in the parish belonging to the Church and often included both an inventory and a list of tithes and other charges. The church authorities could continue making charges if they could prove that they were long established. The terrier referred to is almost certainly the one dated 1585 that Booker used to justify charging Easter offerings. DALHS, SC/81, SCC, Luke Booker. Is the Dudley terrier… (hand-written notice attributed to Samuel Cook, n.d.).

[86] DALHS, SC/81, SCC, Luke Booker. Is the Dudley terrier… (hand-written notice attributed to Samuel Cook, n.d.).

Cook arrived in Dudley at a significant time for the Anglican church. After various delays, the new St Thomas's was opened in December 1819, carrying with it a considerable debt, which only became apparent later.[87] Some of Cook's earliest interventions asserted that ratepayers' money was being wasted.[88] In 1823 he attacked the Anglican leadership over proposals to build a district church at Netherton, the second largest settlement in Dudley parish. Booker wanted the Church Commissioners to fund a church there but early mistakes by the churchwardens, particularly Edward Guest, were rendered scandalous by an attempted cover-up which Cook exploited gleefully.[89] Guest was successfully sued for damages by William Brooks, the contracted architect. Guest might have tried to claim that he had been acting as churchwarden, so the ratepayers should pay the bill. Cook, therefore, urged fellow ratepayers to resist any such attempt (figure 3.3). There are no records that Guest, a wealthy nail-master, tried to do so, but Cook's fierce response may have helped dissuade him. The controversy delayed Netherton's new church and Booker did not lay the foundation stone till December 1827.[90]

---

[87] DALHS, PR17/3/7/4, Parish of Dudley, St Thomas: Order Book of the Trustees for re-building St Thomas's, 1815-1837.

[88] Note: it is hard to date Cook's earliest notices for most of them are hand-written and undated. However, the first could be in 1821 as he wrote three notices about the official collector, Thomas Fehr, failing to hand over the correct amount of money and the trustees of the new church being slow to take action. Fehr's accounts had been queried even before Cook arrived. DALHS, SC/82, SCC, Church Rate Payers, do your duty and attend the meeting this morning (Hand-written, n.d.); DALHS, SC/74, SCC, How are the Trustees, Churchwardens and Bondsmen going on respecting Mr Fehrs Five Hundred and Twelve Pounds?!!! (Hand-written, n.d.); DALHS, SC/69, SCC, Mr Fehrs business with the Trustees is settled (Hand-written, n.d.); DALHS, PR/17/3/7/4, Parish of Dudley, St Thomas: Order Book of the Trustees for re-building St Thomas's, 1815-1837. Trustees' Order Book, 12 & 18 February 1823 and 15 July 1823.

[89] Guest seems to have ignored the conditions of the Church Commissioners, that the parish could only use approved architects who would work to a simple, basic design and a contract was given to the London architect, William Brooks, who had designed the parish church of St Thomas. Brooks had to sue for payment of his work: 'Some reminiscences of Dudley in last century, III', *The Advertiser for Brierley Hill, Stourbridge, Dudley etc.,* 9 November 1901, p. 3; *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 19 March 1823, p. 3 & 26 March 1823 p. 3.

[90] In compliance with Church Commissioners' regulations, the new church was designed by Thomas Lee. Hawkes provided a cut-glass vase to hold mementos and be lodged within the masonry. The silver trowel presented to Booker for performing the ceremony became one of his

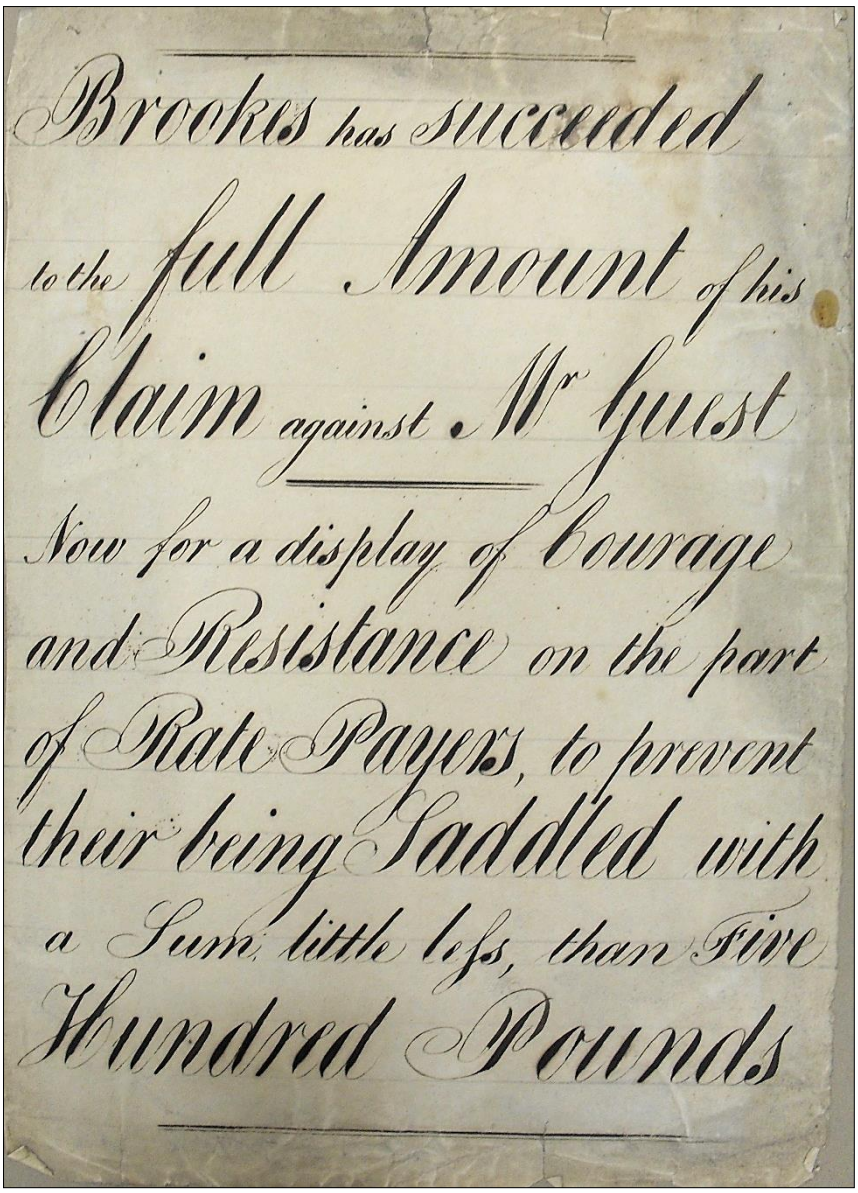


Figure 3.3. Samuel Cook's warning to ratepayers that they might be expected to pay Edward Guest's damages, c. 1823.[91]

In 1823 Cook also started objecting to church levies, following in the steps of several Quakers who had been distrained for non-payment in previous years.[92]

cherished possessions; it is one of only a few items mentioned in his will. *The Staffordshire Advertiser*, 8 December 1827, p. 3; TNA, PROB 11/1854/360, Will of Reverend, Doctor Luke Booker, Doctor of Laws, late Vicar of Dudley, Worcestershire, 1835.

[91] DALHS, SC/65, SCC, Brookes (sic) has succeeded (hand-written notice attributed to Samuel Cook, n.d. 1823?).

[92] The earliest from Dudley seems to be Richard? Southall who refused a militia levy in 1803. Thomas Boughey was distrained for not paying 'the warden's rate' in 1809, the first of several

Cook's earliest recorded refusal to pay was an 8d Easter offering due to Booker, for which Cook was summonsed to appear at the Town Hall to face Booker and a second, lay magistrate.[93] Cook later wrote: 'I complained of the absurdity of such a claim, that I was a Dissenter and had scruples of Conscience and could not suppose there was any Law to enforce the payment.'[94] The magistrates used the evidence of a terrier from 1585, and a statute on the recovery of clerical dues, to order Cook to pay the 8d with 10/- costs.[95] Unsure of his rights, Cook wrote to other campaigners, including Peter Watson in Chester-le-Street and John Wilks, the secretary of the Protestant Society for the Protection of Religious Liberty, asking if there were legal grounds for refusing.[96] In his letter to Watson Cook wrote that 'There is a general hatred in this neighbourhood to clerical exactions', whilst he told Wilks that he objected to paying Easter offerings because he considered them to be 'relics of Popery'.[97] There is no evidence that Watson replied, but Wilks advised that it was illegal to refuse.[98] Wooler was more encouraging. *The Black Dwarf* devoted a six-page article to Cook's case, arguing that the magistrates had quoted a law that dealt with how dues owing to the clergy could be collected, but gave no proof that any dues were owed.[99] The article was emphatic: 'We repeat

---

others. Worcestershire Archive and Archaeology Service (WAAS), b898.2, Accession no. 1303, parcel 18, Society of Friends Records, An Account of the Sufferings of Friends of the Quarterly Meeting of Herefordshire and Worcestershire, 1795-1827.

[93] Easter offerings were anciently levied by the Church on each member of a household eligible to take communion and were payable directly to the incumbent. DALHS Z44, MC, Material relating to Samuel Cook, draft or copy letters to Peter Watson and John Wilks and letter from John Wilks (1823); DAHLS, SC/77, SCC, To Luke Booker. Is not your claim (Hand-written, October 1823?).

[94] DALHS Z44, MC, Material relating to Samuel Cook, draft or copy letter to Peter Watson (Hand-written, October 1823).

[95] Cook's angry response is recorded in two of his hand-written notices. One of these is shown in figure 3.2. DALHS, SC/81, Luke Booker; DAHLS, SC/77, To Luke Booker.

[96] DALHS Z44, MC, Material relating to Samuel Cook, draft or copy letters to Peter Watson and John Wilks and letter from John Wilks (1823).

[97] Ibid.

[98] Ibid.

[99] *The Black Dwarf,* 29 October 1823*,* pp. 595-600.

that there is *no law* to warrant the demand of these extortions.'[100] The article also agreed that the offerings could be traced back to the Catholic Church and added that they would have been voluntary.[101] Subsequently, Cook refused to pay church rates. Shortly after Cook stirred up the scandal over Netherton church and questioned church levies, Booker took the lead in an act of revenge. Cook told Wooler that Booker and his allies had revoked Cook's membership of the subscription library, but Cook asked Wooler not to publicise it at present (chapter 4).[102]

By 1826, Cook's claims of victimisation were more serious. In June, he was before the magistrates, and cleared of a lesser charge when, according to Cook, he was immediately presented with a more serious charge.[103] A further recession had seen the wages of nailers reduced, leading to some local rioting and Cook responded by displaying material in his shop window that blamed the government for widespread poverty (figure 3.4).[104]

[100] Ibid., p. 597.
[101] Ibid., pp. 596-597.
[102] Another handbill from *The Black Dwarf* at DALHS may refer to this incident as it castigates the 'Dudley Loyalists' for their treatment of 'Mr Cook', calling it 'ridiculous revenge'. Unfortunately, it is undated. DAHLS, Z44, MC, Draft letter to Mr Wooller (sic) (dated 8 July 1823); DALHS, PO/515, PC, The Black Dwarf's opinion of the Dudley Loyalists (London, n.d.).
[103] *A Full Report of the Trial of Samuel Cook, Draper, Dudley, for an Alleged Seditious Libel, Tried at Worcester, August 1 1827 etc*. (Dudley, 1827), p. [2].
[104] *A Full Report of the Trial of Samuel Cook,* pp. 3-5 & 13 etc.

What was Pitt paid his salary for? What is Liverpool paid his salary for? What is Bathurst paid his salary for? What is Canning paid his salary for? What is Huskisson paid his salary for? What is Robinson paid his salary for? and what is Peel and many others paid his salary for? What! To bring starvation on the people? O England! England! England! Thou hast been the envy of surrounding nations and the admiration of the world. How art thou fallen, and how is thy glory become dim. Ah! Is there no impeachment awaits thy ministers of state? Let a minister's head suffer upon Tower Hill for every man or woman that dies of starvation, and we shall soon have an improvement of trade! Talk of distress!! How can there be any!! when three hundred thousand pounds are expending upon Windsor Castle and a million and a half in the erection of new churches? Starvation! It is that confounded thing called an Englishman's loyalty that has brought distress and starvation on the labouring classes of England.

The divine right of kings; What fun! The divine right of tithes; What fun! The divine right of episcopacy; What fun! Which are the best for a people, cheap kings or dear kings? Do kings come into the world with crowns upon their heads? While the tax producers are starving, the tax eaters are rioting in abundance.

Figure 3.4. Samuel Cook's written remarks for which he was tried for seditious libel, 1826/27.[105]

In his apparent criticism of government ministers, the first he named was the much-lauded Pitt. Cook included both the monarchy and the government's church-

[105] *A Full Report of the Trial of Samuel Cook,* pp. [1]-2.

building programme in his criticisms – jibes which would have particularly irritated Booker.[106] Cook's mockery of 'divine right' seems to have an echo of puritanism in it, whilst his disdain for kingship suggests he preferred republicanism. The language of the last sentence, particularly the mention of 'tax eaters', was probably inspired by William Cobbett.[107] Town leaders would have resented Cook's attacking so many of their revered institutions but equally serious was his apparent support for striking nailers. The Anglican and political establishment was still dominant, but Cook was an active and unbending critic who gave radicalism a powerful voice.

Cook's shop window was broken by a man acting for a constable, the offending items seized, and Cook was charged with publishing a seditious libel.[108] After some stalling, he was bailed and with his trial delayed several times, Cook was at liberty to continue clashing with the authorities.[109] In spring 1826, the Town Commissioners concluded that the only way to substantially improve Dudley's water supply was to apply for a new town act to gain powers for 'effectually supplying this town with water'.[110] Booker was a leading advocate for the improvement scheme and Cook threw himself into opposition, concentrating on

---

[106] Booker was an early advocate of the government helping to increase the number and capacity of Anglican churches. L. Booker, *An Address to the Imperial Legislature of the United Kingdom of Great Britain etc on Subjects of Importance to Church and State* (Monmouth, 1808).
[107] 'Tax eaters' was a phrase used by William Cobbett. See, for instance, *Cobbett's Weekly Register,* 7 May 1825, columns 321-323 etc.
[108] Cook's window was broken by a porter from the Dudley Arms Hotel, under the supervision of a 'constable' who gave the papers to 'Mr Badger' or 'Mr Hawkes', i.e. two local magistrates. Who initiated the action was not ascertained. *A Full Report of the Trial of Samuel Cook,* pp.17, 23-25, 29-31, 35-38, 49-56.
[109] *Berrows Worcester Journal,* 13 July 1826, p. 3; *Aris's Birmingham Gazette,* 26 March 1827, p. 4.
[110] DALHS, Dudley Town: Town Commissioners' Minutes, Volume 1 (1791-1832), 25 May 1826, 31 July 1826, 11 October 1826 etc.

the likely escalation of costs. When the Commissioners abandoned the idea, Cook celebrated as if having won a victory.[111] The defeat of the Commissioners' plan was the first time for which there is evidence of 'popular politics' affecting a local government issue in Dudley. When Cook's trial eventually took place, he was defended by John Campbell, who became Dudley's first MP after the 1832 Reform Act.[112] Campbell put forward several lines of defence and emphasised that no one had put their name to the complaint against Cook.[113] Answering his own question as to who was behind the indictment, Campbell argued: 'I suspect that there is some meddling Parson, or jobbing Attorney, who has some private revenge to gratify, or some secret prospect of gain to fulfil.'[114] Cook was only bound over to keep the peace. On his return, he was greeted by a large, enthusiastic crowd.[115]

Removal of religious inequalities

In the late 1820s, Parliament explored removing religious inequalities. As well as revived pressure from nonconformists, there was unrest in Ireland where the Catholic majority was discriminated against.[116] William Pitt, then the prime minister, had hoped that the 1800 Act of Union between Britain and Ireland would

---

[111] The abandonment was not recorded in the Commissioners' minutes, but they eventually paid off the civil engineer who had drawn up a plan, after haggling over his costs. DALHS, Dudley Town: Town Commissioners' Minutes, Volume 1 (1791-1832), 8 December 1826, 9 May 1827 and 7 March 1828; DALHS, PO/19A & 205A, PC, Expense of Acts of Parliament (from *The Morning Herald*), (Dudley, n.d. 1826?); DALHS, PO/204B, PC, Dudley New Town Act. To the rate payers (Dudley, 1826); DALHS, PO/205B, PC, Dudley New Town Act. S. Cook with pleasure (Dudley, 1826).

[112] Appendix 1 includes biographical information about Campbell (A8).

[113] *A Full Report of the Trial of Samuel Cook,* pp. 49-68 etc.

[114] Ibid., p. 50.

[115] The account of Cook's return is only available from C.F.G. Clark (who did not move to Dudley till c. 1842 and he does not give a source for the story: C.F.G. Clark (comp. & ed.), *The Curiosities of Dudley and the Black Country from 1800 to 1860 etc.* (Birmingham, 1881), p. 310.

[116] Catholics could not be elected to Parliament or hold public office. Since The Catholic Relief Act of 1778, they were allowed to own land and join the army if they took a modified oath of allegiance to the British monarch, abjuring the temporal power of the Pope.

be accompanied by a measure of Catholic emancipation, but he failed to carry the argument.[117] 'Catholic relief' was debated in Parliament throughout the 1820s. The House of Commons was more favourable than the Lords, where, until his death in January 1827, opposition was led by the King's brother and heir, the Duke of York.[118] Cook was one of the few Protestants in Dudley to criticise discrimination against lay Catholics, though he too deplored what was called 'popery' (chapter 8).[119]. In a hand-written notice, c.1826, Cook denounced 'brainless bigots', mentioning the Duke of York in the same passage.[120] Cook compared bigotry in England with greater tolerance in the United States.[121]

Dealing with discrimination faced by nonconformists was less controversial than the Catholic question. An opposition MP, Lord John Russell, put down a motion to repeal both the Test and Corporation Acts in February 1828.[122] For the government, Robert Peel insisted only on a measure of compromise and the bill passed easily in both houses of Parliament, partly because they were preparing for bigger battles over Catholic emancipation.[123] In 1829, the Tory government, led by Peel and the Duke of Wellington, proposed Catholic emancipation, largely owing to the troubled situation in Ireland.[124] This led to protests from around the

---

[117] Hilton, *A Mad, Bad, and Dangerous People?* pp. 96-98 & 385-387.
[118] R.W. Davis, 'The House of Lords, the Whigs and Catholic emancipation, 1806-1829', *Parliamentary History,* Vol. 18, part 1 (1999), pp. 23-43, especially pp. 34-35.
[119] DALHS, Z44, MC, Material relating to Samuel Cook, draft or copy letters to Peter Watson and John Wilks and letter from John Wilks (1823); *The Wolverhampton Chronicle*, 4 December 1850, p. 4.
[120] A Roman Catholic bishop had been invited to address Congress. DALHS, SC/53, SCC, Roman Catholics in America (Hand-written poster attributed to Samuel Cook, n.d. [c. 1826?]).
[121] Ibid.
[122] Taken together, the Corporation Act of 1661 and the Test Act of 1673 insisted that anyone holding public office must take the oath of supremacy, acknowledging the monarch as supreme governor of the church, take Anglican communion and deny on oath the Catholic belief in transubstantiation.
[123] Hilton, *A Mad, Bad, and Dangerous People?* pp. 380-383.
[124] Ibid., pp. 385-397.

country. Anti-Catholics in Dudley contributed to the Worcestershire petition against repeal. *Berrow's Worcester Journal* reported that:

> the column of signatures in the Dudley portion of the petition measures two hundred and thirty feet. We are informed that among those who signed at Dudley were three Roman Catholics who observed, 'the Catholics have liberty enough, and those who want more, want it for no good'.[125]

In her discussion of Catholic emancipation, Ursula Henriques points out that both sides in the controversy included a wide range of different groups and opinions.[126] Whether accurate or not, the report from Dudley was covered in both local and national newspapers.[127] Cook condemned fellow dissenters for signing the petition.[128]

Opponents of Catholic emancipation held a meeting in Dudley, which is only known about from a letter to *The Truthteller*, a Catholic newspaper.[129] This account called it the 'Dudley Brunswick meeting' and reported that the 'Brunswickers' were challenged by a few radicals, including Cook and some Catholics from Wolverhampton and Birmingham.[130] The convenors tried to bar anyone who

---

[125] Unfortunately, the petition with signatures cannot be traced but DALHS has the text of a petition that makes various claims against Catholicism, including that it was an intolerant religion. *Berrow's Worcester Journal,* 29 January 1829, p. 3; DALHS, PO/105A, PC, The Dudley Anti-Catholic Petition (Birmingham, n.d. 1829?).
[126] U. Henriques, *Religious Toleration in England, 1878-1833* (London, 1961), pp. 148-172.
[127] See, for instance, *The Standard,* 30 January 1829, p. 3; *Cheltenham Journal etc*., 2 February 1829, p. 2 and *Nottingham Journal*, 7 February 1829, p. 4.
[128] DALHS, SC/91, SCC, Ye Dissenters of Dudley who signed the petition against the Catholics (Hand-written poster attributed to Samuel Cook, 1829?). Although undated (and the letter to *The Times* it claims to quote, cannot be traced), Cook seems to have issued it in reaction to the large petition signed in Dudley in January 1829.
[129]. DALHS, PO/107A, PC, Dudley Brunswick meeting (Birmingham, 1829?). DALHS, PO/258A, PC, Protestant petitions (Dudley, 1828/1829).
[130] Brunswick Clubs were first formed by Loyalist Protestants in Ireland as early as 1826 but the idea was taken up in England by ultra-Tories, particularly peers, to oppose Catholic emancipation in 1828 and 1829. They may have been named after the German Brunswick family who had been militant Protestants in the seventeenth century and, more recently, the Duke of Brunswick had joined the English forces to fight Napoleon. Brunswick was killed in action shortly before Waterloo.

disagreed with them, or who was not a native of the County.[131] According to the letter, Cook deplored the lack of tolerance and tried to goad Booker into taking the chair, which Booker refused.[132] The author of the letter paid tribute to Cook for helping distribute Catholic tracts and displaying a notice in his window 'requesting the public to beware of the Brunswickers'.[133] This anti-Catholic meeting was afterwards denounced in a pamphlet by Father Thomas Tysan, the Sedgley-based Catholic priest with oversight of the Dudley area.[134] It seems likely that Tysan's knowledge of the meeting came from the account in *The Truthteller* and he took comfort from Booker's refusal to chair it.[135] Tysan, therefore, aimed his chief criticism at Major Hawkes, the magistrate who did take the chair.[136] According to Tysan, Catholics only wanted 'an equal right and eligibility to places of civil trust'.[137]

The question of Catholic emancipation cut across the main national political parties.[138] Although Whigs had traditionally opposed Catholic emancipation, a majority of their leaders had come to support it by the early nineteenth century, as

---

The letter-writer, only identified as P.L., pointed out that very little notice had been given for the meeting. The writer did not make clear who came from Wolverhampton and who from Birmingham and there were no numbers given of any of the groups attending. The meeting had been billed as 'an open Committee'. DALHS, PO/107A, PC, Dudley Brunswick meeting (Birmingham, 1829); A. Blackstock, *Loyalism in Ireland, 1789-1829* (Woodbridge, 2007), pp. 225-226.

[131] DALHS, PO/107A, PC, Dudley Brunswick meeting.

[132] DALHS, PO/107A, PC, Dudley Brunswick meeting.

[133] Cook's 'beware the Brunswickers' notice has not survived. DALHS, PO/107A, PC, Dudley Brunswick meeting.

[134] T. Tysan, *A Word to Major Hawkes, on the Brunswick Clubs* (Dudley, 1829?); E. B. Hymers, *Historical Notes on Catholic Mission of Sedgley* (Dudley, 1924), pp. 23-31.

[135] Tysan, *A Word to Major Hawkes,* p. 2.

[136] This Hawkes was not Thomas but his brother Abiathar, also a magistrate. Following his army career, Abiathar was usually known as Major Hawkes. Appendix 1 includes biographical information about the Hawkes family (A17). Tysan, *A Word to Major Hawkes,* p. 2.

[137] Ibid., p. 3.

[138] G.I.T. Machin, 'The Catholic Emancipation crisis of 1825', *The English Historical Review,* Vol. 78, No. 308 (July 1963), pp. 458-482.

did a minority of the Tory party, especially followers of George Canning.[139] The ultra wing of the Tory party remained implacably hostile. Although the Catholic Relief Bill was introduced by the Tory government, it was only passed with Whig support.[140] Unusually for an Anglican priest, Reverend William Leigh, the Perpetual Curate of Bilston, was a Whig supporter. He wrote a letter to *The Wolverhampton Chronicle* saying he had advocated Catholic emancipation for over twenty years and Walters reprinted the letter as a handbill.[141] As a traditional Anglican and Tory, Booker seems to have been in a quandary, which may explain his reticence at the 'Dudley Brunswick Meeting'.[142] He liked to portray himself as a moderating influence and he was a loyal supporter of the Tory government. *The Wolverhampton Chronicle* published Booker's letters on the Catholic emancipation controversy, one of them calling for 'mutual concession'.[143] After exchanges with T.M. McDonnell, the Birmingham Catholic priest who was pro-reform, Booker wrote that he would publish a treatise in which the errors of 'the Romish Church' would be 'fully exposed and refuted'.[144] Having written it, he decided against publication, arguing: 'The measure that induced me to write it has now become the law of the land and, knowing it to be a Protestant duty to reverence the laws, I am unwilling to re-agitate a question that might "engender strife".'[145] Others in Dudley were more vehemently anti-Catholic and supported the Earl of Winchilsea who had succeeded the Duke of York as the most prominent leader of the ultra-anti-

---

[139] B, Hilton, *A Mad, Bad, and Dangerous People?* pp. 384-391,
[140] R.W. Davis, 'The Tories, the Whigs, and Catholic emancipation', *The English Historical Review*, Vol. 97, No. 382 (January 1982), pp. 39-55, especially p. 54.
[141] *The Wolverhampton Chronicle*, 4 March 1829, p. 3; DALHS, PO/68A, PC, The following address from the Rev. W. Leigh… (Dudley, reprinted by G. Walters, 1829?).
[142] DALHS, PO/107A, PC, Dudley Brunswick meeting (Birmingham, 1829?).
[143] *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 25 March 1829, p. 2.
[144] *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 1 April 1829, p. 2 - 13 May 1829, p. 3.
[145] *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 15 July 1829, p. 2 and 22 July, p. 2.

Catholics.[146] Winchilsea fought a duel with Wellington in March 1829 in protest at Wellington's role in Catholic emancipation.[147] Winchilsea was thanked and praised for his 'public zeal and manly example' by anti-Catholics in Dudley who claimed that it was necessary 'to uphold and defend, by every strenuous and unsparing effort, the Protestant constitution in Church and State'.[148] The address was printed in national and local newspapers, but the names of those signing it were not given, suggesting that the signatories might not have wished to be publicly aligned with Winchilsea's extreme position.[149]

From 1821 to 1829, Dudley's politics were shaped by the arrival of Samuel Cook, who challenged vested interests in religion and politics. Unlike earlier radicals, such as Wallace and Finch, Cook came to Dudley and remained.[150] He had experience of more radical places such as Birmingham and useful radical contacts, especially Wooler. Cook demanded public accountability and open decision making, which led him into direct clashes with members of Dudley's establishment.[151] Cook claimed some knowledge of the law and was not easily cowed.[152] In particular, he clashed with Booker and both men stubbornly stood by

---

[146] The Duke of York died in January 1827. G.C. Boase, revised by J. Wolffe, 'Hatton, George William Finch-, tenth earl of Winchilsea and fifth earl of Nottingham (1791-1858), politician', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (23 September 2004), Hatton, George William Finch-, tenth earl of Winchilsea and fifth earl of Nottingham (1791–1858), politician | Oxford Dictionary of National Biography [accessed 19 January 2024].

[147] B. Dolphin, 'Gentlemanly satisfaction: the Wellington-Winchilsea duel of 1829', *Fontanus,* Vol. 9 (1996), pp. 59-80, and illustrations, pp. 93-96.

[148] *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 25 March 1829, p. 3; *Berrows Worcester Journal,* 26 March 1829, p. 3; *London Evening Standard,* 26 March 1829, p.3.

[149] *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 25 March 1829, p. 3; *Berrows Worcester Journal,* 26 March 1829, p. 3; *London Evening Standard,* 26 March 1829, p.3.

[150] The contributions of Wallace and Finch are discussed above and biographical details for both are given in appendix 1: for Finch see A15 and for Wallace see A29.

[151] Cook's clashes with authority are detailed in numerous handbills as well as in newspaper reports, the published transcript of his trial in 1827 and a few letters (some of which are drafts) at DALHS.

[152] Many of Cook's handbills purport to quote the law and he often came up against his adversaries in court. Cook also assembled a pamphlet of ancient acts of parliament. DALHS, SC/1, SCC, The

their opinions. However, despite all of Cook's letters and handbills, there is little evidence that he gained significant support in this period.[153] The removal of religious inequalities at the end of the period provides an example of the government setting the agenda and the townspeople having to react as they saw fit. The final part analyses the rising demand for parliamentary reform and the resultant changes in political dynamics.

Dudley, 1830-1832

The growing demand for parliamentary reform

The easing of religious restrictions in 1828 and 1829 encouraged the nationwide reform movement.[154] Dudley was one of the Worcestershire towns that was disadvantaged by the old parliamentary system. In 1831, despite a population of 23,043, Dudley lacked its own Member of Parliament.[155] Twenty miles away, however, the borough of Droitwich had two Members of Parliament for a population of only 2,487 and as few as twelve eligible voters.[156] The distribution of

---

duties of parish officers and rate payers (Birmingham, 1824); SC/30, SCC, Vestry meetings (Dudley, 1823); SC/64, SCC, Lawyer Jem: The following is the second document … (Hand-written notice attributed to Samuel Cook, n.d.). SC/106, SCC, The Vestry book and the celebrated secret order (Dudley, 1823?); SC/110, SCC, Overseers liable to one hundred pounds penalty! (Birmingham, 1823?); S. Cook (comp.), *Copies of Several Ancient Acts of Parliament in Reference to County and Borough Elections … re-published for the information and guidance of the public* (Dudley, 1859).

[153] Clark's story, already noted, suggested that Cook was met by 40,000 on his return from trial, but there are no newspaper reports of any such incident. Clark, *The Curiosities of Dudley and the Black Country*, p. 310.

[154] Hilton, *A Mad, Bad, and Dangerous People?* pp. 412-415.

[155] In the proposals for parliamentary reform discussed in parliament in 1831-32, Dudley was included in schedule D, new boroughs to be enfranchised with one member of parliament. The bill, which has become known as the Great Reform Act, received the royal assent on 7 June 1832. 'A Bill … To amend the Representation of the People in England and Wales'*, House of Commons Papers*, Paper No. 277, 14 March 1832, (1831-32), pp. 2 & 42; *Hansard,* Series 3, Vol. 13, House of Lords, 7 June 1832, c. 497.

[156] There were no contested elections in Droitwich between 1747 and 1831, so numbers of electors are only estimates. 'Abstract of Population Returns of Great Britain, 1831, Enumeration Abstract' *House of Commons Papers*, Paper No. 149, (1833), pp. 714 & 722; *The Wolverhampton Chronicle*, 16 March 1831, p. 4.

parliamentary constituencies across the country reflected the pre-industrial landscape and had not kept up with the rise of industry and the resultant urban growth in areas like the Black Country. In 1830, a meeting of leaders of the iron trade in Stourbridge resolved that they wanted members of parliament elected who were better acquainted with the interests of the commercial and manufacturing classes.[157] Cook was no longer the only voice of opposition in Dudley, having been joined by others wanting reform. Their leaders were nonconformists, and many were shopkeepers. They included Thomas Lester, a pork butcher, who was notable as one of the few Methodists involved in local politics. The Unitarians were represented by Joseph Pitchfork, a schoolmaster and the Twamleys. John Twamley senior was a wealthy tea dealer and grocer, and probably the leading Whig in Dudley. His son Charles trained as a lawyer. Another leading reformer was Thomas Hill, a shoe dealer with opinions similar to Cook's and a long-standing member of the Independent church.[158] Less is known of the other leading protagonists, but William Chinner was an ironmonger and John Williams was probably a draper. The town's radical element had also been strengthened by the addition of Thomas Parkin, a London radical who had business interests in the area and spent time in Dudley.[159] Like Cook, Parkin campaigned as a religious and a political dissenter. He was a belligerent character who antagonised many fellow reformers, but Parkin became a member of the Birmingham Political Union (BPU) and was thus able to bring both a regional and a national perspective to the political debate in Dudley. Carlos Flick believes that Parkin was one of the more

[157] *Berrow's Worcester Journal,* 22 July 1830, p. 3.
[158] Appendix 1 includes biographical information for Hill (A18), Lester (A20) and the Twamley family (A28).
[159] Appendix 1 includes biographical information about Parkin (A23).

prominent radicals recruited to the BPU in 1830, and that in Dudley 'he quickly earned a reputation as the town demagogue'.[160]

One of the first manifestations of the new reform movement, in Dudley, as elsewhere, was an attempt to celebrate the French Revolution of 1830. Even though its supporters stressed 'French Independence' rather than 'revolution', the authorities refused to allow the celebration.[161] When the mayor rejected having a meeting in the town hall, Parkin wrote to the Earl of Dudley asking to hold it in the castle courtyard, which was also refused. Parkin later published their correspondence in *The Christian Corrector,* a radical paper which he edited.[162] Navickas argues that 'local elites' sought to privatise 'public space', but in Dudley there was even less room for anti-establishment meetings because the town hall, market place and castle grounds were already private, in that they belonged to the Earl, who was anti-reform.[163] Navickas also believes that 'popular politics originated in the pub' and the celebration eventually took place at the Bush Hotel, which was considered to be Dudley's main Whig inn.[164] According to *The Birmingham Argus*, the meeting included a strong delegation of Birmingham's radicals – another proof that opposition in Dudley drew assistance from Birmingham.[165] This report also gave the first intimation that Dudley might set up its own political union.[166] Meanwhile, Cook, Walters and John Twamley agreed to

[160] C. Flick, *The Birmingham Political Union and the Movements for Reform in Britain, 1830-1839* (Hamden, Connecticut and Folkestone, 1978), pp. 40-41.
[161] DALHS, PO/154, PC, French independence and English sympathy! (Dudley, 1830).
[162] *The Christian Corrector*, No. 34, 29 October 1831, pp. 274-275.
[163] Navickas, *Protest and the Politics of Space and Place,* pp. xi-xii.
[164] Ibid., p. 32.
[165] *The Birmingham Argus*, 3 September 1830, pp. 143-144.
[166] Ibid.; DALHS, PO/458, PC, French independence. At a public meeting (Dudley, 1830).

use their shops to collect subscriptions for General Lafayette.[167] In February 1831, with parliamentary reform looking inevitable, Dudley's Tories changed tactics and tried to limit its effects by promoting 'moderate reform'.[168] In one respect they went further than the Reform Act would, for they asked 'that our ancient privilege of returning two members to Parliament may be restored to us'.[169] This historical allusion suggests that the petition was written by Booker, an antiquarian and whose name headed the list of petitioners.[170] Many of the others were clergy, magistrates and leading industrialists, most of whom were known to be conservative, although some were genuine reformers. An anonymous reform poster urged 'fellow townsmen' not to sign such petitions for 'moderate reform', particularly those which ruled out secret ballots, as Booker's did.[171] This was the beginning of the first of a flurry of print 'battles' which are discussed in chapter 4. The next section focuses on Dudley's part in the battle for the Reform Bill beginning with the 1831 general election.

Battle for reform: Commons v Lords

When Lord John Russell's bill proposing parliamentary reform was defeated in Parliament, Prime Minister, Lord Grey, persuaded the King to allow a general election on the issue.[172] North Worcestershire's reformers particularly disliked

---

[167] DALHS, PO/458, PC, French independence. At a public meeting (Dudley, 1830). The Marquis de Lafayette was a veteran French revolutionary who had also helped the colonists in the American War of Independence. Twamley was a wealthy grocer; he was probably a Whig and certainly pro-reform.
[168] DALHS, PO/370A, PC, To J. C. Brettell, Esq., Mayor of Dudley (Dudley, 1831). Unfortunately, this handbill is badly damaged and several names have been lost. Clark reproduced the handbill and his version is easier to read but he omitted many of the signatories. Clark, *The Curiosities of Dudley and the Black Country*, pp. 26-27.
[169] DALHS, PO/370A; T.C. Turberville, *Worcestershire in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1852), p. 53. The final settlement of the 1832 Reform Act only gave Dudley one Member of Parliament.
[170] DALHS, PO/370A.
[171] DALHS, PO/433, PC, Vote by ballot (Dudley 1831).
[172] E. Pearce, *REFORM! The Fight for the 1832 Reform Act,* (London, 2003), pp. 140-144.

Colonel Lygon, Worcestershire's Tory MP who had voted against the bill. The County's members had commonly been split by prior agreement, between one Whig and one Tory, but the reformers began campaigning against Lygon's re-election even before they had a second reform candidate.[173] When Lord Lyttelton, Worcestershire's leading Whig, persuaded his brother-in-law, Frederick Spencer to stand, Dudley's reformers established a committee to support him.[174] Basing himself at Hagley Hall, Spencer proved to be particularly popular in the Dudley and Stourbridge area. The results of the poll saw both Whigs elected at the expense of Lygon. The upsurge in votes for the Reform candidates in Worcestershire closely reflected the national situation. As Hilton points out: 'Only six of the thirty-four county MPs who had voted against the measure (the Reform Bill) got back in.'[175] The result caused delight in Dudley.[176] Its Reform committee claimed that they had received donations, not just from 'the tradesmen and others', but also from 'numbers of the workmen and mechanics'.[177]

With the general election producing a clear majority for reform, the bill passed all its stages in the House of Commons by 20 September 1831, but its future in the House of Lords remained uncertain.[178] Dudley's reformers asked the mayor to call a meeting to consider petitioning the Lords and although the mayor apparently refused, the reformers held their own meeting.[179] A petition,

---

[173] For instance: DALHS, PO/101A, PC, Reform (Dudley? 1831). Thomas Henry Foley, Worcestershire's Whig MP was also standing for re-election and committed to the Reform Bill.
[174] Appendix 1 includes biographical information for the Spencer family (A27). DALHS, PO/189, PC, Notice. At a meeting of the friends of the Honourable Captain Spencer (Dudley, 1831).
[175] Hilton, *A Mad, Bad, and Dangerous People?* p. 421.
[176] The Worcestershire result brought forth Walters's most ebullient handbill: DALHS, PO/244A, PC, Rejoice! Rejoice! Glorious victory! (Dudley, 1831). This is reproduced in chapter 4 (figure 4.8).
[177] *Berrow's Worcester Journal,* 23 June 1831, p. 3.
[178] M. Brock, *The Great Reform Act* (London, 1973), pp. 229-231.
[179] DALHS, PO/20, PC, To J. C. Brettell, Esq. Mayor of Dudley (Dudley, 1831).

presumably resulting from this meeting, with 2,400 signatures, was presented to the House of Lords on 5 October 1831, the same day that the Earl of Dudley, the leading local aristocrat, spoke strongly against the bill.[180] As well as being a significant landowner with industrial interests, the Earl had been a follower of George Canning and served a short spell as Foreign Secretary.[181] Whilst some Canningites, like William Huskisson, supported a measure of reform, the Earl, like many other peers, was strongly opposed.[182] The next section analyses the crisis resulting from the Lords' rejection of the bill, beginning with the role of political unions and how it affected Dudley politics.

After Thomas Attwood, the banker, established the BPU in 1829, many Black Country towns set up similar organisations.[183] The Dudley Political Union (DPU) was established sometime after it was first mooted at the meeting at the Bush in August 1830. Cook was its chairman and Pitchfork its secretary, but Parkin later claimed that he drew up its constitution.[184] When the Lords rejected the Reform Bill in October 1831, Attwood and other BPU council members asked their supporters to remain patient and law-abiding. Walters copied a BPU handbill making it applicable to the DPU.[185] Despite the political unions calling for peace,

---

[180] Hansard. Parliamentary Reform—Bill For England—Second Reading—A - Hansard - UK Parliament [accessed 17 May 2023].
[181] D.R. Fisher, 'Ward, John William, Earl of Dudley (1781-1833), politician', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (published 23 September 2004, version 10 June 2021) Ward, John William, earl of Dudley (1781–1833), politician | Oxford Dictionary of National Biography [accessed 2 September 2024].
[182] Hilton, *Mad, Bad, and Dangerous People?* pp. 385-386; E.J. Evans, *The Forging of the Modern State: Early Industrial Britain, 1783-1870,* 2nd ed. (London & New York, 1996), p. 228.
[183] Barnsby, *The Working Class Movement in the Black Country,* pp. 21-24.
[184] DALHS, PO/1A, PC, A special meeting of the Dudley Political Union (Dudley, 1831); *The Christian Corrector*, No. 33, 15 October 1831, p. 264.
[185] Flick, *The Birmingham Political Union,* p. 65; DALHS, PO/71, PC, Address of the Council of the Birmingham Political Union (Birmingham, 1831); DALHS, PO/21, PC, Address of the Council of the Dudley Political Union (Dudley, 1831).

the Lords' decision triggered serious rioting in Bristol. In the Black Country, this period coincided with a marked depression in the iron trade which also affected mining and caused widespread reductions in wages. There was also a fear that 'Swing' incidents were on the rise in the Midlands.[186] Thus, the unrest associated with economic distress was added to problems caused by the reform controversy, at the same time as there was growing fear of a cholera outbreak. This difficult situation in mid-November 1831 resulted in a short-lived truce between the establishment and the opposition in Dudley. A petition of 14 November showed the opposing groups coming together 'to keep this place and neighbourhood in peace and safety, without any view whatever being had to politics or party feeling'.[187] This notice also included a request for 'respectable inhabitants' to come forward and be sworn in as Special Constables.[188] The first name on the list of requisitionists was, as usual, Luke Booker but immediately below him was Samuel Cook in what looks like a deliberate attempt to show unanimity.[189] A few days later, the DPU issued a notice entitled 'Preservation of the peace', pledging 'to the utmost of its power to preserve the peace, order and tranquillity of this Town and Neighbourhood'.[190] This was in line with the BPU policy of acting as peace-brokers.[191] The two sides in

[186] The 'Swing' disturbances were outbreaks of violence by agricultural labourers in poor communities between 1830 and 1832. The name derived from anonymous letters purportedly written by 'Captain Swing'. The fear in the Midlands was fuelled by newspaper reports such as that in *The Midland Representative* entitled 'Terrible progress of "Swing"', *The Midland Representative* 19 November 1831, p. 1.
[187] DALHS, PO/81, PC, To the magistrates of the County of Worcester acting for the town of Dudley (Dudley, 1831).
[188] Ibid.
[189] DALHS, PO/81. The positioning of Cook's name may have been an attempt by him to annoy Booker, but this is less likely because, at the time, the DPU were following the BPU lead and trying to act as peace brokers.
[190] DAHLS, PO/181A, PC, Preservation of the peace (Dudley, 1831). The handbill was the product of a DPU meeting that resolved to: 'deeply lament the riots that have taken place in various parts of the Kingdom'.
[191] Flick, *The Birmingham Political Union,* pp. 64-69.

Dudley came to their brief truce with different agendas. The growth of political unions had caused a conservative backlash with Booker and several other magistrates petitioning the Home Office for military assistance because of 'the excited state of the populace', which they thought was 'mainly attributable to the Political Unions lately formed in every Town and Village of the Neighbourhood'.[192] Then, with the miners' strikes spreading, Booker led the conservative attack, both politically and religiously. Whilst calling for an end to 'strifes and divisions' he lambasted 'that vilest root of bitterness, Sedition'.[193] Despite Booker's pleading, strikes intensified in late November and early December 1831 and the military were called in to suppress 'mischief, riot and destruction'.[194] Lady Lyttelton described how Lord Lyttelton, as Lieutenant-Colonel of the Worcestershire Yeomanry, had helped gather the troops together at short notice, and gone on to 'march into Dudley at their head...'.[195] The operation proved harder than expected and Lady Lyttelton wrote: 'We thought the effect of the first appearance of the troops had been sufficient to quiet all the rioters…'.[196] However, unlike the magistrates, she believed that 'It is entirely a quarrel about wages; no politics mixed up with it…'.[197] Similarly, when George Dalton, presumably the Dudley banker, wrote to the Home Office and reported that 'most of the colliers' were on

[192] TNA, HO 52/15, ff. 64-65 & 67-69, Great Britain, Home Office, Counties correspondence, Letter from Dudley magistrates and a petition asking for a military presence in the face of unrest, 7 & 8 November 1831.
[193] Booker published a sermon which is looked at it more detail in chapter 4. L. Booker, *The Cause and Cure of National Distress: Stated in a Sermon, Preached at Dudley* (Dudley, 1831), p. 17.
[194] J.R. Williams, 'The 1831 riots in the Black Country', in 3 parts; *The Blackcountryman*, Vol. 7, No. 3 (1974), pp 17-25, Vol. 7, No. 4 (1974), pp. 23-30 and Vol. 8, No. 1 (1975), pp. 40-46; *Memoranda Relative to the Worcestershire Yeomanry Cavalry, now the Queen's Own, Raised by Other Archer, 6th Earl of Plymouth in 1831 etc.* (London, 1843), p. 5.
[195] Appendix 1 includes biographical information about the Lyttelton family (A21). *Memoranda relative to the Worcestershire Yeomanry Cavalry*, pp. 1 & 5; S.S. Lyttelton, *Correspondence of Sarah Spencer, Lady Lyttelton, 1787-1870,* 12 December 1831 (New York, 1912), p. 268.
[196] Ibid., p. 268.
[197] Ibid., p. 268.

strike and they had 'ill used those men who are inclined to work', he also reckoned that it was about wages and not politics.[198] With trouble spreading across the Black Country, the colonel of the Worcestershire Yeomanry Cavalry, the hard-line Earl of Plymouth, took personal charge of the military operation.[199] Thus, at a significant point in the national reform controversy, the Dudley neighbourhood was also strongly affected by local issues, namely economic and social unrest, military action, prosecutions and the spectre of cholera.

As the national situation became more fraught in late 1831, it permeated ever more into local affairs. Lord Grey's government tried to steer a middle course between extremes and when political unions, such as the BPU, considered organising themselves on militaristic lines, a proclamation was issued to prevent such developments.[200] Perhaps deliberately mistaking its limitations, Dudley's Tories sent an address to the King, 'expressing approbation of the Royal Proclamation for the suppression of Political Unions, and a determination to support, by all constitutional means, his Majesty and his Government in putting down such dangerous and illegal associations'.[201] Meanwhile, the opposition in Dudley believed that many of the men arrested in the recent disturbances had not been treated fairly. Members of the BPU and their allies provided both financial and legal assistance to the prisoners, for which they were thanked publicly by Cook and his associates.[202] Nor were places of worship immune from the

---

[198] TNA, HO 40/29, f. 507, Great Britain, Home Office, Activities in distressed areas, Letter from George Dalton, Dudley, 8 December 1831.
[199] Williams, 'The 1831 riots in the Black Country', part 3, *The Blackcountryman*, Vol. 8, No. 1 (1975), pp. 40-46.
[200] Flick, *The Birmingham Political Union,* pp. 66-69.
[201] *Berrow's Worcester Journal,* 1 December 1831.
[202] Williams, 'Trials ensuing from the 1831 riots in the Black Country', part 2; *The Blackcountryman*, Vol. 12, No. 2 (1979), pp. 10-14, especially p. 14; DALHS, PO/63B, PC, To the inhabitants of Dudley and its vicinity (Dudley, 1831); DALHS, PO/129, PC, A numerous and respectable meeting

heightened level of political activity in late 1831. The Darlaston circuit of the Primitive Methodist church, which covered a large area of the West Midlands, including Wolverhampton and Birmingham, as well as Dudley, noted at its Quarter Day, in December 1831: 'It is highly improper to hold Meetings on Political subjects, in places set apart for decidedly religious Purposes and we recommend the managers of our Places of Worship not to let the Chapels etc (?) be used for these purposes.'[203] The only place to be censured for non-compliance was Dudley. At a 'general meeting', a few months later, it was resolved 'that the Brethren in Dudley be informed that if they, ever again, let their Chapel for discussion(s) on Political Subjects, we will withhold our Preachers from preaching in it'.[204] Another arena of conflict was the parish vestry and in Dudley it became politicised to an unprecedented degree.[205] The Church party thought that they had elected their favoured candidate, Joseph Bennitt, for churchwarden on 24 April 1832.[206] However, they had to allow the election to be re-run and the reformers put Hill forward to challenge Bennitt, thus forcing a parish-wide poll. The handbill campaign accompanying this election is discussed in chapter 4. After a four-day poll, Bennitt won, with a majority enhanced by the operation of the Select Vestries acts which allocated extra votes to the largest ratepayers.[207] Shortly afterwards,

---

of the inhabitants of Dudley and its vicinity (Dudley, 1831, i.e. 1832). The date on PO/129 has been printed incorrectly as 12 January 1831 when it should be 12 January 1832 as can be proved by the content.

[203] Walsall Local History Centre (WLHC), 42/1/1, Records of Darlaston (Slater Street) Primitive Methodist circuit; minutes, 1824-1832, 19 December 1831.

[204] WLHC, 42/1/1, General meeting, resolution 20. Unfortunately, this meeting is not dated, but it is recorded between the preachers' meeting on 19 March 1832 and the circuit committee meeting on 5 April 1832.

[205] E.A. Smith (ed.), *Reform or Revolution? A Diary of Reform in England, 1830-32* (Stroud, 1992), pp. 111-112; A.J. Ware (ed.), *Dudley Parish Order Book, 1821-1856*, (Dudley, Typescript, 1992), pp. 53-57.

[206] Ware, *Dudley Parish Order Book,* pp. 53-54.

[207] The Select Vestries acts, sometimes known as the Sturges Bourne's Acts, of 1818-1819, gave extra votes in the parish vestry to those with large property or land holdings. Depending on the

the reform struggle at regional and national level moved into its final stages and the interconnections are analysed below.

As the reform agitation peaked, the DPU, and particularly Cook, were closely monitored by the authorities.[208] This did not stop them joining with other political unions to demand reform. A procession from Dudley met members of the BPU and others at Great Bridge on 23 April 1832.[209] Two weeks later a much larger event took place when a contingent from Dudley marched with the Grand Western Division to the great rally of Political Unions held at Newhall Hill, Birmingham on 7 May 1832.[210] An engraving of the rally shows a banner from Dudley and Sedgley in the bottom left-hand corner (figure 3.5).[211] The BPU in general and the Newhall Hill meeting in particular are credited by historians for helping secure reform.[212]

amount of rate they paid, they could claim extra votes, bringing them up to a maximum of six. There is an undated example of a vote at the back of the Parish Order Book that shows some men, such as the industrialist Isaac Badger, using their extra votes. Ware, *Dudley Parish Order Book,* pp. 149-150.

[208] TNA, HO 41/11, ff. 137-138 & 143-144, Great Britain, Home Office, Disturbances entry books, Miscellaneous, December 1831 – February 1834, Letters to Dudley magistrates, Thomas Badger and A. Hawkes from G. Lamb, 12 April 1832 and S? M? Phillipps, 19 April 1832; Barnsby, *The Dudley Working Class Movement*, p. 16.

[209] DAHLS, PO/373, PC, Reform. A public meeting of the Reformers of Dudley (Dudley, 1832).

[210] Barnsby, *The Dudley Working Class Movement*, p. 16.

[211] T. Garner after Green**,** *Great Meeting of the Political Unions, on New Hall Hill, Birmingham, May 1832* (n.d.).

[212] For instance: Hilton, *A Mad, Bad, and Dangerous People?* pp. 426-8; Flick, *The Birmingham Political Union*, pp. 78-90 etc; Barnsby, *The Dudley Working Class Movement*, pp. 14-16.

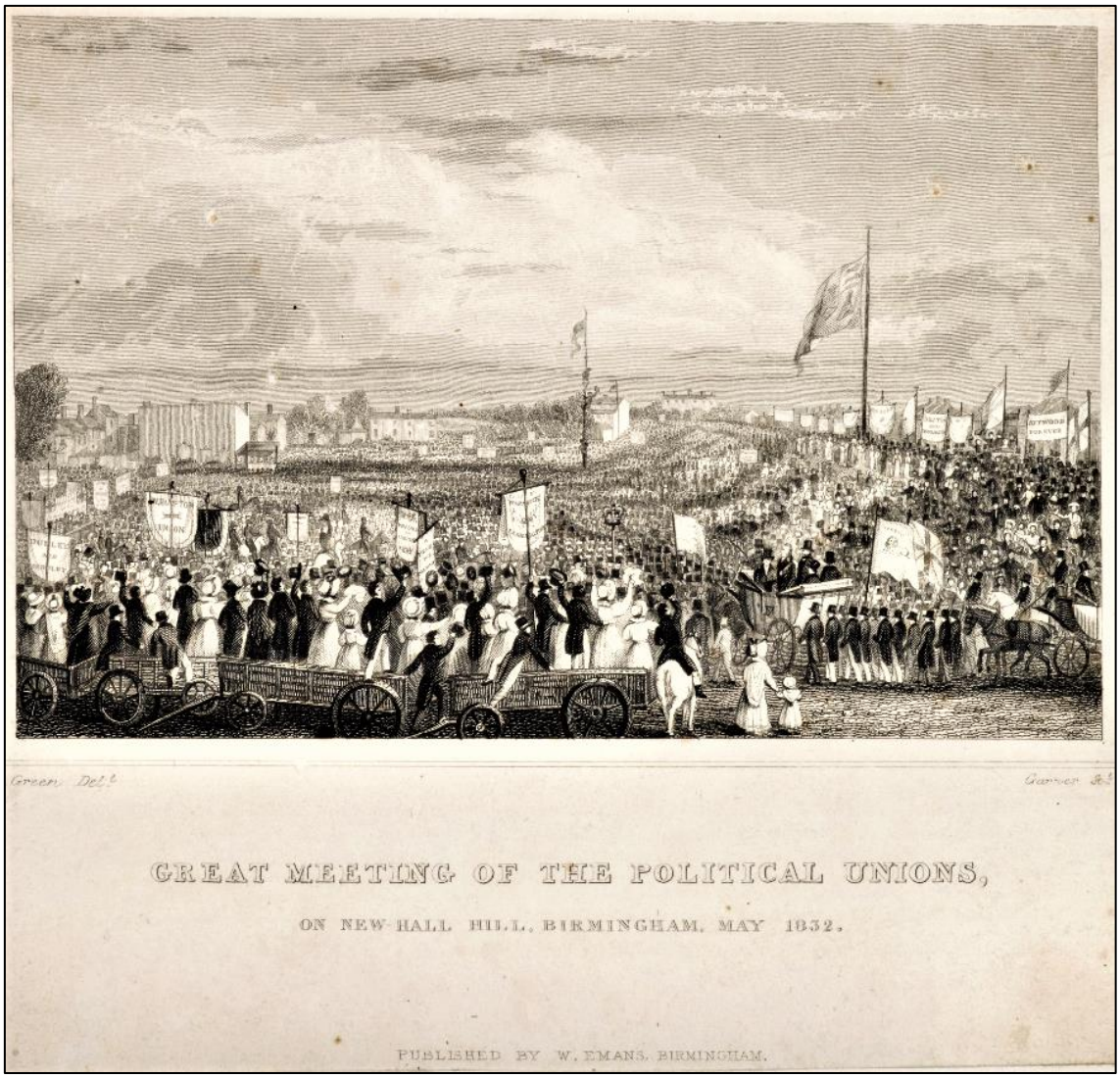


Figure 3.5. Great Meeting of the Political Unions, on New Hall Hill, Birmingham, May 1832.[213]

Shortly after the successful rally, Dudley's reformers became divided, with Lester and Charles Twamley setting up a second 'Dudley Political Union'.[214] They claimed that the new body was not intended 'to rival or supplant the one already

[213] T. Garner after Green, *Great Meeting of the Political Unions, on New Hall Hill, Birmingham, May 1832* (n.d.).
[214] DALHS, PO/226, PC, Dudley Political Union, established May 14, 1832 (Dudley, n.d. 1832?); DALHS, PO/196, PC, Objects, rules, & regulations of the Dudley Political Union, established May 14, 1832 (Dudley, n.d. 1832?).

established' and there was no disagreement over objectives, which they said were 'to watch over and defend the Rights, Liberties, and Interests of the Lower and Middle Classes of the People'.[215] Their objection was with the way the original society was run and, more particularly, that its council had lost control. They claimed that the council of the new organisation would welcome publicity, pay its own expenses and hold 'NO SECRET MEETINGS'.[216] Apart from Twamley and Lester, the only other men named were W.C. Wood, a grocer, who held copies of the rules, and Walters, who would also take any subscriptions.[217] The new union claimed it was founded on 'the principles of the great Parent Union at Birmingham' but Parkin sneered at the 'tradesmen' domination of the new group and said their numbers were much smaller than the original union's.[218] Historians have hitherto missed the point that Dudley had two political unions for a time.[219] It is not known how long the second union lasted; all surviving records of a Dudley Political Union after 20 June 1832 apparently refer to Cook's.[220] During the rest of the reform crisis, the two 'branches' of reformers continued to work for the same goal but the split between the radicals and the more moderate reformers would prove to be a major division in the subsequent development of popular politics in Dudley. Shortly

---

[215] DALHS, PO/226.
[216] Ibid.
[217] Ibid.
[218] Parkin also found himself increasingly too radical for the BPU and at odds with their leadership. *The Christian Corrector,* No. 62, 13 June 1832, pp. 465-467 and Issue 63 (20 June 1832), p. 468, i.e. 472.
[219] For instance, Barnsby, D.W.J. McForan and D.F. Radmore assumed it was the same union just with a change of chairman. Because Barnsby did not realise that there were two separate Dudley Political Unions, he quotes the constitution of the second union, believing it to be that of the original. They may have been the same as the constitutions were often standardised but that of the original has not survived so it is impossible to compare them. G.J. Barnsby, *The Working Class Movement in the Black Country, 1750-1867,* (Wolverhampton, 1977), pp. 64-65; D.W.J. McForan, 'Birmingham radicalism, 1812-1820' (Unpublished MA dissertation, University of Birmingham); D.F. Radmore, 'The Dudley and Stourbridge Town Commissions, 1791-1853' (Unpublished MA dissertation, Wolverhampton Polytechnic, 1987).
[220] *The Christian Corrector,* No. 63, 20 June 1832, p. 468, i.e. 472.

after the formation of the second union, the reform frenzy reached its heights when Wellington tried to form a government. There are no records of Dudley townspeople taking part in the famous 'Stop the Duke, go for gold' campaign but they followed events keenly. When news reached Dudley that Wellington had failed and Lord Grey would return to office, the celebrations began.[221] Lester chaired a meeting which sent congratulatory addresses to both the King and Grey, mentioning that their meeting had gathered together 'four thousand persons' at three hours' notice.[222] For the reformers it was a rare opportunity to feel part of both national and local politics.

Effect of the Reform Act

The most obvious effect of the 1832 Reform Act for Dudley was the creation of a single-member parliamentary borough, separate from Worcestershire's county representation. There were also ramifications for the counties: both Worcestershire and Staffordshire doubled their representation, being divided into two divisions each with two MPs. Votes were only given to men, and they depended on a property qualification. As one of several 'balances' built into the Reform Act, a borough resident, who fell short of the borough qualification (ten pounds), but met the lower county qualification (forty shillings), was allowed a vote in the county.[223]

---

[221] Grey resumed office with the King's grudging agreement to create enough Whig peers to overcome the Tory majority but, at Wellington's suggestion, sufficient Tory peers absented themselves and allowed the bill to pass. It received the royal assent on 7 June 1832.
[222] *The Sun,* 17 May 1832, p. 3.
[223] Note: The Reform Bill allowed for the forty-shilling freeholders in boroughs to have a vote in the surrounding county. Being an exclave of Worcestershire surrounded by Staffordshire, Dudley was in an unusual position. An article in *Berrow's Worcester Journal* suggested that it had been decided that Dudley's forty-shilling freeholders would get a vote in South Staffordshire rather than East Worcestershire. Either the article was misinformed, or the decision was reversed; Dudley freeholders who could not vote in the Borough were definitely given votes for East Worcestershire. *Berrow's Worcester Journal,* 7 April 1831, p. 3; WAAS, 1/7/4/2, Worcestershire Quarter Sessions Records, enrolment and deposit, parliamentary elections; poll books, Eastern Division of the County of Worcester … Stourbridge, 1832.

The number of Dudley residents given a vote for the Eastern division of Worcestershire (662) was slightly greater than for the whole of the new Dudley Borough (650).[224] Wealthy men who owned requisite property situated in different constituencies could claim a vote in each of those constituencies. Approximately thirty-five Dudley residents had a vote for the Southern division of Staffordshire.[225] Although candidates came forward as early as June, the elections for the new constituencies were not held until December 1832 before which the Black Country suffered a serious cholera outbreak.

Dudley was one of the Black Country towns badly hit by cholera in summer 1832.[226] In response to the outbreak, the government set up local boards of health, with one for Dudley being established by an order of 19 July 1832.[227] This led to another clear manifestation of the politicisation of the parish vestry. Although the Parish Order Book does not explain how vestry business was conducted, the records suggest that, in addition to the full vestry meetings, there were smaller meetings, or sub-committees, concerning poor relief and highways. Crucially, these smaller meetings were sometimes chaired by nonconformists and reformers, who had access to the Order Book and were able to pass resolutions and record them. The clearest statement of political intent by one of these 'sub-committees'

---

[224] These were the sizes of electorate given in the newspapers. Dudley's seems to have risen slightly to 670 by the time of the first election in December 1832. *Berrow's Worcester Journal,* 6 September 1832, p. 3 and 11 October 1832, p. 2; F.W.S. Craig (comp. & ed.)*, British Parliamentary Election Results 1832-1885* (London & Basingstoke, 1977), p. 116.
[225] Like Worcestershire, Staffordshire had been split into two divisions with two members each. William Salt Library, bs 1842/2/1, William Salt's original collection, Register of the electors within the Southern Division of the County of Stafford …, 1833.
[226] *Berrow's Worcester Journal,* 5 April 1832, p. 3 and many other references in *Berrow's Worcester Journal, The Birmingham Journal* and *Aris's Birmingham Gazette,* August-November 1832.
[227] Ware, *Dudley Parish Order Book,* p. 57.

came on 20 September 1832.[228] Lester was in the chair and several other leading reformers were present, including Charles Twamley, Walters and Pitchforke (sic), although not, apparently, Cook. They were angry that the Dudley Board of Health had been established without a meeting to nominate members, that the overseers had been excluded and that 'the Board [was] entirely composed of individuals of one particular party, they fostering a rancourous (sic) political feeling while Charity and conciliation should have been cherished'. They also employed an argument suggestive of 'no taxation without representation' claiming that 'the Board of Health has the uncontrolled expenditure of large sums of the Parish money which being contributed to by all parties, all parties ought to be consulted in its distribution'.[229] The meeting put forward a list of twenty names to be submitted to the Central Board of Health for adding to the Dudley Board. These included the four overseers, who had been elected by the vestry and confirmed by magistrates, three nonconformist ministers and several reformers from both 'wings', including Lester, Cook, Chinner and Williams.[230] Unfortunately, there are no surviving records for this first Dudley Board of Health, and it is not known what, if anything, resulted from these resolutions. Booker was apparently absent during the worst of the cholera crisis in August and early September 1832, leaving his curate in charge.[231] Dudley was not the only place where measures to tackle cholera

---

[228] Ibid., pp. 58-59.
[229] Ibid., p. 58.
[230] All of those whose politics is known were reformers, including one of the overseers (Alexander Patterson) and two of the ministers, James Dawson (Independent) and William Rogers (Baptist). The third minister was Reverend William France, Dudley's Methodist minister for a short time. Ware, *Dudley Parish Order Book*, pp. 58-59; W.H. Cross (comp.), *King Street Methodist Church, Dudley: 150th Anniversary Souvenir, 1788-1938* (Dudley, 1938?), n.p., list of ministers at back of booklet.
[231] The Parish Registers of St Thomas's show that Booker did not sign any baptisms, burials or marriages for a six-week period c. 25 July - 8 September 1832, nor was he present at any vestry meetings during this time. He may have been travelling in Wales as he sent a poem called

caused friction between the new board of health and the parish vestry. In April 1832, the Wolverhampton Board of Health had threatened to dissolve itself over the lack of support from 'the select vestry'.[232] Dudley's reformers were showing greater self-confidence in asserting themselves politically and influenced the first elections in Dudley following the Reform Act.

General election, 1832

Although the Reform Act marked a considerable break with the past, many of the candidates had already been MPs, as was the case in Dudley. The Tory candidate was Sir Horace St. Paul, a wealthy landowner and industrialist, connected to the Ward family by marriage.[233] The reformers' candidate was Sir John Campbell, the lawyer who had defended Cook in 1827.[234] Barnsby described Campbell as 'a Whig of no very great reforming tendencies'.[235] E.J. Littleton (later Lord Hatherton) claimed credit for Campbell standing at Dudley.[236] Lester chaired Campbell's campaign committee which was similar to that for Spencer and Foley. Campbell approached the campaign very cautiously.[237] One newspaper report suggested that he had spoken to the members of the DPU but tried to keep the meeting secret.[238] This was probably mischievous. In letters to his brother,

---

Caerphilly Castle, Glamorganshire to *The Wolverhampton Chronicle* in that period. DALHS, PR17/1/1,Parish of Dudley, St Thomas: Baptisms: 1828-1833, PR17/1/2, Marriages: 1829-1832 & 1832-1834, PR17/1/3, Burials: 1831-1835; Ware, *Dudley Parish Order Book,* pp. 56-60; *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 12 September 1832, p. 4 & 19 September 1832, pp. 1 & 2; DALHS, PO/376B, PC, Appeal on behalf of the 'Committee for the Relief of the Poor' (Dudley, 1832).

[232] *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 4 April 1832, p. 3.

[233] Sir Horace had married Anna-Maria, 'the natural daughter' of John Ward, 2nd Viscount Dudley and Ward. Obituary: *The Gentleman's Magazine,* February 1841, pp. 202-203.

[234] *A Full Report of the Trial of Samuel Cook,* pp. 5, 49-68 etc.

[235] Barnsby, *The Dudley Working Class Movement*, pp. 16-17.

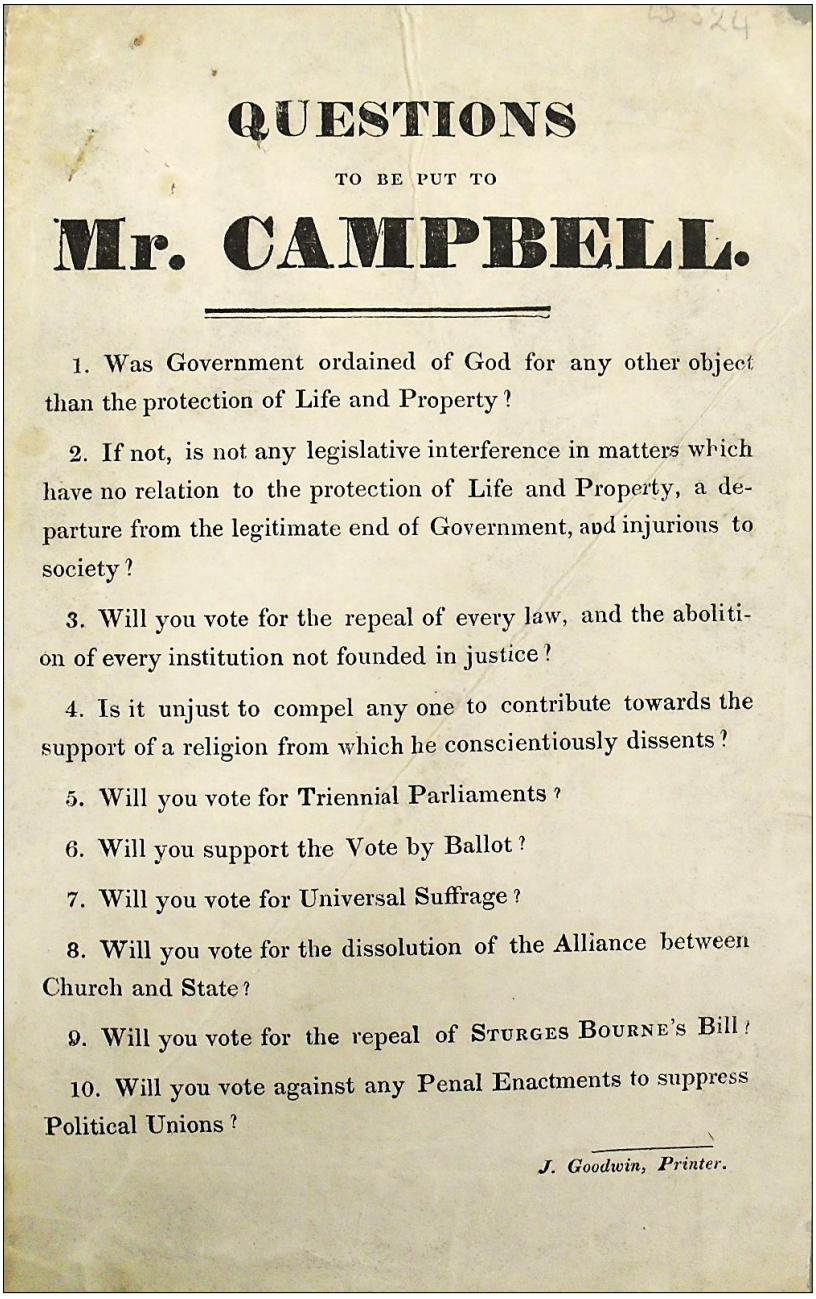
[236] Staffordshire Record Office (SRO), D260/M/F/5/27/53, p. 162, Hatherton correspondence, E.J. Littleton to Rev. W. Leigh (1830-1832), 16 June 1832.

[237] *Life of John, Lord Campbell, Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain; Consisting of a Selection from his Autobiography, Diary, and Letters*, edited by Mrs Hardcastle, Vol.2 (London, 1881), p. 21.

[238] *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 10 October 1832, p. 3.

Campbell noted both the ‘moderation’ of Dudley’s ‘Radicals’ and the crucial support that he was getting from ‘shopkeepers and independent tradesmen’.[239] As the campaign gathered momentum, Cook tried to put the same ten prepared questions to both candidates.[240] Three of the questions foreshadowed Chartism (figure 3.6).[241]

[239] Campbell also remarked that ‘the managing agent’ of the Dudley estate was using coercive tactics in support of his Tory opponent and implied that, if the property qualification had been lower, this coercion would have given his opponents more votes. *Life of John, Lord Campbell,* Vol. 2, pp. 13 & 17.
[240] The report in *The Age* said the questions were asked by ‘the Leader of the Political Union’. *The Age,* 21 October 1832, p. 2. See also: *Evening Mail,* 24 October 1832, p. 3.
[241] Of the three points that foreshadow Chartism, only vote by secret ballot is identical to the Charter. This list varies from the Charter by asking for triennial rather than annual parliaments and universal rather than manhood suffrage. Some of the wording, especially the first three questions, read more like Parkin than Cook, but it may be a generic political union list of questions. DALHS, PO/327, PC, Questions to be put to Mr Campbell (n.p., Dudley? n.d.).



QUESTIONS

TO BE PUT TO

Mr. CAMPBELL.

1. Was Government ordained of God for any other object than the protection of Life and Property?

2. If not, is not any legislative interference in matters which have no relation to the protection of Life and Property, a departure from the legitimate end of Government, and injurious to society?

3. Will you vote for the repeal of every law, and the abolition of every institution not founded in justice?

4. Is it unjust to compel any one to contribute towards the support of a religion from which he conscientiously dissents?

5. Will you vote for Triennial Parliaments?

6. Will you support the Vote by Ballot?

7. Will you vote for Universal Suffrage?

8. Will you vote for the dissolution of the Alliance between Church and State?

9. Will you vote for the repeal of STURGES BOURNE'S Bill?

10. Will you vote against any Penal Enactments to suppress Political Unions?

J. Goodwin, Printer.

Figure 3.6. Questions to be put to John Campbell, 1832? [242]

The most discordant note was struck by Parkin who wanted nothing to do with either party. Early in the campaign, he accused Campbell's committee of

[242] DALHS, PO/327, PC, Questions to be put to Mr Campbell (n.p., Dudley? n.d.).

sacrificing ‘the cause of the people … on the altar of vanity and adulation’.[243] In an address to ‘the non-electors of Dudley’, he denounced the campaign as ‘a parcel of gentlemen, real or pretended… on the one side, and a parcel of tradesmen, on the other’.[244] Scorning property qualifications, he told the non-electors that they had been deprived of their ‘unalienable (sic) rights’ and that they should ‘submit no longer to such degradation, but assert the dignity which belongs to intelligent man!’ [245] The Earl of Dudley had been expected to support the Tory campaign, but he was mentally incapacitated. However, his chief agent, Francis Downing, chaired Sir Horace’s committee. Booker made a public show of neutrality. He wrote to his parishioners urging peaceful polling and good neighbourliness, together with ‘a clear field and fair play’.[246] In the same piece he rebutted accusations of ‘busying myself with Sir Horace St. Paul’s committee, and trying unfairly to influence my Parishioners’.[247] Despite his well-documented history as a Tory supporter, Booker claimed not to have made his views known, which could be regarded as disingenuous because he then defended the Tory committee as being ‘a Committee of upright and honourable English gentlemen’ and praised their candidate as someone ‘who long *has* been, who still *is,* and, I hope, will long *continue* to be a Blessing to the Parish’.[248] Sir Horace retired on the second day of

[243] *The Christian Corrector,* No. 63, 20 June 1832, p. 471. This was the last issue of *The Christian Corrector*.
[244] DALHS, PO/25A, PC, To the non-electors of Dudley! (London, 1832). This address is reproduced in chapter 4, figure 4.12.
[245] Ibid.
[246] DALHS, PO/32B, PC, A secular pastoral address by the Vicar of Dudley (Dudley, 1832). This address is reproduced in chapter 4, figure 4.14.
[247] Ibid.
[248] Ibid. Sir Horace had recently been the president of the Dudley Library which Booker and others had established in 1805. *Laws and Catalogue of the Dudley Library, established December 19th 1805* (Dudley, 1826), p. (XI).

the poll which Campbell won by 315 votes to 225.[249] The new constituency's electorate of 670 was a small proportion of Dudley's population of 23,043.[250] A fresh contest was needed in East Worcestershire as Spencer had retired, whilst Foley and Lygon moved to West Worcestershire. Dudley and Stourbridge's radicals transferred their hostility to the new Tory candidate, John S. Pakington, who had chaired Lygon's committee in 1831.[251] This helps to explain why the worst violence of the elections in Dudley occurred during Pakington's entry into the town, with both sides blaming the other for the ensuing disturbances and the Home Secretary having to agree to an investigation.[252] Pakington was opposed by two Whigs, T.H. Cookes and W.C. Russell, who were local to East Worcestershire, but untried as politicians.[253] Both Whigs were returned, but Pakington polled well in Dudley.[254] Nonconformist support remained important to Campbell. At his victory dinner, a key speech was given by Reverend James Dawson, the minister of the Independent chapel.[255] He criticised 'the unworthy arts resorted to by the Conservatives to influence and coerce the electors of Dudley', but he also gave

[249] *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 19 December 1832, p. 4.
[250] Craig (comp. & ed.)*, British Parliamentary Election Results 1832-1885*, p. 116; Dudley's population in 1831 was 23, 043; *House of Commons Papers,* 'Abstract of population returns of Great Britain', 1831, p. 714; Dudley's population figures from 1801-1871 are given in chapter 2 (table 2.1).
[251] DALHS, PO/70, PC, (To) the Gentry, Clergy, and Independent Electors of the Eastern Division of the County of Worcester (Bromsgrove, 1832); DALHS, PO/175, PC, To the Reformers of the County of Worcester residing in the Town and Parish of Dudley (Dudley, 1832).
[252] It seems clear that there was some disturbance, but each side blamed the other and may have exaggerated what happened. DALHS, PO/371, PC, Public meeting. The meeting of the town and parish of Dudley (Dudley, 1832); *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 24 October 1832, p. 4; DALHS, PO/463, PC, Riots at Dudley (Dudley, 1832).
[253] DALHS, PO/200, PC, To the constituency of the Eastern Division of the County of Worcester (Dudley, 1832); DALHS, PO/207B, PC, An address delivered at the late meeting of the Freeholders of East Worcestershire, held at Oldbury (Dudley, 1832).
[254] *Worcester Herald,* 29 December 1832, p. 2. Pakington trailed the Whigs by only ten votes in Dudley, which was his best result in the industrial areas of the Stourbridge district and possibly a sign that the Tories in Dudley were starting to recoup their losses.
[255] *The Morning Chronicle,* 8 January 1833, p. 3.

advice that would prove prescient, urging Campbell 'to influence the new Parliament to adopt such searching measures of general reform as should avert the impending catastrophe of popular disappointment, if the Reform Bill failed to realise the just expectations of the people'.[256] Booker was even less sanguine and wrote a short, gloomy retrospective of the year 1832 in the back of an old parish register: 'This year that Abortion of Political Folly, miscalled "the Reform Bill", having passed, this Parish …was cursed with Enfranchisement.'[257] He also noted an increase in 'Strifes & Divisions', which, on this occasion, he blamed on the election of 'Sir John Campbell, Knight'.[258] Booker and fellow Tories feared losing power and influence and found no advantages in widening the franchise and increasing parliamentary representation.

This short period was dominated by the build-up to the Reform Act, but there were also local factors at play, particularly the fear of cholera and industrial unrest. The politically aware in Dudley followed the national debate and events in Dudley reflected national events, with the Tories first hoping to prevent reform, then to emasculate it, before the momentum in favour became unstoppable. This period is significant for the emergence of moderate reformers who were prepared to work with radicals like Cook, but only while it suited them. The split between the leaders of the Tories and the reformers seems to have followed religious, as well as political, lines with the Tory leaders being Anglicans and the majority of the reform leaders being nonconformists.

---

[256] Ibid.
[257] DAHLS, PR17/1/1/10, Parish of Dudley, St Thomas: Parish registers, baptisms, 1794-1812, part of a series of notes written on unused pages at the end of the book.
[258] Ibid.

Conclusion

This chapter answers the question: to what extent did the growth in demand for change in Dudley in the period from 1815 to 1832, and the reaction against it, reflect national political and religious issues and to what extent was it shaped by local factors? The major agendas were countrywide, particularly reaction to Peterloo, the Queen Caroline affair, Catholic emancipation and the reform controversy. Another strand of national involvement came from the Dudley establishment's close association with the government. Regional influences were significant as well. The radicals in Dudley continued to look to Birmingham for leadership but the Tories also benefited from networks across the West Midlands, including the magistracy and local military leaders. However, within the parameters of national and regional affairs, Dudley was distinctive due to local conditions and strong individuals. The economy of the area made the Black Country different from neighbouring places. Although not unique, Dudley's reliance on two main industries, with large workforces, made the authorities overly fearful of strike action, particularly amongst the powerful miners. Dudley has been shown to be a town and parish with a strong establishment that was predominantly Tory and Anglican, and very reluctant to loosen its hold on power. With an entrenched Anglican elite, it is not surprising that a large majority of the leaders of the opposition, from 1819 to 1832, were nonconformists. In the widening gulf between establishment and opposition in Dudley, there were larger-than-life individuals on both sides but, of the ensuing clashes, the most significant was that between Booker and Cook. National, regional and local factors combined to create the vibrancy of this period, with interactions at an individual level helping to make

Dudley distinctive. By 1832 the momentum was with the reformers and Booker's angry notes are an indication that leading Tories realised that, if only temporarily, the balance of power had shifted towards the opposition.

CHAPTER 4

Print on both sides: Conservatives and Reformers in pamphlets and posters, 1815-1832

Introduction

This chapter, a case study into the development of print culture in Dudley, analyses how different groups used print to confront their opponents and further their own agendas. The chapter asks to what extent, how and with what effect print was used as a vehicle for political and religious conflict in Dudley between 1815 and 1832. As a secondary theme, it also seeks to identify incidents where print itself formed a fundamental part of the controversy rather than simply being the medium for exchange. The chapter begins by looking at the relevant historiography and primary sources. It also considers some of the prerequisites for the development of print culture, including literacy levels and availability of printers. Then, to better evaluate the use of print, the period is divided into three sub-periods, which are used to show how print culture moved from being dominated by the Tory establishment until, by the reform controversy of 1830 to 1832, the reformers had sufficiently mastered the use of print to outflank their Tory opponents.

Historiography and primary sources

The development of a print culture in Dudley in the early decades of the nineteenth century can be set against a background of wider technological and cultural developments. James Raven describes national and international

technological developments in printing as 'the industrial revolution of the book'.[1] He argues that 'it was the reduction in printing, typesetting and paper costs that enabled new economies of scale and the satisfaction by publishers of new levels of demand'.[2] John Hinks shows that the history of printing and print culture is 'a very wide-ranging field', but also notes that what he calls 'jobbing printing' has been neglected compared with the study of book history.[3] It is jobbing printing that is central to this case study, with much of its focus being on ephemera. Although London remained the pre-eminent printing centre in Britain, provincial printing also expanded.[4] John Rann, who established the first printers in Dudley (c. 1788), had served an apprenticeship in Birmingham.[5] Marcus Wood, in his contribution to *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain,* explores 'radical publishing' before 1832, although his focus is on major figures such as Thomas Paine and London.[6] Of closer proximity to Dudley is a study by Asa Briggs of early nineteenth-century papers in Birmingham, but the wealth of papers he discusses serves to highlight the paucity of similar material in Dudley which did not have its own local newspaper at the time.[7] Susan Thomas evaluates the 'vibrant print culture' associated with politics in Birmingham, whilst this study shows how radicals in

---

[1] J. Raven, 'The industrial revolution of the book', in L. Howsam (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the History of the Book* (Cambridge, 2015), pp. 143-161.
[2] Ibid. p. 151.
[3] J. Hinks, 'The history of printing and print cultures: contexts and controversies', *Midland History,* Vol. 45, No. 2 (2020), pp. 134-144, especially pp. 134-135.
[4] For examples of political printing in the provinces see: I. Cawood and L. Peters (eds.), *Print, Politics and the Provincial Press in Modern Britain* (Oxford and New York, 2019).
[5] Rann served his apprenticeship in the office of the newspaper, *Aris's Birmingham Gazette: The Staffordshire Advertiser,* 28 January 1854, p. 5. Rann's earliest known date in Dudley is from the British Book Trade Index (BBTI): British Book Trade Index) [accessed 19 September 2021].
[6] M. Wood, 'Radical publishing', in M.F. Suarez and M.L. Turner (eds.) *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, Volume V, 1695-1830* (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 834-848.
[7] The best sources for local news for Dudley were *Aris's Birmingham Gazette, Berrow's Worcester Journal* and *The Wolverhampton Chronicle.* A. Briggs, *Press and Public in Early Nineteenth-century Birmingham,* Dugdale Society Occasional Papers, No. 8 (Oxford, 1949).

Dudley, particularly Samuel Cook, drew support from radicals and printers in Birmingham.[8] George Barnsby draws attention to some examples of Dudley's political print culture, particularly the short-lived radical paper of 1819, *The Patriot*, 'the only local radical paper known to have been published in the Black Country'. However, this study challenges Barnsby's assessment that it was 'innocuous'.[9] The present author published a chapter in 2019 which concentrates on two of Dudley's printers, one from each side of the political divide.[10] It concludes that the 'paper war' in Dudley 'accompanied a significant shift in the balance of power' and 'helped to extend what was considered 'political' within the town'.[11] This discussion develops that work, looking in greater depth at the context, such as Dudley's poor literacy levels and including examples of religious publishing controversies. There are a few comparative studies of other places, but they are of towns that were larger than Dudley, or already boroughs, or both.[12] The most detailed is a study of Newcastle-under-Lyme by Hannah Barker and David Vincent.[13] Newcastle was everything Dudley was not. It was a 'freeman borough' and in 1831 about thirty per cent of the adult male population were enfranchised.[14] The make-up of the town was different from Dudley, with craftsmen accounting for eighty-five per cent of the electorate in 1823.[15] Furthermore, Newcastle had a history of openly contested

[8] S. Thomas, '"One of the most extraordinary publications which has ever appeared…": George Edmonds v the *Monthly Argus*', in I. Cawood and L. Peters (eds.), *Print, Politics and the Provincial Press in Modern Britain* (Oxford and New York, 2019), pp. 57-80, especially p. 59.
[9] G.J. Barnsby, *The Dudley Working Class Movement, 1750 to 1860* (Dudley, 1986), pp. 9-10.
[10] J. Davies, 'A "paper war": John Rann, George Walters and the political print culture in Dudley, Worcestershire, c. 1814-1832', in I. Cawood and L. Peters (eds.), *Print, Politics and the Provincial Press in Modern Britain* (Oxford and New York, 2019), pp. 31-55.
[11] Ibid., pp. 54-55.
[12] For instance: H. Nicholson, 'Print and politics in the East Midlands constituencies, c.1790-1832' (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Nottingham, 2019).
[13] H. Barker and D. Vincent, *Language, Print and Electoral Politics 1790-1832: Newcastle-under-Lyme Broadsides* (Woodbridge, 2001).
[14] Ibid., p. x.
[15] Ibid., p. xi.

elections, and printing had started in the town by at least 1704, eighty-four years before John Rann became Dudley's first printer.[16] In contrast, this study of Dudley shows how relatively small opposition groupings, and even determined individuals, were able to challenge the Tory establishment's monopoly of power and print.

The major primary materials are the collections of political ephemera held by Dudley Archives and Local History Service (DALHS).[17] There are also pamphlets surviving from both sides of the argument at DALHS and at national and academic libraries. Identifying how much material has not survived necessitates cross-referencing and using newspaper reports which are the other major source for this period. Other useful, contemporary printed works include items by the Reverend Luke Booker and a collection of ephemera published by C.F.G. Clark.[18] There are clear limitations to the material, with most of it being produced by and for middle-class men, so the perspectives of women and working-class individuals are absent from these sources. However, Samuel Cook's handbills are unusual for frequently addressing the working classes and including women.[19]

[16] Ibid., pp. xiv-xv & xxvii; J. Davies, 'A "paper war":', p. 31
[17] The major collections are the Poster Collection (PC) and the Samuel Cook Collection (SCC) but printed ephemera of political significance can be found in many of DALHS's general holdings as well.
[18] C.F.G. Clark (comp. & ed.), *The Curiosities of Dudley and the Black Country from 1800 to 1860 etc.* (Birmingham, 1881).
[19] For instance: DALHS, SC/8, SCC, Badger v Cook (Birmingham, 1836); DALHS, SC/12, SCC, Working Men & Women of the Borough of Dudley (Dudley, 1857); DALHS, SC/18, SCC, To the inhabitants of the world. Men and Women (Dudley, 1854); DALHS, SC/37, SCC, Working men and women of Dudley and its neighbourhood (Dudley, 1848); Bishopsgate Institute, Labour history manuscript 14, Chartism and reform, Handbill, Women of Dudley (Dudley, 1847). The last is reproduced in chapter 5, figure 5.5.

Literacy, printing and print culture

The two drivers behind the development of print culture were supply and demand. On the one hand there was the potential readership, giving rise to questions about its size and literacy skills. On the other were writers with access to the printing process. Although most of this discussion concentrates on the latter, the impact of print culture was a two-way process: print was produced to be read, either as an individual pursuit, or read aloud in groups. The literacy rate reflected how social class determined educational opportunities. The wealthier classes paid for education, but the bulk of the population in Dudley only had access to schooling provided by churches, chapels or charities.[20] Whilst it is not possible to gauge historical levels of reading skills with any accuracy, research into writing ability has been carried out by analysing the proportion of men and women who could sign their name in the register when they married.[21] Although this is only one measure of literacy, it can be used to make comparisons over time and geographically. Name signing statistics from the Dudley marriage registers for the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were given in chapter 2. Comparative data for the start and end of the period 1815 to 1832 shows that name signing in Dudley was behind England's average as calculated by R.S. Schofield (table 4.1).[22]

[20] A survey undertaken by the Charity Commissioners in 1832 reveals what charities were active in Dudley. *An Account of the Charities of the Parish of Dudley, in the County of Worcester…the Report of the Commissioners* (reprinted Dudley, 1834).
[21] W.B. Stephens, 'Literacy in England, Scotland, and Wales, 1500-1900', *History of Education Quarterly*, Vol. 30, No. 4, (Winter 1990), pp. 545-571, especially pp. 552-555.
[22] R.S. Schofield, 'Dimensions of illiteracy, 1750-1850', *Explorations in Economic History,* Vol. 10, No. 4 (1973), pp. 437-454.

Table 4.1. Numbers of men and women signing their names in Dudley's marriage registers in 1815 and 1832, with national comparisons.[23]

	Total number of marriages	Man & woman both signed	Man signed but woman did not	Woman signed but man did not	Neither signed the register	Percent-age of Dudley men not signing	England: estimated percent-age of men unable to sign	Percent-age of Dudley women not signing	England: estimated percent-age of women unable to sign
1815	242	26	42	5	169	71.9	39	87.2	57
1832	352	40	68	26	218	69.3	36	81.3	50

The rates of people able to sign in Dudley improved by the end of the period, but that rate of improvement was below the estimated average national improvement rate and Dudley's men and women were both thirty percent below England's average (table 4.1).[24] The high non-signing rates can be accounted for by a workforce dominated by manual and low-skilled labour, together with high levels of migration, which disrupted schooling. Michael Hoyler uses Leicestershire's marriage registers to show the relationship between 'urban illiteracy' and socio-economic factors.[25] With figures from a later period, when marriage registers included occupations, Hoyler identifies 'miners in Coalville' as a group with a

[23] The Dudley figures are extracted from the parish registers: DALHS, PR17/1/2, Church of England records, Dudley, St Thomas, marriage registers, 1813-1818, 1829-1832 & 1832-1834. The estimated annual percentages for England are from: Schofield, 'Dimensions of illiteracy, 1750-1850', figure 2, p. 445. Unfortunately, Schofield presents his findings as a graph, and it is difficult to extract exact figures for particular years.

[24] It is impossible to know from the parish registers if the men and women who did not sign could not read either. However, a rough comparison can be made with literacy figures for convicts in England and Wales in 1836, which suggest that 33.52% could not read or write, whilst 52.33% were only able to read and write imperfectly and the differential may have been similar in Dudley. *The Manchester Guardian,* 25 April 1838, p. 1.

[25] M. Hoyler, 'Small town development and urban illiteracy: comparative evidence from Leicestershire marriage registers, 1754-1890', *Historical Social Research*, Vol. 23, Nos. 1/2 (1998), pp. 202-230.

particularly high rate of illiteracy and the position in Dudley was probably similar.[26] Other studies covering the mid-nineteenth century also reveal that some of the lowest 'signature rates' were found 'in the northern and midland manufacturing counties [and] in mining districts in those areas'.[27] More people could read than could write and one means of enlarging the audience for printed matter was having it read aloud.[28] In the Black Country this may have happened in places such as public houses or Methodist chapels.[29] Even so, Dudley's high rates of those unable to sign their names suggest a low level of general literacy amongst the town's working class. As is shown below, some printed matter was aimed at the working classes, either directly or indirectly. However, this was a small part of the total. The largest proportion of printed material was produced by, and for, the articulate middle classes, whatever their political or religious affinities. Yet Dudley lacked the 'disputing and discussing' reading public which Susan Thomas identifies in Birmingham.[30] Dudley had no newsrooms, and its only library was organised as a Tory club.

Dudley's first printing press was established by John Rann senior (c. 1788). He attracted business from leading townspeople, particularly the prolific Reverend

[26] Ibid., pp. 211-212. The Coalville registers only began in 1845 so, for this period (1815-1832), it is not possible to compare the rates of those not signing their names in Coalville and Dudley. However, Hoyler presented a graph showing the rates in Hinckley and Melton Mowbray from which it can be seen that Dudley had a higher rate of non-signers than both the Leicestershire towns. Figure 1, p. 207.
[27] Other areas identified as having low signature rates were Wales and depressed agricultural areas near to London. Stephens, 'Literacy in England, Scotland, and Wales, 1500-1900', p. 558.
[28] Schofield, 'Dimensions of illiteracy, 1750-1850', pp. 440-441; Stephens, 'Literacy in England, Scotland, and Wales, 1500-1900', pp. 553-554.
[29] The practice of those who could read, reading aloud to those who could not, had been introduced into John Wesley's class system in the early years of Methodism, alongside tuition to help members learn to read for themselves.
[30] S. Thomas, 'George Edmonds and the development of Birmingham radicalism' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Birmingham, 2020), p. 117.

Booker and from local bodies such as the churchwardens. The next man to start printing in Dudley was the Unitarian William Maurice and during this period they were joined by George Walters, Thomas Stanley and Joseph Goodwin.[31] After selling out to Joseph Hinton, Rann enjoyed a prosperous retirement whilst Hinton's (and its successors) remained the printer of choice for Dudley's establishment.[32] The printing business was precarious with Maurice, Walters, Stanley and Goodwin all, on occasion, becoming insolvent or bankrupt, although some managed to recover. Print was a vehicle for political and religious controversies between 1815 and 1820 and indeed beyond.

Dudley, 1815-1820

Economic depression and government repression marked the period from Waterloo until the Queen Caroline affair. Whilst there are no records of political opposition in Dudley before the reaction to Peterloo in 1819, there is printed evidence of covert opposition to Dudley's religious and civil leaders, focused on the re-building of St Thomas's parish church. Several anonymous poems, which had circulated in the town, were published as a collection in 1818.[33] The longest

[31] Most of these printers' details are from the British Book Trade Index, British Book Trade Index) [accessed 19 September 2021]. However, the BBTI gives Goodwin's date as starting in 1833, but he was printing in Dudley from at least May 1831. DALHS, PO/396, PC, To the Friends of Reform and Captain Spencer, at Dudley (Dudley, 1831).

[32] Of the handbills by Tories or local government bodies preserved at DALHS, from the period covered by this chapter, only two have been found that were not printed by Hinton's or his executers who continued the business. This official endorsement continued into the following period when the business was bought by Thomas Danks (c. 1835). Danks was a Town Commissioner (from June 1837) and close to the establishment in Dudley, He printed for the Town Commissioners until, with reformers' backing, it was decided that he should share the printing. Danks was also well paid as stationer to the Board of Guardians. DALHS, Town Commissioners' Minutes' Volume 2, 1832-1853, 12 June 1838; DALHS, GDU/1/1, Dudley Union Board of Guardians' Minute Book, October 1836-September 1844, .23 September 1837, Danks was paid £43 12s. 6d (this is one example of several when Danks was paid much more than other services and tradesmen).

[33] *The Procession and The Bells; or The Rival Poets* (London, 1818). The poems were reprinted by Clark, but without the preface: C.F.G. Clark (comp. & ed.), *The Curiosities of Dudley and the Black Country from 1800 to 1860.* (Birmingham, 1881), pp. 71-87.

poem, *The Procession*, satirised the laying of the foundation stone for St Thomas's in 1816. Unfortunately, the author is only identified by the initials 'W.T.'.[34] Publication took place in London and Walsall but not in Dudley. According to the preface, the town was:

> over-run on the one hand by a set of pragmatical old women of both sexes, who vapour about their faith, and would make the world believe that they monopolize the favour of the Almighty; and on the other, by a tribe of hungry adventurers, who estimate their consequence in society by the length of their purses…[35]

The author claimed that the new church 'was against the wishes of the greater part of the inhabitants' and that the procession before the foundation stone ceremony was 'the most ludicrous exhibition that [he] ever beheld'.[36] *The Procession* is cleverly constructed, with the poet using his 'muse' in an unconventional role, more akin to a reporter. The tone ranges from mild jest to biting sarcasm. If, as W.T. claimed, he was only a visitor, there must have been local input, for many of the characters are recognisable Dudley inhabitants. Nobody comes out of it well, but the severest satire is aimed at Booker and his perceived pomposity, including the lines:

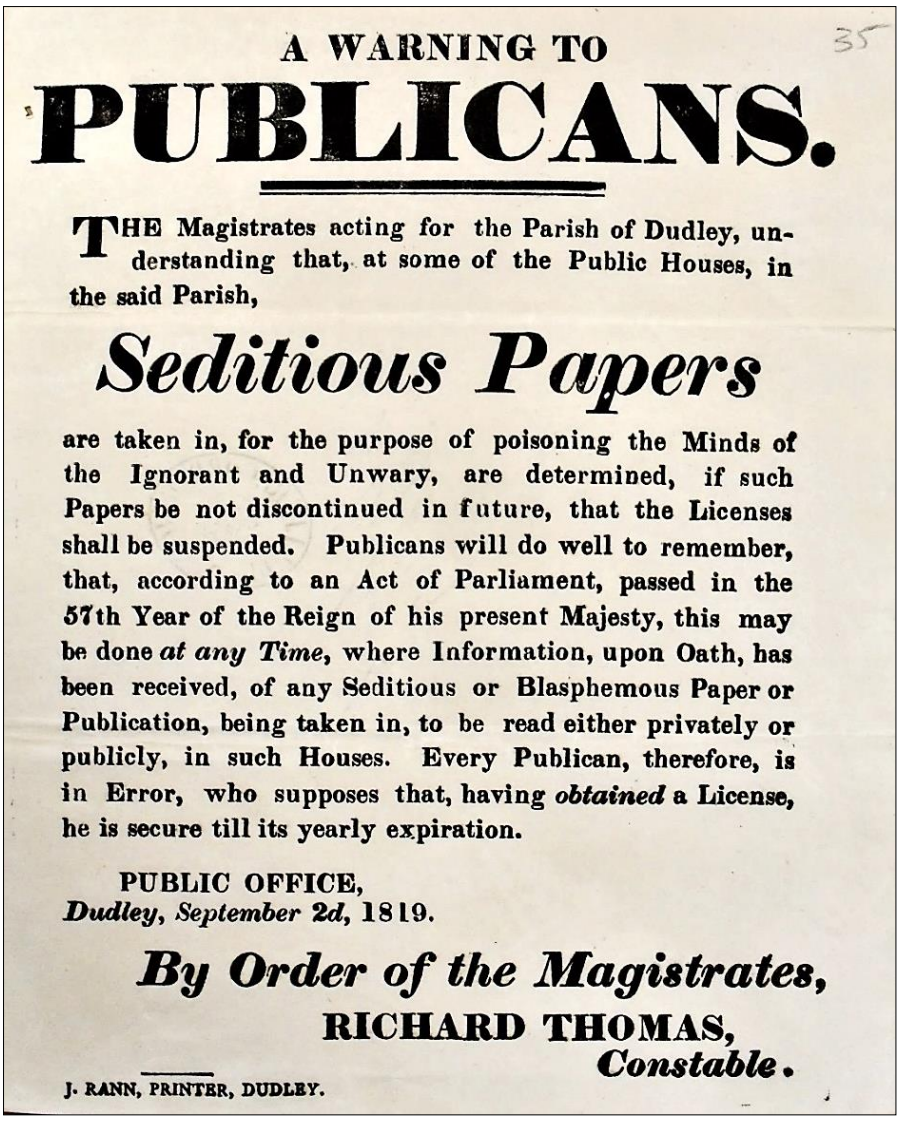
> Suffice it then, -- he stalks along
> A giant in the motley throng;
> With all that empty consequence
> Which fools adopt instead of sense;[37]

[34] It has not been possible to identify the poet.
[35] *The Procession and The Bells* (1818), p. v.
[36] Ibid., pp. [iii] & v.
[37] Ibid., p. 12.

The poem also contains the earliest known satirical references to the Badger brothers who became major industrialists: 'Isaac and Tom, as all admit, Two gentlemen of equal wit'.[38] The final poem in the collection savages Booker's own poetry, or versification, ending with the suggestion that it was only fit for lighting his candles.[39] The object of the satire was probably to prick pomposity and undermine Booker's authority. It is impossible to know how widely it was read but Walters must have thought it still sufficiently potent to re-print it in 1833 during the church rates controversy.[40] However, it was the impact of the Peterloo Massacre which had the most dramatic effect on the early development of Dudley's print culture.

The events of Peterloo in 1819 stimulated the production and dissemination of political literature and the reaction to Peterloo in Dudley showed that there were more radicals or reformists in the town than two years earlier (chapter 3). Booker had tried to deter the circulation of seditious material with a handbill aimed at publicans, drawing their attention to a law giving magistrates the power to close public houses where such material was allowed to circulate (figure 4.1).[41]

[38] Ibid., p. 15. Appendix 1 includes biographical details for the Badger brothers (A1) and Booker (A6).
[39] This poem begins 'Repress your fury, sage Divine!', and it does not have a title. *The Procession and The Bells; or The Rival Poets* (London, reprinted Dudley, 1833), pp. 30-34.
[40] *The Procession and The Bells; or The Rival Poets* (London, reprinted Dudley, 1833).
[41] The National Archives (TNA), HO 42/194, f. 35, Home Office: Domestic Correspondence, George III, Letters and papers, Handbill, A warning to publicans (Dudley, 1819).



A WARNING TO

PUBLICANS.

THE Magistrates acting for the Parish of Dudley, understanding that, at some of the Public Houses, in the said Parish,

Seditious Papers

are taken in, for the purpose of poisoning the Minds of the Ignorant and Unwary, are determined, if such Papers be not discontinued in future, that the Licenses shall be suspended. Publicans will do well to remember, that, according to an Act of Parliament, passed in the 57th Year of the Reign of his present Majesty, this may be done *at any Time*, where Information, upon Oath, has been received, of any Seditious or Blasphemous Paper or Publication, being taken in, to be read either privately or publicly, in such Houses. Every Publican, therefore, is in Error, who supposes that, having *obtained* a License, he is secure till its yearly expiration.

PUBLIC OFFICE,
Dudley, September 2d, 1819.

By Order of the Magistrates,
RICHARD THOMAS,
Constable.

J. RANN, PRINTER, DUDLEY.

Figure 4.1. Handbill warning publicans to discontinue the circulation of radical papers, 1819.[42]

The language of the handbill suggests that it was written by Booker and it is an example of print addressed to a specific group of people, some of whom would have lacked the literacy skills to read or understand it.

[42] Credit: The National Archives: TNA, HO 42/194, f. 35, Home Office: Domestic Correspondence, George III, Letters and papers, Handbill warning publicans not to allow the circulation of seditious papers, September 1819 (Dudley, 1819).

Despite Booker's efforts, in September 1819, a copy of the first issue of *The Republican,* in which Richard Carlile condemned the perpetrators of Peterloo, and 'a scurrilous letter' addressed to Booker from 'Mithra', were thrown into the vicarage garden.[43] Booker went through the paper marking the passages he deemed 'highly seditious if not treasonable'. Thanks to his royal appointment, Booker wore buttons featuring the royal monogram, GPR (George Prince Regent), but following Peterloo, the Prince Regent was reviled by radicals even more than previously and Booker was castigated by Mithra who wrote: 'You bear the initials of tyranny on your buttons and madly mix religion with politics'. Mithra also questioned Booker's success in preventing the spread of radical material, telling him that 'publications which tend to destroy your craft circulate with avidity even under the sacred vaulted roof'.[44] Booker wrote to Lord Sidmouth, the Home Secretary, sending him *The Republican,* a copy of Mithra's letter and one of the handbills aimed at publicans.[45]

In a strong show of support for the government, Dudley's loyalists held a public meeting on 1 October 1819 to send an appreciative address to the Prince Regent, thus endorsing his reaction to Peterloo. The meeting ignited controversy and was followed by an outpouring of print, which Walters dubbed a 'paper war'.[46] The loyalists had prepared the resolutions in advance and no discussion was

---

[43] TNA, HO 42/194, ff. 33-44, Home Office: Domestic Correspondence, George III, Letters and papers, Letter and items sent by Luke Booker to the Home Office, 1819. Mithra was the Zoroastrian god of covenant, light and truthfulness, possibly seen as a judicial figure. The implication seems to be that Booker has been adjudged not to be dealing in the truth.
[44] TNA, HO 42/194, ff. 33-44.
[45] Sidmouth was the Conservative Home Secretary. Davies, 'A "paper war"', pp.31-55, particularly p. 35; TNA, HO 42/194, ff. 33-44, Reverend Luke Booker to Lord Sidmouth, September 1819.
[46] Davies, 'A "paper war"', p.31; TNA, TS 11/80/253, Treasury Solicitor's papers, Rex v. Walters, Publishing libel in The Patriot. Court: King's Bench, 1819-1820, George Walters, affidavit to the Court of King's Bench, 1820.

allowed. Despite the meeting descending into chaos, the resolutions were sent to the newspapers and issued as a handbill with no hint that there had been any opposition.[47] This handbill was one of several loyal petitions and addresses printed by Rann and his successors over the next few years.[48] Francis Finch, a member of the wealthy Unitarian Finch family in Dudley, not only acted as the spokesman for the opposition at the Dudley meeting, but afterwards he clashed with the Tories in a vigorous pamphlet exchange.[49] One issue between them was the part played by Birmingham radicals at the meeting. By radical standards, Finch was moderate. Although he advocated parliamentary reform, he opposed universal suffrage and annual parliaments.[50] Therefore he was reluctant to ally himself too closely with Birmingham radicals.[51] Both Tory pamphlets attacking Finch were anonymous, printed by Rann and paid for retrospectively by the 'Society for the Suppression of Blasphemy and Sedition' (later renamed the Dudley Constitutional Association), which was first mooted in December 1819.[52] Other contributions to the pamphlet exchange included a satirical piece purporting to be by a member of the Dudley

---

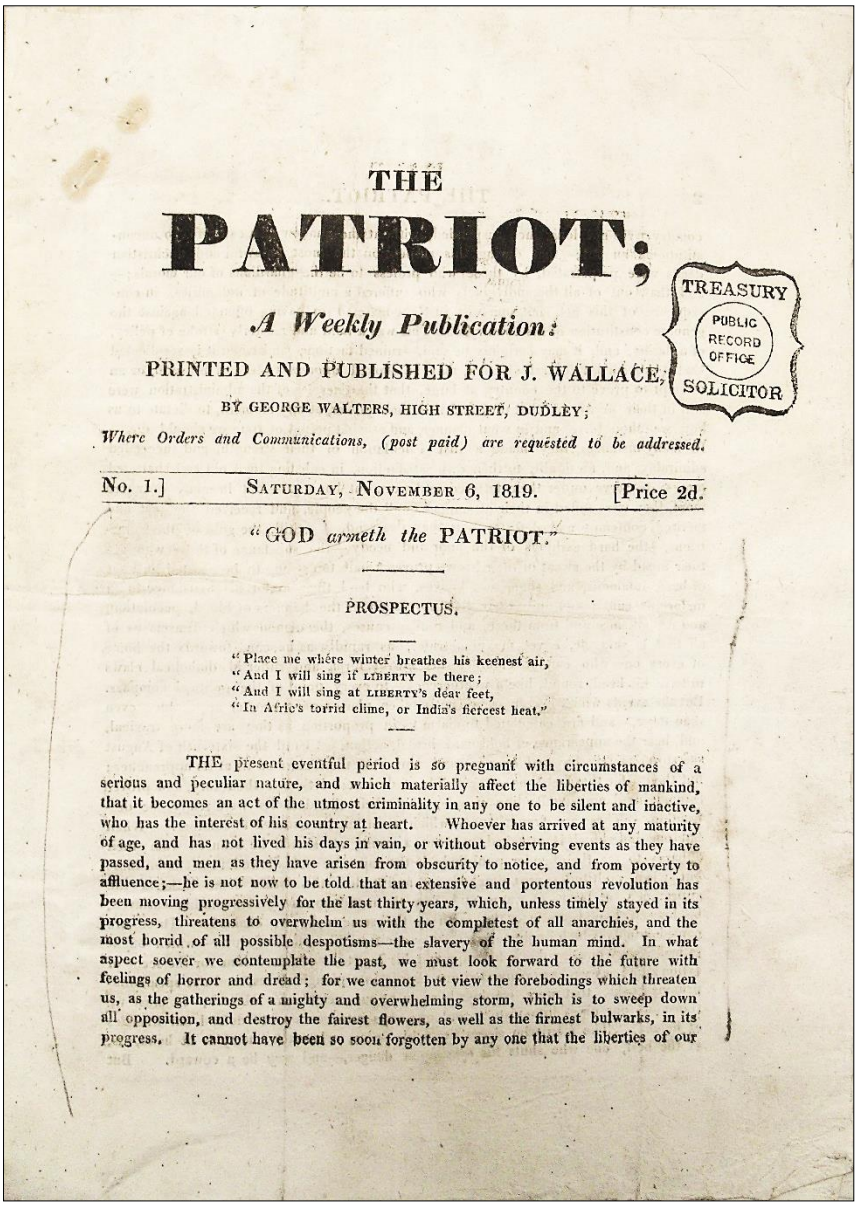
[47] *Aris's Birmingham Gazette*, 4 October 1819, p. 3; DALHS, PO/366, PC, At a meeting of the inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood of Dudley (Dudley, 1819?).
[48] For instance: DALHS, DSCAM/6/2/2/5, Records of Messrs Slater and Camm, Papers of the Dudley Constitutional Association etc, To Thomas Wainwright, Esq. Mayor of Dudley, December 1820.
[49] Finch's first pamphlet was issued anonymously but he later admitted authorship: *Meeting at Dudley,* (Birmingham, 1819?), p. [1]. This pamphlet is sometimes referred to as 'A faithful unvarnished narrative', which is the beginning of the opening sentence. Appendix 1 gives biographical details about Finch (A15).
[50] *Meeting at Dudley,* p. 7.
[51] Thomas, 'George Edmonds and the development of Birmingham radicalism', pp. 122-125; F. Finch, *Remarks on a Pamphlet assuming to itself the Title of a 'Reply to the Faithful Unvarnished Narrative concerning the late Dudley Meeting'* (Birmingham, 1819), pp. 8-10.
[52] *A Reply to the Faithful Unvarnished Narrative concerning the late Dudley Meeting* (Dudley, 1819); *Animadversions on a Pamphlet entitled 'Remarks etc' lately published by Mr Finch, of Dudley,* (Dudley, 1819); DALHS, DSCAM 6/2/2/2-6, Records of Messrs Slater and Camm, Papers of the Dudley Constitutional Association, Resolutions from a meeting to form the society, minutes of early meetings, petition to send a loyal address and examples of such from other places, 1819-1820; Davies, 'A "paper war"', p. 36.

Pitt Club.[53] The pamphlets on both sides, with smatterings of Greek quotations, were seemingly aimed at a genteel and erudite readership and jocular in tone. However, while this pamphlet exchange was winding down, there came the publication of *The Patriot*, a more stridently radical paper and its impact is analysed below.

Finch's pamphlets were not printed in Dudley but, to the fury of the authorities, *The Patriot,* for its short run from 6 November 1819, was printed and sold by Walters in his High Street shop.[54] Hoping to avoid censure, Walters emphasised that the paper was 'printed and published for J. Wallace' (figure 4.2). This was John Wallace, a Dudley-born artist and Unitarian, recently living in Wolverhampton.[55] Joseph Payton 'Constable of Dudley', sent a copy to Sidmouth, whilst another was hung from a gibbet then 'publickly burnt' at the Market Cross.[56] Thus the officials used their domination of public space to symbolically extinguish radical ideas. In emphasising what they see as the authorities' over-reaction, both Barnsby and D.W.J. McForan underplay the radical nature of *The Patriot*.[57] McForan describes it as 'unpretentious and harmless'.[58] Certainly, it was physically unpretentious (figure 4.2), but a jittery government, fearful of revolution, found

[53] *A Defence of the Loyal Inhabitants of Dudley*, by a member of the Pitt Club (London, 1820).
[54] See: J. Davies, 'A "paper war"', pp. 31-55, especially pp. 36-41.
[55] Appendix 1 includes biographical information about Wallace (A29) and Walters (A31).
[56] Although Dudley's actual market cross had long gone, the highest point of the market, where the fountain is now, was known as 'The Market Cross' until the early years of the twentieth century. TNA, HO 42/198, ff. 111-116, Letter from Joseph Payton to Lord Sidmouth, and copy of *The Patriot*, November 1819 TS 11/80/253, Rex v Walters *The Patriot* No.1, 6 November 1819 (Dudley).
[57] Barnsby, *The Dudley Working Class Movement*, p. 9.
[58] D.W.J. McForan, 'Birmingham radicalism, 1812-1820' (Unpublished MA dissertation, University of Birmingham, 1982), p. 12.

plenty for concern and Sidmouth reportedly called it ‘a most mischievous pamphlet’.[59]



THE

PATRIOT;

A Weekly Publication:

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED FOR J. WALLACE,

BY GEORGE WALTERS, HIGH STREET, DUDLEY;

Where Orders and Communications, (post paid) are requested to be addressed.

TREASURY
PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE
SOLICITOR

No. 1.] SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 6, 1819. [Price 2d.

"GOD *armeth the* PATRIOT."

PROSPECTUS.

"Place me where winter breathes his keenest air,
"And I will sing if LIBERTY be there;
"And I will sing at LIBERTY's dear feet,
"In Afric's torrid clime, or India's fiercest heat."

THE present eventful period is so pregnant with circumstances of a serious and peculiar nature, and which materially affect the liberties of mankind, that it becomes an act of the utmost criminality in any one to be silent and inactive, who has the interest of his country at heart. Whoever has arrived at any maturity of age, and has not lived his days in vain, or without observing events as they have passed, and men as they have arisen from obscurity to notice, and from poverty to affluence;—he is not now to be told that an extensive and portentous revolution has been moving progressively for the last thirty years, which, unless timely stayed in its progress, threatens to overwhelm us with the completest of all anarchies, and the most horrid of all possible despotisms—the slavery of the human mind. In what aspect soever we contemplate the past, we must look forward to the future with feelings of horror and dread; for we cannot but view the forebodings which threaten us, as the gatherings of a mighty and overwhelming storm, which is to sweep down all opposition, and destroy the fairest flowers, as well as the firmest bulwarks, in its progress. It cannot have been so soon forgotten by any one that the liberties of our

Figure 4.2. *The Patriot,* No.1, 6 November 1819.[60]

[59] ‘Peterloo and the Six Acts, 1819’, Peterloo and the Six Acts, 1819 | History of Parliament Online [accessed 9 September 2023]; TNA, HO 41/5, ff. 244-245, Home Office, Disturbances entry books, 1819-1820, Letters from Henry Clive to Joseph Payton and John Roberts, 8 November 1819.
[60] This is the cover page of the first issue. Credit: The National Archives: TS 11/80/253, Rex v Walters, *The Patriot* No.1, 6 November 1819 (Dudley).

‘Seditious libel’ included anything likely to cause the people to hold the government in contempt. Either the Dudley authorities or the Home Office marked several passages in the first issue as being of concern, including most of the front page (figure 4.2). Further attention was drawn to a passage beginning: ‘The people cry out, oppression,- oppression,- oppression,- and their rulers answer, chains,- chains,- chains,- and a dungeon’. It then sneered at ‘the law of the land’ condemning it as:

> a compound of priestcraft and knavery…[which] consists of dogmas and doctrines, invented for the purpose of binding both body and soul; and is exercised upon the poor by the rich, for the purpose of making the poor poorer, and the rich richer, both here and hereafter.[61]

Wallace used inflammatory language in a wide-ranging attack on monarchs, government and clergy whilst his suggestion for ‘turning our pipes into pistols, and our cups into cannons, to defend our liberties at home’ could be interpreted as a call to arms.[62]

Wallace was not easily cowed and countered the burning of his first issue with a satirical poem in the second called ‘The Holy Gibbet of Dudley’, also noting that the gibbet itself had since been burnt.[63] He continued writing on radical themes, but *The Patriot* folded after four issues. This paper was undoubtedly one of the factors behind the setting up of the Society for the Suppression of Blasphemy and Sedition (later the Dudley Constitutional Association) which urged

[61] TS 11/80/253, *The Patriot,* No. 1, 6 November 1819, p. 5.
[62] *The Patriot,* No. 1, 6 November 1819, p. 2; Davies, ‘A “paper war”’, pp. 38-39.
[63] *The Patriot,* No. 2, 13 November 1819, p. 15.

the Home Office to prosecute both Wallace and Walters.[64] Only Walters was arraigned and the action against him was allowed to lapse.[65] The government concentrated on prosecuting leading radical publishers such as Richard Carlile.[66] Neither Wallace nor Walters had much support in Dudley and Walters told the Court of King's Bench that *The Patriot* had not sold well and the copies which had sold were mainly bought from curiosity.[67] Walters was resilient enough, at the height of the Queen Caroline affair in December 1820, to reprint a pro-Caroline address to the King from the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Commons of the City of London.[68]

The reaction to Peterloo caused the explosion of print in this period. Before that there were only a few satirical poems mocking establishment figures, but Peterloo brought forth both 'a paper war' and *The Patriot,* a decidedly radical paper. Despite Sidmouth's reputation as a repressive Home Secretary, the Home Office was less inclined to prosecute Wallace and Walters than were members of the Dudley Constitutional Association. In this period, there was little support in

[64] DALHS, DSCAM 6/2/2/22-31, Records of Messrs Slater and Camm, Papers of the Dudley Constitutional Association, Correspondence with Home Office officials concerning Walters and Wallace, 1819-1820.
[65] TNA, TS 11/80/253, Treasury Solicitor, Rex v Walters, 1820; Davies, 'A "paper war"', pp. 40-41.
[66] P. W. Martin, 'Carlile, Richard (1790-1843), radical publisher and writer', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (published 23 September 2004, version 11 May 2023), Carlile, Richard (1790–1843) | Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, [accessed 18 February 2018]; TNA, TS 11/80/253 & 11/156/506-507, 1819-20.
[67] TNA, TS 11/80/253; Davies, 'A "paper war"', p. 41.
[68] Walters's reprint of the London address was preserved by loyalists in a small collection of 'loyal' addresses from other places that they had gathered to help them draft their own. However, it had been defaced. Walters's name was crossed out and the King's rather angry response to the address had been copied onto the back, presumably by a gleeful loyalist. DALHS, DSCAM 6/2/2/5-6, Records of Messrs Slater and Camm, Papers of the Dudley Constitutional Association, Text of the address presented to His Majesty by the Lord Mayor and Corporation of the City of London, 1820?

Dudley for radical publications, but there followed a very different kind of print dispute, a controversy over cheap Bibles.

Dudley, 1821-1829

Whilst political controversy abated from 1821 to 1829, there were bad-tempered religious disputes using pamphlets or letters, or both. One centred on making cheap Bibles available to a wider reading public. The controversy began in 1820 when Reverend Thomas Tysan, the Catholic priest with oversight of Dudley, issued *An Address to the Members of the Dudley Auxiliary Biblical Association.*[69] It is unclear why Tysan chose to launch this particular controversy.[70] The original supporters of the British and Foreign Bible Society (BFBS) were evangelical Anglicans like William Wilberforce, who wanted to persuade Protestant dissenters to join the initiative.[71] Hoping to avoid contentious doctrinal differences, they had cheap versions of the Bible printed, 'without note or comment'.[72] Many conservative Anglicans opposed cooperation with dissenters and thought it wrong to hand out Bibles without accompanying notes for instruction.[73] Although most of the senior figures in the Dudley branch were Anglicans, it received support from nonconformists and the Independent minister James Dawson was currently one of

[69] Tysan named the Society wrongly. It should have been: 'the Dudley Auxiliary Bible Society', a branch of the British and Foreign Bible Society. T. Tysan, *An Address to the Members of the Dudley Auxiliary Biblical Association* (Dudley, 1820).
[70] Tysan had attended a meeting and disliked some of the views he heard expressed, but that was in 1814, several years before he wrote the initial pamphlet. E.B. Hymers, *Historical Notes on Catholic Mission of Sedgley* (Dudley, 1924), p. 28.
[71] Wanting to include dissenters put the BFBS at odds with the more traditional and solidly Anglican Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK). L. Howsam, *Cheap Bibles: Nineteenth-century Publishing and the British and Foreign Bible Society* (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 4-5.
[72] Ibid., pp. 6-7.
[73] R. Hole, *Pulpits, Politics and Public Order in England, 1760-1832,* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 190-193; Howsam, *Cheap Bibles,* pp. 6-7.

its secretaries.[74] Tysan was even more hostile than conservative Anglicans to the Bible Societies, which he insisted on calling 'Biblical Associations'. Much of the row centred on traditional differences over the authority of scripture, whether the Bible needed interpreting and, if so, by whom. However, the increased availability of print, together with poor literacy levels, added extra dimensions to the argument. Tysan was scornful of the societies for:

> with such unwearied zeal, dispersing and throwing the Sacred Scriptures into the hands of every Man, Woman, and Child, some of whom, in religion, scarcely know their right hand from their left, and who so far from understanding the Sacred Volume, can neither read nor spell it.[75]

Tysan also attacked the Protestant insistence that the Bible was the sole, sufficient basis of faith. He argued in favour of Catholic reliance on 'the living authority of pastors', as against 'the dead letter of the Bible'.[76] Tysan criticised other aspects of Protestantism and there was some hesitancy in rebuffing his accusations, with the Anglicans holding aloof. Dawson, however, issued a pamphlet contradicting Tysan.[77] Unlike in political exchanges, when the different parties had favoured printers, Tysan's and Dawson's pamphlets were all printed by Walters. Jacob Stanley, a Wesleyan and former minister in Dudley, who had

---

[74] J. Stanley, *Remarks on the Rev. Thomas Tysan's Attack on Protestantism and Bible Societies in Letters to a Friend* (Wednesbury, n.d., 1821?), n.p. [i.e. p. iii]. Appendix 1 includes biographical information about Dawson (A13).
[75] Ibid., pp. 4-5.
[76] Tysan, *An Address to the Members of the Dudley Auxiliary Biblical Association* (Dudley, 1820), p. 5.
[77] J. Dawson, *A Reply to an Address to the Members of the Dudley Auxiliary Bible Society: by the Rev. Thomas Tysan, Roman Catholic Priest,* 2nd ed. (Dudley, 1821).

belonged to the Dudley Bible Society, also refuted Tysan's arguments.[78] Although Tysan accused his opponents of being ungentlemanly and unchristian, he was caustic himself – for instance, calling John Wesley 'the Mahomed of Methodism'.[79] When Tysan responded belligerently to both Dawson and Stanley, they countered with more pamphlets.[80] The original point, concerning the benefit, or not, of giving Bibles to those who might not have been able to understand them, was lost within Protestant/Catholic invective. However, Dawson did refer sarcastically to the perceived reluctance of Catholic priests to encourage lay Catholics to read the Bible for themselves, saying to Tysan: 'Perhaps you were afraid, lest any of your own community might blunder upon a Bible.'[81]

The Anglicans failed to join in this bad-tempered exchange. Booker seems to have preferred to choose his own topics for print and during the 1820s he wrote numerous letters to newspapers on various subjects. As a local person of consequence, many of his letters were printed in *The Wolverhampton Chronicle*. Being a divisive character, his letters attracted opposition, even when dealing with apparently innocuous topics. Booker was slow to realise when he was being ridiculed. Whilst preparing his history of Dudley Castle, he appealed for local information and *The Wolverhampton Chronicle* printed a response from 'a true old

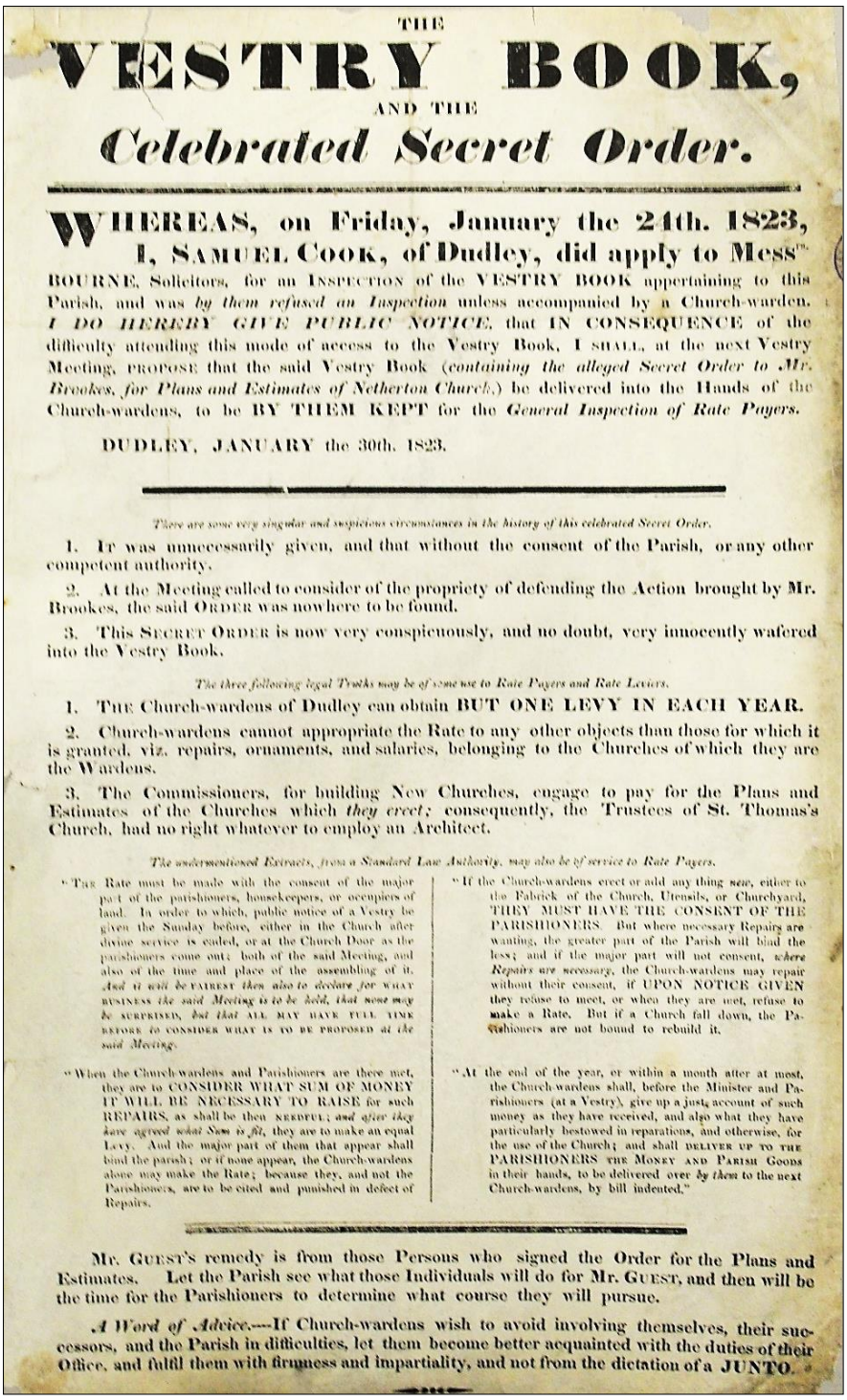
---

[78] Stanley, *Remarks on the Rev. Thomas Tysan's Attack on Protestantism* (Wednesbury, 1821?), n.p. [i.e. p. iii].
[79] T. Tysan, *Observations on Mr Jacob Stanley's Remarks on the Rev. Thomas Tysan's Address to the Dudley Auxiliary Biblical Association* (Dudley, 1821), p. 10.
[80] T. Tysan, *An Answer to the Rev. J. Dawson's Reply to an Address to the Members of the Dudley Auxiliary Biblical Association* (Dudley? 1821); Tysan, *Observations on Mr Jacob Stanley's Remarks* (Dudley, 1821); J. Dawson, *More Amusement for the Rev. Thomas Tysan, Roman Catholic Priest; or, a Review of his Answer to the Reply to his Address to the Members of the Dudley Auxiliary Bible Society* (Dudley, 1821); J. Stanley, *Popery Indefensible: Being Strictures on the Rev. Thomas Tysan's Observations; in a Letter to a Friend* (Wednesbury, 1822).
[81] Dawson, *A Reply to an Address*, p. 5.

"Dudley Boy"' which Booker apparently took at face value, although it was in a similar vein to the earlier spoof pamphlet pretending to be by a member of the Pitt Club.[82] A third party, calling himself Insolens, told Booker he was being mocked.[83] As an active radical, opponent of the Dudley elite and key cultural figure in the town, the importance and impact of Samuel Cook's use of print deserves analysis.

In 1823, shortly after the doctrinal, religious exchanges died down, Cook was able to use the scandal over plans for a new Anglican church at Netherton to continue his religious and political opposition.[84] This affair illustrates how the growing availability of print enhanced Cook's ability to oppose the authorities.[85] His first comments on the Netherton affair were laboriously hand-written but as the scandal unfolded, he turned to print to give his handbills greater impact.[86] One of Cook's earliest printed handbills demonstrates his preferred technique, using eye-catching headings, backed up with lengthy quotations from those he considered to be good authorities on the topic or extracts from the law (figure 4.3).[87]

[82] *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 5 November 1823, p. 3 and 12 November 1823, p. 3.
[83] *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 19 November 1823, p. 3.
[84] Appendix 1 gives biographical information about Cook (A12).
[85] Davies, 'A "paper war"', pp. 43-44.
[86] DALHS, SC/65, SCC, Brookes (sic) has succeeded (Hand-written notice attributed to Samuel Cook, n.d. 1823?); SC/66, SCC, Is there any news from London today … (Hand-written notice attributed to Samuel Cook, n.d.); SC/67, SCC, A very pretty piece of business. Brooks against Guest (Hand-written notice attributed to Samuel Cook, n.d.).
[87] DALHS, SC/106, SCC, The vestry book and the celebrated secret order (Dudley, 1823).



THE

VESTRY BOOK,

AND THE

Celebrated Secret Order.

WHEREAS, on Friday, January the 24th. 1823, I, SAMUEL COOK, of Dudley, did apply to Messrs. BOURNE, Solicitors, for an INSPECTION of the VESTRY BOOK appertaining to this Parish, and was *by them refused an Inspection* unless accompanied by a Church-warden. *I DO HEREBY GIVE PUBLIC NOTICE*, that IN CONSEQUENCE of the difficulty attending this mode of access to the Vestry Book, I SHALL, at the next Vestry Meeting, PROPOSE that the said Vestry Book (*containing the alleged Secret Order to Mr. Brookes, for Plans and Estimates of Netherton Church,*) be delivered into the Hands of the Church-wardens, to be BY THEM KEPT for the *General Inspection of Rate Payers.*

DUDLEY, JANUARY the 30th. 1823.

There are some very singular and suspicious circumstances in the history of this celebrated Secret Order.

1. IT was unnecessarily given, and that without the consent of the Parish, or any other competent authority.

2. At the Meeting called to consider of the propriety of defending the Action brought by Mr. Brookes, the said ORDER was nowhere to be found.

3. This SECRET ORDER is now very conspicuously, and no doubt, very innocently wafered into the Vestry Book.

The three following legal Truths may be of some use to Rate Payers and Rate Leviers.

1. THE Church-wardens of Dudley can obtain **BUT ONE LEVY IN EACH YEAR.**

2. Church-wardens cannot appropriate the Rate to any other objects than those for which it is granted, viz. repairs, ornaments, and salaries, belonging to the Churches of which they are the Wardens.

3. The Commissioners, for building New Churches, engage to pay for the Plans and Estimates of the Churches which *they erect;* consequently, the Trustees of St. Thomas's Church, had no right whatever to employ an Architect.

The undermentioned Extracts, from a Standard Law Authority, may also be of service to Rate Payers.

"THE Rate must be made with the consent of the major part of the parishioners, housekeepers, or occupiers of land. In order to which, public notice of a Vestry be given the Sunday before, either in the Church after divine service is ended, or at the Church Door as the parishioners come out: both of the said Meeting, and also of the time and place of the assembling of it. *And it will be* FAIREST *then also to declare for* WHAT BUSINESS *the said Meeting is to be held, that none may be* SURPRISED, *but that* ALL MAY HAVE FULL TIME BEFORE *to* CONSIDER WHAT IS TO BE PROPOSED *at the said Meeting.*

"When the Church-wardens and Parishioners are there met, they are to CONSIDER WHAT SUM OF MONEY IT WILL BE NECESSARY TO RAISE for such REPAIRS, as shall be then NEEDFUL; *and after they have agreed what Sum is fit,* they are to make an equal Levy. And the major part of them that appear shall bind the parish; or if none appear, the Church-wardens alone may make the Rate; because they, and not the Parishioners, are to be cited and punished in defect of Repairs.

"If the Church-wardens erect or add any thing *new*, either to the Fabrick of the Church, Utensils, or Churchyard, THEY MUST HAVE THE CONSENT OF THE PARISHIONERS. But where necessary Repairs are wanting, the greater part of the Parish will bind the less; and if the major part will not consent, *where Repairs are necessary*, the Church-wardens may repair without their consent, if UPON NOTICE GIVEN they refuse to meet, or when they are met, refuse to make a Rate. But if a Church fall down, the Parishioners are not bound to rebuild it.

"At the end of the year, or within a month after at most, the Church-wardens shall, before the Minister and Parishioners (at a Vestry), give up a just account of such money as they have received, and also what they have particularly bestowed in reparations, and otherwise, for the use of the Church; and shall DELIVER UP TO THE PARISHIONERS THE MONEY AND PARISH GOODS in their hands, to be delivered over *by them* to the next Church-wardens, by bill indented."

Mr. GUEST's remedy is from those Persons who signed the Order for the Plans and Estimates. Let the Parish see what those Individuals will do for Mr. GUEST, and then will be the time for the Parishioners to determine what course they will pursue.

A Word of Advice.—If Church-wardens wish to avoid involving themselves, their successors, and the Parish in difficulties, let them become better acquainted with the duties of their Office, and fulfil them with firmness and impartiality, and not from the dictation of a JUNTO.

Figure 4.3. Handbill by Samuel Cook publicising what he considered to be a scandal concerning a proposed Anglican church at Netherton, 1823.[88]

[88] DALHS, SC/106, SCC, The vestry book and the celebrated secret order (Dudley, 1823).

The wording at the top of this handbill shows Cook waging a one-man campaign to procure open government in Dudley, whilst his advice at the bottom is also typical, encouraging fellow ratepayers to become involved and making antagonistic remarks to the authorities.

The Netherton church affair also led to attempted press manipulation by the authorities after William Brooks, the architect, successfully sued Edward Guest, one of Dudley's churchwardens. *The British Press* printed a detailed account of 'Brooks versus Guest' at the Court of King's Bench in which the church authorities were presented in a poor light and the parishioners said to have 'quarrelled among themselves'.[89] However, the worst portrayal was of James Bourne junior, a member of an important family of solicitors in Dudley, who acted as clerk to the parish vestry and also as Guest's defence attorney. Bourne, shown to be incompetent and duplicitous, was criticised by the Lord Chief Justice.[90] Bourne, in particular, must have been chagrined when *The Wolverhampton Chronicle* reprinted the piece verbatim the following week.[91] Presumably he, or church officials, made remonstrances to *The Chronicle* and in its next issue it printed a prominent apology which implied that the article contained stale news, was one-sided and had been 'inadvertently copied from a London Paper'.[92] Nothing more appeared in any newspapers and it was left to Cook to issue another of his trade-mark handbills with an array of legal advice targeted at everyone he thought might be in charge of such ventures in the past or future.[93] In July 1823, the committee

[89] *The British Press,* 14 March 1823, p. 4.
[90] Ibid.
[91] *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 19 March 1823, p. 3.
[92] *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 26 March 1823, p. 3.
[93] DALHS, SC/30, SCC, Vestry meetings (Dudley, 1823)

of the Dudley subscription library, dominated by leading churchmen, revoked Cook's membership, using the power of print in reverse by barring him from the library.[94] The decision was taken at a special meeting of the library's committee and signed by Booker as chairman.[95] Both Guest and Bourne were committee members.[96] When reporting the matter to Thomas Wooler, editor of *The Black Dwarf*, Cook portrayed it as a political dispute: 'I am now come into close conflict with the ultras of this town which will appear from the following library affair'.[97] The printed laws of the library used a quotation from Bacon on the title page: 'Knowledge is power', a motto which could equally have applied to Cook's policy of displaying written or printed notices and other information in his shop window.[98] Although most of Cook's handbills were printed in Dudley, Cook also patronised the radical Birmingham bookseller and printer, Joseph Russell.[99] Russell printed two handbills highlighting Cook's concern with local officials exceeding their powers.[100] The next section considers the print ramifications of Cook's trial in 1827.

Cook sympathised with the plight of the nailers who caused disturbances in May 1826 over reductions to their wages and, in June, Cook was arraigned for seditious libel.[101] The offending notices were hand-written, though it was not

---

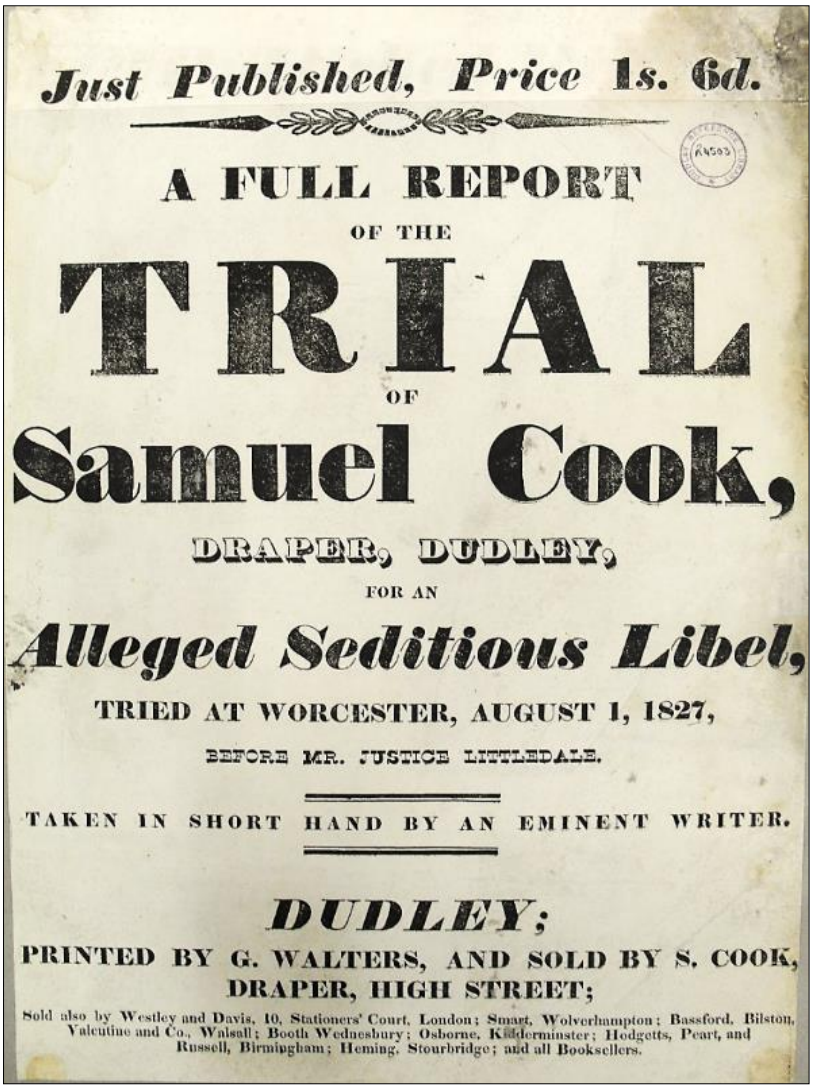
[94] DAHLS, Z44 (MC), Draft letter to Mr Wooller (sic) (dated 8 July 1823).
[95] Ibid.
[96] *Laws and Catalogue of the Dudley Library, established December 19th 1805* (Dudley, 1826).
[97] DAHLS, Z44 (MC), Draft letter to Mr Wooller (sic) (dated 8 July 1823).
[98] *Laws and Catalogue of the Dudley Library*, title page.
[99] Russell had been imprisoned for a time, in the 1819 crackdown, for selling William Hone's *Political Litany*. W.B. Stephens, ed., 'Political and Administrative History: Political History to 1832', in *A History of the County of Warwick: Volume 7, the City of Birmingham* (London, 1964), pp. 270-297.
[100] DALHS, SC/110, SCC, Overseers liable to one hundred pounds penalty! (Birmingham, 1823); DALHS, SC/1, SCC, The duties of parish officers and rate payers (Birmingham, 1824).
[101] One of the targets of the disturbances was a waggon of nails belonging to 'Messrs Badger', already leading men in commerce in Dudley. *The Birmingham Chronicle,* 4 May 1826, p. 2.

established by whom.[102] Russell printed a handbill containing extracts from *The Birmingham Chronicle*, favourable to Cook, a further indication that Cook had close ties with Birmingham radicals.[103] Whilst awaiting trial, Cook was able to take part in a flurry of printed material on the subject of the proposed new Town Act.[104] When Cook's trial took place in 1827, he was only bound over to keep the peace.[105] The most significant printed item to emerge from the affair was a transcript of the trial which Walters printed and offered for sale for 1s. 6d (figure 4.4).[106] Publishing a trial transcript was a ploy used by radicals because it was permissible to repeat any so-called seditious material that had been read out in court.[107] Thus they could safely repeat Cook's critical remarks about the government, the monarchy and the Church of England.[108] The report also included John Campbell's clever defence which highlighted the authorities' connivance at breaking Cook's window to get the material, together with Campbell's scathing attack on those who had brought the prosecution anonymously.[109] The publication

---

[102] *A Full Report of the Trial of Samuel Cook, Draper, Dudley, for an Alleged Seditious Libel, tried at Worcester, August 1 1827, before Mr Justice Littledale* etc. (Dudley, 1827), p. 56.
[103] There are various examples in letters and ephemera at DALHS, and in newspaper reports, of Cook being in association with other radicals, particularly in Birmingham, such as Thomas Wooler and later men like George Edmonds. DALHS, SC/7, SCC, Display of Dudley loyalty (Birmingham, 1826); PO/373, PC, Reform! A public meeting of the Reformers of Dudley (Dudley, 1832); DAHLS, Z44 (MC), Draft letter to Mr Wooller (sic) (dated 8 July 1823); *Berrow's Worcester Journal.* 12 January 1832, p. 3; *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 2 June 1852, p. 4.
[104] DALHS, PO/317, PC, Notice, is hereby given… (Birmingham, 1826); DALHS, PO/204B, PC, Dudley New Town Act (Dudley, 1826); DALHS, PO/205A, PC, Expense of Acts of Parliament (Dudley n.d. 1826?).
[105] Davies, 'A "paper war"', pp. 43-44.
[106] *A Full Report of the Trial of Samuel Cook*; DALHS, SC/105, SCC, Just published, Price 1s. 6d. A full report… (Dudley, 1827?).
[107] During his trial for seditious libel in 1819, Richard Carlile famously read aloud all of Thomas Paine's *Age of Reason* in court, thus enabling it to be reprinted as part of the trial transcript. P.W. Martin, 'Carlile, Richard (1790-1843), radical publisher and writer', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (published 23 September 2004, version 11 May 2023), Carlile, Richard (1790–1843), radical publisher and writer | Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (oxforddnb.com) [accessed 2 September 2024].
[108] *A Full Report of the Trial of Samuel Cook,* pp. 1-5.
[109] Ibid., pp. 15-25, 34-37 & 49-55 etc.

was well advertised, with a handbill by Walters (figure 4.4) and advertisements in *The Birmingham Journal* and other newspapers.[110] To one advertisement, Cook added the heading: 'Dudley Toryism, alias Dudley Spurious Loyalty'.[111]



Just Published, Price 1s. 6d.

A FULL REPORT

OF THE

TRIAL

OF

Samuel Cook,

DRAPER, DUDLEY,

FOR AN

Alleged Seditious Libel,

TRIED AT WORCESTER, AUGUST 1, 1827,

BEFORE MR. JUSTICE LITTLEDALE.

TAKEN IN SHORT HAND BY AN EMINENT WRITER.

DUDLEY;

PRINTED BY G. WALTERS, AND SOLD BY S. COOK,
DRAPER, HIGH STREET;

Sold also by Westley and Davis, 10, Stationers' Court, London; Smart, Wolverhampton; Bassford, Bilston, Valentine and Co., Walsall; Booth Wednesbury; Osborne, Kidderminster; Hodgetts, Peart, and Russell, Birmingham; Heming, Stourbridge; and all Booksellers.

Figure 4.4. Handbill advertising a 'full report' of Samuel Cook's trial, 1827.[112]

The years following Cook's trial saw the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts and Catholic Emancipation which generated petitions and letters to

[110] *The Birmingham Journal,* 20 October 1827, p 1; *Aris's Birmingham Gazette*, 17 December 1827, p. 3.
[111] *Berrow's Worcester Journal,* 17 January 1828, p. 3.
[112] DALHS, SC/105, SCC, Just published, Price 1s. 6d. A full report… (Dudley, 1827?).

newspapers but comparatively little was printed in Dudley itself.[113] If this can be seen as a lull, it would shortly be broken by the great effusion of print in the reform controversy of 1830 to 1832.

Dudley, 1830-1832

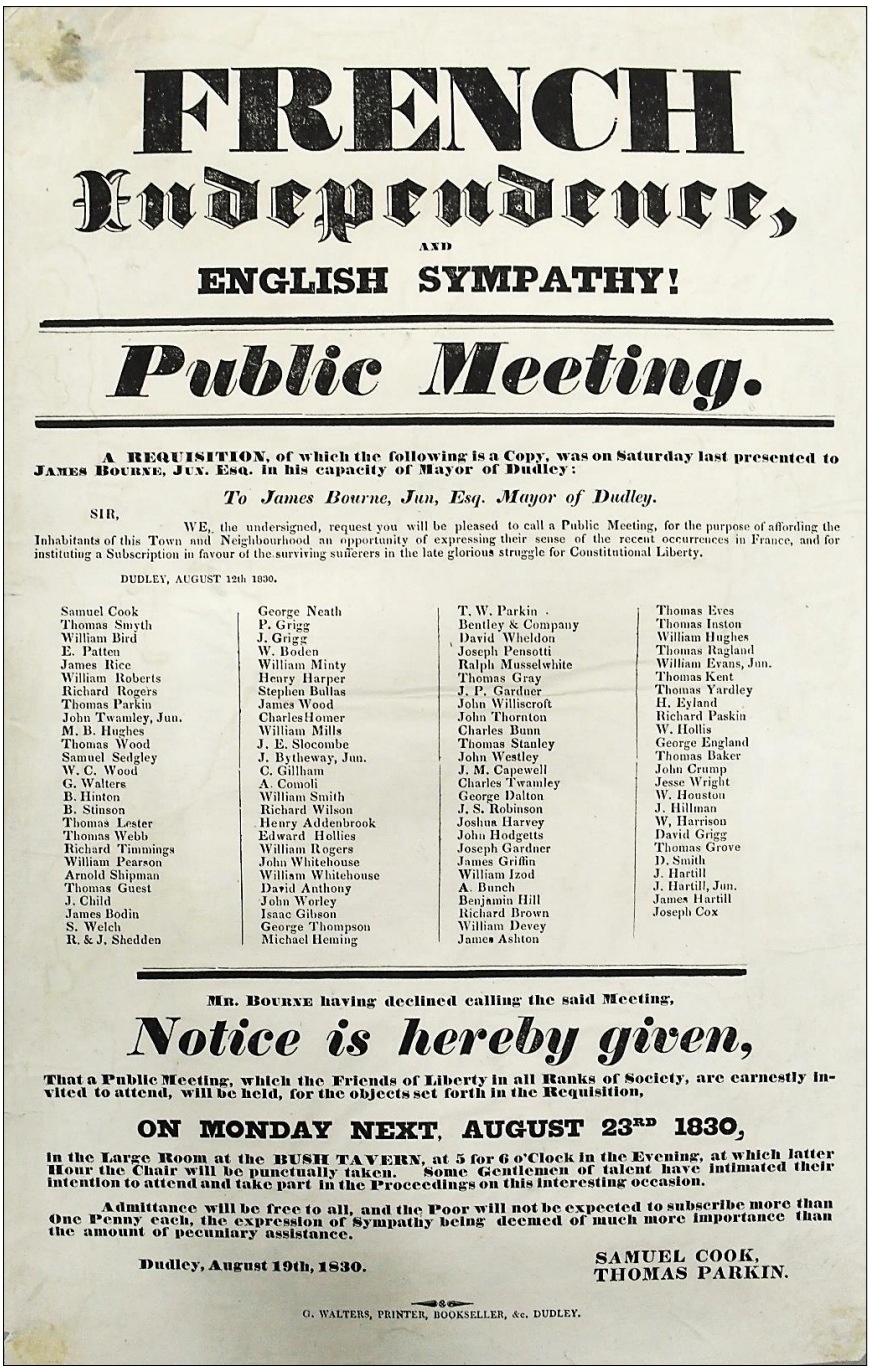
The struggle for reform dominated the years 1830 to 1832 and was marked in Dudley by an unprecedented outpouring of print. Cook, so often a lone opposition voice, was joined by moderate reformers as well as other radicals. One man who brought a different perspective to both the reform debate and print culture in Dudley was Thomas Parkin, a religious and a political dissenter who had business interests in Dudley.[114] Parkin was a London radical and a member of the Birmingham Political Union (BPU). As well as being a writer and editor, he had his own printing press in London and was granted two patents for improvements in printing in the early 1820s.[115] Parkin edited a radical paper in London, *The Christian Corrector,* which gave him a platform for commenting on political affairs in Dudley and Birmingham.[116] As editor, Parkin was part of the so-called 'war of the unstamped' and Joel Wiener places *The Christian Corrector* amongst 'only a small number of illegal newspapers [which] openly endorsed revolution'.[117] Parkin

[113] Two exceptions were a handbill about the loyalist protestant petition and Walters reprinted a letter in support of Catholic emancipation by the liberal incumbent of Bilston, William Leigh. DALHS, PO/258A, PC, Protestant Petitions (Dudley 1828); DALHS, PO/68A, PC, The following address from the Rev. W. Leigh… (Dudley, 1829?).
[114] By a pre-nuptial agreement of 1807, Parkin had gained an interest in three pieces of land in the Dudley/Sedgley area, some of which included coal mines. Appendix 1 includes more biographical information for Parkin (A23). DALHS, DMAR/2/4, Marsh & Baxter Ltd., Brierley Hill, deeds, Dudley, copy pre-nuptial marriage settlement, 1807; Davies, 'A "paper war"', pp. 45-46.
[115] C. H. Timperley, *A Dictionary of Printers and Printing* (London, 1839), p. 877; *The London Journal of Arts and Sciences*, Vol. 5 (1823), pp.128-130.
[116] See, for instance, *The Christian Corrector,* No. 33, 15 October 1831, p. 264, No. 34, 29 October 1831, pp. 274-275 & No. 62, 13 June 1832, pp. 465-467.
[117] J. H. Wiener, *The War of the Unstamped. The Movement to Repeal the British Newspaper Tax, 1830-1836* (Ithaca and London, 1969), p. 215.

was steeped in the prophetic books of the Bible and adopted an apocalyptic style that made him seem more revolutionary than he was. However, Parkin enjoyed controversy and as well as producing his own pamphlets, he was the object of two letters from the pseudonymous 'Old Job Nott' of Birmingham.[118] Even while spending time in Dudley, some of his printing was done on his press in London.[119] His first contribution to Dudley's politics came in 1830 when the local reform movement first manifested itself by celebrating the French Revolution of 1830, although both surviving handbills referred to 'French independence' rather than revolution.[120] The handbills also show how opposition groups had grown since 1819 when the loyalists had claimed that only one 'respectable' resident (Finch) was opposed to them and gloated that their opponents were unable to draw up a list of their supporters.[121] The handbill announcing that the mayor had been requested to call a meeting on the subject of 'French Independence' included a long list of requisitionists (figure 4.5).[122] They were a mix of radicals, such as Cook and Parkin, joined by more moderate reformers, many of whom would later become identified as Liberals. Of these, Thomas Lester, the Twamley family and the brothers Thomas and W.C. Wood, were notable, whilst Jesse Wright was one of Dudley's leading Whigs.

---

[118] Parkin was also confrontational. See, for instance: T. Parkin, *An Exposé of Lewis & Co's Topographical Dictionary* (London, 1829); *An important letter from Old Job Nott, of Birmingham, to Thomas Parkin, of Dudley, on the necessity of a radical reform* (Birmingham 1830); *Continuation of an important letter from Old Job Nott, of Birmingham, to Thomas Parkin, of Dudley, on the necessity of a radical reform* (Birmingham 1830).
[119] For instance, *The Christian Corrector* No. 28, 3 July 1830: DALHS, PO/25A, PC, To the Non-Electors of Dudley! Fellow Citizens! (London, 1832).
[120] Davies, 'A "paper war"', pp. 45-46: DALHS, PO/154, PC, French independence, and English sympathy (Dudley, 1830); DALHS, PO/458, PC, French independence. At a public meeting… (Dudley, n.d. 1830?).
[121] *Animadversions on a Pamphlet entitled 'Remarks etc' lately published by Mr Finch, of Dudley,* (Dudley, 1819), pp. 10-12.
[122] DALHS, PO/154.



FRENCH
Independence,
AND
ENGLISH SYMPATHY!

Public Meeting.

A REQUISITION, of which the following is a Copy, was on Saturday last presented to **James Bourne, Jun. Esq.** in his capacity of Mayor of Dudley:

To James Bourne, Jun, Esq. Mayor of Dudley.

SIR,

WE, the undersigned, request you will be pleased to call a Public Meeting, for the purpose of affording the Inhabitants of this Town and Neighbourhood an opportunity of expressing their sense of the recent occurrences in France, and for instituting a Subscription in favour of the surviving sufferers in the late glorious struggle for Constitutional Liberty.

DUDLEY, AUGUST 12th 1830.

Samuel Cook	George Neath	T. W. Parkin	Thomas Eves
Thomas Smyth	P. Grigg	Bentley & Company	Thomas Inston
William Bird	J. Grigg	David Wheldon	William Hughes
E. Patten	W. Boden	Joseph Pensotti	Thomas Ragland
James Rice	William Minty	Ralph Musselwhite	William Evans, Jun.
William Roberts	Henry Harper	Thomas Gray	Thomas Kent
Richard Rogers	Stephen Bullas	J. P. Gardner	Thomas Yardley
Thomas Parkin	James Wood	John Williscroft	H. Eyland
John Twamley, Jun.	CharlesHomer	John Thornton	Richard Paskin
M. B. Hughes	William Mills	Charles Bunn	W. Hollis
Thomas Wood	J. E. Slocombe	Thomas Stanley	George England
Samuel Sedgley	J. Bytheway, Jun.	John Westley	Thomas Baker
W. C. Wood	C. Gillham	J. M. Capewell	John Crump
G. Walters	A. Comoli	Charles Twamley	Jesse Wright
B. Hinton	William Smith	George Dalton	W. Houston
B. Stinson	Richard Wilson	J. S. Robinson	J. Hillman
Thomas Lester	Henry Addenbrook	Joshua Harvey	W. Harrison
Thomas Webb	Edward Hollies	John Hodgetts	David Grigg
Richard Timmings	William Rogers	Joseph Gardner	Thomas Grove
William Pearson	John Whitehouse	James Griffin	D. Smith
Arnold Shipman	William Whitehouse	William Izod	J. Hartill
Thomas Guest	David Anthony	A. Bunch	J. Hartill, Jun.
J. Child	John Worley	Benjamin Hill	James Hartill
James Bodin	Isaac Gibson	Richard Brown	Joseph Cox
S. Welch	George Thompson	William Devey	
R. & J. Shedden	Michael Heming	James Ashton	

Mr. Bourne having declined calling the said Meeting,

Notice is hereby given,

That a Public Meeting, which the Friends of Liberty in all Ranks of Society, are earnestly invited to attend, will be held, for the objects set forth in the Requisition,

ON MONDAY NEXT, AUGUST 23RD 1830,

in the Large Room at the BUSH TAVERN, at 5 for 6 o'Clock in the Evening, at which latter Hour the Chair will be punctually taken. Some Gentlemen of talent have intimated their intention to attend and take part in the Proceedings on this interesting occasion.

Admittance will be free to all, and the Poor will not be expected to subscribe more than One Penny each, the expression of Sympathy being deemed of much more importance than the amount of pecuniary assistance.

Dudley, August 19th, 1830.

SAMUEL COOK,
THOMAS PARKIN.

G. WALTERS, PRINTER, BOOKSELLER, &c. DUDLEY.

Figure 4.5. Handbill announcing that the mayor had refused to hold a meeting to celebrate 'French Independence', 1830.[123]

[123] DALHS, PO/154, PC, French independence, and English sympathy (Dudley, 1830).

The mayor whom they had asked to call the meeting was James Bourne junior, who had been censured for his part in the Brooks v Guest case, and which, as noted above, Cook had publicised. With Cook and Parkin, the joint organisers of the celebration, it is not surprising that Bourne declined their request.

Following Bourne's refusal, Parkin wrote to the Earl of Dudley asking permission to hold the meeting in the castle courtyard, which was also refused. When the French government voted to abolish hereditary peerages in October 1831, Parkin printed his earlier correspondence with the Earl and condemned disparaging remarks about the French.[124] He took the opportunity to denigrate Dudley's leading Tories saying: 'The French people … are as superior to the Dudleys, the Bournes, the Wainwrights, the Bookers, the Downings, the Badgers, the Hawkes, and all the contemptible Aristocratic faction at Dudley, as a civilized man is to a savage … .' He also castigated 'Tom Badger' and 'the Dudley Bench of Magistrates' whom he described as 'an aristocratic crew' before claiming that their 'wealth and comforts are derived from the sweat of the brow of the miserable creatures by whom they are surrounded, and whom they have ever held in too much disdain'.[125] The next phase in the reform movement began in November 1830 when the Duke of Wellington's Tory government was replaced by a Whig administration under Lord Grey and a measure of parliamentary reform became likely. The print ramifications of this phase are analysed below.

Fearing radical reform, Booker and his associates changed tactics and tried to promote 'moderate reform', specifically ruling out 'vote by ballot, universal

[124] *The Christian Corrector,* No. 34, 29 October 1831, pp. 274-275.
[125] Ibid., p. 274.

suffrage' and 'annual parliaments'.[126] This led to a handbill exchange between Tories and committed reformers.[127] Once a Reform Bill was introduced in Parliament in March 1831, the tempo of printing increased, particularly amongst the reformers. Their main target was the Tory MP for Worcestershire, Colonel Lygon, who opposed the bill. Some of the most eye-catching handbills were by Walters, including one which, unusually for him, he printed for Stourbridge (figure 4.6).[128] It shows that workmen were trying to force the reform agenda by ceasing 'communications' with its opponents. Walters also included one of the famous demands used by supporters of the Reform Bill: 'The Bill, the Whole Bill, and Nothing but the Bill!'. Lygon continued to claim that he was a supporter of 'moderate' reform, whilst his followers produced lack-lustre printed material.[129]

[126] Some genuine reformers, such as Thomas Lester signed the requisition calling for a meeting. DALHS, PO/468, PC, To J. C. Brettell Esq., Mayor of Dudley (Dudley, 1831).
[127] DALHS, PO/424, PC, The requisition defeated (Dudley, 1831); Davies, 'A "paper war"', p. 46.
[128] DALHS, PO/235A, PC, Reform. No monopoly! No Lygon!! (Dudley, n.d. 1831?) Stourbridge had well-established printers of its own and handbills appertaining to Stourbridge were usually printed within the town.
[129] For instance: DALHS, PO/214A, PC, To the Worthy and Independent Freeholders, of the County of Worcester (Dudley, 1831); DALHS, PO/124, PC, To the Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders of the County of Worcester (Dudley, 1831).



REFORM

No Monopoly!

NO LYGON!!

A voluntary resolution of upwards of 360 Workmen in Stourbridge and its Neighbourhood, has been entered into for the purpose of having no further communications with those persons who were in opposition at a Meeting, held in this Town on the 2nd of April, 1831, against LORD JOHN RUSSELL'S REFORM BILL.

SUCCESS TO THE

STOURBRIDGE IRON TRADE,

AND

LORD JOHN RUSSELL'S

Bill for Reform!

GOD SAVE THE KING.

'The BILL, the Whole Bill, and Nothing but the Bill!!

WALTERS, PRINTER, HIGH STREET, DUDLEY.

DUDLEY PUBLIC LIBRARIES R 5485

Figure 4.6. Pro-reform handbill attacking Lygon, Worcestershire's Tory MP, 1831.[130]

As the Reform Bill struggled in Parliament, there was a flurry of petitions from both sides. One on 20 April condemned Lygon for voting against the bill, but he was supported by a Tory petition the following day, with Booker leading the signatures which included many other clergy and magistrates.[131] On 23 April 1831, William IV prorogued Parliament, thus allowing a general election on the reform

[130] DALHS, PO/235A, PC, Reform. No monopoly! No Lygon!! (Dudley, n.d. 1831?).
[131] DALHS, PO/490, PC, REFORM. We, the undersigned Freeholders… (Dudley, 1831); DALHS, PO/245B, PC, Dudley, April 21, 1831 (Dudley, 1831). Note: there are different versions of some of these petitions.

issue and as a result, the volume of print increased yet again. The two parliamentary seats in Worcestershire were usually split between Whig and Tory by 'a gentlemen's agreement'. The sitting Whig MP, T.H. Foley, was a reformer, and the County's reformers wanted a second reform candidate so they could defeat Lygon. Lord Lyttelton, one of Worcestershire's leading Whigs, responded by asking his brother-in-law, Frederick ('Captain') Spencer to stand.[132] Spencer had good reform credentials being the brother of Viscount Althorp who steered the Reform Bill through the House of Commons. Thus, the election held on the reform question from April to June 1831 became a three-way fight for Worcestershire's two seats.[133]

This election generated an unusually large volume of political print. Spencer based himself at the Lyttelton home, Hagley Hall, near Stourbridge and a committee to support him was established in Dudley. Much election material in his favour was produced in Dudley and Stourbridge as well as elsewhere in the County. The material often included nautical puns reflecting Spencer's naval career but there were also frequent references to the Tories trying to buy the election. Lygon's mother, the Dowager Lady Beauchamp, was said to have committed £50,000 to secure her son's return, which was a huge sum in those days.[134] 'Gold shall not prevail' was a common sentiment on anti-Lygon election

[132] Appendix 1 includes biographical information about both the Lyttelton and Spencer families (A21 & A27).
[133] Davies, 'A "paper war"', pp. 47-48.
[134] T.C. Turberville, *Worcestershire in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1852), p. 22. According to the National Archives' currency converter, £50,000 in 1830 would have equated to approximately £3,390,065 in 2017: Currency converter: 1270–2017 (nationalarchives.gov.uk) [accessed 2 September 2021].

material and the figure £50,000 often featured.[135] The topic was also brought up in newspaper reports.[136] Hitting back at the reformers, the Tories tried to play the religious card. An anonymous handbill by 'a Brother Freeholder', which was produced by Hinton's, the Tory printer, tapped into Dudley's deep-seated anti-Catholicism.[137] The writer addressed 'the Protestant Freeholder', telling him that the reform bill would 'rob ENGLAND, his native country, of THIRTY-ONE Representatives!!! and … give to Ireland the means of returning, perhaps, double that number of Roman Catholic Members!!!'.[138] The writer accused supporters of the bill of being profligate infidels – comparable with similar accusations by Booker in 1817-1819 (chapter 3). Other Tory handbills exploited anti-Catholicism, including one which argued that one of Spencer's brothers was an 'incompetent finance minister' and another was 'now a POPISH PRIEST'.[139] Spencer's supporters accused the 'Lygon party' of resorting to 'that last effort of a sinking cause – the NO-POPERY CRY'.[140] Lygon's followers seem to have implied that as Spencer drew support from Catholics, he was probably a Catholic himself but Spencer's committee argued that he procured Catholic support because he advocated religious toleration.[141] It was probably a similar accusation that was countered by an anonymous bill in support of Spencer, stating: 'The Catholic Question is not an issue, but the Reform Question is.'[142] More specifically, the author claimed that

---

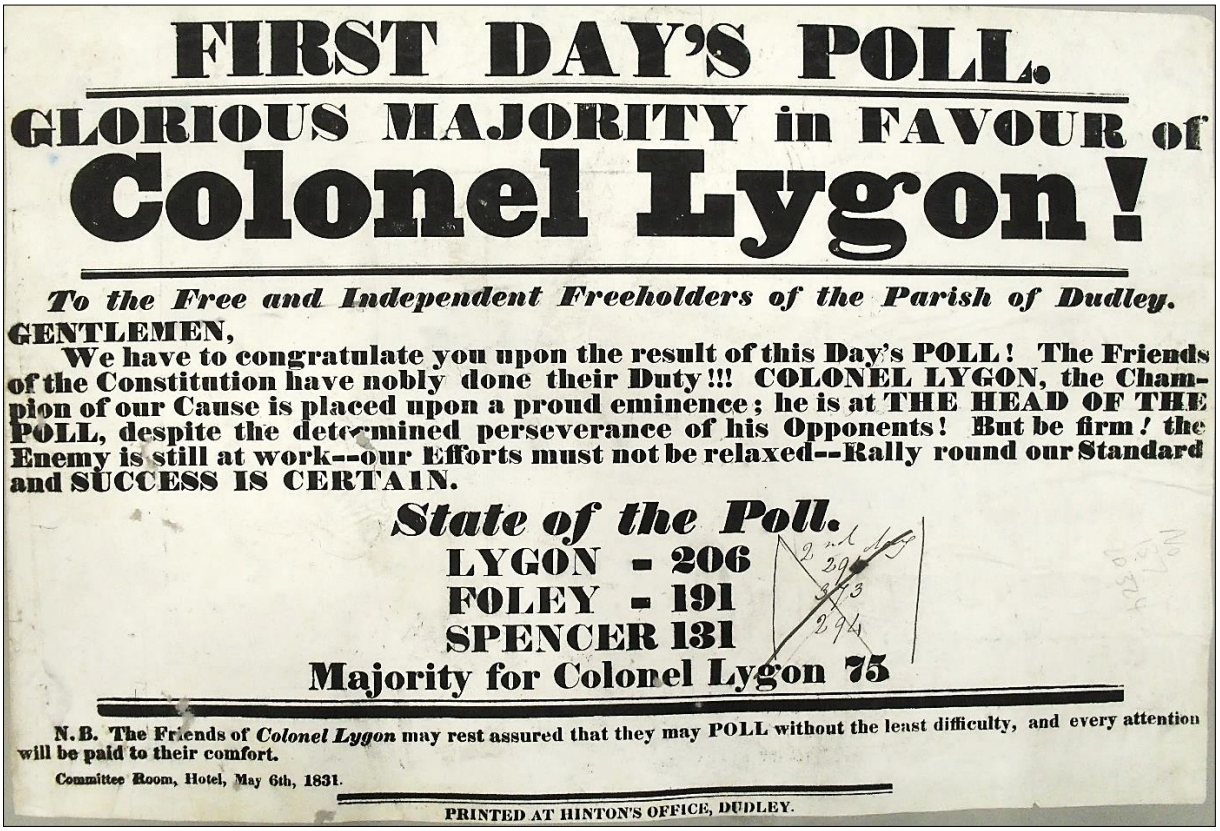
[135] For instance: DALHS: PO/441, PC, To the freeholders of the town and neighbourhood of Dudley (n.p [Dudley?], 1831); PO/235/B, PC, To J.S. Pakington, Esq., Chairman, and the Worcester committee… (Dudley, 1831); PO/386, PC, £50,000 reward. Lost, (Dudley, 1831).
[136] *The News (London),* 1 May 1831, p. 3; *The Morning Advertiser,* 5 May 1831, p. 3.
[137] DALHS, PO/213A, PC, To the Freeholders of the County of Worcester (Dudley, 1831).
[138] Ibid.
[139] George Spencer's conversion to Catholicism is discussed in chapter 8. DALHS, PO/443. PC, To the independent freeholders of Worcestershire (Stourbridge, 1831).
[140] *Worcester Herald,* 7 May 1831, p. 2.
[141] Ibid.
[142] DALHS, PO/403, PC, No Lygon! No bigotry! No slander! (Worcester 1831).

‘Captain Spencer is no more a Catholic than the authors of the above insinuation are men of honour, or good Christians’, but he also went on to name many leading Catholics who were pro-reform.[143] Despite many handbills beginning ‘Foley and Spencer for ever’, Foley tried to maintain an independent stance, probably because he wanted to secure the second votes of those voting for Lygon as part of the normal pact between the two candidates. Although Lygon’s supporters accused Foley of going back on an undertaking not to ‘coalesce’ with anyone, Foley only officially endorsed Spencer after polling had begun, when he claimed that Lygon’s camp was telling his supporters not to use their second vote.[144] The Tories condemned Foley for entering a ‘dishonourable coalition’ with Spencer.[145]

The final part of the election campaign for the leaders of both sides was to try and persuade their supporters to poll peacefully. With freely available alcohol being one of the major incentives to vote, alcohol-fuelled election riots were frequent. One handbill by the reformers claimed that the Tories were preparing to use alcohol ‘to trepan the Freeholders, to obtain their votes when drunk …’.[146] Another accused ‘the Dudley Lygonites’ of swearing in ‘a host of special Constables’ to provoke a melee.[147] Given the reform fever prevailing in 1831, and Lygon having voted against every measure of reform that had been proposed in Parliament, it was always going to be difficult for the Tories to get their man re-elected. They produced fewer handbills than their rivals and most of those they issued were comparatively dull. It is probably a fair reflection of the campaign; if

[143] Ibid.
[144] DALHS, PO/440. PC, To the freeholders of the County of Worcester (Dudley, 1831).
[145] DALHS, PO/150. PC, Dishonourable coalition (Dudley, 1831).
[146] DALHS, PO/396, PC, To the Friends of Reform and Captain Spencer, at Dudley (Dudley, 1831).
[147] DALHS, PO/404, PC, Friends of Spencer and Foley! The Dudley Lygonites, (Dudley, 1811, i.e.1831). Note: typographical error over the date.

they had been more confident, their output would probably have been greater and more eye-catching. However, when the polling began, their supporters voted early and Lygon topped the first day's poll. Dudley's Tories were quick to produce a handbill proclaiming their leading position (figure 4.7).[148]



FIRST DAY'S POLL.

GLORIOUS MAJORITY in FAVOUR of

Colonel Lygon!

To the Free and Independent Freeholders of the Parish of Dudley.

GENTLEMEN,

We have to congratulate you upon the result of this Day's POLL! The Friends of the Constitution have nobly done their Duty!!! COLONEL LYGON, the Champion of our Cause is placed upon a proud eminence; he is at THE HEAD OF THE POLL, despite the determined perseverance of his Opponents! But be firm! the Enemy is still at work--our Efforts must not be relaxed--Rally round our Standard and SUCCESS IS CERTAIN.

State of the Poll.

LYGON - 206
FOLEY - 191
SPENCER 131

Majority for Colonel Lygon 75

N.B. The Friends of *Colonel Lygon* may rest assured that they may POLL without the least difficulty, and every attention will be paid to their comfort.

Committee Room, Hotel, May 6th, 1831.

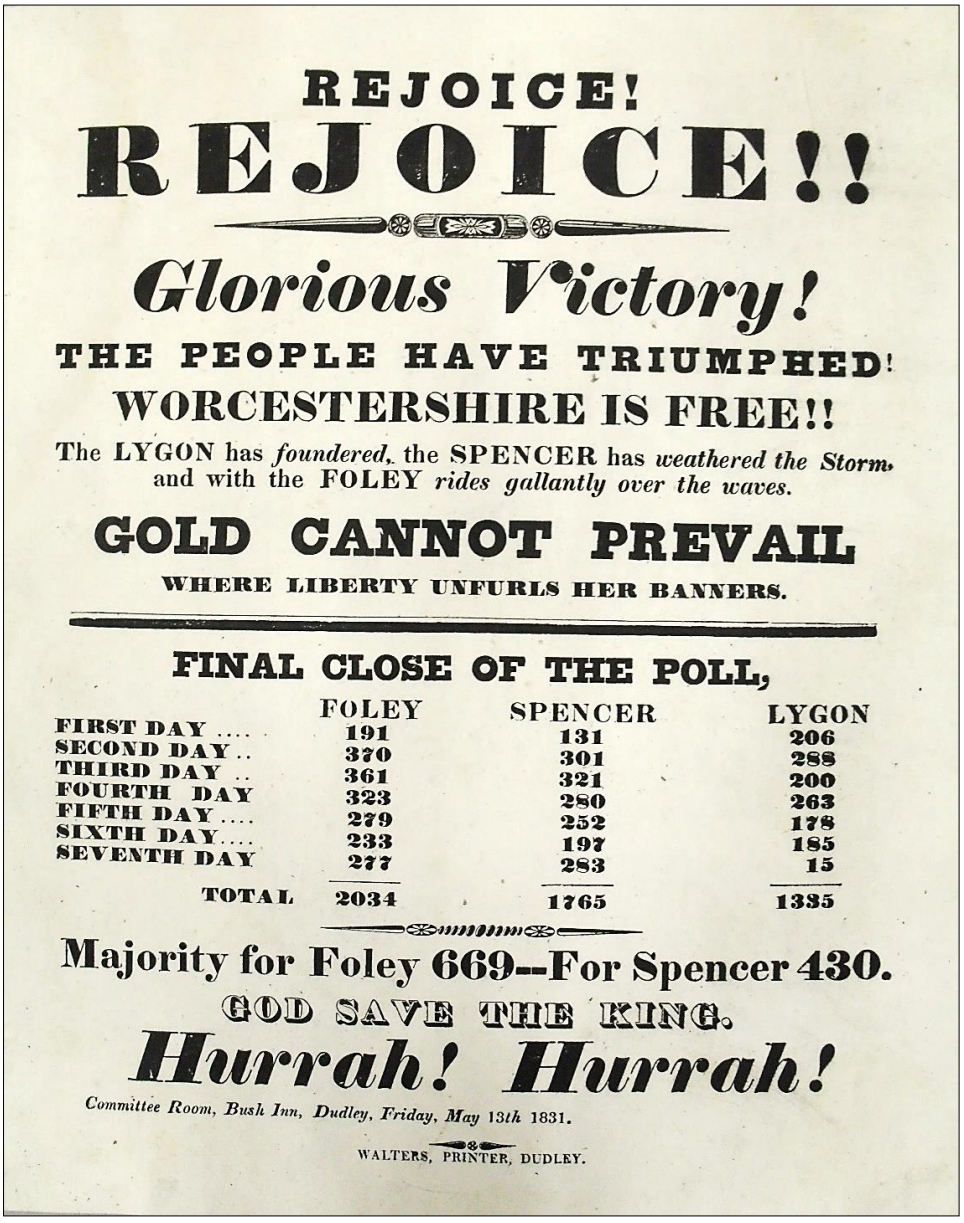
PRINTED AT HINTON'S OFFICE, DUDLEY.

Figure 4.7. Results of the first day's poll in the Worcestershire election, 1831.[149]

This is one of the few Tory handbills emanating from Dudley in this campaign to show much panache, using eye-catching fonts, a comparatively clear layout and bombastic appeals to the voters. The Tory euphoria was short-lived, and the Whig reform candidates did increasingly better on subsequent days. Lygon slipped to

[148] DALHS, PO/395, PC, First day's poll. Glorious majority in favour of Colonel Lygon! (Dudley, 1831).
[149] Ibid.

third place and retired before the end of the poll.[150] Thus, both reformers were elected. Walters produced one of his most ebullient handbills with the full result, an extended nautical metaphor, and a final repetition that 'Gold cannot prevail' (figure 4.8).[151]



REJOICE!

REJOICE!!

Glorious Victory!

THE PEOPLE HAVE TRIUMPHED!

WORCESTERSHIRE IS FREE!!

The LYGON has *foundered*, the SPENCER has *weathered the Storm*, and with the FOLEY *rides gallantly over the waves.*

GOLD CANNOT PREVAIL

WHERE LIBERTY UNFURLS HER BANNERS.

FINAL CLOSE OF THE POLL,

	FOLEY	SPENCER	LYGON
FIRST DAY	191	131	206
SECOND DAY ..	370	301	288
THIRD DAY ..	361	321	200
FOURTH DAY	323	280	263
FIFTH DAY	279	252	178
SIXTH DAY	233	197	185
SEVENTH DAY	277	283	15
TOTAL	2034	1765	1335

Majority for Foley 669--For Spencer 430.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

Hurrah! Hurrah!

Committee Room, Bush Inn, Dudley, Friday, May 13th 1831.

WALTERS, PRINTER, DUDLEY.

Figure 4.8. Handbill celebrating the success of both Worcestershire's reform candidates, 1831.[152]

[150] DALHS, PO/524, PC, HURRAH! Reform triumphant! The Lygon sinking! (n.p., n.d. 1831?).
[151] DALHS, PO/244A, PC, Rejoice! Rejoice! Glorious victory! (Dudley, 1831).
[152] Ibid.

An anonymous, twenty-verse poem or ballad celebrated Dudley's part in the election success and named some of Dudley's leading campaigners:

> Then forthcame J. Williams, with a famous *Cooke,*
> Who Foley and Spencer's cause soon undertook;
> Together with Twamley, Chinner and Wood;
> The people were pleased and said it was good. [153]

Not all the names can be identified but it gives a popular overview of the election in Dudley, including details that are not recorded elsewhere – for instance, that an effigy of Lygon was paraded through the town, court martialled and eventually burnt at the stake. Although it had been a county election for two MPs, the ballad is headed 'Dudley election' and Foley is mentioned only in passing.[154] Clearly it was Spencer, with his local connections, who captured the popular imagination amongst Dudley's reformers. The bitterness between the opposing sides lingered on in print, with Parkin offering to find work for anyone laid off for voting contrary to their masters' dictates and Booker printing a letter to his parishioners in which he vehemently denied taking money for preaching to clubs and societies, which would have been a serious breach of church protocol.[155] The general election procured a House of Commons in favour of the Reform Bill which it passed by the autumn of 1831, but the House of Lords, with its Tory majority, remained a bastion of

[153] DALHS, PO 82A, PC, Dudley election, or the triumph of Spencer (Dudley? 1831?).
[154] Ibid.
[155] DALHS, PO134/B, PC, To glassmakers and other workmen (Dudley, 1831); DALHS, PO/33, PC, To the inhabitants of the parish of Dudley (Dudley, 1831).

opposition to the bill. The next section evaluates the print associated with the final struggle to persuade the House of Lords to pass the Reform Bill.

The opposition from the Lords, which stretched on until May 1832, angered reformers and engendered another wave of printed political material.[156] Despite being mentioned in the ballad, Cook had not featured greatly in the print campaign for the election but, with help from Parkin, he was the driving force behind the new Dudley Political Union (DPU) which was itself responsible for much printed material.[157] Walters was kept busy printing petitions and re-printing items, such as the Earl of Dudley's anti-reform speech in the Lords.[158] Walters also copied, and amended for Dudley readers, the BPU handbill calling for the people to be patient, peaceful and law-abiding, following the bill's defeat in the Lords.[159] As noted in chapter 3, there was a brief *rapprochement* between the two political sides in Dudley in mid-November 1831, when both were touched by the sense of crisis resulting from the coming together of the defeat of the Reform Bill, fears over cholera and civil unrest from the colliers' strike.[160] Presumably as a goodwill gesture, the town's officials gave Walters two official notices to print, one about cholera and the other a petition calling for 'the preservation of the public peace, and the protection of private property'.[161] Any *rapprochement* was very brief and

---

[156] Davies, 'A "paper war"', pp. 47-51.
[157] DALHS, SC/111, SCC, Dudley Political Union. The first General Meeting (Dudley, 1831); *The Christian Corrector*, No 33, 15 October 1831, p. 264.
[158] *Lord Dudley's speech on the Reform Bill, with the replies of the Marquess of Landsdown (sic) & the Earl of Radnor* (reprinted from *The Morning Chronicle*, 6 October 1831) (Dudley, 1831); DALHS, PO/98A, PC, Lord Dudley turned Republican! (Dudley, 1831).
[159] DALHS, PO/71, PC, Address of the Council of the Birmingham Political Union (Birmingham, 1831); DALHS, PO/21, PC, Address of the Council of the Dudley Political Union (Dudley, 1831).
[160] Davies, 'A "paper war"', pp. 49-51.
[161] These were the only two official notices that Walters was given to print. DALHS, PO/330, PC, The churchwardens and overseers of the poor, of the Parish of Dudley (Dudley, 1831); DALHS, PO/81, PC, To the magistrates of the County of Worcester, acting for the town of Dudley (Dudley 1831).

Cook seems to have regretted it shortly afterwards. A DPU handbill, issued eleven days later, carries a large caution to ‘Beware what Petitions and Addresses you sign’ (figure 4.9).[162] This handbill is a good example of Walters's bold and eye-catching design.


A SPECIAL
MEETING
OF THE
Dudley Political
UNION
WILL BE HELD THIS EVENING,
AT HALF-PAST SEVEN O'CLOCK,
AT THE SWAN INN.
BY ORDER OF THE COUNCIL,
SAMUEL COOK, Chairman,
JOSEPH PITCHFORK, Secretary.
FRIDAY MORNING, NOV. 25TH 1831.
CAUTION!
FELLOW TOWNSMEN,
Beware what Petitions and Addresses you sign.
WALTERS, PRINTER, DUDLEY.

Figure 4.9. Handbill advertising a special meeting of the Dudley Political Union, 1831.[163]

In this period, Dudley’s Tory establishment hesitated to attack the reform agenda directly, preferring to concentrate on the problems of civil unrest and law-

[162] DALHS, PO/1A, PC, A special meeting of the Dudley Political Union (Dudley, 1831).
[163] Ibid.

and-order issues. However, Booker used various forms of print to promote his message. He wrote a letter to the editor of *The Wolverhampton Chronicle* condemning rick-burners and rioters.[164] He also published a sermon that included an overview of the current distress in which he drew a clear distinction between those who were out of work through no fault of their own and 'those who *voluntarily* refuse labour, because it does not, at present, meet with its full recompense of reward'.[165] He claimed that national distress was caused by national sin, arguing that 'instead of assigning a *political* reason for the grievous Evil, let us see if it be not a personal one … ' and 'instead of too eagerly demanding a reformation in State affairs (which yet may be necessary) *let us reform ourselves*'.[166] Booker sent a copy of the sermon to the 'Revd. Mr Peel', a member of the eminent Tory family.[167] At least two handbills were addressed to the striking colliers, whether or not the colliers could read them.[168] Another handbill shows that Booker and others came together to form an Anti-Truck Association, believing that the truck system was one of the contributory factors in depressing real wages.[169] Nevertheless, the print initiative was firmly with the reformers and radicals. The DPU handbills particularly show close cooperation with national

[164] *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 23 November 1831, p. 2.
[165] L. Booker, *The Cause and Cure of National Distress: Stated in a Sermon, preached at Dudley* (Dudley, 1831), p. 5.
[166] Ibid.*,* pp. 11 & 16.
[167] This would have been Reverend John Peel, a Dean at Worcester and a younger brother of Sir Robert Peel, one of the leading Tory politicians in Parliament. This copy is at DALHS.
[168] DALHS, PO/217A, PC, To colliers and miners (Dudley, 1831); DALHS, PO/320, PC, Notice to colliers (Dudley, 1831).
[169] DALHS, PO/13C, PC, At a most respectable meeting of the inhabitants… (Dudley, 1832?). The Truck system was a practice whereby employers insisted on paying some, or all, of their employees' wages in goods, or payment in kind. It was sometimes modified so that workers had to spend a certain percentage of their wages in a shop owned by the employer.

radical figures such as William Cobbett and Birmingham radicals including G. Edmonds and Salt.[170]

The reform crisis was at its greatest in the so-called 'Days of May' which encompassed the Lords' defeat of the Reform Bill, Grey's resignation and Wellington's attempt to form a government. There were fears of possible revolution and, in the midst of the turbulence, surviving handbills show that Dudley's reform movement split with the moderate reformers, setting up their own 'Dudley Political Union', with the same name but separate from the original organisation.[171] Parkin commented on the split in his last issue of *The Christian Corrector*. He reckoned that the new Union consisted of scarcely more than a hundred 'tradesmen', whilst the original Union, made up 'chiefly of working men' numbered 2,000. However, he predicted that their interests would be 'sacrificed to the interests, vanity, or caprice, of the one hundred'.[172] Despite the split, the reformers were united in their enthusiasm when Wellington failed to form a government, and the way opened for Grey to resume office. This was one occasion when newspaper reports had as great a sense of immediacy as handbills. *The Sun* produced reports on how the news was greeted 'in Birmingham and the Midland districts'.[173] The Dudley report is biased against the Tories but gives a flavour of the excitement in the town.[174] It also shows how handbills were used to call a meeting at short notice. The handbill referred to in the article was almost certainly one produced by Walters (figure

---

[170] Salt would have been the lamp manufacturer, Thomas Clutton Salt.
DALHS, SC/27, SCC, Mr Cobbett's second visit to Dudley postponed (Dudley, 1832); DALHS, PO/373, PC, Reform! A Public Meeting of the Reformers of Dudley (Dudley, 1832).
[171] DALHS, PO/226, PC, Dudley Political Union established 14th May, 1832 (Dudley, 1832?); DALHS, PO/196, PC, Objects, rules, & regulations of the Dudley Political Union, established May 14, 1832 (Dudley, 1832?).
[172] *The Christian Corrector,* No. 63, 20 June 1832, p. 468 (i.e. 472).
[173] *The Sun,* 17 May 1832, p. 3.
[174] Ibid.

4.10). Although prepared quickly, it is animated and embellished with an array of his typographic ornaments.[175] The signatories included Cook and Walters himself, as well as Lester and Charles Twamley, the leaders of the break-away DPU. The newspaper also gave the texts of two pro-reform addresses, both signed by Lester, which resulted from the meeting.[176]



EARL GREY

Is again Minister!!

REFORM TRIUMPHANT!!

THE

KING

IS FAITHFUL TO HIS PEOPLE.

WE, the undersigned, do hereby convene a PUBLIC MEETING, of the Inhabitants of the Town and Neighbourhood of DUDLEY, at the FIVE WAYS, Stafford Street, at half-past Twelve o'Clock, this Day, to consider of the propriety of addressing His Majesty, thanking him for his noble and patriotic conduct on this occasion.

George England
Charles Twamley
S. Sedgley
W. C. Wood
George Walters
Samuel Cook
Joseph Windsor
Thomas Smyth
Thomas Lester
David Clarke
Benjamin Stinson
I. E. Slocombe
Richard Rogers
Jesse Wright

The Inhabitants are requested to meet at the Saracen's Head, Stone Street, where the Political Union will join them, and proceed from thence in Procession to the place of Meeting.

DUDLEY, MAY 16th 1832.

G. WALTERS, PRINTER, BOOKSELLER, &c. HIGH-STREET, DUDLEY.

Figure 4.10. Handbill announcing Earl Grey's return to government, 1832.[177]

[175] DALHS, PO/64, PC, Earl Grey is again minister!! Reform triumphant!! (Dudley, 1832). As an indication of the speed with which this handbill was put together, Walters seems to have missed out 'Prime' before 'Minister'.
[176] *The Sun,* 17 May 1832, p. 3.
[177] DALHS, PO/64, PC, Earl Grey is again minister!! Reform triumphant!! (Dudley, 1832).

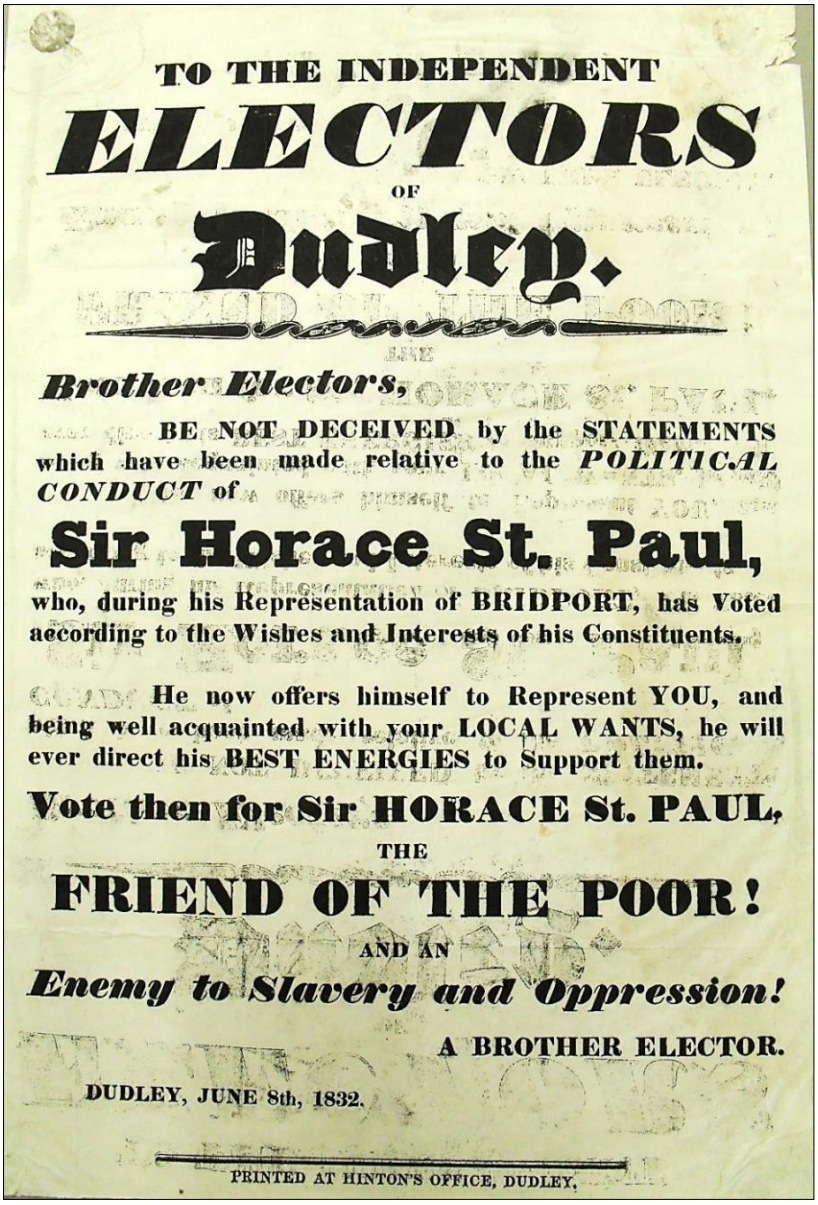
Dudley's reformers had dominated the print output throughout the House of Lords controversy and, in the final days before the Reform Bill was passed, they also waged a local propaganda campaign against the anti-reform Church of England. Thomas Hill, an ally of Cook's and a member of the Independent church, was put forward for the position of churchwarden against the church party's candidate.[178] There is no surviving print output from the church side but they were able to win, helped by their wealthier supporters having extra votes courtesy of the Sturges-Bourne Acts.[179] The reformers treated it like a political campaign under the aegis of 'Mr Hill's committee'. During the polling, Walters published the voting figures daily, taking care to show how the extra votes distorted the results.[180] The campaign had been based on a mix of local and national issues with Hill claiming to stand for 'retrenchment' but also as 'the Reform candidate'.[181] Another handbill called on ratepayers to 'show your determination to have PAROCHIAL as well as NATIONAL REFORM'.[182] Walters printed all Hill's campaign material and threatened to print lists of those who voted for each candidate. If he did, they have not survived. The sense of urgency probably dissipated when the Reform Bill finally completed all its stages in Parliament on 7 June 1832 and Dudley became a

[178] A.J. Ware (ed.), *Dudley Parish Order Book, 1821-1856* (Dudley, typescript, 1992), pp. 54-55; Davies, 'A "paper war"', pp. 51-52.
[179] The Sturges-Bourne or Select Vestries Acts of 1818-1819 gave wealthy ratepayers additional votes up to a total of six.
[180] DALHS, PO/176A, PC, Election of Churchwarden for the Parish of Dudley (Dudley, 1832).
[181] DALHS, PO/17, PC, Ratepayers of Dudley, vote for Hill, and retrenchment! (Dudley, 1832); DALHS, PO/15B, PC, No slavery! Rate payers! Lose no time in coming forward… (Dudley, 1832).
[182] DALHS, PO/384, PC, To the rate payers of Dudley (Dudley, 1832). PO/17 is reproduced in appendix 1 in the biographical section on Thomas Hill (A18), figure A18.1.

one-member parliamentary constituency. The role of print in the first elections is evaluated in the next section.

The election campaigns following the Reform Act were protracted, with Parliament not dissolved until 3 December 1832. Dudley's election material indicates a flurry of activity from both sides immediately the Act was passed but it quietened down over the summer, only picking up again in the autumn.[183] The Tories were first to endorse a candidate with an early runner, Abiathar Hawkes, making way for Sir Horace St Paul, who had already been an MP. Although based in Northumberland, St Paul operated as a coal and iron master in the Dudley area after marrying into the Ward family. Dudley's earliest surviving election material from 1832 is an anonymous handbill asking voters to reserve their votes for a more 'liberal' candidate expected to come forth shortly.[184] The author of the handbill highlighted St Paul's illiberal record, having voted against the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts and opposed every measure of parliamentary reform. The Tories hit back claiming he had voted 'according to the Wishes and Interests of his Constituents' (figure 4.11).[185]

[183] Davies, 'A "paper war"', pp. 52-54.
[184] DALHS, PO/51, PC, General Election, To the Electors of Dudley. Brother Electors (Dudley, 1832).
[185] DALHS, PO/42B, PC, To the Independent Electors of Dudley. Brother Electors (Dudley, 1832).



TO THE INDEPENDENT

ELECTORS

OF

Dudley.

Brother Electors,

BE NOT DECEIVED by the STATEMENTS which have been made relative to the *POLITICAL CONDUCT* of

Sir Horace St. Paul,

who, during his Representation of BRIDPORT, has Voted according to the Wishes and Interests of his Constituents.

He now offers himself to Represent YOU, and being well acquainted with your LOCAL WANTS, he will ever direct his BEST ENERGIES to Support them.

Vote then for Sir HORACE St. PAUL,

THE

FRIEND OF THE POOR!

AND AN

Enemy to Slavery and Oppression!

A BROTHER ELECTOR.

DUDLEY, JUNE 8th, 1832.

PRINTED AT HINTON'S OFFICE, DUDLEY.

Figure 4.11. Tory election handbill supporting Sir Horace St Paul, 1832.[186]

After being side-lined through much of the Reform debate, the Tories contested the election strongly and this handbill, produced by Hinton's, is more spirited than most of Lygon's material had been. The style and layout suggest that they may have been influenced by the more successful reform handbills (figure 4.11).

[186] I DALHS, PO/42B, PC, To the Independent Electors of Dudley. Brother Electors (Dudley, 1832).

The reformers chose Sir John Campbell, a Whig lawyer campaigning under the reform banner as their candidate. Whilst the Dudley borough produced a straight fight between Campbell and St Paul, there was also an election for the two seats in the new East Worcestershire constituency. There were as many County voters in Dudley as there were for the Borough, and the County election was also hotly contested, producing much election material. Three candidates stood for the two seats with the Tory, J.S. Pakington, opposed by two Whig reformers, T.H. Cookes and W.C. Russell. Having chaired Lygon's election committee in 1831, Pakington was particularly disliked by Dudley's reformers. One incident in the East Worcestershire contest illustrates both the power of handbills and the political ties between Dudley and Stourbridge. A handbill, no longer extant, had been printed by Hinton's in Dudley and contained the claim that Lord Lyttelton had 'told his tenants to vote' for Cookes and Russell.[187] Lyttelton reckoned that this was libel and approached both Pakington's Dudley committee and Hinton's. When the latter refused to tell Lyttelton their source, he threatened legal action against the printers, although he accepted that the handbill was 'disavowed' by 'Mr Pakington's Dudley committee'. However, to Lyttelton's annoyance, about a week after it appeared in Dudley, the handbill was 'reprinted at Stourbridge and extensively circulated and posted up there'.[188] Pakington's Stourbridge committee was bolder than Dudley's and told Lyttelton that they would defend Hinton's if proceedings were taken. Lyttelton apparently abandoned the idea of suing, but he

[187] DALHS, PO/67B, PC, The Bubble Burst. Statement of facts (Stourbridge, n.d. 1832?).
[188] Ibid.

made the correspondence available to the reformers who incorporated it into a handbill of their own.[189]

Both sides in the election tried to gain the apparent support of the unenfranchised. A handbill claiming to emanate from 'An Association of Working Men', who were not 'privileged with the Elective Franchise', was one of the few handbills to run the Borough and County elections together, calling for 'votes in favour of Mr Campbell, and Cookes and Russell'.[190] There are no details given of 'the working men' so it is hard to be certain if this handbill is genuine or not. Its language and arguments are suspiciously sophisticated. For instance, they say of themselves:

> We … are the medium by which wealth is conveyed from the large capitalist and circulated among the middle classes of tradesmen and farmers. And in proportion, as labor is supplied and remunerated, our means of consumption, and your prosperity will increase.[191]

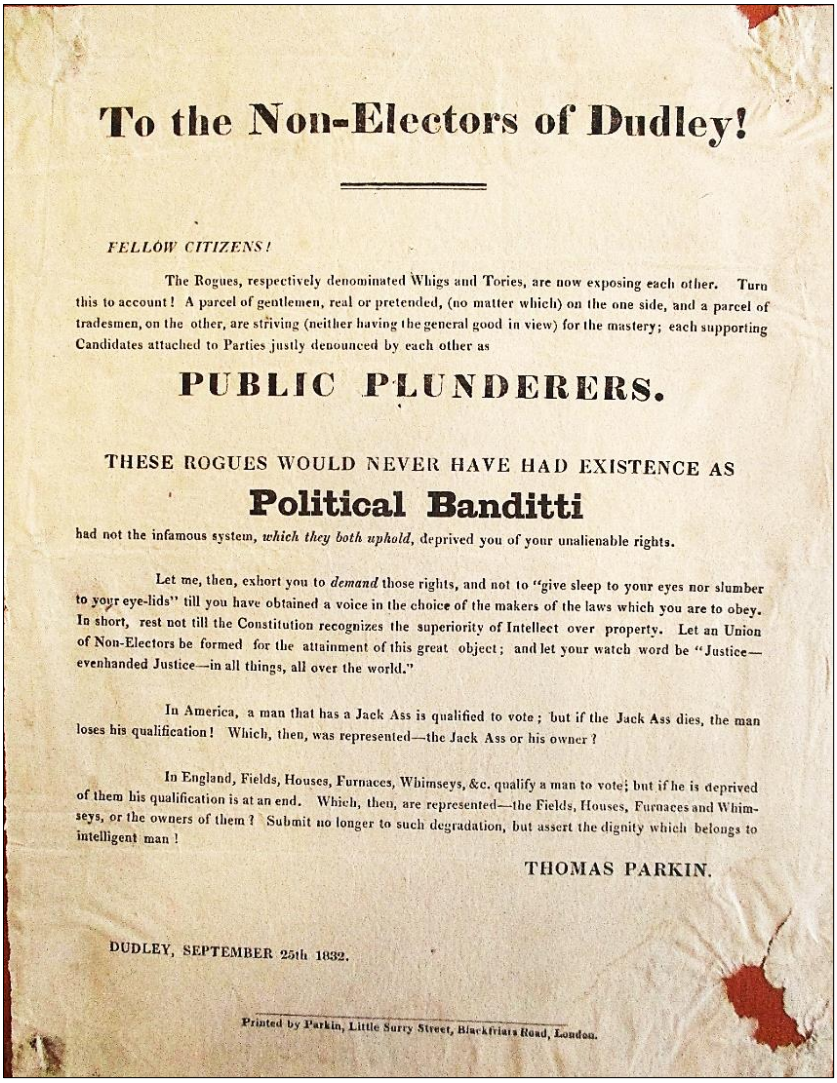
Containing a critique of national Tory policies, the handbill seems more likely to have been written by propagandists for the reformers. A similar, pro-reform handbill claimed to represent 1,749 of Dudley's non-electors but 1,240 of that number was made up of the combined membership of twenty-four clubs and lodges.[192] The Tories made a counterclaim for the support of the working class. A handbill only purporting to be by a 'Looker On', but printed by Hinton's, the Tories'

---

[189] Ibid.
[190] DALHS, PO/121, PC, Electors of Dudley: Gentlemen, We, a few working men… (Dudley, n.d. 1832?).
[191] Ibid.
[192] DALHS, PO/47A, PC, To the Electors of Dudley. Gentlemen, At this momentous crisis… (Dudley, n.d. 1832?).

printer, argued that St Paul's supporters 'find employment for more than half the Inhabitants of the Parish!'.[193] The writer also argued, from a recent cholera subscription list, that St Paul's supporters were more generous than Campbell's.[194] This handbill was immediately countered by one from 'a Corrector looking on'.[195] Amongst other things, he claimed that St Paul's supporters were the first to reduce the money paid to nailers, miners, stone-getters and iron and forge-men. He further argued that 'if these *liberal Tory Masters* would only give the workmen the worth of their hire, they would not want to get up "Subscription Lists for the Poor!"'.[196] Whilst most of these anonymous handbills were probably issued as propaganda by one side or the other, one man who addressed 'the Non-Electors of Dudley' and put his name to it was Parkin. In a handbill printed at his London press, he argued for greater democracy and was very dismissive of allowing a property qualification to determine the right to vote. He also denounced both Whigs and Tories as 'public plunderers' and 'political banditti' (figure 4.12).[197]

[193] DALHS, PO/216B, PC, To the Working Classes, of the Town and Parish of Dudley. Having lately heard a great deal about the election… (Dudley, n.d. 1832?).
[194] Ibid.
[195] DALHS, PO/50, PC, To the Working Classes, of the Town and Parish of Dudley. Having lately seen a hand-bill signed 'A Looker On' (Dudley, n.d. 1832?).
[196] Ibid.
[197] DALHS, PO/25A, PC, To the Non-Electors of Dudley! Fellow Citizens! (London, 1832?).



To the Non-Electors of Dudley!

FELLOW CITIZENS!

The Rogues, respectively denominated Whigs and Tories, are now exposing each other. Turn this to account! A parcel of gentlemen, real or pretended, (no matter which) on the one side, and a parcel of tradesmen, on the other, are striving (neither having the general good in view) for the mastery; each supporting Candidates attached to Parties justly denounced by each other as

PUBLIC PLUNDERERS.

THESE ROGUES WOULD NEVER HAVE HAD EXISTENCE AS

Political Banditti

had not the infamous system, *which they both uphold*, deprived you of your unalienable rights.

Let me, then, exhort you to *demand* those rights, and not to "give sleep to your eyes nor slumber to your eye-lids" till you have obtained a voice in the choice of the makers of the laws which you are to obey. In short, rest not till the Constitution recognizes the superiority of Intellect over property. Let an Union of Non-Electors be formed for the attainment of this great object; and let your watch word be "Justice—evenhanded Justice—in all things, all over the world."

In America, a man that has a Jack Ass is qualified to vote; but if the Jack Ass dies, the man loses his qualification! Which, then, was represented—the Jack Ass or his owner?

In England, Fields, Houses, Furnaces, Whimseys, &c. qualify a man to vote; but if he is deprived of them his qualification is at an end. Which, then, are represented—the Fields, Houses, Furnaces and Whimseys, or the owners of them? Submit no longer to such degradation, but assert the dignity which belongs to intelligent man!

THOMAS PARKIN.

DUDLEY, SEPTEMBER 25th 1832.

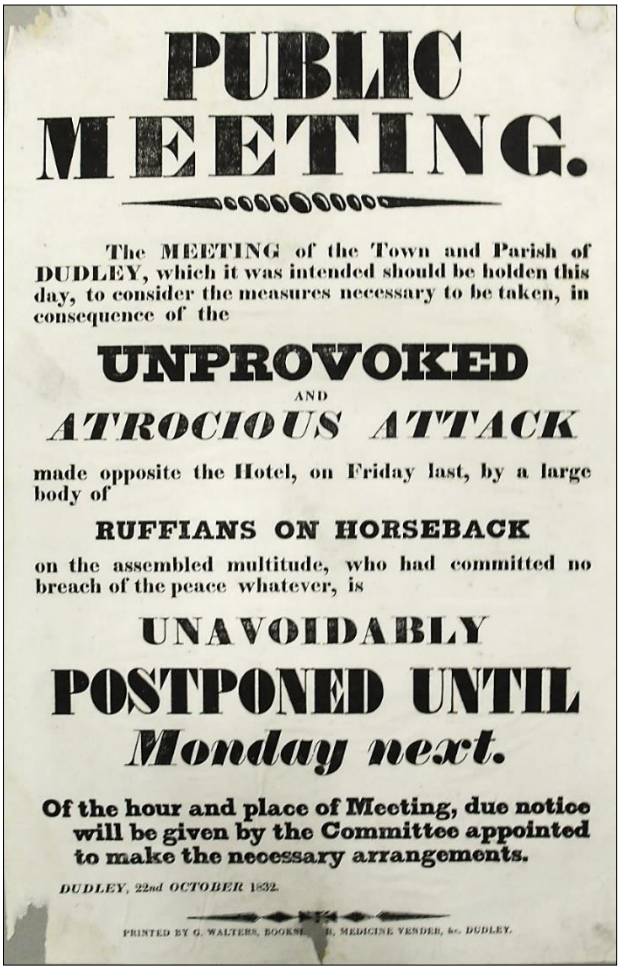
Printed by Parkin, Little Surry Street, Blackfriars Road, London.

Figure 4.12. Handbill by Thomas Parkin condemning both Whigs and Tories, 1832.[198]

The campaigns began again in the autumn, with more 'public entries' into Dudley as each side tried to out-do the other. Some of the newspaper accounts were as partisan as the political handbills.[199] The most controversial incident in Dudley was Pakington's entry in mid-October as part of the East Worcestershire

[198] DALHS, PO/25A, PC, To the Non-Electors of Dudley! Fellow Citizens! (London, 1832?).
[199] For differing accounts see: *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 17 October 1832, p. 4; *The Age,* 21 October 1832, p. 2; DALHS, PO/67A & 97A, PC, To the Working Men of Dudley and its Vicinity (Dudley, 1832).

election campaign. Each side blamed the other for the disturbances.[200] Parkin wrote letters to newspapers and to the Home Office, claiming that magistrates were involved in the affair, whilst Walters produced handbills on the subject (figure 4.13).[201]



PUBLIC MEETING.

The MEETING of the Town and Parish of DUDLEY, which it was intended should be holden this day, to consider the measures necessary to be taken, in consequence of the

UNPROVOKED
AND
ATROCIOUS ATTACK

made opposite the Hotel, on Friday last, by a large body of

RUFFIANS ON HORSEBACK

on the assembled multitude, who had committed no breach of the peace whatever, is

UNAVOIDABLY
POSTPONED UNTIL
Monday next.

Of the hour and place of Meeting, due notice will be given by the Committee appointed to make the necessary arrangements.

DUDLEY, 22nd OCTOBER 1832.

PRINTED BY G. WALTERS, BOOKSE[illegible]R, MEDICINE VENDER, &c. DUDLEY.

Figure 4.13. Handbill denouncing Pakington's entry into Dudley, 1832.[202]

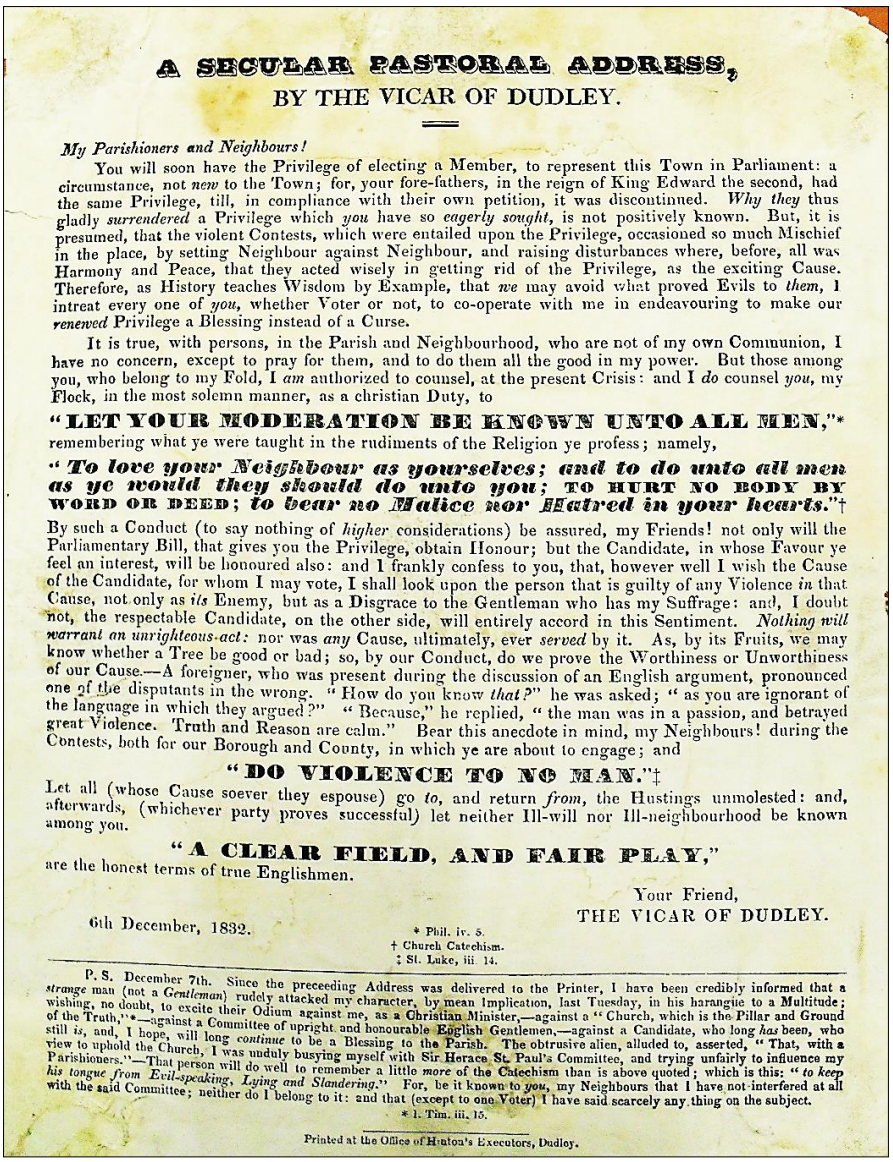
[200] Parkin complained to Lord Melbourne about the behaviour of the magistrates and Melbourne asked the Dudley magistrates to respond. The response was from one of the Hawkes brothers, probably Abiathar. He blamed Cook and Hill for starting the disturbances and said that Pakington's horsemen had shown 'great forbearance and moderation'. Walters's handbill described them as 'ruffians on horseback'. TNA, HO 52/20, ff. 164-169, Great Britain, Home Office, Counties correspondence, Correspondence and handbill concerning election riots in Dudley, October 1832; DALHS, PO/159, PC, Public Meeting. The meeting of the town and parish of Dudley… (Dudley, 1832).

[201] DALHS, PO/159; DALHS, PO/463, PC, Riots at Dudley (Dudley, 1832); DALHS, PO/22, PC, A public meeting will be held on a piece of land… (Dudley, 1832).

[202] DALHS, PO/159, PC, Public Meeting. The meeting of the town and parish of Dudley… (Dudley, 1832).

The Tory-leaning newspaper, *The Wolverhampton Chronicle*, claimed that 'the reports of this *fracas* which have appeared in several of our contemporaries are greatly exaggerated'.[203] Campbell, recently made Solicitor General, had been preoccupied in London but his supporters planned another bustling entry into Dudley for him which was well reported in the local newspapers.[204] Otherwise, the two Dudley campaigns wound up with claims and counterclaims of falsehoods and trickery.[205] The reformers were more inclined to write satire than the Tories.[206] Some of the final appeals were for the poll to be conducted peacefully. Booker pleaded for 'moderation', no violence and 'a clear field and fair play', at the same time refuting that he had been 'busying' himself with Sir Horace's committee. (figure 4.14).[207] Campbell's committee also asked their supporters to preserve the peace, arguing that any disturbances during the election would further the Tories' cause.[208]

[203] *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 24 October 1832, p. 4.
[204] DALHS, PO/243, PC, Notice. The friends of Mr Campbell (Dudley, 1832); *Staffordshire Advertiser,* 8 December 1832, p. 4; *The Wolverhampton Chronicle*, 12 December 1832, p. 2.
[205] DALHS, PO/53B, PC, To the Electors of Dudley. Sir Horace St Paul's Committee… (Dudley, 1832); DALHS, PO/52, PC, To the Electors of the Borough of Dudley. An anonymous handbill… (Dudley, 1832); DALHS, PO/14C, PC, Tory Intrigue & Trickery (Dudley, 1832).
[206] DALHS, PO/301, PC, To the free and independent electors of the Borough of Dudley (Dudley, 1832); DALHS, PO/371, PC, To Contractors, Speculators & Others (Dudley, 1832).
[207] DALHS, PO/32B, PC, A secular pastoral address by the Vicar of Dudley (Dudley, 1832).
[208] DALHS, PO/122, PC, Dudley Election. The committee of Sir John Campbell… (Dudley, 1832).



A SECULAR PASTORAL ADDRESS,
BY THE VICAR OF DUDLEY.

My Parishioners and Neighbours!

You will soon have the Privilege of electing a Member, to represent this Town in Parliament: a circumstance, not *new* to the Town; for, your fore-fathers, in the reign of King Edward the second, had the same Privilege, till, in compliance with their own petition, it was discontinued. *Why they* thus gladly *surrendered* a Privilege which *you* have so *eagerly sought*, is not positively known. But, it is presumed, that the violent Contests, which were entailed upon the Privilege, occasioned so much Mischief in the place, by setting Neighbour against Neighbour, and raising disturbances where, before, all was Harmony and Peace, that they acted wisely in getting rid of the Privilege, as the exciting Cause. Therefore, as History teaches Wisdom by Example, that *we* may avoid what proved Evils to *them*, I intreat every one of *you*, whether Voter or not, to co-operate with me in endeavouring to make our *renewed* Privilege a Blessing instead of a Curse.

It is true, with persons, in the Parish and Neighbourhood, who are not of my own Communion, I have no concern, except to pray for them, and to do them all the good in my power. But those among you, who belong to my Fold, I *am* authorized to counsel, at the present Crisis: and I *do* counsel *you*, my Flock, in the most solemn manner, as a christian Duty, to

"LET YOUR MODERATION BE KNOWN UNTO ALL MEN,"*
remembering what ye were taught in the rudiments of the Religion ye profess; namely,

"*To love your Neighbour as yourselves; and to do unto all men as ye would they should do unto you;* TO HURT NO BODY BY WORD OR DEED; *to bear no Malice nor Hatred in your hearts.*"†

By such a Conduct (to say nothing of *higher* considerations) be assured, my Friends! not only will the Parliamentary Bill, that gives you the Privilege, obtain Honour; but the Candidate, in whose Favour ye feel an interest, will be honoured also: and I frankly confess to you, that, however well I wish the Cause of the Candidate, for whom I may vote, I shall look upon the person that is guilty of any Violence *in* that Cause, not only as *its* Enemy, but as a Disgrace to the Gentleman who has my Suffrage: and, I doubt not, the respectable Candidate, on the other side, will entirely accord in this Sentiment. *Nothing will warrant an unrighteous act:* nor was *any* Cause, ultimately, ever *served* by it. As, by its Fruits, we may know whether a Tree be good or bad; so, by our Conduct, do we prove the Worthiness or Unworthiness of our Cause.—A foreigner, who was present during the discussion of an English argument, pronounced one of the disputants in the wrong. "How do you know *that?*" he was asked; "as you are ignorant of the language in which they argued?" "Because," he replied, "the man was in a passion, and betrayed great Violence. Truth and Reason are calm." Bear this anecdote in mind, my Neighbours! during the Contests, both for our Borough and County, in which ye are about to engage; and

"DO VIOLENCE TO NO MAN."‡

Let all (whose Cause soever they espouse) go *to*, and return *from*, the Hustings unmolested: and, afterwards, (whichever party proves successful) let neither Ill-will nor Ill-neighbourhood be known among you.

"A CLEAR FIELD, AND FAIR PLAY,"
are the honest terms of true Englishmen.

Your Friend,
THE VICAR OF DUDLEY.

6th December, 1832.

* Phil. iv. 5.
† Church Catechism.
‡ St. Luke, iii. 14.

P. S. December 7th. Since the preceeding Address was delivered to the Printer, I have been credibly informed that a *strange* man (not a *Gentleman*) rudely attacked my character, by mean Implication, last Tuesday, in his harangue to a Multitude; wishing, no doubt, to excite their Odium against me, as a Christian Minister,—against a "Church, which is the Pillar and Ground of the Truth,"*—against a Committee of upright and honourable English Gentlemen,—against a Candidate, who long *has* been, who still *is*, and, I hope, will long *continue* to be a Blessing to the Parish. The obtrusive alien, alluded to, asserted, "That, with a view to uphold the Church, I was unduly busying myself with Sir Horace St. Paul's Committee, and trying unfairly to influence my Parishioners."—That person will do well to remember a little *more* of the Catechism than is above quoted; which is this: "*to keep his tongue from Evil-speaking, Lying and Slandering.*" For, be it known to *you*, my Neighbours that I have not interfered at all with the said Committee; neither do I belong to it: and that (except to one Voter) I have said scarcely any thing on the subject.

* 1. Tim. iii. 15.

Printed at the Office of Hutton's Executors, Dudley.

Figure 4.14. A secular, pastoral address by Luke Booker, 1832.[209]

An anonymous reform handbill made a plea for 'reformers of all classes; Whigs and Liberals' to remain united.[210] It also called for the election to be seen in the wider context, declaring: 'The contest is not *particular,* but GENERAL! It is not *provincial*, but NATIONAL!!!' Walters published the voting figures for the Dudley

[209] DALHS, PO/32B, PC, A secular pastoral address by the Vicar of Dudley (Dudley, 1832).
[210] DALHS, PO/61B, PC, Reformers of all classes; Whigs and Liberals! (Dudley, 1832).

borough throughout the poll.[211] When it finished, with Campbell victorious, Walters issued lists of those who had voted for each candidate.[212] In East Worcestershire, both reformers, Cookes and Russell, were elected.

Conclusion

This chapter answers the question to what extent, how and with what effect print was used as a vehicle for political and religious conflict in Dudley between 1815 and 1832 whilst seeking to identify incidents where the print itself formed a fundamental part of the controversy rather than merely being the medium for exchange. This case study has shown that, in the use of print, Dudley witnessed a transition from largely Tory/loyalist dominance at the beginning of the period to the triumph of the reformers at the close. This discussion has also shown that print was more than simply the vehicle for discussion; on some occasions the printing itself was a major factor in controversy. This was seen clearly in the reaction to *The Patriot* (1819) and in Tysan's hostility to cheap Bibles (1820/21). Other examples of where the printing formed part of the conflict include the forced apology from *The Wolverhampton Chronicle* (1823), Parkin's refusal to pay stamp tax (1829-1832) and Lord Lyttelton's threat to sue Hinton's (1832). Print had become powerful and entwined with controversy. There were further cases, such as some of Cook's more inflammatory handbills where print exacerbated conflict. Even where controversies were not caused by printed material, the burgeoning print culture in the town both underpinned and reflected the political and religious

[211] DALHS, PO/388A, 388B & 242B, PC, Dudley election, state of the poll etc.; (Dudley, 1832); DALHS, PO/92, PC, Borough of Dudley. Principle again triumphant! (Dudley, 1832).
[212] In the absence of official poll returns, these lists are invaluable for knowing who supported the Tories or Reformers. DALHS, PO/60, PC, A list of the electors of Dudley who voted… (Dudley, 1832).

conflicts by which the town was beset. Furthermore, the emergence of print as a vehicle for political and religious conflict is evidence that Dudley was catching up with towns such as Birmingham and Worcester where battles using pamphlets and handbills had been part of the political and religious landscape for decades.[213]

Although print was closely associated with both religious and political conflicts in this period it was not necessarily aimed at the same readership. For instance, although the religious pamphlet 'war' of the early 1820s was triggered by the question of easy access to printed Bibles, it soon descended into a spat between religious leaders, with little appeal to the wider public. By contrast, most political disputes, particularly those led by opposition groups, aimed at maximising their audiences. This study shows that the rise of political and religious conflict in Dudley, reinforced by print, was influenced by the national situation. Radical rage following Peterloo led directly to a rather genteel pamphlet battle, but also to the much harder- hitting paper, *The Patriot*. Whereas the first was allowed to roll on, the second was quickly stifled by the loyalist leaders, with Home Office connivance. Walters, its printer, was harassed, although ultimately not prosecuted. In the more peaceful climate of the 1820s, Cook was almost alone in using print as a political tool until the French Revolution of 1830 helped to re-awaken the reform movement both nationally and locally. This resurgence coincided with the coming to Dudley of Parkin, the London radical who brought with him both a sterner metropolitan brand of radicalism and experience in the use of print. Another

[213] For instance, Worcester had long supported an active, political print culture, as demonstrated in a study of two eighteenth-century elections: A. Macdonald, 'Two 18th century parliamentary elections in Worcester', *Transactions of the Worcestershire Archaeology Society,* Vol. 22, New Series (1946 for 1945), pp. 55-68.

powerful contribution was Walters's role as a printer. Not only did he publish *The Patriot*, but he printed a large proportion of the reformers' output during 1830-1832, often at short notice. Because of this, some of his handbills look careless, but far more have an exuberance and panache that enhanced their cause. Whereas the Tories were dominant at the beginning, by the end of the period the print advantage was with the reformers. The upsurge in the demand for reform in the early 1830s showed no signs of abating and that groundswell of popular opinion helped to give the reformers greater confidence in their use of print culture.

CHAPTER 5

Aftermath of the Reform Act: Conservatives versus Reformers, 1833-1850

Introduction

This chapter analyses the political conflicts arising in Dudley between 1833 and 1850. The power struggles continued, but they ebbed and flowed as opposition groupings sought to challenge the Tory/Anglican establishment. This chapter asks the question how, and to what extent, were the conservative forces in Dudley able to re-assert control following the reformers' triumph in the 1832 general election? Two supplementary themes consider whether the Tories used their dominance of the local magistracy for political ends and the widening gulf between radicals and the more moderate reformers who became the nucleus of Dudley's emerging Liberal party. The chapter begins with a discussion of historiography and primary sources, followed by context on the appointing of magistrates. Then, to answer the question, the period is broken down into three sub-periods, each concentrating on different aspects of the overall conflict. 1833-1837 is marked by Tory resurgence over weak opposition. 1838-1843 features two national movements, the Anti-Corn Law League and Chartism. 1844-1850 focuses on the repeal of the Corn Laws and Lord Ward's entry into politics.

Historiography and primary sources

The most detailed study of Black Country politics in this period is by Vichai Tunsiri.[1] He focuses on parliamentary elections in constituencies including Dudley,

[1] V. Tunsiri, 'The party-politics of the Black Country and neighbourhood, 1832-1867' (Unpublished MA dissertation, University of Birmingham, 1964).

but excludes local government politics, thus offering a less rounded picture of political controversy than does this thesis. David Radmore studies one aspect of local government by comparing the operation of the 'Town Commissions' in Dudley and Stourbridge.[2] He follows a 'systems approach' and although he considers politics, it is not in the wider context used in this study.[3] George Barnsby and Richard Trainor consider aspects of politics in Dudley from different perspectives. Whereas Barnsby uses a Marxist analysis to study the working class in the Black Country, Trainor concentrates on 'Black Country elites'.[4] Looking at Dudley as a microcosm, this present study includes groups which are neglected by Barnsby and Trainor, particularly the lower middle class, such as small shopkeepers, who aspired to a share of power. Research on the Black Country magistracy by David Philips and Roger Swift offers points for comparison and contrast with Dudley.[5] Both consider how the administration of justice was affected by changes in the economic and social standing of the men being appointed as magistrates. Focusing on Wolverhampton, Swift asks whether 'the social and political homogeneity of the county bench influenced the dispensation of justice' and he notes that the 'Tory paternalists' came down particularly hard on 'public order

[2] D.F. Radmore, 'The Dudley and Stourbridge Town Commissions, 1791-1853' (Unpublished MA dissertation, Wolverhampton Polytechnic, 1987). Available: Stourbridge Library, Local Studies section, LD 352.4247P.
[3] As noted in chapter 3, Radmore was amongst those who failed to realise that there were two Dudley Political Unions for a time, the second one led by Thomas Lester and Charles Twamley. This contributed to Radmore's belief that there was a sizeable radical element amongst the Town Commissioners – a conclusion which is unlikely. Ibid., pp. 26, 47 & 53.
[4] G.J. Barnsby, *The Working Class Movement in the Black Country, 1750 to 1867* (Wolverhampton 1977); *The Dudley Working Class Movement, 1750 to 1860* (Dudley, 1986); R.H. Trainor, *Black Country Elites: The Exercise of Authority in an Industrialized Area, 1830-1900* (Oxford, 1993).
[5] D. Philips, 'The Black Country magistracy, 1835-60: a changing elite and the exercise of its power', *Midland History,* Vol. 3 (1976), pp. 161-190; R. Swift, 'The English urban magistracy and the administration of justice during the early nineteenth century: Wolverhampton, 1815-1860', *Midland History,* Vol. 17, No 1 (1992), pp. 75-92.

offences'.[6] However, this study looks more closely at the active role which Dudley's magistrates played in politics. General histories of Chartism, such as that by Malcolm Chase, have paid little attention to Black Country Chartists.[7] Concentrating on what F.C. Mather terms 'conscious, creative leadership', this study highlights the contribution to Chartism made by Samuel Cook of Dudley, but also shows Cook in broader terms, relating with other reformers, and not in the narrower, working-class hero model, favoured by Barnsby, nor, as Trainor calls him, an 'all-purpose populist'.[8] In a series of regional surveys of localities where Chartism was active, Richard Brown gives an overview of 'the industrial Midlands', including Dudley, but it is chiefly drawn from newspapers and secondary sources and does not include the range of primary material used in this thesis.[9] Studies of Birmingham by Donna Taylor consider early Chartism and the development of local government and present the opportunity to see similarities and differences between Dudley and Birmingham.[10] The most detailed analysis of the 1842 general strike is by A.D. Smith who considers the strikes on a regional basis, while noting differences within regions.[11] He concludes that the strikes in the Black

---

[6] Swift, 'The English urban magistracy', p. 78.
[7] Some men from the Black Country, such as Joseph Linney and Samuel Cook, are mentioned, in passing, in the general text, but not as part of Chase's biographical sections.
M. Chase, *Chartism: A New History* (Manchester, 2007).
[8] F.C. Mather, 'The general strike of 1842. A study in leadership, organisation and the threat of revolution during the Plug Plot disturbances', in R. Quinault and J. Stevenson, (eds), *Popular Protest and Public Order: Six Studies in British History, 1790-1920* (London, 1974), p. 120; Trainor, *Black Country Elites,* p. 254.
[9] R. Brown, *Chartism: Localities, Spaces and Places, the Midlands and the South* (n.p., Authoring History, self-published, 2015). This work has footnotes but no bibliography.
[10] D.M. Taylor, 'To the Bull Ring! Politics, protest and policing in Birmingham during the early Chartist period' (Unpublished MRes thesis, University of Birmingham, 2013); D. Taylor, 'Governance and locality in the Age of Reform: Birmingham, 1769-1852' (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Birmingham, 2017).
[11] A.D. Smith, 'The strike for the People's Charter in 1842' (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of London, 2002).

Country were exceptional in remaining almost entirely economic.[12] However, this current discussion finds that the magistrates helped to politicise the strikes.

These issues are explored by examining primary sources, but there are few which give the personal perspectives of the main protagonists in Dudley's politics. The Dudley estate collection at Dudley Archives and Local History Service (DALHS) has correspondence covering the Earl of Dudley's final years and the trust set up by his will in 1833.[13] One trustee, Lord Hatherton, tried to mentor the young Lord Ward, and the Hatherton collection at Staffordshire Record Office provides some personal insights.[14] An interview given late in life by the veteran Dudley Liberal, Elliott Hollier, provides testimony from an eye-witness to much of the conflict of this period.[15] DALHS holds manuscript material by Cook relating to his clashes with the magistrates.[16] Whilst there are no records or recollections from Dudley's rank-and-file Chartists, Arthur Willetts uses newspaper reports and court cases to demonstrate the nailers' perspective on the riots of 1842.[17] Although on a small scale, Willetts uses a similar approach to that taken by David Philips who advocates a detailed study of 'the people and offences brought up for trial' at Quarter Sessions to help illuminate:

> wider features of their society – its degree of tolerance of political and social dissent; the levels of violence deemed normal and acceptable, both from its citizens and from its police agencies, attitudes towards property rights in the

[12] Ibid., pp. 68, 88-94 & 111-114.
[13] DALHS, DE/4/1-2, The Earl of Dudley estate collection, Estate/Trusteeship records, 1832-1833.
[14] When the trust was established in 1833, Lord Hatherton was still Edward Littleton. Staffordshire Record Office (SRO), D260/M/F: Hatherton Papers.
[15] *The Advertiser for Brierley Hill, Stourbridge, Dudley etc.,* 22 June 1901, pp. 4-5.
[16] DALHS, Z44, MC, Material relating to Samuel Cook, 1822-1860.
[17] A. Willetts, *The Blackcountry Nailer's Riots of 1842* (Dudley, 1995).

> society; the status which the law and its agents occupied in the minds of the mass of the population, and the degree to which they showed an acceptance of the legitimacy of the state and its laws.[18]

Philips concentrates on the Staffordshire portion of the Black Country but, with more time, a similar study could be applied to the whole of Dudley.[19] The order books of local bodies and newspapers are two major primary sources.[20] General newspapers were often biased against Chartists, so Chartist papers are utilised where possible to redress the balance. Local responses to political unrest and strikes were dependent upon the magistrates and their political bias.

Magistracy and policing

Magistrates in the Black Country wielded considerable power and, as elsewhere, they were selected by the county's Lord-Lieutenant. Because of the region's complex boundaries, the same men were often appointed as JPs for both Staffordshire and Worcestershire. The Dudley magistrate, William Bennitt, was additionally appointed magistrate for Shropshire.[21] Swift highlights how the Lord-Lieutenants of Staffordshire seemed biased both in trying to avoid appointing coal and ironmasters, and in preferring to appoint Tories, until the Whig Marquis of Anglesey took the post in 1849.[22] The numbers of local gentry families,

---

[18] D. Philips, *Crime and Authority in Victorian England: The Black Country, 1835-1860* (London, 1977), p. 44.
[19] Philips deals with some aspects relating to Dudley but not in the full detail in which he studies Staffordshire. Ibid., pp. 164-168.
[20] DALHS, Town Commissioners' minutes, Volume 2, 1832-1853; DALHS, GDU/1/1-2, Dudley Board of Guardians, minutes, 1836-1850.
[21] Bennitt's additional appointment was in 1841 and was probably to help deal with the vicinities of Halesowen and Oldbury which were in Shropshire at the time. *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 14 April 1841, p. 3.
[22] R. Swift, 'The English urban magistracy and the administration of justice during the early nineteenth century: Wolverhampton 1815-1860', *Midland History* Vol. 17, No. 1 (1992), pp. 75–92, especially pp. 83-84.

traditionally the mainstay of the magistracy, declined in the Black Country during industrialisation, leading to a dearth of potential magistrates. In some places the shortage was filled by Anglican clergymen, but in Dudley the problem was exacerbated by Luke Booker's withdrawal from sitting on the bench and there being no other Anglican clergymen of similar rank. Consequently, the search was widened and, as early as December 1830, newly appointed magistrates included the industrialist Thomas Badger and the banker Charles Henry Molineux. Many of the magistrates appointed in the 1830s and 1840s, were industrialists or professionals. Some of the industrialists were major employers, who both increased their social standing and gained power over workers. Swift highlights clashes of interest in Wolverhampton, noting that the increase of coal and ironmasters as JPs was accompanied by a large rise in prosecutions for 'industrial larceny' and the use of the Master and Servant Act against workers.[23] Newspaper reports for Dudley show JPs acting in support of one another's interests, and coal and ironmaster JPs supporting fellow ironmasters.[24] Until Dudley was incorporated and granted its own bench of magistrates in 1865, it was served by county magistrates from both Worcestershire and Staffordshire. However, more magistrates local to Dudley were appointed in the 1830s and 1840s so the petty sessions were increasingly overseen by local magistrates.[25] Unfortunately, no trace has been found of records for Dudley's petty sessions before 1848 and

[23] Swift, 'The English urban magistracy', pp. 86-87.
[24] For instance: *Berrow's Worcester Journal,* 19 January 1837, p. 3 and 13 April 1837, p.3; *The Worcestershire Chronicle,* 14 June 1838, p. 2.
[25] The method of appointment makes it difficult to find or produce lists of 'Dudley magistrates' in the early part of the nineteenth century, but in the1850s and 1860s trades directories began to list magistrates in their entries for Dudley. For instance, M. Billing lists ten magistrates whilst Harrison, Harrod and Co. list eight: *M. Billing's Directory and Gazetteer of the County of Worcester* (Birmingham, 1855), p. 258; *Harrison, Harrod, and Co.'s Directory and Gazetteer of Staffordshire with Dudley, in Worcestershire etc.* (London, 1861), p. 129.

thereafter they are only fragmentary.[26] In 1852, Thomas Badger, by then a banker, was said to be chairman of the Dudley Petty Sessional Division and he remained dominant in Dudley's magistracy until 1855.[27] Until 1850 all the magistrates frequently officiating in Dudley were Conservatives. When under attack they closed ranks as, for instance, when they were seemingly criticised by Sir John Campbell in 1833, when Thomas Badger appealed a judgement against him for purportedly striking a man in 1835 and when two of their number faced censure for denying bail to Arthur O'Neill in 1842.[28] There are no records of disputes between magistrates in Dudley such as David Cox found in South Staffordshire.[29] Dudley's Tory magistrates frequently drew criticisms from radicals like Thomas Parkin and Cook.[30] Only in 1850 were any Liberals appointed in the Dudley area, notably the Unitarian ironmaster S.H. Blackwell, and the Evers brothers.[31]

---

[26] DALHS, MDU/9/1-4, Dudley Magistrates' Court, Justices' Notebooks, 1848-1855 and 1857-1858.
[27] T.C. Turberville, *Worcestershire in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1852), p. 323; *Berrow's Worcester Journal,* 23 August 1856, p. 8. Biographical information about the Badger family is given in Appendix 1 (A1).
[28] For the effects of Campbell's criticism of Dudley's magistrates see chapter 5. Davis v Badger was the original case against Badger which he lost but his appeal was strongly supported by fellow magistrate and Dudley's MP, Thomas Hawkes and that proved successful. Badger had temporarily stood down from magisterial duties having been accused of being unfit to carry them out. See, for instance: *The Morning Post,* 2 May 1835, p. 4. O'Neill's bail is dealt with in chapter 5 but also see: 'Staffordshire magistrates. Copies of affidavits filed in the Court of Queen's Bench, on the application for a criminal information against certain magistrates of Stafford':- also, 'Copies of affidavits in answer to such application, together with a copy of the role of court made thereon', *Parliamentary Papers*, Vol. 44, No. 96 (1843), especially p. 18.
[29] This article also highlights the problems faced by the authorities (in this case in Wolverhampton) trying to deal with disturbances in populous urban areas without an adequate civilian police force. D.J. Cox, ''The wolves let loose at Wolverhampton': a study of the South Staffordshire election 'riots', May 1835', *Law, Crime and History,* Vol. 2, Issue 1 (2011), pp. 1-31, especially p. 28.
[30] Of the fourteen new magistrates in the period 1833-1850, who can be identified as covering Dudley and the surrounding area, nine were coal or ironmasters and three were professionals, whilst there was only one landowner and one clergyman appointed. Parkin made personal attacks on Dudley's magistrates in a series of letters to a newspaper: *The True Sun,* 25 February 1833, p. 4; 1 March 1833, p. 4; 6 March 1833, p. 3; 30 March 1833, p. 2; 18 April 1833, p. 4; 30 April 1833, p. 4.
[31] Charles and James Evers, variously described as coal and ironmasters or ironware manufacturers, married two sisters. Following the death of their father-in-law in 1850 they added his surname, Swindell, to their own, becoming: 'Evers Swindell'. *The Worcestershire Chronicle,* 30

The lack of an adequate, civilian police force to deal with unrest, led magistrates to undue reliance on military assistance and was a major driver of police reform. Traditional parish police were unable to cope with large scale riots or disturbances. Unrest witnessed across the country in the mid-1830s, including opposition to the new Poor Law and, later, the emergence of Chartism, were major factors leading to the County Police Act of 1839.[32] It was permissive legislation, but Worcestershire's magistrates were keen to establish a county police force and had formed a police committee by November 1839.[33] Thomas Badger was a committee member but Dudley was excluded from the Worcestershire Constabulary which was established the following month.[34] In 1840 Dudley's Town Commissioners established a nine-man strong 'police force' which David Philips claims was also a response to the Chartist demonstrations of 1839.[35] Dudley was finally placed under the Worcestershire Constabulary in 1845.[36] Not only did Dudey's magistrates remain predominantly Tory but this had implications for politics in the borough which is considered below, beginning with the rapid Tory recovery from defeat in 1832.

January 1850, p. 5; *Aris's Birmingham Gazette,* 19 August 1850, p. 3. *The Birmingham Journal,* 28 December 1850, p. 7.

[32] The 1839 act was amended the following year. Philips, *Crime and Authority in Victorian England*, p. 54.

[33] B. Pooler, *From Fruit Trees to Furnaces: A History of the Worcestershire Constabulary* (Pershore, 2002), p. 9.

[34] According to Philips, Dudley was excluded because, as a detached portion of Worcestershire, it fell outside the scope of the act. However, there were also financial considerations with the authorities in Dudley reluctant to pay towards a county-wide police force. Philips, *Crime and Authority in Victorian England,* pp. 55 & 89, note 14; Pooler, *From Fruit Trees to Furnaces*, p. 94.

[35] DALHS, Town Commissioners' Minutes, Volume 2, 1832-1853, 31 January 1840; Philips, *Crime and Authority in Victorian England*, pp. 55, 61 & 90-91, note 39.

[36] Pooler, *From Fruit Trees to Furnaces,* p. 94.

Tory resurgence, 1833-1837

1833 to 1837 in Dudley saw a complete reversal of political fortune. The period began with the reformers having won both constituencies covering Dudley but, following the 1837 general election, the Tories held them both. This resurgence continued despite breaks in the traditional Tory leadership of the town, including difficulties within the aristocratic Ward family and a change of vicar.[37] Dudley's Tory revival mirrored the national situation. Boyd Hilton describes the Whig government unravelling shortly after triumphing with the Reform Act and John Campbell's support in Dudley declined similarly.[38] This discussion argues that the Tory resurgence in Dudley was swifter and greater than seen nationally and it was aided by disunity amongst their opponents. The reformers did not give up; the struggle against church rates is discussed in chapter 6, and their efforts to gain representation on local bodies, such as the Town Commissioners, are evaluated below, after analysis of how the Tories captured the parliamentary constituency.

Dudley's Tory revival came quickly. Fourteen months after Campbell and the reformers won their famous victory, he lost a by-election to the Tories. There were various reasons for the dramatic reversal. Dudley was traditionally a Tory town, so partly it was reverting to type, whilst the Tories' candidate, Thomas Hawkes, was a popular Dudley man from a well-established glass manufacturing

[37] The Earl of Dudley lost his sanity in 1832 and died childless in 1833, when his next of kin, a distant cousin, inherited the title 'Lord Ward'. Both men had had mental health problems and the Earl's will put the large Dudley estate into a trust for twelve years, after which it would be inherited by Lord Ward's eldest son, William Ward (born 1817). Reverend Booker's health began failing and he retired to the Bristol area in 1835, dying later that year. Biographical information on Booker and the Ward family is given in appendix 1: A6 for Booker and A32 for the Wards.
[38] B. Hilton, *A Mad, Bad, and Dangerous People? England 1783-1846* (Oxford, 2006), pp. 493-499.

family.[39] Campbell was an ambitious lawyer who had been Solicitor General since November 1832.[40] He failed to bolster support in the constituency and, as a government member, had to defend their policies, including those he disliked, such as the Irish Coercion Bill.[41] This provoked opposition in Dudley and as early as February 1833, Thomas Lester, and other Campbell supporters, were organising opposition to it, whilst the Tories petitioned in support.[42] Then, in August 1833, Campbell questioned the integrity of Dudley's magistrates.[43] In a debate on electing magistrates, Campbell used Dudley as an example of a borough where the inhabitants had no say in 'the choice of their Magistrates', further arguing that 'justice is not administered to the satisfaction of the public, and the most serious discontents prevail'.[44] Coming from a government law officer, these remarks were reported widely in the press and George Walters issued a handbill.[45] Campbell claimed that he was not suggesting 'personal misconduct' by the magistrates, but he had 'personal knowledge that they were most active political partizans'.[46] Booker, long retired from the magistrates' bench, felt free to produce a large

[39] Appendix 1 includes biographical information for both Campbell (A8) and Hawkes (A17).
[40] G. H. and V. Jones, 'Campbell, John, first Baron Campbell of St Andrews (1779–1861), lord chancellor', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (published 23 September 2004, version 3 January 2008) Campbell, John, first Baron Campbell of St Andrews (1779–1861), lord chancellor | Oxford Dictionary of National Biography [accessed 30 July 2024].
[41] Ibid.
[42] Campbell presented two petitions to Parliament at the same time. Both deplored the violence that had taken place in Ireland, but Campbell put more emphasis on the one from the clergy, magistrates and others which called for immediate and strong remedial measures to suppress the outrages. The opposition in Dudley, which was dominated by reformers and nonconformists, implied that the government should be dealing with the problems of distress in the country rather than imposing 'military law'. *The True Sun,* 8 March 1833, p. 3; DALHS, PO/142, PC, Public meeting on the Irish Coercion Bill (Dudley, 1833?); DALHS, PO/43A, PC, Irish Bill (Dudley, 1833).
[43] *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 7 August 1833, p. 2.
[44] Ibid.
[45] *The Morning Chronicle,* 13 August 1833, p. 3; *The Standard,* 13 August 1833, p. 4; *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 14 August 1833, p. 4 and other newspapers; DALHS, PO/16A, PC, The day of judgement and united retribution is come! (Dudley, 1833?).
[46] *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 14 August 1833, p. 4.

petition supporting his fellow magistrates.[47] Visiting Dudley in September 1833, Campbell's charm offensive was only partially successful. He argued that the Irish Coercion Bill was 'justly unpopular' but warranted by 'dire necessity'.[48] Charles Twamley led a vote of confidence in Campbell which was passed unanimously at a large public gathering, but the radicals were not convinced.[49] At smaller meetings, Parkin and Cook 'exposed, in reply, what they considered to be the sophistry of [Campbell's] arguments'.[50] Parkin remained implacably hostile and, in September 1833, criticised the reformers in an eight-page pamphlet, which he published himself.[51] Parkin cast his criticisms widely, condemning government policies, Campbell, those who succumbed to Campbell's influence and, finally, he blamed the electors for voting 'as interest or caprice dictates' rather than with 'moral responsibility'.[52] Parkin also harangued Campbell for the prosecution of *The True Sun* newspaper.[53]

Campbell's promotion to Attorney General triggered a by-election in February 1834 and Hawkes was ready for the fight. Having been a JP since 1811, he was the longest serving of the magistrates, whom Campbell had apparently

---

[47] Letter by an anonymous supporter: *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 23 June 1824, p. 3. There may have been different versions of the petition as Clark reproduced part of one which he said had been signed by 'upwards of 300 persons' but the DALHS copy claims 732 signatures. C.F.G. Clark (comp. & ed.), *The Curiosities of Dudley and the Black Country from 1800 to 1860 etc.* (Birmingham, 1881), pp. 62-65; DALHS, PO/ 201, PC, Dudley, August 1833. We, the undersigned, (Dudley, 1833?).
[48] *Evening Mail,* 27 September 1833, p. 3.
[49] Ibid.
[50] *The Weekly True Sun,* 29 September 1833, p. 6.
[51] T. Parkin, *An Address to the Strange Folks at Dudley, who, by a Monstrous Perversion of Language, call themselves Real Reformers* (London, 1833?). Unfortunately, DALHS seems to have the only extant copy which is badly damaged.
[52] Ibid., pp. 2-3, 4-5 & 8.
[53] The editors of *The True Sun* were prosecuted and gaoled for 'political libel' for suggesting that the people should withhold their taxes. PO/84B, Persecution of *The True Sun* by Sir John Campbell (Dudley, 1834); *The True Sun,* 10 February 1834, p. 2; *Hansard,* 23 July 1834, Vol. 25, cc. 400-422.

insulted.[54] Hawkes's election committee was headed by Thomas Badger and Molineux, helping prove that Dudley's magistrates were 'political partizans'.[55] Most of Campbell's former committee rallied round him and, despite earlier criticism, Cook voted for Campbell again. However, John Palmer, a newly arrived reformer and the Irish Unitarian minister, called on 'all the friends of freedom' to vote for neither candidate, probably in protest at Whig policy in Ireland.[56] In a short campaign, Campbell's committee was unable to combat surging support for Hawkes. Towards the end of the first day's poll, according to T.C. Turberville, 'Sir John's committee, finding great difficulty in bringing their friends to the poll, gave up in a huff'.[57] Campbell acknowledged defeat and left the town as rioting broke out.[58] Hawkes's victory was portrayed in an anonymous picture of him arriving for his 'chairing' ceremony at the Dudley Arms Hotel, surrounded by enthusiastic supporters, including some women (figure 5.1).[59]

[54] SRO, Q/SB 1811 E/254, Justices' oaths, Thomas Hawkes, 1811.
[55] *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 14 August 1833, p. 4; DALHS, PO/48A, PC, Committee Room, Hotel, Dudley, February 19th, 1834. (Dudley? 1834?).
[56] *The Birmingham Journal,* 15 March 1834, p. 3.
[57] T.C. Turberville, *Worcestershire in the Nineteenth Century. A Complete Digest of Facts etc.* (London, 1852), p. 53.
[58] *The Staffordshire Advertiser,* 1 March 1834, p. 3.
[59] This depiction of Hawkes arriving at the Dudley Arms in triumph, surrounded by a delighted crowd, reinforces the point made in chapter 2 that the Dudley Arms Hotel became the Tories' power base. The picture also shows 'possession' of the central area of the Market Place taking on political significance.



Figure 5.1. The Chairing of Thomas Hawkes, artist unknown, 1834.
(Dudley Council Museum Collection)

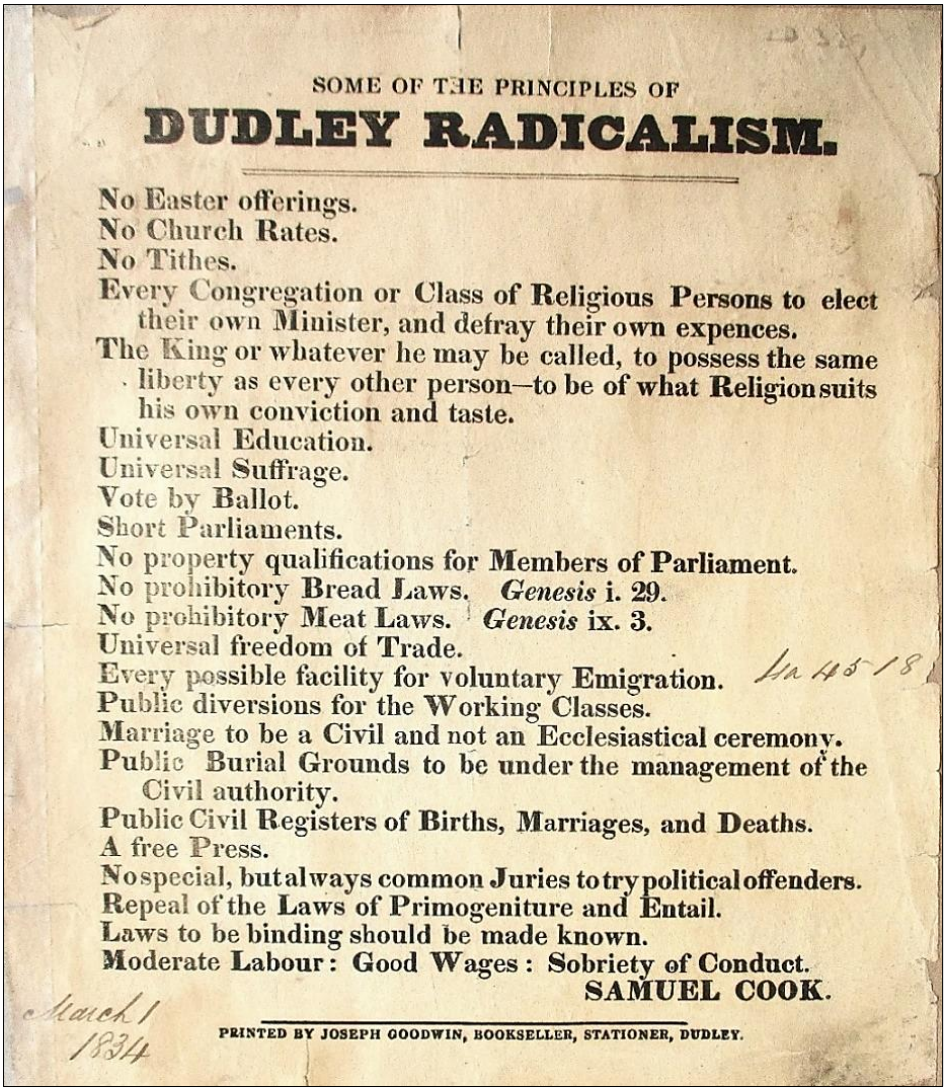
According *to Blocksidge's Almanack,* Hawkes is being greeted, in front of the inn, by Booker and other local dignitaries seen wearing party rosettes.[60] Magistrates wearing party colours, especially during election campaigns, angered the reformers who tried to hijack a meeting called to praise the magistrates for re-establishing order after the riots.[61] The reformers were in a quandary, not wishing to appear to condone violence, so their condemnation of the magistrates was

[60] 'The chairing of Hawkes', *Blocksidge's Dudley Almanack*, 1915 (Dudley, Blocksidge, c. 1915), pp. lv-lvi and picture reproduced opposite p. lvi.
[61] The magistrates denied the accusation. *The Birmingham Journal,* 8 March 1834, p. 3; *Worcester Herald,* 15 March 1834, p. 3.

necessarily circumspect.[62] In the face of Tory triumphalism, the opposition looked for other ways to exert influence.

The reactions of the opposition to electoral defeat show differences between the radicals and the moderate reformers: the radicals wanted an overhaul of the structure of society, whilst the reformers wished to join the establishment, even if they then hoped to reform it from within. Whilst they worked together on the church rates issue (chapter 6), the two groups were less united when challenging the Tories in parliamentary elections. As Parkin withdrew from Dudley, Cook remained the leading radical in the town for the rest of his life. Immediately after the 1834 election, Cook issued his own manifesto for 'Dudley radicalism', which suggests that he was keen to emphasise local politics (figure 5.2).[63] Barnsby claims that 'most of it was general radical politics', drawing attention to the fact that it contained 'four of the six points of the Charter'.[64] However, Cook's attacks on Church of England privilege came first.

[62] *Worcester Herald,* 15 March 1834, p. 3.
[63] DALHS, SC/23, SCC, Some of the principles of Dudley radicalism (Dudley, 1834?).
[64] G.J. Barnsby, *The Dudley Working Class Movement*,*1750 to 1860* (Dudley, 1986), p. 31.



SOME OF THE PRINCIPLES OF

DUDLEY RADICALISM.

No Easter offerings.
No Church Rates.
No Tithes.
Every Congregation or Class of Religious Persons to elect their own Minister, and defray their own expences.
The King or whatever he may be called, to possess the same liberty as every other person—to be of what Religion suits his own conviction and taste.
Universal Education.
Universal Suffrage.
Vote by Ballot.
Short Parliaments.
No property qualifications for Members of Parliament.
No prohibitory Bread Laws. *Genesis* i. 29.
No prohibitory Meat Laws. *Genesis* ix. 3.
Universal freedom of Trade.
Every possible facility for voluntary Emigration.
Public diversions for the Working Classes.
Marriage to be a Civil and not an Ecclesiastical ceremony.
Public Burial Grounds to be under the management of the Civil authority.
Public Civil Registers of Births, Marriages, and Deaths.
A free Press.
No special, but always common Juries to try political offenders.
Repeal of the Laws of Primogeniture and Entail.
Laws to be binding should be made known.
Moderate Labour: Good Wages: Sobriety of Conduct.

SAMUEL COOK.

March 1 1834

PRINTED BY JOSEPH GOODWIN, BOOKSELLER, STATIONER, DUDLEY.

Figure 5.2. Some of the Principles of Dudley Radicalism, by Samuel Cook, 1834.[65]

The moderate reformers seem to have targeted the Town Commissioners body, which can only be deduced from its brief minutes in the absence of other reports. At the first meeting after the election, 21 March 1834, the minutes state: 'In consequence of the tumultuous proceedings at this meeting, ordered that the

[65] DALHS, SC/23, SCC, Some of the principles of Dudley radicalism (Dudley, 1834?).

same be adjourned to the Dudley's Arms aforesaid, this day fortnight…'.[66] The 'tumult' was neither explained nor mentioned again. However, the equally brief minutes for the re-convened meeting on 4 April record: 'At this meeting many new Trustees took the Oaths of Qualification and no other business was transacted.'[67] Behind this bland remark lies the creation, in one day, of ninety-five new Commissioners.[68] Additions on this scale were unprecedented (figure 5.3).

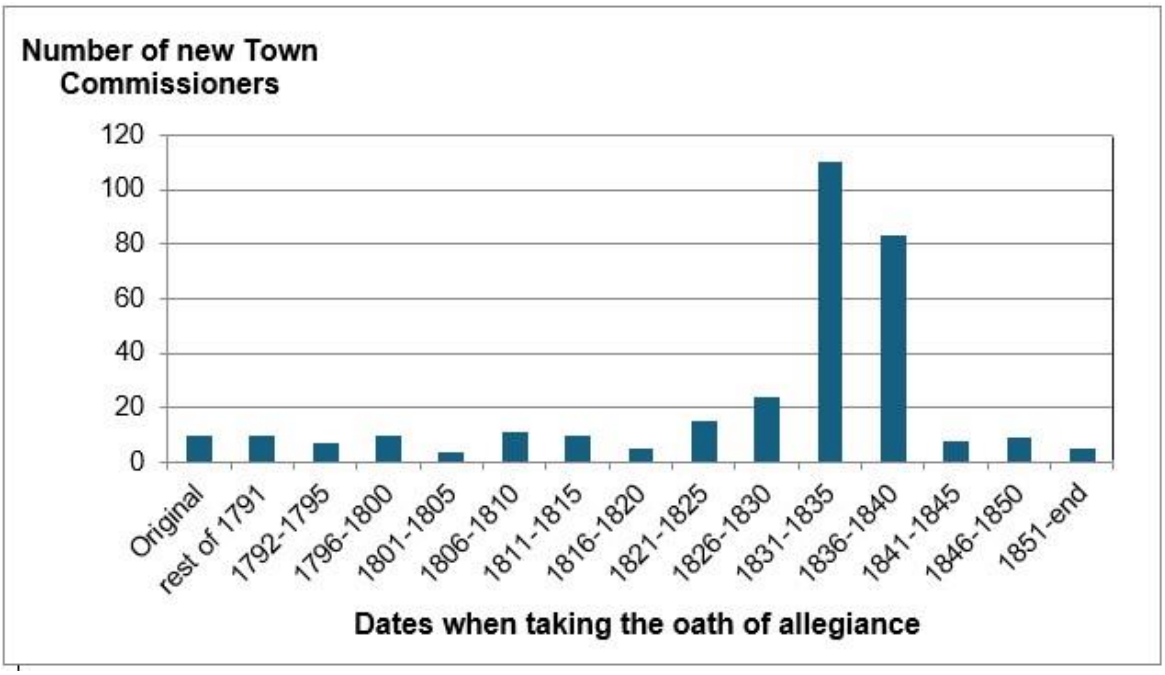


Figure 5.3. Numbers of men taking the oath as Dudley Town Commissioners, 1791-1853.[69]

[66] In the early decades of its operation, the Hotel was often written 'Dudley's Arms' though this seems to be a mistake. DALHS, Town Commissioners' Minutes, Volume 2 1832-1853, 21 March 1834.
[67] Ibid., 4 April 1834.
[68] Radmore puts the total number of new Town Commissioners in 1834 at only sixty-five, but this seems to be a miscounting. Radmore, 'The Dudley and Stourbridge Town Commissions, 1791-1853', p. 51.
[69] The table covers the whole period the Town Commissioners operated, and the data is extracted from the Town Commissioners' minutes. There was a second large wave of additions in June 1837. DALHS, Town Commissioners' Minutes, Volume 1, 1791-1832 and Volume 2, 1832-1853.

An insight into how new Commissioners were appointed was given years later in Elliott Hollier's reminiscences.[70] He claimed that 'anyone who had property, or who rented premises to the amount of £30 a year, could insist on being a member of the Commission'. Furthermore:

> if feeling ran high, then the side that thought it was likely to be defeated set about getting as many of its friends as possible to qualify as Commissioners, by swearing that their property or their rent entitled them to a seat.[71]

Assuming that the large increase of Commissioners in April 1834 was prompted by reformers demanding more representation, they were successful. Analysis of the ninety-five new commissioners shows that, of the eighty-three proven to have voted in the election, fifty-nine had voted for Campbell and only twenty-four for Hawkes.[72] Analysis of the occupations of the new commissioners indicates that there was a widening of the social and economic class from which commissioners were drawn (figure 5.4).[73] The largest category of new members were shopkeepers or small businessmen (41%) and the next largest, men involved in the drinks trade (24%). Reflecting the increased representation of tradesmen,

---

[70] Appendix 1 includes biographical information for Elliott Hollier (A19).
[71] *The Advertiser for Brierley Hill, Stourbridge, Dudley etc.,* 22 June 1901, pp. 4-5, this reference, p. 4.
[72] DALHS, Town Commissioners' Minutes, Volume 2, 1832-1853, lists of men taking the oath; DALHS, PO/27-28, PC, Lists of electors who voted for Sir John Campbell and Thomas Hawkes (Dudley, 1834).
[73] For this analysis, the names were taken from the Town Commissioners' Minutes where those taking the oath are in four separate lists depending on which property qualification they met. Their occupations were predominantly taken from *Pigot's Directory* of 1835, supplemented by other lists and newspaper articles. The occupations were sorted into broad categories. DALHS, Town Commissioners' Minutes, Volume 2, 1832-1853, lists of men taking the oath; 'Dudley and Neighbourhood' in *Pigot and Co.'s National Commercial Directory: Comprising a Classification of the Merchants, Bankers, Professional Gentlemen, Manufacturers and Traders …* (London, 1835), pp. 635-641.

control of the market tolls proved to be one of the most controversial issues of this period. This partly explains a further noticeable rise in recruiting new commissioners in 1837 (figure 5.3).[74]

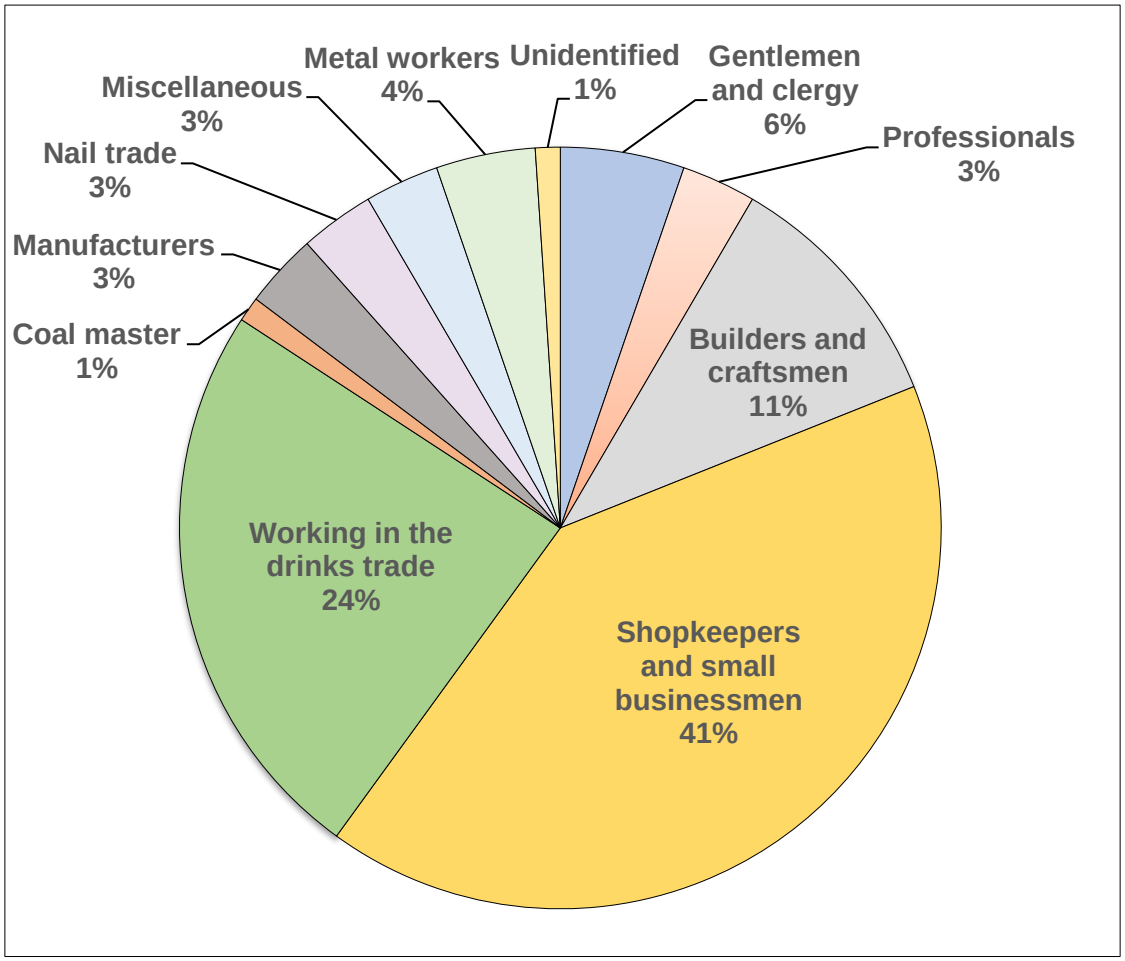


Figure 5.4. Occupations, broadly categorised, of ninety-five new Dudley Town Commissioners, sworn in 4 April 1834.[75]

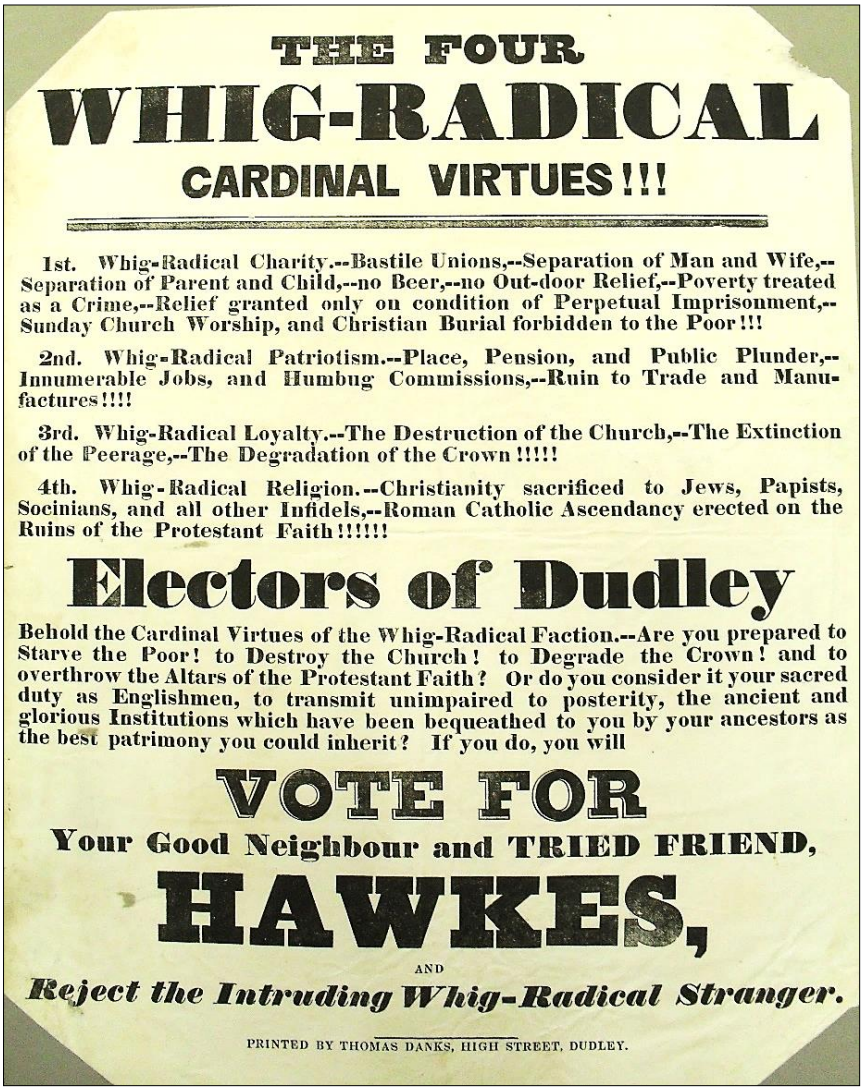
[74] Although the new Town Commissioners in 1837 seem to have been recruited because of internal wranglings over the market tolls etc, the atmosphere in Dudley may have been affected by the national political climate in which a general election was anticipated. William IV was believed to be dying, and his death would trigger an election. The king died on 20 June 1837. DALHS, Town Commissioners' Minutes, Volume 2 (1832–1853), 6 and 20 June 1837 and lists of those taking the oath to become Commissioners, many of which took place at those two meetings.
[75] Data extracted from: DALHS, Town Commissioners' Minutes, Volume 2 1832-1853, 4 April 1834.

Despite more reformers being appointed, the Tories retained a majority of Town Commissioners, particularly amongst infrequent attendees. Another sphere of local government with potential for political conflict was the poor law.

In 1834 the Whig government passed the controversial Poor Law Amendment Act which allowed for establishing Poor Law Unions run by elective boards of guardians. The Dudley Poor Law Union was formed in October 1836, comprising four parishes: Dudley, Sedgley, Tipton and Rowley Regis. Dudley, with the largest population, was allocated ten Poor Law Guardians.[76] They were elected by ratepayers, thus providing some men in Dudley with their first taste of representative democracy at local level. In the first, and only, election in this period, the Dudley Guardians were elected from lists and 'the Conservatives' list was adopted by a majority exceeding two to one'.[77] Not only did the Board of Guardians begin with a Conservative majority but its leaders, mostly major industrialists, were emphatically Tory. The Dudley industrialist, Isaac Badger, was one of the dominant figures on the Board from 1836 till shortly before his death in 1860, although he originally represented Rowley Regis where he and his brother had business interests.[78] Adding to the Tory dominance, magistrates could be ex officio members of the Board.[79] Although Hawkes used the unpopularity of the new workhouse regimes in his election campaigns, his fellow Tories happily accepted

[76] The original numbers of Guardians per parish were: Dudley - 10; Sedgley - 8; Tipton - 6 and Rowley Regis - 3.
[77] *The Staffordshire Advertiser,* 22 October 1836, p. 2.
[78] Isaac Badger chaired the inaugural meeting on 15 October 1836. He switched from representing Rowley Regis to Dudley in March 1846. He was last re-elected in April 1858 for a year. DALHS, GDU/1/2, Dudley Board of Guardians, minutes, 1844-1850, 15 October 1836 & 30 March 1846 and GDU/1/4, Dudley Board of Guardians, minutes, 1856-1859, 16 April 1858.
[79] The three leading Tory magistrates, Rev. W.H. Cartwright, Thomas Badger and Charles Henry Molineux all attended the Board of Guardians' inaugural meeting as ex officio Guardians. GDU/1/2, Dudley Board of Guardians, minutes, 1844-1850, 15 October 1836.

the Board of Guardians as another power base. Hawkes's growing self-confidence made it harder for the opposition. His supporters produced handbills with no reference to their own policies, merely listing the government's unpopular attributes and emphasising Hawkes's local credentials (figure 5.5).[80] The divisions amongst their opponents are analysed next.



THE FOUR

WHIG-RADICAL

CARDINAL VIRTUES!!!

1st. Whig-Radical Charity.--Bastile Unions,--Separation of Man and Wife,--Separation of Parent and Child,--no Beer,--no Out-door Relief,--Poverty treated as a Crime,--Relief granted only on condition of Perpetual Imprisonment,--Sunday Church Worship, and Christian Burial forbidden to the Poor!!!

2nd. Whig-Radical Patriotism.--Place, Pension, and Public Plunder,--Innumerable Jobs, and Humbug Commissions,--Ruin to Trade and Manufactures!!!!

3rd. Whig-Radical Loyalty.--The Destruction of the Church,--The Extinction of the Peerage,--The Degradation of the Crown!!!!!

4th. Whig-Radical Religion.--Christianity sacrificed to Jews, Papists, Socinians, and all other Infidels,--Roman Catholic Ascendancy erected on the Ruins of the Protestant Faith!!!!!!

Electors of Dudley

Behold the Cardinal Virtues of the Whig-Radical Faction.--Are you prepared to Starve the Poor! to Destroy the Church! to Degrade the Crown! and to overthrow the Altars of the Protestant Faith? Or do you consider it your sacred duty as Englishmen, to transmit unimpaired to posterity, the ancient and glorious Institutions which have been bequeathed to you by your ancestors as the best patrimony you could inherit? If you do, you will

VOTE FOR

Your Good Neighbour and TRIED FRIEND,

HAWKES,

AND

Reject the Intruding Whig-Radical Stranger.

PRINTED BY THOMAS DANKS, HIGH STREET, DUDLEY.

Figure 5.5. Handbill supporting Thomas Hawkes's re-election, c. 1835.[81]

[80] DALHS, PO/43B, PC, The four Whig-Radical cardinal virtues!!! (Dudley, 1835?). This handbill is undated but discussion of what was called a coalition between Whigs and Radicals in Dudley was current at the time of the 1835 election. *The Staffordshire Advertiser,* 3 January 1835, p. 3.
[81] DALHS, PO/43B, PC, The four Whig-Radical cardinal virtues!!! (Dudley, 1835?).

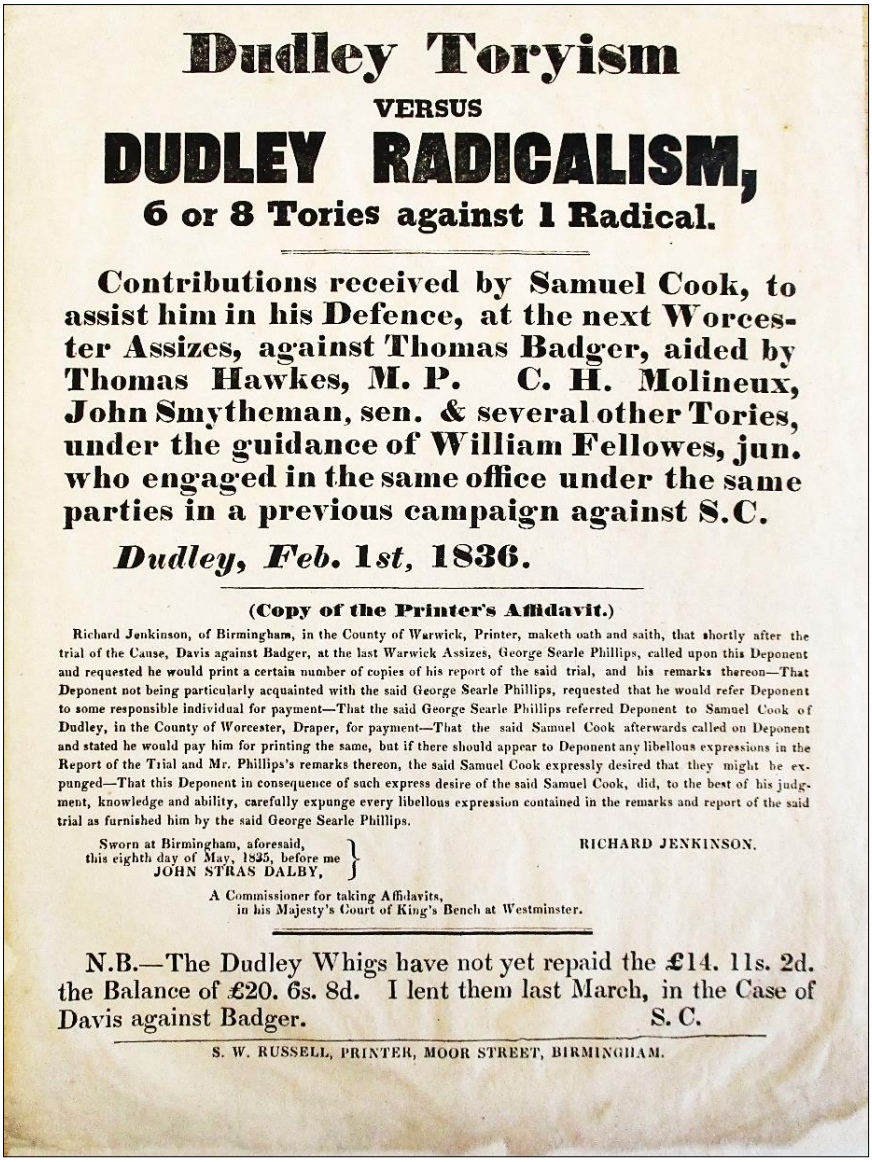
Disunity amongst the reformers was most obvious in the 1835 election when John Forbes stood as the radical candidate, but apparently pulled out after disagreements with his committee. Thomas Hill and Cook nominated Forbes regardless.[82] Hill originally claimed to have found Forbes on behalf of Dudley's Reform Committee but, following the election, Cook called Forbes the 'liberal candidate' and complained that neither he nor his committee had expended any money or effort. Yet, Cook wrote: 'The Reformers of Dudley have nobly done their duty … Mr Cooke and his party kept the poll open until the last, and closed it gloriously.'[83] Relations between the two sides probably deteriorated when Cook published correspondence between Forbes and Twamley, and committee notes, presumably to demonstrate that their campaign had been chaotic.[84] Cook was soon involved in another dispute, primarily with the magistrate, Thomas Badger, but which reflected brittle relationships amongst the reformers. It began with an incident on 15 January 1835 at the East Worcestershire poll in Stourbridge.[85] The Dudley committee for the 'Reform Candidates', Cookes and Holland, employed a whitesmith named Davis to monitor the poll.[86] In a commotion at a polling booth, Davis was seriously injured having been, it was claimed, struck by Thomas Badger.[87] Dudley's Whigs backed Davis in a law suit against Badger, with Cook lending them money for the prosecution.[88] When the jury found in favour of Davis,

---

[82] S. Cook, *To all Genuine Reformers* (Dudley, 1835), p. 3, with additional material; *Worcester Herald,* 10 January 1835, p. 2.
[83] *The Birmingham Journal,* 27 December 1834, p. 3 and 10 January 1835, p. 3.
[84] Cook, *To all Genuine Reformers*, pp. 3-4.
[85] At this time, all voting in the Stourbridge division of East Worcestershire, which included Dudley, had to take place in Stourbridge.
[86] *Berrow's Worcester Journal,* 2 April 1835, p. 3.
[87] Ibid.
[88] DALHS, SC/3, SCC, Dudley Toryism versus Dudley Radicalism, 6 or 8 Tories against 1 Radical (Birmingham, 1836).

Cook published derogatory remarks about Badger, questioning his fitness to be a magistrate, without waiting for an appeal. Well-supported by other Tory magistrates, including Hawkes and Molineux, Badger easily won an appeal, after which he sued Cook.[89] Defending himself, Cook told one hearing that 'he was a poor man, quite unable to contend with Mr Badger in a court of law'.[90] Cook published a handbill naming his opponents, appealing for help with his costs and claiming that 'the Dudley Whigs' had yet to repay most of his loan (figure 5.6).[91]

[89] *Berrow's Worcester Journal,* 7 May 1835, p. 3; *Worcester Herald,* 9 May 1835, p. 4 and 12 March 1836, p. 2.
[90] *The Birmingham Journal,* 14 November 1835, p. 3.
[91] DALHS, SC/3, SCC, Dudley Toryism versus Dudley Radicalism, 6 or 8 Tories against 1 Radical (Birmingham, 1836).



Dudley Toryism

VERSUS

DUDLEY RADICALISM,

6 or 8 Tories against 1 Radical.

Contributions received by Samuel Cook, to assist him in his Defence, at the next Worcester Assizes, against Thomas Badger, aided by Thomas Hawkes, M. P. C. H. Molineux, John Smytheman, sen. & several other Tories, under the guidance of William Fellowes, jun. who engaged in the same office under the same parties in a previous campaign against S.C.

Dudley, Feb. 1st, 1836.

(Copy of the Printer's Affidavit.)

Richard Jenkinson, of Birmingham, in the County of Warwick, Printer, maketh oath and saith, that shortly after the trial of the Cause, Davis against Badger, at the last Warwick Assizes, George Searle Phillips, called upon this Deponent and requested he would print a certain number of copies of his report of the said trial, and his remarks thereon—That Deponent not being particularly acquainted with the said George Searle Phillips, requested that he would refer Deponent to some responsible individual for payment—That the said George Searle Phillips referred Deponent to Samuel Cook of Dudley, in the County of Worcester, Draper, for payment—That the said Samuel Cook afterwards called on Deponent and stated he would pay him for printing the same, but if there should appear to Deponent any libellous expressions in the Report of the Trial and Mr. Phillips's remarks thereon, the said Samuel Cook expressly desired that they might be expunged—That this Deponent in consequence of such express desire of the said Samuel Cook, did, to the best of his judgment, knowledge and ability, carefully expunge every libellous expression contained in the remarks and report of the said trial as furnished him by the said George Searle Phillips.

RICHARD JENKINSON.

Sworn at Birmingham, aforesaid, this eighth day of May, 1835, before me JOHN STRAS DALBY,

A Commissioner for taking Affidavits, in his Majesty's Court of King's Bench at Westminster.

N.B.—The Dudley Whigs have not yet repaid the £14. 11s. 2d. the Balance of £20. 6s. 8d. I lent them last March, in the Case of Davis against Badger. S. C.

S. W. RUSSELL, PRINTER, MOOR STREET, BIRMINGHAM.

Figure 5.6. Handbill by Samuel Cook appealing for help to defend a libel case against Thomas Badger, 1836.[92]

Four months later Cook appealed again for help with his expenses.[93] Badger won the case but, rather than punitive damages, he accepted 'an undertaking not to

[92] DALHS, SC/3, SCC, Dudley Toryism versus Dudley Radicalism, 6 or 8 Tories against 1 Radical (Birmingham, 1836).

[93] Cook needed £20. 2s. and this handbill includes the suggestion that '20 Women may beat the Dudley Tories most Gloriously by collecting 1s. each for 20 Weeks'. Presumably, this did not happen.
DALHS, SC/8, SCC, Badger versus Cook (Birmingham, 1836).

publish any more libels' against him.[94] Nevertheless, after going bankrupt in December 1843, Cook included his expenses for defending himself against Badger as a debit on his 'bankrupt's balance sheet'.[95]

Although the reformers in Dudley triumphed in the first elections after the Reform Act, their success was short-lived. Not only were the Tories able to snatch the borough at the first opportunity but Hawkes increased his majority in subsequent elections. This mirrored the national situation where the Tories under Peel were gradually building support. Similarly, in 1837 there was a sufficient swing to the Tories for them to take both seats from the reformers in East Worcestershire.[96] Polling analysis shows that Dudley was an area where support for the Liberals had fallen away.[97] Local factors were also significant, particularly the disparate nature of the reformers which made it harder to remain united, with Cook claiming he was fighting the Tories on his own. However, this period also saw the political struggle move into other bodies. Although the newly established Dudley Board of Guardians was overwhelmingly Tory, the reformers were able to establish a presence within the Town Commissioners and the church rates dispute continued (chapter 6). The Anti-Corn Law League and Chartism affected local political developments from 1838 to 1843.

---

[94] *The Morning Post,* 3 May 1836, p. 6.
[95] *The Standard,* 3 May 1836, p. 4: *The London Gazette,* 29 December 1843, no. 20300, p. 4595; *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 14 February 1844, p. 3.
[96] T.C. Turberville, *Worcestershire in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1852), pp. 26-27.
[97] The results show that, in Dudley, the Conservatives had outpolled the Liberals. This can be compared with nearby Stourbridge where the Liberal candidates maintained their lead over the Conservatives. *Berrow's Worcester Journal,* 10 August 1837, p. 4.

The Anti-Corn Law League and Chartism, 1838-1843

Dudley's political divisions were sharpened by the national campaign to repeal the Corn Laws and by Chartism. These movements were often antagonistic, despite some overlap in their objectives. The repeal campaign was led by the Anti-Corn Law League (ACLL), a predominantly middle-class pressure group, whilst Chartism promulgated a six-point charter aimed at furthering the rights of the working class, though its leadership was dominated by middle-class men.[98] This period was also marked by an economic depression which was particularly severe in the Black Country, hitting both coal production and the iron industry. Social and economic distress fell heavily on the working classes, increasing the ranks of the disaffected, and thus providing potential recruits for Chartism. The moderate reformers shunned Chartism, preferring respectability and the opportunity to continue making inroads into the Tories' monopoly of power. The Tories opposed both the repeal movement and Chartism, seeing the latter as a threat to law and order. Cook happily embraced Chartism, which exacerbated his already bitter relations with Dudley's magistrates.

Four of Dudley's moderate reformers, all nonconformists, took part in the early stages of the repeal movement. They were Blackwell, the ironmaster and the Reverends Palmer, James Dawson and William Rogers.[99] Twamley was active later.[100] However, Dudley never established a local anti-corn law association and

[98] The six points of the Charter drawn up by the London Working Men's Association (LWMA) were: Universal manhood suffrage; Voting by secret ballot; Annual parliamentary elections; Constituencies of equal size; Payment for MPs; Abolition of property qualification for MPs.
[99] Palmer, Dawson and Rogers were, respectively, the minister of the Unitarian, Independent and Baptist chapels.
[100] Appendix 1 includes biographical information for Blackwell (A4), Cook (A12), Dawson (A13), Palmer (A22) Rogers (A24) and Twamley (A28).

sent delegates to only one national conference out of eight held between January 1839 and January 1843.[101] In 1841, Blackwell chaired a pro-repeal meeting in Stourbridge which claimed that other Worcestershire towns were lagging behind.[102] Stourbridge, Bilston, Birmingham, Darlaston, Oldbury, West Bromwich and Wolverhampton all had local anti-corn law associations at some point.[103] It was not till late in 1842 that Dudley showed more interest. A large meeting, at the Independent chapel, was addressed by the leading repealer, John Bright, MP who noted that 'Dudley had not hitherto shown a strong interest in the agitation'.[104] As well as controversy over the corn laws, there was political debate linked with local Chartism.

The large rally at Holloway Head, Birmingham on 6 August 1838 was a significant landmark in the development of Chartism, both nationally and for Dudley.[105] Despite no records of revived interest in political unions before this, Dudley sent a sizeable contingent to the rally so, presumably, there was active, local leadership.[106] In the procession to Holloway Head, the fourth division was referred to as 'the Dudley division', which included men from neighbouring towns.[107] At the rally, the revived Birmingham Political Union (BPU) formally adopted the Charter, and the London Working Men's Association (LWMA)

---

[101] P. Pickering, *The People's Bread: A History of the Anti-Corn Law League* (London and New York, 2000), pp. 253-265.
[102] *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 5 May 1841, p. 3; *The Worcestershire Chronicle,* 12 May 1841, p. 2.
[103] Pickering, *The People's Bread,* pp. 253-258.
[104] One account stated there were at least '1,000 persons' at the Dudley meeting. However, at a meeting in Hanley, Staffordshire there were said to have been 'nearly 2,000 persons'. *The Bell's New Weekly Messenger,* 1 January 1843, p. 3; *The Worcestershire Chronicle,* 28 December 1842, p. 2.
[105] M, Chase, *Chartism: A New History* (Manchester, 2007), p. 32; H. Browne, *Chartism,* (London, 1999), p. 31.
[106] *The Morning Advertiser,* 7 August 1838, p. 2.
[107] *The Morning Advertiser,* 7 August 1838, p. 2; *The Birmingham Journal*, 11 August 1838, p. 2.

accepted the National Petition as the means of taking the Charter to Parliament.[108] The meeting also elected delegates to the so-called National Convention, with Dudley and surrounding towns being represented by the Birmingham delegates. A newspaper report of Dudley's first Chartist meeting, described it being addressed by the London Chartist, Henry Vincent:

> He depicted, in glowing colours, the social misery of the great mass of the working population. He traced their social misery to their political wrongs. He denounced the gross injustice inflicted upon the producing classes by the present land, money, mud, brick and mortar suffrage. He refuted the fallacies advanced by timid and knavish men against universal suffrage. [109]

Vincent's arguments were well received. Cook, who had probably arranged the meeting, spoke briefly and the meeting resolved to form a committee to re-establish the Dudley Political Union.[110] According to Barnsby: 'Dudley radicalism had made the transition to Chartism.'[111] However, there are no further records of the union. When the Chartist Convention moved to Birmingham in May 1839, men from Dudley were noticeably absent.[112] Records of Chartist meetings in Dudley are scarce, but one involving Cook proceeded affably, despite one of the

---

[108] E. Royle, *Chartism,* 3rd ed. (Harlow, 1996), p. 20.
[109] The meeting was only reported in *The London Dispatch*, a newspaper produced by the radical printer, Henry Hetherington. Both he and Vincent were actively involved in the London Working Men's Association, one of the foundation organisations of Chartism. *The London Dispatch,* 19 August 1838, p. 1.
[110] *The London Dispatch,* 19 August 1838, p. 1.
[111] Barnsby, *The Dudley Working Class Movement,* p. 33.
[112] Barnsby assumed that representatives from Dudley must have been there, but Dudley was one of the towns criticised for lack of attendance by speakers at the rally. There are differences in the newspaper reports. *The Northern Star* attributes the criticism to Bronterre O'Brien. According to *The London Courier*, it was Feargus O'Connor who asked: '"Where are the masses of good men and true" from the neighbouring towns of Dudley, Walsall, West Bromwich and Wolverhampton?' *Northern Star,* 1 June 1839, p. 7; *The Courier*, 25 May 1839, p. 3.

constables attending.[113] However, the mood changed following the first so-called Bull Ring riot of 4 July 1839, when the Metropolitan Police, who had been deployed to Birmingham, used heavy-handed tactics.[114] Early manifestations of Chartism in Dudley highlight the influence of Birmingham on the town, but also the differences between the two and, particularly, the role of Dudley's magistrates. Taylor portrays Birmingham as trying to come to terms with the problems of municipalisation and the controversy over setting up its own police force.[115] Dudley was not incorporated until 1865, and its lack of a 'modern' police force meant that the magistrates fell back on traditional methods of control.[116] Tension was heightened by alarmist newspaper reports about the state of both Birmingham and the adjacent manufacturing district.[117]

After the second Bull Ring riot of 15 July, the Dudley magistrates enrolled numerous special constables, including Isaac Badger, but also some moderate reformers, such as Lester and Hollier.[118] The magistrates targeted Cook at the earliest opportunity. A meeting was held by the short-lived Working Men's Association, when 'a working man' called William Smith Lindon spoke about recent events in Birmingham.[119] Cook did little more than clap and agree to take

---

[113] *Hereford Journal,* 24 April 1839, p. 3; *The Northern Star,* 25 May 1839, p. 1.
[114] Chase, *Chartism,* p. 81.
[115] Taylor, 'To the Bull Ring', (2013), pp. 27-28 & 54-55 etc. For the issues surrounding Dudley's lack of a police force see: D. Philips, 'Riots and public order in the Black Country, 1835-1860', in R. Quinault and J. Stevenson (eds.), *Popular Protest and Public Order: Six Studies in British history, 1790-1920* (London, 1974), pp. 142 & 147-149.
[116] One of these methods was targeting those whom the authorities considered likely to be ringleaders.
[117] *The Courier,* 9 July 1839, p. 3; *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 10 July 1839, p. 2; *The Morning Advertiser,* 18 July 1839, p. 3.
[118] *The Worcestershire Chronicle,* 24 July 1839, p. 3; TNA, HO 40/48, pp. 881-899, Home Office: Disturbances Correspondence, 1839, Enrolment of special constables etc.
[119] It had been thought that Edward Brown and John Fussell, delegates of the National Convention, would be speaking but they did not. The magistrates forced the publican of the Founders Arms to

subscriptions for ‘a Chartist Club or Society’. Lindon's speech was described as ‘intemperate’ and he was soon arrested, as was Cook two days later.[120] Barnsby reckons that these were the only two Black Country Chartists arrested in this first phase of Chartism.[121] This suggests that either Chartism was comparatively weak in the area or that these arrests were considered sufficient deterrence. Cook was targeted because of his politics and his embittered relations with the magistrates. Representing himself, both at the committal and subsequent trial, Cook complained it ‘was not a prosecution, but a persecution, and it was the third’.[122] He questioned the magistrates’ impartiality, noting that they included Thomas Badger with whom he had had a legal dispute and the vicar with whom he had clashed over church rates.[123] Cook also pointed out that several of Dudley’s leading Tories, including magistrates or their close relatives, were actively involved in establishing the ‘Dudley Operative Conservative Association’.[124] According to Philip Salmon, ‘the mobilisation of working-class support’ in urban areas was ‘a notable feature of the Conservative revival’.[125] In prosecuting Cook, the magistrates again showed greater enthusiasm than the Home Office which condemned the case as ‘trifling’

---

refuse to let the meeting be held indoors as was the normal practice, so it was held outside. *The Morning Chronicle,* 22 July 1839, p. 4; *The Worcestershire Chronicle,* 24 July 1839, p. 3.

[120] *The Worcestershire Chronicle,* 24 July 1839, p. 3.

[121] Barnsby was mistaken in that three men were tried and found guilty arising from the Dudley meeting of 16 July 1839. Barnsby, *The Dudley Working Class Movement,* p. 35; *Aris’s Birmingham Gazette*, 21 October 1839, p. 2.

[122] *The Worcestershire Chronicle,* 23 October 1839, p. 4.

[123] Dudley did not have its own bench of magistrates until it was incorporated in 1865. Until then, it drew on county magistrates from both Worcestershire and Staffordshire. However, by this time, more magistrates had been appointed who were local to Dudley. Thomas Badger and Reverend W.H. Cartwright formed a common pairing at the petty sessions in Dudley. More biographical detail about the Badger and Cartwright families is given in appendix 1: A1 for Badger and A9 for Cartwright. *The Worcestershire Chronicle,* 24 July 1839, p. 3; TNA, HO 40/48, pp. 973-994, Home Office: Disturbances Correspondence, 1839. Proceedings against Samuel Cook for a misdemeanour.

[124] *Worcestershire Chronicle,* 24 July 1839, p. 3.

[125] P.J. Salmon, *Electoral Reform at Work: Local Politics and National Parties, 1832-1841* (Woodbridge, 2002), p. 66.

and ‘weak’.[126] A key ‘witness’ for the prosecution had not been at the meeting but reported an earlier conversation with Cook.[127] At his trial, Cook said he was not a Chartist, considering himself more radical than they because he wanted to see women in Parliament.[128] Cook received much the longest sentence, despite saying comparatively little at the meeting. Lindon and another man, James Hollis were sentenced to three months and six weeks respectively for ‘inflammatory language’, whilst Cook was given six months for ‘attending and assisting at a riotous and illegal meeting’.[129] Newspaper reports were divided over Cook’s case but, writing later, Turberville argued that the only crime proved against Cook was displaying a placard calling the meeting; he had not said anything ‘very outrageous’ and ‘no mischief had been done’.[130] Turberville added that Cook’s sentence ‘was generally considered to be a very sharp political visitation of his offence’.[131] Undeterred, Cook clashed with magistrates whilst in prison and after his release, complaining that his correspondence had been interfered with and demanding the return of impounded letters which he had written to his children.[132] Despite unsympathetic

[126] TNA, HO 40/48, p. 994, Home Office: Disturbances Correspondence, 1839, Proceedings against Samuel Cook. The comments are not signed. The magistrates had been writing to the Home Secretary, the Marquess of Normanby, but expert opinion from TNA suggests that the comments are probably by Samuel March Phillipps, the Permanent Under-Secretary of State at the Home Office. Part of their irritation was that they were late receiving the details of the case but were then asked to pay the expenses.
[127] *Berrow’s Worcester Journal,* 23 October 1839, p. 4.
[128] *The Worcestershire Chronicle,* 23 October 1839, p. 4.
[129] *Aris’s Birmingham Gazette*, 21 October 1839, p. 2.
[130] Of the local newspapers, the most inclined to be supportive was *The Worcestershire Chronicle,* a Liberal-leaning newspaper. See, for instance: *The Worcestershire Chronicle,* 23 & 29 October 1839; Turberville, *Worcestershire in the Nineteenth Century*, p. 137.
[131] Turberville, *Worcestershire in the Nineteenth Century*, p. 137.
[132] DALHS Z44, MC, Material relating to Samuel Cook, Printed copies of various letters, the first beginning: To the Magistrates of the County of Worcester, 1840.

treatment, Cook persisted and an order was eventually given to return the letters.[133]

Nationally, the crackdown on the Chartist leadership proved successful and Chartism did not begin to revive till mid-1840 when it was boosted by the setting up of the National Charter Association, which Hilton describes as 'the first working-class political party'.[134] The Dudley branch was formed on 12 January 1841.[135] Both Cook and Lindon were on the committee, with Cook as treasurer.[136] Despite some advances, Barnsby acknowledges that Chartism in Dudley lagged behind other places in the Black Country.[137] The general election of 1841, which finally saw Peel win a sufficient majority to form a government, was echoed in Dudley by Hawkes increasing his majority, this time over a radical called William Adams Smith. According to John Prest, Peel's support was concentrated in the smaller boroughs in England that had fewer than one thousand electors.[138] This suggests that Dudley was prime territory for Peel and may help explain Hawkes's increased majority.[139] Like most Tories, Hawkes was a protectionist, but the economic recession all but bankrupted him.[140] Although his opponents referred obliquely to his financial problems, they were unable to dent Hawkes's hold on the

---

[133] The chairman of the sessions, J.S. Pakington with whom Cook had several clashes, treated him with disdain. *Berrow's Worcester Journal,* 2 July 1840, p. 2; *The Worcestershire Chronicle,* 21 October 1840, p. 2; *Berrow's Worcester Journal,* 22 October 1840, p. 2.
[134] Hilton, *A Mad, Bad, and Dangerous People? England 1783-1846,* p. 612.
[135] *The Northern Star,* 23 January 1841, p. 3.
[136] Ibid.
[137] Barnsby, *The Dudley Working Class Movement,* pp. 35-36.
[138] J Prest, 'Peel, Sir Robert, second baronet (1788–1850), Prime Minister', *ODNB* (published 23 September 2004, version 21 May 2009), https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-21764
[139] Dudley's electorate, in 1841, was 971, of whom 625 voted. F.W.S. Craig (comp. & ed.), *British Parliamentary Election Results 1832-1885* (London & Basingstoke, 1977), p.116.
[140] Hawkes tried to sponsor various pieces of legislation aimed at protecting manufacturers like himself. For instance, see: *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 21 February 1838.

constituency.[141] However, Hawkes moved to the continent to avoid creditors, thus beginning a long period when the people of Dudley were virtually unrepresented in Parliament.

As elsewhere, economic depression in 1841 re-awakened interest in Chartism, but in Dudley, it was not till February 1842 that local radicals adopted the second great Chartist petition, which Barnsby admits was comparatively late.[142] Cook helped organise a visit to Wolverhampton by the national Chartist leader, Feargus O'Connor on 14 March 1842, which marked Cook as a regional leader, both to supporters and the authorities who viewed large gatherings with suspicion.[143] The Wolverhampton event had the usual 'razzamatazz' associated with Chartist rallies, including bands, banners and a procession from the railway station to the rally.[144] In her study of Birmingham, Taylor shows how such processions played an active part in the political process.[145] Several of the banners in Wolverhampton demanded religious as well as civil liberty.[146] The council of the Dudley Association participated in the parade, with their members marching ten abreast, but O'Connor's next stop was Bilston where Chartist support was greater than in Dudley.[147] His main purpose in the Midlands was to distract attention from the National Complete Suffrage Union (NCSU) which the Quaker,

---

[141] Smith's supporters issued a handbill claiming that votes for Hawkes would be wasted as he would not meet the property qualification 'to sit or vote in the Commons', but the Tories produced a replica handbill with Smith's name replacing that of Hawkes. DALHS, PO/195A, PC, Notice, to the electors of the Borough of Dudley. Whereas, Thomas Hawkes… (Dudley, 1841); DALHS, PO/55, PC, Notice to the electors of the Borough of Dudley. Whereas, William Adam Smith… (Dudley, 1841). The candidate's middle name should have been 'Adams' not 'Adam'.
[142] Barnsby, *The Dudley Working Class Movement,* p. 36.
[143] *The Northern Star,* 19 March 1842, p. 1.
[144] Ibid.
[145] Taylor, 'To the Bull Ring!', pp. 46-50.
[146] *The Northern Star,* 19 March 1842, p. 1.
[147] Ibid.

Joseph Sturge, was trying to establish in Birmingham with a middle-class alliance. Some, like Cook supported both Chartism and the NCSU. In Dudley, Chartism reached its peak in 1842, and the next sections concentrate on the clashes between the magistrates and local Chartist leaders, particularly Cook, but also the Christian Chartist, Arthur O'Neill.

Dudley, in 1842, was to the fore in one of Chartism's most frenetic periods, the time of a 'general strike'.[148] Hilton claims that Parliament's rejection of the Chartists' second petition, on 2 May 1842, ushered in a wave of industrial disputes.[149] However, the deteriorating economic situation in late April and, particularly, the falling value of iron, had already encouraged Dudley's nail masters to reduce the amount they paid for nails.[150] The nailers rioted, with reports of some nail masters being kidnapped.[151] Dudley's magistrates quelled the disturbances using military assistance, including Bennitt commanding a troop of yeomanry.[152] Miners, also facing reduced wages, joined the strike.[153] Hoping to avoid escalation, the magistrates targeted those whom they considered to be ringleaders.[154] When John Mason, a well-known Chartist lecturer, was arrested, Cook was incensed and helped establish a defence fund.[155] Nevertheless, Mason

[148] The expression 'general strike' was contemporary and was used by Thomas Tancred in the opening of his report into the occurrences in South Staffordshire: Parliamentary papers, House of Commons and command: Midland Mining Commission: first report, South Staffordshire (London, 1843), p. iii.
[149] Hilton, *A Mad, Bad, and Dangerous People? England 1783-1846,* p. 612.
[150] *The Morning Post*, 27 April 1842, p. 5
[151] A. Willetts, *The Blackcountry Nailer's Riots of 1842* (Dudley, 1995), n.p.; *The Morning Post*, 27 April 1842, p. 5; *Aris's Birmingham Gazette,* 2 May 1842, p. 2.
[152] William Bennitt, a Dudley magistrate was captain of the Dudley Troop of the Worcestershire Yeomanry Cavalry; *The Morning Post*, 27 April 1842, p. 5.
[153] *Berrow's Worcester Journal,* 26 May 1842, p. 3.
[154] *Aris's Birmingham Gazette,* 6 June 1842, p. 3.
[155] *The Northern Star,* 2 July 1842, p. 8.

was tried and sentenced to six months in prison.[156] Barnsby argues that the way Mason and others were treated 'stimulated Chartist recruiting'.[157]

As the miners' strike grew, the magistrates targeted Cook and other Chartist leaders, including O'Neill and George White from Birmingham, and Joseph Linney from Bilston.[158] Cook's speeches show that he was urging collective bargaining rather than anything revolutionary, but it was enough to antagonise magistrates who wanted to end the strikes.[159] Cook spoke at two large gatherings on 11 August 1842. In the morning, at Wednesbury, he said less about the strike, dwelling instead on one of his favoured themes – the need for self-help.[160] In the evening he chaired a meeting at the Old Dock in Dudley which he began by leading the audience in the hymn, 'Praise God from whom all blessings flow'.[161] On 15 August both Cook and O'Neill spoke to miners at a meeting at Russells Hall, Dudley, with the crowd estimated at 8,000-10,000 men by one reporter.[162] National newspapers blamed the Chartist leaders for prolonging the strike and claimed it had been politicised in the Dudley area.[163] For example, *The Morning Advertiser* claimed:

> The whole affair has now assumed a political character. The poorest colliers in the district are now acquainted with the principles of the Charter, and they

[156] *Berrow's Worcester Journal,* 7 July 1842, p. 3.
[157] Barnsby, *The Dudley Working Class Movement,* p. 38.
[158] *The Morning Advertiser,* 2 August 1842, p. 3; *The Morning Herald,* 12 August 1842, p. 6.
[159] *The Morning Chronicle,* 2 August 1842, p. 5.
[160] *The Birmingham Journal,* 13 August 1842, p. 5.
[161] *The Northern Star,* 13 August 1842, p. 9.
[162] *The Standard,* 16 August 1842, p. 3. This article was much reproduced in other newspapers, but that in *The Standard* seems to be the original.
[163] *The Morning Post,* 16 August 1842, pp. 3-4; *The Standard,* 16 August 1842, p. 3; *Evening Mail,* 17 August 1842, p. 2.

> feel that they can have no security unless it is carried… It is no longer a question of wages.[164]

However, Smith argues that the strike was purely economic in the Black Country, claiming that Linney and Cook ‘were mainly content with keeping the strike over miners’ grievances going without necessarily increasing its political content’. Yet, Smith numbers O’Neill amongst those who actively sought to extend the strike economically, spatially and politically.[165] O’Neill's last speech was reportedly one of his most political. He criticised what he saw as government corruption, arguing that ‘wages were not the main point’ for ‘the whole system was corrupt’.[166] Cook and O’Neill were arrested within a week of each other, and the next sections consider what their treatment tells us about how the Dudley magistrates used their power.

Cook was arrested on 20 August under the pretext of a complaint about a notice in his shop window.[167] An article in *The Worcestershire Chronicle*, a Liberal-leaning newspaper, highlighted the close relationship between the complainant and the magistrates who were Thomas Badger, Molineux, Bennitt and Cornelius Cartwright.[168] They asked for sureties, including a promise of ‘good behaviour’. Cook refused to take part in the committal hearing and was escorted by dragoons

---

[164] *The Morning Advertiser,* 18 August 1842, p. 3.
[165] Smith, ‘The strike for the People’s Charter in 1842’*,* pp. 68, 88-94 & 111-114.
[166] *The Evening Chronicle,* 29 August 1842, p. 1.
[167] The magistrates had apparently received a complaint about a notice advertising a meeting being held by O’Neill in Birmingham. *The Evening Chronicle,* 24 August 1842, p. 1; *The Standard,* 22 August 1842, p. 4.
[168] *The Worcestershire Chronicle* had been founded in 1837 specifically to reflect Reform principles. The newspaper does not name the magistrates it is referring to and may have mistakenly thought that both Cartwrights (William Henry and Cornelius) were present. However, the inference that the complainant, Charles Cartwright Brettell, was in collusion with the magistrates is almost certainly correct. DALHS, PO/155, PC, New Liberal Paper (Worcester, 1837); *The Worcestershire Chronicle,* 21 September 1842, p. 3.

to Worcester gaol.[169] Shortly afterwards, on 25 August, O'Neill, together with John Blanchfield, were arrested at Corngreaves, near Cradley, and taken to Dudley for questioning by the magistrates in their headquarters at the Dudley Arms Hotel.[170] The magistrates, chief of whom were Badger, Reverend Cartwright and Molineux, were supported by Lord Lyttelton, Lord-Lieutenant of Worcestershire, and Robert Clive MP, colonel of the Worcestershire yeomanry.[171] Despite a strong military presence, the magistrates read the Riot Act to the crowds twice during the interrogations.[172] At the committal hearing on 29 August, both men were represented by Twamley, the Liberal solicitor, although he distanced himself from some of O'Neill's reported remarks.[173] Lyttelton took part in the proceedings and interrupted Twamley when he was asserting O'Neill's right to his opinions on religion and politics. Twamley disputed the magistrates' case that the meeting at which the two men had spoken, prior to arrest, had been illegal.[174] Nevertheless, O'Neill and Blanchfield were both committed and bail was set. The magistrates demonstrated political bias in dealing with O'Neill's bail application. Twamley presented the magistrates, Badger and Reverend Cartwright, with two men willing and able to provide O'Neill's bail. Both men were Birmingham town councillors, for which the financial qualification was considerably more than the amount being

[169] DALHS, POSC/15, SCC, Samuel Cook's Case (Dudley, 1842?); *The Sun,* 23 August 1842, p. 7.
[170] John Blanchfield had been with O'Neill at the meeting that he had just left but Blanchfield was never convicted of any crime. Great Britain, Parliament, 'Staffordshire magistrates. Copies of affidavits filed in the Court of Queen's Bench, on the application for a criminal information against certain magistrates of Stafford etc.', *Parliamentary Papers*, Vol. 44, No. 96 (1843), p. 1; *The Staffordshire Advertiser,* 15 October 1842, p. 2.
[171] Newspaper accounts differ as to which magistrates were present at any particular time in the proceedings. *The Morning Herald,* 29 August 1842, p. 6 & 30 August 1842 p. 6; *The Northern Star,* 3 September 1842, p. 6.
[172] *The Morning Herald,* 29 August 1842, p. 6; *The Birmingham Journal*, 3 September 1842, p. 3.
[173] *The Birmingham Journal*, 3 September 1842, p. 3.
[174] Ibid.

asked for bail. Badger and Cartwright put every obstacle in their way before admitting that they were not prepared to accept either of the sureties because the men were either Chartists or sympathisers.[175] When Twamley argued that there were 'various shades of Chartism, Christian Chartism, moral force Chartism and physical force Chartism', the magistrates merely laughed.[176] Twamley argued that their policy was tantamount to refusing bail completely as anyone prepared to stand surety for O'Neill was likely to share his political opinions. The magistrates claimed to have other reasons too but refused to disclose them and sent O'Neill to Stafford gaol.[177] When the same men offered bail for O'Neill to Lord Chief Justice Tindal, he accepted without question.[178] O'Neill took legal action against the magistrates, as discussed below, after considering Cook's fate.

The strikes in the Black Country ended in September 1842 with a gradual return to work.[179] Cook remained in Worcester gaol for two months until the Michaelmas Sessions when no further action was taken against him, which suggests that his arrest owed more to a policy of internment than to a serious charge.[180] For the magistrates it was reported that now 'the disturbances which had been created had subsided', they were satisfied with the two months Cook had already spent in gaol.[181] The account reads as though this might have been a

[175] 'Staffordshire magistrates', pp. 2-3.
[176] The magistrates later tried to explain their laughter which they said was caused by Twamley's tone of voice and that, despite their strong political differences with him, they meant no disrespect. 'Staffordshire magistrates', pp. 3 & 12.
[177] Twamley's account of the proceedings later formed part of O'Neill's complaint against the magistrates. 'Staffordshire magistrates', pp. 2-4.
[178] O'Neill's trial was delayed until the Stafford Assizes in August 1843 when he was sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment. *The Morning Herald,* 14 August 1843, pp. 6-7.
[179] Barnsby, *The Dudley Working Class Movement,* p. 39; *The Worcestershire Chronicle,* 14 September 1842, p. 3.
[180] *Berrow's Worcester Journal,* 27 October 1842, p. 4.
[181] Ibid.

brokered deal. Cook, unusually quiet, had a legal representative who made a carefully worded statement:

> Although the defendant confidently asserted his right to entertain his own opinions, he disclaimed any intention in the instance which brought him into that Court, or at any former or future time, to excite the people to breaches of the peace. He was anxious to remove all cause of complaint or violence on either side.[182]

O'Neill's case lasted much longer. The seriousness of his complaint against the Dudley magistrates is shown by its going to Lord Chief Justice Denman for a final ruling.[183] Judges rarely criticised magistrates and Denman praised the Dudley magistrates for dealing with breaches of the peace, suppressing large meetings and arresting men like O'Neill.[184] However, Denman was scathing about their misconception that they could pick and choose from whom to accept bail. His most damning remarks were:

> We may regret, that the question of law was not more carefully examined; almost the first page of their most ordinary text books would have convinced these gentlemen that their refusal on such a ground to receive the bail offered, was not a legitimate exercise of their office, or a proper performance of their duty as Magistrates, but the contrary.[185]

---

[182] Ibid. As the prosecution offered no evidence, the Chairman directed the jury to acquit Cook, which they did.
[183] 'Staffordshire magistrates', p. 4.
[184] 'The Queen v. Badger, Esq. and another', in H. Davison and H. Merivale, *Reports of Cases Argued and Determined in the Court of Queen's Bench: and, upon Writs of Error from that Court to the Exchequer Chamber, in Trinity and Michaelmas Terms, 1843, and Hilary and Easter Terms, 1844* (London, 1844), pp. 375-381, especially pp. 377-378.
[185] Ibid.

Even so, Denman considered their motivation, accepted that they believed they acted correctly and only ordered the magistrates to pay the costs of the trial.[186] There was no mention of compensation for O'Neill.

Denman's ruling seemed to imply that the magistrates had formed their misguided policy at an earlier meeting with Lyttelton.[187] The radical MP, T.S. Duncombe, tried to get the matter debated in the House of Commons, where he was vehemently opposed by the Tory, J.S. Pakington, chairman of the Worcestershire Quarter Sessions, who defended Badger and Cartwright against all accusations that 'they had been guilty of conspiring with the Lord Lieutenant against the liberties of the people, and that they were therefore unfit to hold the commission of the peace'.[188] Duncombe was supported by a small number of radicals. The Walsall MP, Robert Wellbeloved Scott, raised Cook's case as another example of magistrates overstepping the mark.[189] Scott suggested that Cook had spent several weeks in gaol, charged with little more than encouraging people to obstruct the pavement outside his shop by putting notices in the window.[190] This was one occasion when the politics of Dudley impinged on national political debate, rather than the other way round. The ending of the strike gave Dudley's establishment cause for celebration and a show of solidarity. The magistrates, Badger, both Cartwrights and Molineux, were feted at a meal in the Dudley Arms, presided over by Lords Ward and Lyttelton.[191] Reverend Cartwright

---

[186] Ibid., p. 381
[187] Ibid., pp. 380-381.
[188] *The Standard,* 29 March 1843, p. 3.
[189] *Hansard,* 68, 28 March 1843, cc. 115-116.
[190] Ibid.
[191] *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 19 April 1843, p. 3; *Berrow's Worcester Journal,* 20 April 1843, p. 2.

gave a speech denying that they had acted out of any political feeling when refusing O'Neill's bail. Cartwright even continued to argue in favour of his own interpretation of the law. At least one Liberal, Blackwell, was present and he said that although he differed in politics from many in attendance, he too thought that the magistrates had been right to deal with O'Neill.[192]

Dudley was affected by both the campaign for the repeal of the Corn Laws and Chartism, but to differing degrees. The movements helped to drive a wedge between the moderate reformers and the radicals. Apart from Twamley's professional defence of O'Neill, the moderates shunned Chartism which helped polarise the clash between the Tory magistrates and radicals like Cook. Since the withdrawal of Parkin, Cook was the undisputed leader of Dudley's radicals, and he was imprisoned twice by the magistrates on flimsy evidence. Although the 1842 strike in the Black Country was economic in origin, some, like O'Neill, made political connections and the magistrates, encouraged by Lyttelton, raised the stakes by refusing O'Neill bail on political grounds. Magistrates must expect to draw criticism, but the Dudley magistrates, especially Badger and Reverend Cartwright, provoked a wide range of condemnation from critics, including Cook, Parkin, Campbell, Palmer, the Home Office, Twamley, O'Neill, Denman, Duncombe and Scott.[193] Support for the ACLL only revived at the end of 1842 after Chartism had died down. The next period, 1844 to 1850, is dominated by repeal of the Corn Laws and Ward's entry into politics but there were other changes which are noted first.

[192] *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 19 April 1843, p. 3.
[193] Note: most of these men were Whigs or radicals.

Dudley, 1844-1850

Despite the Tories' hold on power in Dudley, there were changes from 1844 to 1850 that started to break the Tory monopoly. These included small Liberal advances and changes in the Church of England. In 1847, Hollier was the first Liberal to be elected mayor of the Court Leet. He later described angering Isaac Badger by sending 'invitations to the annual dinner to a number of Liberals'.[194] Reformers had made gains on the Town Commissioners body, but their influence was checked by entrenched Tory dominance.[195] The Liberals found it even harder to penetrate the Board of Guardians where there were few contested elections and the leadership continued to be dominated by coal and ironmasters and nail merchants. Isaac Badger further consolidated his power and from 1842 to 1845 he represented both Rowley Regis and Dudley.[196] At the Guardians' elections in 1844, Twamley nominated ten Liberals for Dudley, but the former Guardians were re-appointed.[197] Twamley protested to the Poor Law Commissioners about the way the election was run and correspondence shows the Dudley Board protecting the status quo.[198] Although Twamley failed to get the election re-run, his complaint

---

[194] *The Advertiser for Brierley Hill, Stourbridge, Dudley etc.,* 22 June 1901, p. 5.

[195] Pursuing policies was possible where there was broad agreement, such as on clearing the Market Place, but questions over the market tolls and collecting the rates often ended in stalemate and rendered the body less effective. Disagreements were not always on party lines; see for instance a dispute over rating in 1845: DALHS, Town Commissioners' Minutes, Volume 2 1832-1853, 9 September 1845-19 September 1845.

[196] DALHS, GDU/1/1, Dudley Board of Guardians, minutes, 1836-1844, 28 March 1842, 3 April 1843 & 8 April 1844.

[197] The attempt to force a change of Guardians was provoked by the existing Guardians trying to re-instate the discredited Dudley Relieving Officer, Benjamin Prince. Presumably this was the same Benjamin Prince whose pro-Tory stance, when in charge of the market tolls, caused trouble for the Town Commissioners. For the controversy over his performance as Relieving Officer see: DALHS, GDU/1/1, Dudley Board of Guardians, minutes, 1836-1844, 11 March 1844; *The Worcestershire Chronicle,* 20 March 1844, p. 3, 27 March 1844, p. 2 and 3 April 1844, p. 4.

[198] Amongst other points, Twamley complained that, whilst existing Guardians had been allowed to observe, he had been excluded from the count and had not been permitted to look at the results. He also suspected that many votes for his nominees, including his own, had been discounted because their voter registration was signed by the party agent. This was tacitly acknowledged by

was a sign of growing Liberal pressure. In 1848 three Liberals were elected as Dudley Guardians, namely Thomas Wood, Lester and Hollier, although Badger topped the poll by a large margin.[199] The Liberals' first policy initiative came in 1849 when Hollier proposed erecting a new union workhouse. Badger's party defeated the motion by sixteen votes to seven.[200]

Meanwhile, administrative and personnel changes in the Church of England in Dudley affected Anglican authority. In 1844, the ancient parish was subdivided into districts, each with its own church and operating independently.[201] Wealthier men living on the outskirts of town, like the Badger brothers, found themselves within new districts, rather than concentrated at St Thomas's.[202] The Vicar of Dudley remained the head of the Anglican church in the borough, but there was a sudden change in 1845 when Cartwright left. He apparently favoured Puseyite practices which his congregation rejected, and he exchanged livings with the Reverend James Caulfeild Browne who became Dudley's new vicar.[203] Cartwright's removal suggests that parishioners had gained more influence. Unlike his predecessors, Browne never became a magistrate.[204] Although conservative in

---

the Clerk to the Guardians of the Dudley Union. TNA, MH 12/13959, 5566B, 19 April 1844, 27 April, 4 May 1844, 21 June 1844, 29 July 1844 etc. Great Britain, Records created or inherited by the Ministry of Health and successors, Poor Law Commission, Correspondence, Worcestershire, Dudley (528).

[199] *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 19 April 1848, p. 3.

[200] DALHS, GDU/1/2, Dudley Board of Guardians, minutes 1844-1850, 20 November 1849; *The Birmingham Journal,* 24 November 1849, p. 7.

[201] The four new areas were technically 'districts' rather than parishes, but they were increasingly referred to as parishes. They would probably not be parishes officially until the death of the current vicar.

[202] Meetings that concerned the whole of the old parish of Dudley were still held at St Thomas's. Men like the Badgers who had wide-ranging business interests could have attended other districts' meetings.

[203] Puseyism is discussed in more detail in chapter 8. *The Worcestershire Chronicle,* 26 March 1845, p. 3.

[204] Appendix 1 includes biographical information for Browne (A7).

party politics, he was closer to the Liberals in social policies. Changes to Ward's situation also affected the balance of power in the borough.

Ward could only assume personal control of the Dudley estate when the trust ended in March 1845, but Hawkes's financial problems gave Ward an opportunity to interfere in Dudley's parliamentary representation. All but bankrupt, Hawkes had managed to retain the constituency by living in France but, in August 1844, he accepted the Chiltern Hundreds.[205] The Ward and Hawkes families had been neighbours at Himley and were related by marriage.[206] The Wards may have encouraged Hawkes's resignation or, at least, known that it was imminent. Ward was ready and his agent, John Benbow, appeared in Dudley as the Conservative candidate before many realised that an election was happening.[207] Benbow offered himself as a candidate 'on national church and protection to agriculture principles'.[208] Although Dudley's Liberals were 'caught napping' by the snap by-election, it was near the height of the repeal campaign and the ACLL, keen to field a candidate, sent a delegation to Dudley.[209] With no local candidate opposing Benbow, the ACLL put forward William Rawson, their treasurer, thus connecting Dudley directly to national affairs.[210] Rawson drew support from a wide range of

[205] MPs can only resign by applying for specific offices under the crown, one of which is generally known as the Chiltern Hundreds. See: Chiltern Hundreds and Manor of Northstead - Erskine May - UK Parliament [accessed 9 September 2024];Turberville, *Worcestershire in the nineteenth century,* p. 54.
[206] Ward's brother, Humble Dudley Ward married Hawkes's daughter Eleanor Louisa in December 1843.
[207] John Benbow had acted as a lawyer for the Wards since about 1805 and was also a trustee of the Dudley estate. Ward had supported him when he stood unsuccessfully in Wolverhampton in 1837. Appendix 1 includes biographical information about Benbow (A3). *Evening Mail,* 5 August 1844, p. 4.
[208] *The Morning Advertiser,* 5 August 1844, p. 2.
[209] *Evening Mail,* 5 August 1844, p. 4; A. Prentice, *History of the Anti-Corn-Law League Volume II*, 2nd ed. (London, 1968), p. 237.
[210] Rawson's address was dated 3 August 1844, so it does not seem that they spent very long looking for a local candidate. Prentice, *History of the Anti-Corn-Law League*, pp. 237-238.

reformers, including Cook, who would probably have supported any anti-Tory candidate, and Linney, who was not long released from Stafford gaol.[211] The ACLL had established funds to fight elections, amongst other things, and having a well-resourced League candidate solved the problem of lack of finance that usually blighted opposition groups in Dudley. ACLL members, including John Bright MP, campaigned for Rawson. Bright tried to draw a distinction between Ward's interests, which Bright seemed to assume were still largely tied up with rents, and the manufacturers whom he blamed for combining with 'the lordly monopolist to ruin their own order'.[212] This view downplayed the growing industrial activity taking place on Ward's estates.[213] The Dudley estate was just the sort of diversifying estate, particularly in respect of coal, iron and steel, that Cheryl Schonhardt-Bailey identifies as having most to gain from free trade, which may explain why Ward changed his stance two years later.[214] Benbow would only countenance free trade if every other country followed the same policy since 'a free trade for this country, in the present state of the world, would be absolutely destructive to every interest worth preserving'.[215] Rawson argued that free trade would benefit all classes, emphasising its relevance to the Dudley area: 'The repeal of the Corn Laws would increase your trade, and so find room for your ever-increasing population, by

[211] *Evening Mail,* 9 August 1844, p. 2.
[212] Prentice, *History of the Anti-Corn-Law League*, p. 239.
[213] Note: T.J. Raybould argued that poor administration in the 1830s had caused the estate's industrial income to decline but it was still considerable. T.J. Raybould, *The Economic Emergence of the Black Country: A Study of the Dudley Estate* (Newton Abbot, 1973), pp. 142-143.
[214] C. Schonhardt-Bailey, 'Specific factors, capital markets, portfolio diversification and free trade: domestic determinants of the repeal of the Corn Laws'*, World Politics*, Vol. 43, No. 4 (1991), pp. 545-569, especially pp. 551-552.
[215] *Evening Mail,* 9 August 1844, p. 2.

enabling you to sell your glass, iron, nails, and other manufactures, for the corn and provisions of foreign countries.'[216]

At the nominations, Benbow was proposed and seconded by two Tory magistrates, Thomas Badger and Bennitt. Rawson was proposed and seconded by two of Dudley's repealers, Twamley and Palmer, who, like Rawson, were Unitarians.[217] Twamley's speech dealt with the problems that high food prices caused to the poorest groups such as the nailers and agricultural labourers. He also challenged church rates, tithes and Benbow's support for a 'national church'.[218] The opposition speakers condemned Benbow as Ward's nominee and complained that Ward's dominating influence left comparatively few voters free to vote as they wished. It was also claimed that miners from Dudley estate collieries had been marched to the nomination to provide Benbow with crowd support.[219] Benbow's victory was followed by newspaper condemnations of Ward's undue influence, calls for a secret ballot and the first accusation that Dudley was a 'Tory nomination borough'.[220] Despite their defeat, Dudley's reformers soon rallied and held a dinner to celebrate the law lords (including Campbell) overturning Daniel O'Connell's conviction for sedition in February 1844.[221] The group was keen to say that 'they were not a body of Whigs or Tories, they were a body of Reformers', yet

---

[216] Ibid., p. 238.
[217] Pickering, *The People's Bread*, Appendix 4, p. 280. Biographical details for Palmer and Twamley are given in appendix 1: A22 for Palmer and A28 for Twamley.
[218] *The Staffordshire Advertiser,* 10 August 1844, p. 2.
[219] *The Sheffield & Rotherham Independent,* 10 August 1844, p. 7.
[220] *The Manchester Times,* 10 August 1844, p. 4; *The Bell's New Weekly Messenger,* 11 August 1844, p. 4; *The Vindicator,* 14 August 1844, p. 4.
[221] O'Connell was the Irish nationalist leader and an MP. L.J. McCaffrey, *The Irish Question: Two Centuries of Conflict,* 2nd ed. (Lexington, 1995), pp. 47-48; *The Worcestershire Chronicle,* 18 September 1844, p. 2.

they formed the nucleus of what was becoming Dudley's Liberal party.[222] Cook was not present.[223] The next section considers repeal of the Corn Laws and its effect on Dudley's politics.

The arguments for repealing the Corn Laws achieved their most important convert when Peel, the Conservative Prime Minister, accepted the need for change, thus starting a turbulent period in British politics which affected Dudley as much as elsewhere. Peel lost the support of most of his own party and only secured a bill abolishing the corn laws in 1846 with Whig and radical support. Peel was subsequently forced from office, leaving the Conservative Party deeply divided.[224] Ward had stayed loyal to Peel, partly because Ward had begun to covet the re-instatement of the Dudley earldom which was in the gift of the current Prime Minister. Ward gave Peel his proxy vote in the Lords, whilst Benbow voted for repeal in the Commons, which was almost certainly influenced by Ward as 'protection to agriculture' had been one of Benbow's few identifiable election commitments.[225] With the Conservatives split, Lord John Russell formed a Whig government before holding a general election in July 1847.

Dudley's constituency reflected the re-alignment of political parties caused by Peel's espousal of repeal. Benbow, standing again, found himself re-cast as a Peelite, which brought him a measure of popular support, particularly from 'the

---

[222] The celebrations were led by Palmer (chairman), Lester (vice chairman), Hill, the Wood brothers, Edward Grainger and Pitchfork, with Twamley sending an apology. *The Worcestershire Chronicle,* 18 September 1844, p. 2.
[223] Cook's absence might show his distancing from the moderate reformers or it might have reflected the prevailing poor relationship between O'Connell and Chartism. J. Epstein, *The Lion of Freedom: Feargus O'Connor and the Chartist Movement, 1832-1842* (London, 1982), pp. 127-128.
[224] J. Prest, 'Peel, Sir Robert, second baronet (1788–1850),.Prime Minister', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (published 23 September 2004, version 21 May 2009), http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21764 [accessed 29 June 2016].
[225] *The Daily News,* 26 February 1846, p. 3; *The Sun,* 5 March 1846, p. 4 and 15 May 1846, p. 3.

respectable members of the liberal party'.[226] With an election imminent, the Chartists' Midlands Counties Agitating and Electioneering committee had met in Dudley and criticised local apathy.[227] Cook and Linney were both committee members and Cook issued one of his most gnomic handbills, asking women to prepare for the approaching election (figure 5.7).[228]

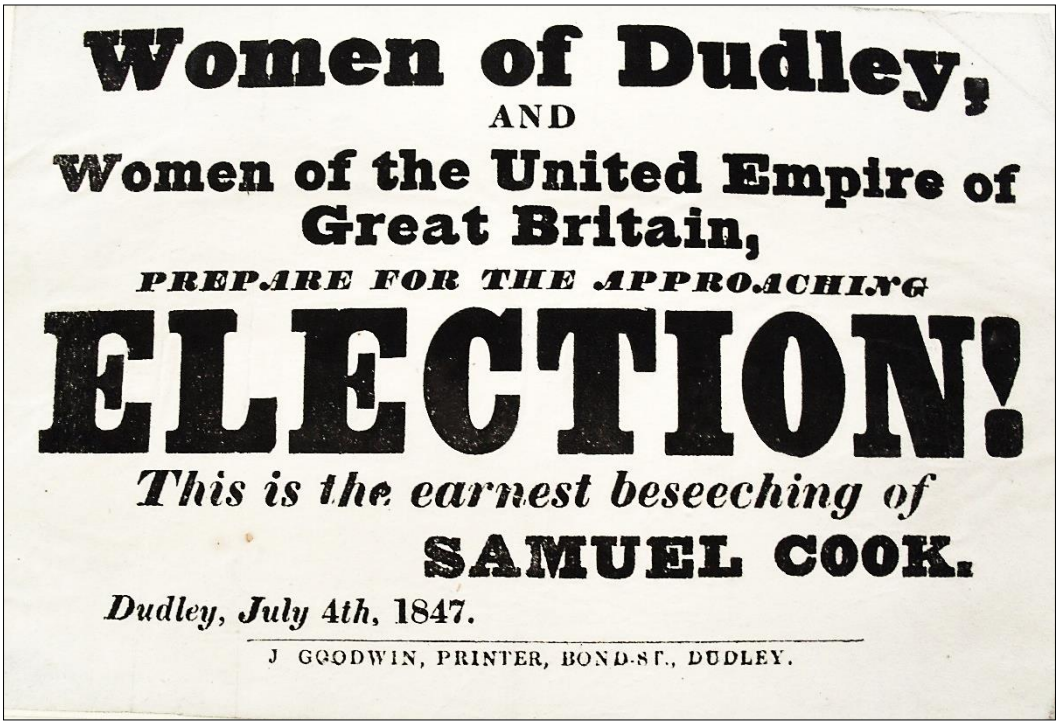

Women of Dudley,
AND
Women of the United Empire of Great Britain,
PREPARE FOR THE APPROACHING
ELECTION!
This is the earnest beseeching of
SAMUEL COOK.
Dudley, July 4th, 1847.
J GOODWIN, PRINTER, BOND-ST., DUDLEY.

Figure 5.7. Handbill by Samuel Cook, 1847.[229]

Benbow and the sitting members in Wolverhampton were expected to be returned unopposed but Cook and Linney determined to challenge them.[230] With the elections held on successive days, Linney, nominated by Cook, stood for

[226] *The Morning Post,* 24 July 1847, p. 3; *The Daily News,* 29 July 1847, p. 5.
[227] *The Northern Star,* 3 July 1847, p. 8.
[228] Bishopsgate Institute, Labour history manuscript 14, Chartism and reform, Handbill, Women of Dudley (Dudley, 1847).
[229] Ibid.
[230] *The Worcestershire Chronicle,* 28 July 1847, p. 4; *The Express,* 30 July 1847, p. 3.

Dudley, with their roles reversed in Wolverhampton the following day.[231] Benbow was not opposed by a Conservative but neither was he supported so strongly by Dudley's leading Tories, the Badger brothers. Instead, Benbow was nominated by the vicar, Dr Browne, and seconded by Cornelius Cartwright, a magistrate. Much of Browne's nomination speech concentrated on the munificence of the Dudley estate towards the town, thus appearing to endorse Ward's right to choose their MP.[232]

Putting up a candidate for the 1847 election was the Chartists' greatest showpiece in Dudley, although only a gesture as they could not afford the expense of forcing a poll. The Wolverhampton returning officer, therefore, refused to let Cook speak, but his opposite number in Dudley was more lenient and allowed Linney to address the crowd.[233] Benbow attempted a speech which was so inaudible that Browne volunteered to relay it to the crowd.[234] Linney's election manifesto for Dudley looks rushed, with his name misspelt, but it offered a detailed radical agenda, beginning with the six points of the Charter then adding another ten demands, including the separation of church and state, a voluntary system of education, abolition of capital punishment and repeal of the new Poor Law.[235] The newspaper report of Cook's nomination speech is tantalisingly short but there is enough to show that Cook was bold, articulate and argumentative.[236] As well as endorsing the People's Charter and highlighting points from Linney's agenda such as the iniquities of the game laws, primogeniture and entail, Cook repeated his call

[231] *The Birmingham Journal,* 31 July 1847, p. 7; *The Daily News,* 30 July 1847, p. 6.
[232] *The Express,* 29 July 1847, p. 3.
[233] *The Staffordshire Advertiser,* 31 July 1847, p. 10; *The Daily News,* 29 July 1847, p. 5.
[234] *The Birmingham Journal*, 31 July 1847, p. 7.
[235] DALHS, PO/760, PC, To the electors and non-electors of the borough of Dudley (Dudley, 1847).
[236] *The Birmingham Journal,* 31 July 1847, p. 7.

for female suffrage.[237] Contradicting several of Browne's local arguments, Cook scorned both the new graveyard because only Anglican clergymen could officiate there and the new school because it taught the Anglican catechism.[238] He also condemned 'Mr Palmer and the Liberal Party for having "gone over" to Mr Benbow'.[239] The nomination highlighted Cook's isolation from the other middle-class reformers, when he struggled to find a seconder. His son had been expected to do it, but his name was 'not on the list'.[240] A 'Mr Hill', probably Cook's old ally, Thomas Hill, was asked, but refused. Finally, William Parsons, a hosier, seconded the nomination.[241] In both Dudley and Wolverhampton the Chartist candidates got a good reception from the crowds but, without money to force a poll, the sitting MPs were returned unopposed.[242] In East Worcestershire, the parties resumed the practice of dividing the seats between Liberals and Conservatives without a contest.[243] Although the national results of the general election gave a notional majority to the Conservatives, the split between protectionists and Peelites allowed Russell's administration to continue.[244] The final section looks at the political state of Dudley at the end of this period.

The year of revolutions, 1848, saw Cook, Linney and others try to revive Chartism in Dudley and beyond. Cook issued a handbill celebrating the French

---

[237] Ibid.
[238] The new graveyard was in Queens Cross, but it was a separated extension of St Thomas's parish churchyard. It is not clear which school they were discussing. As it had been referred to by Browne, the vicar, it was probably the National School that was being built in King Street in association with St Thomas's. There were also National Schools being built, or already built, in association with St Edmund's and St John's. *Berrow's Worcester Journal,* 15 April 1847, p. 3.
[239] Ibid.
[240] Presumably this referred to the voters' list. *The Northern Star,* 31 July 1847, p. 1.
[241] Ibid.
[242] *The Northern Star,* 31 July 1847, p. 1; *Daily News,* 29 July 1847, p. 5.
[243] Turberville, *Worcestershire in the Nineteenth Century,* pp. 27-28; Craig (comp & ed), *British Parliamentary Election Results 1832-1885,* p. 484.
[244] A. Sykes, *The Rise and Fall of British Liberalism, 1776-1988* (Harlow, 1995), pp. 31-32.

revolution of February 1848.[245] Using biblical precepts, it reinforced his view that government should be made by the people for the benefit of the people and asked the question: if governments 'injure instead of doing good to the people, ought not the people to remove them and punish them?'[246] The authorities banned the meeting to congratulate the French.[247] However, Cook and fellow sympathisers held it elsewhere, at the same time agreeing to petition Parliament in favour of the People's Charter.[248] This was the third national petition and although it coincided with a period of depression and there were some strikes, Dudley remained peaceful. In April 1848, Linney went to the Chartist National Convention in London as the Black Country delegate.[249] He claimed that he was 'authorised by the people of Bilston, Wolverhampton and Dudley, to say, that whatever course might be recommended by the Convention, they were prepared to carry it out' and that 'he felt determined to have the Charter before he left London'.[250] As previously, when Parliament rejected their petition, the Chartists had no agreed, alternative plan.

A few places in England saw small uprisings, largely inspired by an ineffectual rebellion in Ireland, but they were easily dealt with.[251] There were no disturbances in the Black Country. Rather recklessly, Cook chose a time of increased government sensitivity, coinciding with the so-called 'June days uprising'

---

[245] DALHS, SC/32, SCC, Bravo!!! Three Cheers and one Cheer more for the Establishment in France of a Republican form of Government (Dudley, n. p.,1848).
[246] Ibid.
[247] The authorities claimed that the land where Cook and his associates wished to hold the event was private, belonging to the Board of Guardians of the Dudley Union. *The Birmingham Journal,* 25 March 1848, p. 3.
[248] Ibid.
[249] *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 5 April 1848, p. 4.
[250] *The Worcestershire Chronicle,* 12 April 1848, p. 8.
[251] Chase, *Chartism,* pp. 317-326.

in France, to invite ‘the people’ to a meeting in the Chartists’ room in Dudley to address the question: ‘Ought all Laws made by National Authority to be Obeyed?’[252] There are no records as to whether the meeting was held or, if it was, how Cook answered his own question. Barnsby argues that Chartism continued in Dudley longer than in other places, but that in 1849 the movement faded away.[253] In November 1849, Dudley featured in *The Daily News* series about 'pocket or rotten' boroughs which had been instigated the previous year by the radical MP, Richard Cobden.[254] Cook was so pleased with the article that he had it reprinted as a broadsheet and offered it for sale at 1d.[255] Several of its arguments reflected Cook’s views and, as Dudley’s leading radical, he may have been asked to contribute. The article is significant, not just for what it said about Dudley, but also for putting Dudley in the company of infamously corrupt or unrepresentative boroughs, such as St Albans, Totnes and Bodmin.[256] The Dudley article attempted to explain the town’s uniqueness which it attributed to its being predominantly a mining town, with much of the coalfield owned by Ward.[257] It highlighted the anomaly of Dudley being a strong Tory town despite being ‘immediately adjacent to, and in many respects materially influenced by, Birmingham and Wolverhampton - places which may almost be described as centres of political enlightenment’. It further condemned the Toryism it found in Dudley as being

[252] DALHS, SC/33, SCC, To the People. Ought all laws made by national authority to be obeyed?’ (Dudley, 1848).
[253] Barnsby, *The Dudley Working Class Movement,* pp. 44-45.
[254] The journalist who began the series was William Taylor Haly, but it is not known if he wrote them all, or who else might have written the article on Dudley. R. Cobden, *The Letters of Richard Cobden, Vol. II, 1848-1853*, A. Howe ed. (Oxford, 2010), pp. 82-83; *The Daily News,* 12 November 1849, p. 2.
[255] DALHS, PO/331, PC, Dudley representation. (From *The Daily News*) (Dudley, n.d.).
[256] *The Daily News,* 23 November 1848, 25 December 1848 and 11 October 1850.
[257] *The Daily News,* 12 November 1849, p. 2.

based on ‘self-interest’ and ‘coercion’.[258] This analysis was condemned in three letters by ‘Veritas’ in *The Wolverhampton Chronicle*.[259] *The Daily News* article claimed that when Benbow, ‘the agent and auditor of the Ward estates’, took the parliamentary seat, Dudley reached ‘the lowest point of its political degradation’.[260] It complained that Benbow paid little attention to the town itself, did nothing to advance local interests and rarely bothered to vote in Parliament.[261] It concluded that ‘Nothing can change Dudley but a change in the opinions of Lord Ward’. Whilst suggesting that a change was possible, the author did not acknowledge that Ward’s support for repealing the Corn Laws was already redefining his position (chapter 7).[262] Furthermore, the ending of the Dudley estate trust in 1845 and the estate’s greater profitability under Richard Smith’s management both increased Ward’s power and independence, leaving him well positioned to indulge in politics.[263]

Conclusion

This chapter asks how, and to what extent, were the conservative forces in Dudley able to re-assert control following the success of the reformers in the 1832 general election? The reformers’ triumph, buoyed by national fervour, in 1831/32, was an aberration in Dudley. The Tories were quickly able to re-establish the tight control of the town that they had long enjoyed. They had various power bases, including the magistracy and the Church of England, but also the major employers

[258] Ibid.
[259] *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 28 November 1849, p. 3, 5 December 1849, p. 3 & 19 December 1849, p. 4.
[260] *The Daily News,* 12 November 1849, p. 2.
[261] Note: at the time of the article, Benbow was already in his eighties.
[262] Ibid.
[263] Appendix 1 includes biographical information about the Smith family (A26).

were Tories and, up to 1846, so were Ward and his main agents. The disenfranchisement of the borough, advocated by Booker, almost happened by default when firstly Hawkes moved abroad and then Benbow, always more Ward's representative than the town's, increasingly failed to attend Parliament.[264] Both external and local factors were significant and often inter-connected. Hawkes was popular as a local man but, whereas he increased his majority in every election, this was also in line with the growth of the Conservative vote under Peel seen nationally. The campaign for repeal of the Corn Laws and Chartism were the two biggest national movements to affect Dudley in this period, but the town's reaction to them was born of local economic and political factors. Several events, including the 1842 general strike, the ACLL fighting the Dudley by-election in 1844 and Cook nominating a Chartist in the 1847 general election, show that Dudley was increasingly integrated into nationwide political controversies and making an impact nationally.

The Tories dominated the magistracy throughout the period. Although they liked to portray themselves as solely concerned with law and order, their treatment of the Chartist leaders showed political bias. Tory dominance was aided by disunity amongst the reformers. The division between the radicals and the more moderate was highlighted by Parkin's scathing pamphlet. However, Cook, self-opiniated and argumentative, also made a difficult ally. The moderate reformers, latterly called Liberals, safeguarded their own respectability and eschewed Chartism. Gains by

[264] Almost Booker's last political intervention was to suggest that Dudley petitioned to have the borough disenfranchised. L. Booker, *A Friendly Address to the Inhabitants of Dudley with the form of a Petition to the Legislature from Electors and Non-electors (Males and Females) praying that the Elective Franchise may be Discontinued in the Parish,* 2nd ed. (Dudley, 1835).

the reformers were slow and incremental, at best, or at the whim of the local aristocrat as when Ward decided to back repeal. The reformers managed to play a part in the Town Commissioners body, but only on sufferance from the Tories, who also dominated the Dudley Union Board of Guardians. However, towards the end of this period, the Liberals made symbolic advances in several areas, including the magistracy and the Board of Guardians. Meanwhile, Ward's support for Peel changed the politics of the borough.

CHAPTER 6

The church rates controversy in Dudley, c. 1833-1853

Introduction

This chapter is a case study of church rates which considers how the controversy impacted religion and politics in Dudley and gave nonconformists an opportunity to challenge traditional Anglican hegemony. It evaluates the unfolding church rates controversy in Dudley by assessing the historiography and re-assessing the evidence which includes primary sources that have been considered by historians and some that have not. It sets Dudley's dispute in the national and local context. It identifies the major factors that shaped the controversy, including the leadership on both sides, changes in alliances and shifts in power and authority. Church rates exacerbated the division between Anglican Tories and nonconformist reformers, but this was tempered by a few liberal Anglicans who preferred compromise and by schisms within Methodism which helped to push the Wesleyans closer to the Anglicans. Class is also shown to be significant, with shopkeepers and small businessmen featuring strongly in the opposition. The church rates controversy hardened the division between Anglicans and 'old dissent' which had become politicised during the reform crisis in the early 1830s. This chapter asks the question to what extent did the church rates controversy in Dudley reveal the weakening of Anglicanism in the town? It is argued that entrenched Anglican dominance lasted till the mid-1840s but, after that, the growing power of both nonconformism and liberalism combined to defeat church rates and the Anglican hegemony that they symbolised. To explore these themes the period is analysed in two parts, up to and after 1845.

Historiography and primary sources

Although rarely studied on its own, the church rates controversy has featured in various historical studies. Alan Gilbert considers the effect of both the demographic and industrial revolutions on the traditional Anglican parochial system, which was weakened, thus allowing what he terms 'nonconformist encroachment'.[1] Gilbert gives statistical evidence suggesting that dissidence over church rates was generally greatest in parishes that were 'more populous', which is tested by this case study of Dudley.[2] W.R. Ward and Derek Fraser consider church rates disputes in larger towns and cities.[3] This discussion adds a comparable study of a smaller town, without an established radical tradition, but which witnessed a long struggle over church rates, culminating in defeat for the conservative establishment. Other scholars emphasise how the church rates dispute influenced the development of liberalism in Britain. Jacob Ellens argues that 'the militant voluntaryists', who led the church rates agitation, later joined with William Gladstone and helped to develop Gladstonian liberalism.[4] Joseph Coohill claims that 'the church rate issue and the Liberal Party were mutually defining in the 1830s and 1840s'. Both arguments are tested against the rise of liberalism in

---

[1] A.D. Gilbert, *Religion and Society in Industrial England: Church, Chapel and Social Change, 1740-1914* (London & New York, 1976), pp. 109-115 etc.
[2] Gilbert gives the average population of dissident parishes in Worcestershire at mid-century as 5,990. Gilbert, *Religion and Society in Industrial England*, p. 118. The censuses for that period did not break down Dudley's population figures into the new parishes, but John Aitken gives the population of St Thomas's, much the most populous, as 15,975, after the ancient parish was divided in 1844. J. Aitken (ed.), *Census of Religious Worship, 1851. The Returns for Worcestershire*, Worcestershire Historical Society, New series, Vol. 17 (2000), p. 5.
[3] W.R. Ward, *Religion and Society in England, 1790-1850* (London, 1972), pp. 178-192; D. Fraser, *Urban Politics in Victorian England* (Leicester, 1976), pp. 25-54.
[4] J.P. Ellens, *Religious Routes to Gladstonian Liberalism: The Church Rate Conflict in England and Wales, 1832-1868* (Pennsylvania, 1994), pp. 263-271. Ellens characterises 'moderate' voluntaryists as concentrating on practical grievances whilst 'militants' wished to 'overthrow the church establishment'. Ibid., p. 20.

Dudley.[5] In his studies of 'religious dissent', Richard Floyd is chiefly interested in how religious issues impinged on parliamentary elections but this study focuses on the effect that the church rates controversy had on local politics.[6] Geoff Robson's study of 'religion and irreligion' in Birmingham and the Black Country gives an overview of the church rates controversy and acknowledges Samuel Cook's earliest challenges in Dudley.[7] This study assesses Cook's role in more detail and goes further than Robson by considering why the church rates dispute continued longer in Dudley than in neighbouring parishes. In his study of Black Country elites, which concentrates on West Bromwich, Dudley and Bilston, Richard Trainor argues that the church rates controversy was 'more bitter and prolonged' in Dudley 'with its more entrenched Anglican elite and its greater Nonconformist attendances'.[8] However, using the primary material outlined below, this case study shows that Anglican supremacy was being eroded.

The primary sources include handbills, the parish vestry order book, notes made by Luke Booker at the back of a parish register and newspaper reports. The coverage of the handbills is patchy, with far more surviving from some periods than others. This study also uses records at the Lambeth Palace Library, which have not been utilised by earlier researchers, relating to a church rates case that

---

[5] J. Coohill, 'Symbolism and responsibility: Church rates and expectations of the Liberal party', *Parliamentary History,* Vol. 30, Issue s2, Texts & Studies 5, J. Coohill, *Ideas of the Liberal Party: Perceptions, Agendas and Liberal Politics in the House of Commons, 1832-52* (Chichester, 2011), pp. 131-153, especially p. 133.
[6] R.D. Floyd, *Church, Chapel and Party: Religious Dissent and Political Modernization in Nineteenth-century England* (Basingstoke and New York, 2008).
[7] G. Robson, *Dark Satanic Mills? Religion and Irreligion in Birmingham and the Black Country* (Carlisle, 2002), pp. 135-137.
[8] R.H. Trainor, *Black Country Elites. The Exercise of Authority in an Industrialized Area, 1830-1900* (Oxford, 1993), pp. 186-187.

Dudley's churchwardens took to the Court of Arches (1834-1837).[9] Amongst the witness statements are comments on church rates by ordinary parishioners which are not available elsewhere, together with supporting evidence, including the Dudley church rates collector's book for 1834, the only one to have survived.[10] In some instances, the collector noted that a ratepayer was unable to pay, with little explanation.[11] Also lacking are magistrates' records giving background to prosecutions; neither is there any evidence from ratepayers who did not take part in the debate. The church rates controversy in Dudley is best understood within a national as well as a local context.

Objections to church rates were often part of the wider question of the ethics of having an established church, namely the Church of England, and how it was financed. The church rate was a local levy, set by churchwardens, to pay for the upkeep of the parish church, payable by all ratepayers whatever their religion.[12] In Dudley, as elsewhere, Quakers were the first people recorded as refusing to pay church rates on conscientious grounds (chapter 3).[13] Historians vary as to what escalated the controversy nationally. G.I.T. Machin claims it was caused by the church-building programme, whilst Owen Chadwick argues that it

[9] The Court of Arches is the highest court in the province of Canterbury for hearing cases under ecclesiastical law. This originally included several branches of the law which are now secular, such as defamation, probate and matrimonial cases. The name 'Arches' came from the architecture of the church of St Mary-le-Bow in the City of London where the court sat.
[10] Lambeth Palace Library (LPL), Arches H 532/1-29, Court of Arches, Nineteenth Century case papers, Baker and Downing v Wood, 1835.
[11] Some brief explanations given include sickness, bereavement, unemployment or the number of children in the household, but generally there is no reason given. LPL, Arches H 532/27-28, Dudley rate collector's book and copy, 1834.
[12] W.E. Tate, *The Parish Chest: A Study of the Records of Parochial Administration in England* (Cambridge, 1946), p. 92.
[13] Tate, *The Parish Chest,* p. 93; O. Chadwick, *The Victorian Church, part 1* 3rd ed. (London, 1971), pp. 83-84.

'began only with the struggle for the reform bill at the end of 1830'.[14] Cook, who complained about plans for a new church in Netherton in 1823 and about the national church-building programme in 1826 was an early critic of church levies (chapter 3). The parliamentary reform controversy exposed the anti-reform stance of many Anglican clergymen. In 1831, twenty-one bishops voted against the Reform Bill and only two in favour.[15] Reformers were disinclined to help finance what they saw as a reactionary institution. Those seeking disestablishment in England were encouraged by movements elsewhere in the United Kingdom. A tithe war in Ireland led the Whig government to concede the Irish Church Temporalities Act in 1833, which reduced the organisational size of the Protestant church and abolished Irish church rates.[16] In Scotland, in 1832, dissenting denominations began what they called the 'Voluntary movement', aimed at separating church and state as in the American constitution. This spread to England where it appealed to a range of reformers from atheists and utilitarians to fervent religious dissenters.[17] When the Reform Act of 1832 failed to deliver the reforms that dissenters wanted, a new United Committee of Dissenters produced a list of six grievances.[18] Cook included several in his 1834 radical manifesto (chapter 5).[19] Lord Grey's government removed one grievance by allowing a bill to

[14] The Act for Building New Churches was passed by Parliament in 1818, with a budget of £1m. G.I.T. Machin, *Politics and the Churches in Great Britain, 1832 to 1868* (Oxford, 1977), p. 19; Chadwick, *The Victorian Church, part 1,* p. 83.
[15] E.J. Evans, *The Forging of the Modern State: Early Industrial Britain, 1783-1870,* 2nd ed. (London & New York, 1996), p. 248.
[16] The act reduced the number of archbishoprics from four to two and many dioceses were amalgamated. S.J. Brown, *Providence and Empire: Religion, Politics and Society in the United Kingdom, 1815-1914* (London & New York, 2008), pp. 80-83.
[17] Ibid., pp. 83-86.
[18] The grievances were: marriage only allowed according to Anglican rites, church rates, poor rates levied on dissenting chapels, no civil registration of births and deaths, dissenters buried in parish churchyards not allowed their own rites, and religious tests at English universities. G.I.T. Machin, *Politics and the Churches in Great Britain, 1832 to 1868* (Oxford, 1977), pp. 42-43.
[19] DALHS, SC/23, SCC, Some of the principles of Dudley radicalism (Dudley, 1834?).

remove the poor rate from dissenters' chapels.[20] Of the five remaining, it was, according to Chadwick, the church rates question that was the 'giant-sore', the grievance that kept 'the flames of bitterness flaring'.[21] Nonconformism continued to grow in Dudley, as highlighted in the results of the census for religious worship in 1851.[22] The greatest increase was in Methodism, known as 'new dissent', but traditional Methodist leaders supported the authorities.[23] John Wesley had remained loyal to the Church of England and a copy of one of his letters, dated 1787, urging continued support for the church, was affixed to the 1834 Dudley church rate collecting book, presumably to encourage Methodists to pay.[24] Dudley's Methodists were divided between the three main groups: Wesleyan, New Connexion and Primitive Methodists. Thomas Lester led a secession from the Wesleyans to the Methodist New Connexion, believing it to be a more democratic organisation and he was the only known Methodist amongst Dudley's leading church rates opponents.[25] Thus, in Dudley as elsewhere, the reformers increasingly saw the Church of England as a reactionary institution and men like Lester were prepared to join Cook in opposing the Church of England in general

---

[20] Machin, *Politics and the Churches in Great Britain,* p. 43.
[21] Chadwick, *The Victorian Church, part 1,* p 81.
[22] The results of the census for Dudley are given in tables and charts in appendix 3. J. Aitken (ed.), *Census of Religious Worship, 1851. The Returns for Worcestershire*, Worcestershire Historical Society, New series, Vol. 17 (2000), pp 4-10.
[23] John Wesley was conservative in his belief that the authorities should be respected. His successors in the Methodists' national leadership, particularly Jabez Bunting, increased centralised control of The Methodist movement and tried to enforce discipline by, for instance, ejecting those believed to be advocating radicalism. D, Hempton, *Methodism and Politics in British Society, 1750-1850* (London, 1984), pp. 43-49, 85, 104-110 etc.; W.R. Ward, 'Bunting, Jabez (1779-1858), Wesleyan Methodist minister' *ODNB,* (published 23 September 2004, version 4 October 2007) Bunting, Jabez (1779–1858), Wesleyan Methodist minister | Oxford Dictionary of National Biography [accessed 26 January 2025].
[24] LPL, Arches H 532/27-28, Court of Arches, Nineteenth Century case papers, Baker and Downing v Wood, 1835, supporting evidence, rate book, 1834 and copy. Letter affixed inside the cover, copy, John Wesley to William Percival, 17 February 1787.
[25] Appendix 1 includes biographical information for Lester (A20).

and church rates in particular. With both sides ready for battle, the next two sections analyse the ensuing struggle and its outcome, beginning with the period up to 1845.

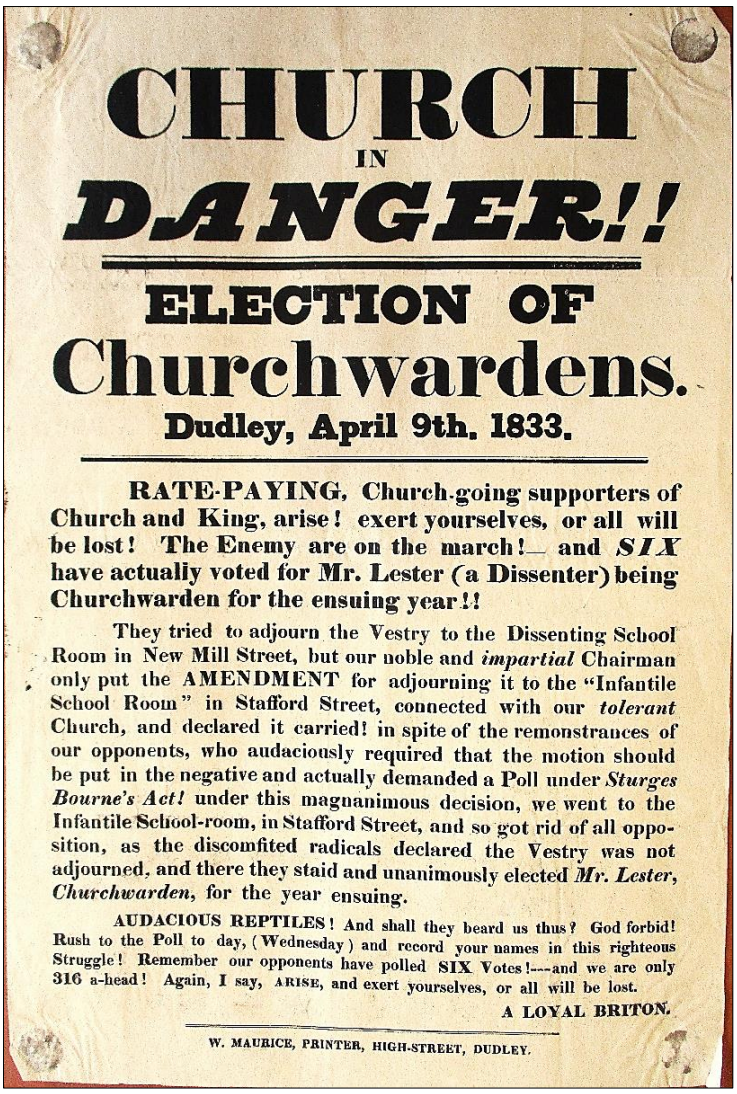
Church rates challenged, 1833-1845

In the continuing church rates controversy between 1833 and 1845, Dudley's protestors learned from other places and became better organised, but they were effectively rebuffed by the church party. Although Floyd connects upsurges in church rates agitation with parliamentary elections, Dudley shows no such direct link.[26] In February 1833, Dudley reformers joined a national debate on church reform and possible disestablishment. A handbill, purportedly from 'a Political Unionist', called for the church to be reformed on American lines, presumably separating church and state.[27] Shortly afterwards, a meeting on church reform agreed a resolution which also called for 'every religious sect' to be protected but separate from the state and supported by 'voluntary contributions'.[28] The meeting drew up a petition claiming it was wrong that 'the *whole* of the community should be taxed for the maintenance of a religion which does not administer spiritual instruction and consolation to *one half* of the people'.[29] It was presented to Parliament by John Campbell, Dudley's MP, who endorsed much of the petition, especially concerning rates.[30] Controversy broke out during the annual churchwardens' elections at Dudley's Easter vestry in 1833. St Thomas's vestry room was never big enough for large attendances, but Booker rebuffed

[26] Floyd, *Church, Chapel and Party,* pp. 23-27.
[27] DALHS, PO/7B, PC, The Church! Let the Church be Reformed! (Dudley 1833).
[28] *Berrow's Worcester Journal,* 21 February 1833, p. 3.
[29] DALHS, PO/95B, PC, At a public meeting held in Dudley, February 12th, 1833, the following petition (Dudley, 1833?).
[30] *The Morning Herald,* 22 March 1833, p. 4; *The Morning Advertiser,* 22 March 1833, p. 2.

appeals to move the meeting into the church as ‘a desecration of the sacred edifice’.[31] Dissenters proposed Lester as churchwarden to oppose the church party’s candidate. When the fractious meeting split, the dissenters claimed Lester had been elected, although he only received seven votes in a subsequent poll.[32] An anonymous handbill was circulated, supposedly by ‘a loyal Briton’, satirising a common claim that the church was in danger (figure 6.1).[33] The handbill also criticised Booker’s chairing of the meeting.

[31] One of the notes Booker wrote in the back of an old parish register confirmed that he would never allow the meeting to adjourn into ‘the body of the Sanctuary’. *Aris's Birmingham Gazette,* 15 April 1833, p. 3; DALHS, PR17/1/1/10, Church of England, Parish of Dudley, St Thomas, parish registers, Baptisms: 1794-1812, notes written on blank pages at the end.
[32] Lester was a popular figure in Dudley, and it is not clear why he polled so few votes. It may have been because his supporters argued that he had been elected by the meeting and a poll was not necessary. DALHS, PO/126, PC, Opinion of Sir John Campbell on the recent election of Mr Lester (Dudley, n.d. 1833?).
[33] The heavy sarcasm suggests that this handbill was produced by dissenters. DALHS, PO/5, PC, Church in danger!! Election of Churchwardens (Dudley, 1833?).



CHURCH
IN
DANGER!!

ELECTION OF
Churchwardens.

Dudley, April 9th. 1833.

RATE-PAYING, Church-going supporters of Church and King, arise! exert yourselves, or all will be lost! The Enemy are on the march!— and *SIX* have actually voted for Mr. Lester (a Dissenter) being Churchwarden for the ensuing year!!

They tried to adjourn the Vestry to the Dissenting School Room in New Mill Street, but our noble and *impartial* Chairman only put the AMENDMENT for adjourning it to the "Infantile School Room" in Stafford Street, connected with our *tolerant* Church, and declared it carried! in spite of the remonstrances of our opponents, who audaciously required that the motion should be put in the negative and actually demanded a Poll under *Sturges Bourne's Act!* under this magnanimous decision, we went to the Infantile School-room, in Stafford Street, and so got rid of all opposition, as the discomfited radicals declared the Vestry was not adjourned, and there they staid and unanimously elected *Mr. Lester, Churchwarden,* for the year ensuing.

AUDACIOUS REPTILES! And shall they beard us thus? God forbid! Rush to the Poll to day, (Wednesday) and record your names in this righteous Struggle! Remember our opponents have polled SIX Votes!---and we are only 316 a-head! Again, I say, ARISE, and exert yourselves, or all will be lost.

A LOYAL BRITON.

W. MAURICE, PRINTER, HIGH-STREET, DUDLEY.

Figure 6.1. Handbill satirising the election of Dudley's churchwardens, 1833.[34]

Campbell had supported some church reforms, but he was replaced as Dudley's MP, in February 1834, by Thomas Hawkes, a Tory loyalist and fervent Anglican. In subsequent elections, his opponents backed various measures of church reform, but Hawkes increased his majority every time (chapter 5).[35] The Conservatives capitalised on any perceived attacks on the Church of England. In

[34] DALHS, PO/5, PC, Church in danger!! Election of Churchwardens (Dudley, 1833?).
[35] DALHS, PO/109B, PC, To the independent electors and men of Dudley (Dudley, 1834).

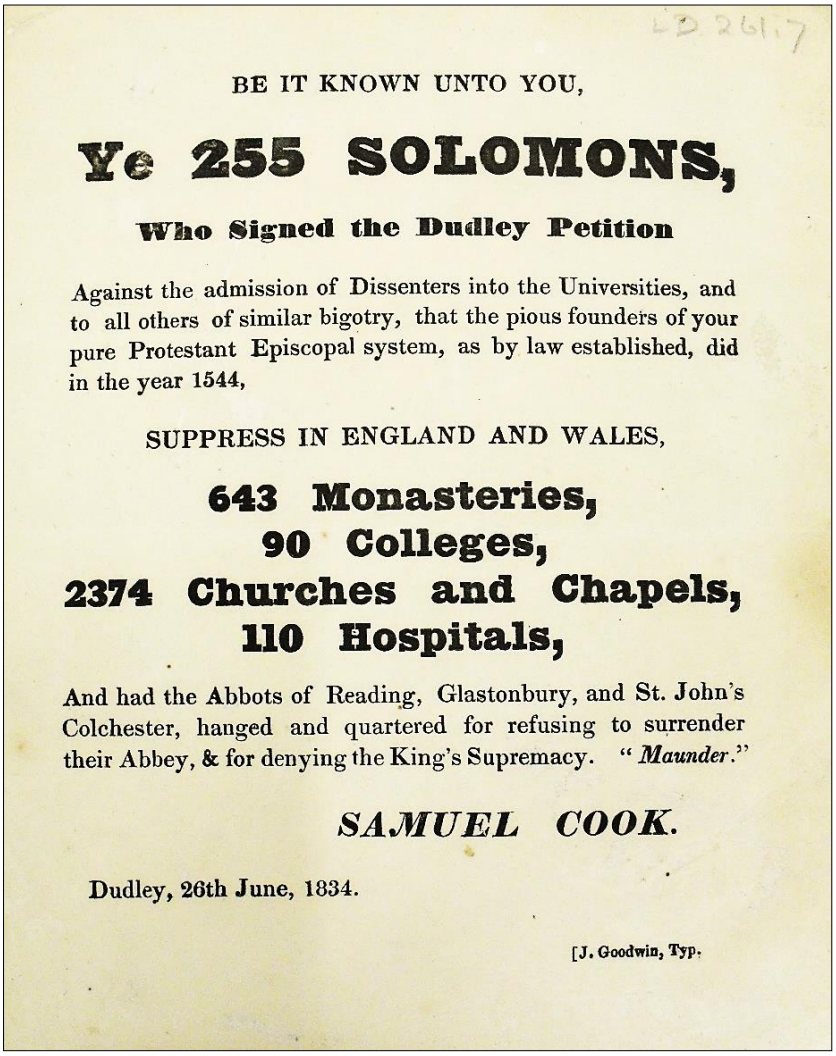
the December 1834 election, they claimed that the opposition committee and their candidate, John Forbes favoured: 'No King! No Church!!'[36] Not all Anglicans were so hostile to dissenters. In neighbouring Sedgley, the vicar, Charles Girdlestone, wanted Anglicans and dissenters to work towards re-uniting. He argued that, even though the church had the right to levy rates, it might not be 'expedient'.[37] He thought that, by enforcing rates, Anglicans risked pushing conscientious dissenters into alliance with ungodly opponents of church rates.[38]

The Whig government had not been as reform-minded as radicals had wished, but in spring 1834 Parliament discussed two potential religious reforms: church rates and admitting dissenters into the universities. Firstly, Lord Althorp introduced a bill to move financial responsibility for the upkeep of Anglican churches from local ratepayers to national taxation.[39] Nonconformists objected as they would be equally liable to pay, but without the power to exert any local control, and it would extend taxes to parishes where wealthy endowments made rates unnecessary.[40] The bill was eventually withdrawn.[41] Secondly, church interests helped defeat the University Admission Bill which proposed allowing dissenters into Oxford and Cambridge universities.[42] Hawkes presented to Parliament a petition opposing the measure from Dudley's Anglicans.[43] Although

---

[36] DALHS, PO/170, PC, Astounding Intelligence! Christmas Eve (Dudley, n.d.).
[37] C. Girdlestone, *Church Rates Lawful, but not always Expedient: A Sermon on 1 Cor. ix. 11, 12, etc.* (London, 1833).
[38] Ibid. pp. 17-18 etc.
[39] Ellens, *Religious Routes to Gladstonian Liberalism,* pp. 39-40.
[40] Chadwick, *The Victorian Church, part 1*, pp. 88-89.
[41] Ellens, *Religious Routes to Gladstonian Liberalism,* pp. 39-40.
[42] The idea had been raised by academics at Cambridge University, at which a bill was put to Parliament by George Wood, a dissenting MP. M. Twaddle, 'The Oxford and Cambridge admissions controversy of 1834', *British Journal of Educational Studies,* Vol. 14, No. 3 (1966), pp. 45-58.
[43] Chadwick, *The Victorian Church, part 1,* pp. 89-95; *Morning Herald,* 10 June 1834, p. 3; *The Birmingham Journal,* 21 June 1834, p. 3.

promoted secretly, the radical printer, George Walters, obtained a copy and printed the names under the heading: 'a copy of the hole and corner petition'.[44] Cook denounced the signatories in a typically idiosyncratic handbill (figure 6.2).[45] These skirmishes were followed by one of the most divisive clashes of the controversy in Dudley.



BE IT KNOWN UNTO YOU,

Ye 255 SOLOMONS,

Who Signed the Dudley Petition

Against the admission of Dissenters into the Universities, and to all others of similar bigotry, that the pious founders of your pure Protestant Episcopal system, as by law established, did in the year 1544,

SUPPRESS IN ENGLAND AND WALES,

643 Monasteries,
90 Colleges,
2374 Churches and Chapels,
110 Hospitals,

And had the Abbots of Reading, Glastonbury, and St. John's Colchester, hanged and quartered for refusing to surrender their Abbey, & for denying the King's Supremacy. "*Maunder*."

SAMUEL COOK.

Dudley, 26th June, 1834.

[J. Goodwin, Typ.

Figure 6.2. Samuel Cook's denunciation of those opposing the admission of dissenters into universities, 1834.[46]

[44] DALHS, PO/33, PC, The following is a copy of the hole and corner petition (Dudley, n.d.).
[45] DALHS, SC/25, SCC, Be it known unto you, Ye 255 Solomons (Dudley? 1834).
[46] Ibid.

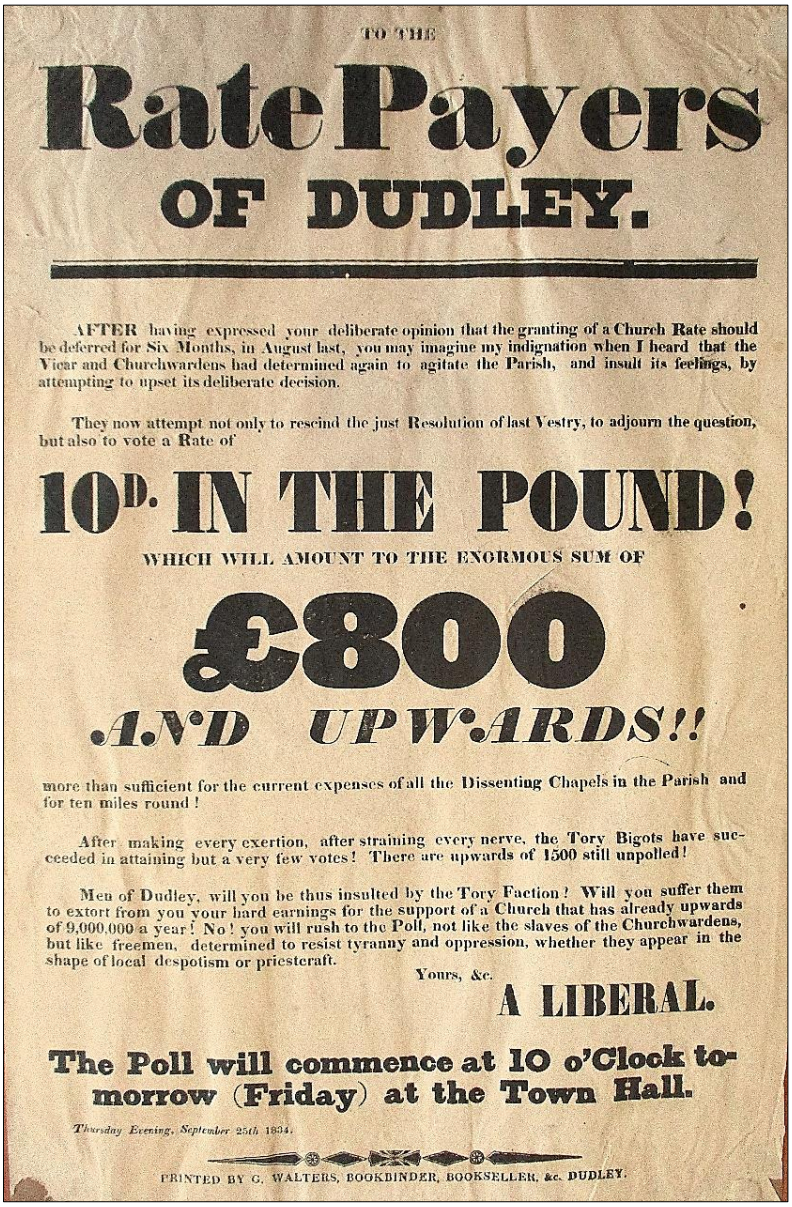
With Althorp's bill abandoned, the church rates controversy resurfaced in Dudley, even before the major centres of Manchester and Birmingham. It began on 7 August 1834 when the vestry met to set a church rate.[47] Having learnt lessons from elsewhere, dissenters packed the vestry in advance. In his subsequent evidence to the Court of Arches, Isaac Badger noted that 'Dissenters', including three dissenting ministers and 'Radicals' were ranged against 'the Church party'.[48] Writing in his parish register notes for 1834, Booker commented: 'the Place where many violent Dissenters resorted to manifest an unfriendly spirit towards the Church was the Vestry'.[49] Badger's evidence showed Booker coming under pressure from both sides. Unable to get into the meeting, some leading churchmen and 'large ratepayers' signed a note 'protesting against the proceedings unless they were allowed to vote', which was passed to Booker through the vestry window.[50] The meeting was raucous, but accusations of violence levelled at the dissenters were not proven. Booker rejected suggestions by Cook and John Palmer, the Unitarian minister, to move the meeting from the overcrowded vestry into the church itself.[51] It was probably then that Booker announced: 'they should go over his dead body before such an act of desecration was committed'.[52] This evidently impressed his audience as it is mentioned by

[47] Ellens, *Religious Routes to Gladstonian Liberalism,* pp. 29-32.
[48] LPL, Arches H 532/29, Court of Arches, Nineteenth Century case papers, Baker and Downing v Wood, 1835, Evidence from Isaac Badger.
[49] DALHS, PR17/1/1/10, Church of England, Parish of Dudley, St Thomas, parish registers, Baptisms: 1794-1812, notes written on blank pages at the end.
[50] LPL, Arches H 532/29, Court of Arches, Nineteenth Century case papers, Baker and Downing v Wood, 1835, Evidence from Isaac Badger.
[51] DALHS, PR17/4/1/2, Parish of Dudley, St Thomas, Vestry Order Book, 1821-1856, 7 August 1834.
[52] DALHS, PR17/4/1/2, 7 August 1834; DALHS, PR17/1/1/10, Church of England, Parish of Dudley, St Thomas, parish registers, Baptisms: 1794-1812, notes written on blank pages at the end.

witnesses.[53] The meeting was eventually adjourned to the town hall, as Booker wished, but not before Thomas Wood put a resolution to adjourn the vestry for six months, a ploy used by radicals elsewhere attempting to prevent a rate being set.[54] Wood, one of the few active liberal Anglicans in Dudley, was seconded by Palmer.[55] The opposition managed to get this resolution entered in the order book and the lead signatures were the three dissenting ministers, Palmer, William Rogers, Baptist and James Dawson, Independent.[56] This was the only vestry that Dawson is recorded as attending, although he continued to campaign against church rates.[57] The church party refused to be bound by the opposition's resolutions. Badger was ready and at a meeting on 25 September he moved that 'the irregular entry made in the Vestry Order Book on the seventh day of August last be expunged and that a rate of ten pence in the pound granted to the Churchwardens'.[58] With Booker claiming that there was no clear majority either way, his curate demanded a poll and Booker adjourned the meeting to the town hall to begin polling. The opposition remained highly critical and a handbill by Walters highlighted the political nature of the dispute (figure 6.3).[59] The wording, layout and tone all make it more a political poster than a religious one and the

[53] LPL, Arches H 532/29, Court of Arches, Nineteenth Century case papers, Baker and Downing v Wood, 1835, Evidence from Isaac Badger & Reverend E.H. Wainwright.
[54] Ward, *Religion and Society in England,* pp. 178-180.
[55] DALHS, PR17/4/1/2, Parish of Dudley, St Thomas, Vestry Order Book, 1821-1856, 7 August 1834.
[56] Ibid. Appendix 1 includes biographical information for Dawson (A13), Palmer (A22), Rogers (A24) and the Wood family (A34).
[57] A.J. Ware (ed.), *Dudley Parish Order Book*, *1821-1856* (Dudley? Typescript, 1991) p. xi.
[58] DALHS, PR17/4/1/2, Parish of Dudley, St Thomas, Vestry Order Book, 1821-1856, 25 September 1834.
[59] DALHS, PO/6, PC, To the Rate Payers of Dudley (Dudley, 1834).

anonymous author calling himself ‘A Liberal’ is an early example of Liberals opposing church rates in Dudley.



TO THE

Rate Payers OF DUDLEY.

AFTER having expressed your deliberate opinion that the granting of a Church Rate should be deferred for Six Months, in August last, you may imagine my indignation when I heard that the Vicar and Churchwardens had determined again to agitate the Parish, and insult its feelings, by attempting to upset its deliberate decision.

They now attempt not only to rescind the just Resolution of last Vestry, to adjourn the question, but also to vote a Rate of

10D. IN THE POUND!

WHICH WILL AMOUNT TO THE ENORMOUS SUM OF

£800

AND UPWARDS!!

more than sufficient for the current expenses of all the Dissenting Chapels in the Parish and for ten miles round!

After making every exertion, after straining every nerve, the Tory Bigots have succeeded in attaining but a very few votes! There are upwards of 1500 still unpolled!

Men of Dudley, will you be thus insulted by the Tory Faction! Will you suffer them to extort from you your hard earnings for the support of a Church that has already upwards of 9,000,000 a year! No! you will rush to the Poll, not like the slaves of the Churchwardens, but like freemen, determined to resist tyranny and oppression, whether they appear in the shape of local despotism or priestcraft.

Yours, &c.

A LIBERAL.

The Poll will commence at 10 o'Clock to-morrow (Friday) at the Town Hall.

Thursday Evening, September 25th 1834.

PRINTED BY G. WALTERS, BOOKBINDER, BOOKSELLER, &c. DUDLEY.

Figure 6.3. Handbill opposing a 10d church rate in Dudley, September 1834.[60]

The greatest controversy at the 1834 poll came at the end when Booker closed the poll with ratepayers still queuing to vote. The church party won, but only

[60] DALHS, PO/6, PC, To the Rate Payers of Dudley (Dudley, 1834).

because the Sturges-Bourne voting procedure was weighted in favour of wealthier ratepayers with men like the Badger brothers having six votes each.[61] Walters highlighted this when publishing lists of those who had voted for and against the rate.[62] These can be compared with similar lists which he published following the by-election in February 1834.[63] There is a high correlation between those who voted for the Tory candidate at the election and those who supported the tenpenny rate, but precise comparisons are impossible because the electorates were different. The presence of some women amongst the voting ratepayers shows that the parish electorate was broader than the parliamentary one.[64] This is a rare example of women being allowed a small say in local politics. The 1834 results published by Walters are the only such local poll results to have survived and it is not known if women voted in any other of Dudley's ratepayer polls.[65] Taking the names of the women who voted in 1834 and checking them in the church rates collector's book for the same year, provides the size of the rate each woman was being charged, thus giving a rough indication of their economic status. More details are given in appendix 2.[66] Analysing the figures shows that the women who

[61] William Sturges-Bourne was the chairman of a committee to reform the Poor Laws from 1818 to 1819. Two acts of parliament, identified with him are known as the Sturges Bourne Acts or the Select Vestries Acts: the Act for the Regulation of Parish Vestries (1818) established a plural voting system based on the size of rate paid; the Act to Amend the Laws for the Relief of the Poor (1819) introduced stricter and more regulated administration of poor relief.
[62] DALHS, PO/29, PC, A list of the rate-payers of Dudley, who voted against a tenpenny church-rate being granted for the year 1834 (together with a list of those who voted for) (Dudley? 1834?).
[63] DALHS, PO/27, PC, A list of the electors who voted for Sir John Campbell, (Dudley, 1834?); DALHS, PO/28, PC, A list of persons who voted for Thomas Hawkes Esq. (Dudley, 1834?).
[64] DALHS, PO/29. It is hard to be exact over the figures because the first names of some voters were only represented by initials. However, of those who can be identified as women, seventeen voted in favour of the rate, whilst twenty-eight voted against it.
[65] DALHS, PO/29. This provides important evidence of women voting as they are not mentioned in any newspaper reports of the various parish polls that took place in Dudley.
[66] Of the women identified as voting, seven cannot be positively identified in the rates book, largely because the addresses given are too inexact. Lambeth Palace Library (LPL), Arches H532/27-28, Court of Arches, Nineteenth Century case papers, Baker and Downing v Wood, 1835, Dudley church rates collector's book, 1834 and copy.

voted in favour of the rate, on average, paid higher rates than those who voted against.[67] The occupations of several of the women have been traced from contemporary trade directories and this shows that the two groups, those voting for and those against, had a very similar range of occupations (appendix 2).[68] The only one known to belong to a family interested in politics was Phoebe Wallace, the mother of John Wallace (chapter 3).[69]

The 1834 vestry and subsequent poll highlights the politicising of the church rates controversy. Dominated by leading nonconformists, the opposition were also portrayed as radicals or Liberals, whilst the church party was led by Anglican Tory laymen rather than the vicar. Dissatisfaction with the 1834 poll was felt by both sides and ultimately led to a test case going to court. The opposition called a meeting, believing that, for various reasons, the poll and the ensuing rate were illegal.[70] Although nothing seems to have come from that meeting, the church party met later and determined to take legal steps to enforce payment of the rate. A case was taken to the ecclesiastical courts by the churchwardens, Francis Downing and William Rose Baker.[71] Downing was agent and trustee for the Dudley estate whilst Baker was a draper.[72] The case was pursued by lay-Anglicans, not Booker who retired and died the following year. The Bourne family solicitors, who usually

---

[67] Table A.B.1, appendix 2. The average rate of the women who voted in favour was 11s. 9d. whilst for those who voted against it was 6s. 10½d.
[68] Several occupations were common to both groups including: school proprietor, beer retailer, publican, milliner and dress maker and shopkeeper. Both lists included one woman whom the directory listed amongst the gentry. See appendix 2.
[69] DALHS, PO/29. Phoebe Wallace voted against the rate. More biographical detail about the Wallace family is given in appendix 1 (A29).
[70] DALHS, PO/426, PC, To the Inhabitants of Dudley. Church Rates! (Dudley, 1834?).
[71] LPL, Arches H 532/1-29, Court of Arches, Nineteenth Century case papers, Baker and Downing v Wood, 1835.
[72] Appendix 1 includes biographical information for Downing (A14).

supplied the clerk to the vestry, led the prosecution.[73] The original plan involved prosecution for non-payment of one Anglican, Thomas Wood, and one dissenter.[74] Without explanation, the case against Lester was dropped, thus removing part of the case's religious aspect.[75] As a young man, Wood had been a radical supporter of Queen Caroline and, as a liberal Anglican, he had opposed church rates at vestry meetings. There may also have been personal animosity between Baker and Wood.[76] Wood was defended by the Unitarian solicitor, Charles Twamley, a radical by comparison with Dudley's other solicitors. Using it as a test case, the church authorities hoped that Wood's prosecution would significantly cut down non-payment. There was an assumption that there would be no other prosecutions till it was concluded. However, they considered an exception in the case of the Swiss-born chemist, T.H. Neracher, apparently because he said, in advance, that he would not be bound by the court decision.[77]

Prosecuting Wood through the ecclesiastical courts was long-winded, with witness statements being taken two years after the events.[78] The final hearing was at the Court of Arches which differed from other courts. Witnesses did not appear

---

[73] LPL, Arches H 532/1-29, Court of Arches, Nineteenth Century case papers, Baker and Downing v Wood, 1835.
[74] There is no recorded explanation as to why Lester and Wood were targeted but they both had sizeable shops in the Market Place which may have made their refusal to pay the rate particularly annoying to the churchwardens. LPL, Arches H 532/29, Court of Arches, Nineteenth Century case papers, Baker and Downing v Wood, 1835, Thomas Lester's evidence.
[75] Ibid.
[76] Wood had been apprenticed to Baker and was later described as Baker's 'shopman' but had since opened a substantial draper's shop of his own, in proximity to Baker's. Worcestershire Archives and Archaeology Service (WAAS), 110/BA1/632/144, Quarter Sessions Papers, Easter 1818, Theft of cloth from William Rose Baker, 16 March 1818; *Birmingham and Lichfield Chronicle,* 2 August 1821, p. 2.
[77] Neracher had a chemist's shop in the centre of Dudley. Not much is known of his private life, but his father was John Caspar Neracher of Dielsdorf, Zurich. DALHS, PO/214B, PC, Whereas, a handbill has been published by Mr Neracher, (Dudley, 1835); PO/98B, PC, O Yes! O Yes! 'Whereas,' (Dudley, 1835).
[78] LPL, Arches H 532/1-29, Court of Arches, Nineteenth Century case papers, Baker and Downing v Wood, 1835.

in court but, in advance of the hearing, they went before a magistrate to be asked a series of questions, and their answers were recorded. The defence argued that the 1834 rate was illegal because of procedural irregularities. They drew attention to protests against the polling both verbally and in writing, but which had been ignored. Written protests by Cook and Palmer were produced as evidence, but neither man was used as a witness.[79] Nevertheless, the defence called on a range of support, including at least two Anglicans. Thomas Hodnett, a schoolmaster, argued: 'I am a Churchman, and not against church rates generally, but I like to have them legal, and no waste of money …'.[80] Wood's brother-in-law, Samuel Sedgley, a grocer, was also a churchman, but 'not friendly to rates' and thought 'the Dissenters ought not to be taxed for the Church'.[81] Charles Granger, a publican, was queuing to vote against the rate when the poll was closed. He said he sometimes attended the Church and sometimes the Independent Chapel.[82]

The collection of the 1834 rate may have been compromised by the query over its legality but, nevertheless, the rate collection book shows the unfairness of prosecuting one man when only twenty-three per cent of rate payers had paid, with a few others having paid subsequent years.[83] Thus, in 1834, over seventy per cent of ratepayers had paid nothing. Whilst this year may have been exceptional, the government enquiry into the state of Dudley in 1851 also drew attention to the

[79] LPL, Arches H 532/8, Court of Arches, Nineteenth Century case papers, Baker and Downing v Wood, 1835, Allegation (with three exhibits annexed).
[80] LPL, Arches H 532/29, Court of Arches, Nineteenth Century case papers, Baker and Downing v Wood, 1835, Thomas Hodnett's evidence.
[81] LPL, Arches H 532/29, Court of Arches, Nineteenth Century case papers, Baker and Downing v Wood, 1835, Samuel Sedgley's evidence.
[82] LPL, Arches H 532/29, Court of Arches, Nineteenth Century case papers, Baker and Downing v Wood, 1835, Charles Granger's evidence.
[83] LPL, Arches, H 532/27-28, Court of Arches, Nineteenth Century case papers, Baker and Downing v Wood, 1835, Church-wardens' levy 1834 [collection book] and copy.

chaotic state of Dudley's rating system with many houses not rated at all.[84] The low number paying the church rate in 1834 was less problematic for the authorities because a good proportion of those who had paid were 'the large ratepayers', primarily Anglicans and Tories. The five largest ratepayers together contributed one third of the £568 4s. 2d that had been collected.[85]

Wood's case dragged on until 1837 when it was finally decided in the churchwardens' favour, leaving Wood to pay costs of about £1,000 as well as the outstanding rate.[86] A subscription to help with his costs had raised under £200.[87] However, as an indication of economic power, the church party had collected £500 to finance the prosecution.[88] Although Wood was only charged with a civil matter, to the conservative churchmen it was more akin to a law-and-order issue and the readiness with which they gathered donations is reminiscent of earlier subscriptions to prosecute felons (chapter 3). Witness statements on both sides show how seriously they took the dispute. Leading industrialists Badger and Joseph Haden were prepared to spend much time at meetings and observing the poll, which Twamley did on behalf of the protesters.[89] The judgement against Wood was a pyrrhic victory for the church party and led to the opposition re-doubling their efforts in 1837 (figure 6.4). As to Wood, it must be assumed that he

---

[84] W. Lee, *Report to the General Board of Health on a Preliminary Inquiry into the Sewerage, Drainage and Supply of Water, and the Sanitary Condition of the Inhabitants of the Parish of Dudley in the County of Worcester* (London, 1852), pp. 13-15.
[85] LPL, Arches, H 532/27-28, Church-wardens' levy 1834 [collection book] and copy.
[86] *The Morning Chronicle,* 1 June 1837, p. 3; *The Courier,* 6 June 1837, p. 3.
[87] Some of the witnesses had agreed to contribute more if called on. LPL, Arches H532/29, Court of Arches, Nineteenth Century case papers, Baker and Downing v Wood, 1835, Evidence by Charles Twamley, W.C. Wood, Thomas Hill and Thomas Lester.
[88] LPL, Arches, H 532/29, Court of Arches, Nineteenth Century case papers, Baker and Downing v Wood, 1835, Evidence by John Roberts and Joseph Green Bourne.
[89] LPL, Arches, H 532/29. Court of Arches, Nineteenth Century case papers, Baker and Downing v Wood, 1835, Evidence by Isaac Badger, Joseph Haden and Charles Twamley.

managed to pay as there is no evidence of his defaulting or suffering bankruptcy.[90] He subsequently changed from being a draper to become a wine and spirit merchant and his business flourished. Wood was among those named by Elliott Hollier as being Dudley's early Liberals.[91] The case against Wood was significant for showing up the passions on both sides and it was pursued by leading lay-Anglicans rather than the vicar.[92] Wood had probably been targeted through a mixture of dislike of his political views and personal animosity. His prosecution failed to reduce opposition to church rates in Dudley. Lord John Russell, the Home Secretary, preferred disputes over church rates to be settled by magistrates distraining non-payers and, after Wood's prosecution, the Dudley authorities only used distraints.[93] The impact of both this policy and changes of leadership are evaluated next.

A revival of the church rates controversy at local level in 1836 might have been sparked by the founding of a national body, the Church Rate Abolition Society (CRAS).[94] In Dudley the same year, the language of the controversy was increasingly politicised, with one handbill using the slogan: 'No church rate! No tyranny!'[95] In November 1836 twenty non-payers were summonsed to appear before Dudley's magistrates one week and another twenty the following week.[96]

---

[90] After the result of the case and the scale of Wood's costs became known, newspapers suggested a further, more wide-ranging subscription had been entered into, but this cannot be verified and many newspapers wrongly identified Wood as a dissenter. For instance: *The Morning Chronicle,* 1 June 1837, p. 3; *The Carlisle Journal,* 3 June 1837, p. 2

[91] 'Interview with Mr Elliot (sic) Hollier: Dudley reminiscences' in *The Advertiser for Brierley Hill, Stourbridge, Dudley etc,* 22 June 1901, p. 5.

[92] Booker, who liked to portray himself as a moderate, was ageing and he died before the proceedings came to court.

[93] Russell remained opposed to the use of ecclesiastical courts: Ellens, *Religious Routes to Gladstonian Liberalism,* p. 51; *Coventry Herald,* 14 February 1840, p. 3.

[94] Ellens, *Religious Routes to Gladstonian Liberalism*, pp. 55-56.

[95] Ibid.

[96] *Birmingham Journal,* 26 November 1836.

An intriguing event at the first hearing concerned Dawson who wished to join the activists by refusing to pay, but when he answered the summons, his church rates had been mysteriously paid.[97] Unable to discover by whom, he wrote an open letter to his 'Fellow-Townsmen' regretting the payment, whether it was by a friend out of 'mistaken kindness' or by an enemy. He then gave several reasons for wishing to refuse to pay.[98] Dawson was Cook's minister, and many of Dawson's arguments resemble Cook's, particularly in attacking 'a Parliamentary Church'.[99]

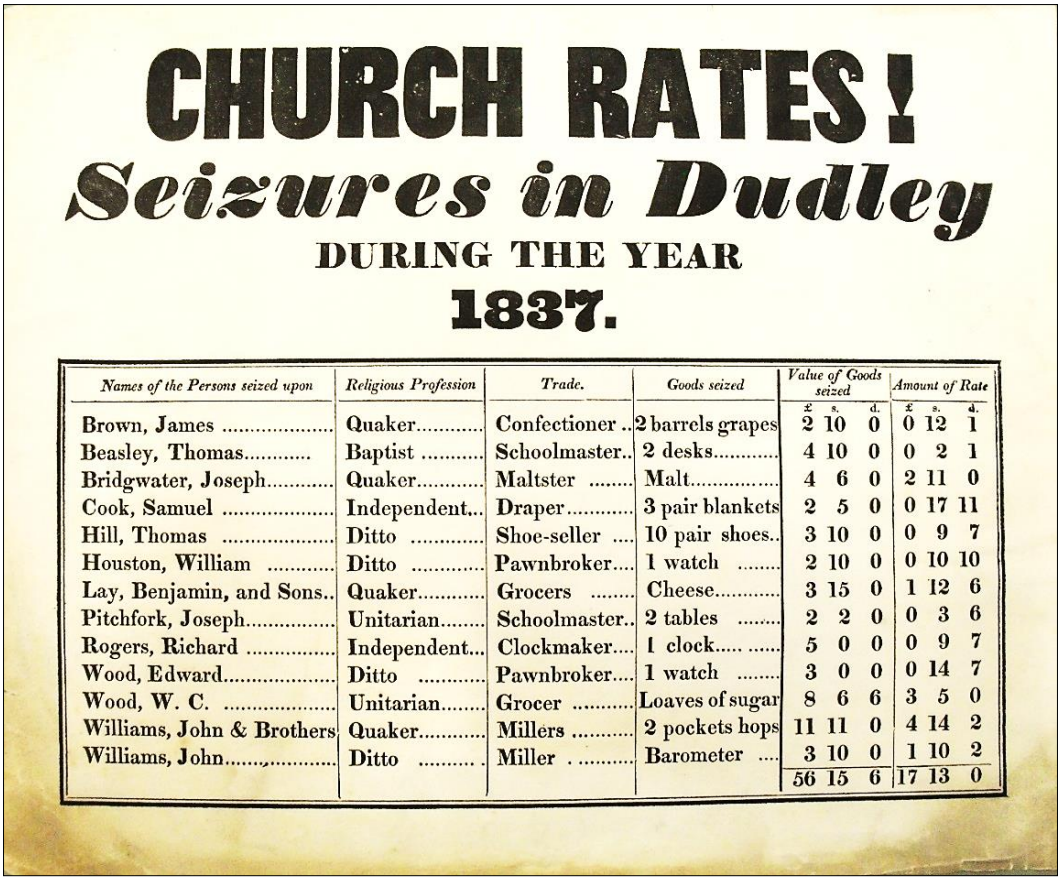
Booker had died in October 1835 and been replaced as vicar by the Reverend William Henry Cartwright who was, in some ways, an even harder adversary for the protesters.[100] Although like Booker in politics, Cartwright belonged to a wealthy and powerful local family and he became an active magistrate, working closely with Thomas Badger. Cartwright soon began fundraising to build new Anglican churches.[101] Dissenters immediately feared being expected to pay towards these buildings. One anonymous handbill also took exception to the Anglican appeal, which pointed to the lack of church accommodation, without mentioning the 'eighteen Dissenting and Methodist

---

[97] J. Dawson, *Church Rates: The Difference in Opinion between two Ministers of the same Persuasion* (Dudley, c.1836), p. 2.
[98] Dawson, the long-serving pastor of the Independent chapel, was not well-off. The church party would have been well aware of the propaganda value to the opposition if he had been distrained, particularly if personal or religious items had been seized and auctioned off. Dawson, 'Church rates', pp. 2-3.
[99] Compare, for instance: DALHS, SC/99, SCC, Is Protestant Episcopalianism alias what is called Church of England-ism (Hand-written notice attributed to Samuel Cook, n.d.); DALHS, SC/100, SCC, Do Protestant Episcopalians derive their Religion from the Bible or from Acts of Parliament? (Hand-written notice attributed to Samuel Cook, n.d.).
[100] W.H. Cartwright was the grandson of Joseph Cartwright, the vicar before Booker, making it easy for him to step into the existing power structure in Dudley. Appendix 1 includes further biographical information for the Cartwright family (A9).
[101] By the 1841 census, the population of Dudley parish was 31,232, an increase of 209% since 1801. 'Census of Great Britain, 1851. Population Tables', *Command Papers*, Paper No. 1631 (1852-53), Table 42, p. cxxvii.

chapels in the parish'.[102] The anonymous writer again linked the question of Church extension to the church rates controversy by suggesting that Anglicans should defer making general appeals for aid 'till the question of Church Rates be set at rest'.[103] From 1837 the church rates protests in Dudley became better coordinated and operated on several fronts. As well as targeting the vestry most times when a rate was levied, they contested polls, mounted legal challenges and allowed raucous protests when goods were distrained and auctioned. Leadership of the movement was fluid. The three ministers, Dawson, Rogers and Palmer remained to the fore into the 1840s. When Cook was distracted by other issues, there were others to take his place. Although Thomas Wood stood back, two of his brothers, Edward and William (both nonconformists) continued opposition. The protesters also improved their propaganda, with an anonymous handbill in 1837 listing what some of the leaders had had distrained (figure 6.4).[104]

[102] DALHS, PO/379, PC, Hints to Dissenters (Dudley, 1836).
[103] Ibid.
[104] DALHS, PO/340, PC, Church rates: Seizures in Dudley (n.p., 1837?).



CHURCH RATES!

Seizures in Dudley

DURING THE YEAR

1837.

Names of the Persons seized upon	Religious Profession	Trade.	Goods seized	Value of Goods seized £ s. d.	Amount of Rate £ s. d.
Brown, James	Quaker	Confectioner	2 barrels grapes	2 10 0	0 12 1
Beasley, Thomas	Baptist	Schoolmaster	2 desks	4 10 0	0 2 1
Bridgwater, Joseph	Quaker	Maltster	Malt	4 6 0	2 11 0
Cook, Samuel	Independent	Draper	3 pair blankets	2 5 0	0 17 11
Hill, Thomas	Ditto	Shoe-seller	10 pair shoes	3 10 0	0 9 7
Houston, William	Ditto	Pawnbroker	1 watch	2 10 0	0 10 10
Lay, Benjamin, and Sons	Quaker	Grocers	Cheese	3 15 0	1 12 6
Pitchfork, Joseph	Unitarian	Schoolmaster	2 tables	2 2 0	0 3 6
Rogers, Richard	Independent	Clockmaker	1 clock	5 0 0	0 9 7
Wood, Edward	Ditto	Pawnbroker	1 watch	3 0 0	0 14 7
Wood, W. C.	Unitarian	Grocer	Loaves of sugar	8 6 6	3 5 0
Williams, John & Brothers	Quaker	Millers	2 pockets hops	11 11 0	4 14 2
Williams, John	Ditto	Miller	Barometer	3 10 0	1 10 2
				56 15 6	17 13 0

Figure 6.4. Church rates seizures in Dudley, 1837.[105]

This list of church rates seizures is one of the most compelling pieces of evidence of the type of person and the range of religious views of those leading the opposition. Most were shopkeepers, although two were schoolmasters, and all came from 'old dissent'.[106] Some groups, particularly the Quakers and Unitarians, were represented well out of proportion to their actual following in Dudley.[107] The 'value of goods seized' was presumably supplied by each protestor and the items

[105] DALHS, PO/340, PC, Church rates: Seizures in Dudley (n.p., 1837?).
[106] Ibid.
[107] The 1851 census of religious worship showed the Quakers to have the smallest overall attendance of any group, with just eighteen recorded. J. Aitken (ed.), *Census of Religious Worship, 1851. The Returns for Worcestershire*, Worcestershire Historical Society, New series, Vol. 17 (2000), p. 7. Appendix 3 gives the results of the census of religious worship for Dudley in tables and charts.

probably realised much less when sold at auction.[108] This partly accounts for the disparity between the rates that were owed and the value of goods taken. The Baptist schoolmaster suffered the greatest apparent disparity, with his seized items valued at £4. 10s. to settle a rate of only 2s. 1d.[109] The Williams Quaker family were important millers in Dudley, and they seem to have been distrained both for their business and John's house.[110] Several of those listed also issued their own notices. Differing in tone and emphasis, these are useful for highlighting different motivations behind the protest. A joint letter from the Williams family pointed out that the Society of Friends had opposed 'ecclesiastical impositions' from its commencement.[111] They argued against church rates on scriptural grounds. Although writing in measured tones they were very critical of the Church of England.[112] Joseph Pitchfork, the Unitarian schoolmaster, had been the secretary of the Dudley Political Union but his letter avoids politics, instead claiming that church rates were unjust and unscriptural and that other places had long abandoned them.[113] A notice issued by the Independent, Richard Rogers, was much more political.[114] Highly sarcastic throughout, it begins: 'ANOTHER GLORIOUS VICTORY OF CONSERVATISM!' There are no religious arguments, but Rogers makes sneering references to 'the *"poor man's"* Church' and highlights the disparity between the value of goods seized and the outstanding payment,

[108] DALHS, PO/340, PC, Church rates! Seizures in Dudley during the year 1837 (Dudley? 1837?).
[109] Ibid.
[110] Appendix 1 includes biographical information for the Williams family (A33).
[111] DALHS, PO/415, PC, To the inhabitants of Dudley. Fellow Townsmen (Dudley, 1837). Note the letter was written by John Williams, Thomas Williams and Edward Williams.
[112] Ibid.
[113] DALHS, PO/157A, PC, To the inhabitants of Dudley (Dudley? 1837).
[114] DALHS, PO/473, PC, Another glorious victory of Conservatism! (Dudley, 1837).

'which they say I owe them'. He finishes with a facetious remark about the church bells being rung to celebrate 'all Conservative Triumphs'.[115]

The three dissenting ministers, Dawson, Rogers and Palmer, were still fronting the battle against church rates and appealing to Methodists, as well as 'liberal Church-men' to join the struggle.[116] In a handbill in December 1838 they called for ratepayers to vote against a proposed 3d church rate and suggested that 'union and co-operation' might help persuade 'her Majesty's Ministers' to address their grievances.[117] This appeal failed to win over the Wesleyan Methodists, judging by an article in *The Birmingham Gazette* which likened Dudley's church rates poll to a borough election and commented: 'The opponents of the measure were indefatigable in their exertions, the Dissenters having united in a body against it, with the exception of the Wesleyan Methodists who gave considerable support to the church party.'[118] A piece in *The Standard*, which included inaccurate voting figures, gave a flavour of the Anglican view of the opposition: 'The bigoted Church-hating Dissenters of this town, a heterogeneous mass of Quakers, Ranters, Jews, Papists, Socinians, Baptists, Presbyterians, &c. &c. have concocted an opposition to the church-rate again.'[119] Nevertheless, the church party secured a majority of 447 for the rate.[120]

The 1832 Reform Act led to political parties organising more diligently at local level, which included using the Courts of Revision to try and quash their

---

[115] Ibid.
[116] DALHS, PO/364, PC, To the Dissenters and Methodists of the parish of Dudley (Dudley, 1838).
[117] Ibid.
[118] *Aris's Birmingham Gazette,* 31 December 1838, p. 3.
[119] *The Standard,* 28 December 1838, p. 3.
[120] DALHS, PR17/4/1/2, Parish of Dudley, St Thomas, Vestry Order Book, 1821-1856, 29 December 1838.

opponents' right to vote.[121] Philip Salmon argues that voter registration inflamed religious tensions and this is seen in Dudley where the Conservatives used the Courts of Revision to strike at opponents of church rates.[122] In October 1839, Reverends Dawson and Rogers, who claimed the right to vote by virtue of their appointments, were both challenged by the Conservatives.[123] Dawson was deemed to have proved his right, but Rogers was not.[124] The following year the Conservatives challenged Dawson again, focusing on his claim to have a free-hold interest in the meeting-house. By highlighting the clause in his appointment that said he could be dismissed by a vote of a majority of members, they managed to disprove his claim to a lifelong interest, despite his having been the minister there for thirty-nine years.[125] An article in *The Staffordshire Gazette* concluded: 'The vote was therefore expunged. This gentleman may now condole with his brother Radical Rogers, the Baptist preacher who was removed from the list of electors last year on the same grounds.'[126] As some consolation, Dawson's plans for a new, bigger Independent chapel took shape and, when finished, it was one of the biggest churches in the parish.[127] At the foundation stone ceremony in 1839, Dr

[121] The Reform Act of 1832 laid down clearer procedures for voter registration. Lists of those claiming a vote were published annually and any name could be objected to by another voter or claimant. Circuit judges appointed revising barristers to tour the constituencies between 15 September and 25 October. These barristers set up Courts of Revision in the main centres of population (advertised in advance) where they would deliberate on the eligibility of voters who had been objected to. *Berrow's Worcester Journal* gave the end date for the courts as 25 October, but Philip Salmon puts it at 28 October. *Berrow's Worcester Journal,* 5 July 1832, p. 4; P. Salmon, *Electoral Reform at Work: Local Politics and National Parties, 1832-1841* (Woodbridge, 2002), pp. 20-22; M. Brock, *The Great Reform Act* (London, 1973), p. 323.
[122] Salmon, *Electoral Reform at Work*, pp. 69-72.
[123] *Aris's Birmingham Gazette,* 7 October 1839.
[124] Ibid.
[125] *The Staffordshire Gazette,* 10 October 1840, p. 3; DALHS, Church records, N/C/DUD/KIN/2/1/1, King Street Congregational Church, Church book, 1801-1849. p. 6.
[126] *The Staffordshire Gazette,* 10 October 1840, p. 3.
[127] According to A.G. Cumberland, on the Sunday of the census of religious worship in 1851, Dudley's Independent Chapel had the largest nonconformist congregation in the Black Country.

Redford, Worcester's Independent minister, emphasised that the new chapel was 'to be erected by the free and hearty contributions of its friends, and not by money wrung from the pockets of a reluctant people in the form of Church Rates'.[128] This coincided with the Anglican church extension programme which the nonconformists continued to treat with suspicion..

When the churchwardens asked for a rate of 6d, in June 1840, with little indication of why it was needed, an opposition handbill suggested that it might be for consecrating the two new Anglican churches (St James's and St John's) which opened that summer.[129] The churchwardens were accused of making 'extortionate demands' whilst Cartwright was said to stifle debate with his 'unjust and tyrannical conduct'.[130] This handbill also argued that, 'of the neighbouring towns, a church rate is only raised in the Borough of Dudley'.[131] Despite the urging of the nonconformist ministers, too few liberal churchmen were coming forward to join them and the June 1840 poll was won decisively by the church party, which issued a triumphant handbill giving the results and linking the fortunes of the Church with the Crown (figure 6.5).[132]

A.G. Cumberland, 'Protestant nonconformity in the Black Country: 1662-1851' (Unpublished M.A. dissertation, University of Birmingham, 1951), p. 113.

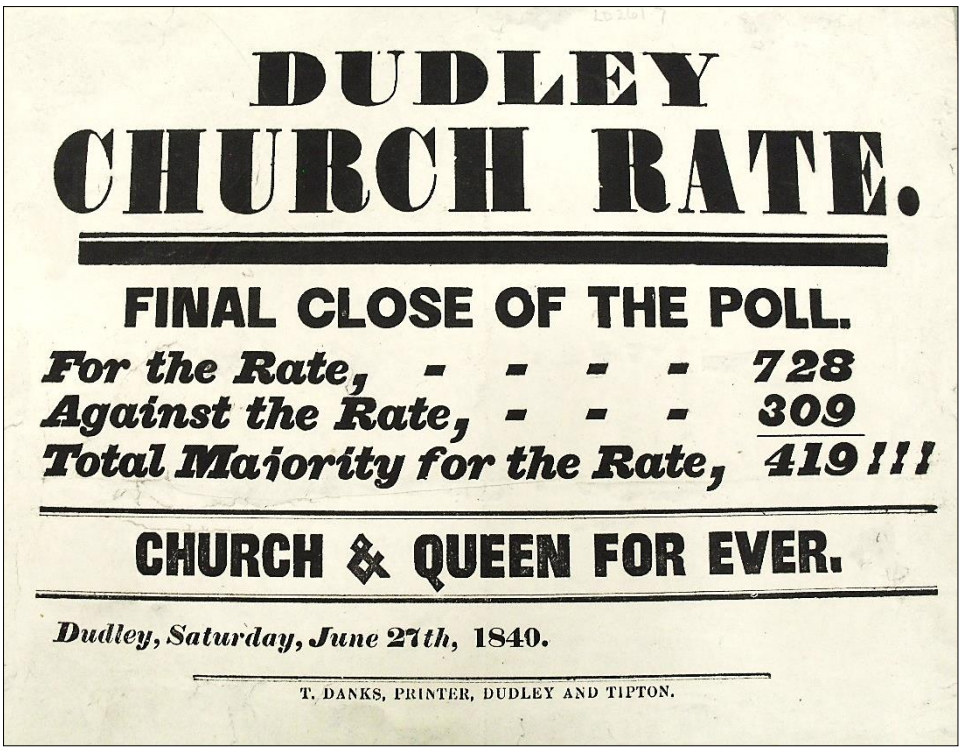
[128] *The Worcestershire Chronicle,* 5 June 1839, p. 3.

[129] E. Chitham, *The Story of Dudley* (Stroud, 2014), p. 152; *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 29 July 1840, p. 3.

[130] DALHS, PO/365, PC, To the rate payers of Dudley (Dudley, 1840).

[131] Ibid.

[132] DALHS, PR17/4/1/2, Parish of Dudley, St Thomas, Vestry Order Book, 1821-1856, 25-27 June 1840; DALHS, PO/304, PC, Dudley Church Rate. Final close of the poll (Dudley, 1840).



DUDLEY
CHURCH RATE.

FINAL CLOSE OF THE POLL.

For the Rate, - - - - 728
Against the Rate, - - - 309
Total Majority for the Rate, 419!!!

CHURCH & QUEEN FOR EVER.

Dudley, Saturday, June 27th, 1840.

T. DANKS, PRINTER, DUDLEY AND TIPTON.

Figure 6.5. Result of the Dudley church rate poll, 27 June 1840.[133]

Although the opposition had won some votes at the parish vestry, enough of the traditional deference for the Church of England remained in Dudley for the church authorities to win all the votes that went to a parish poll. Furthermore, while Hawkes remained Dudley's MP, the Anglicans could rely on his support and even in 1842, with financial problems starting to close in on him, he voted against a motion by John Easthope to bring in a bill to abolish church rates.[134] Opposition to church rates hardened into a more determined policy of voluntaryism which is analysed below.

[133] DALHS, PO/304, PC, Dudley Church Rate. Final close of the poll (Dudley, 1840).
[134] *The Sun,* 18 June 1842, p. 8.

The leaders of dissenters across Britain disagreed as to how strongly they should support voluntaryism.[135] The leadership in London was more moderate than that in northern towns such as Manchester.[136] Even within regions, there were differences and, as early as 1835, John Angell James, the Congregational minister at Carrs Lane, Birmingham had dissociated himself from what he saw as the militant voluntaryism of the Birmingham Dissenting Deputies.[137] James was less politically active than Dawson was in Dudley. Moderate dissenters had been wary of endorsing a voluntaryist policy that might develop into a call for disestablishment and, with it, the complete separation of church and state.[138] However, in the late 1830s and early 1840s, events such as the treatment of the so-called 'church rate martyrs', government's stalling on the church rates issue and Church of England attempts to procure more government money for church extension, all encouraged moderate dissenters to support voluntaryism more actively.[139] The opposition leaders in Dudley, particularly Cook, closely followed developments elsewhere. In 1841 Cook had a letter printed on the front page of *The Sun* which publicised protests against church rates in Dudley and a case that was before the magistrates. Cook gave five objections that dissenters had to paying the rates.[140] These included a new argument that was proving fruitful elsewhere – namely that the rate had been used to support churches other than the parish church. His letter also confirmed the view that there had been a

[135] Voluntaryism was the policy of insisting a religious body or other institution should only be supported by voluntary donations and not state funds. Ellens, *Religious Routes to Gladstonian Liberalism*, pp. 68-71.
[136] Ibid., pp. 41-44.
[137] Ibid., pp. 46-47.
[138] Ibid., pp. 46-48.
[139] Ibid., pp. 72 -87.
[140] *The Sun,* 24 March 1841, p. 1.

particularly concerted protest in 1837 for he wrote: 'The same course will be adopted this year as in 1837.'[141] However, the following day, *The Staffordshire Gazette* published a pro-church report of the same magistrates' session claiming that 'a whole host of would-be church-rate martyrs' came up against 'those excellent justices'.[142] Chief of those was the hard-line Thomas Badger who told the protesters that the magistrates would support the churchwardens by enforcing 'payment by distress, if necessary'. Twamley again conducted the defence and was included in *The Gazette*'*s* sarcastic round-up of the leaders of the non-payers:

> Among the list of candidates for the honour of martyrdom, were Mr Charles Twamley, the Radical lawyer, Mr John Palmer, the Socinian minister, Mr Davies, the hatter, Mr Edward Wood, pawnbroker, and last, though not least, Mr Thomas Hill of Radical notoriety, and Mr Sammy Cook, the Chartist demagogue; a motley crew, indeed, well worthy the cause they have espoused.[143]

In December 1841, Dawson finally joined the 'martyrs' by being distrained for non-payment and explained his reasons in a pamphlet.[144] By February 1842 the opposition's support seemed to be diminishing when the churchwardens easily secured another rate of 5d in the pound.[145] However, this had been backed by the strongly Anglican Dudley estate. The opposition sent to newspapers a copy of a 'circular' issued by John Maughan, one of the estate's main agents. It was

---

[141] Ibid.
[142] *The Staffordshire Gazette,* 25 March 1841, p. 3.
[143] Ibid.
[144] *The Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Mercury,* 17 December 1841, p. 2; J. Dawson, *Reasons for Suffering Distraint for Church Rates* (Dudley, 1841).
[145] DALHS, PR17/4/1/2, Parish of Dudley, St Thomas, Vestry Order Book, 1821-1856, 19 February 1842.

addressed from the ‘Estates Office’, on behalf of ‘the friends of the Established Church’ and called on recipients to support the rate in language reminiscent of how the estate would tell voters which way they wanted them to vote in a borough election.[146] The report in *The Worcestershire Chronicle* commented that coming from someone in Maughan’s position this was ‘more of a command than a request’. It claimed that it had been successful, with many of ‘the serfs from Netherton and Bumble Hole’ going to poll in favour of the church rate. It concluded: ‘This is a sample of the unwarrantable means resorted to by the High Church party in this district to accomplish their aims and to vex and oppress the consciences of their Dissenting brethren.’[147] However, it was to be the last rate passed for over three years.

Although the church rates controversy continued for at least another nine years, structural and personnel changes in 1844 and 1845 started to break the monolithic power that the Church of England had enjoyed in Dudley. Hawkes’s resignation as MP in August 1844 deprived the Anglicans of one of their greatest supporters. Although his replacement, John Benbow, was a firm Anglican, he was primarily Lord Ward’s agent and took little interest in the town and its affairs. Thanks to Cartwright, there were now five Anglican churches in Dudley, but the ancient parish had remained whole and, in his evidence to the Midland Mining Commission in 1842/43, Cartwright explained why he would prefer it to be divided into district chapelries rather than be split into small, separate parishes.[148] In 1844,

[146] *The Worcestershire Chronicle,* 23 February 1842, p. 3.
[147] Ibid.
[148] Great Britain, Parliamentary papers, House of Commons and command: Midland Mining Commission: first report, South Staffordshire (London, 1843), appendix, p. 40.

an Order in Council divided the old parish into five districts, each based on one of the Anglican churches.[149] St Thomas's remained the mother church and its incumbent remained Vicar of Dudley.[150] However, each district had the power to elect its own churchwardens and set its own church rates. They not only operated as separate parishes but they were often referred to as parishes.[151] Cartwright thought that keeping the constituent parts as districts would help maintain unity but this was negated by his own loss of support resulting from his perceived association with Puseyism which apparently led to his Anglican congregation refusing to levy a church rate (chapter 8).[152] Thus, although 1833-1845 was characterised by the Church of England resolutely holding off the nonconformist challenge, its internal strength was weakening, whilst the nonconformists were growing in number and developing an opposition that was bolder and better organised. The new Vicar of Dudley was Reverend Doctor James Caulfeild Browne, who saw the church rates controversy through to its bitter end, which is the focus of the final part.[153]

Denouement, c. 1845-1853

This section studies the denouement of Dudley's church rates dispute, puts it in the national context, makes comparisons with neighbouring parishes and asks how the final stages of the controversy impacted religion and politics in Dudley.

---

[149] The districts, which were soon considered to be separate parishes, were based on the five churches of St Thomas, St Edmund, St Andrew, St James and St John. *The London Gazette,* Issue 20394, 15 October 1844, pp. 3519-3522.
[150] Ibid.
[151] Confusion over the status of the district churches was reflected in the census of religious worship where they were all described slightly differently. Covering both options, St Edmund's was described as 'a District Parish Church'. J. Aitken (ed.), *Census of Religious Worship, 1851. The Returns for Worcestershire*, Worcestershire Historical Society*,* New series, Vol. 17 (2000), pp. 4-5.
[152] *The Worcestershire Chronicle,* 26 March 1845, p. 3.
[153] Appendix 1 includes biographical information for Browne (A7).

The British Anti-State Church Association (ASCA) was formed in 1844 to pursue militant voluntaryism.[154] Although some moderates, like John Angell James, in Birmingham, remained aloof, the new society was well-supported by dissenters and managed to widen its appeal.[155] In September 1845, Browne tried to settle the problems left by Cartwright. With no rate levied since February 1842, the churchwardens asked for a rate of 10d. Browne took a rigid, legalistic approach to church rates. At the first meeting he adopted the tactic he would pursue, refusing to accept any motion that annulled the rate or set it at a trifling amount. The minutes of this meeting are confusing, but they reveal different priorities within the opposition.[156] The 10d rate was countered by Lester proposing a 5d rate which was seconded by Thomas Wood. Then, according to the Order Book: 'Mr Thomas Hill proposed that the money required by the Churchwarden should be raised by voluntary subscription which motion was seconded but the Chairman declined to receive it.'[157] The account in *Berrow's Worcester Journal* added: 'Mr Cooke (sic) was about to move that no rate be granted, when the Vicar said he could not put such a resolution, the meeting having been called to consider and grant a rate.'[158] Cook demanded a poll of ratepayers but he was told it would not include the option of not having a rate.[159] A poll was granted but only offering for or against the amendment – a 5d rate – which was easily endorsed by the poll, as it had been at the meeting. Browne later admitted that during his tenure, a 10d rate had

[154] Ellens, *Religious Routes to Gladstonian Liberalism*, pp. 88-89.
[155] Ellens, *Religious Routes to Gladstonian Liberalism*, pp. 89-92.
[156] DALHS, PR17/4/1/2, Parish of Dudley, St Thomas, Vestry Order Book, 1821-1856, 12-15 September 1845. Note: the pages of the order book were filled in out of sequence at this point.
[157] Ibid.
[158] *Berrow's Worcester Journal,* 18 September 1845, p. 5.
[159] Ibid.

sometimes been set to cover two years.[160] Therefore, the church authorities may have been happy to concede a 5d rate, in the expectation that another 5d could be realised the following year. *Berrow's Worcester Journal* called it a 'signal defeat of the anti-rate party' and also claimed that Cook, 'of radical notoriety', had demanded a poll 'contrary to the wishes of his most intimate friends and legal adviser'.[161] The church party portrayed the result as a great compromise, even holding a public dinner at the Dudley Arms Hotel, 'to celebrate the granting of the reduced church rate of 5d in the pound'.[162] The only man linked to the protesters who attended was Lester who had proposed the 5d rate. By then a successful wine and spirit merchant, he was moving closer to the establishment. The report showed the church party indulging in self-congratulation and misplaced optimism that the problem had been settled.[163] Not all rates were contested; for instance, there was no apparent opposition when a rate of 10d was set at a vestry meeting in February 1847.[164] However, the controversy resurfaced in 1848 with the first records of summonses in the St Edmund's district for non-payment. Maughan was one of the churchwardens who pressed charges.[165] Then in summer 1848, uproar was caused by high-profile distrainments from veteran protesters: two of the Wood brothers, the Quaker Williams family and Pitchfork.[166] Newspaper coverage

---

[160] *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 14 April 1852, p. 2.
[161] *Berrow's Worcester Journal,* 18 September 1845, p. 3.
[162] *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 8 October 1845, p. 4.
[163] *The Worcestershire Chronicle,* 1 October 1845, p. 5.
[164] This period of calm on the church rates front may have resulted from the regular protagonists at the vestry, from different sides, having been distracted and united against what was thought to have been high-handed behaviour by the feoffees of 'the Free Grammar School'. DALHS, PR17/4/1/2, Parish of Dudley, St Thomas, Vestry Order Book, 1821-1856, 9 July 1846 - 11 February 1847.
[165] *The Birmingham Journal,* 12 February 1848, p. 3.
[166] Magistrates could authorise the seizure, or 'distraint', of goods from those refusing to pay their rates. The items would be sold at auction and the money used to pay the rates and an administrative charge.

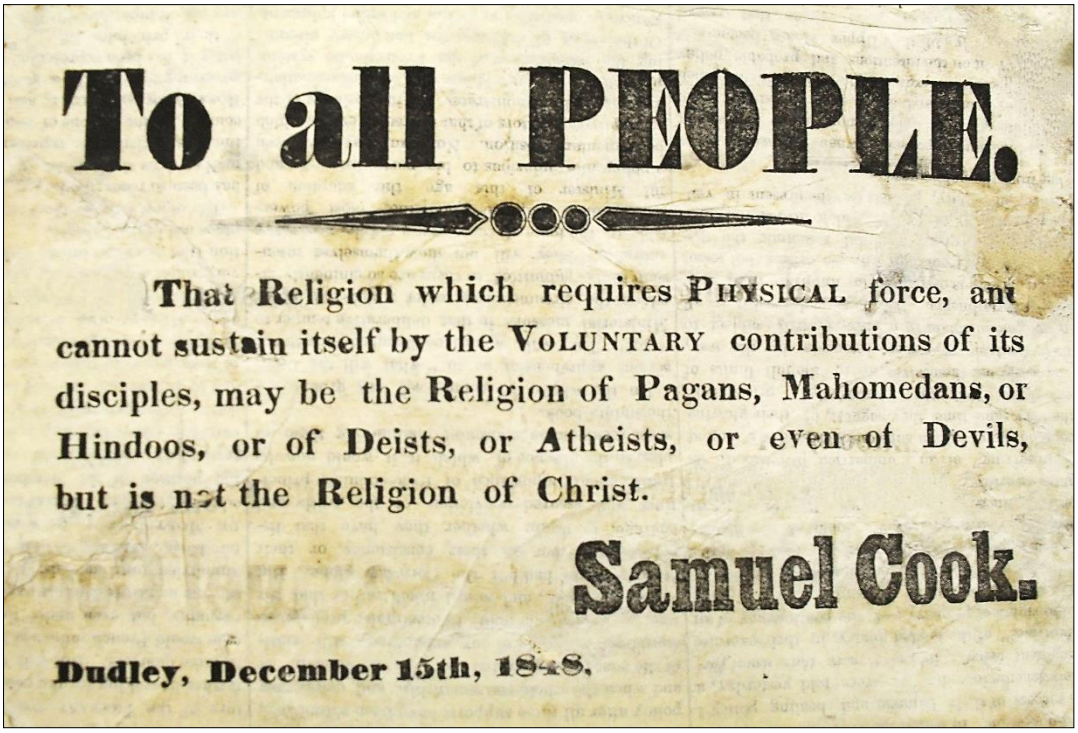
differed depending on the politics of the newspaper. The conservative *Berrow's Worcester Journal* emphasised the bad behaviour of the crowd when the auctioneer tried to auction distrained items:

As soon as he commenced, the motley assemblage, of about 300 people, commenced yelling and hooting, and stamping their feet on the floor, and caused such other disturbances, that it was found to be impossible at that time to effect a sale. Mr Johnson then went home, but was insulted by the same people, who formed themselves into a procession, and continued to hiss and hoot him all up the High Street, until he reached his house. The same mob then proceeded to the Vicarage, and there commenced hissing and hooting, and making other discordant noises in front of the Vicarage, for the purpose of insulting the Vicar, Dr Browne.[167]

The Worcestershire Chronicle, a Liberal newspaper, gave more space to the issues involved.[168] These included comments by both Thomas Wood and the Williams family. Supporting his brothers, Wood put the liberal Anglican case, that the rebels had 'conscientious motives', and the establishment would injure itself by pursuing policies that were 'manifestly unfair and oppressive'.[169] He also claimed that it was victimisation because he knew 'certain magistrates and other influential gentlemen' had not paid their rates. Wood apparently named these people, but the newspaper did not.[170] For his part, Thomas Williams excused the auctioneer for only doing his job, but told the crowd that items seized from his business were worth nearly £50 – namely, twenty-four sacks of flour, four bags of beans and

[167] Johson was the auctioneer. *Berrow's Worcester Journal,* 22 June 1848, p. 3.
[168] *Berrow's Worcester Journal,* 22 June 1848, p. 3; *The Worcestershire Chronicle,* 21 June 1848, p. 5.
[169] *The Worcestershire Chronicle,* 21 June 1848, p. 5.
[170] Ibid., p. 5.

eighteen bags of peas. *The Chronicle* also stated that the authorities managed to hold the sale of distrained items the following day but only with the help of 'a strong body of police'.[171] Another strand of the opposition policy was to publicise their arguments, at which Cook was particularly enthusiastic. In one of his idiosyncratic handbills, he made the case for voluntaryism and condemned religions sustaining themselves with 'physical force' (figure 6.6).[172]



To all PEOPLE.

That Religion which requires PHYSICAL force, and cannot sustain itself by the VOLUNTARY contributions of its disciples, may be the Religion of Pagans, Mahomedans, or Hindoos, or of Deists, or Atheists, or even of Devils, but is not the Religion of Christ.

Samuel Cook.

Dudley, December 15th, 1848.

Figure 6.6. A pro-voluntaryism handbill by Samuel Cook, 1848.[173]

This period shows a multi-stranded approach by the opposition. They were promoting a positive voluntaryist policy, maximising publicity by having goods

[171] Ibid., p. 5.
[172] DALHS, SC/121, SCC, To All People. That religion which requires physical force (Dudley, 1848). It is not obvious what particular event, if any, stirred Cook to write this particular handbill.
[173] DALHS, SC/121, SCC, To All People. That religion which requires physical force (Dudley, 1848).

distrained, and allowing a rowdy element to become involved – something which would concern the authorities.

A vestry meeting at St Thomas's in March 1849 shows the church rates controversy linked to another nonconformist grievance against Anglican monopoly. The church authorities were asking for a rate of 10d, particularly to cover the cost of building a wall around land, donated by Ward, for a new cemetery.[174] Isaac Badger argued that no one could object to contributing to the cost.[175] However, the vicar was forced to admit that dissenting ministers would not be allowed to conduct funeral services there.[176] In the absence of Cook, it fell to Dawson, the chemist, to propose an amendment that 'no rate at all be granted', but Browne refused to accept any such proposal.[177] A poll looked inevitable with an amendment tabled for a rate of only 2½d but, eventually, the opposition was withdrawn and the 10d rate allowed to pass.[178] The authorities had recklessly (and illegally) committed expenditure in advance, with the builder already owed £600−£700. One ratepayer put it succinctly: 'The present rate should be granted as the money was owing to respectable tradesmen of the town, who ought to be paid their just demands.'[179] Browne tried to stick to his interpretation of the law and hoped that Parliament would legislate to change or replace church rates, but he was increasingly isolated and his legalistic policy was at odds with the more pragmatic approach that eased

[174] *Berrow's Worcester Journal,* 15 March 1849, p. 3.
[175] Ibid.
[176] *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 14 March 1849, p. 2.
[177] Ibid. Note: Dawson, the chemist, would be John Dawson, the son of the late Reverend James Dawson.
[178] *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 14 March 1849, p. 2.
[179] Ibid.

the situation in neighbouring parishes, particularly Oldswinford and Kingswinford, which are analysed below.

In Stourbridge (part of Oldswinford) the Catholic priest, Reverend Walter Keen, led the opposition to church rates. In 1847, Keen argued that there were enough wealthy Anglicans in the parish to meet all the church's expenses. Keen focused on the rector, the Reverend C.H. Craufurd, describing him as 'a goodly rector, with as goodly a living, with his man-servant and his maid-servants, with his carriage and prancers'.[180] By 1850, Craufurd was converted to voluntaryism and sent a letter to church pew-holders which, amongst other things, reflected the growing sensitivity about what could and could not be legally paid for out of the rates. Craufurd wanted church expenses to be met by voluntary, annual subscriptions and he concluded: 'It does not appear to me worth while to disturb the peace of the parish, and to excite the ill-will of Dissenters, by enforcing their contributions to so paltry a sum as £20 per annum.'[181] *The Worcestershire Chronicle* commended the policy to other parishes.[182] After moving away, Girdlestone had returned to the Black Country as rector of Kingswinford.[183] The parish had been partly subdivided and, when the churchwardens of the mother church tried to extend a church rate over the whole of the original parish, the Anglicans quarrelled amongst themselves, resulting in lengthy and expensive legal action.[184] Girdlestone was convinced that church rates were not worth the hostility

[180] *The Worcestershire Chronicle,* 23 June 1847, p. 6.
[181] *The Worcestershire Chronicle,* 20 February 1850, p. 5.
[182] Ibid.
[183] *The Evening Chronicle,* 25 December 1846, p. 3.
[184] *Kingswinford Parish, Wordsley Church. Opinions of Counsel* (Brierley Hill, 1847); *To the Churchwardens of the Parish of Kingswinford* (Stourbridge, c. 1848); *Parish of Kingswinford, Staffordshire. Church Rates. Resolutions of Vestry Appointing a Committee etc.* (Brierley Hill, c. 1849).

generated. He presided over a vestry meeting in May 1851 at which church rates were ‘abandoned’. Instead, it was hoped that parishioners would contribute ‘in the voluntary style, now used in the parish church’.[185] Yet Browne still argued that he was legally bound to charge church rates. One reason that the dispute was polarised in Dudley was that very few liberal Anglicans attained leadership roles. Two who did emerge in the early 1850s, and helped to ease the controversy in different ways, were Hollier, a chemist, and A.B. Cochrane, the ironmaster.[186] Hollier, one of St Thomas’s churchwardens from 1848 to 1852, was a Liberal and a moderating influence. He tried to stabilise the chaotic church finances and, together with others, he was sued by church officials over unpaid salaries.[187]

In vestry meetings in April 1852, the pro-rate lobby, led by Isaac Badger, now a magistrate alongside his brother, called on the churchwardens ‘to pursue all those parties thought able to pay for their rates immediately’.[188] At another meeting, Hollier was criticised for failing in his duty to enforce the rate as ‘the churchwardens had the law upon their side and they ought to enforce it’.[189] Hollier countered that the post of churchwarden had been ‘thrust upon him’ and he was unwilling ‘to distrain upon parties if it could be possibly avoided’.[190] Hollier and Isaac Badger were opposed to one another in all aspects of local politics, not

[185] *The Worcestershire Chronicle,* 7 May 1851, p. 5.
[186] Appendix 1 includes biographical information for the Cochrane family (A11) and Hollier (A19).
[187] *The Worcestershire Chronicle*, 29 June 1853, p. 6.
[188] DALHS, PR17/4/1/2, Parish of Dudley, St Thomas, Vestry Order Book, 1821-1856, 1 April 1852.
[189] This criticism is not recorded in the Order Book. According to the newspaper report it was made by a Mr Pattison, but judging from the Order Book it was probably A. Patterson, a well-known publican and a Methodist. *Worcestershire Chronicle,* 14 April 1852, p. 6; DALHS, PR17/4/1/2, Parish of Dudley, St Thomas, Vestry Order Book, 1821-1856, 13 April 1852.
[190] *The Worcestershire Chronicle,* 14 April 1852, p. 6.

merely over church rates.[191] Badger remained committed to the principle of church rates but, in a further twist to local divisions, he became alienated from Browne. The cause of the disagreement is not recorded but it seems likely that Browne instigated the government enquiry into the state of Dudley in 1851, to which Badger took great exception, and the rift widened with the establishment of the Dudley Local Board of Health in 1853 (chapter 7).[192] A.J. Ware's index to the Parish Order Book shows that no one had attended more vestry meetings than Isaac Badger but he did not attend any at St Thomas's after March 1853.[193] Thus Browne lost the active support of one of Dudley's most powerful lay churchmen.[194] The next section illustrates how the protests gained a sharper edge.

Despite ASCA holding a well-supported meeting in Dudley in April 1850 which sent a delegate to the Triennial Anti-State Church Conference in London, it was 1852 before an organisation was set up in Dudley called the Anti-Church Rate Committee and this gave the protests a keener political edge than previously.[195]

---

[191] In reminiscences decades later, Hollier said of Badger: 'He was a man … who thought he was entitled to have his own way in everything in Dudley.' 'Interview with Mr Elliot (sic) Hollier: Dudley reminiscences' in *The Advertiser for Brierley Hill, Stourbridge, Dudley etc,* 22 June 1901, p. 4.
[192] The rift may have begun earlier. Browne put his name forward for election as a Dudley Guardian in 1848, 1849 and 1850. He did badly in the polls which were generally 'organised' by Badger. Each man may have resented the apparent interference of the other. Shortly afterwards, William Lee's enquiry into the state of Dudley led to the setting up of the Dudley Board of Health in 1853. Browne became chairman, by which time there was clear enmity between Isaac Badger and Browne. TNA, MH 12/13961, Great Britain, Records created or inherited by the Ministry of Health and successors, Poor Law Commission, Correspondence, Worcestershire, Dudley, 1848-1850, printed lists of Guardians' elections with voting figures, 15 April 1848 & 10 April 1850; *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 18 April 1849, p. 3; W. Lee, *Report to the General Board of Health on a Preliminary Inquiry into the Sewerage, Drainage and Supply of Water, and the Sanitary Condition of the Inhabitants of the Parish of Dudley in the County of Worcester* (London, 1852); *Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 20 August 1851, p. 4.
[193] Ware, *Dudley Parish Order Book*, pp. i-xxxxi; DALHS, PR17/4/1/2, Parish of Dudley, St Thomas, Vestry Order Book, 1821-1856, 26 March 1853.
[194] Since the partition of the parish, Isaac Badger was a resident of St James's district but that never stopped him attending St Thomas's vestries when he wished to. The memorials to both Thomas and Isaac Badger are in St Edmund's.
[195] *The Birmingham Journal,* 20 April 1850, p. 7; *The Worcestershire Chronicle,* 24 April 1850, p. 5; *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 2 June 1852, p. 2.

Cook was heavily involved but the chairman was James Finch. If the newspaper account is accurate, apart from Cook, the opposition was now led by men who were better known as political activists rather than religious campaigners.[196] Although it is impossible to judge individual sincerity, this committee's activities give the impression that the church rates controversy had become, at least in part, a political bandwagon. Finch was soon active. At the vestry meeting in April 1852 Hollier proposed a rate of 6d, and Finch countered by suggesting a rate of 1d, which was seconded by David Lloyd, Cook's son-in-law.[197] As usual, Browne tried not to accept the amendment, but it was forced on him and he put it to the meeting 'under protest'.[198] On a show of hands, 'a majority appeared to be decidedly in favour of the penny rate' and Hollier demanded a poll.[199] The report in *Berrow's Worcester Journal* included a graphic account of the poll, sneered at 'the motley group' that made up 'the penny rate party' and likened the poll to a parliamentary election. Significantly, this account shows the church party starting to lose enthusiasm. Although on the first day's poll, the vote for the 6d rate was ahead by ninety-one to seventy-eight, the church party was criticised for 'luke warmness', which allowed the opposition to surge ahead and win.[200] *The Wolverhampton Chronicle* also remarked that 'the church party was almost inactive'.[201] For their part, 'the penny rate party hired a band of music and about 150 of their supporters paraded the streets in triumph …'.[202] Browne seemingly rejected the result. The

[196] Finch, the chairman, and William Insull, another committee member, were prominent Liberal supporters. *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 2 June 1852, p. 2 & 7 March 1855, p. 7.
[197] DALHS, PR17/4/1/2, Parish of Dudley, St Thomas, Vestry Order Book, 1821-1856, 8 April 1852.
[198] Ibid.
[199] *Berrow's Worcester Journal,* 15 April 1852, p. 3.
[200] Ibid.
[201] *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 14 April 1852, p. 4.
[202] *Berrow's Worcester Journal,* 15 April 1852, p. 3.

Order Book records that 246 voted for the 6d rate and 343 for the 1d rate, 'the Chairman [Browne] declared the sixpenny Rate granted by 246 votes (being only legal)'.[203] Browne had warned that he would not consider the lower rate to be legal and some had queried at the meeting if there was, therefore, any point in having a poll.[204] However, the penny rate may have been honoured. The following year, when the churchwardens were sued for non-payment of wages to church officials, they defended themselves by arguing that the penny rate did not provide enough money.[205]

In May 1852, the protesters turned to legal challenges, with various church rates cases coming before Dudley's magistrates. The protestors had procured the services of Birmingham's veteran radical lawyer, George Edmonds.[206] In the first case, Edmonds tried various arguments, including that the rate was illegal because it was raised to cover an existing debt (the cemetery wall).[207] The magistrates, Thomas Badger and Cornelius Cartwright, were firm supporters of the Church and soon found in favour of the rate.[208] However, an article in *The Worcestershire Chronicle*, noted that the case should have failed because the complaint had not been made within the requisite six months of the alleged offence.[209] Cook's case had been chosen to stand for all outstanding cases and when the hearings resumed, Edmonds made better use of the time lapse

---

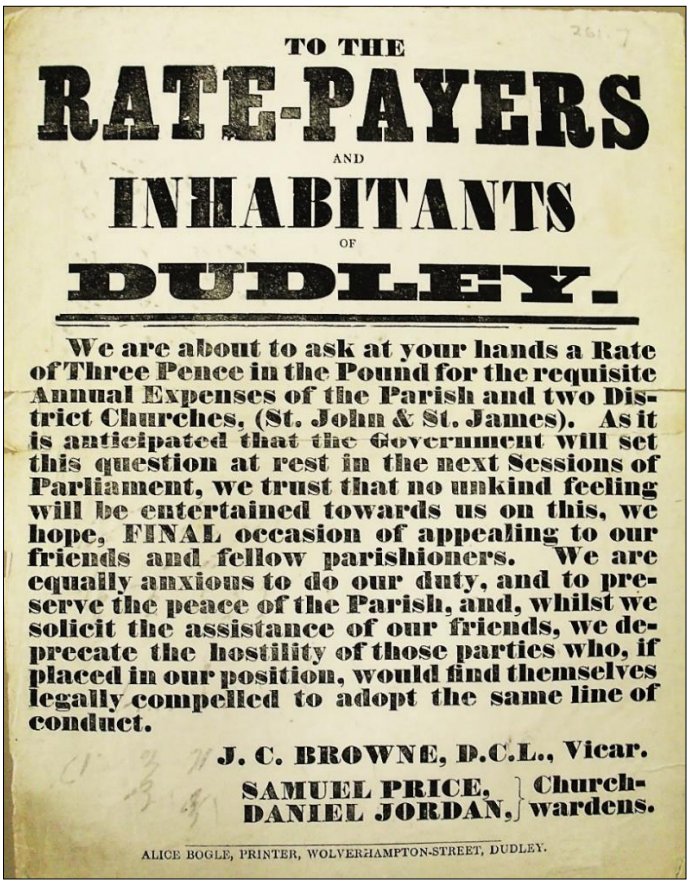
[203] DALHS PR17/4/1/2, Parish of Dudley, St Thomas, Vestry Order Book, 1821-1856, 8-12 April 1852.
[204] *The Worcestershire Chronicle,* 14 April 1852, p. 6.
[205] *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 25 May 1853, p. 2.
[206] S. Thomas, 'Edmonds, George (1788-1868), radical and philologist', in *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* (3 October 2013), Edmonds, George (1788–1868), radical and philologist | Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (oxforddnb.com) [accessed 28 May 2023].
[207] *The Worcestershire Chronicle,* 19 May 1852, p. 5.
[208] Ibid.
[209] Ibid.

argument.[210] Samuel Cook junior testified that he was asked for the rate in October or November 1851 and had not been asked since. The magistrates accepted this and ruled 'that the rate was demanded more than six months ago … and therefore the complaint was not made within the time limited by the Act'. Thus, Cook's case, and the other four that hinged on it, were all dismissed.[211] Although they won on a technicality, the momentum was shifting towards the opposition. The next sections analyse the final stages of the controversy.

1853 was the decisive year in Dudley's church rates controversy and, as early as January, the church authorities asked for a rate of 3½d.[212] The Order Book merely notes that it was passed, which was a deliberate misrepresentation as Browne refused to take an amendment for a 1d rate and banned any mention of the proposal from being recorded.[213] The meeting was similar to that of April 1852, but even more disrespectful with Browne being booed and hissed and Cook at his most argumentative.[214] The opposition got hold of the estimates for expenses and enjoyed trying to reduce the salaries of church officials. Church rates apparently had no friends left, with even Browne remarking that 'he was not in favour of church rates, and if any petition was brought to him praying for their abolition, he would sign it; but so long as it was the law of the land, he must conform to it'.[215] Browne kept hoping that Parliament would act. With the government failing to settle the church rates question, private members, such as

[210] *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 2 June 1852, p. 4.
[211] Ibid.
[212] DALHS, PR17/4/1/2, Parish of Dudley, St Thomas, Vestry Order Book, 1821-1856, 21 January 1853.
[213] DALHS, PR17/4/1/2, Parish of Dudley, St Thomas, Vestry Order Book, 1821-1856, 21 January 1853; *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 26 January 1853, p. 2.
[214] *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 26 January 1853, p. 2.
[215] Ibid.

William Clay, put forward various proposals.[216] The results of the census of religious worship may not have been discussed in Dudley, but they formed an important part of the debate in Parliament.[217] Later in the year, Dudley's churchwardens wanted another rate, this time of 3d. Browne and the churchwardens issued a handbill expressing the hope that it would be their final appeal and that Parliament would settle the matter in 'the next sessions', whilst emphasising their legal obligations (figure 6.7).[218]



TO THE

RATE-PAYERS

AND

INHABITANTS

OF

DUDLEY.

We are about to ask at your hands a Rate of Three Pence in the Pound for the requisite Annual Expenses of the Parish and two District Churches, (St. John & St. James). As it is anticipated that the Government will set this question at rest in the next Sessions of Parliament, we trust that no unkind feeling will be entertained towards us on this, we hope, FINAL occasion of appealing to our friends and fellow parishioners. We are equally anxious to do our duty, and to preserve the peace of the Parish, and, whilst we solicit the assistance of our friends, we deprecate the hostility of those parties who, if placed in our position, would find themselves legally compelled to adopt the same line of conduct.

J. C. BROWNE, D.C.L., Vicar.

SAMUEL PRICE, } Church-
DANIEL JORDAN, } wardens.

ALICE BOGLE, PRINTER, WOLVERHAMPTON-STREET, DUDLEY.

Figure 6.7. Appeal to support a church rate in Dudley, 1853? [219]

[216] Ellens, *Religious Routes to Gladstonian Liberalism,* pp. 109-112, 120-140 & 275.
[217] Ibid., p. 121.
[218] DALHS, PO/297, PC, To the Rate-Payers and Inhabitants of Dudley. We are about to ask (Dudley, n.d. 1853?).
[219] Ibid.

The packed meeting to discuss a new rate did not go to plan. However, it was not mob tactics that defeated church rates but two of Dudley's leading ironmasters, S.H. Blackwell, a Unitarian and Cochrane, an Anglican.[220] As before, the Order Book differs from the newspaper report.[221] According to *Berrow's Worcester Journal,* 'Messrs Blackwell, Cochrane, Cooke (sic), and others, strongly deprecated a church-rate and contended the full amount required by the churchwardens could be raised by voluntary contributions'.[222] Although an Anglican himself, Cochrane accused Browne of 'want of sincerity' for claiming he advocated peace while asking for a rate which risked 'casting a fire-brand among the parishioners'.[223] Blackwell proposed that there be no rate, before suggesting a farthing rate. Browne rejected both proposals, as usual.[224] He argued that 'while the present law was in operation, he could not accept a voluntary rate, nor indeed anything voluntary'.[225] With Isaac Badger absent, only Hollier spoke in favour of the rate, but added that he wished there was a better way of raising the money. To prevent another divisive poll, Cochrane and Blackwell persevered by pledging to underwrite the equivalent of a voluntary rate of 3d, which amounted to £318.14s.6d, 'if necessary'.[226] Browne cleared his conscience, firstly by arguing that 'an offer from two gentlemen, such as that just made, was a distinct thing from a mere voluntary subscription, and did not compromise the principle of a church-

[220] Appendix 1 gives biographical information for Blackwell (A4) and the Cochrane family (A11).
[221] DALHS, PR17/4/1/2, Parish of Dudley, St Thomas, Vestry Order Book, 1821-1856, 3 November 1853.
[222] *Berrow's Worcester Journal*, 5 November 1853, p. 5.
[223] Ibid.
[224] DALHS, PR17/4/1/2, Parish of Dudley, St Thomas, Vestry Order Book, 1821-1856, 3 November 1853.
[225] *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 9 November 1853, p. 7.
[226] Ibid.

rate', and secondly by letting the churchwardens make the final decision.[227] They accepted with alacrity 'and the Chairman [who] expressed his determination not to stand alone against the Voice of the Parishioners present, also acceded'.[228] Despite Browne's denial, voluntaryism had made its first appearance in Dudley and he never tried to pass another rate at St Thomas's.

The district churches showed mixed responses to church rates. In September 1853, a vestry meeting at St Andrew's in Netherton had been abandoned when an amendment in favour of 'no rate' seemed to be winning.[229] Yet, at St Edmund's, in December, a 5d rate was passed, apparently peacefully and unanimously.[230] In 1857 St John's passed a rate of 5d but it was specified as 'voluntary'.[231] Some of the district churches passed rates into the 1860s but they were usually small and there is no evidence that they were enforced by law so, effectively, they became voluntary too. After its chaotic inception, Dudley's first experiment in voluntaryism was only a limited success. With two wealthy ironmasters guaranteeing to cover deficiencies in the rate, many erstwhile ratepayers opted out, despite 'every exertion' by the churchwardens.[232] Of the required amount (about £320), Blackwell and Cochrane had to supply between £100 and £200. *The Wolverhampton Chronicle* suggested that collections should be made in the Anglican churches to cover expenses as it was confident that

---

[227] *Berrow's Worcester Journal*, 5 November 1853, p. 5.
[228] DALHS, PR17/4/1/2, Parish of Dudley, St Thomas, Vestry Order Book, 1821-1856, 3 November 1853.
[229] DALHS, PR9/4/1, Church of England, St Andrew's, Vestry minute book (1845-1918), 30 September 1853.
[230] DALHS, PR12/4/1, Church of England, St Edmund's, Vestry minute book (1845-1968), 9 December 1853.
[231] DALHS, PR15/4/1/1, Church of England, St John's, Vestry minute book (1845-1883), 3 March 1857.
[232] *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 11 October 1854, p. 7.

'there is no likelihood of a rate being made in future'.[233] Browne's hope, that Parliament would soon solve the problem, proved fruitless.

It was in 1868 that the Compulsory Church Rates Abolition Act, instigated by Gladstone, allowed church rates to continue but on a purely voluntary basis.[234] Before that, without guidance from above, the finances at St Thomas's became erratic. In January 1855, Browne announced that 'on account of there being no funds to pay the organ blower, the organ would be closed for the future'.[235] He later claimed that 'for two or three years he had paid all the church expenses out of his own pocket'.[236] Attempts at church rates legislation in Parliament usually provoked petitions from across the country. Cook and the Independent chapel were indefatigable, but in May 1855, in their first recorded show of solidarity, the Wesleyans also petitioned against church rates.[237] In May 1858 Browne held a parish meeting to discuss the Church's expenses, in the course of which 'Mr Cook gave a learned history of the origin of Church Rates'.[238] According to Cook, tithes had been appropriated over the centuries and were possibly still in the hands of Lord Ward, and they ought to be made available for repairs to the church. From his chapel experience, Cook made other fundraising suggestions, none of which appealed to Browne. Eventually, Browne suggested that the subscription entered into the previous year was repeated in the current year and a churchwarden put

---

[233] Ibid.
[234] St James's at Eve Hill, by then a separate parish, passed a church rate in 1870 but it can only have been voluntary as it came after the abolition act. DALHS, PR/14/4/1, St James the Great, Vestry minutes (1863-1970), 5 February 1870; Ellens, *Religious Routes to Gladstonian Liberalism*, pp. 240-256.
[235] *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 17 January 1855, p. 7.
[236] *The Birmingham Daily Post*, 14 May 1858, p. 4.
[237] *The Worcestershire Chronicle,* 4 April 1855, p. 5 & 2 May 1855, p. 5; *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 16 May 1855, p. 10; *Berrow's Worcester Journal,* 2 June 1855, p. 3.
[238] *The Birmingham Daily Post*, 14 May 1858, p. 4.

the proposal that ‘the sums necessary should be raised by voluntary contributions’, which was passed unanimously. When Cook praised Browne for ‘coming round to the voluntary system’, Browne replied good humouredly that he had no choice.[239] Subsequently, at a poorly attended vestry meeting, Browne even joked that the only way to guarantee good attendance was ‘to get the Churchwardens to give notice of an intention to make a church rate’.[240] Joking apart, there would be no return to a policy of trying to exact compulsory church rates in Dudley. With the backing of national organisations, Dudley’s nonconformists had won the argument and the propaganda battle, whilst Anglican enthusiasm for the fight had diminished. Even Browne claimed that he would sign petitions to get rid of the rate and he had lost support from leading Anglican laymen like Badger and Cochrane.[241] At critical meetings, Browne was left with only the support of the churchwardens, and it was not enough to defeat a determined opposition.

Conclusion

This chapter asks the question to what extent the church rates controversy in Dudley revealed the weakening of Anglicanism in the town? Although Dudley was one of the ‘populous’ industrial parishes where Gilbert would have expected to see a church rates controversy, numbers alone do not explain why the controversy in Dudley developed differently from neighbouring parishes. That difference is

[239] Ibid.
[240] *The Birmingham Daily Post,* 21 May 1858, p. 1.
[241] Badger strongly believed that non-payers should be rigorously pursed and his animosity with Browne is discussed above. Cochrane’s preference for a voluntary solution is also discussed above. The Cochranes remained public benefactors, especially in Woodside where they built schools and a church building, but Browne’s resentment towards them came to light later. *The Birmingham Daily Post,* 7 October 1861, p.4 and 14 October 1861, p. 4.

explained by the distinctive mix of religion and politics in Dudley and the strong personalities involved.

For some of the leading protagonists, religion and politics were irrevocably interconnected and the church rates controversy impacted on both. The chief opponent of church rates was Cook. To him, the idea of a state church made a mockery of religion, and he refused to accept that non-Anglicans should pay anything to the Church of England. In the 1830s and early 1840s, Cook's views were shared by several nonconformist ministers and by the Quakers. On the other side were men who believed that the state church needed preserving as a vital pillar of society. Not only was this the opinion of the vicars and churchwardens, but also of leading Tories, including powerful men like Hawkes, the Badger brothers, Ward's agents and most magistrates. Isaac Badger, particularly, demanded legal action against rate defaulters. Whilst there was a sharp divide between Anglicans and nonconformists, it was tempered by the equivocal position of many Methodists and the willingness to compromise shown by liberal Anglicans, although the slowness with which liberal Anglicans achieved leadership positions in Dudley was one reason that the controversy lasted so long.

For nonconformists, particularly 'old dissent', the controversy brought leaders of different denominations closer together, in opposition to the Church of England. Whilst the Methodists had mainly held aloof from the controversy, by the end of the period they were more aligned with the other nonconformists. The controversy thus hardened the division between nonconformists and leading Anglicans, most of whom were Conservatives. Dudley's experience differed from its neighbours in several respects, such as the lack of participation by the Catholic

community and Browne's legalistic approach. However, by the end, the growing influence of liberal Anglicans made compromise more likely.

The nationwide reform struggle of the early 1830s showed Anglican leaders to be overwhelmingly anti-reform, giving reform-minded nonconformists justification for disrupting the parish vestry, challenging churchwarden elections and opposing church rates. However, within the anti-rates grouping, there was a range of views, with moderate reformers, such as Lester, more prepared to compromise. Testing Ellens' and Coohill's theories on the correlation between the church rates controversy and the rise of the Liberal party is hampered by the lack of Liberal party records in Dudley but studying key individuals, who were later known as Liberals, reveals that a high proportion, including some Anglicans, opposed church rates. However, for Cook, the leading opponent of church rates, the Liberals were never radical enough. Thus, although the church rates dispute was important for the rise of the Liberal party in Dudley, there was no complete correlation between the two.

A wide range of people took part in the church rates controversy and one example of this is the presence of women voters on both sides of the argument (appendix 2). There was also a mixture of motives behind the opposition to church rates and not all were religious or political. Some ratepayers simply wanted lower rates, and the newspaper descriptions of the crowds, especially at the auctions, suggest that the struggle had an anti-authoritarian appeal to many who were not even ratepayers. Trainor rightly draws attention to Dudley's 'entrenched Anglican elite'; however, not only was their position being eroded, but much of the action took place below the level where the elites operated. Even so, the traditional

deference for the Church of England remained sufficient until the mid-1840s. After that, not only was the momentum with the protesters, but the church party increasingly lost enthusiasm for the fight. Alongside the rise in nonconformism in Dudley, the Church of England also changed markedly in this period, both in structure and personnel. Although little was written about it at the time, Cartwright's loss of support because of his perceived Puseyism was unprecedented. Up till then he had been a figure of authority and one of Dudley's firmest magistrates. Browne was not guaranteed the strong Conservative support that Booker and Cartwright had expected and received. Whilst there is no evidence that the results of the 1851 census of religious worship were discussed in Dudley, the Anglican leaders must have realised that the combined church attendance of nonconformists and Catholics in the parish had surged ahead of their own. By the mid-1850s, compulsory church rates in Dudley were untenable. In the face of a determined opposition, the Anglicans were increasingly defensive and described as 'lukewarm' in local newspaper reports. Whilst Browne grumbled about parliament bickering, the opposition used national organisations and learnt from campaigners elsewhere. Dudley's nonconformists were growing in numbers and status. They improved their organisation, fought the better propaganda battle and became more successful in legal cases. When it came to church rates, the nonconformists seemed able to put their own disagreements to one side and fight the Anglicans with an almost united front. Anglican dominance lasted till the mid-1840s but, after that, the growing power of both nonconformism and liberalism combined to defeat church rates and the Anglican hegemony that they symbolised.

CHAPTER 7

Dudley, 1851-1867: Conservatives, Liberals and Radicals

Introduction

The years 1851 to 1867 in Dudley continued to be marked by conflict between Conservatives, Liberals and Radicals. Nevertheless, by the end of the period, the newly incorporated borough had a more cohesive local government structure, greater independence and a developing civic consciousness. Conservatism remained powerful, but it was not immutable and continued to provoke challenges. Strong individuals still exerted their influence. Isaac Badger, the chief of the Conservatives, reached the zenith of his power in 1857 and Lord Ward increased his influence in some areas while seeing it diminish in others. The vicar, Reverend James Caulfeild Browne, played an influential political role from outside the main political groupings. Browne was a Tory paternalist and his desire for social reforms put him at odds with Badger's brand of non-interventionist Toryism. For the radicals, Samuel Cook's leadership was bolstered by assistance from Daniel Wallwork, a newcomer to Dudley.[1] In national politics, the rise of Liberalism, led by William Gladstone, was countered by Benjamin Disraeli's re-energising of the Conservative Party, culminating in the Second Reform Act of 1867.[2] Against that back-drop, this study analyses the effects of political conflict in Dudley and the resultant shifting alliances. This chapter asks the question to what extent and how did political conflict help shape the Dudley borough in the period

[1] Appendix 1 includes biographical information for Wallwork (A30).
[2] R. Saunders, *Democracy and the Vote in British Politics, 1848-1867: The Making of the Second Reform Act* (Farnham, 2011), pp. 225-263 etc.

up to 1867? To answer the question, it focuses separately on three key areas: Dudley's emergent local government, the parliamentary constituency, and working-class politics. Relevant historiography, primary sources and supplementary themes are discussed within each part, beginning with local government.

Local government

The Dudley Poor Law Union was established in 1836 under mandatory legislation which grouped Dudley with three neighbouring parishes and gave ratepayers their first experience of elective local government.[3] However, the 1840s and 1850s saw a rise in permissive legislation. The Public Health Act of 1848, brought forward following the cholera epidemic that year, was particularly significant for the development of local government in Dudley. In a study of permissive legislation, focusing on public health, John Prest uses examples from the Isle of Wight and Huddersfield to study the success of permissive legislation. Prest concludes that the Public Health Act was the least productive of the measures he considered and this study analyses how and why it failed in Dudley.[4] A.S. Wohl's verdict also reflects Dudley's experience when he writes that 'the love of local autonomy and its close association with low rates were nowhere more apparent than in public health'.[5] Dudley's experience is like Birmingham's. There Roger Ward notes that an inspection under the aegis of the Public Health Act led to a simplification of the local government structure in 1851 but that into the 1860s Birmingham's Town Council continued to be dominated by the 'Economists',

[3] The other parishes were Sedgley, Tipton and Rowley Regis.
[4] J. Prest, *Liberty and Locality: Parliament, Permissive Legislation and Ratepayers' Democracies in the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford, 1990), p. 166.
[5] A.S. Wohl, *Endangered Lives: Public Health in Victorian Britain* (London, 1983), p. 166.

committed to low rates and minimal public expenditure.[6] Ann Day uses a study of Portsea Island to explore both central-local relations and internal disputes on the island over the adoption of the Public Health Act. She takes an optimistic view of the 'continuous system of negotiation and the reconciliation of different interests at both a national and a local level', believing it fostered 'the move towards a municipal consciousness'.[7] This study of Dudley presents a more complex picture; controversies left the Local Board of Health impotent and it failed to solve any of the issues it was established to address, whilst the Dudley Poor Law Union only yielded to the Poor Law Board's urging to build a union workhouse under the threat of the union being broken up.[8] 'Municipal consciousness' had to wait until Dudley was incorporated in 1865. Dudley Archives and Local History Service (DALHS) holds an almost continuous run of minutes for the Board of Guardians, the Board of Health, and the Dudley Corporation, but their main purpose was to provide factual records; they only rarely and briefly include accounts of discussions, disagreements and voting.[9] Despite Conservative reluctance, all the bodies allowed press reporting by June 1853 and local newspaper reports, despite biases, provide a better view of the unfolding controversies than the minutes. The other major primary sources are official reports, particularly the enquiry into

[6] R. Ward, *City-state and Nation: Birmingham's Political History, c. 1830-1940* (Chichester, 2005), pp. 51-52.
[7] A. Day, 'A spirit of improvement: improvement commissioners, boards of health and central-local relations in Portsea' in R.J. Morris and R.H. Trainor (eds.), *Urban Governance: Britain and Beyond since 1750* (Aldershot, 2000), pp. 101-127, especially p. 112.
[8] Philip Harling gives insights into the sorts of persuasion that Commissioners and Assistant Commissioners were able to use in other places. P. Harling, 'The power of persuasion: central authority, local bureaucracy and the New Poor Law', *The English Historical Review,* Vol. 107, No. 422 (January 1992) pp. 30-53.
[9] The only gap seems to be for the incorporated borough prior to 9 November 1867: DALHS, GDU/1/1-8, Dudley Board of Guardians, Minutes, 1836-1869; DALHS, Dudley Local Board of Health, Minutes, June 1853 - May 1865; DALHS, Dudley Council Minutes, 9 November 1867.

Dudley's sanitary condition by the government inspector, William Lee, in 1851.[10] The Dudley Local Board of Health was born in controversy.

The divisions which undermined the Board of Health emerged before it was established. In August 1851, Lee opened his enquiry into Dudley's sanitary conditions, but before he had finished his opening remarks, Isaac Badger arrived and demanded to know why none of 'the principal gentlemen of the town' had been consulted.[11] Without waiting to listen, Badger asserted that 'he thought Dudley could very ill afford to go to any expense at all'. Lee refused to be intimidated whilst Badger asserted that 'the town was never in a more healthy state than at present; and I object to the whole proceedings', then left.[12] This short exchange highlights Badger's antipathy to both outside interference and anything that might increase the rates. Nevertheless, Lee produced compelling mortality figures for Dudley, showing that the average age of death from 1841 to 1850 was sixteen years, seven months, which he declared to be the lowest in England and Wales.[13] Several local surgeons gave evidence, including James Fisher who had worked in some of Dudley's poorest districts and the workhouse throughout the cholera epidemics of 1832 and 1849, and through influenza outbreaks in the 1830s and fever epidemics in the 1840s.[14] Fears left by cholera ran particularly deep and Lee's recommendation that Dudley should adopt the 1848 Public Health

[10] W. Lee, *Report to the General Board of Health on a Preliminary Inquiry into the Sewerage, Drainage and Supply of Water, and the Sanitary Condition of the Inhabitants of the Parish of Dudley in the County of Worcester* (London, 1852).
[11] *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 20 August 1851, p. 4.
[12] After Badger left, a member of the audience told Lee that he had addressed Mr Badger 'in a way to which he was not accustomed', but Lee was unabashed. *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 20 August 1851, p. 4.
[13] Lee, *Report to the General Board of Health*, pp. 30-34.
[14] Ibid., pp. 27-29.

Act was accepted. In 1853 the Town Commissioners were replaced by the fifteen-member Dudley Local Board of Health. This, the borough's first elected local government body, was riven from the start. Browne, probably the prime mover behind Dudley's adopting the Public Health Act, topped the poll at the initial elections and became chairman of the first board.[15] However, Isaac Badger and his nephew Thomas Badger junior were also elected, despite maintaining that the new body was unnecessary.[16] Isaac, in particular, worked to undermine the board, either by boycotting it, being disruptive or using other platforms, such as the court leet, to criticise the board.[17] Even those with opposing views to Badger, including the Liberal ironmaster, A.B. Cochrane and Richard Smith, Lord Ward's main agent, urged Badger to engage with the board, but when he did attend meetings there were clear signs of antagonism between Badger and Browne.[18] Divisions on the Board of Guardians between Liberals and non-interventionist Conservatives continued to affect local services.

Lee's report included criticisms of Dudley's town workhouse, which was the responsibility of the Board of Guardians, of which Badger was chairman. Furthermore, inspections for the Poor Law Board criticised all Dudley Union's workhouses.[19] In 1853, the schools inspector, Jelinger Symons, produced a damning report into the state of education in the Tipton workhouse.[20] Badger tried

---

[15] *Berrow's Worcester Journal,* 25 June 1853, p. 8.
[16] *Berrow's Worcester Journal,* 25 June 1853, p. 8; *The Birmingham Journal,* 20 June 1857, p. 7.
[17] See, for instance: *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 2 November 1853, p. 7; *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 15 February 1854, p. 7, 10 May 1854, p. 7 & 1 November 1854, p. 5.
[18] *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 2 November 1853, p. 7 and 10 May 1854, p. 7; *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 1 November 1854, p. 5.
[19] Lee, *Report to the General Board of Health* (1852), pp. 35-39.
[20] This was Jelinger Cookson Symons, a barrister who had been appointed a permanent inspector of schools in 1848.

to stifle debate saying he 'did not think paupers' children ought to be educated in the same manner as others and that he had no doubt there was quite as much attention paid to their education as was desirable'.[21] The small group of Liberal Guardians, led by the ironmaster, S.H. Blackwell, insisted that Symons's report be considered.[22] Badger, for his attitude to educating the poor and, at the same meeting, Frederick Barrs, for wishing to ban the press from their meetings without even a discussion, were both dubbed 'Dudley fossils' in a humorous commentary in *The Birmingham Journal.*[23] Shortly afterwards, the Poor Law Inspector, Andrew Doyle, published a letter to Badger and the other Guardians damning 'the state of the workhouses' and urging them to build a new union workhouse.[24] This split the board between Conservatives rejecting the idea and Liberals wishing to consider it. The controversy raised other questions about the relationship between the Guardians and the public. Although the Guardians finally allowed press reporting of their deliberations, they refused to admit the public, even when those wishing to listen to the workhouse debate were led by Browne.[25] Cook, who was also ejected, called a meeting on the subject, but there are no reports of its outcome.[26] The Poor Law Board only managed to force the Conservatives to agree to build a union workhouse by manipulating parish rivalries and threatening to split the

[21] *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 18 May 1853, p. 2. The Tipton workhouse had been designated for children from across the union, so this discussion concerned the policy in place for the whole of the union, not just one parish.
[22] Two other Liberal ironmasters had also become Guardians: A.B. Cochrane and James Evers Swindell.
[23] *The Birmingham Journal,* 21 May 1853, p. 5.
[24] A. Doyle, *Letter Addressed to Isaac Badger, Esq., Chairman of the Board of Guardians of the Dudley Union on the State of the Workhouses of that Union* (London, 1853), [p. 3].
[25] The campaign to admit the press to Board meetings was led by the Liberals Cochrane, Blackwell, Patterson and Hollier. They finally got agreement in June 1853. Blackwell also favoured allowing the public to listen to the Guardians' discussions. DALHS, GDU/1/3, Dudley Board of Guardians, minutes, 1850-1855, 6, 13, 20 & 27 May and 3 & 10 June 1853.
[26] DALHS, SC/21, SCC, A public meeting. Notice is hereby given… (Dudley? 1853).

union.[27] The Liberals backed the workhouse project but, before the plans were completed, an election in April 1854 saw all Dudley's Liberals voted off the board, largely, it was thought, for supporting the introduction of the Small Tenements Rating Act.[28]

Although Isaac Badger often acted autocratically, he enjoyed widespread support and usually topped Guardians' election polls, as he did in 1854, securing 1,565 votes. Blackwell, the best-placed Liberal, received only 940.[29] The Liberals' defeat delayed the public being allowed to observe Guardians' deliberations. In June 1854, Cook was ejected from a meeting considering sites for the proposed workhouse.[30] He charged the police superintendent, who enforced his removal, with assault.[31] Isaac Badger, one of the two magistrates judging the case, asserted that 'no other persons except the Guardians and reporters were permitted to attend the Board meetings'. Cook argued that it was a constitutional right, but Badger affirmed that he had repeatedly asked Cook to leave. The case was soon dismissed, with Cook having to pay costs although he had succeeded in

[27] The Poor Law Board intimated that, if the Dudley Board of Guardians continued to refuse to build a union workhouse, the parish of Sedgley would be removed from the Dudley Union and placed in Wolverhampton's. Neither the Sedgley Guardians, nor those for the other Dudley Union parishes, found this proposal appealing. DALHS, GDU/1/3, Dudley Board of Guardians, minutes, 1850-1855, 2 December 1853.
[28] The Small Tenements Rating Act of 1850 was permissive legislation that made landlords, rather than tenants, of small houses rented out at £6 per annum or less, responsible for paying the poor and highway rates. Opposition, based on different arguments, came from a wide range of people. For instance, Samuel Cook condemned it as indirect taxation which would affect some landlords but not others, whilst Isaac Badger complained it was unjust to the owners of small houses. However, there was a large majority in favour at a parish poll in March 1853. *The Worcestershire Chronicle,*16 March 1853, p. 5; *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 19 April 1854, p. 6; DALHS, PO/641, PC, Small Tenements Rating Act (Dudley, 1853).
[29] Results reprinted in: C.F.G. Clark (comp. & ed.), *The Curiosities of Dudley and the Black Country from 1800 to 1860 etc.* (Birmingham, 1881), p. 188.
[30] *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 28 June 1854, p. 7.
[31] *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 28 June 1854, p. 4.

publicising the issue.[32] This was one of Cook's numerous clashes with the Badger brothers. Meanwhile, controversies continued to undermine the Board of Health.

The Liberals had taken several seats on the first Board of Health in 1853, and divisions soon arose between them and the Conservatives, particularly over expenditure on salaries. In September 1853, the reappearance of cholera in parts of Britain encouraged the Liberals, led by Blackwell, to urge the appointment of a medical officer of health for Dudley, although they disagreed amongst themselves about a suitable salary.[33] John Hyde Houghton was appointed to the position and his first quarterly report detailed the precautions taken against cholera, although Dudley escaped on that occasion.[34] Thomas Griffiths, already a Guardian, was elected to the Board of Health in 1855 and, sharing Badger's views on the need for strict economy, they worked together to try to reduce expenditure, particularly the pay of officials.[35] In September 1855, they attempted to get Houghton's post scrapped, putting the resolution 'that the Officer of Health be dismissed as a useless and unnecessary officer to the Board of Health, subject to the approval of the General Board of Health'.[36] The Liberals argued for Houghton's retention and his position was saved by one vote.[37] However, the following year, with six seats up for re-election, the Conservatives strengthened their position. Some Liberals,

---

[32] Cook managed to make a nuisance of himself by calling Badger as a witness, thereby causing another magistrate to be sent for as Badger was not permitted to act as both witness and magistrate in the same case. *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 28 June 1854, p. 4.
[33] DALHS, Dudley Local Board of Health, Minutes 2, Aug1853-Dec 1854, minutes, 27 September 1853.
[34] J.H. Houghton, *First Quarterly Report to the Dudley Local Board of Health on the Sanitary State of the Parish*, p. 4; pasted into Board of Health minutes: DALHS, Dudley Local Board of Health, Minutes 2, Aug 1853-Dec 1854, January/February 1854, folio 127 & f.
[35] Appendix 1 includes biographical information for Griffiths (A16).
[36] DALHS, Dudley Local Board of Health, Minutes 3, 1855-1856, minutes, 4 September 1855.
[37] Ibid.

including Blackwell and Cochrane, withdrew before the poll, but others, notably Elliott Hollier and W.C. Wood, stayed in the fight, as did Browne.[38]

As at the Guardians' elections in 1854, all the Liberals standing for the Board of Health in 1856 were defeated, as was Browne who, having topped the poll in 1853, came last.[39] All those elected had been nominated by Badger. In his reminiscences, forty-five years later, Hollier remarked: 'Isaac Badger was not easily beaten. He turned us all out gradually and ruled and reigned as before.'[40] *The Worcestershire Chronicle*, a Liberal newspaper, expressed 'regret' that the result had been 'to elect Mr Badger's list'.[41] The newspaper argued that 'fear of costs' was a common, but short-sighted, attitude.[42] With a clear majority, Badger and his associates tabled measures to slash the salaries of the board's Surveyor and the Inspector of Nuisances whilst the motion to abolish Houghton's post was re-submitted exactly as before.[43] This time the board voted to dismiss Houghton by eleven votes to three.[44] When asking permission from the General Board of Health, they repeated the accusation that the Medical Officer of Health was 'a totally useless and uncalled for expense upon the District'. They claimed that an additional doctor had been appointed and that 'medical Relief now afforded to the

[38] DALHS, Dudley Local Board of Health, Minutes 3, 1855-1856, minutes, 17 June 1856.
[39] *The Worcestershire Chronicle*, 25 June 1856, p. 3.
[40] *The Advertiser for Brierley Hill, Stourbridge, Dudley etc.,* 22 June 1901, pp. 4-5.
[41] *The Worcestershire Chronicle,* 25 June 1856, p. 3.
[42] Ibid.
[43] DALHS, Dudley Local Board of Health, Minutes 3, 1855-1856, minutes, 1 July 1856. The proposal was that the surveyor's salary was to be cut from £150 to £100 per annum and that of the Inspector of Nuisances from £120 to £60 per annum. Although it was not mentioned in any commentaries, Houghton was Browne's son-in-law.
[44] DALHS, Dudley Local Board of Health, Minutes 3, 1855-1856, minutes, 5 August 1856.

poor is undoubtedly fully sufficient to meet every possible requirement in this parish which is now absolutely overwhelmed with public payments…'.[45]

Badger's domination of Dudley reached its height in 1857. E.F. Smith, one of Ward's main agents, had replaced Browne as chairman of the Board of Health but Smith became exasperated by the obstructionism of his fellow board members and their refusal to finance what he thought were necessary improvements.[46] He left office in June 1857 at which time all the men elected or re-elected were Badger's nominees. Although denying that he had intended to turn Smith out, Badger expressed resentment at Ward's economic power in the region.[47] Badger successfully proposed his ally, Griffiths, as chairman of the Board of Health and for the rest of its duration there were no more contested elections. Members who retired as per rota, were re-elected or replaced by nomination by one of the Badgers, sometimes in association with the wealthy philanthropist, Joseph Guest.[48] Griffiths was also helped into position as deputy-vice and later vice chairman of the Board of Guardians.[49]

After the building of the union workhouse (1855/59), arguments over the fate of Dudley's old town workhouse highlighted deep antagonisms between Browne and the Conservative Guardians. In December 1859 Griffiths led a small

---

[45] Ibid. The salary reductions for the other officers went through and the General Board of Health agreed to Houghton's dismissal.
[46] Appendix 1 includes biographical information for the Smith family (A26).
[47] *The Birmingham Journal*, 20 June 1857, p. 7.
[48] Joseph Guest was a Dudley Guardian from 1841 to 1862 and a supporter of the Conservatives and the Church of England. He was never elected to the Dudley Board of Health but after Isaac Badger died, Guest twice joined Thomas Badger junior in nominating the members of that Board. *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 21 November 1860, p. 7; DALHS, Dudley Local Board of Health, Minutes 6, September 1861-October 1863, minutes, 17 June 1862 & 16 June 1863.
[49] Writing over forty years later, J.F. Timmins, a Shakespeare scholar, referred to 'the reign of King Griffiths and the tyrant Badger'. *Dudley Herald,* 20 January 1900, p. 8.

delegation of Guardians to obtain official permission from the parish vestry to sell the old workhouse to replenish Union funds. This was Poor Law Board policy, but personal hostility with several of the Guardians probably fuelled Browne's anger.[50] He claimed that the workhouse was part of a bequest from Richard Foley to the town's poor, possibly replacing former alms-houses, and should therefore remain to benefit the parish's poor and not be sold to profit ratepayers. He claimed that he, as vicar, was the sole surviving trustee of Foley's will. It was a bad-tempered meeting, and in a rare alliance, the only support Browne received was from Cook who put forward an amendment asking for a three-month delay to allow for investigations.[51] Although the amendment was heavily defeated, Cook continued to gather information, but his findings helped disprove Browne's theory.[52] Browne recorded his protest in the vestry minutes, but the sale went ahead.[53]

The main casualty of the shift in power at the Board of Health was the scheme for the town's sewerage and drainage. Lee had been employed as the engineer but only produced detailed plans in October 1857, by which time non-interventionists dominated the board. In 1860, after much discussion with government departments, the board was given permission to mortgage the rates and borrow £10,000 to begin the drainage scheme, but they were soon asking permission to use the money for other matters.[54] Griffiths and his associate, 'Mr

[50] *The Birmingham Daily Post,* 23 December 1859, p. 2
[51] Browne also threatened both to hold a public poll and take legal action but neither materialised. Ibid.
[52] DALHS, SC/17, SCC, The old alms-houses in Dudley (Dudley, 1859); *Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 4 January 1860, p. 7.
[53] DALHS, PR/17/4/1/3, Parish of Dudley, St Thomas, Vestry order book, 1856-1956, 22 December 1859; *The Birmingham Journal,* 18 February 1860, p. 1.
[54] Mr Beddard was William Beddard, a grocer and one of Badger's nominees. *The Staffordshire Advertiser,* 25 August 1860, p. 4.

Beddard' 'expressed their opinions that the benefits resulting from sewerage would not be commensurate with the expenditure'.[55] When Lee and the board fell out over his charges, the project was doomed.[56] In August 1861, with no start on the drainage scheme, Browne tried to galvanise the board into action. He wrote 'requesting official information when they purposed to commence the drainage of Dudley'.[57] Even though Browne threatened legal action, the board refused, blaming the cost and burdens on the rates.[58] When Browne decided against legal action, the board repaid the loan without any start having been made on the drainage scheme.[59] With those dedicated to low rates in the ascendancy, men like Browne who wanted to ameliorate Dudley's social conditions had to rely on philanthropy and other fundraising efforts. Browne was a strong supporter of the Dispensary, the 'model dwellings' scheme, the National Schools programme and the building of the Mechanics' Institution.[60] He also took the lead in securing a Government School of Design for Dudley and became a shareholder in the South Staffordshire Waterworks Company, urging it to extend its operation to Dudley.[61]

---

[55] *The Staffordshire Advertiser,* 25 August 1860, p. 4.
[56] The dispute with Lee over various charges continued for several years. What seems to be the final word did not come till the start of 1861: *Birmingham Daily Post,* 2 January 1861, p. 4.
[57] DALHS, Dudley Local Board of Health, Minutes 5. July 1859-August 1861, minutes, 6 August 1861.
[58] DALHS, Dudley Local Board of Health, Minutes 6, September 1861-October 1863, minutes, 3 September 1861.
[59] *The Birmingham Daily Post*, 6 November 1861, p. 4; DALHS, Dudley Local Board of Health, 2.2, finance committee minutes, July 1859-June 1864, 28 March 1862.
[60] Browne's charitable work was well discussed in local newspapers and elsewhere. The following is a very limited sample of references: DALHS, DDIS/1/1/1, Dudley Dispensary and Badley District Nursing Home, Minutes 1 (1836-1952), 8 August 1845 and following; C.F.G. Clark (comp. & ed.), *The Curiosities of Dudley and the Black Country from 1800 to 1860 etc.* (Birmingham, 1881), p. 172; *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 31 March 1847, p. 3; *The Birmingham Journal,* 12 February 1848, p. 4.
[61] DALHS, Government School of Design and Technical Instruction and School of Art, Committee Minutes, Volume 1 (1853-1901), Minutes, 18 January 1853; J. Van Leerzem and B. Williams, *The History of South Staffordshire Waterworks Company, 1853-1989* (South Staffordshire Water Archives online documents, (n.d.)., southstaffswaterarchives.org.uk/SSHISTRY2.pdf, pp. 10 & 37; *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 6 March 1861, p. 5.

The Board of Health's failure to address Dudley's sanitation problems was a major factor behind growing pressure for incorporation of the borough, the final local government development of this period.

When opening the new Mechanics' Institution in December 1863, Ward, by then the Earl of Dudley, alluded to other 'material improvements required' such as 'a more effectual means of drainage' and noted 'the apathy of the governing body'.[62] Griffiths responded angrily, claiming that they had done all they could with 'the means at their disposal'. He also said it was 'in the hands of the ratepayers. If they wished to have a large amount of their money spent, they must elect gentlemen on the Board who would vote their money away more freely'.[63] He failed to mention that there had been no polls for several years. The Earl, Browne and Houghton were amongst the first to back incorporation. The latter claimed that the current mortality rate of twenty-six per thousand was worse than when Lee reported in 1851.[64] Most of the clergy supported incorporation but well over half of the original petitioners in favour of considering it were shopkeepers or publicans.[65] In June 1865 the Board of Health gave way to an elected Council based on seven wards with ten aldermen and thirty councillors. Soon afterwards, the ancient court leet was allowed to atrophy. Incorporation brought structural changes and opportunity for greater democracy, but significant transfer of power was slow to develop. Analysis of the occupations of councillors in the corporation's first years

---

[62] *The Worcestershire Chronicle,* 30 December 1863, p. 2.
[63] *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 13 January 1864, p. 7.
[64] *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 20 July 1864, p. 7.
[65] Petition to the mayor asking him to convene a meeting to consider Incorporation, reproduced in: Clark, *The Curiosities of Dudley and the Black Country,* pp. 314-318. Some of the larger ratepayers were amongst the less enthusiastic. Of the thirty elected for the first round of the new council, half had not petitioned in favour of incorporation,

shows that small businessmen, including shopkeepers and members of the drinks trade, accounted for 34% of the council by 1867, well below the 47% made up of coalmasters, ironmasters and iron manufacturers (figure 7.1).

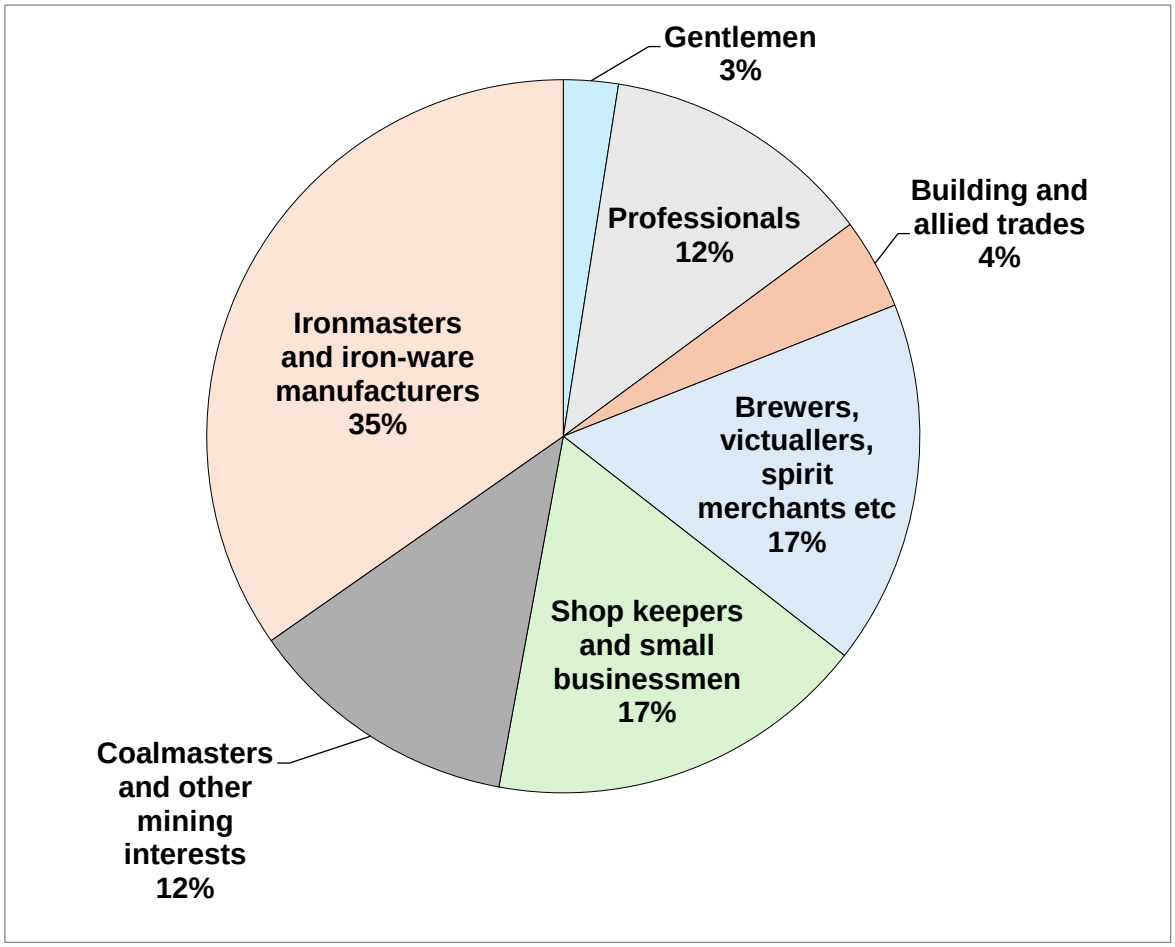


Figure 7.1. Occupations of Dudley Borough Councillors, broadly categorised, 1865-1867.[66]

The Earl's continuing influence was evident at the first corporation election when his main agent, Frederick Smith, was elected an alderman, without having stood as a councillor.[67] Smith was even made mayor, although Samuel Rudge, a

[66] Data extracted from various sources, including newspaper reports and later Council minutes.
[67] Appendix 1 includes biographical information for the Smith family. *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 3 May 1865, p. 5 and 21 June 1865, p. 5.

saddler, and the man who had steered the incorporation committee, was expected to take the office.[68] Amongst the arguments made for Smith was that his election would constitute 'a lasting compliment to the Earl of Dudley'.[69] It was Charles Cochrane, a known Liberal, who proposed Smith as the first mayor and then, later in 1865, Cochrane was elected unopposed as the second mayor.[70]

In conclusion, Dudley's local government in this period was characterised by political division and dominated by strong personalities, chief of whom, until his death in 1860, was Isaac Badger. He was sufficiently powerful on the Dudley Union Board of Guardians to be able to close down small Liberal advances. Dudley's Local Board of Health, the first elective local government body for the borough, marked a major development, but it failed to deliver its objectives. Although it had been an initiative by Browne and the Liberals, it was taken over and emasculated by Badger who not only dominated the Board of Health and the Board of Guardians during his lifetime but also managed to get like-minded men into power to continue his Conservative policies after his death. These policies could be summed up as low rates, non-intervention and independence from central government interference. However, with the Poor Law Board threatening to break up the Dudley Union, its Board of Guardians reluctantly agreed to build a union workhouse which opened in 1859. The failure of the Board of Health encouraged leading men in Dudley to back an application for the borough to be incorporated. The new corporation came into effect in 1865, giving the borough a

[68] *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 21 June 1865, p. 5
[69] *The Birmingham Daily Gazette,* 21 June 1865, p. 4.
[70] Even so, the only reason put forward in favour of Cochrane was his standing as a major industrialist. *The Birmingham Daily Post,* 21 June 1865, p. 4; *The Birmingham Daily Gazette,* 10 November 1865, p. 4.

much more structured local government but it would take time before it could be judged on results. Some of the same powerful individuals who dominated local government also played key roles in the fight for the parliamentary constituency which is analysed below.

Dudley's parliamentary borough and Lord Ward's loss of power

In Dudley's parliamentary constituency the usual Conservative, Liberal and radical political disagreements were obscured by the part played by Lord Ward who treated the constituency as his personal fiefdom. This part evaluates the effect of an unprecedented alliance which was able to free the borough from political thraldom. A supplementary theme shows how Dudley was affected by national and even international events. Both the historiography and the primary sources are similar to those in earlier chapters. Vichai Tunsiri acknowledges the role played by Ward throughout the Black Country, a theme developed by Richard Trainor, who compares the influence of the Earls of Dartmouth and Dudley and follows this with a wider study of 'Black Country elites'. [71] Trainor notes Ward's loss of political influence amongst Dudley's elites, but this thesis places greater emphasis on the political context within Dudley itself. Trevor Raybould mainly concentrates on Ward's economic power, although this helps explain his political influence.[72] Personal records for Ward are scarce, but the Hatherton Collection at

[71] V. Tunsiri, 'The party-politics of the Black Country and neighbourhood, 1832-1867' (Unpublished MA dissertation, University of Birmingham, 1964); R. Trainor, 'Peers on an industrial frontier: the Earls of Dartmouth and of Dudley in the Black Country, c. 1810 to 1914', in D. Cannadine (ed.), *Patricians, Power and Politics in Nineteenth-century Towns* (Leicester, 1982), pp. 70-132); R. Trainor, *Black Country Elites: The Exercise of Authority in an Industrialized Area, 1830-1900* (Oxford, 1993).

[72] For instance: T.J. Raybould, *The Economic Emergence of the Black Country: A Study of the Dudley Estate* (Newton Abbot, 1973), pp. 236-241 etc. For a detailed obituary see: *Birmingham Daily Post,* 8 May 1885, p. 5.

Staffordshire Record Office includes correspondence between Lord Hatherton and Ward and between Hatherton and other Dudley estate trustees. Ward is also mentioned in Hatherton's journals. Many political handbills from the 1850s are preserved at DALHS or reproduced by C.F.G. Clark, although some coverage is one-sided.[73] For instance, most surviving material relating to the 1857 election is anti-Ward. Local newspapers are also invaluable. Ward's influence had both a local and a national dimension.

Ward's power rested on feudal rights, church patronage, land ownership, mineral rights and industrial undertakings, which ensured him a large income. With such power, Ward increasingly wanted the title Earl of Dudley which had become extinct when the first Earl died in 1833. As an earldom was in the gift of the current Prime Minister, Ward began to interest himself in national politics. His first intervention in Dudley's parliamentary representation saw his agent, John Benbow, elected in 1844 (chapter 5). With his conversion to free trade in 1846, Ward became a Peelite. In the 1852 general election, Benbow disavowed being Ward's nominee, claiming that 'he was disposed to give every possible support to Lord Derby' (the Conservative Prime Minister), but crucially Benbow opposed 'a reintroduction of a duty upon corn'.[74] Although challenged by James Baldwin, a radical Birmingham alderman, Benbow was easily re-elected. The regular ironmasters' quarterly meeting, held in Dudley shortly afterwards, still evinced Tory domination. Not only was Rushout, the East Worcestershire Conservative MP, guest of honour, but when Philip Williams proposed a toast to Benbow, Williams

[73] C.F.G. Clark (comp. & ed.), *The Curiosities of Dudley and the Black Country from 1800 to 1860 etc.* (Birmingham, 1881), pp. 202-213 etc.
[74] *The Worcestershire Chronicle,* 14 July 1852, p. 3.

'congratulated the company on the re-election of that gentleman to represent their interests in Parliament'.[75]

The 1852 election results changed national politics. Although the number of Conservative MPs increased, Derby still led a minority government and he formally renounced protectionism.[76] As Chancellor of the Exchequer, Disraeli presented his budget on 3 December, but it was dismantled by Gladstone in the first of their great parliamentary clashes.[77] The government resigned after losing the budget vote, although Benbow had voted in favour.[78] Lord Aberdeen headed a coalition government of Whigs and Peelites which, Tunsiri argues, had 'a tremendous effect in Dudley', an argument he seems to base on Benbow's being persuaded to act as a Peelite.[79] In January 1853, Ward discussed asking Benbow to resign in favour of a stronger Aberdeen supporter, to bolster the Peelites and further his own pursuit of an earldom.[80] Hatherton acted as Ward's go-between with Aberdeen.[81] Instead of resigning, Benbow agreed to vote for Gladstone's budget and oppose a critical Conservative amendment in June 1853. Although Tunsiri describes Benbow's

[75] The *Worcestershire Chronicle,* 14 July 1852, p. 5. Philip Williams of the Wednesbury Oak Ironworks was an extremely influential ironmaster who chaired the South Staffordshire Ironmasters' Association for many years and was also the first chairman of the Dudley Union Board of Guardians.
[76] D. Leonard, *The Great Rivalry: Gladstone and Disraeli,* (London & New York, 2013), p. 81.
[77] Ibid., pp. 82-85.
[78] Tunsiri, 'The party-politics of the Black Country and neighbourhood', p. 282.
[79] Lord Aberdeen, the leader of the Peelites in the House of Lords, headed a coalition government from December 1852 - January 1855. He had also been a trustee of the Earl of Dudley's estate but not in the same active sense as Lord Hatherton. TNA, PROB-11-1821-159, Will of the Right Honorable John William, Earl of Dudley, 17 September 1833; Tunsiri, 'The party-politics of the Black Country and neighbourhood', p. 282.
[80] SRO, D260/M/F/5/26/60, Hatherton's journals, Oct 1852-Apr 1853, 26 January 1853.
[81] Hatherton both told Aberdeen of Ward's offer and, later, reminded the government of Ward's claim for an earldom. SRO, D260/M/F/5/26/60, Hatherton's journals, Oct 1852-Apr 1853, 4 February 1853; D260/M/F/5/26/62, Hatherton's journals, May-Sept 1853, 2 July 1853.

change of policy as ‘remarkable’, it shows that Benbow still acted as Ward’s agent.[82]

As a further indication of his changing sides, Ward threw his influence behind the Whig (or Liberal) candidate, Lord Paget, against the Conservative, Lord Ingestre, at a by-election in South Staffordshire in 1854. A satirical handbill published in Wednesbury, accused Ward of changing parties to secure an earldom.[83] Paget won, but Hatherton thought he would have succeeded without Ward’s efforts.[84] Ingestre was still condemning Ward’s seemingly coercive tactics five years later.[85] Ward not only wanted to choose Dudley’s MP but also to dictate how he voted in Parliament. When Benbow died in February 1855, Ward ignored Hatherton’s advice and further tied himself to the Peelites by inviting Gladstone’s former secretary, Sir Stafford Northcote, to stand for Dudley.[86] According to Northcote: ‘Lord Ward is a staunch Peelite, and very anxious that the borough should be represented by a pure animal of that breed, but if there was to be any admixture he would rather it were Derbyism rather than Radicalism.’[87] Northcote remarked that Ward treated ‘the idea of his losing the seat as an absurdity’.[88] Although partly self-interest, Ward’s preoccupation with the future of the Peelites reflected a major political issue in mid nineteenth-century British history. Thus, Ward had a motive for interfering in politics, but he also had the means to do it and

---

[82] Tunsiri, ‘The party-politics of the Black Country and neighbourhood’, p. 282.
[83] Ostensibly, the tale of two lords, the handbill is anonymous, although clearly written by a Conservative supporter who claimed to be ‘a plain Englishman like yourselves’. DALHS, PO/261, PC, Look on this picture (Wednesbury, 1854).
[84] SRO, D260/M/F/5/26/64, Hatherton’s journals, Feb-Aug 1854, 15 February 1854.
[85] Ingestre claimed that Ward had sacked Isaac Naylor, one of his agents, for wanting to vote for Ingestre. *Worcester Herald,* 5 February 1859, p. 2.
[86] SRO, D260/M/F/5/26/66, Hatherton’s journals, Jan-Apr 1855, 26 February 1855.
[87] A. Lang, *Life, Letters, and Diaries of Sir Stafford Northcote, First Earl of Iddesleigh*. New ed. (Edinburgh & London, 1891), p. 71.
[88] Ibid., p. 71.

was able to manipulate Dudley's parliamentary elections in various ways. The simplest was his power over his tenants. An anonymous handbill in 1857 numbered Ward's 'dependent electors' at 240, which was over a quarter of the borough's electorate.[89] The handbill suggested that offers of leases and contracts influenced other electors. Furthermore, potential opposition candidates were deterred by the fear of Ward's influence working against them.[90]

Dudley's leading Conservatives gave support to Ward's candidate, despite not being consulted, but Cook, who may have already been trying to build an anti-Ward coalition, believed that some Conservatives were less sure.[91] Describing himself as a 'liberal conservative' and 'a decided free trader', Northcote refuted accusations of Puseyism and disingenuously claimed he was not Ward's 'nominee'.[92] With the by-election at short notice and Ward seizing the initiative, the opposition could not find a candidate. Although Baldwin had declined, Cook nominated him anyway, assuming that, as hitherto, they could withdraw before the poll. However, the returning officer insisted on a poll, leaving Cook and his seconder to be billed for election expenses.[93] Baldwin received only three votes, so Northcote was elected to Parliament.[94] With such weak opposition, Ward seemed firmly in control of the borough, but he would soon be disabused if he expected Northcote to be as compliant as Benbow.

---

[89] DALHS, PO 291 & 324, PC, Dudley races, Saturday, March the 28th, 1857 (Dudley? 1857?). This handbill is reproduced as figure 2. The same handbill put the electorate at 884.
[90] *Berrow's Worcester Journal,* 3 March 1855, p. 5; *The Birmingham Journal,* 3 March 1855, p. 8.
[91] *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 7 March 1855, p. 7.
[92] *The Worcestershire Chronicle,* 7 March 1855, p. 6; *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 7 March 1855, p. 5.
[93] The resulting controversy over who should pay the expenses was a long-drawn-out affair. See, for instance: *The Worcestershire Chronicle,* 18 April 1855, p. 7.
[94] *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 14 March 1855, p. 7 and supplement to 18 April 1855, p. 1.

Despite the manner of his selection, Northcote became popular with Dudley's Tories, largely because he was a Liberal-Conservative who was becoming steadily more Conservative but also, unlike recent MPs, Northcote paid attention to the constituency.[95] British politics at this time were dominated by foreign affairs and the politics of the Dudley borough were profoundly affected by events that took place halfway round the world. With Palmerston Prime Minister and seemingly favourable to granting his earldom, Ward supported his administration and expected MPs, whom he had sponsored, to act accordingly. However, the government's high-handed conduct of the Second Opium War prompted opposition. In March 1857 the Radical MP, Richard Cobden, secured wide backing for a motion criticising government policy, which Palmerston helped turn into a vote of censure, hoping it would thus be easier to defeat.[96] Northcote risked angering Ward by preparing to support Cobden's motion. Northcote related how Ward asked him not to vote as his voting against the government would negate Ward's own political influence. There was a scarcely veiled threat that if Northcote persisted, he and Ward would be 'less united' than they had been.[97] Northcote rejected becoming 'a mere tool' and his vote helped to defeat the government and precipitate a general election.[98] It had been rumoured that Northcote would like to contest his home constituency of North Devon and that

[95] Having been Gladstone's secretary, Northcote's changing politics saw him become Disraeli's secretary and, later, his Chancellor of the Exchequer. W.D. Rubinstein, 'Northcote, Stafford Henry, first earl of Iddesleigh, (1818–1887), politician', *Oxford Dictionary of National* Biography (published 23 September 2004, version 21 May 2009), Northcote, Stafford Henry, first earl of Iddesleigh (1818–1887), politician | Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (oxforddnb.com) [accessed 19 November 2022].
[96] J. Morley, *The Life of Richard Cobden,* Vol. II (London, 1881), pp. 187-191; J.Y. Wong, *Deadly Dreams: Opium and the Arrow War (1856-1860) in China* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 293-295.
[97] Lang, *Life, Letters, and Diaries of Sir Stafford Northcote*, p. 92.
[98] Ibid., p. 92.

was what happened.[99] Northcote's biographer argues that 'on the whole … Lord Ward was still ready to support Sir Stafford at Dudley', but a common view in the constituency was of a popular MP being dismissed by an arrogant aristocrat.[100] There was even an element of farce with a Tory delegation from Dudley hurrying towards Exeter to bring Northcote back, but aborting their mission at Bristol when news reached them that he had issued an election address for North Devon.[101] Leading Tories wrote to Northcote asking why he had left Dudley and parts of his replies featured heavily in the election campaign.[102] The Tories thought that they proved Northcote had been forced out.

Tory anger was heightened by Ward's arbitrary introduction of another candidate, a Peelite, with no consultation.[103] Compared with Northcote, who had already worked for the government, the new man, Joseph Sandars, was seen as a nonentity. His connection with Great Yarmouth, and his previous failure to win Bewdley for Ward, caused ridicule.[104] Cook chaired a meeting opposing Ward and gained significant support from Dudley's leading Tories, with Isaac Badger and Thomas Badger junior registering their opposition to Ward.[105] Isaac Badger apparently declared that he 'would support any candidate, whether Whig, Radical or Tory, if nothing was against him morally, to oppose Lord Ward'.[106] At a second

---

[99] Lang, *Life, Letters, and Diaries of Sir Stafford Northcote*, p. 91; The rumour persisted: *The Staffordshire Advertiser*, 14 March 1857, p. 4.
[100] Lang, *Life, Letters, and Diaries of Sir Stafford Northcote*, pp. 91-92.
[101] *The Birmingham Journal,* 18 March 1857, p. 2, 21 March 1857, p. 7 & 25 March 1857, p. 1.
[102] Extracts were read at meetings, circulated to national and local newspapers and featured on a handbill. *The Globe,* 25 March 1857, p. 1; *The Birmingham Journal,* 25 March 1857, pp. 1-2; DALHS, PO/326, Latest from Sir Stafford H. Northcote (Dudley, 1857).
[103] *The Birmingham Journal,* 21 March 1857, p. 7.
[104] Because of his connection with Great Yarmouth, Sandars was often characterised as a bloater. For instance: DALHS, PO/257, PC, Immense attraction, Market Place, Dudley (n.p., 1857?); DALHS, PO/283, PC, To the dependent electors of the borough of Dudley (n.p., 1857?).
[105] *The Birmingham Journal,* 21 March 1857, p. 7.
[106] *Berrow's Worcester Journal*, 21 March 1857, p. 8.

meeting, Isaac Badger intimated that it was the lack of consultation that made him particularly angry, but Ward's change of party played a significant part in the Tory revolt. Badger also had economic reasons for resenting Ward's dominance. A few months later he told E.F. Smith that 'no nobleman ought to be in trade' and he particularly resented that a nobleman should take 'all the trade of the country'.[107] When Badger pledged £5 to a fighting fund to challenge Ward, Cook proposed 'three cheers for Mr Badger's contribution', thus overturning years of animosity between Cook and the Badgers.[108]

An article in *The Birmingham Journal* at the time of the 1857 election not only sums up an extraordinary political development but emphasises that 'the Tories' had hitherto supported Ward:

> Probably in no constituency in the kingdom is so strange a state of affairs with regard to election matters presented as in Dudley. That influential class of electors known as 'the Tories' have hitherto uniformly supported the candidate brought forward under the auspices of Lord Ward, and for many years past, notwithstanding some hard struggles by the Liberals and ultra-Liberals, that candidate has been victorious.[109]

What is not so clear in the newspaper coverage is that it was Ward who had changed his allegiance, rather than the Tories. Dudley was far from unique in having the constituency's major landowner manipulate its parliamentary

---

[107] E.F. Smith was one of Ward's chief agents. Note: the usage of 'country' has changed. It was often used instead of 'county', but in this piece Badger may just have meant the local district. *The Birmingham Journal*, 20 June 1857, p. 7.
[108] *The Birmingham Journal,* 21 March 1857, p. 7.
[109] *The Birmingham Journal,* 21 March 1857, p. 6.

representation. In studying election 'influence and control', Norman Gash argues that 'One of the most … widely spread forms of influence was that exercised by the landowner over his tenants.'[110] He was unsure whether Dudley and Kidderminster, both with Lord Ward as their patron, should be termed 'proprietary boroughs'.[111] Much more unusual than the landowner wielding influence was the alliance forged in Dudley to try to stop him.

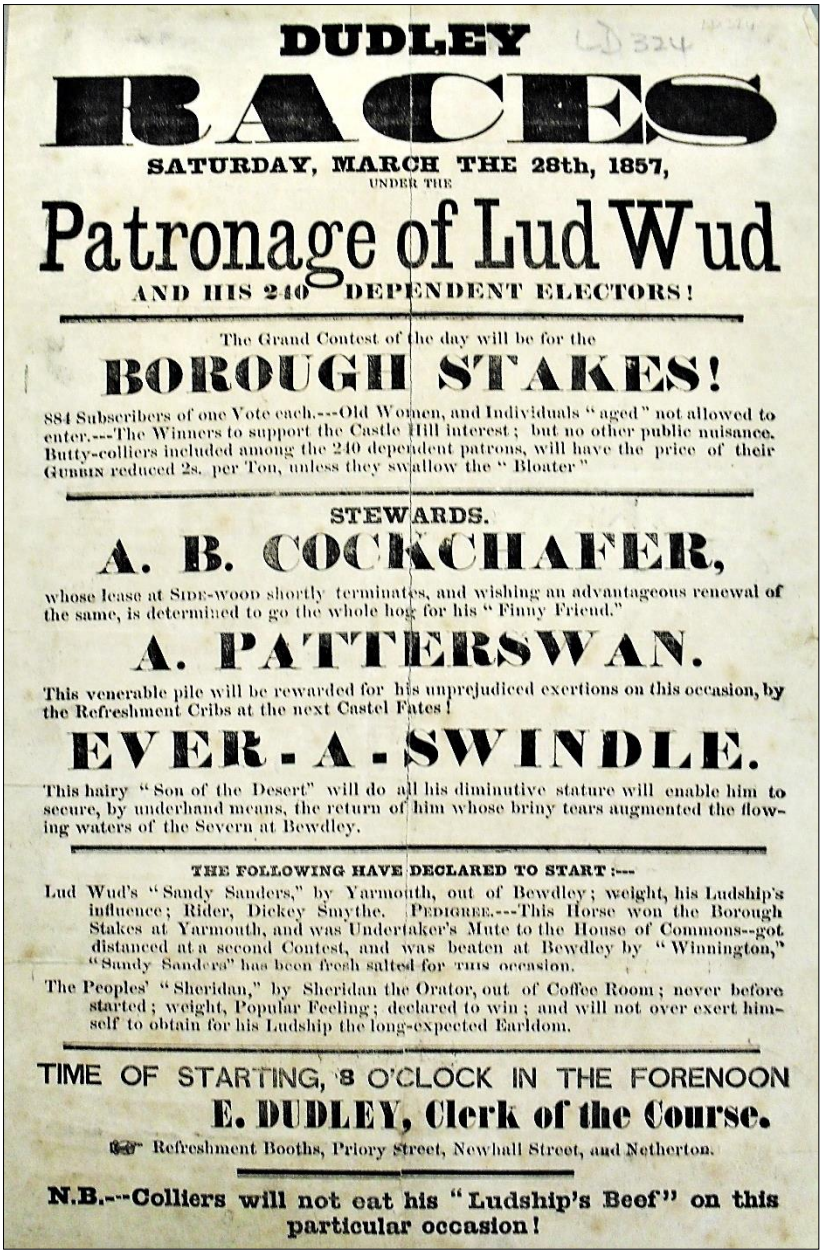
With nominations little more than a week away, the alliance urgently needed a candidate, and they sent a delegation to Birmingham as the best place to start searching. Although not immediately successful, they made a contact that triggered one of the most remarkable upheavals in Dudley's political history. The events of the ensuing week could hardly be more dramatic. On Friday 20 March 1857, Henry Brinsley Sheridan, a barrister in Fulham, received a telegraph from men he did not know, but who understood that he was interested in standing for Parliament.[112] Arriving in Dudley the following day, Sheridan went straight to an anti-Ward meeting.[113] Barely a week after receiving the telegraph, without even facing a poll, Sheridan became Dudley's Member of Parliament.[114] Furthermore, he remained so for twenty-nine years, and Ward never again chose Dudley's MP.[115] Sheridan came in 1857 as an opportunist. Lacking political ties and previous history, he was able to manoeuvre and frame an agenda to suit Dudley's

---

[110] N. Gash, *Politics in the Age of Peel: A Study in the Technique of Parliamentary Representation, 1830-1850* (London, 1953), p. 177.
[111] Ibid., p.438, Appendix D. Proprietary Boroughs after 1832.
[112] *The Birmingham Journal,* 25 March 1857, p. 1
[113] Such was the enthusiasm for an alternative candidate that the meeting had been waiting for two hours for Sheridan to arrive. *The Birmingham Journal,* 25 March 1857, p. 1.
[114] Appendix 1 includes biographical information for Sheridan (A25).
[115] Ward, by then the Earl of Dudley, died in 1885 whereas Sheridan, who became a Liberal after starting as an independent, was finally defeated in the Liberal collapse over Irish Home Rule in 1886.

unprecedented coalition. Sandars and Sheridan produced manifestos with similar policies and both, on occasion, were described as Liberal-Conservatives.[116] Unsurprisingly, Sheridan focused on asserting the borough's independence against aristocratic domination. He immediately seized on the symbolism of 'the castle which stood on the adjoining hill' and argued that the days when its 'lordly owner' could be allowed to 'dictate or domineer' were long gone.[117] Ward's opponents mounted a vigorous poster campaign (figure 7.2).

[116] *Berrow's Worcester Journal,* 28 March 1857, p. 6; DALHS, PO/259, PC, To the independent electors of the borough of Dudley (Dudley, 1857?); DALHS, PO/496, PC To the electors of the borough of Dudley (Dudley, 1857); *The Birmingham Journal,* 18 March 1857, p. 2; *The Coventry Herald,* 27 March 1857, p. 3.
[117] *The Birmingham Journal,* 28 March 1857, p. 6.



DUDLEY

RACES

SATURDAY, MARCH THE 28th, 1857,
UNDER THE

Patronage of Lud Wud

AND HIS 240 DEPENDENT ELECTORS!

The Grand Contest of the day will be for the

BOROUGH STAKES!

884 Subscribers of one Vote each.---Old Women, and Individuals "aged" not allowed to enter.---The Winners to support the Castle Hill interest; but no other public nuisance. Butty-colliers included among the 240 dependent patrons, will have the price of their GUBBIN reduced 2s. per Ton, unless they swallow the "Bloater"

STEWARDS.

A. B. COCKCHAFER,

whose lease at SIDE-WOOD shortly terminates, and wishing an advantageous renewal of the same, is determined to go the whole hog for his "Finny Friend."

A. PATTERSWAN.

This venerable pile will be rewarded for his unprejudiced exertions on this occasion, by the Refreshment Cribs at the next Castel Fates!

EVER-A-SWINDLE.

This hairy "Son of the Desert" will do all his diminutive stature will enable him to secure, by underhand means, the return of him whose briny tears augmented the flowing waters of the Severn at Bewdley.

THE FOLLOWING HAVE DECLARED TO START:---

Lud Wud's "Sandy Sanders," by Yarmouth, out of Bewdley; weight, his Ludship's influence; Rider, Dickey Smythe. PEDIGREE.---This Horse won the Borough Stakes at Yarmouth, and was Undertaker's Mute to the House of Commons--got distanced at a second Contest, and was beaten at Bewdley by "Winnington," "Sandy Sanders" has been fresh salted for THIS occasion.

The Peoples' "Sheridan," by Sheridan the Orator, out of Coffee Room; never before started; weight, Popular Feeling; declared to win; and will not over exert himself to obtain for his Ludship the long-expected Earldom.

TIME OF STARTING, 8 O'CLOCK IN THE FORENOON

E. DUDLEY, Clerk of the Course.

☞ Refreshment Booths, Priory Street, Newhall Street, and Netherton.

N.B.---Colliers will not eat his "Ludship's Beef" on this particular occasion!

Figure 7.2. Handbill satirising Lord Ward's involvement in Dudley's parliamentary election, 1857.[118]

Faced by the Tory/Radical coalition, most Liberals, led by Cochrane, stayed loyal to Ward.[119] Tunsiri argues that a change had taken place amongst the ironmasters

[118] DALHS, PO/324, PC, Dudley races, Saturday March the 28th, 1857 (n.p., 1857?).
[119] *The Birmingham Journal,* 25 March 1857, pp. 1-2.

with those longer-established, like the Badgers, remaining solidly Tory but the newer generation, including Cochrane, being committed to free trade and, consequently, more likely to be Liberal.[120] Cochrane emphasised his own liberal credentials and condemned 'a most unnatural coalition' between 'Isaac Badger and the Coffee Room party' and 'the extreme Radical party'.[121] Addressing one meeting, Cochrane referred to Cook and asked the audience: 'Who took this old man and sent him to prison for advocating freedom?', although Cochrane probably confused Isaac Badger with his brother, Thomas.[122] A heckler accused Cochrane of being resentful because 'Isaac Badger turned [him] out of the Board of Health'.[123] Despite protesting his independence, Cochrane was ridiculed and accused of seeking an 'advantageous renewal' of his lease from Ward (figure 7.2). With the alliance claiming 400 pledges, Sandars retired shortly before the poll.[124] Thus Sheridan was elected unopposed – a shock result that featured in newspapers as far afield as Dublin.[125] *Aris's Birmingham Gazette* described it as 'an event of national importance' and hoped that it would encourage similar boroughs 'to regain their freedom'.[126] The far-ranging effects of Ward's defeat are explored in the next section.

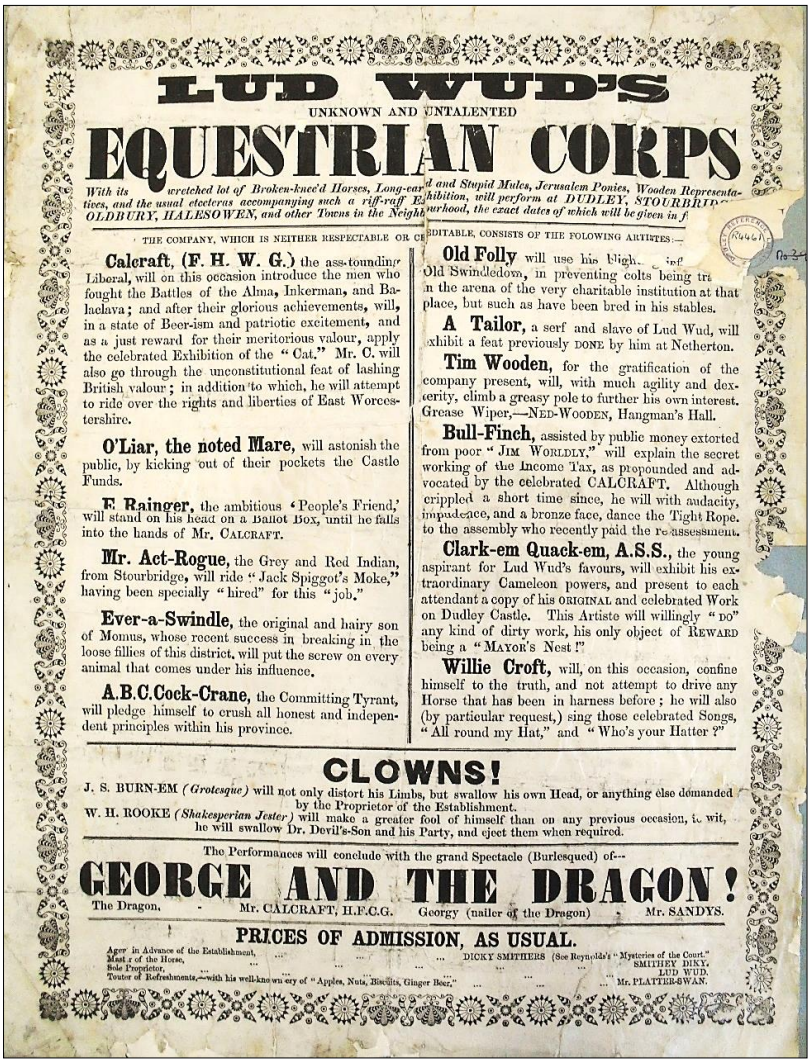
---

[120] Tunsiri gave the Dudley ironmaster S.H. Blackwell as another example of the new generation of Liberal ironmasters. Tunsiri, 'The party-politics of the Black Country and neighbourhood', p. 78.
[121] *The Birmingham Journal,* 25 March 1857, p. 1-2.
[122] Isaac Badger became a JP only in November/December 1848. There are no records of Cook being imprisoned from then on.
[123] *The Birmingham Journal,* 25 March 1857, p. 1-2.
[124] SRO, D260/M/F/5/27/30/1, Hatherton correspondence, Ward to Hatherton, n.d., 1857; *The Birmingham Journal,* 28 March 1857, p. 6.
[125] For instance: *Wilts and Gloucestershire Standard,* 4 April 1857, p. 2; *Woolmer's Exeter and Plymouth Gazette,* 4 April 1857, p. 5; *The Daily Express,* (Dublin), 7 April 1857, p. 4.
[126] *Aris's Birmingham Gazette,* 30 March 1857, p. 3.

Sheridan not only broke aristocratic domination, but his success also marked a political advance for the middle class. He was largely self-made and able to stand for Parliament thanks to sufficient wealth built up through financial investments.[127] Ward discussed his defeat in a letter to Hatherton.[128] Rather than blame himself, Ward claimed that Sandars had 'made a great blunder', without giving details. Ward acknowledged that the opposition had the momentum and had been 'lucky enough' to find an able candidate.[129] However, Ward claimed to have withdrawn Sandars to prevent violence similar to that seen in Kidderminster.[130] He admitted that his 'political preponderance' had been severely damaged, but discussed building more houses to strengthen his influence and suggested that he could evict those who did not vote as requested. Some of this may have been bravado to mask a crushing humiliation.[131] Ward's political influence had been so damaged that his support became toxic. Even Liberal allies tried to distance themselves from Ward, as seen in early 1859 when a vacancy in East Worcestershire resulted in a contested election for the first time in twenty years. The aristocratic Liberal candidate, Frederick Calthorpe, repeatedly denied that he was Ward's nominee.[132] Calthorpe's Tory opponents hoped the spectre of Ward's

[127] *The Wolverhampton Chronicle* reprinted a critical item from *The Morning Star*, which drew attention to Sheridan's lack of real estate but immediately below they printed a letter from Sheridan defending himself. *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 27 May 1857, p. 3.
[128] Staffordshire Record Office (SRO), D260/M/F/5/27/30/1, Hatherton correspondence, Ward to Hatherton, n.d., 1857.
[129] Ibid.
[130] R. Groom, 'The conduct of parliamentary elections in Kidderminster, 1832-1880' (Unpublished PhD thesis, Coventry University in collaboration with the University of Worcester, 2010), pp. 184-186.
[131] SRO, D260/M/F/5/27/30/1, Hatherton correspondence, Ward to Hatherton, n.d., 1857.
[132] For instance: *The Morning Advertiser,* 3 February 1859, p. 3; *The Morning Post,* 4 February 1859, p. 4.

influence could be used to produce the same effect in East Worcestershire as in Dudley. Several satirical handbills, reminiscent of those supporting Sheridan, again attacked Dudley's Liberal ironmasters, Cochrane and Evers Swindell (figure 7.3).[133]



LUD WUD'S

UNKNOWN AND UNTALENTED

EQUESTRIAN CORPS

With its wretched lot of Broken-knee'd Horses, Long-ears and Stupid Mules, Jerusalem Ponies, Wooden Representatives, and the usual electeras accompanying such a riff-raff Exhibition, will perform at DUDLEY, STOURBRIDGE, OLDBURY, HALESOWEN, and other Towns in the Neighbourhood, the exact dates of which will be given in f

THE COMPANY, WHICH IS NEITHER RESPECTABLE OR CREDITABLE, CONSISTS OF THE FOLOWING ARTISTES:—

Calcraft, (F. H. W. G.) the ass-tounding Liberal, will on this occasion introduce the men who fought the Battles of the Alma, Inkerman, and Balaclava; and after their glorious achievements, will, in a state of Beer-ism and patriotic excitement, and as a just reward for their meritorious valour, apply the celebrated Exhibition of the "Cat." Mr. C. will also go through the unconstitutional feat of lashing British valour; in addition to which, he will attempt to ride over the rights and liberties of East Worcestershire.

O'Liar, the noted Mare, will astonish the public, by kicking out of their pockets the Castle Funds.

E. Rainger, the ambitious 'People's Friend,' will stand on his head on a Ballot Box, until he falls into the hands of Mr. CALCRAFT.

Mr. Act-Rogue, the Grey and Red Indian, from Stourbridge, will ride "Jack Spiggot's Moke," having been specially "hired" for this "job."

Ever-a-Swindle, the original and hairy son of Momus, whose recent success in breaking in the loose fillies of this district, will put the screw on every animal that comes under his influence.

A.B.C.Cock-Crane, the Committing Tyrant, will pledge himself to crush all honest and independent principles within his province.

Old Folly will use his high... in Old Swindledom, in preventing colts being tri... in the arena of the very charitable institution at that place, but such as have been bred in his stables.

A Tailor, a serf and slave of Lud Wud, will exhibit a feat previously DONE by him at Netherton.

Tim Wooden, for the gratification of the company present, will, with much agility and dexterity, climb a greasy pole to further his own interest. Grease Wiper,—NED-WOODEN, Hangman's Hall.

Bull-Finch, assisted by public money extorted from poor "JIM WORLDLY," will explain the secret working of the Income Tax, as propounded and advocated by the celebrated CALCRAFT. Although crippled a short time since, he will with audacity, impudence, and a bronze face, dance the Tight Rope. to the assembly who recently paid the re-assessment.

Clark-em Quack-em, A.S.S., the young aspirant for Lud Wud's favours, will exhibit his extraordinary Cameleon powers, and present to each attendant a copy of his ORIGINAL and celebrated Work on Dudley Castle. This Artiste will willingly "DO" any kind of dirty work, his only object of REWARD being a "MAYOR'S Nest!"

Willie Croft, will, on this occasion, confine himself to the truth, and not attempt to drive any Horse that has been in harness before; he will also (by particular request,) sing those celebrated Songs, "All round my Hat," and "Who's your Hatter?"

CLOWNS!

J. S. BURN-EM *(Grotesque)* will not only distort his Limbs, but swallow his own Head, or anything else demanded by the Proprietor of the Establishment.

W. H. ROOKE *(Shakesperian Jester)* will make a greater fool of himself than on any previous occasion, i.e. wit, he will swallow Dr. Devil's-Son and his Party, and eject them when required.

The Performances will conclude with the grand Spectacle (Burlesqued) of—

GEORGE AND THE DRAGON!

The Dragon, - Mr. CALCRAFT, H.F.C.G. Georgy (nailer of the Dragon) - Mr. SANDYS.

PRICES OF ADMISSION, AS USUAL.

Agent in Advance of the Establishment, ... DICKY SMITHERS (See Reynolds's "Mysteries of the Court."
Master of the Horse, ... SMITHEY DIKY.
Sole Proprietor, ... LUD WUD.
Tenter of Refreshments,—with his well-known cry of "Apples, Nuts, Biscuits, Ginger Beer," ... Mr. PLATTER-SWAN.

Figure 7.3. Handbill satirising Lord Ward, Frederick Calthorpe and well-known Liberal supporters, c. 1859.[134]

[133] DALHS, PO/495, PC, Lud Wud's unknown and untalented Equestrian Corps (n.p. n.d.). Although the handbill is undated it is almost certainly for the February 1859 by-election as that was the only election in which Calthorpe had to face a contest. East Worcestershire covered an area much wider than Dudley alone but, judging by the names satirised on the bill, this was aimed at the East Worcestershire voters living in or near Dudley.

[134] DALHS, PO/495, PC, Lud Wud's unknown and untalented Equestrian Corps (n.p. n.d. 1859?).

When Calthorpe won the election, the bulk of his majority came from Halesowen, Stourbridge and Dudley.[135] In his history of the Conservative party, Robert Blake names Worcestershire as an exemplar of how the Conservative vote was being eroded by 'the spread of industry from the Midlands' and argues that 'the party was weakest … where the new industrialism was dominant'.[136] This suggests that Ward's interference delayed Dudley's progression to becoming a Liberal borough.

Shortly after the East Worcestershire by-election in 1859, a general election was called in which the Liberals in Dudley borough sought to replicate Calthorpe's success by distancing themselves from Ward. They, therefore, emphasised that they had chosen their own candidate and interviewed him before endorsing his candidature.[137] C.F.G. Clark, who had signed the requisition, described their new candidate as 'the Honourable Viscount Monck, an Irish gentleman of good family' who stood as a Liberal-Conservative.[138] Having an aristocratic opponent was a gift to Sheridan who quipped to his supporters that at the last election they had faced one noble lord and now they were up against two.[139] Sheridan also widened his populist appeal by attacking magistrates, such as Cochrane and Evers Swindell, accusing them of mixing politics with their judicial function by canvassing whilst acting as JPs.[140] Similar complaints about JPs had been made in 1834.[141] His anti-establishment stance made Sheridan popular with many of the borough's

---

[135] Calthorpe's absolute majority was 321. His highest percentage of the vote was 71% in Halesowen, 69% in Stourbridge and 66% in Dudley. Dudley: Stourbridge Library, Local Studies section (DSL), LD 324P, East Worcestershire election: final state of the poll (Stourbridge, n.d. 1859?).
[136] R. Blake, *The Conservative Party from Peel to Thatcher* (London, 1985), p. 74.
[137] Clark, *The Curiosities of Dudley and the Black Country,* pp. 274-276.
[138] Ibid. p. 276.
[139] *The Birmingham Daily Post,* 9 April 1859, p. 4.
[140] *Berrow's Worcester Journal,* 30 April 1859, p. 6.
[141] The accusation made in 1834, particularly about the magistrates wearing Tory party colours, was hotly disputed: *The Birmingham Journal,* 1 March 1834, p. 3.

unenfranchised. The radicals worked for Sheridan's re-election but the critical factor was whether Sheridan could keep the Conservative vote.[142] An anonymous letter from 'an old Conservative' had already appeared in several newspapers claiming that Sheridan had supported radical causes in Parliament and not Conservative ones.[143] Isaac Badger had become 'enfeebled', probably from a stroke, but Sheridan wrote to him, enumerating all the occasions on which he had supported Lord Derby's minority administration and making a vague commitment 'to support Lord Derby's government against factious opposition … while in office'.[144] Thomas Badger junior had been on the Conservative committee opposing Calthorpe and would have witnessed the poor support for Conservatives in Dudley in parliamentary terms.[145] Thus, although some 'independent Conservatives' were said to favour Monck, the Badgers once more backed Sheridan and the voting figures suggest that most Conservatives followed, seeing Sheridan as their best hope against Ward and the mainstream Liberals.[146] At the time of the aborted poll in 1857, Sheridan was said to have 400 votes pledged.[147] In 1859 he polled 432 against his opponent's 361 so his vote held up well.[148] Monck complained that votes promised to him had not materialised.[149] This election also led Browne into political controversy. He was more of a Conservative

---

[142] There had already been rumours in May 1858 that some Conservatives may have wanted to do a deal with Lord Ward, possibly supporting a compromise candidate such as Hatherton's son. *Berrow's Worcester Journal,* 22 May 1858, p. 8 *Aris's Birmingham Gazette,* 24 May 1858, p. 2; *The Advertiser for Brierley Hill, Stourbridge, Dudley etc.,* 23 April 1859, p. 3; *The Birmingham Daily Post,* 27 April 1859, p. 4.
[143] For instance: *The Birmingham Daily Post* 25 April 1859, p. 3.
[144] *The Birmingham Daily Post*, 27 April 1859, p. 4.
[145] *Berrow's Worcester Journal,* 19 February 1859, p. 1
[146] *The Advertiser for Brierley Hill, Stourbridge, Dudley etc.,* 23 April 1859, p. 3.
[147] SRO, D260/M/F/5/27/30/1, Hatherton correspondence, Ward to Hatherton, n.d., 1857.
[148] W.R. Williams, *The Parliamentary History of the County of Worcester: including the City of Worcester, and the Boroughs of Bewdley, Droitwich, Dudley, Evesham, Kidderminster, Bromsgrove and Pershore etc* (Hereford, 1897), p. 183.
[149] Clark, *The Curiosities of Dudley and the Black Country*, pp, 286-287.

in politics than in social policies and he had apparently condemned the idea of a secret ballot as 'un-English, underhand and cowardly'.[150] This was countered by a handbill, supposedly written by 'Sarbut, Jun.', giving examples from the 1857 and 1859 elections of unnamed men who would have benefited from the protection afforded by a ballot box, some even losing work after voting as they wished.[151]

In 1859, the realignment of national politics became clearer with Peelites like Gladstone agreeing to serve under Lord Palmerston in a Liberal government and in 1860 Palmerston granted Ward his longed-for earldom, after which he had less need of party politics.[152] 1860 also saw the death of Isaac Badger. His funeral was a major event in Dudley. Not only was Sheridan amongst the chief mourners but Cook also joined the funeral procession.[153] However, the Tory/Radical alliance had served its purpose and in subsequent elections Sheridan retained the seat on his own terms and became more overtly Liberal.[154]

Whilst the election humiliation of 1857 ended the Earl's power to choose Dudley's MP, his relations with the town recovered quickly. His economic power increased throughout this period and with it his social standing which was enhanced by his marrying and becoming a family man with an heir to inherit the

---

[150] 'Sarbut, Jun.' seems to be a made-up name, probably a play on the expression 'Old Sarbut', a Warwickshire folk expression for an old man who had secret information which he passed on. J. Salisbury, *A Glossary of Words and Phrases used in S.E. Worcestershire etc.,* English Dialect Society, Vol. 30 (1893-1896), p. 20; DALHS, PO/263, PC, Dudley election! To Dr Brown (sic) (n.p., n.d.). Although undated the references to Lord Monck as Ward's preferred candidate put the date at 1859.

[151] Ibid.

[152] R. Douglas, *Liberals: A History of the Liberal and Liberal Democrat Parties* (London, 2005), pp. 10-11.

[153] *The Birmingham Daily Post,* 19 November 1860, p. 2; *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 21 November 1860, p. 7.

[154] In the 1865 general election, Sheridan was originally opposed by both a Conservative and a Liberal who was said to be a 'moderate Liberal', but the latter agreed to withdraw so as not to split the Liberal vote. Biographical information about Sheridan, including an overview of his later career is given in appendix 1 (A25). *The Birmingham Daily Post,* 5 July 1865, p. 4 and 12 July 1865, p. 7.

estate. His political move from a Conservative to a Liberal was permanent but he found ready allies amongst the town's Liberal ironmasters, especially the Cochrane family.[155] As the Earl became less active in party politics, he was left with the simpler role of local benefactor. He had already been generous towards religious, educational and cultural activities and supported both the Mechanics' Institution and the Working Men's Institute. It was his idea to add a public hall to the Mechanics' Institution, the first in Dudley, and he met much of the additional cost himself. Having done so, the Earl was the prime supporter of an ambitious art and industry exhibition in 1866 which featured many works of art from his London gallery, together with science and manufacturing displays, but also with space for 'Artisans' Contributions'.[156] Dudley's local government and electoral politics had been turbulent in this period but there were also developments in local working-class politics.

Working-class political activity, c. 1850-67

Working-class politics in Dudley, following the failure of Chartism in 1848, are studied by George Barnsby and there are pertinent entries in *Dictionary of Labour Biography*.[157] This discussion disagrees with Barnsby's interpretations, particularly the significance he attaches to secularism in Dudley, and highlights some errors in the dictionary articles. Barnsby's study of Dudley stops in 1860, but this study analyses working-class involvement in politics in Dudley up to the Second Reform Act of 1867. In the late twentieth century, historiography of the nineteenth century

[155] Appendix 1 includes biographical information about the Cochrane family (A11).
[156] *Catalogue of the Dudley and Midland Fine Arts', Scientific and Industrial Exhibition* (Dudley, 1866), pp. 19-26 etc.
[157] G.J. Barnsby, *The Dudley Working Class Movement: 1750 to 1860* (Dudley, 1986); G.J. Barnsby, *Socialism in Birmingham and the Black Country, 1850-1939* (Wolverhampton, 1998); J.M. Bellamy and J. Saville (eds.), *Dictionary of Labour Biography,* Vol. VI (London, 1982).

turned from emphasising change to focusing on continuity. There was disagreement as to the continuity of radicalism in the nineteenth century and whether it merged with liberalism.[158] This study highlights the continuing role that middle-class radicals and Liberals continued to play in influencing working-class politics in Dudley and particularly the leadership role of Samuel Cook. Far from being 'militant', as suggested by John Rowley, Dudley's working class increasingly embraced respectability as seen in the Dudley Mutual Improvement Society.[159] In his study of similar societies, Christopher Ratcliffe argues that they were important and need much greater research.[160] Of the examples Ratcliffe gives, none is in the Black Country, and most were in cities or larger towns. This thesis argues that Barnsby underestimates the significance of the Dudley Mutual Improvement Society.[161]

The primary sources are similar to those used in other chapters, but more restricted. DALHS has fewer handbills relating to working-class politics than to other political topics. Therefore, the main sources are newspapers, particularly the late Chartist newspaper, *The People's Paper*, and the secularist paper, *The Reasoner*, to which Daniel Wallwork submitted news from Dudley. Historians of the period have also used *Blocksidge's Almanacks* but over-reliance on a later article about the Dudley Working Men's Institute has perpetuated the error that it was presided over by Samuel Cook junior rather than Samuel Cook senior.[162] This discussion

---

[158] J. Belchem, *Popular Radicalism in Nineteenth-century Britain* (Basingstoke, 1996), pp. 6-8.
[159] J. Rowley, 'Wallwork, Daniel (1824-1909): Chartist and secularist', in J.M. Bellamy & J. Saville (eds.), *Dictionary of Labour Biography,* Vol. VI (London, 1982), pp. 259-262.
[160] C. Radcliffe, 'Mutual improvement societies and the forging of working-class political consciousness in nineteenth-century England', *International Journal of Lifelong Education,* Vol. 16, No. 2 (March-April 1997), pp. 141-155.
[161] Barnsby, *The Dudley Working Class Movement,* p. 53.
[162] 'Working Men's Institute', in *Blocksidge's Illustrated Dudley Almanack*, *1899* (Dudley, Blocksidge, c.1899), pp. 121-123; J. Rowley and E. Taylor, 'Cook, Samuel Quartus (1822-1890),

concentrates on the latter's efforts at political self-help rather than his other activities such as campaigning to improve mine safety.[163] Other recurrent themes are the influence of the middle classes and how political developments at national level played out in Dudley. The decline of Chartism, which led to local self-help initiatives, is discussed below.

After the disappointment of 1848, interest in Chartism receded but did not disappear from Dudley. When the National Land Company ran into difficulties in 1850, the Dudley branch voted to wind itself up, formed an association to be called 'the Redemption League' and reiterated support for Feargus O'Connor and 'the glorious Land Plan'.[164] Chartist activity in Dudley thereafter received only brief mentions in the Chartist press, often merely from lists of monies received.[165] However, Dudley was represented at the National Convention in 1851 by a Mr Thompson who declared 'the principles were spreading' in his district, although there was 'great apathy'.[166] Dudley's middle-class reformers sought to further the cause, as they saw it, of the working class by promoting self-help initiatives. One policy, buying forty-shilling freeholds, thus gaining the votes that went with them, had been an Anti-Corn Law League initiative.[167] Former League supporters, Blackwell and

---

Chartist', in J.M. Bellamy & J. Saville (eds.), *Dictionary of Labour Biography.* Vol. VI (London, 1982), p. 69.

[163] J. Rowley and E. Taylor, 'Cook, Samuel (1786-1861), Chartist and radical', in J.M. Bellamy & J. Saville (eds.), *Dictionary of Labour Biography,* Vol. VI (London, 1982), pp. 64-68. Note: Fairly certainly, Cook's date of birth should be 1787 rather than 1786. Swindon and Wiltshire Archives, *Silver Street* Presbyterian Chapel*, Trowbridge,* Wiltshire, Register of baptisms, 1757 to 1837.

[164] *The Northern Star,* 20 April 1850, p. 1.

[165] *The Northern Star:* 21 December 1850, p. 5; 22 March 1851, p. 5; 23 August 1851, p. 5; 6 March 1852, p. 8.

[166] Unfortunately, nothing is known of 'Mr Thompson'. He arrived quite late for the convention and claimed that 'his constituents had instructed him to support a plan for the Nationalisation of Land'. *The Northern Star,* 5 April 1851, pp. 7-8.

[167] N.C. Edsall, 'A failed national movement: the Parliamentary and Financial Reform Association', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, Vol. 49, No. 119, (May 1976), p. 109.

Reverend John Palmer (both Unitarians), became presidents of the Dudley Freehold Land Society, an offshoot of the Birmingham Freehold Land Society.[168] Other Liberals, including Thomas Lester and W.C. Wood, were also backers.[169] The Dudley society grew rapidly in its early years and was able to buy land from Lord Ward, amongst others.[170] It was praised by *The Worcestershire Chronicle* for winning 'friends from all parties', increasing the electorate, albeit slowly, and both helping to improve social conditions and make working men more responsible.[171] Cook was amongst the speakers at their meeting in April 1852.[172] He had already helped set up the Dudley Mutual Improvement Society, a self-help organisation which operated from late 1850, providing working men with the opportunity to meet and debate on political and religious matters.[173] Although led by the town's leading Chartists, Cook and Wallwork, it had a wider appeal than just to Chartists.

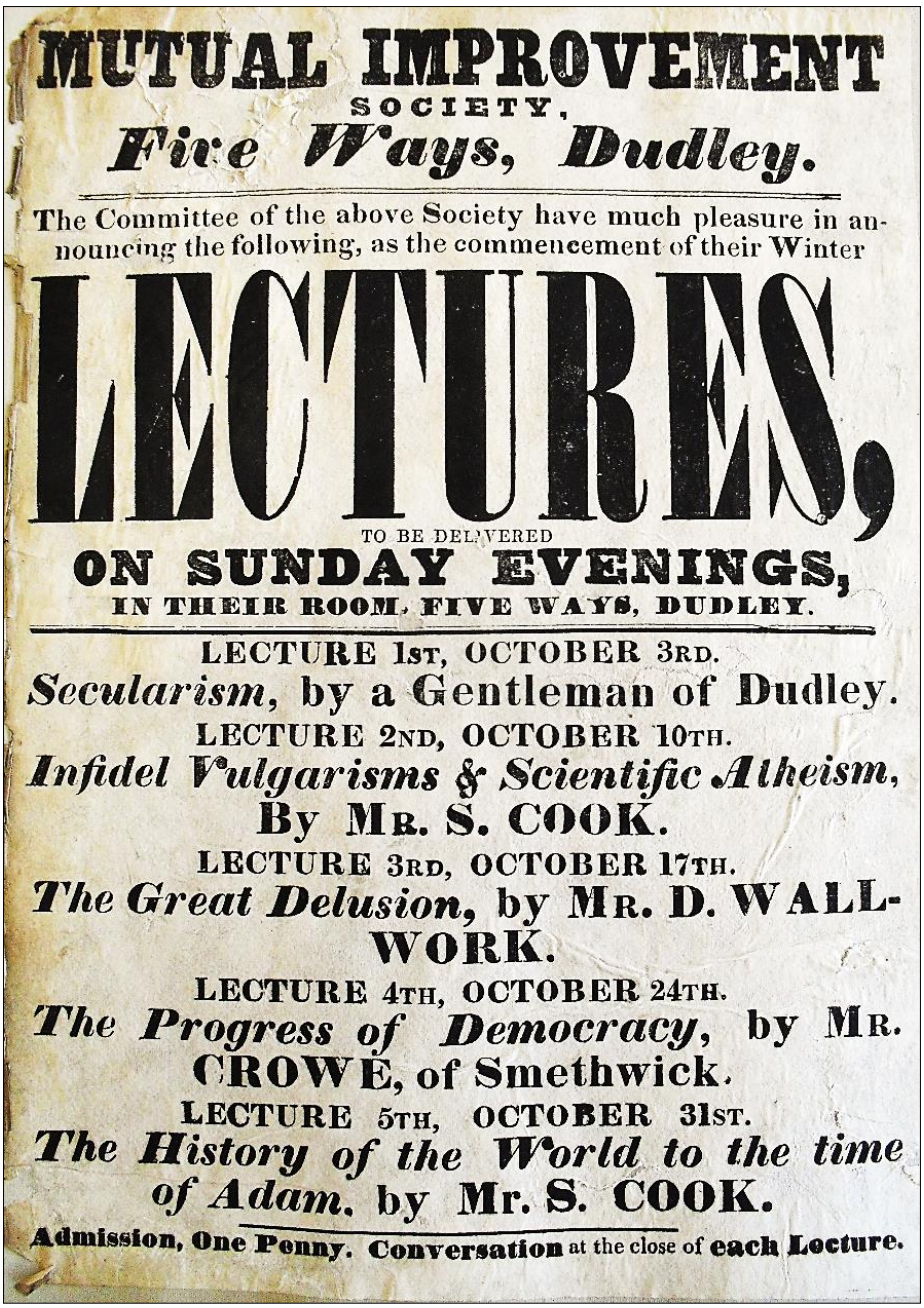
Wallwork, by this time a locksmith, was the best-known leader of the working class in mid-nineteenth-century Dudley who was working-class himself.[174] Like Cook, Wallwork was an incomer, having moved to Dudley in 1848. The two men worked well together despite profound differences of opinion. Whereas Cook, a Christian, was committed to the Independent Chapel and took inspiration from the Bible, Wallwork was an increasingly out-spoken atheist. They also disagreed on the

---

[168] The Dudley Freehold Land Society was established as a branch of the Birmingham Freehold Land Society in about February 1848 but became an independent organisation in August 1848. *The Worcestershire Chronicle,* 2 February 1848, p. 5; *The Birmingham Journal,* 19 August 1848, p. 8 and 2 November 1850, p. 3.
[169] *The Birmingham Journal,* 2 November 1850, p. 3.
[170] *The Worcestershire Chronicle,* 15 January 1851, p. 7.
[171] Ibid.
[172] *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 21 April 1852, p. 2.
[173] The earliest surviving mention of the Society is in *The Northern Star* when it was listed amongst those donating to a fund for Hungarian and Polish refugees. *The Northern Star*, 16 November 1850, p. 5.
[174] Appendix 1 includes biographical information for Wallwork (A30).

temperance issue. Wallwork advocated total abstinence, enforced by legislation, if necessary, whilst Cook argued that alcohol was only problematic in excess, and should be countered by persuasion, not legislation.[175] Until he offended the various memberships, Wallwork acted as secretary for several organisations, including the Mutual Improvement Society. Much of the knowledge about working-class activity in Dudley at this time comes from information which he must have supplied to the press. Cook and Wallwork used the Mutual Improvement Society to increase the confidence of working men to debate political and religious issues. Their programme of lectures for October 1852 gives examples of the topics they discussed and shows Cook and Wallwork dominating proceedings (figure 7.4).[176]

[175] For instance: *The Birmingham Journal,* 16 May 1857, p. 7.
[176] DALHS, PO/644, PC, Mutual Improvement Society, Five Ways, Dudley (n. p., n.d.). The handbill does not give the year but the information it does give, together with context, allows it to be dated, almost certainly, to 1852. Mr Crowe is probably the Chartist, Robert Crowe, which also helps with the dating as he emigrated to the United States in 1854.



MUTUAL IMPROVEMENT
SOCIETY,
Five Ways, Dudley.

The Committee of the above Society have much pleasure in announcing the following, as the commencement of their Winter

LECTURES,

TO BE DELIVERED
ON SUNDAY EVENINGS,
IN THEIR ROOM, FIVE WAYS, DUDLEY.

LECTURE 1ST, OCTOBER 3RD.
Secularism, by a Gentleman of Dudley.
LECTURE 2ND, OCTOBER 10TH.
Infidel Vulgarisms & Scientific Atheism,
By MR. S. COOK.
LECTURE 3RD, OCTOBER 17TH.
The Great Delusion, by MR. D. WALL-WORK.
LECTURE 4TH, OCTOBER 24TH.
The Progress of Democracy, by MR. CROWE, of Smethwick.
LECTURE 5TH, OCTOBER 31ST.
The History of the World to the time of Adam, by Mr. S. COOK.

Admission, One Penny. Conversation at the close of each Lecture.

Figure 7.4. Lecture programme for the Mutual Improvement Society, Dudley, 1852? [177]

Alongside his Christian beliefs, Cook was a tireless advocate of free speech and open debate. In a letter to *The British Banner*, Cook argued that what he called 'infidelity' (religious scepticism) had existed from the time of Adam and Eve

[177] DALHS, PO/644, PC, Mutual Improvement Society, Five Ways, Dudley (n. p., n.d.).

and might well last ‘to the end of time’.[178] He thought that it was the duty of Christians to study views opposing their own and ‘contend against’ them but using kindness and tact. Without naming it, he described the Dudley Mutual Improvement Society as an example of what could be achieved and defended holding meetings on Sunday evenings, thus clashing with church services, as the best time to engage with ‘the heterodox’. Cook linked religion with politics and ended by saying: ‘I have often thought that Paine might have died a burning, and a shining light, had he been met in a different spirit by the religious public.’[179] Praising Cook, George Holyoake re-printed the letter in his secular paper, *The Reasoner*.[180] In *The People’s Paper,* Wallwork described Dudley’s Mutual Improvement Society as having been ‘originated by a number of intelligent working men, who felt anxious for mental improvement, and to … meet and discuss the topics of the day’.[181] He claimed that, after two years, benefits were showing: ‘Some of the members who at first could scarcely put five sentences together, were now able to speak with fluency and effect.’[182] Another Chartist, William Rankine, praised the Society for offering a much wider range of discussion topics than others did and allowing ‘freedom of opinion’.[183] Cook and Wallwork resented the fact that Mechanics’ institutions, such as Dudley’s, generally barred political and religious discussions.[184]

---

[178] The original issue of *The British Banner* has not been traced. Letter from Cook reprinted in *The Reasoner and Secular Gazette,* No. 13, 30 March 1853, pp. 197-198.
[179] This would be Thomas Paine, the radical author. *The Reasoner and Secular Gazette,* No. 13, 30 March 1853, p. 198.
[180] Ibid., p. 197. Cook also praised Holyoake in the letter and it seems that they were friends.
[181] *The People's Paper,* 8 January 1853, p. 3.
[182] Ibid.
[183] *The Wolverhampton Herald,* 11 January 1854, p. 7.
[184] The constitution for the Dudley Mechanics' Institution has not survived but at its annual general meeting in 1860, Cook protested against ‘the continued observance of those rules which prohibited

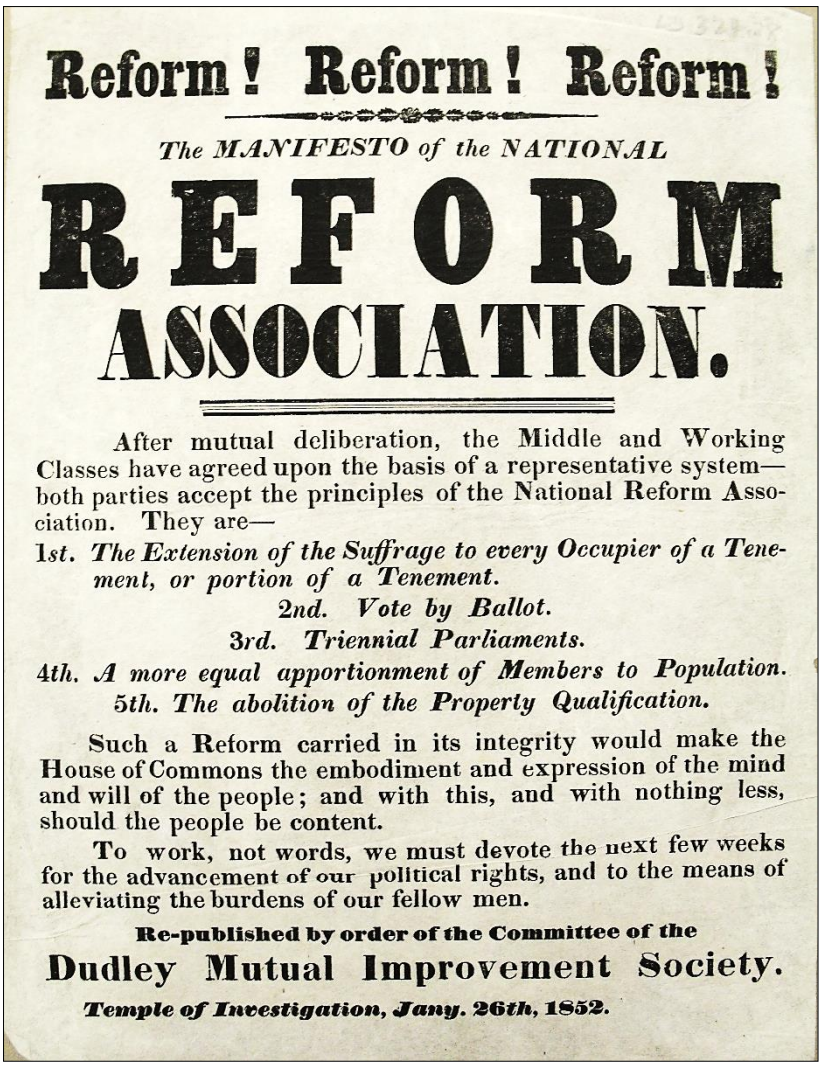
Cook took a broad approach in campaigning for working men's political rights and had earlier supported both O'Connor's Chartism and Joseph Sturge's Complete Suffrage Association.[185] After Chartism seemingly lost its way in the 1850s, Cook believed that the working class needed to connect better with middle-class reformers. It was probably his idea, in 1852, for Dudley's Mutual Improvement Society to 're-publish' the 'manifesto of the National Reform Association', which highlights the benefits of the two classes cooperating to achieve reform (figure 7.5).[186] Some points from the original Charter, such as universal suffrage, had been diluted to make them more acceptable to the middle classes. As Cook had been advocating universal suffrage, from at least 1834 (chapter 5), this marks a more pragmatic policy.[187]

political or religious discussion in the institution, and the opening of the rooms on Christmas Day and Good Friday'. *The Birmingham Journal,* 21 January 1860, p. 8. [Cook had a puritanical zeal for trying to stop Christmas Day and Good Friday being treated as special days.]

[185] *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 16 March 1842, p. 3; *The Birmingham Journal,* 27 May 1843, p. 3.

[186] This was, more correctly, 'the Parliamentary and Financial Reform Association' and it was a radical society set up in 1849 by John Bright, Joseph Hume and others. Nicholas Edsall described it as 'a transitional movement' between the collapse of Chartism in 1848 and 'the moderate reform movements' of the late 1850s. N.C. Edsall, 'A failed national movement: the Parliamentary and Financial Reform Association', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, Vol. 49, No. 119 (May 1976), pp. 108–131.

[187] 'DALHS, SC/23, SCC, Some of the principles of Dudley radicalism (Dudley, 1834?).



Reform! Reform! Reform!

The MANIFESTO of the NATIONAL

REFORM ASSOCIATION.

After mutual deliberation, the Middle and Working Classes have agreed upon the basis of a representative system—both parties accept the principles of the National Reform Association. They are—

1st. *The Extension of the Suffrage to every Occupier of a Tenement, or portion of a Tenement.*

2nd. *Vote by Ballot.*

3rd. *Triennial Parliaments.*

4th. *A more equal apportionment of Members to Population.*

5th. *The abolition of the Property Qualification.*

Such a Reform carried in its integrity would make the House of Commons the embodiment and expression of the mind and will of the people; and with this, and with nothing less, should the people be content.

To work, not words, we must devote the next few weeks for the advancement of our political rights, and to the means of alleviating the burdens of our fellow men.

Re-published by order of the Committee of the

Dudley Mutual Improvement Society.

Temple of Investigation, Jany. 26th, 1852.

Figure 7.5. Manifesto of the National Reform Association, reproduced by the Dudley Mutual Improvement Society, 1852.[188]

When Chartism revived in the Black Country in 1855, Cook called for reformers to co-operate and form an association to be called 'the South Staffordshire Chartist and Complete Suffrage Association'.[189] Ernest Jones, one of the last national Chartist leaders and editor of *The People's Paper*, was

[188] DALHS, PO/269, PC, Reform! Reform! Reform! (Dudley? 1852).

[189] *The People's Paper,* 11 August 1855, p. 6.

unenthusiastic.[190] However, by 1857, Jones was more willing to accept a middle-class alliance. Dudley's Chartists, led by Cook and Wallwork, praised Jones's 'conciliatory tone' and expressed the hope that an alliance between the classes would 'secure a real, honest and satisfactory Reform Bill for this country'.[191] Barnsby argues that the strength of the Dudley Chartists might have influenced Jones to change his attitude to the middle class.[192] However, Jones's biographer, Miles Taylor, and the historian, Malcolm Chase, give other reasons for Jones's change of heart.[193]

In summer 1857, a revival of interest in Chartism showed how national affairs were reflected in Dudley. Under pressure from colleagues in May 1857, Palmerston made a vague commitment to a measure of parliamentary reform.[194] The then radical MP, J.A. Roebuck claimed it was 'a distinct pledge'.[195] This apparent promise of a government-backed reform bill encouraged Chartist leaders to urge working men to help shape that reform. At a district delegate meeting in Dudley in June 1857, Cook was emphatic that 'the people' ought to 'speak out in thunder-tones' to avoid being given 'a sham Reform Bill'.[196] He later backed Jones's suggestion to hold a conference bringing together Chartists and middle-class reformers, with the resolution:

---

[190] Ibid.
[191] *The People's Paper,* 25 April 1857, p. 1.
[192] G.J. Barnsby, *The Dudley Working Class Movement, 1750 to 1860* (Dudley, 1986), p. 56.
[193] Taylor shows that Jones had not only exhausted many other avenues, but that firstly he was influenced by his association with George Holyoake and secondly, Jones's well-conducted campaign against British policy during the Indian mutiny led to his working with the very radicals and reformers whom he had previously shunned. M. Taylor, *Ernest Jones, Chartism, and the Romance of Politics, 1819-1869* (Oxford, 2003), pp. 175-183; Chase thinks that Jones's failure to win O'Connor's old parliamentary seat of Nottingham in March 1857 'focused his mind'. M. Chase, *Chartism: A New History* (Manchester, 2007), p. 355.
[194] *Hansard*, Vol. 145, 7 May 1857, pp. 66-67.
[195] Ibid., p. 68.
[196] *The People's Paper,* 13 June 1857, p. 1.

> Any reform short of the People's Charter will not confer upon the people of these realms their just rights. But seeing the present disposition of the various classes of reformers we are willing to co-operate with them in any measure of reform that will be of substantial benefit to the whole people.[197]

Cook added a radical suggestion of his own – that if constituencies wished, they should be allowed to send 'any lady they might select' to the House of Lords or Commons.[198] Cook had previously supported female suffrage, and this report seems to imply that he favoured an elective second chamber. To support the approaching conference, Dudley's Chartists helped to revive Chartism in neighbouring towns.[199] When asked to suggest names of middle-class reformers to be invited to the conference, Cook put forward names, including his own, although he is not recorded as attending the conference in February 1858.[200] Dudley and district were represented by Wallwork and John Chance from Stourbridge. Although the conference did not achieve a great deal, it showed the standing of the Dudley leaders in that Wallwork was voted onto a thirty-man 'executive committee' and Cook was listed among the 'middle-class reformers' alongside such luminaries as George Dawson, the Holyoake brothers (George and Austin) and G.J. Harney.[201]

Hopes for a reform bill ended shortly after the conference when Palmerston's government was brought down over the so-called Orsini affair.[202]

---

[197] *The People's Paper,* 19 September 1857, p. 1.
[198] Ibid.
[199] Barnsby, *The Dudley Working Class Movement,* pp.56-59.
[200] *The People's Paper,* 7 November 1857, p. 1.
[201] *The People's Paper,* 20 February 1858, p. 1.
[202] The affair is named after Felice Orsini, an Italian nationalist who had spent time in asylum in Britain before going to France and attempting to assassinate Emperor Napoleon III on 14 January

However, Palmerston was soon Prime Minister again and Lord John Russell introduced a new reform bill in 1860 but it failed to win sufficient parliamentary support and was abandoned.[203] Barnsby claims that after this Chartism 'disintegrated'.[204] He also argues that 'Dudley Chartism survived to the very end'.[205] John Rowley, possibly influenced by Barnsby, declares that Dudley had 'the most militant Chartist movement in the Black Country' during the 1850s.[206] However, there is little evidence of militancy. Both Cook and Wallwork campaigned hard for working-class rights, but in a constitutional framework. They aimed at increasing the respectability of working men by promoting self-improvement and supported allying with middle-class reformers.

Barnsby underestimates the significance of the Dudley Mutual Improvement Society, assuming it was only a phenomenon of 1852/53 and failing to notice its relationship to the Dudley Working Men's Institute.[207] Research for this thesis shows that the Society continued in some form from 1850 to 1859 when it spawned the Dudley Working Men's Institute. Lectures at 'the Hall of Investigation' were listed in *The Reasoner* throughout the 1850s, but with few details.[208] A clearer report in March 1859 recorded that Wallwork read the discourse on the

---

1858. The aftermath, particularly relations between Britain and France, helped to bring down Palmerston's government. D. Brown, *Palmerston: A Biography* (New Haven and London, 2010), pp. 408-412.

[203] R. Saunders, *Democracy and the Vote in British Politics, 1848-1867: The Making of the Second Reform Act* (Farnham, 2011), pp. 118-127.

[204] Barnsby, *The Dudley Working Class Movement,* p. 60.

[205] Ibid., p. 61.

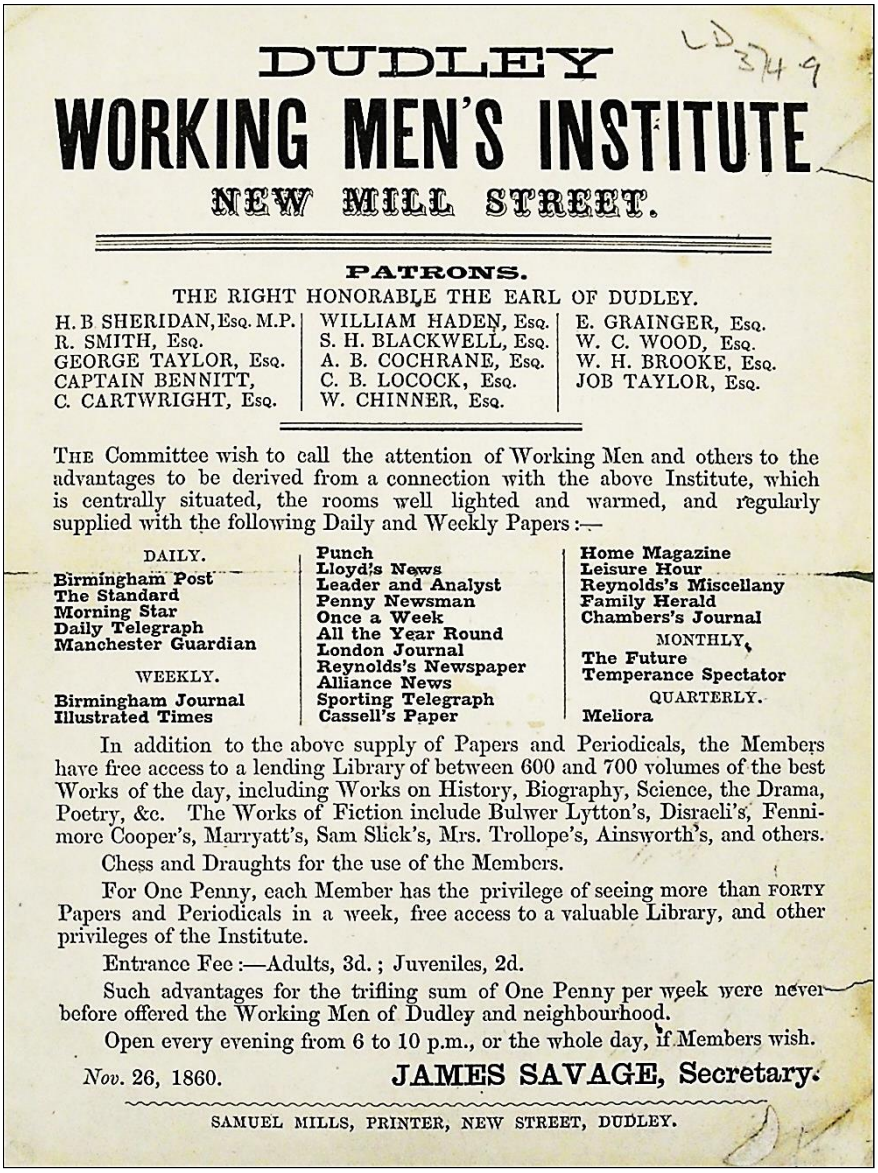
[206] J. Rowley, 'Wallwork, Daniel (1824-1909): Chartist and secularist', in J.M. Bellamy & J. Saville (eds.), *Dictionary of Labour Biography,* Vol. VI (London, 1982), pp. 259-262. Barnsby collaborated with Rowley and others in the production of the *Dictionary of Labour Biography*, Hull History Centre, U DLB/6/16-17 etc, Records of the Dictionary of Labour Biography, Cook files.

[207] Barnsby, *The Dudley Working Class Movement*, p. 53.

[208] See, for instance, 'Dudley Hall of Investigation', *The Reasoner.* 2 July 1854, p. 15 and 6 March 1859, p. 79.

‘Life and Services of Robert Owen’ from *The Reasoner* and Cook gave a lecture on ‘the Divine Right of the Suffrage’.[209] Despite, or because of, disappointment over electoral reform, Cook and Wallwork widened the scope of their self-help organisation in 1859. An announcement stated: ‘In connection with the Mutual Improvement Society, a Working Man’s News Room has been opened, where, for a penny per week, the members enjoy the privilege of reading the daily, weekly and other papers.’[210] Cook and Wallwork asked the Board of Health to become a trustee of their organisation.[211] This was rejected ‘reluctantly’ as being beyond their remit, but they added that ‘individually Members of your Board may, and no doubt do, approve of the establishment of such institutions’.[212] By the following year, Cook and Wallwork had widened their organisation to become ‘the Dudley Working Men’s Institute’.[213] Many of Dudley’s leaders who supported the longer-established Mechanics’ Institution, from the Earl downwards, also supported the new organisation (figure 7.6).[214] The Institute’s first annual report highlighted its benefits and recommended it ‘to all who are friendly to the improvement of the working classes’.[215] However, the optimism was short-lived and the next section discusses the Institute’s failure.

[209] Cook ‘endeavoured to show from the Bible that Manhood Suffrage was a Divine right and taught in the Old Testament’, *The Reasoner*, 6 March 1859, p. 79.
[210] *The Reasoner,* 6 March 1859, p. 79.
[211] DALHS, Dudley Local Board of Health, Minutes 5, July 1859-August 1861, minutes, 6 September 1859.
[212] DALHS, Dudley Local Board of Health, Minutes 5, July 1859-August 1861, minutes, 30 September 1859.
[213] DALHS, Z44, MC, Material relating to Samuel Cook and the Dudley Working Men’s Institute, c. 1860.
[214] DALHS, PO/318, PC, Dudley Working Men’s Institute, (Dudley, 1860).
[215] DALHS, Z44, MC, Material relating to Samuel Cook and the Dudley Working Men’s Institute, first annual report, 1860.



DUDLEY

WORKING MEN'S INSTITUTE

NEW MILL STREET.

PATRONS.

THE RIGHT HONORABLE THE EARL OF DUDLEY.

H. B SHERIDAN, Esq. M.P.	WILLIAM HADEN, Esq.	E. GRAINGER, Esq.
R. SMITH, Esq.	S. H. BLACKWELL, Esq.	W. C. WOOD, Esq.
GEORGE TAYLOR, Esq.	A. B. COCHRANE, Esq.	W. H. BROOKE, Esq.
CAPTAIN BENNITT,	C. B. LOCOCK, Esq.	JOB TAYLOR, Esq.
C. CARTWRIGHT, Esq.	W. CHINNER, Esq.	

THE Committee wish to call the attention of Working Men and others to the advantages to be derived from a connection with the above Institute, which is centrally situated, the rooms well lighted and warmed, and regularly supplied with the following Daily and Weekly Papers:—

DAILY.
Birmingham Post
The Standard
Morning Star
Daily Telegraph
Manchester Guardian

WEEKLY.
Birmingham Journal
Illustrated Times
Punch
Lloyd's News
Leader and Analyst
Penny Newsman
Once a Week
All the Year Round
London Journal
Reynolds's Newspaper
Alliance News
Sporting Telegraph
Cassell's Paper
Home Magazine
Leisure Hour
Reynolds's Miscellany
Family Herald
Chambers's Journal

MONTHLY.
The Future
Temperance Spectator

QUARTERLY.
Meliora

In addition to the above supply of Papers and Periodicals, the Members have free access to a lending Library of between 600 and 700 volumes of the best Works of the day, including Works on History, Biography, Science, the Drama, Poetry, &c. The Works of Fiction include Bulwer Lytton's, Disraeli's, Fennimore Cooper's, Marryatt's, Sam Slick's, Mrs. Trollope's, Ainsworth's, and others.

Chess and Draughts for the use of the Members.

For One Penny, each Member has the privilege of seeing more than FORTY Papers and Periodicals in a week, free access to a valuable Library, and other privileges of the Institute.

Entrance Fee:—Adults, 3d.; Juveniles, 2d.

Such advantages for the trifling sum of One Penny per week were never before offered the Working Men of Dudley and neighbourhood.

Open every evening from 6 to 10 p.m., or the whole day, if Members wish.

Nov. 26, 1860. **JAMES SAVAGE, Secretary.**

SAMUEL MILLS, PRINTER, NEW STREET, DUDLEY.

Figure 7.6. Handbill advertising Dudley Working Men's Institute, 1860.[216]

Despite Wallwork's efforts on behalf of Dudley's working men, the majority retained traditional Christian beliefs and disliked his outspoken atheism, in contradistinction to Barnsby's argument that, in the improving economic climate after 1850, 'the prevailing working-class culture became secularism'.[217] Wallwork

[216] DALHS, PO/318, PC, Dudley Working Men's Institute, (Dudley, 1860).
[217] G.J. Barnsby, *Radical Dudley* (Wolverhampton, n.d.), p. 3.

was made unwelcome by Dudley's Temperance Society and a short-lived Cooperative Society.[218] He resigned as secretary of the Working Men's Institute, possibly under duress, in October 1860.[219] Then, in early January 1862, he was expelled 'in consequence of his generally unsatisfactory conduct'.[220] Wallwork was furious. He was not present to defend himself and had not been notified or charged with anything.[221] The timing looks significant, coming barely a fortnight after the death of Cook who would have supported Wallwork's right both to his opinions and to defend himself. In 1863 Wallwork emigrated to Australia.[222] Without the leadership of Cook and Wallwork, who had also been the chief fund-raisers, the Institute was weakened and by about 1864 it was unable to cover its debts and closed. However, the sale of their library books eventually covered the debts.[223] Thus, in the declining years of Chartism, the leadership of Cook and Wallwork was critical in heading working-class politics in Dudley towards a middle-class alliance and greater respectability, with self-help initiatives, culminating in the short-lived Working Men's Institute.

Renewed interest in parliamentary reform drew mixed responses in Dudley. The question of universal suffrage was famously described as 'a knife and fork' issue by J.R. Stephens but, with increased prosperity in the late 1850s and 1860s, Dudley's working men seemed less interested in parliamentary reform. However,

---

[218] Rowley, 'Wallwork, Daniel', pp. 259-262.
[219] *The Birmingham Daily Post,* 17 January 1861, p. 4.
[220] *The Birmingham Daily Post,* 3 January 1862, p. 4.
[221] *The Birmingham Daily Post,* 15 January 1862, p. 1.
[222] Rowley, 'Wallwork, Daniel', pp. 259-262. This article fails to realise that Wallwork left his wife in Britain and apparently entered into a bigamous marriage in Australia. Appendix 1 includes biographical information for Wallwork (A30).
[223] 'Working Men's Institute', *Blocksidge's Dudley Almanack, 1899* (Dudley, Blocksidge, c. 1899), pp. 121-123. especially p. 121.

by 1866 it was back on the national agenda.[224] Sheridan, Dudley's MP, was an enthusiastic reformer and ahead of public opinion in the borough.[225] Despite efforts to encourage working men to participate in politics, very few of them aspired to political leadership. It was a member of the middle class, Reverend Evans, a Baptist minister and one of Sheridan's backers, who tried to rally support for reform discussions. When presiding at a reform meeting, Evans 'regretted the small attendance of working men'.[226] One of Dudley's few other known reformers was Charles Prince, who was later described as the president of the Dudley branch of the National Reform League.[227] Prince thought that the working classes appeared apathetic because they underestimated their own power and influence and he argued that governments should have done more to educate them.[228]

Dudley sent 'a large number' of representatives to the great reform rally in Birmingham on 27 August 1866.[229] However, later in the year, Dudley's lack of enthusiasm for reform was criticised in local newspapers.[230] One letter suggested that it was partly because Dudley's working men had little confidence in their current leadership. It was only in December 1866, when Sheridan brought speakers from Birmingham and elsewhere, that the reformers finally managed to

---

[224] *The Northern Star,* 20 October 1838, p. 7; M. Chase, *Chartism: A New History* (Manchester, 2007), p. 32.
[225] Saunders, *Democracy and the Vote in British Politics,* p. 191; *The Birmingham Daily Post,* 8 October 1866, p 7.
[226] *The Birmingham Daily Gazette,* 15 August 1866, p. 2.
[227] Very little is known out about Charles Prince, but he seems to have been a herbalist in Stafford Street and he was probably the 'Mr Prince, a working man', who spoke at Sheridan's nomination in the 1868 general election. *Jones's Mercantile Directory of the Iron District of South Staffordshire and East Worcestershire etc.* (London, 1865), p. 111; *The Birmingham Daily Post,* 5 December 1866, p. 8; *The Birmingham Daily Gazette,* 17 November 1868, p. 8.
[228] *The Advertiser, Brierley Hill, Stourbridge and Dudley Gazette,* 18 August 1866, p. 3.
[229] *The Birmingham Daily Post,* 28 August 1866, p. 6. The newspaper report was unable to give a figure for the Dudley contingent because 'several of its representatives became attached to other towns'.
[230] *The Birmingham Daily Post,* 8 October 1866, p 7 and 15 October 1866, p. 3.

gather a good crowd in Dudley.[231] In April 1867, after various failed attempts at legislation in Parliament, Prince and a few other local leaders held a more radical, open-air meeting in Dudley Market Place.[232] They accused the House of Commons of betrayal and put resolutions in support of the Reform League. A local newspaper described the speakers as 'ardent zealots'. Whilst admitting that they attracted a crowd of 500-600 people and their resolutions were adopted, it added: 'There was very little enthusiasm displayed by the audience, and the majority of those present appeared to be attracted more by curiosity than any interest in the question of Reform.'[233] Sheridan had voted in favour of various reform measures, so when political opportunism saw Disraeli hijack the reform agenda, Sheridan warned his followers that, for consistency, he would probably vote for Disraeli's Reform Bill.[234] When it passed into law as the Second Reform Act, the new franchise, described as 'household suffrage', gave a vote to most ratepayers and increased the national electorate from about one to two million men.[235] It took some time for Dudley to see the full effect of the reforms because its constituency boundaries were changed considerably by the Boundary Act of 1868.[236]

Dudley reflected the wider problems of reconstructing working men's political activity after Chartist failures. Pragmatic, self-help initiatives were

---

[231] *The Birmingham Daily Post,* 5 December 1866, p. 8.
[232] *The County Express; Brierley Hill, Stourbridge, Kidderminster and Dudley News, 2*0 April 1867, p. 5.
[233] Ibid.
[234] *Berrow's Worcester Journal,* 15 June 1867, p. 8. Much of the shaping of the second Reform Bill took place in the committee stages where Disraeli accepted many of the amendments that were put forward. Saunders, *Democracy and the Vote in British Politics, 1848-1867,* pp. 243-261.
[235] S. Berlinski & T. Dewan, 'The political consequences of franchise extension: evidence from the Second Reform Act', in *Quarterly Journal of Political Science,* Vol. 6, Nos.3–4 (2011), pp 329-376, especially pp. 334-335 & 337 for table 1.
[236] H. James, 'Dudley' (map), in *Boundary Commission. Report of the Boundary Commissioners for England and Wales* (London, 1868), map opposite p. 111.

promoted by Liberals such as Blackwell and radicals like Cook and Wallwork, who realised the benefits of fostering alliances with middle-class reformers. Cook and Wallwork tried to revive Chartism across the region, but after it was finished as a force, they renewed their efforts at encouraging self-help. Far from manifesting the 'militancy' claimed by Rowley, working-class politics in Dudley reflected the move to greater respectability seen over much of Britain. There was even an element of conservatism in their rejection of Wallwork and his secular views. After 1861, Dudley's working men failed to produce leaders of the calibre of Cook and Wallwork. This led to the failure of the Working Men's Institute and a hesitant response to the debate leading up to the Second Reform Act.

Conclusion: Dudley incorporated

In answering the question: 'To what extent and how did political conflict help shape the Dudley borough in the period up to 1867?', this conclusion draws together threads from three areas of activity: local government, the parliamentary constituency, and working-class politics. On both the Board of Health and the Board of Guardians, small Liberal gains were crushed by Isaac Badger's Conservatives, championing independence from outside interference and minimising rates. The political division between Liberals and Conservatives was complicated by Browne, a Tory paternalist who campaigned for improvements to the town and was one of the first to press for incorporation of the borough. Badger reached the zenith of his power in 1857, both in local government and by forging the unprecedented Tory/Radical alliance which opposed Ward's manipulation of the borough's representation for his own political ends. In Sheridan, an outsider, the alliance found a candidate with nothing to lose, and they were able to free the

borough from thraldom to Ward. In subsequent elections, even the suspicion of Ward's support became toxic. However, once he had secured the earldom, Ward re-invigorated his role of benefactor and society leader. The study of working-class politics notes how Cook and Wallwork, Dudley's most active Chartist leaders, dealt with the decline of Chartism. They continued to urge parliamentary reform and joined Chartist revivals when they seemed possible but otherwise they encouraged middle-class alliances and self-help initiatives, thus working-class politics became increasingly pragmatic and respectable. After Cook and Wallwork, the leaders of Dudley's working class were less effective, rarely matching the enthusiasm for further parliamentary reform shown by Sheridan, their MP.

This chapter has helped reshape the historiography for this period by emphasising the significant effect of conflict in local government which has been overlooked hitherto. It has highlighted the dominance achieved by Isaac Badger whose critical role has been missed by both Barnsby and Trainor. It has widened Barnsby's view to show another side to working-class politics, namely a move to self-help and respectability and it has challenged Rowley's opinion that Dudley's working-class politics were marked by militancy.

Political conflict shaped significant changes in Dudley, both in its local government structure and in its power dynamics. The borough gained independence when Ward admitted defeat in 1857 but, as the Earl of Dudley from 1860, he was content to settle into the role of local philanthropist and cultural leader. He backed incorporation and measures for better public health, personally

investing in the South Staffordshire Waterworks Company.[237] At the end of the period, several of his interests came together when he donated an elaborate drinking fountain for the centre of the Market Place. Its grand opening attracted a large and enthusiastic crowd (figure 7.7).[238] Shopkeepers welcomed extra trade and newspaper reports indicated that they had vied with one another in decorating their shops to mark the celebration.[239]

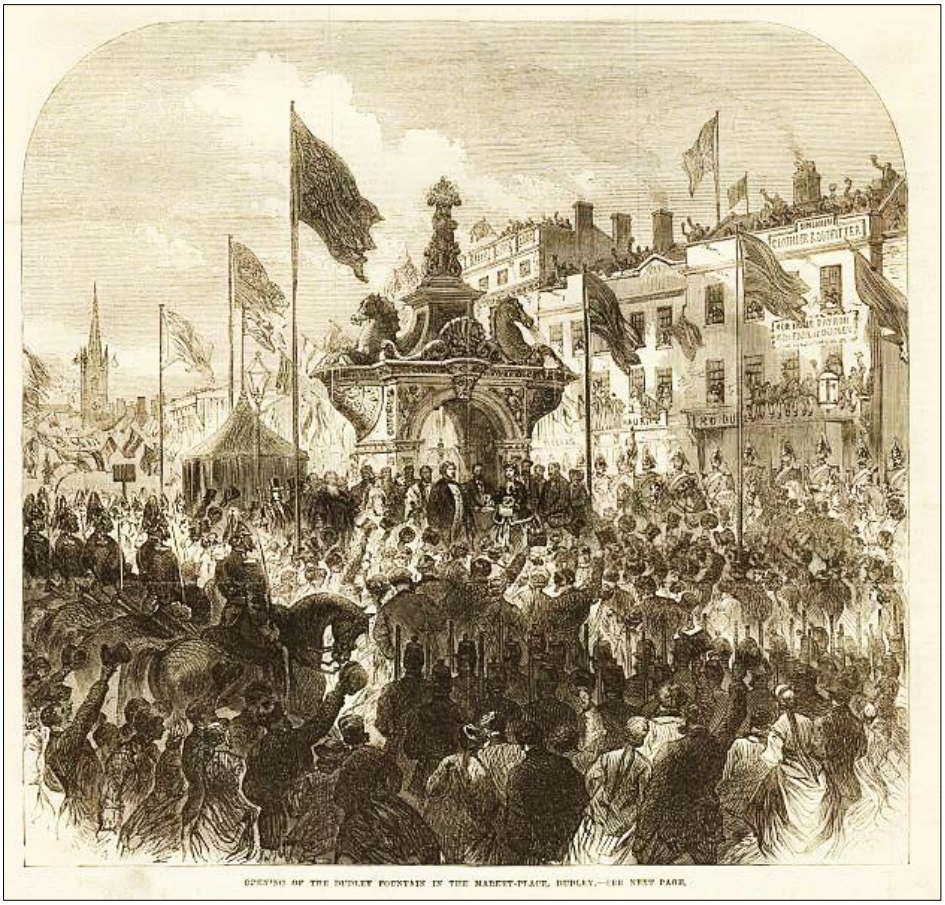


Figure 7.7. The Earl and Countess of Dudley opening Dudley's new drinking fountain, *The Illustrated London News*, 26 October 1867.[240]

[237] J. Van Leerzem and B. Williams, *The History of South Staffordshire Waterworks Company, 1853-1989* (South Staffordshire Water Archives online documents, (n.d.), p. 11 etc. http://www.southstaffswaterarchives.org.uk/SSHISTRY2.pdf
[238] *The Illustrated London News,* 26 October 1867, p. 1.
[239] *The County Express; Brierley Hill, Stourbridge, Kidderminster and Dudley News,* 19 October 1867, p. 8; *The Birmingham Daily Post,* 21 October 1867, p. 7.
[240] *The Illustrated London News,* 26 October 1867, p. 1.

The military presence at the fountain's opening was purely ceremonial, with the Market Place crowded, not for protest or politics, but for celebration. The picture of the ceremony reflects a greater self-confidence in the town and the belief that it was starting to 'catch up' with comparable places (figure 7.7). Successful local newspapers had been founded in Dudley in the 1860s and these encouraged a growing civic consciousness, although many outstanding difficulties, such as poor sanitation, had yet to be addressed.[241]

[241] Earlier attempts to produce local papers based in Dudley had been very short-lived. *The Dudley Guardian,* which had begun in March 1863, was joined by *The Dudley Herald* in December 1866. Unfortunately, there are no surviving copies of *The Dudley Guardian* before July 1869.

CHAPTER 8

Anti-Catholicism in Dudley, c. 1840-1867

Introduction

This chapter is a case study of anti-Catholicism in Dudley, which also evaluates the connection between anti-Catholicism and anti-Irish prejudice. The study of anti-Catholicism is important because it was one of the significant ways that some Protestant communities used to define and assert themselves. At its most basic, Catholics were portrayed as 'the other'.[1] The chapter focuses on the period from 1840, when Dudley's first purpose-built Roman Catholic church was opened, up to the time of the Murphy riots in 1867/68. However, it also provides context for the revival of Catholicism both across Britain and locally, and an overview of earlier instances of anti-Catholicism in Dudley. The study analyses the changing religious, political and social aspects of anti-Catholicism in the town, including the effect of Irish immigration, and asks the question to what extent was anti-Catholicism caused by external factors or the unfolding situation in Dudley and what effect did it have on the local religious and political landscape? In answering the question, it evaluates how much of a threat Catholicism posed to Protestantism. It then focuses on the evolution of anti-Catholicism, noting its relationship to anti-Irish prejudice and comparing the experience in Dudley with that in the larger neighbouring towns of Birmingham and Wolverhampton. Whilst Dudley was visited by the same Protestant lecturers who targeted the other towns,

[1] The notion of 'the other', sometimes termed 'otherness' or 'othering', is a sociological theory to explain how and why the dominant community reinforces its own position by marginalising more vulnerable groups. T. Lawson & J. Garrod, Complete A-Z Sociology Handbook (London, 2003), p. 193.

Dudley also witnessed more localised anti-Catholicism, especially as expressed by the Board of Guardians chaired by Frederick Barrs.[2] The study begins by evaluating the historiography and primary sources.

Anti-Catholicism is multi-faceted. John Wolffe describes four strands which he identifies as: Constitutional-National; Theological; Socio-Cultural; and Popular.[3] However, they are not mutually exclusive. Over time, Dudley showed aspects of all four categories. D.G. Paz claims that anti-Catholicism has been 'an English characteristic since the Reformation and was especially marked in the nineteenth century'.[4] Some historians go further and see anti-Catholicism as a facet of Protestantism that played a critical role in determining English and even British, national identity. Mary Hickman argues that following Catholic emancipation in 1829, 'in cultural terms anti-Catholicism remained the sentiment which most clearly defined the nation'.[5] Similarly, Wolffe believes that the so-called papal aggression controversy of 1850/51 showed that Protestantism was such an essential part of perceived national identity that the people thought 'a challenge to their religion seemed to be a challenge to their nationhood' and Wolffe further argues that 'internal critics who sought a redefinition of the Church of England, appeared to be traitors in a political as well as a religious sense'.[6] Looking at

[2] Appendix 1 includes biographical information for Barrs (A2).
[3] 'Constitutional-National' saw Catholicism as an extra-territorial power aiming at political supremacy. 'Theological' highlighted perceived doctrinal errors. 'Socio-Cultural' focused on the perceived poor behaviour of Catholics, including immorality and ignorance. 'Popular' is used to denote oral and riotous anti-Catholicism often tied in with 'ethnic antagonisms', especially in relation to Irish people. J. Wolffe, 'A comparative historical categorisation of anti-Catholicism', *Journal of Religious History*, Vol. 39, No. 2 (June 2015), pp. 182-202, especially pp. 183-200.
[4] D.G. Paz, *Popular Anti-Catholicism in Mid-Victorian Britain* (Stanford, 1992), p. 2.
[5] M.J. Hickman, *Religion, Class and Identity: The State, the Catholic Church and the Education of the Irish in Britain* (Aldershot etc., 1995), p. 43.
[6] J. Wolffe, *God and Greater Britain: Religion and National Life in Britain and Ireland 1843-1945* (London and New York, 1994), pp. 113-114.

Dudley in detail, this case-study highlights both anti-Catholicism and opposition to increasing Anglo-Catholic practices within the established church. It shows how anti-Catholicism varied both over time and between different groups and considers whether, as Dudley's Catholic population grew, episodes of anti-Catholicism became less abstract and theological and more personal and vindictive.

Several historians have stressed the connection between anti-Catholicism and attitudes towards Irish people. D.W. Bebbington claims that the 'strongest stimulus to anti-Catholicism was the influx of Catholic Irish'.[7] Paz turns the argument by asking: 'Was anti-Catholicism a stalking horse for anti-Irish prejudice?'[8] Alan O'Day argues that hostility to the Irish in Britain dates back to before the Reformation, but accepts that in the nineteenth century it was rarely aimed at Protestant Irish.[9] Looking in more detail at Irish migration to Britain, Donald MacRaild claims that it was a long-established practice that underwent many changes but he argues that 'the famine emigration' of the mid-1840s was in a class of its own and 'it was the sheer volume of pauper migrants, and related epidemics of disease' which made the British authorities particularly fearful.[10] A comparable situation is found in Dudley which attracted Irish migrants both before and after the great famine. The close relationship between anti-Catholicism and anti-Irish prejudice has been studied in Wolverhampton by Roger Swift and Simon

[7] D.W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (London and New York, 1989), p. 101.
[8] Paz, *Popular Anti-Catholicism in Mid-Victorian Britain,* p. 4.
[9] A. O'Day, 'Varieties of anti-Irish behaviour in Britain, 1846-1922', in P. Panayi (ed.), *Racial Violence in Britain in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries,* revised ed. (London and New York, 1996), pp. 26-43, especially pp. 26 & 31.
[10] D.M. MacRaild, *Irish Migrants in Modern Britain, 1750-1922* (Basingstoke, 1999), pp. 42-58.

Briercliffe, and in Birmingham by Alexander Peach and Patsy Davis.[11] This study compares the experience of Dudley, a smaller town lying between the other two, with that of her larger neighbours and asks how Dudley managed to avoid the street violence witnessed in Wolverhampton and Birmingham. This is the first study of the effect of both the growth of Catholicism in Dudley and of Irish migration to the town, and it analyses both anti-Catholicism and anti-Irish prejudice. Sean Ward studied the records of the Dudley Poor Law Union and writes about the bigotry shown by the Guardians, but this discussion challenges some of Ward's conclusions.[12] Paz also highlights 'anti-Catholicism as a political issue' and this was the case in Dudley, but the role of key individuals is shown to be equally important.[13] In considering anti-Irish sentiment, particularly as recorded in the British press, Michael de Nie argues that there were three aspects to it, although the emphasis might vary: 'Collectively British conceptions of Irish identity were always a combination of ethnicity, religion, and class. In British eyes, the eternal Paddy was forever a Celt, a Catholic, and a peasant.'[14] This chapter considers how far this stereotype was true of the attitude shown to Irish immigrants in Dudley's urban and industrial setting.

---

[11] R. Swift, 'Anti-Catholicism and Irish disturbances: public order in Mid-Victorian Wolverhampton', in *Midland History,* Vol. 9, No. 1 (1984), pp. 87-108; S. Briercliffe, '"The blackest shadows are cast by the Irish Quarter", the making of Stafford Street, Wolverhampton, 1832-1882' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Birmingham, 2022); A. Peach, 'Poverty, religion and prejudice in nineteenth-century Britain: the Catholic Irish in Birmingham 1800-c. 1880' (Unpublished PhD thesis, De Montfort University, 2000), p. 237 etc.; P. Davis, 'Birmingham's Irish Community and the Murphy Riots of 1867', *Midland History,* Vol. 31, No. 1 (2006), pp. 37-66.

[12] S. Ward, *Piety, Sectarian Bigotry or Social Control? Attitudes towards Religion of the Guardians of the Poor of the Dudley Union, 1836-71* (DALHS, typescript, c. 1980s).

[13] Paz, *Popular Anti-Catholicism in Mid-Victorian Britain,* pp. 197-223.

[14] M. de Nie, *The Eternal Paddy: Irish Identity and the British Press, 1798-1882* (Madison, Wisconsin and London, 2004), p. 5.

The primary sources are similar to those for other chapters, with local newspapers playing a major role. However, reliance on newspaper reports is problematic because there is a likelihood that the reporting was biased, frequently against Catholics, but even more so against the Irish, with press reports concentrating on their part in crime or disturbances. Paz asks the question: 'Who were the anti-Catholics?'[15] This is difficult to answer in Dudley because newspaper reports only give the names of the main participants, with little indication of the type or class of people who supported them. Dudley lacks sources that have proved useful to research elsewhere, such as members lists of Protestant associations, although the absence of such associations in Dudley is itself significant.[16] The census results, particularly for 1851, provide invaluable data. The 1851 population census indicates where people were born, thus giving an indication of the scale of Irish immigration, whilst the 1851 census of religious worship gives a snapshot of the numbers attending services on one particular Sunday, thus providing data with which to make comparisons between denominations.[17] Other sources include ephemera held at Dudley Archives and Local History Service (DALHS), and the minutes of the Dudley Poor Law Union where, under the chairmanship of Frederick Barrs, the Guardians became more vocally pro-Protestant and anti-Catholic. What are lacking are personal testimonies from participants on both sides – a deficit that can only be partially compensated for by the optimum use of what is available, including letters and

[15] Paz, *Popular Anti-Catholicism in Mid-Victorian Britain,* pp. 267-296.
[16] For Paz's analysis of anti-Catholics in Manchester and Salford see: Paz, *Popular Anti-Catholicism in Mid-Victorian Britain,* pp. 280-290.
[17] The results of the census of religious worship for Dudley are given in tables and charts in appendix 3.

incidents reported in newspapers and some items from the Guardians' minutes. The next part analyses the growth of Catholicism in Dudley, beginning by setting it in the national context.

The growth of Catholicism

One of the many effects of the French Revolution was to encourage a Catholic revival in Britain. Large numbers of French priests and members of religious orders fled from the worst excesses of revolution and found sanctuary in Britain, but Sheridan Gilley argues that 'even more important was the flight back to England of around thirty English Catholic convents, monasteries and seminaries …'.[18] Even so, the greatest rise in Britain's Catholic population came from Irish immigration which increased throughout the early decades of the nineteenth century before reaching an unprecedented scale during the famine years of the 1840s. Furthermore, at a cultural level, the development of romanticism led to a re-awakening of interest in mediaeval religion.[19] Many clergymen and academics in the Church of England began to re-assess the Catholic origins of their church. A number of these Anglicans either converted to Catholicism or, if remaining in the Church of England, pressed for it to return, as they saw it, to more Catholic or 'High-Church' practices.[20] The most notable example of this was the Oxford Movement, otherwise known as Tractarianism or Puseyism.[21] In Dudley, as

[18] S. Gilley, 'Roman Catholicism' in D.G. Paz, *Nineteenth-century English Religious Traditions: Retrospect and Prospect* (Westport, Connecticut and London, 1995), pp. 33-56, especially pp. 38-39.
[19] Ibid., pp. 41-42.
[20] 'High Church' Anglicans or Anglo-Catholics were seen as closer to Roman Catholics and favouring ritualism, whilst 'Low Church' Anglicans were closer to nonconformists. Gilley, 'Roman Catholicism', pp. 43-45.
[21] The Oxford Movement, which aimed at reconsidering and restoring some Catholic features and practices to the Church of England, was so-called because it was fostered by Anglican clergymen associated with the University of Oxford. The name 'Tractarianism' derived from a series of 'Tracts

elsewhere, it was often condemned alongside Catholicism. Gilley claims that both the High Church revival and conversion to Catholicism were more common in families from the landed aristocracy.[22] It was one such convert, George Spencer, a member of the wealthy Spencer family of Northamptonshire, who first worked with Irish immigrants to nurture Catholicism in Dudley and his contribution is evaluated below as part of an assessment of the growth of Catholicism in Dudley.[23]

A survey for the Bishopric of Worcester, taken between 1782 and 1808, claimed that there were only seven Catholic families in Dudley, which equated to about 0.35% of its population.[24] Catholicism was better established in Sedgley than Dudley and it was in Sedgley that the first Catholic mission chapel was opened in 1789. It was said to be 'the nearest place of worship for the Catholics of Dudley, Stourbridge, West Bromwich, Wednesbury, Tipton and Brierley Hill'.[25] Thus, the Reverend Thomas Tysan, the priest in charge from 1819, had pastoral care over Dudley.[26] Tysan enjoyed controversy and stirred up a pamphlet exchange with Dudley's nonconformists in the early 1820s on the subject of distributing Bibles (chapter 4). The reaction in Dudley to the government's policy of 'Catholic Emancipation' in 1829, and Tysan's denunciation of the magistrate, Major

---

for the Times' which were issued at Oxford, 1833-1841. The term Puseyism was based on the name of Edward Bouverie Pusey, an Oxford don and an ordained Anglican clergyman who was considered to be the leader of the Oxford Movement after John Henry Newman converted to Catholicism, c. 1841. Puseyism or Puseyite were generally used as pejorative labels for the Oxford Movement and its followers.

[22] Gilley, 'Roman Catholicism', p. 45.

[23] Appendix 1 includes biographical information about the Spencer family (A27).

[24] The original survey of 1782 has been partially updated, but the population analysis seems to come from the beginning and is, therefore, likely to date from 1782. M. Ransome (ed.), *The State of the Bishopric of Worcester, 1782-1808*, Worcestershire Historical Society, New series, Vol. 6 (1968), pp. 37-38.

[25] Quoted from an old document in: E.B. Hymers, *Historical Notes on [the] Catholic Mission of Sedgley* (Dudley, 1924), pp. 17-20.

[26] Ibid., pp. 23-31.

Hawkes, for chairing a meeting to oppose it, is analysed in chapter 3. Tysan had already rebuilt the Catholic church in Sedgley, both on a larger scale and in a more prominent position.[27] The numerical growth of Catholicism in Dudley is best judged by comparing the bishopric survey of 1782-1808 with the results of the census of religious worship in 1851.[28] The census figures show that Catholics in Dudley accounted for 6.2 per cent of total attendances which equates to a substantial increase of support over the preceding half century.[29] The 1851 data put Catholic attendances just ahead of Dudley's other single-building denominations and well above the England and Wales average for Catholic attendances.[30]

The task of establishing the first Catholic mission to Dudley fell to the Catholic convert, George Spencer, who had been ordained a Catholic priest and he began the mission at Easter 1834.[31] Despite family misgivings, George's father, Earl Spencer, continued paying George an allowance, which was used for Catholic purposes and, in due course, helped to fund Dudley's first Catholic church.[32] George Spencer acknowledged that, to begin with, most of his congregation were 'Irish settlers' but, under his leadership, the Catholic mission expanded.[33]

---

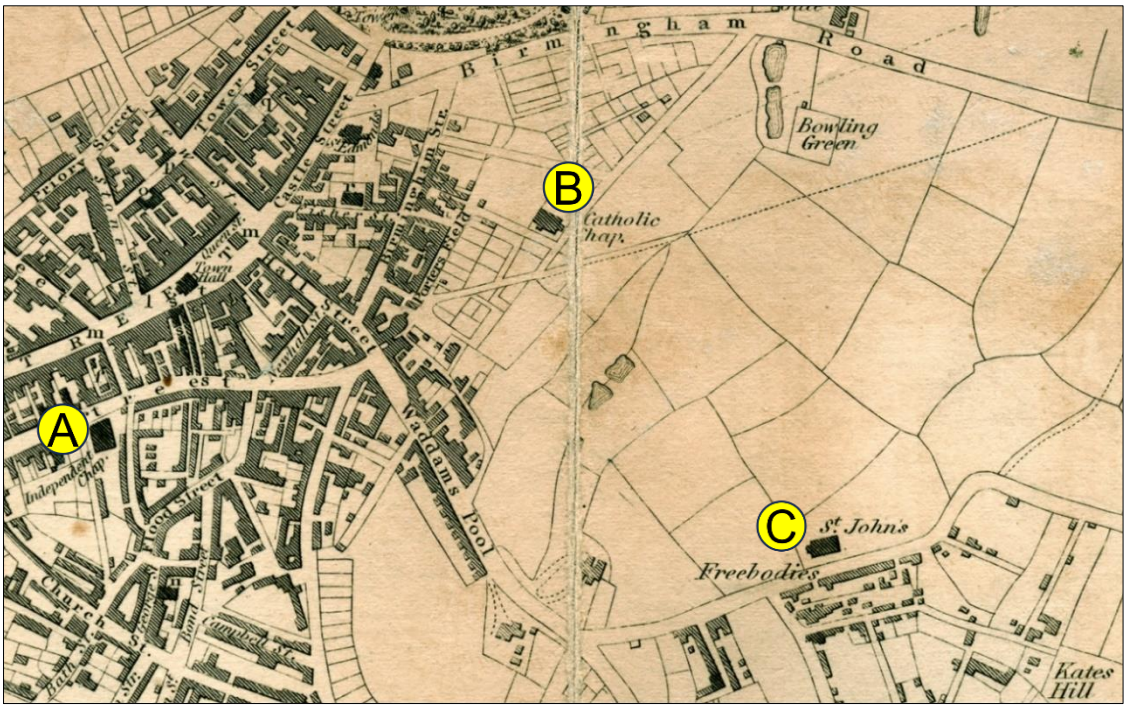
[27] The new church opened in August 1823. Ibid., pp. 23-26.
[28] Background to the census is given in chapter 1 and the results for Dudley are set out in tables and charts in appendix 3.
[29] Comparisons between denominations and geographically are made using the 'index of attendance' devised by K.S. Inglis, which sees total attendances expressed as a percentage of the population. J. Aitken (ed.), *Census of Religious Worship, 1851. The Returns for Worcestershire*, Worcestershire Historical Society, New series, Vol. 17 (2000), pp. xvi-xix & p. xxxv and pp. 4-10; Inglis, 'Patterns of religious worship in 1851', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. 11, No. 1 (1960), pp. 74-86, especially p. 79.
[30] See results for the census in appendix 3, particularly tables A.C.2 & 3 and figure A.C.2. Aitken, *Census of Religious Worship, 1851. The Returns for Worcestershire,* p. xxxv & pp. 4-10.
[31] G. Skinner, *Father Ignatius Spencer: English Noble and Christian Saint* (Leominster, 2018), p. 194.
[32] Skinner, *Father Ignatius Spencer,* p. 142; Ignatius Spencer to Father Provincial, 27 February 1853, *Letters from Ignatius Spencer C. P. Volume 8* (unpublished, typescript), p.11.
[33] George Spencer to George Spencer [his father], 10 January 1834, *Letters from Ignatius Spencer C. P.* Vol. 4 (unpublished, typescript), p. 6; Skinner, *Father Ignatius Spencer,* pp. 194-198.

Methodist re-alignments in Dudley (chapter 6) led to a small Methodist New Connexion chapel in Chapel Street becoming vacant which Spencer was able to rent and use as Dudley's first Catholic chapel. This provoked an early example of anti-Catholicism from a Wesleyan Methodist with an article in *Watchman* criticising the Methodist New Connexion for allowing a Protestant chapel to be 'fitted up as a regular mass house' by 'Papists'.[34]

Spencer wrote letters to local newspapers, clashing with men like the Reverend William Dalton, an evangelical in Wolverhampton. Although these were primarily theological discussions, Spencer asked Dalton to stop using derogatory 'nick-names' to describe Catholics.[35] Spencer's health was not thought sufficiently robust for him to remain a parish priest but he augmented his own family money by fund-raising amongst wealthy acquaintances to help Dudley achieve its first purpose-built Catholic church, designed by the leading Catholic architect A.W. Pugin.[36] The church was built in 1839/40 during what looks like a spate of competitive church-building in Dudley. Two new Anglican churches were built in the suburbs and the Independent chapel was re-built on a larger scale. The Methodist New Connexion and the Baptists were adding to their chapels as well. There was also more diversification as a recently founded group of English Presbyterians took over the small chapel vacated by the Catholics. A map of Dudley drawn c. 1841 shows that the Catholic church and St John's Anglican

[34] Original article from *Watchman*, primarily a Wesleyan Methodist paper, reprinted in: *The Morning Herald,* 11 March 1836, p. 6.
[35] From Dalton to Spencer, *Aris's Birmingham Gazette,* 2 February 1836, p. 4; Spencer to Dalton, *Aris's Birmingham Gazette,* 14 March 1836, p. 1 and 4 April 1836, p. 4; Dalton to Spencer, *Aris's Birmingham Gazette,* 9 May 1836, p. 5; *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 15 June 1836, p. 3 and 14 September 1836, p. 2; Spencer to Dalton, *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 29 June 1836, p. 2. The 'nick-names' Spencer mentioned specifically were: 'Romanism, Romish, Popery'.
[36] Skinner, *Father Ignatius Spencer,* pp. 197-198.

church were built in new areas of development and, like the Independent chapel, they were sizeable buildings (figure 8.1).[37]



Map showing three churches that opened in Dudley in 1840

Key A = The new Independent Chapel

B = The Roman Catholic Chapel

C = St John's Anglican Church

Figure 8.1. 'A new plan of Dudley' from *Bentley's Directory of Dudley*, detail, c. 1841.[38]

[37] A short history of Dudley's Catholic church claims that the Catholic authorities had to purchase the land through a third party, presumably because they expected the owners to refuse to sell for a Catholic church. With no references given, it has not been possible to verify this, but Porter's Field, where the development took place, belonged to the Bourne family of solicitors who were Anglicans and a significant part of Dudley's establishment. *Church of Our Lady and St Thomas of Canterbury, Dudley: A Brief History* (Wednesfield, 1965), chapter 3, n.p.; 'A new plan of Dudley etc.' in J. Bentley, *Bentley's History and Guide to Dudley, Dudley Castle, and the Castle Hill, and Alphabetical and Classified Directory of the Borough of Dudley etc* (Birmingham, n.d. [1840-1842), fold-out map opposite title page.

[38] 'A new plan of Dudley etc.' in J. Bentley, *Bentley's History and Guide to Dudley, Dudley Castle, and the Castle Hill, and Alphabetical and Classified Directory of the Borough of Dudley etc* (Birmingham, n.d. [1840-1842), fold-out map opposite title page.

The Catholic church opened at the end of 1840 and reaction, as reported in local newspapers, was mixed, with the most favourable report being that in *The Worcestershire Chronicle,* a Liberal newspaper.[39] Three hostile, anonymous letters were printed in *The Staffordshire Gazette*, although it also published a loyal address to the Queen sent by the new Catholic priest, marking the birth of the Princess Royal.[40] The first letter included a range of insults, describing the opening service as a 'mixture of Pagan and Jewish ceremony called High-mass' and frequently using derogatory expressions such as 'mockery of worship', 'mummery', 'performers' and 'puppet show'.[41] The second letter carried the initials 'I.N.' which almost certainly stood for Isaac Nayler whose subsequent letter to George England is discussed below. This current letter described the new Catholic chapel as 'the first mass-house which has disgraced the town' and highlighted the growing number of Catholics in Dudley, whilst admitting that some had transferred from Sedgley. He claimed that 'the increase chiefly consists of the lowest of the low, and the poor Irish' but found that sinister, believing it showed that Catholics were targeting the working classes. The author specifically allied Conservatives with Protestants and complained that Dudley's Conservatives had not done enough to support the Dudley Operative Conservative Association, saying that such institutions 'keep alive in the country a Protestant and Conservative feeling: and … ensure the return of Conservative members to the House of Commons'.[42] Dudley's Anglican clergy refrained from making public comments about the

[39] *The Worcestershire Chronicle,* 6 January 1841, p. 3.
[40] *The Staffordshire Gazette,* 7 January 1841, p. 3.
[41] Ibid.
[42] Nayler was assistant secretary, for a time, to the Dudley Operative Conservative Association. *The Staffordshire Gazette,* 7 January 1841, p. 3; *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 15 April 1840, p. 3.

opening of the Catholic church but on each of the following three Sundays, a guest speaker at the parish church preached against perceived Catholic beliefs or theology.[43] At its opening, the new Catholic church drew some curious Protestants to look around and it continued to attract some Protestants when it held charity sermons.[44] A further letter from I.N. [Isaac Nayler] condemned those Protestants for giving money to support 'Romanism' which, he said, was more than just being inconsistent because, he argued, as 'Popery is idolatry… frequenting Romish services …is actual sin'.[45] This period saw the Catholic church established in Dudley as one denomination amongst others. Whilst the Anglican clergy reacted with circumspection, concentrating on theology, some zealous laymen, both Anglican and Methodist, were vituperative in their condemnation. However, many Protestants were simply curious. The next sections focus on political connections to anti-Catholicism and how Dudley reacted to national controversies.

Anti-Catholicism in the 1840s

A meeting of the Dudley Operative Conservative Association in 1840, at which Thomas Hawkes, Dudley's Tory MP was guest of honour, gives an example of how closely religion and politics were seen to be aligned. Hawkes was both an ardent Anglican and a loyalist and as part of his attack on the Whig government he accused them of discouraging the Church of England, whilst they 'had lavished the public money to encourage the Romish idolatry'.[46] Septimus Badger, a younger brother in one of Dudley's leading industrialist families, responded that the Church

[43] *The Staffordshire Gazette,* 21 January 1841, p. 3; *The Globe,* 15 February 1841, p. 1.
[44] Many denominations held special services with a guest speaker as fund-raising events. *The Worcestershire Chronicle,* 6 January 1841, p. 3; *The Staffordshire Gazette,* 7 January 1841, p. 3.
[45] *The Staffordshire Gazette,* 2 December 1841, p. 3 & 9 December 1841, p. 3.
[46] The article had been reprinted from *The Ten Towns Messenger; The Morning Herald*, 25 April 1840, p. 2.

of England 'was assailed by four deadly enemies, the Papists, the Socinians, the Chartists, and the Socialists'.[47] Although a Conservative government under Robert Peel took power in 1841, it also introduced policies apparently aimed at appeasing Irish Catholics which enraged many Protestants.

Peel's plan in 1845 for raising the grant to the Irish Catholic Maynooth College proved particularly controversial. Hawkes had been replaced as Dudley's MP by Lord Ward's agent, John Benbow, who also claimed to be a fervent Anglican, but he absented himself from the early votes on Maynooth before voting in favour of the grant.[48] Benbow's position was probably dictated by Ward who was increasing his support for Peel (chapter 5). Whatever Benbow's reasons, his support for Maynooth angered anti-Catholics in Dudley, particularly the Wesleyan Methodists. Four separate Wesleyan congregations in the borough drew up petitions against the grant, which they sent to Benbow to present in Parliament.[49] George England, Dudley's leading Wesleyan layman, wrote letters to Benbow, with at least one of them being published in a local newspaper.[50] The letters were characterised by common anti-Catholic rhetoric. In the first he had said the question was simply: 'Shall Protestantism or Popery be the ascendant religion of these realms?' In his second letter he called the Maynooth grant 'the endowment of Popery', adding that 'Popery is a system that will admit of no rival in either ecclesiastical or political dominion'.[51] He claimed Catholicism was 'a system' of idolatry… opposed to the truth of the Bible'. As well as religious reasons, the other

[47] Ibid.
[48] *The Patriot,* 21 April 1845, p. 7; *Morning Post,* 4 June 1845, p. 6.
[49] *Aris's Birmingham Gazette,* 21 April 1845, p. 3.
[50] England's earlier letter has not been traced. *The Worcestershire Chronicle,* 14 May 1845, p. 3.
[51] Ibid.

grounds he gave for resisting ‘this dangerous measure’ were ‘loyalty to our Protestant Queen, liberty of conscience and security of life and property’. In addition to condemning ‘Popery’, England lashed out at other targets, including the Anglican church. He claimed that many of their clergy were ‘deeply imbued with the Tractarian heresy – the very *fac simile* of Romanism’. He also lambasted ‘unworthy Bishops and ministers of the Established Church’ who spent the church’s money ‘in luxury and in vice in foreign lands, or in idleness and debauchery in their own’. England ended by saying that the government minister who had brought forward the Maynooth proposal not only committed ‘a gross violation of Christian principle’ but was also guilty of ‘treason to his Queen and country’ and implied that, if Benbow supported the measure, he would be equally guilty.[52] The only recorded response was by an Anglican layman and this time Isaac Nayler put his full name to the letter.[53] Whilst sharing England’s dislike of the Maynooth grant, Nayler accused England of libelling his church. Nayler argued that Protestants should be united against what he termed ‘the common enemy’, rather than indulging in ‘division and schism’, which helped nurture Roman Catholicism. Furthermore, he claimed that the proliferation of Protestant sects undermined belief that Protestantism was ‘the true religion’ and helped persuade more people to convert to Catholicism.[54] England was a well-known brewer in Dudley and Nayler worked for the Dudley estate, but not at the highest level.[55]

[52] Ibid.
[53] *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 21 May 1845, p. 3.
[54] Ibid.
[55] Nayler was a firm Conservative at a time when Lord Ward was becoming a Peelite and thence moving towards the Liberal party (chapters 5 and 7).

Even before their new church opened, Dudley's Catholics tried to disprove accusations of disloyalty, especially to the Queen, by sending fulsome addresses – for instance, when she survived an assassination attempt in June 1840 and on the birth of her first child in November 1840.[56] Spencer's health had deteriorated even before the Catholic church was opened in Dudley and he had been moved to less arduous duties. During its first decades, the priests at Dudley's Catholic church were rarely mentioned in local newspapers, seemingly concentrating on pastoral matters and maintaining respectability rather than, for instance, becoming involved in political controversy.[57] None of them emulated the Catholic priests, Thomas McDonnell in Birmingham and Walter Keen in Stourbridge, who took a lead in opposing church rates.[58] It is likely that many of Dudley's Catholics were not liable for rates. England's letter had complained of Tractarianism, or Puseyism as it was sometimes called – a recurrent theme in the 1840s and 1850s.

Zealous Protestants feared that Catholic practices were infiltrating the Church of England, and this was termed Puseyism by its opponents.[59] Whilst general accusations of Puseyism were often linked with anti-Catholic rhetoric, two specific examples of Puseyism aroused concern in Dudley. In the mid-1840s Reverend W.H. Cartwright, the Vicar of Dudley, was accused of Puseyism. The only newspaper to report it was *The Worcestershire Chronicle* which, in March

---

[56] *The Birmingham Journal,* 4 July 1840, p. 5; *The Staffordshire Gazette,* 7 January 1841, p. 3.
[57] Two of the longest serving priests between 1840 and 1855 were the Reverends Michael Horgan and George Fox. DALHS, R87162/ MFM 478, Our Blessed Lady and St. Thomas of Canterbury, Roman Catholic Church, Dudley, Registers of baptisms, 1835-1902, Marriages, 1835-1902, Deaths, 1835-1893, Communicants, (1839) etc.
[58] J.F. Champ, 'Priesthood and politics in the nineteenth century: the turbulent career of Thomas McDonnell', *Recusant History*, Vol. 18, No. 3 (May 1987), pp. 289-303, especially pp. 292-294; *The Worcestershire Chronicle,* 23 June 1847, p. 6.
[59] Puseyism was another word for the Oxford Movement or Tractarianism. All three are explained in footnote 21 above.

1845, ran an article headed ‘Puseyism in Dudley’, credited to a ‘Correspondent’.[60] Cartwright, it was claimed, had alienated at least one of the churchwardens and a large proportion of his congregation by his Puseyite tendencies, particularly using a bidding prayer and wearing a surplice. The newspaper report also claimed that the church had run out of money, with no rate levied for three years and members of the congregation saying they would not pay a church rate if one was levied. In these circumstances, Cartwright had been granted a two-year leave of absence. As a Liberal paper, *The Chronicle* may have been biased against the Church of England and there are no other contemporary reports, but the vestry minutes corroborate Cartwright’s increasing absence and his Puseyism is mentioned in retrospective accounts and reminiscences.[61] Feeling unwelcome, in June 1845 Cartwright unexpectedly exchanged livings with James Caulfeild Browne, the Rector of Compton Martin in Somerset.[62] Browne came to Dudley during the controversy over the Maynooth grant. Hostility to Puseyism was long-lasting and it became an issue again during a hard-fought by-election for the East Worcestershire constituency in 1859. With the Conservative, J.S. Pakington, being opposed by F.H.W.G. Calthorpe for the Liberals, Pakington was denounced for being a Puseyite whilst the Conservatives countered by accusing Calthorpe of anti-Sabbatarianism.[63] Both men denied the charges. There was some justification

---

[60] *The Worcestershire Chronicle,* 26 March 1845, p. 3.
[61] A later newspaper article claimed that Cartwright had been hounded out of his living. *The Dudley Herald,* 26 August 1876, p. 4. In reminiscences, fifty-six years later, Elliott Hollier said of Cartwright: ‘He wanted to preach in a white gown, and have candles on the altar, and so forth’. ‘Interview with Mr Elliot (sic) Hollier: Dudley reminiscences’ in *The Advertiser for Brierley Hill, Stourbridge, Dudley etc,* 22 June 1901, pp. 4-5, especially p. 4; DALHS, PR17/4/1/2, Parish of Dudley, St Thomas, Vestry Order Book, 1821-1856, 1843-1845.
[62] Appendix 1 includes biographical information for both Browne (A7) and Cartwright (A9).
[63] Dudley, Stourbridge Library, Local studies (DSL), LD 324P, Mr Pakington and Puseyism (Worcester, 1859); East Worcestershire election: to the electors and non-electors (Stourbridge, 1859).

for the accusation against Pakington for he had been active at two London churches which were strongly associated with Tractarianism, St Paul's, Knightsbridge and St Barnabas's, Pimlico. An election handbill in Dudley drew attention to 'the St Barnabas's Puseyite election' and 'Pimlico Romish Practices'.[64] There were other issues which contributed to Calthorpe's victory, including the rise of support for Liberalism, but Pakington did particularly badly in Dudley, Stourbridge and Halesowen.[65] Local anti-Catholicism was substantially increased by hostility to Dudley's Irish population.

Dudley's Irish population

There are few resources for chronicling the history of the Irish in Dudley and there has been little research into the subject. As early as 1834, Spencer had written: 'I see that Dudley is crowded with Catholics, chiefly Irish settlers.'[66] They had probably been attracted by the same employment opportunities that Roger Swift identified as being responsible for the development of Wolverhampton's Irish population, namely: 'canal construction, road improvement schemes and, later, the advent of the railways'.[67] Most references to Irish people in Dudley in local newspapers at this time were in connection with crime.[68] 1845 saw the beginning of the great famine in Ireland and a resultant rise in emigration. The famine was at its worst in 1847 – one of the highest years for Irish migration, including into the

[64] DALHS, PO/260, PC, The second heat by the Worcestershire outsiders … at present stabled in Dudley (n.p., 1859).
[65] Dudley, Stourbridge library, Local Studies, LD 324P, East Worcestershire election: final state of the poll (Stourbridge, n.d. 1859?).
[66] George Spencer to George Spencer [his father], 10 January 1834, *Letters from Ignatius Spencer C. P.* Vol. 4 (unpublished, typescript), p. 6.
[67] R. Swift, 'Anti-Catholicism and Irish disturbances: public order in Mid-Victorian Wolverhampton', *Midland History,* Vol. 9, No. 1 (1984), pp. 87-108, especially p. 88.
[68] For instance: *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 24 June 1840, p. 3; *The Staffordshire Gazette,* 25 March 1841, p. 3.

West Midlands. That same year, Dudley suffered a serious outbreak of so-called 'Irish fever', thought to be a form of typhus.[69] The report to William Lee, the government inspector, in 1851 did not specifically blame Irish people for spreading disease, as happened elsewhere, but it was implicit in some of the testimonies.[70] For instance, James Fisher, one of Dudley's leading surgeons described 'Irish fever' as coming from 'low, filthy, miserable lodging-houses' and commented: 'In addition to the want of ventilation and the filth by which they are surrounded, the poor Irish do not take proper support, living chiefly on vegetable food, with an occasional dinner of salt fish.'[71] In the same report, Henry Smitheman, who was both a police constable and the Inspector of Nuisances, wrote about 'dirty Irish people' and claimed the lodging-houses were 'the most filthy places in Dudley' as well as the source of 'the greatest quantity of crime'.[72] These sentiments echo the attitude of the police towards Irish people that Swift found in Wolverhampton.[73] However, the evidence from Fisher and Smitheman shows that Irish people often lived in extremely overcrowded conditions, with little to eat. In his short time as Dudley's Medical Officer of Health, Dr Houghton also blamed some residents, 'principally Irish', for exacerbating a severe outbreak of scarlet fever.[74] Both Davis, in her study of the Irish in Birmingham, and Briercliffe in his thesis on the Irish in

[69] L. Darwen, D.M. MacRaild, B. Gurrin & L. Kennedy, '"Irish fever" in Britain during the Great Famine: immigration, disease and the legacy of "Black '47"'. *Irish Historical Studies,* Vol. 44, No. 166 (November 2020), pp. 270-294.
[70] W. Lee, *Report to the General Board of Health on a Preliminary Inquiry into the Sewerage, Drainage and Supply of Water, and the Sanitary Condition of the Inhabitants of the Parish of Dudley in the County of Worcester* (London, 1852), pp. 21-30 covers the medical reports.
[71] Darwen et al, '"Irish fever" in Britain', pp. 271-275 etc; Lee, *Report to the General Board of Health* (1852), pp. 28-29.
[72] Lee, *Report to the General Board of Health*, pp. 54-55.
[73] Swift, 'Anti-Catholicism and Irish disturbances: public order in Mid-Victorian Wolverhampton', p. 90.
[74] *The Worcestershire Chronicle,* 21 December 1853, p. 6.

Wolverhampton, found that the Irish were blamed for disease and crime by newspapers and professionals.[75]

Dudley's recorded Irish-born population was at its highest in 1851 when it was 915. In 1861 it was 771 and only 262 in 1871.[76] These figures do not include second-generation population.[77] The proportion of Irish-born population in Dudley in 1851 was 2.4% compared with 4% in Birmingham and 7.56% In Wolverhampton.[78] The 1851 census shows that much of Dudley's first generation Irish population lived in the Wolverhampton Street area and this fits with comments in Lee's report, but Dudley never had the level of segregation found in parts of Birmingham and Wolverhampton.[79] Despite the common use of stereotypes when referring to Irish people, reports of the Irish famine occasioned sympathy. Money to help the sufferers was raised within the Dudley area, particularly by Quakers and Freemasons.[80] At least some Irish Catholics managed to improve their social standing. One of them, Thomas Reynolds, became Dudley's leading Catholic layman, had a respected career in public service, then became the borough's first Catholic magistrate.[81] After 1850 there was renewed hostility to Catholics and Irish

---

[75] Davis, 'Birmingham's Irish Community and the Murphy Riots of 1867', p. 41; Briercliffe, '"The blackest shadows are cast by the Irish Quarter", the making of Stafford Street, Wolverhampton, 1832-1882', pp.11-13, 64-65 and 84-107 etc.
[76] Census figures from: UK Data Archive, I-CeM (Integrated Census Microdata) (data-archive.ac.uk) [accessed 12 February 2021].
[77] To address this problem, Patsy Davis uses the formula of multiplying the actual Irish-born population by 2.5 to give an estimate of the number of people in the Irish community but this might produce an unrealistically enlarged figure for 1851 as it was so soon after the large migration associated with the Irish famine. Davis, 'Birmingham's Irish Community and the Murphy Riots of 1867', pp. 37-66, p. 38.
[78] Davis, 'Birmingham's Irish Community and the Murphy Riots of 1867', p. 38.p.
[79] Lee, *Report to the General Board of Health,* p. 77; Davis, 'Birmingham's Irish Community and the Murphy Riots of 1867', pp. 38-39; Briercliffe, '"The blackest shadows are cast by the Irish Quarter", the making of Stafford Street, Wolverhampton, 1832-1882', pp. 64-67
[80] The Dudley masonic ball was in aid of the 'distressed Irish and Scotch'. *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 3 February 1847, p. 2; 10 February 1847, p. 3.
[81] Reynolds was originally a confectioner but became a bagging manufacturer. He retained property in Ireland. In 1867, he was the only notable Catholic layman in Dudley to challenge

in Dudley, as elsewhere in Britain, caused by the so-called Papal Aggression controversy.

The Papal Aggression controversy, 1850-1851 and Protestant lecturers

Following the Maynooth grant affair in 1845, Protestant agitation was revived in September 1850 when Pope Pius IX reorganised the Catholic Church in England. He divided the country into twelve bishoprics, under the oversight of Nicholas Wiseman, who became the first Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster.[82] Wiseman had officiated at the opening of Dudley's Roman Catholic church in 1840 and when it was consecrated in 1842. Led by *The Times*, the British press portrayed the restoration of the Catholic hierarchy as the Pope's attempt to revive his dominion over Britain – hence it was termed 'Papal Aggression'.[83] A bullish sermon by John Henry Newman and an ebullient pastoral letter from the new Cardinal were used by the press to stir up public hostility. Furthermore, a letter on the subject from the Prime Minister, Lord John Russell, in which he denounced both 'Romanism' and Tractarianism, gave the controversy a sharper political edge.[84] Many British towns held meetings to denounce Papal Aggression. The initial meeting in Dudley was announced on a handbill, which listed the 'highly respectable' inhabitants who had requisitioned it (figure 8.2). The lead signatory was Browne, the vicar, immediately followed by the powerful Badger brothers, other magistrates and clergy. The ensuing meeting was also reported as including 'most of the clergymen of the Established Church and Dissenting ministers of

---

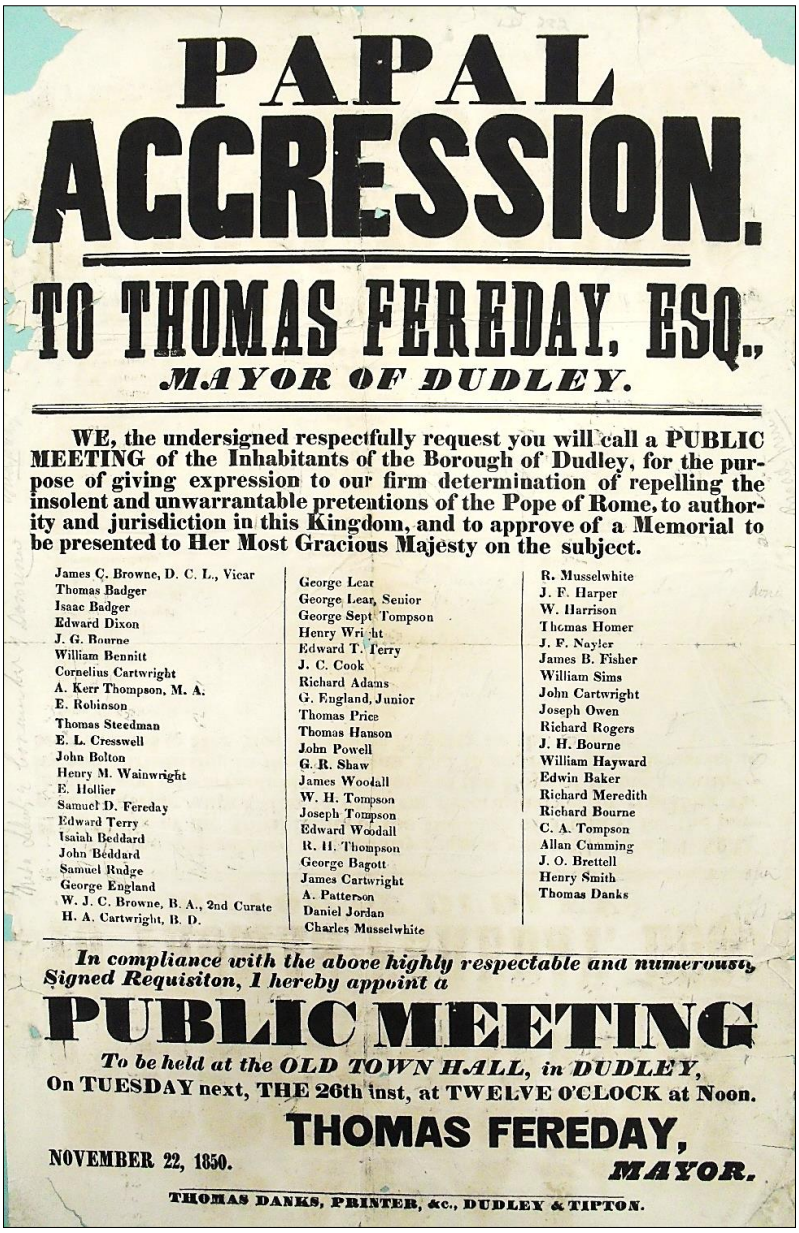
William Murphy. *The Birmingham Daily Gazette,* 18 September 1867, p. 8 & 19 September 1867, p. 5; *The Advertiser for Brierley Hill, Stourbridge, Dudley etc.,* 9 August 1884, p. 4; *Dudley and District News,* 9 August 1884, p. 3; *The Midland Counties Advertiser,* 14 August 1884, p. 2.

[82] Paz, *Popular Anti-Catholicism in Mid-Victorian Britain*, p. 8.

[83] Ibid., p. 9.

[84] Ibid., pp. 10-11.

various denominations'.[85] This was the only notable act of anti-Catholicism in this period where Protestant clergy were to the fore, possibly because they were able to portray the Pope and the Catholic hierarchy as the aggressors.



PAPAL
AGGRESSION.

TO THOMAS FEREDAY, ESQ.,
MAYOR OF DUDLEY.

WE, the undersigned respectfully request you will call a PUBLIC MEETING of the Inhabitants of the Borough of Dudley, for the purpose of giving expression to our firm determination of repelling the insolent and unwarrantable pretentions of the Pope of Rome, to authority and jurisdiction in this Kingdom, and to approve of a Memorial to be presented to Her Most Gracious Majesty on the subject.

James C. Browne, D. C. L., Vicar
Thomas Badger
Isaac Badger
Edward Dixon
J. G. Bourne
William Bennitt
Cornelius Cartwright
A. Kerr Thompson, M. A.
E. Robinson
Thomas Steedman
E. L. Cresswell
John Bolton
Henry M. Wainwright
E. Hollier
Samuel D. Fereday
Edward Terry
Isaiah Beddard
John Beddard
Samuel Rudge
George England
W. J. C. Browne, B. A., 2nd Curate
H. A. Cartwright, B. D.

George Lear
George Lear, Senior
George Sept. Tompson
Henry Wright
Edward T. Terry
J. C. Cook
Richard Adams
G. England, Junior
Thomas Price
Thomas Hanson
John Powell
G. R. Shaw
James Woodall
W. H. Tompson
Joseph Tompson
Edward Woodall
R. H. Thompson
George Bagott
James Cartwright
A. Patterson
Daniel Jordan
Charles Musselwhite

R. Musselwhite
J. F. Harper
W. Harrison
Thomas Homer
J. F. Nayler
James B. Fisher
William Sims
John Cartwright
Joseph Owen
Richard Rogers
J. H. Bourne
William Hayward
Edwin Baker
Richard Meredith
Richard Bourne
C. A. Tompson
Allan Cumming
J. O. Brettell
Henry Smith
Thomas Danks

In compliance with the above highly respectable and numerously Signed Requisiton, I hereby appoint a

PUBLIC MEETING

To be held at the OLD TOWN HALL, in DUDLEY,
On TUESDAY next, THE 26th inst, at TWELVE O'CLOCK at Noon.

THOMAS FEREDAY,
MAYOR.

NOVEMBER 22, 1850.

THOMAS DANKS, PRINTER, &c., DUDLEY & TIPTON.

Figure 8.2. Handbill announcing a public meeting to oppose 'Papal Aggression', Dudley, 1850.[86]

[85] *The Worcestershire Chronicle,* 27 November 1850, p. 5.
[86] DALHS, PO/363, PC, Papal aggression (Dudley, 1850).

The meeting was chaired by the mayor, Thomas Fereday, who was also a churchwarden. His opening speech was marked by anti-Catholic rhetoric in which he also argued that 'the principal moving cause of this act of aggression' could be found in the 'Tractarian views' held by some Anglican clergy. Browne led calls to draw up an address to the Queen. Having been plagued by the church rates controversy (chapter 6), Browne expressed the hope that 'the attempted encroachment of the Pope of Rome would be the means of drawing Dissenters and Churchmen closer together'. The Reverend John Wesley Thomas, one of Dudley's Wesleyan ministers, seconded the call for an address and spoke strongly against the Pope and Catholicism in general.[87] As well as cross-denominational agreement, the controversy cut across political divides. Whilst the Tory Badger brothers took leading roles at meetings at St Thomas's and St Edmund's, the Liberal, Elliott Hollier, was also prominent at the St Edmund's meeting.[88] Despite the national outcry, strident anti-Catholicism was not universal. There were those whom E.R. Norman calls 'radical nonconformists', whilst Paz identifies 'Nonconformist tolerationists', particularly amongst 'Old Dissent'.[89] Either description fitted the only two men at the Dudley meeting reported as challenging the majority view in any way. They were Reverend John Palmer, the Unitarian minister, who was Irish, and Samuel Cook, the radical. Palmer argued that whilst he supported the address to the Queen, Thomas had been 'too severe and uncharitable'. Palmer believed that they should not want 'to suppress any religion

[87] *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 4 December 1850, p. 4.
[88] *Berrow's Worcester Journal,* 21 November 1850, p. 8; *The Worcestershire Chronicle,* 27 November 1850, p. 5; *The Wolverhampton Chronicle.* 4.12.1850, pp. 1 & 4.
[89] E.R. Norman, *Anti-Catholicism in Victorian England* (London, 1968), p. 60; Paz, *Popular Anti-Catholicism in Mid-Victorian England*, pp. 190-195.

in this country'.[90] Cook drew attention to the close relationship between 'Protestant Episcopacy and Roman Catholicism', stating that 'he feared there was Popery in Protestantism, Popery in Independentism'. His only solution was that everyone should read the Bible for themselves and 'not receive it from the Romish priest, or through the pulpit merely, but possess it as their personal and individual property'.[91] Having come to Dudley to counter Cartwright's perceived Puseyism, Browne purposefully condemned both 'the errors of Popery and the evils of Puseyism'.[92] Despite Palmer's criticism, Thomas continued delivering anti-Popery lectures in Dudley, and further afield, which foreshadowed similar lecture tours by less reputable characters.[93] Thomas's first lecture, held in Dudley's 'Assembly Room', was crowded. A newspaper report named many leading townsmen, as well as several women, in the audience.[94] Isaac Badger was both prominent at the lecture, and a leading promoter of the address to the Queen.[95] He was also chairman of the Board of Guardians, which is shown to be marked by anti-Catholicism. One report suggested that at the end of the meeting 'the establishment of a Protestant Association for the diffusion of information was determined on', but there are no subsequent records of this taking place.[96] Not all

[90] *The Wolverhampton Chronicle*, 4 December 1850, p. 4.
[91] Ibid.
[92] *The Worcestershire Chronicle,* 27 November 1850, p. 5. Browne seems to have been more adept at judging the mood of his parishioners than Cartwright had been. It was later pointed out that Browne managed to reconcile opposing parties to the extent that he was able to introduce one feature that might have been considered 'High Church', without provoking controversy – namely 'surplicing the choir'. *The Dudley Herald,* 26 August 1876, p. 4.
[93] *The Staffordshire Advertiser,* 11 January 1851, pp. 1 & 4, 18 January 1851, p. 5.
[94] *The Worcestershire Chronicle,* 1 January 1851, p. 5.
[95] *The Worcestershire Chronicle,* 27 November 1850, p. 5; *The Worcestershire Chronicle,* 1 January 1851, p. 5.
[96] *The Staffordshire Advertiser,* 11 January 1851, p. 5.

instances of anti-Catholicism were as pervasive as the Papal Aggression controversy but the 1850s saw the beginning of several Protestant lecture tours.

Following on from Thomas, one of the first Protestant lecturers to find a willing audience in Dudley was Alessandro ('Father') Gavazzi. He was an Italian patriot who had become disillusioned both with Catholicism and the part played by the Pope in the nationalist struggle in Italy.[97] During a speaking tour of the West Midlands in 1852, Gavazzi lectured in Dudley where he captivated a large audience at the English Presbyterian Church, despite much of the talk being in Italian.[98] The lecture had cross-denominational support, with a vote of thanks given by an Anglican clergyman.[99] Later in the decade, several towns in the West Midlands were visited by more anti-Catholic lecturers. Two of the most notorious were the self-styled Baron de Camin and William Murphy, both described as 'corrupt demagogues' by Paz.[100] In October 1858, Camin tried to give two talks in Dudley.[101] The authorities were wary as he had been associated with anti-Catholic agitation in Wolverhampton. Despite appeals to stay away, a large group of mainly Irish Catholics gathered at the venue. However, when Camin was unable to pay the hire charge in advance, he was refused the use of the room and forced to make a hasty get-away.[102] Both then and in the later lectures by Murphy, the

[97] *The Worcestershire Chronicle,* 4 February 1852, p. 3.
[98] *Berrow's Worcester Journal,* 5 February 1852, p. 3.
[99] *Berrow's Worcester Journal,* 5 February 1852, p. 3; *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 4 February 1852, p. 3.
[100] Camin's real name was André Massena. Paz, *Popular Anti-Catholicism in Mid-Victorian England,* p. 26. For Murphy see: J. Wolffe, 'Murphy, William (1834-1872), public lecturer', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (published 23 September 2004, version 3 January 2008), Murphy, William (1834–1872), public lecturer | Oxford Dictionary of National Biography [accessed 8 August 2024].
[101] *The Advertiser, Brierley Hill and Stourbridge Gazette,* 2 October 1858, p. 3.
[102] Ibid.

authorities were motivated by seeking to prevent disorder. Whilst trying to discourage the lectures, they did not ban them. Whereas the lecturers toured many towns, Dudley also experienced more insidious anti-Catholicism under the auspices of the Dudley Union Board of Guardians.

Local anti-Catholicism: the Dudley Union Board of Guardians

The Dudley Poor Law Union covered the parishes of Dudley, Sedgley, Tipton and Rowley Regis. The elected Guardians had considerable power over poor people and this study shows how, under the direction of Frederick Barrs, the Board indulged in vocal anti-Catholicism. Although not a Dudley resident, Barrs built up influence in the borough. He inherited Anglicanism, anti-Catholicism and Conservative political beliefs from his father, Reverend George Barrs, the Curate of Rowley Regis.[103] Frederick Barrs was a leading Conservative in Rowley Regis and represented that parish on the Board of Guardians.[104] He was also an ally of Isaac Badger. On the Board, Barrs worked his way up from deputy vice-chairman in 1852, to vice-chairman and when Badger's health failed towards the end of the 1850s, Barrs replaced him as chairman of the Board of Guardians.[105] Barrs also became a Justice of the Peace, sat as one of the magistrates in Dudley and made no secret of his own anti-Catholicism.[106] He described what he called 'the Popish Emancipation Bill' as 'the heaviest blow the Church of God has received since the

[103] G. Barrs, *Four Sermons…, together with Copious Extracts from his Private MS Journals…, to which is Affixed a Brief Memoir by his Son, the late F.W.G. Barrs, A.M., …* 2nd ed. (Birmingham, 1879), see particularly Frederick's preface to the first edition and his memoir of his father: pp. vi-xxxviii.
[104] His father, Reverend George Barrs, had also been a Dudley Union Guardian for a time in its earlier years.
[105] Badger was last elected chairman of the Board in April 1858, but Barrs was already chairing many of the Board's meetings. *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 21 April 1858, p. 5.
[106] *Berrow's Worcester Journal,* 23 April 1858, p. 8.

glorious reformation'.[107] His earliest association with both anti-Catholicism and anti-Irish prejudice is seen in a newspaper report of the case of 'an Irishwoman', in 1853, who applied to the Board of Guardians for the 'grant of a coffin' in which to bury her brother.[108] Barrs was in the chair, deputising for Badger. Although the deceased was Catholic, the grant was made conditional on the burial taking place in the parish churchyard, which would have necessitated an Anglican funeral. When the woman rejected the condition, the grant was refused. However, she returned with a Catholic priest who argued the case, saying he knew of no law that gave Protestants greater rights than Catholics in such circumstances. He also said it had been standard practice when he worked in Walsall for Catholics to have the 'privilege' to be buried in their own ground. Barrs rejected any suggestion of discrimination, arguing that the woman had been offered a coffin. He further remarked: 'The only reason the board had for imposing [the] condition was on account of the disturbances that generally characterise Irish funerals.' The priest personally guaranteed 'that the funeral should be conducted with due decorum and order' and the Board granted a coffin.[109] Although this incident gives an example of Barrs's prejudices, which are discussed in more detail below, it also shows that the Irish Catholic community, particularly with the help of their priests, were prepared to press for their rights. After some short-term appointments, in late 1858 the Catholic clergy in the area were strengthened by the appointment of the Reverend James Bond who came from Cornwall and supported Dudley's Catholics through the severest phases of anti-Catholicism.[110] He remained the chief Catholic

[107] G. Barrs, *Four Sermons (Memoir),* p. xxiv.
[108] *The Worcestershire Chronicle,* 3 August 1853, p. 6.
[109] Ibid.
[110] Appendix 1 includes biographical information for Bond (A5).

priest in Dudley till his death in 1887, by which time he was well respected by many Protestants as well as Catholics.[111] The continuation of anti-Catholicism and its impact under Barrs, a man who was the opposite of Bond, is considered next.[112]

Under Barrs's chairmanship the Board of Guardians disliked being legally obliged to allow Catholic priests access to Catholics in the workhouse – a ministry that they restricted as much as possible. A controversy arose in December 1859 when Father Hendren, a Catholic priest, was censured for demanding entry to visit a Catholic inmate, who had not requested a priest's visit in the approved manner, but whom Hendren rightly believed to be dying.[113] This incident is significant for several reasons. It highlights an important theological difference, with the Protestant authorities not sharing the Catholic belief in the importance of the last rites.[114] This incident also shows Barrs's defence of his own inflammatory language. Hendren had drawn attention to his having been described as a 'Romish Priest'. Far from being apologetic, and with the apparent approval of most of those who were present, Barrs declared:

> the expression he used at the last meeting was a 'Papist priest'. He (Mr Barrs) was a Protestant, and he was not ashamed to be called a Protestant,

[111] See, for instance: *The Advertiser for Brierley Hill, Stourbridge, Dudley etc.,* 3 September 1887, p. 5.
[112] Appendix 1 includes biographical information for Barrs (A2).
[113] The priest was Reverend Philip Hendren, currently based at Dudley, but not the parish priest. Although Hendren had a good case for insisting on access to the workhouse, it is also clear from his own letter that he did not appreciate that he was putting the matron in a difficult position, as she was trying to follow regulations set by the Guardians. *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 7 December 1859, p. 7.
[114] The last rites included a final communion and prayers to prepare the believer for death. They were also important to other branches of Christianity, including the Eastern Orthodox Church.

and he did not see why the priest should be ashamed to be called a 'Papist'.

The Board passed a resolution reinforcing the workhouse rules which began: 'That no obstruction is intended to be given from this Board to any inmate of the Union-house professing the Popish religion…' The glass manufacturer, John Renaud, one of the Dudley Guardians, suggested 'Roman Catholic' be substituted for 'Popish' but Barrs refused unless an amendment was tabled – this was not forthcoming.[115] As an indication that the Catholic clergy were gaining confidence, Hendren discussed the dispute at a regional 'Catholic entertainment' and, according to a newspaper report, 'Mr Hendren made some remarks of a controversial character, in which he rather severely satirised the proceedings of the Board of Guardians'.[116]

In a short essay analysing the attitude to religion shown by the Dudley Union Guardians, and particularly their anti-Catholicism, Sean Ward points out that the Guardians' attitudes were shaped by mixed motives. As well as piety, or bigotry, he notes their desire for control and conformity, and their wish to keep the rates down.[117] However, Ward probably underestimates one factor, namely their stance as upholders of Protestantism. Ward seems to think that this was a sham because, he argues, Roman Catholicism posed 'little threat to Protestantism'.[118]

---

[115] The newspaper report gave the resolution as including the expression 'Papist religion' but the minutes say 'Popish religion'. *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 7 December 1859, p. 7; DALHS, GDU/1/5, Board of Guardian minutes, December 1859-March 1862, 2 December 1859.
[116] *The Birmingham Journal,* 31 December 1859, p. 8.
[117] This essay is one of several by Ward looking at different aspects of the Dudley Poor Law Union's Guardians. S. Ward, *Piety, Sectarian Bigotry or Social Control? Attitudes towards Religion of the Guardians of the Poor of the Dudley Union, 1836-71* (DALHS, typescript, c. 1980s), n.p.
[118] Ibid., n.p.

However, as seen in the 1851 census figures, Catholic numbers had already increased significantly and the Guardians were wary of a further resurgence in Catholicism, even though they may have exaggerated the threat, to justify their own intolerance.[119] Barrs relied on information from the Protestant Alliance and was probably an evangelical Protestant, who believed that Catholics were ignorant and superstitious. For loyalists like Barrs there was also a political aspect to their anti-Catholicism for they thought that Catholics had divided loyalties and used the apparent rise of Irish Fenianism to justify their views.[120]

In the early 1860s, discussions on possible changes to the Poor Laws stirred religious controversy, both nationally and locally. The Dudley Guardians were especially sensitive to proposals that seemed to give Catholics more rights. In July 1860, they reacted against what they thought was a suggestion 'to give Romish priests and Jesuits unlimited admission into all Poorhouses and District Schools in the Kingdom'.[121] The president of the Poor Law Board was the radical Wolverhampton MP, Charles Villiers, and in February 1861 he initiated a wide-

[119] Appendix 3 gives the results of the 1851 census of religious worship.
[120] The original Fenian group was the Irish Republican Brotherhood, founded in New York in 1858. The members wanted to establish an independent Irish republic, using force if necessary, and the movement soon spread to Ireland, Britain and other parts of the British empire. 'Fenians' was often used by opponents as a derogatory term to describe Irish nationalists. MacRaild, *Irish Migrants in Modern Britain,* pp. 138-144.
[121] DALHS, GDU/1/5, Dudley Board of Guardians, minutes, 1859-1862,13 July 1860. It is not clear how the Guardians came across the suggestion to which they apparently reacted. It seems to be based on an amendment that Lord Edward Howard, a leading Catholic layman, tried to add to the Poor Law Board Continuance Bill: 'That it be an Instruction to the Committee that they have power to introduce Clauses requiring that a Creed Register be kept, both in Workhouses and District Schools, and be open to the inspection of the Ratepayers: and providing that access, at all reasonable and proper times, shall be had to every inmate of such Workhouses and District Schools by the minister of the religious persuasion to which he or she belongs.' However, the Dudley Guardians' meeting was held on the same day as the debate in Parliament. Howard withdrew his motion, but Villiers promised that there was the prospect of further legislation and the matter would be considered. *Hansard,* Vol. 159, House of Commons debate, 13 July 1860, cc. 1912-24.

ranging review into the operation of the existing Poor Laws.[122] The committee of the Protestant Alliance monitored suggested changes to the law for anything that might strengthen the position of Catholics and circulated information to Boards of Guardians. In May 1864, before the parliamentary report was finalised, the Alliance sent out a paper entitled 'The Romish Priest and the Mass in the Workhouse', together with a suggested form of petition for those wishing to object to the expected recommendations.[123] This was seized on by the Dudley Board of Guardians who resolved 'to use its utmost endeavour to oppose and resist Popish Aggression in workhouses'.[124] They strongly objected to the idea of appointing paid Catholic chaplains and providing room in the workhouse for a priest to say mass and paying for schoolteachers for Catholic children. They said it would cause strife and disharmony as other denominations would want similar provision. They also argued that the extra cost of buildings and salaries 'would be an additional and uncalled for burden on the Ratepayers'.[125] Barrs was dominant and able to ignore the few moderates. As he had resisted Renaud's suggestion to tone down anti-Catholic language, he now ignored 'Mr Parkes' who suggested that there was no need to consider action until they received 'official notification'.[126] When the proposed Poor Law Bill came before Parliament in June 1867, the controversy reignited. The bill was not popular with Guardians for seeming to give more power to the Poor Law Board but the religious clauses, strengthening Catholics' rights,

---

[122] A.C. Howe, 'Villiers, Charles Pelham (1802-1898), politician' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (published 23 September 2023, version 8 October 2009), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/28286 [accessed 8 March 2021]; *The Birmingham Journal,* 9 February 1861, p. 8.
[123] *The Sheffield Daily Telegraph,* 20 May 1864, p. 3. A select committee had been set up in 1861 and was yet to deliver its final report.
[124] DALHS, GDU/1/7, Dudley Board of Guardians, minutes, 1864-1866, 13 May 1864.
[125] DALHS, GDU/1/7, Dudley Board of Guardians, minutes, 1864-1866, 3 June 1864.
[126] *Aris's Birmingham Gazette,* 14 May 1864, p. 8.

were even more controversial in Dudley.[127] Barrs had received a letter together with a suggested form of petition from the 'Protestant Association'. He urged his fellow Guardians 'to accept it as their own' and their petition was duly presented to Parliament by Sheridan, Dudley's MP.[128] The Dudley Union's records are not sufficiently detailed to show whether the anti-Catholic rhetoric translated into positive discrimination against Catholics but the fact that the rhetoric was publicised must have made it apparent to Catholics that the Guardians regarded them as second-class citizens. Furthermore, Barrs was the most powerful individual in Dudley to support Murphy, a figure of national significance who attempted to incite antagonism between Dudley's Protestants and Catholics.

William Murphy in Dudley

Murphy was the most infamous of the Protestant lecturers to target Dudley in this period and the authorities would have been aware of the anti-Irish and anti-Catholic hostility which he generated. Not only had Murphy's lectures in Wolverhampton led to serious disturbances in February 1867, but in April 'about twenty members' of Dudley's borough police force were drafted to Walsall to help keep order during Murphy's lectures there.[129] Later in the month, Murphy was said to have taken an old theatre in Dudley as a venue.[130] In June, Murphy sparked serious rioting in Birmingham, often referred to as 'the Murphy riots'.[131] The

---

[127] *The Worcestershire Chronicle,* 10 July 1867, p. 4.
[128] *Berrow's Worcester Journal,* 20 July 1867, p. 3; *The Worcestershire Chronicle,* 31 July 1867, p. 2.
[129] Swift, 'Anti-Catholicism and Irish disturbances: public order in Mid-Victorian Wolverhampton', pp. 94-98; *The County Express; Brierley Hill, Stourbridge, Kidderminster and Dudley News,* 6 April 1867, pp. 5 & 8.
[130] *The County Express; Brierley Hill, Stourbridge, Kidderminster and Dudley News,* 20 April 1867, p. 5. From later accounts it appears that this was a wooden building.
[131] *The County Express; Brierley Hill, Stourbridge, Kidderminster and Dudley News* 22 June 1867, p. 2.

nearest reported rioting to Dudley was an outbreak in Tipton, which the police quelled but, later in the day, Reverend William Quealy, Bond's Irish-born assistant, had to seek refuge from the mob and be escorted to the railway station by the police.[132]

As elsewhere, the authorities in Dudley viewed Murphy's lectures as a law-and-order issue. Without banning him, they tried to make it difficult for him to hire venues. However, some nonconformist groups made their chapels available for Murphy's use. His first engagements in the Dudley area were at the Primitive Methodist chapel in Cradley Heath, sparking rumours that 'the Catholics of Dudley and Stourbridge had coalesced, and contemplated a raid on Cradley on Monday night, where it was expected a miniature copy of the Birmingham riots would be produced'.[133] The Primitive Methodists in Dudley were also reported as having offered Murphy one of their rooms.[134] However, in August he gave lectures at a new Baptist chapel in Netherton.[135] In promoting the lectures, Murphy targeted both 'Popery and Puseyism' (figure 8.3). The advertised programme, one which he frequently used, shows how he built up the lectures through the week, targeting subjects that would have been particularly sensitive to Roman Catholics, such as

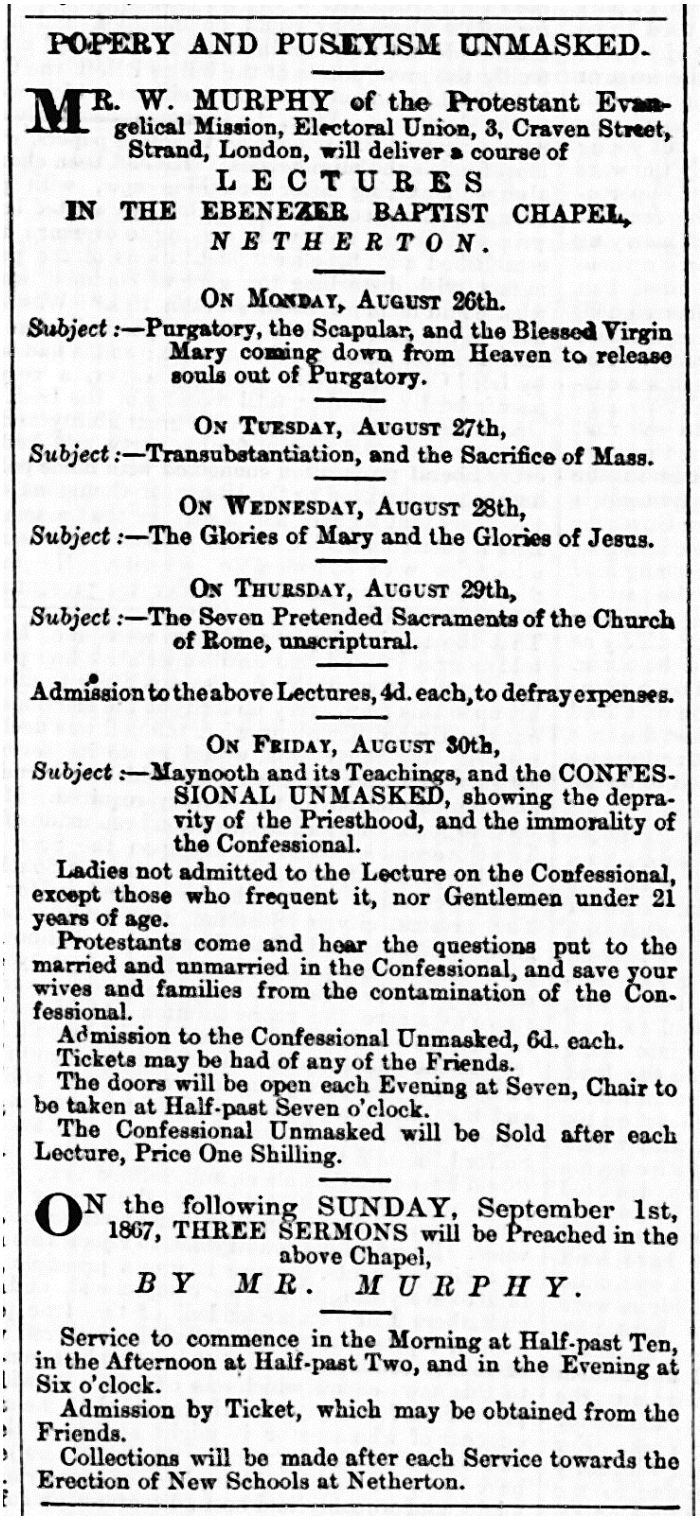
[132] This incident may have been missed by most newspapers because they were concentrating on the major riots in Birmingham. The report in *The Waterford News* draws on reports from magistrates' hearings reprinted from *The Dudley Guardian* (no longer extant). *The Waterford News,* 26 July 1867, p. 2.
[133] There is some confusion concerning in which village the meetings were held. A lengthy newspaper report following one meeting gave the location as Cradley, but it is clear from advance information and another smaller report that the meetings were held at Cradley Heath rather than Cradley, although the Primitive Methodist chapels at Cradley Heath and Cradley were both going to benefit from monies collected at services during which Murphy was to preach on the Sunday. *The County Express; Brierley Hill, Stourbridge, Kidderminster and Dudley News,* 20 July 1867, p.4 & 27 July 1867, p. 2; *The Birmingham Daily Post,* 25 July 1867.
[134] *The County Express; Brierley Hill, Stourbridge, Kidderminster and Dudley News,* 20 July 1867, p. 5.
[135] *The County Express; Brierley Hill, Stourbridge, Kidderminster and Dudley News,* 10 August 1867, p. 4.

the standing of the Virgin Mary, and working up to 'The seven pretended sacraments of the Church of Rome' (figure 8.3). The final lecture, for which he charged extra, was billed as *The Confessional Unmasked*, at which he sold a tract with the same title. Both were highly salacious and accused Catholic priests of using the confessional to force their parishioners, especially women, into explicit sexual discussions.[136] Another significant point highlighted by the programme was that Murphy was to preach at three services in the chapel on the Sunday, at which collections would be taken for building new schools in Netherton. When using a chapel or church, it was common for Murphy to preach at services on the Sunday, with collections being taken for the church's benefit. This may have been his way of paying for the venue. It would also have increased his publicity and added respectability to the proceedings. The magistrates and police in Dudley having learned from disturbances elsewhere, there was a strong police presence in Netherton initially, but attendances were only 'moderate' and most of the police were withdrawn during the week.[137]

---

[136] *The Confessional Unmasked* was published anonymously, except for the initials C.B., in 1836. The Protestant Electoral Union (PEU), which sponsored Murphy, reprinted the tract in 1865: C.B., *The Confessional Unmasked: Showing the Depravity of the Roman Priesthood etc.* (London, 1865?). The wide-scale dissemination of this publication formed a major part of the attempt by the PEU to discredit the Catholic Church, until the publication became a test case for the Obscene Publications Act of 1857 and it was banned in 1868.
K.E. Mullin, 'Unmasking the Confessional Unmasked: the 1868 Hicklin Test and the toleration of obscenity', *English Literary History*, Vol. 85, No. 2 (2018), pp. 471-499.

[137] The magistrates had also sat during the time of the first lectures, in case there was trouble. *The County Express; Brierley Hill, Stourbridge, Kidderminster and Dudley News,* 31 August 1867, p. 5; *The Birmingham Daily Gazette,* 29 August 1867, p. 8.



POPERY AND PUSEYISM UNMASKED.

MR. W. MURPHY of the Protestant Evangelical Mission, Electoral Union, 3, Craven Street, Strand, London, will deliver a course of

LECTURES
IN THE EBENEZER BAPTIST CHAPEL,
NETHERTON.

ON MONDAY, AUGUST 26th.
Subject:—Purgatory, the Scapular, and the Blessed Virgin Mary coming down from Heaven to release souls out of Purgatory.

ON TUESDAY, AUGUST 27th,
Subject:—Transubstantiation, and the Sacrifice of Mass.

ON WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 28th,
Subject:—The Glories of Mary and the Glories of Jesus.

ON THURSDAY, AUGUST 29th,
Subject:—The Seven Pretended Sacraments of the Church of Rome, unscriptural.

Admission to the above Lectures, 4d. each, to defray expenses.

ON FRIDAY, AUGUST 30th,
Subject:—Maynooth and its Teachings, and the CONFESSIONAL UNMASKED, showing the depravity of the Priesthood, and the immorality of the Confessional.

Ladies not admitted to the Lecture on the Confessional, except those who frequent it, nor Gentlemen under 21 years of age.

Protestants come and hear the questions put to the married and unmarried in the Confessional, and save your wives and families from the contamination of the Confessional.

Admission to the Confessional Unmasked, 6d. each.

Tickets may be had of any of the Friends.

The doors will be open each Evening at Seven, Chair to be taken at Half-past Seven o'clock.

The Confessional Unmasked will be Sold after each Lecture, Price One Shilling.

ON the following SUNDAY, September 1st, 1867, THREE SERMONS will be Preached in the above Chapel,

BY MR. MURPHY.

Service to commence in the Morning at Half-past Ten, in the Afternoon at Half-past Two, and in the Evening at Six o'clock.

Admission by Ticket, which may be obtained from the Friends.

Collections will be made after each Service towards the Erection of New Schools at Netherton.

Figure 8.3. William Murphy's programme of a week's lectures at Ebenezer Baptist Chapel, Netherton, 1867.[138]

[138] *The County Express; Brierley Hill, Stourbridge, Kidderminster and Dudley News,* 10 August 1867, p. 4. Newspaper image © The British Library Board. All rights reserved. Courtesy of: The British Newspaper Archive (www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk).

In September 1867 Murphy gave a series of lectures in Dudley itself. As he was refused public buildings, he used the old theatre. The council sent the borough surveyor to inspect the building, and he declared it to be 'unsafe'. Even so, they did not ban the meetings but issued a strong safety warning to the public.[139] They also notified Murphy that he would be responsible for any injuries.[140] The council found itself in a difficult position for Murphy generated interest and thrived on opposition. Also, as Swift demonstrates, when the Wolverhampton magistrates asked the Home Secretary, Spencer Walpole, if they could ban one of Murphy's lectures, the response was equivocal.[141] Newspaper reports sometimes exaggerated the power that Catholic priests held over their parishioners but Bond, who had been the parish priest for nine years, was well respected and given much of the credit for keeping Catholic reaction to Murphy to a minimum. A newspaper report of Murphy's first meeting noted: 'There was an utter absence of the Irish element in the crowd outside, Father Bond having used every influence with his flock to prevent them making hostile demonstrations against Mr Murphy.'[142] However, it was a close-run thing. At the end of his first week, Murphy announced he would get a band and lead a triumphal procession up to Porter's Field where he would lecture in the open air 'under the walls of the

[139] Although the council may have been chiefly motivated by wishing to deter attendance, there were certainly problems associated with allowing large and excitable crowds in inadequate buildings, as was seen during Murphy's lecture at a Methodist chapel in Wednesbury when severe injuries were caused by the collapse of a temporary balcony. *The Birmingham Daily Gazette,* 17 September 1867, p. 4. *The Birmingham Journal,* 27 April 1867, p. 8.
[140] Murphy took delight in ripping up the warning in front of the audience and said 'he would stop a month instead of a week'. *The Birmingham Daily Post,* 17 September 1867, p. 4.
[141] Swift, 'Anti-Catholicism and Irish disturbances: public order in Mid-Victorian Wolverhampton', p. 97.
[142] Bond seems to have had more success persuading Catholics to stay away than had happened, as noted above, with the visit of Baron de Camin, before Bond came to Dudley. *The Birmingham Daily Gazette,* 17 September 1867, p. 4.

Roman Catholic Chapel'.[143] This threat 'roused the Roman Catholic neighbourhood' and once again rumours abounded, particularly that strangers had infiltrated the town and were ready to join in a melee. The perceived threat to their church seems to have stirred Dudley's Irish population more than Murphy's general attacks on Catholicism. Gilley suggests that, in the Irish landscape, Catholics had been used to having many sacred places but, for immigrants, 'the chapel would be the only holy place in an English urban slum'.[144] Far from being in a slum area, Spencer's money had helped build Dudley's Catholic church in a comparatively smart neighbourhood close to the town centre, at some distance from the main Catholic areas in Wolverhampton Street (figure 8.4). It is not surprising that its supporters would wish to defend it. Murphy failed to carry out his threat, but the Dudley chief of police took no chances and kept various reserves in readiness, including thirty Hussars on stand-by in Birmingham.[145]

[143] The newspaper wrongly spelt the location of the church as Porter's Fields. *The Birmingham Daily Post,* 23 September 1867, p. 8.
[144] Gilley, 'Roman Catholicism', p. 41.
[145] *The Birmingham Daily Post,* 23 September 1867, p. 8.



Figure 8.4. Dudley Castle taken from Kates Hill, c. 1860, showing the Catholic church, artist unknown (Dudley Council Museum Collection).[146]

The only newspaper account of an inter-denominational disturbance in Dudley at this time seems to have been an isolated incident that probably had nothing to do with Murphy's machinations. The small chapel in Chapel Street, which was in a poor area with Irish residents in the vicinity, was being used by yet another group of Methodists, described as 'Wesleyan' in newspaper reports, but likely to have been 'Wesleyan Reform'. One of their Wednesday evening meetings

[146] The letter 'A' indicates the Roman Catholic church of Our Blessed Lady and St. Thomas of Canterbury which is seen in relation to the town centre and other churches. Dudley Castle taken from Kates Hill, lithographer, Newman and Co. (Dudley, W. Insull, n.d. c. 1860).

was disturbed by a twenty-one-year-old Catholic woman named Mary Ann Gilmore who attacked several members of the congregation, including women.[147] Gilmore was described as a 'rag sorter' of Wolverhampton Street and is likely to have been Irish.[148] As well as violence she had used 'bad language' in the chapel. When brought before the magistrates it was said that people in the chapel were praying 'for the conversion of the Papists' and Gilmore's defence was that 'the people were attacking her religion'. The magistrates told her that 'instead of defending her religion she had disgraced it' and levied several fines but 'Gilmore preferred the lock-up'.[149] Although at a very local level, this is a further example of antagonism between Methodists and Catholicism.

Whereas the earlier phases of anti-Catholicism had been more theological and abstract, this phase, led by the Protestant extremists, descended to verbal, personal attacks. Reynolds, at this time a confectioner, had written articles challenging Murphy and for this Reynolds was vilified. Murphy said Reynolds kept the dirtiest 'cook-shop' he had ever seen and 'the shop was as dirty as his religion'. Murphy also interspersed his talk with 'personal attacks on …. Fathers Bond and Quail', amongst others.[150] Murphy held more lectures in Dudley in November 1867, of which one was particularly notable because Barrs acted as chairman. He lamented that 'no other person of position in Dudley had come forward …'.[151] He also highlighted his own populist anti-Catholicism by reading

[147] *The Birmingham Daily Post,* 28 September 1867, p. 4.
[148] Family history techniques have failed to trace Mary Anne Gilmore but 'Gilmore' (and variants such as Gilmour) is a common Irish surname and her address and occupation were also common for Dudley's Irish population.
[149] *The Birmingham Daily Post,* 28 September 1867, p. 4.
[150] 'Quail' is presumably a misspelling of Reverend William Quealy, Bond's Irish-born assistant. *The Birmingham Daily Gazette,* 19 September 1867, p. 5.
[151] *The Birmingham Daily Gazette,* 12 November 1867, p. 4.

passages from the notorious anti-Catholic work, *The Awful Disclosures of Maria Monk*.[152] The meeting was held in the old theatre and Barrs registered his disgust, saying that he had never been in 'a play-house' before and 'never thought he should be compelled to meet his fellow-townsmen in such a place'. He thought it 'a perfect disgrace' that the Dudley authorities had apparently refused a public building for the meeting. Murphy often brought associates with him who shared his extreme views. One of these was 'Mr Eggington, President of the Birmingham Orange Club', who claimed that Puseyites were far worse than Papists.[153] A resolution was passed to establish a Protestant Association in Dudley and also a committee 'to raise funds for building a Protestant camp in Dudley'.[154] There are no records of either coming to fruition, but Murphy continued to use the old theatre which was sometimes called 'the Protestant Camp'. Another associate, James Houston, made insinuations about Bond, suggesting that he had fathered a baby in the vicinity.[155] On Sunday 22 December 1867, Murphy and another rabble-rouser named Patrick Flynn both gave lectures – Murphy in the afternoon and Flynn in the evening.[156] The crowd emerging from Flynn's lecture enacted an unpleasant episode of anti-Catholicism. A local newspaper used the heading, 'Mobbing a Catholic Priest' and reported that Father Bond 'was followed in Hall Street by a mob of people, who hooted the rev. gentleman for a long distance, the

---

[152] This work was often re-printed at times of sectarian tension, for instance: M. Monk, *The Character of a Convent: Displayed in the Awful Disclosures of Maria Monk, being a Narrative of her Sufferings during a Residence of Five Years as a Novice etc.* (London, 1853).
[153] In some newspaper reports, Eggington was spelt Egginton. *The Birmingham Daily Gazette,* 23 September 1867, p. 5.
[154] *The Birmingham Daily Gazette,* 12 November 1867, p. 4.
[155] In the report in *The Birmingham Daily Gazette*, Houston was wrongly named as 'Mr Houlston'. *The Birmingham Daily Gazette,* 18 November 1867, p. 8.
[156] *The County Express; Brierley Hill, Stourbridge, Kidderminster and Dudley News,* 28 December 1867, p. 8.

mob at one time numbering near 1,000 persons'.[157] Even so, Dudley came off lightly compared with other places visited by Flynn, especially Hartlepool and Stockton in 1868, which suffered so-called 'Flynn riots'.[158]

Although the anti-Catholic lectures continued sporadically, the Catholic leaders remained upbeat. In January 1868, Bond held the sixth annual Catholic reunion, which was a fund-raising event 'on behalf of the educational charities belonging to the Roman Catholics' in Dudley.[159] Bond was pleased that non-Catholics as well as Catholics supported the event, despite all the 'flaming placards which have covered the walls of this town, calling on all true Protestants not to hold out the hand of fellowship to their Roman Catholic fellow townsmen'.[160] In stressing the benefits of education, Bond also addressed some of the common criticisms of Catholics. Educating the children, he argued, would 'make them good citizens … and loyal men ready at any time to rally round the national flag and to fight for their country, as they have done before …'. Bond thanked non-Catholics for showing support for Catholics who had been assailed by 'a swarm of anti-Catholic lecturers'.[161] He told his audience that 'he did not attribute the recent display of feeling against himself as coming from the town, but from a party of fanatics excited by the outpouring of platform orators'.[162] Although they had

---

[157] *The Birmingham Daily Gazette,* 24 December 1867, p. 4; *The County Express; Brierley Hill, Stourbridge, Kidderminster and Dudley News,* 28 December 1867, p. 8.
[158] J. Bush, '*Papists' and Prejudice: Popular Anti-Catholicism and Anglo-Irish Conflict in the North East of England, 1845-70* (Newcastle upon Tyne, 2012), pp. 212-222.
[159] This report had been taken from *The Dudley Guardian* (not extant): *The Weekly Register and Catholic Standard*, 25 January 1868, pp. 4-5.
[160] Unfortunately, the article does not name any of the Protestants who were present. *The Weekly Register,* 25 January 1868, pp. 4-5.
[161] *The Weekly Register and Catholic Standard,* 25 January 1868, p. 4.
[162] *The Birmingham Daily Gazette,* 9 January 1868, p. 8

suffered from ‘petty persecutions … lies and calumnies’, he thought it was a consolation that the ill treatment came ‘not from the respectable portion of [their] fellow-townsmen, but … from the ignorant and the bigoted’.[163] Presumably Bond counted Barrs amongst the latter.

There are no reports of Dudley’s Anglican clergy commenting on the Protestant lecture tours. Although they did not condemn them, neither did they give active support as did some neighbouring clergy, like the Curate of Cradley, Reverend T.H. Gregg, one of Barrs’s protégés.[164] The reports of Murphy’s lectures in Dudley are not detailed enough to be able to analyse the type of people who supported him as to their religion or class. Murphy and his henchmen seem to have done most of the organising themselves, but one person noted as assisting them was Jesse Fletcher, a herbalist in Dudley. Sometimes known as ‘Dr Fletcher’, a title to which he seems to have had no entitlement, Fletcher fitted into the rather disreputable world created by Murphy. Fletcher helped to set up ‘the Protestant Camp’ in the old theatre by obtaining Bibles, hymn books and other items. He acted as an agent, apparently expecting Murphy to pay, but the money was not forthcoming and Fletcher was sued by the vendor.[165] One of the last known uses of ‘the Protestant Camp’ in Dudley came in May 1868, seemingly for the dual purpose of a lecture by Houston, opposing disestablishment of the ‘Irish Church’, and to support William Laslett, the Conservative candidate in the East Worcestershire by-election.[166] Barrs once again chaired the meeting. The Baptist

---

[163] *The Weekly Register and Catholic Standard,* 25 January 1868, p. 4.
[164] *The County Express; Brierley Hill, Stourbridge, Kidderminster and Dudley News,* 27 July 1867, p. 6; *The Advertiser, Brierley Hill, Stourbridge and Dudley Gazette,* 9 February 1867, p. 8. Some years later, Thomas Huband Gregg joined the break-away Reformed Episcopal Church.
[165] *The Birmingham Daily Gazette,* 19 August 1868, p. 4.
[166] *The Birmingham Daily Post,* 28 May 1868, p. 8.

minister. Reverend David Evans, spoke in favour of disestablishment. Fletcher put a resolution in support of Laslett, but the meeting ended chaotically.[167] The report of Fletcher's legal dispute in August 1868 noted that 'Murphy's camp' had closed.[168] This marked the end of efforts to organise an active Protestant group in Dudley. Thus, under Barrs, the Board of Guardians was inherently anti-Catholic and Barrs, a Guardian and a magistrate, was the highest- ranking official to support Murphy. However, with Bond's guidance, Catholics pursued a policy of community integration rather than allowing themselves to be provoked.

Conclusion

The number of practising Catholics in Dudley increased considerably in the first half of the nineteenth century, augmented by Irish immigration. Their total attendances as recorded by the census of religious worship in 1851 showed that they had edged ahead of the other single-building denominations.[169] Sean Ward is therefore wrong to dismiss Catholicism as being of no numerical threat to Protestantism. This chapter asks the question to what extent was anti-Catholicism caused by external factors or the unfolding situation in Dudley and what effect did it have on the local religious and political landscape? External and local factors both contributed to anti-Catholicism, and they worked together. The waves of wide-scale anti-Catholicism witnessed in Dudley – such as controversies over the Maynooth grant, Papal Aggression, and Murphy's lecture tour – all originated from without, but picked up underlying prejudices in the borough. However, Dudley also

[167] Ibid.
[168] *The Birmingham Daily Gazette,* 19 August 1868, p. 4.
[169] See Appendix 3 for results of the census of religious worship, 1851, particularly table A.C.2, figure A.C.2 and table A.C.3.

witnessed localised anti-Catholicism under the auspices of Frederick Barrs and the Board of Guardians. One of the major changes to the religious landscape – the opening of a purpose-built Catholic church – provoked less controversy than may have been expected. Despite a few disgruntled letters to local newspapers, the new building excited as much curiosity as hostility. For many Anglicans, those deemed to be Puseyites attracted as much resentment as Catholics, probably because they were thought to represent 'the enemy within'. The most noticeable effect of anti-Puseyism came in 1845 with the removal of Reverend Cartwright who was both vicar and a leading Tory magistrate.

At times in this period, Dudley witnessed examples of all four of the facets of anti-Catholicism identified by Wolffe, but as Dudley's Catholic population grew, anti-Catholicism became more personally unpleasant, moving from the theological or questioning Catholics' loyalty, to the socio-cultural and 'popular'. The clergy were easy targets and hostility was shown to Bond and Quealy at street level. The Irish people who moved to Dudley imported religious and cultural mores different from those of the majority and with the rise in Irish immigration, anti-Catholicism became closely connected to anti-Irish prejudice. In this respect Dudley resembled its neighbours, Wolverhampton and Birmingham, but on a smaller scale. Anti-Irish prejudice in Dudley resulted in discrimination by police, medical practitioners and other local officials. Despite Murphy's efforts to stir up confrontation, Dudley avoided the violence seen in nearby Birmingham, Wolverhampton, Wednesbury, Bilston and Tipton.[170] The Irish Catholic population in Dudley was smaller and not as heavily segregated as in the larger towns and Dudley did not have a history of

[170] *The Birmingham Daily Gazette,* 29 April 1867, p. 5 and 9 May 1867, p. 8.

sectarian violence. Despite Barrs's anti-Catholicism, the Dudley magistrates did not encourage lawlessness, and Henry Burton, chief superintendent of Dudley's police force, learnt from experiences elsewhere and took suitable precautions. Equally important was Bond's determination to ignore provocation and to exert his influence over Catholic parishioners. As earlier Catholic priests had done, he emphasised Catholic loyalty and their desire to be good citizens. Bond promoted integration and was rewarded by Protestants being prepared to support Catholic educational fund-raising events. As a clear sign that the Catholic priests had achieved acceptance and status within Dudley, both Bond and Quealy were on the platform with the other clergy for the grand opening of the Earl of Dudley's drinking fountain in October 1867 (chapter 7).[171] However, senior members of the Board of Guardians displayed clear anti-Catholicism when Catholics, particularly the Irish community, formed a substantial portion of Dudley's poor. Finally, despite various resolutions to set up a Protestant Association, very little came of it, suggesting that enthusiasm for militant Protestantism in Dudley was limited. However, there was latent anti-Catholicism in Dudley throughout the period and this was whipped up in times of controversy. Together with anti-Puseyism and anti-Irish prejudice it helped shape both religion and politics in Dudley. Although 1868 marked the end of attempts by Protestant lecturers to stir up mass popular hostility to Catholics, the anti-Catholic bias of the Guardians remained into the 1870s, despite Barrs being ousted as chairman in 1870.

[171] *The County Express; Brierley Hill, Stourbridge, Kidderminster and Dudley News,* 19 October 1867, p. 8.

CHAPTER 9

Conclusion

This thesis is a study of the exercise of power and influence and how it was challenged in Dudley between 1815 and 1867. It analyses the nature and impact of political and religious conflict, and the inter-connections between them, within the town and parish in the early and mid-nineteenth century. Whilst identifying what was distinctive about Dudley, it also demonstrates how political and religious conflicts in the town connect with and illuminate regional and national events. This conclusion begins by considering how the thesis has answered its research questions before looking at wider findings and analysing the themes that have emerged. It also assesses what contributions the thesis has made to its area of research and historiography and how these relate to theories outlined in chapter 1. It then reviews how successful the methodology and research methods have been, expounds on its limitations and identifies areas for further research, before summing up the conclusion.

Research findings and historiographical significance of the thesis

The introduction asked four connected research questions beginning with: 'to what extent were politics and religion in Dudley interconnected in the period 1815 to 1867?' Religion and politics were closely linked and each helped to shape the other. The Church of England was the state church, with the monarch at its head, leading Anglicans and loyalists to see it as a pillar of the state. Emphasising the close relationship between religion and government, Reverend Luke Booker wrote: 'under our existing form of government, … religion [is] absolutely blended

with our civil polity'.[1] Thus, ultra-loyalists like Thomas Hawkes and Booker saw radical politics as attacks on religion. Whilst controversies ebbed and flowed, the loyalist position remained constant throughout the period. The language and sentiments expressed by Frederick Barrs in his opposition to Catholicism in Dudley in the 1860s were reminiscent of Thomas Hawkes earlier in the period (chapters 3 and 8).[2] The controversy over church rates was the clearest example of religion and politics shaping each other and this also lasted throughout the period (chapter 6). Quakers had refused to pay church levies in the first decade of the nineteenth century whilst some of Dudley's newer parishes continued levying church rates into the 1860s. Led by nonconformists, who objected to having to pay towards the financial upkeep of the Church of England, the dispute became increasingly political. Religious and political dissenters disrupted the parish vestry and took part in civil disobedience by refusing to pay the rate, whilst the Tory leaders of the church party used the law to try and enforce payment. The church rates dispute in Dudley endorses J.P. Ellens's view that 'religion was at the core of political conflict in urban constituencies … after the passage of the Parliamentary Reform Act', but in Dudley it started earlier and the town, which retained its Conservative preponderance, did not witness such a clear cut connection between the church rates controversy and the rise of 'Gladstonian Liberalism' that Ellens

[1] Luke Booker wrote this in a short period which he spent away from Dudley. He was the minister at St Edmund's from 1789 to 1805 and returned as Vicar of Dudley from 1812 till his death in 1835. More biographical information is given in appendix 1 (A6). L. Booker, *An Address to the Imperial Legislature of the United Kingdom of Great Britain etc on Subjects of Importance to the Church and State* (Monmouth, 1808), p. 2.

[2] DALHS, PO/251 & 346, PC, Religion! Loyalty! and Himley! (Dudley, 1819); G. Barrs, *Four Sermons …, together with Copious Extracts from his Private MS Journals…, to which is Affixed a Brief Memoir by his Son, the late F.W.G. Barrs, A.M., …* 2nd ed. (Birmingham, 1879). See particularly Frederick's preface to the first edition and his memoir of his father: pp. vi-xxxviii; *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 7 December 1859, p. 7.

finds.[3] Between 1830 and 1832, Dudley's pro-reform leaders whose religion is known (Samuel Cook, Thomas Parkin, Joseph Pitchfork, Thomas Lester, John and Charles Twamley and Thomas Hill) were nonconformists, as were the radicals, Francis Finch and John Wallace in 1819. Although it is difficult to prove a causal relationship between religious and political beliefs, Anglicans like Booker upheld the status quo and espoused conservative politics. There was also a close correlation between religious dissent and political dissent, which is epitomised by Samuel Cook who supported both. Whilst dissenters and Catholics remained under legal disabilities, which could only be removed by Parliament, campaigning against those disabilities inevitably involved politics. Prospects for Catholic emancipation were linked to the current government's policy towards Ireland, whilst the ongoing anti-Catholicism witnessed in Dudley was a recurring social problem in which religion and politics were intertwined (chapter 8). The Tory magistrate, Abiathar Hawkes, rather than Booker, chaired Dudley's meeting to oppose Catholic emancipation in 1829 (chapter 3). Later displays of anti-Catholicism reflected national events and regional Protestant lecture tours, but even more insidious were examples of institutionalised anti-Catholicism by the Board of Guardians of the Dudley Union, which Simon Briercliffe did not find in Wolverhampton (chapter 8).[4] A further, significant connection between political and religious disputes was that many of the leaders were active in both spheres which

[3] J.P. Ellens, *Religious Routes to Gladstonian Liberalism: The Church Rate Conflict in England and Wales, 1832-1868* (Pennsylvania, 1994), pp. [1] & 9 etc.
[4] S. Briercliffe, '"The blackest shadows are cast by the Irish Quarter", the making of Stafford Street, Wolverhampton, 1832-1882' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Birmingham, 2022).

is discussed below. Religion and politics were inextricably linked in Dudley between 1815 and 1867.

The second question was ‘how did the political and religious controversies of this period impact and shape society in Dudley?’ Throughout this period Dudley showed enthusiasm for both politics and religion, therefore controversies in either, or both, often divided society. The development of loyalist politics has been traced back into the eighteenth century but there were no recorded challenges to it before the radical backlash to Peterloo in 1819 (chapters 2 and 3). This was followed by radical support for Queen Caroline and renewed protests at the time of George IV’s coronation, which were dealt with sternly by the Tory magistrates. Barnsby argues that radicals were ‘diverted into the questionable channels of the Queen Caroline affair’, but the radical reaction in Dudley echoed that of many towns in Britain.[5] Growing pressure to remove inequalities from nonconformists caused little stir in Dudley, despite Cook’s one-man campaign against church levies. However, the Tory government’s policy of ceding Catholic emancipation caused one of several waves of anti-Catholicism witnessed in Dudley (chapters 3 and 8). The reform movement of the early 1830s was a clear example of political controversy having a big impact on society in Dudley. It gave rise to contested parliamentary elections, unprecedented disruption at the parish vestry, several polls of ratepayers and a propaganda battle with extensive use of handbills, until the Reform Act of 1832 was secured. Newly established as a one-member parliamentary constituency, Dudley’s electorate was enlarged and Sir John

[5] Barnsby, G.J., *The Dudley Working Class Movement, 1750 to 1860* (Dudley, 1986), p. 10.

Campbell, standing as a reformer, was elected as Dudley's first MP of modern times. The church rates dispute divided society between Anglicans and nonconformists, with only a few Liberal Anglicans bridging the gap between them (chapter 6). It also allowed people to get involved in political matters who were normally excluded, including the women who voted in the 1834 parish poll (appendix 2).

Although the reform success of 1832 was soon reversed by a Conservative resurgence, the increased politicisation of Dudley's society continued with the Town Commissioners' body being targeted for the first time, followed by the development of a group that can be identified as Liberals who challenged the Conservatives led by Isaac Badger (chapter 5). This partly corroborates Katrina Navickas's arguments, based on north-western towns, that the struggle against exclusion moved to local government, but there is less evidence in Dudley than Navickas found in the north west, of the working class being involved.[6] The campaign against the Corn Laws and Chartism widened the rift between Dudley's moderate reformers and the radicals (chapter 5). During the general strike of 1842, in Dudley, as in other parts of the Black Country, speakers like Cook, who advocated collective bargaining, attracted crowds of thousands, which was enough to convince the magistrates to imprison him and other Chartist leaders until the strike was over (chapter 5). Although A.D. Smith argues that the strikes in

[6] K. Navickas, *Protest and the Politics of Space and Place, 1789-1848* (Manchester, 2016), pp. 154-176.

the Black Country remained almost entirely economic, this thesis has found that the actions of the magistrates helped to politicise the strikes (chapter 5). [7]

In 1853, the Dudley Local Board of Health was born in controversy (chapter 7). In a town with the lowest life expectancy in the country, the new board was inaugurated to improve public health in Dudley. The Liberals, who championed it, had an early majority on the board, but it was soon taken over and emasculated by Isaac Badger and his Conservative supporters who opposed central government influence, resisted change and wanted to keep public expenditure to the bare minimum. These policies were sufficiently popular with ratepayers to delay any significant improvements to the sanitary state of Dudley. The case study of anti-Catholicism, together with anti-Irish prejudice, gives examples of how both were divisive (chapter 8). Under Barrs, the Board of Guardians continued to promulgate anti-Catholic rhetoric. Religious and political controversies in Dudley shaped elections, struggles over church rates and local government institutions in the town.

The third question was 'how significant to Dudley's political and religious conflicts were the leaders on both sides?' Personalities in Dudley intimately shaped the direction of both politics and religion. The Tory and Anglican leaders, including the vicars, most magistrates and wealthy industrialists, were more likely to be figures of authority. The nonconformist ministers and Catholic priests had spiritual authority but only over their particular congregations. Leaders of political opposition had to use a combination of methods to try to challenge the status quo. The single most effective leader of political and religious opposition from the 1820s

[7] A.D. Smith, 'The strike for the People's Charter in 1842' (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of London, 2002), pp. 68, 88-94 & 111-114.

till his death in 1861 was Cook. Anti-Tory and anti-Anglican, he was a single-minded and determined advocate for change. Even if the changes he proposed did not take place, he refused to be silenced. Many of his clashes with authority stemmed from his practice of using his shop window as a public noticeboard. This was popular with the public who occasionally gathered to read Cook's notices in sufficient numbers to block the pavement outside.[8] Cook believed strongly that decisions affecting people's lives should be made transparently and people had the right to have a say in how they were governed. In the 1830s, three nonconformist ministers, Reverends Dawson, Rogers and Palmer helped lead the opposition to church rates but when they retired the leaders of the opposition became more secular (chapter 6). Whilst Cook retained his radical beliefs to the end, many of the reformers from the early 1830s, particularly Thomas Lester and the Wood brothers, became Liberals and moved closer to the establishment. Dudley's important print culture was shaped by leaders on both sides including Booker, Cook and Thomas Parkin. Booker, in particular, was prolific and published sermons, prayers and poetry which either re-enforced his religious and political opinions, raised his profile or ingratiated him with the local gentry. Some of the printers also played crucial roles, with George Walters a leading example of one who produced controversial political and religious material. In the 1850s, the radicals were reinforced by the arrival of Daniel Wallwork, a working-class leader and a Chartist. He was the only leader in Dudley known to be an atheist and he was eventually repudiated by the membership of the working-class groups to

[8] *A Full Report of the Trial of Samuel Cook, Draper, Dudley, for an Alleged Seditious Libel, Tried at Worcester, August 1 1827 before Mr Justice Littledale* etc. (Dudley, 1827), pp. 14, 26 & 28; *Hansard,* 68, 28 March 1843, cc. 115-116.

which he belonged (chapter 7).[9] On the Tory/Anglican side, the leadership also became more secular. This can be dated to Reverend W.H. Cartwright's loss of popularity because of his Puseyism in the mid-1840s which coincided with the growing dominance of the industrialist Isaac Badger in all political arenas within the town. Although his authoritarian ways infuriated the opposition, Badger had a large following within Dudley which was reflected in his coming top of most borough polls. In 1857 and again in 1859 when a Tory/Radical alliance challenged Lord Ward's power over the constituency, Badger's influence over Tory voters proved decisive and broke Ward's dominance (chapter 7). The case study of anti-Catholicism highlighted the role of two very different leaders, Father James Bond the Catholic priest and Frederick Barrs who took over from Badger as chairman of the Dudley Union Board of Guardians (chapter 8). Whilst Barrs was aggressively Protestant and encouraged William Murphy's divisive lectures, Bond worked to assimilate his Catholic parishioners into society and won sufficient respect from Protestants for some of them to support his efforts to raise money to improve Catholic education in Dudley. The direction taken by religion and politics in Dudley was shaped not only by the abstract controversies of the period but by the determination of local religious and political leaders.

The fourth research question asked, 'to what extent did political and religious conflict in Dudley reflect the national situation?' This study has shown many incidences of national political and religious conflicts impacting at local level, either together or separately, and such local events can help expand understanding of national issues. Some examples are given here but this

[9] G.J. Barnsby, *Radical Dudley* (Wolverhampton, n.d.), p. 3.

important aspect of the thesis is addressed in more detail below. Significant connections between events in Dudley and at national level were apparent in the reaction to Peterloo in 1819. The Dudley authorities were in close contact with the Home Office and, in their reaction to the publication of *The Patriot,* the local leadership advocated an even stronger crack-down on sedition than did the Tory government which, with Lord Sidmouth as Home Secretary, had a reputation for being harsh (chapter 3). Dudley's long-running church rates dispute illuminates several aspects of a national problem that affected both religion and politics. For instance, governments were undecided as to how to deal with those refusing to pay – whether to take them before the church courts or ask the magistrates to distrain them. Dudley tried both remedies and neither prevented reoffending (chapter 6). Whilst Dudley witnessed waves of anti-Catholicism, like many places in Britain, Dudley also showed the power of anti-Puseyism in the Church of England, when an otherwise powerful vicar advocated practices which upset members of his congregation, who threatened to withhold their rates and seemingly hastened his removal (chapters 7 and 8). A major area where the relationship between national and local was evolving was that between central and local government. This thesis has shown how mandatory legislation such as the Poor Law Amendment Act (1834) and permissive legislation, including the Public Health Act (1848) caused friction between central and local government as well as between local groups (chapters 5 and 7). Looking at the broader picture, one of the main national trends that Dudley illustrates is the association of nonconformists with reform, opposition to church rates and the emergence of the Liberal party. The fostering of self-help and increasing respectability of working-

class politics witnessed in Dudley in the 1850s and 1860s was also something that was seen in other parts of the country (chapter 7). Dudley's experience was not just significant to Dudley but illuminates what happened nationally and elsewhere in Britain. The next part of the conclusion considers the research findings of this thesis and demonstrates how it has revised its subject's historiography.

This study focuses on the exercise of power and influence in mid nineteenth-century Dudley, and the challenges it provoked. By analysing political and religious conflict, it identifies both those who wielded power and those who challenged for it. During this period, power was diffused, with many facets, and exercised in different ways. The view of power and power dynamics in this thesis differ from those of both Barnsby and Richard Trainor. In his study of Dudley, Barnsby's focus is on the working class and this thesis challenges his interpretation of politics in Dudley which he tries to fit into the Marxist model of class conflict. Barnsby sees the Black Country as an early example of 'the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie' where 'the ruling class sought to control all aspects of working class life'.[10] He concentrates on what he calls 'the working class movement', but it had mass support only on rare occasions.[11] Trainor is primarily interested in elites and social leadership from which he largely excludes 'self-employed retailers and craftsmen' as not being middle class.[12] Whilst admitting that some shopkeepers improved their status, Trainor also points out that they

[10] G.J. Barnsby, *Dictatorship of the Bourgeoisie: Social Control in the Nineteenth Century Black Country* (London, 1972), section 3.
[11] Several of Barnsby's books deal with what he terms 'the working class movement' (sic). The greatest apparent support was during the strike of 1842. Many of those who encouraged the political aspirations of the working classes were themselves middle-class men like Samuel Cook.
[12] R.H. Trainor, *Black Country Elites. The Exercise of Authority in an Industrialized Area, 1830-1900* (Oxford, 1993), p. 17.

were often disparaged in the press and elsewhere for being socially inferior.[13] This thesis differs from both Barnsby and Trainor by identifying the significant role played by Dudley's independent shopkeepers, many of whom were nonconformists and who, it is argued, became the main group leading opposition to the status quo, hitherto dominated by Tories in politics and Anglicans in religion. The next sections identify the chief sources of power in politics and religion.

In economic power, the Ward family remained dominant, as landowners, mine owners and industrialists. Compared with the great landed estates, the Dudley estate was small but extremely profitable, putting the Earl of Dudley amongst those described by David Cannadine as the 'super rich'.[14] As well as great wealth, William Ward, later the Earl of Dudley, held important patronage in the Church of England, cast himself as both a cultural and a social leader and acted as a local philanthropist. Although the Wards stopped living in Dudley, their main agents, particularly the succession of chief mine agents who lived in the impressive 'Priory', were able to exert power, particularly over the estate's large number of tenants, and influence local government bodies.[15] Below the Wards economically were other industrialists, some of whom leased from the Dudley estate. Of these, one of the largest businesses belonged to A.B. Cochrane, who

[13] Trainor, *Black Country Elites,* pp. 85-86.
[14] D. Cannadine, 'The landowner as millionaire: the finances of the Dukes of Devonshire, c.1800-c.1926' (Continued), *The Agricultural History Review,* Vol. 25, No. 2 (1977), pp. 77-97, especially tables I and II; The Ward family had inherited plantations in Jamaica and the trustees of the Earl of Dudley's estate applied for compensation for the enfranchisement of slaves under the Slave Compensation Act of 1837. Centre for the Study of the Legacies of British Slavery has produced figures which show how the Wards' income grew with the first Earl of Dudley leaving a personal estate of £350,000 in 1833 and the first Earl of Dudley of the second creation leaving a personal estate of £1,026,000.in 1885: Summary of Individual | Legacies of British Slavery
[15] Francis Downing was followed in the role of chief mines agent by three members of the Smith family. Appendix 1 gives biographical information about Downing (A14, which includes a picture of 'The Priory', figure A14.1) and the Smith family (A26).

denied that he supported Ward politically because his own lease was due for renewal (chapter 7). The most prosperous, independent industrialists in Dudley town were the Badger brothers. They were Anglicans and Tories, and men who knew how to find and exploit any and every lever of power. In addition to their economic power as nail masters, coal and ironmasters and glass manufacturers, both were Town Commissioners and became magistrates, but whilst Thomas moved into banking, Isaac concentrated on politics. He frequently took part in the court leet and attended more parish vestries than anyone else.[16] He took control of the Board of Health, dominated the Board of Guardians and successfully challenged Lord Ward over Dudley's parliamentary representation. That the Badger brothers are neglected in Trainor's study of Black Country elites suggests that he was primarily focused on the upper echelons or not interested in the local power struggles which are central to this thesis.[17] In addition to economic power, but often closely allied to it, were the area's magistrates and the Church of England. As the period progressed the magistracy became dominated by major industrialists and, until 1850, all the magistrates in the Dudley area were Conservatives. The Church of England was established and, as part of the state, became involved in politics as well as religion. As patrons of the Church of England, the Ward family provided the land and substantial donations for new

[16] A.J. Ware (ed.), *Dudley Parish Order Book, 1821-1856* (Dudley, typescript, 1992) pp. i-xxxxi.
[17] In his study of the Ward family, Trainor briefly mentions 'the Badger brothers' as opposing Lord Ward's main agent on the Local Board of Health. Trainor may have been confusing Thomas Badger senior with Thomas Badger junior. It was Isaac Badger and his nephew, Thomas Badger junior who were elected to the Board of Health. There is no mention of any of the Badgers in Trainor's work on Black Country Elites. R. Trainor 'Peers on an industrial frontier: the Earls of Dartmouth and of Dudley in the Black Country, c. 1810 to 1914', in D. Cannadine (ed.), *Patricians, Power and Politics in Nineteenth-century Towns* (Leicester, 1982), pp. 69-132, especially p. 86; R.H. Trainor, *Black Country Elites. The Exercise of Authority in an Industrialized Area, 1830-1900* (Oxford, 1993).

Anglican churches built in Dudley parish.[18] Blending symbols of temporal and spiritual power, most of the Anglican churches were built on hilltops and were meant to dominate the landscape.[19] With regards to the Church of England, and occasionally Wesleyan Methodism, this thesis has found support for the Marxist view that organised religion resisted change and bolstered the status quo but, as discussed below, the nonconformist denominations often led demands for change. Much of the reason for political and religious conflict in Dudley was because they were both topics that affected people deeply.

This thesis has found that Dudley manifested enthusiasm for both religion and politics, but participation in the latter was harder to achieve. Evidence for religious enthusiasm in Dudley between 1815 and 1867 is seen in the building of churches and chapels, together with the results of the census of religious worship in 1851.[20] The census data gave Dudley an index of attendance below the England and Wales average, but the deficit was mainly because of low Anglican attendances.[21] In his comparative study of 'large towns', Kenneth Inglis calculated the average index of attendance to be 49.7. Dudley with 56.05 was therefore above the average and above Wolverhampton's 53.1 and both were well in excess

[18] Lord Ward also granted the land for the English Presbyterian Church in Dudley 'on very favourable terms', possibly because it was linked to the Church of Scotland. *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 3 February 1847, p. 3.
[19] This is well illustrated in: T. Radclyffe after T. Creswick in W. Hawkes Smith, *Birmingham and its Vicinity, as a Manufacturing & Commercial District* (London Birmingham, 1836), opposite p. 44. See Appendix 1, figure A6.1.
[20] Appendix 3 gives the results for Dudley and some comparative figures.
[21] Dudley's total index of attendance is is 56.05 compared with 60.78 for England and Wales, whereas for Dudley's Anglicans it is 13.87 compared with 29.52 for England and Wales. NB: Inglis has slightly different figures, giving Dudley's total as 55.3, but he admits that his calculations are based on 'crude figures in Table F' of the report to Parliament whilst the figures for Dudley used in this thesis are based more closely on Dudley's census results. K.S. Inglis, 'Patterns of religious worship in 1851', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History,* Vol. 11, No. 1 (April 1960), pp. 74-86, especially p. 80.

of Birmingham's 36.1.[22] Another of Inglis's comparative lists puts Dudley at the top of towns with high nonconformist indexes of attendance (37.9) and he sees in such figures 'support for the argument that Nonconformists carried Christianity to great urban areas on which the Church of England was making little impression'.[23] Horace Mann, who wrote the official report on the census, acknowledged that much of the population did not attend a place of worship, particularly mentioning 'the labouring myriads' and 'artizans' and that was probably true in Dudley.[24]

Enthusiasm for politics is not so easy to measure because opportunities for 'popular politics' were limited, particularly in the earlier part of the period. Political power was spread amongst bodies with limited remits, including the court leet, the parish vestry and the Town Commissioners. Parliamentary elections in Worcestershire and Staffordshire were usually pre-determined by the main families and rarely went to a poll before the reform controversy of 1831. The Reform Act of 1832 made Dudley a one-member parliamentary constituency, but its electorate remained small (chapter 3).[25] As the period progressed, there were more opportunities for participation. Both the Board of Guardians and the ill-fated Local Board of Health were established as elective bodies, though fewer elections went to polls when men like Isacc Badger were dominant (chapters 5 and 7). Finally, Dudley became a corporation in 1865 with the standard arrangement of wards, councillors and aldermen. However, the class and occupations of those elected

[22] Inglis, 'Patterns of religious worship in 1851', pp. 80-82.
[23] Inglis, 'Patterns of religious worship in 1851', p. 84.
[24] H. Mann, *Census of Great Britain, 1851. Religious Worship. England and Wales. Report and Tables* (London, 1853), p. clviii.
[25] In 1832, slightly more men in Dudley had a vote in the East Worcestershire constituency than in the borough. The borough electorate did not exceed 1,000 until 1865: F.W.S. Craig (comp. & ed.), *British Parliamentary Election Results 1832-1885* (London & Basingstoke, 1977), p. 116.

changed only slowly. The Second Reform Act of 1867 greatly increased the number of men eligible to vote in parliamentary elections. The next sections deal with the main challenges to the status quo in Dudley, beginning with religion.

The biggest challenge to Dudley's Anglican establishment was the rise of non-Anglican religion. This came firstly in the form of old and then new dissent, followed by a resurgence in Catholicism. The rise of Methodism in particular, encouraged Anglican leaders to try to shore up their own support, beginning with Reverend Luke Booker's urging the government to spend money building or enlarging Anglican churches because nonconformist meeting houses were 'springing up like mushrooms' (chapter 2). His successor, Reverend W.H. Cartwright used government money to add two more Anglican churches to the parish. However, the 1851 census of religious worship showed that only a quarter of attendances at places of worship in Dudley on census Sunday were Anglican (appendix 3). Anti-Catholicism in Dudley cut across the Protestant churches and was more often promulgated by laymen than clergy, except for the so-called Papal Aggression controversy of 1850 in which Dudley's response was led by Browne, the vicar, and the Reverend John Wesley Thomas, a Wesleyan minister (chapter 8). Although in religious terms the rise of nonconformism was peaceful, when it connected with politics, as in the reform controversy or the question of church rates, it became more confrontational.

Barnsby disparages both the Church of England and Methodism for not being 'sympathetic to working class aspirations' but he fails to acknowledge the nonconformist contribution to politics in Dudley and is particularly wrong in

disregarding the influence exerted by 'old dissent'.[26] In the late eighteenth century, the town had a strong Unitarian community led by the wealthy Finch family.[27] Despite comparatively small numbers, the Unitarians remained influential, and they produced the first men to call for reform, or change, in Dudley, namely Reverend William Denny Wood in 1789 and then Francis Finch and John Wallace in 1819 (chapters 3 and 4). Those identified as the hub of the reform movement in 1830 to 1832 were all nonconformists: Cook, Thomas Parkin, the Twamleys, Joseph Pitchfork and Thomas Hill came from 'old dissent', whilst Thomas Lester was a Methodist. As the church rates controversy erupted in the 1830s, these reformers were reinforced by three nonconformist ministers from 'old dissent'. Barnsby also fails to identify shopkeepers as an important class in Dudley. They were sufficiently independent to be the prime movers in many of the challenges to the status quo in religion and politics. In the early 1830s, the leaders of Dudley's reform movement were predominantly nonconformists and most of them were shopkeepers. Dudley's first MP, Sir John Campbell credited 'shopkeepers and independent tradesmen' with providing his firmest support (chapter 3).[28] Although the situation in Dudley did not prove 'the Halévy thesis', that nonconformist religion, particularly Methodism, saved Britain from revolution, it has been shown that the Methodists were less interested in politics than the followers of 'old dissent'. The situation in Dudley also supports E.P. Thompson's view of the

[26] G. Barnsby, 'The Labour movement, religion, and the churches in Birmingham and the Black Country in the nineteenth century', in W.R. Garscha and S. Weigang (eds.), *Arbeiterbewegung – Kirche – Religion* (Vienna, 1991), pp. 181-192, especially p. 186.
[27] Joseph Priestley's daughter, Sarah married into Dudley's Finch family, although her husband, William Finch, was one of the less economically successful family members. Appendix 1 includes biographical information for the Finch family (A15).
[28] *Life of John, Lord Campbell, Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain; Consisting of a Selection from his Autobiography, Diary, and Letters*, edited by Mrs Hardcastle, Vol.2 (London, 1881), p. 17.

connection between ‘old dissent’ and radicalism but it cannot corroborate his other theory, that the growth of Methodism took place in waves inversely related to the success of radicalism.

Whilst Trainor refers to Dudley’s ‘entrenched Anglican elite’, the vicars experienced a diminution of power and authority during the period.[29] Towards the end, Browne was not as powerful as Joseph Cartwright had been in the late eighteenth century. Cartwright had been one of Dudley’s richer men, he had acted for Viscount Dudley and Ward, he was a magistrate and seemingly the driving force behind setting up the Town Commissioners body. Although Browne kept the title ‘Vicar of Dudley’, the ancient parish was broken into five and he was only there because W.H. Cartwright had fallen foul of anti-Puseyism. Browne was not a magistrate and found himself at odds with some of those who were. He lost the debate on church rates, struggled to finance his church and alienated leading Anglicans by urging a more interventionist social policy (chapter 7). The next section assesses in more detail where the opposition to the establishment came from.

The most striking example of an individual challenging the status quo was Cook whom Barnsby calls a ‘Ricardian Socialist’, which he defines as ‘believing in a labour theory of value’.[30] Certainly, Cook campaigned for fairer treatment of those in the lower ranks of society and his first political trial was for blaming the government for failing to alleviate poverty, but there is little evidence of his espousing socialism. For instance, it is not mentioned in what seems to be his

[29] Trainor, *Black Country Elites,* p. 186
[30] G.J. Barnsby, *The Working Class Movement in the Black Country, 1750-1867* (Wolverhampton, 1977), p. 223.

manifesto of 1834, though he does call for ‘universal freedom of trade’ (figure 5.2). On other occasions he advocated both collective bargaining and self-help (chapters 5 and 7). Barnsby praises Cook for his political activity, claiming that he ‘is one of the local leaders entitled to a place of high honour in the annals of the British working class movement’, but he does Cook a disservice by ignoring his religious motivation.[31] Of all Dudley’s reformers, Cook most personified ‘old dissent’. As evidence of Trainor’s being less interested in shopkeepers, he only mentions Cook in passing, describing him as one of the ‘shopkeeper radicals’ and ‘all-purpose populists’.[32] Cook actively opposed both the town’s religious and political leadership from at least the early 1820s till his death in 1861. Although there are numerous examples of Cook’s attacking different vested interests, one of his fiercest battles was trying to achieve open and accountable government.

Aside from Cook, wide-ranging opposition occurred in the radical reaction to Peterloo, the reform movement and the church rates controversy. Dudley also provided intermittent support for the Anti-Corn Law League and Chartism, both of which challenged the status quo. Some of those previously excluded from power began to gain influence. A few wealthy shopkeepers had been Town Commissioners since the early days, but this thesis has identified a concerted push – starting in April 1834 – for shopkeepers and small businessmen from a lower level of society to become Town Commissioners (chapter 5). Although the Tories retained the majority support of inactive Town Commissioners, who could be called on to vote on major issues, the reformers gained important experience.

---

[31] G.J. Barnsby, *The Dudley Working Class Movement, 1750 to 1860* (Dudley, 1986), p. 61.
[32] Trainor, *Black Country Elites,* pp. 215 & 254.

Thomas Lester, a Methodist and a shopkeeper, was a moderate reformer who became a Liberal and he frequently chaired the Town Commissioners' meetings.[33] With men like Lester and the Wood brothers achieving positions of influence, Dudley showed the beginnings of what has been termed a Liberal 'shopocracy', but the Conservatives remained dominant for most of the period, particularly on the Board of Guardians, but latterly also on the Board of Health (chapter 7).[34]

Barnsby's claim that secularism inherited the 'mantle' of Chartism in the Black Country and that, after 1850, it became 'the prevailing working-class culture', cannot be substantiated, especially in Dudley where he seems to have based his findings on certain meetings and individuals.[35] He lists Cook as one who attended secularist meetings, but Cook went to argue, not as a convert.[36] Daniel Wallwork was ejected from the Working Men's Institute, apparently because of his secularist opinions, which indicates that Wallwork's views were rejected by the majority of members (chapter 7). Barnsby also makes errors in his assessment of Reverend Luke Booker, whom he describes as epitomising 'the "black slugs" … religious terrorists preaching heaven and hell on Sunday and lay terrorists during the week, fining and imprisoning workers under the Master & Servants Acts in their roles as JPs'.[37] Reverend W.H. Cartwright was more characteristic of a clerical magistrate than Booker who had retired from serving on the magistrate's bench, at

[33] For more detail on Lester, see appendix 1 (A20); figure A20.1 shows that Lester chaired the Town Commissioners' meetings more often than anyone else.
[34] B. Hilton, *A Mad, Bad, and Dangerous People? England 1783-1846* (Oxford, 2006), p. 161.
[35] G.J. Barnsby, *Socialism in Birmingham and the Black Country* (Wolverhampton, 1998), pp. 4-9; G.J. Barnsby, *Radical Dudley,* (Wolverhampton, n.d.), p. 3.
[36] Barnsby, *Socialism in Birmingham and the Black Country*, p. 5; *The Reasoner and Secular Gazette,* No. 13, 30 March 1853, pp. 197-198.
[37] Ibid., p. 8.

the latest by 1824 and probably much earlier.[38] There are no newspaper records of Booker committing or convicting anyone after December 1816 when, rather than being a 'terrorist', he helped convict and fine several employers for paying their workers with provisions rather than money.[39] However, Booker was certainly anti-reform and increasingly reactionary as seen in his last address suggesting that the people of Dudley should petition for the borough to be disenfranchised.[40]

Even the most powerful were not exempt from challenges. When Lord Ward over-reached himself in trying to impose his candidate on the parliamentary borough in the 1857 general election, he provoked an unprecedented Conservative/Radical alliance which effectively broke his hold on the constituency (chapter 7). The Wards generally liked to be liked, which made them susceptible to the intangible but significant restraint of the power of public opinion. This was particularly exercised in retaining public access to the castle grounds, as when Ward bowed to pressure and pulled out of a contract to lease the castle grounds to the South Staffordshire Railway in 1851, thus tacitly acknowledging that the townspeople should have some input into how the castle grounds were used.[41] Ward was pressing the government to give him the title 'Earl of Dudley', which may

[38] *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 23 June 1824, p. 3.
[39] There are no newspaper records of Booker's committing or convicting anyone in a scheduled court sitting later than December 1816, although he may have done so during disturbances. *Aris's Birmingham Gazette,* 9 December 1816, p. 3.
[40] L. Booker, *A Friendly Address to the Inhabitants of Dudley with the form of a Petition to the Legislature from Electors and Non-electors (Males and Females) praying that the Elective Franchise may be Discontinued in the Parish,* 2nd ed. (Dudley, 1835).
[41] In reminiscences, G.P. Neele credits the change of plan to opposition from 'the municipal authorities', but the only such authorities at the time were the Town Commissioners and there is no record of their expressing an opinion. G.P. Neele, *Railway Reminiscences* [1904], new ed. (East Ardsley, 1974), p. 23; *The Birmingham Journal,* 5 April 1851, p. 7.

have made him less willing to stir up resentment amongst the Dudley townsfolk and shows that other considerations restrained his power and influence.

This study has highlighted some of the great personality clashes, such as that between Cook and Booker and drawn attention to the Badger brothers who were able to manipulate the strings of power for many years. However, it has also noted the contribution made by many from non-elite backgrounds, including several who were newcomers to Dudley and some whose time in the town was short.[42] It has also highlighted a rare occasion when several women ratepayers voted in a parish poll (appendix 2). The theme of 'space and place' is considered in the next section.

Much of what has been found to be distinctive about Dudley derived from its people and place and there are close connections with Navickas's theories of space and place. For instance, the situation in Dudley illustrates her point that as well as the struggle for parliamentary reform, 'important struggles were also fought over the right to sit on local government bodies'.[43] Whilst Navickas is primarily concerned with north western towns such as Manchester, her arguments over politics and protest correspond to the situation found in Dudley, giving closer comparisons than, for instance, the rigid class differences expounded by John Foster (chapter 1). This study has shown how the Tory/Anglican establishment, supported by the magistrates, dominated the use of public space within Dudley parish, particularly trying to prevent opposition groups gathering in great numbers.

---

[42] Thomas Hill, James Dawson and Daniel Wallwork came from comparatively humble backgrounds, the Reverends William Rogers and John Palmer made impacts shortly after arriving in Dudley, whilst Thomas Parkin probably made the biggest impact in a short time. More information on all these is given in appendix 1.
[43] Navickas, *Protest and the Politics of Space and Place*, p.9.

However, the political opposition proved adept at finding other spaces in which to meet whilst nonconformists and Catholics erected their own buildings. Navickas describes processions as ‘politics on the move’ and there are examples of this from all sides in Dudley.[44] Celebrations often spilled out onto the streets, as with the penny rate party hiring a band to process through the streets to mark their success in the parish poll (chapter 6). An uglier, impromptu gathering was the jeering crowd, estimated at nearly a thousand, which followed the Catholic priest at the time of the Murphy disturbances (chapter 8). The single most important change to public space in this period was the clearing of the Market Place, firstly with the removal of Middle Row and ending with the demolition of the old town hall. This had a wide range of support from the Town Commissioners, and the Earl of Dudley who donated a grandiose drinking fountain as a new centrepiece for the Market Place and a start to raising civic awareness (chapter 7). Not only was the area returned to its use as a market but, in the more peaceful times at the end of the period it was more likely to be used for celebrations than the riots which had occasionally broken out in earlier decades.

Dudley’s regional ties, both to the Black Country and to Birmingham were an important aspect of its space and place. One of the clearest regional factors was the extent of the South Staffordshire coalfield, which gave Dudley’s large workforce of miners an affinity with miners across the region. On the other hand, the forces of authority, the county magistracies, militias and, later, the county police forces also found it beneficial to operate over wider areas. Birmingham and the Black Country had different economies, with a focus upon extractive industries

[44] Ibid., p. 177.

in the latter, and this fed into their religious experience where the Black Country's mining communities were conducive to the rise of Methodism. Other comparisons show that the church rates dispute was longer-lasting and more bitter in Dudley than in nearby towns whilst anti-Catholicism and anti-Irish prejudice in Dudley echoed that in its larger neighbours, Wolverhampton and Birmingham, but without descending into street violence. In political terms, Dudley's loyalists and radicals both preserved close ties with their counterparts in Birmingham. There were particularly strong connections between the Dudley Political Union and the Birmingham Political Union, with the radical, Thomas Parkin belonging to both for a time. Another parallel between Dudley and Birmingham was the rise of the 'economists' in local government which, in Dudley, delayed efforts to tackle sanitation problems.

In addition to regional connections, many of the findings of this thesis help illuminate wider subjects of British nineteenth-century history. The effects of the eighteenth-century evangelical revival touched towns and villages across Britain and affected the Church of England as well as the other Protestant denominations. Although the Reverend Luke Booker has been mainly discussed in relation to his conservative politics, his published sermons demonstrate evangelical zeal by an Anglican clergyman.[45] Dudley also illustrated the results of the evangelical revival on Baptists, Independents and, above all, the rise of Methodism. However, as these denominations became successful across the country, they became more susceptible to internal schisms. In Methodism particularly, the divisions seen in

[45] L. Booker, *Sermons on Various Subjects Intended to Promote Christian Knowledge and Human Happiness* (Dudley, 1793); L. Booker, *Discourses and Dissertations,* 2 volumes (Dudley, 1819).

Dudley closely reflected the national struggle within Methodism. Dudley also provides several indications of how Catholicism revived in Britain. Dudley's Catholic church was founded by an aristocratic convert, the Honourable George Spencer; Irish immigration proved the greatest single boost to Catholic numbers and Dudley's influential Catholic priest, the Reverend James Bond was the son of parents converted by members of a religious house escaping the 1789 revolution in France. Subsequent anti-Catholicism in Dudley peaked in waves, as in the rest of Britain. The latent anti-Catholic and anti-Irish prejudice in Dudley help explain how such waves of hostility were able to gather momentum. Together with anti-Catholicism, this thesis has drawn attention to the widespread hostility to Catholic practices being revived in the Church of England which was often termed 'Puseyism'.

The growth of loyalism as a political creed has been under-researched, particularly at local level. This thesis has analysed how it grew out of the rise of patriotism during the French wars and became associated with both Tory politics and the Church of England. Many illustrations have been given including the 'Paine burnings' (1792-93), the formation of loyal associations, support for the government and Prince Regent during the radical protests after Peterloo and the Queen Caroline affair, opposition to both Catholic emancipation and parliamentary reform and the aggressive Protestantism seen in the late 1860s at the time of the Murphy riots in several British towns and cities.

On the other side of the political divide, radical fury following Peterloo, support for Queen Caroline, the riots following George IV's coronation and then the struggle for parliamentary reform in Dudley, all reflect and illuminate what was

happening across Britain. Some specific examples are ‘the paper war’ of 1819, targeting of the parish vestry and growing opposition to church rates (chapters 3, 4 and 6). Much of the political print produced during the struggle for reform highlights national developments, whilst the wide-scale celebrations resulting from Lord Grey’s return to power in May 1832 show the close connection between the struggle at national and local level. With the Birmingham Political Union being a major player in the reform agitation, its ties with Cook and Thomas Parkin in the Dudley Political Union ensured that Dudley was kept abreast of latest developments.

Following the Reform Act, reformers across Britain were soon disappointed with the Whig government and, in February 1834, Dudley saw one of the government’s earliest reversals when Sir John Campbell failed to hold his parliamentary seal in a by-election triggered by his appointment as Attorney General (chapter 5). This period was characterised by the growth of central government. One of the Whig government’s earliest and most controversial reforms was the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 which tightened and standardised policies dealing with poor relief. It was particularly significant in local areas for grouping several adjacent parishes into ‘unions’ which were administered by a Board of Guardians elected by male ratepayers. In places like Dudley, this was the first elective local government body. However, the act also contributed to the growing power of central government by creating a Poor Law Commission in London which had a supervisory role over the local unions and led to struggles between national and local government. Another reform by the Whig government, the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835, was also aimed at standardising local

government. The act reformed existing, incorporated boroughs giving them a standard structure and putting in place a procedure by which unincorporated towns could petition for incorporation, which Dudley did successfully in 1865 (chapter 7). The 1840s saw a rise in permissive legislation of which one of the most important was the Public Health Act of 1848. When Dudley adopted the act and set up its Local Board of Health it was a failure and illustrative of the wider controversy caused by the growth of central government and its regulations which were resented at local level, especially where they were likely to increase the rates (chapter 7).

Dudley also serves for a comparison of the methods and achievements of the Anti-Corn Law League and Chartism, particularly in fighting parliamentary elections, because the borough witnessed both in the 1840s. Although neither won the election they stood for, the League had the financial resources to force a poll, but the Chartists did not and were only able to make speeches on the hustings. Lord Ward's involvement in politics – his conversion to repeal of the Corn Laws, then becoming a Peelite, before pledging support for Lord Palmerston - was largely due to his quest for an earldom, but it gives insights into one of the most significant political re-alignments of the nineteenth century, culminating in the foundation of the Liberal party.[46] However, the dramatic events of Dudley's 1857 election also show that local concerns could override national affairs (chapter 7).[47]

[46] R. Douglas, *Liberals: A History of the Liberal and Liberal Democrat Parties* (London, 2005), pp. 10-11.

[47] The 1857 general election was largely a vote of confidence in Lord Palmerston's foreign policy, which Palmerston won easily. Although Lord Ward's candidate in Dudley, Joseph Sandars, emphasised his own support for Palmerston, Palmerston and his foreign policy did not become an issue in the Dudley election, unlike in much of Britain. Rather the Dudley election was dominated by the Tory/Radical alliance's effort to defeat Lord Ward, which was achieved when Sandars

Methodological significance

This thesis reveals the value of using a multiplicity of methods to investigate the history of a town using a wide range of primary sources. These include statistical analysis, prosopography techniques, family history methods and microhistorical approaches. Taking digital copies of much of the relevant ephemera at Dudley Archives and Local History Centre proved invaluable for making connections across the material. Elements of prosopography were useful, resulting in multiple spreadsheets listing Town Commissioners, Poor Law Guardians, members of the Board of Health, shareholders, participants at meetings and so forth, thus helping to identify overlapping membership. This has been simpler and more effective for the elite groups but, where available, voting lists, rate books, names from petitions and the earlier trade directories have been tabulated to provide insights into lower middle-class connections. Online searching of both primary and secondary sources has been refined because 'Dudley' on its own produces many irrelevant results. Keywords, including the names of people and events, together with date filters have been necessary to make the search results more manageable. Family history techniques have helped find information about several of the shopkeepers who were important at the time, but who later sank into obscurity. One of those for whom these research techniques have been particularly productive was the chemist, C.F.G. Clark, a participant in the later political struggles of the period and the compiler of the first book about nineteenth-century politics in Dudley, but about whom nothing has been written previously.[48]

withdrew, allowing the alliance candidate, H.B. Sheridan to be elected unopposed (chapter 7). See, for instance: *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 25 March 1857, p. 4.

[48] Biographical information about Clark is included in appendix 1 (A 10). The information discovered about Clark is significant for showing that he did not come to Dudley until 1842, whilst his book

Microhistorical methods, such as studying events in great detail, have proved useful for filling in gaps left by earlier historians, as for instance, the church rates prosecution of Thomas Wood. This is not mentioned in any histories but the witness statements from both sides provide insights into the significance of the controversy from street level – history from below - that are otherwise unrecorded in Dudley. Subsequent study of Wood's siblings has revealed a family who were at the heart of several of Dudley's religious and political controversies but who have long been forgotten. Other examples of microhistory being able to illuminate wider issues are Reverend Booker's dealing with a vituperative letter from 'Mithra' thrown into his garden (chapter 4); Cook's fury at having his membership of the subscription library terminated (chapter 4) and Isaac Badger's clashing with the government health inspector (chapter 7). Statistical analysis has been employed where appropriate, as in using information from the censuses, but also where data have been gathered, for instance, from marriage registers which have then been used to analyse literacy levels (chapters 2 and 4). However, caution is needed with some of the historical data. For instance, occupations listed in the parish registers are often difficult to interpret and categorise (figure 2.2). The thesis has benefitted from the presence of a considerable amount of primary material, mainly, but not exclusively in Dudley Archives, but there is scope for further research and the next sections consider the limitations to the present study and opportunities for additional investigation.

---

seems to imply that he had been observing affairs in Dudley for much longer. C.F.G. Clark (comp. & ed.), *The Curiosities of Dudley and the Black Country, from 1800 to 1860 etc.* (Birmingham, 1881).

Limitations to present research

One area which was not covered in full was public health. Although this subject had significant ramifications for the power struggle in Dudley, it was decided, to concentrate on the key political aspects of the public health controversy (chapter 7). This meant leaving out some related topics, such as the temperance controversy. Another limitation that was mentioned in the text was not being able to use criminal case records to investigate working class perceptions in Dudley as David Philips has done for other parts of the Black Country. Only a few years' worth of Dudley's petty session records have survived, therefore, for this type of research, cases concerning people from Dudley would need to be extracted from the reports of the Quarter Sessions at Worcester.

Although the main period under consideration is little more than fifty years, the amount of primary source material increased greatly throughout the period. This was, in part, due to the increase in public bodies, some of which produced voluminous records. For instance, the Poor Law Board in London kept large files of correspondence with each Poor Law Union. The files for the Dudley Union contain a huge amount of material that is largely untapped by historical researchers. Newspapers are another resource that grew considerably. At the start of the period, news for Dudley was covered briefly in newspapers based in Worcester, Wolverhampton or Birmingham but by the end of the period Dudley supported two newspapers of its own. The amount of available material throughout the period meant that research for this thesis focussed on what was of most use to illuminate the relationships between politics and religion. Anti-Catholicism was elevated to a case study because the evidence found was so compelling. The

subject had not been studied in Dudley before and there was also evidence of anti-Irish sentiment which made it possible to forge significant comparisons between Dudley and the larger, neighbouring towns of Birmingham and Wolverhampton. However, the work in this thesis can be built on in several ways and suggestions for further research are considered next.

Suggestions for further research

Both education and public health deserve more detailed analysis. Education, both for children and adults, began with religious initiatives. Providing education for children was competitive and, moving beyond the present period of discussion, the 1870 Education Act established school boards and re-ignited hostility between Anglicans and nonconformists. In the public health arena, the Dudley Local Board of Health failed to solve the issues it was set up to address. Consequently, drainage, sanitation and water supply caused problems for the new corporation for several more decades. Research for this thesis has revealed that families across the social classes were affected by high mortality and an alternative method of investigation could be to study its effects on sample families. Another social issue that would profit from further research is the temperance question, with its religious, social and economic connotations. It involved a different form of power struggle and resulted in Dudley's 'Maine Law riots' in 1855.[49] The temperance issue cut across existing groupings. For instance, one of Dudley's temperance leaders was the Independent minister, Reverend Daniel Shoebotham, but equally enthusiastic was the atheist, Daniel Wallwork. The controversy also divided families with, for example, Samuel Cook senior believing

[49] *The Birmingham Journal,* 30 June 1855, p. 7; *The Staffordshire Sentinel,* 18 August 1855, p. 5.

that education and persuasion were enough, whilst his eldest son, Samuel Quartus Cook was one of Dudley's leading temperance advocates who believed that stronger measures than mere persuasion were necessary.[50]

This thesis has analysed interventions in politics by Dudley's magistracy, but more study is needed on their economic power and potential bias in adjudicating on employment issues and larceny.[51] Research into criminal cases from Dudley at the Worcester Quarter Sessions can be used as a way to study 'crime and authority' in the area as David Philips has done for the Staffordshire part of the Black Country.[52] The establishment of the Salvation Army (c. 1879) and the hostility it generated also deserves analysis. This is significant because of the attitudes of existing denominations and because much of the initial abuse 'the Army' received at street level was aimed at its female captain.[53] The study of print culture in this thesis concentrated on the earlier period when having a variety of print, easily available in the town, was a novelty. Other aspects of printing in Dudley would benefit from research, such as the existence of two female-run printers.[54] Local media history deserves study, particularly looking at the failure and eventual success of attempts in the 1850s and 1860s to establish town

[50] *Berrow's Worcester Journal,* 5 May 1855, p, 3: J. Rowley & E. Taylor, 'Cook, Samuel Quartus (1822-90), Chartist', in J.M. Bellamy & J. Saville (eds.) *Dictionary of Labour Biography,* Vol. VI (London, 1982), p. 69.
[51] For instance, D.C. Woods hardly mentions Dudley in: D.C. Woods, 'The operation of the Master and Servants Act in the Black Country, 1858-1875', *Midland History,* Vol. 7, No. 1 (1982), pp. 93-115.
[52] Some of Philips's research is pertinent to Dudley but he does not study Worcestershire in the same depth as he does Staffordshire. D. Philips, *Crime and Authority in Victorian England: The Black Country, 1835-1860* (London, 1977), pp. 36-37 & 302-303.
[53] *The Dudley Herald,* 1 November 1879, p. 6.
[54] Alice Bogle took over from her husband, J.T. Bogle, who died in December 1841, whereas the Misses Maurice took over from their father, William Maurice, who died in 1843.

newspapers in Dudley.[55] *Blocksidge's Almanacks* which date from 1878 would repay greater scrutiny.[56] They have been used by later historians as sources of historical information, but they also helped to bring a view of Dudley's history to the wider, contemporary public and they are rich in social content, including arrays of advertisements, many for the family firms of those who featured in this thesis, such as Cook, Lloyd, Lester, and the Woods. The final sections sum up the conclusion.

This thesis is a study of politics and religion in Dudley in the early and mid-nineteenth century, which demonstrates how political and religious conflicts in Dudley connect with and illuminate local, regional and national history whilst also indicating what was distinctive about Dudley's experience. Religion and politics were two of the most aspirational aspects of nineteenth-century society. Not only did the people of Dudley evince enthusiasm for both but they were both spheres where power and authority were disputed. This thesis has re-evaluated the evidence to reconstruct what was happening in Dudley and added significantly to our understanding of the town and parish during a period of intense economic and social change accompanied by rapid urban and demographic expansion. As well as more customary primary sources, this study has used illustrative material, such as handbills, prints and tokens, which have been under-used previously, but which have helped to re-interpret the history of Dudley in the middle decades of the

[55] For instance, *The Dudley Weekly Times* ran for a year or so from December 1856 and *The Dudley Guardian* ran successfully from 21 March 1863, although none of the early years is extant.
[56] E. Blocksidge, *Blocksidge's Illustrated Dudley Almanack, Diary and Directory etc.* (Dudley, from c. 1878). Note: the name of the almanack varied slightly over its years of publication. Edwin Blocksidge was an important figure, being an artist, designer of illuminated addresses, a historian and honorary secretary of what became known as the Dudley Institute, as well as a printer. *The Birmingham Daily Post,* 21 June 1909, p. 12.

nineteenth century. There are still limitations to the evidence and there is more to be done to identify what is missing from the records.

This study has highlighted the important way in which the rise of nonconformism helped to change Dudley and it has focused on the leading role played by independent shopkeepers in challenging the old order. The research has shown that power was entrenched but not monolithic and increasingly open to challenge by an opposition, of which Samuel Cook was the most persistent protagonist. Cook's was a rare voice encouraging women to engage in politics, but this was one aspect of power that was little changed; like much of nineteenth-century Britain, Dudley remained a predominantly patriarchal society.

The study's three case studies contain original work, with little of Dudley's print history having been studied previously and the Dudley church rates controversy only mentioned in passing by earlier historians.[57] This thesis also provides the first academic study of anti-Catholicism and anti-Irish prejudice in Dudley, comparing their effects with those in neighbouring towns. As a town study, this thesis, like Janet Sullivan's study of Oldbury and Simon Briercliffe's thesis on Wolverhampton, provides an important insight into urban history in Britian and a building block towards a more academic history of the Black Country.[58]

---

[57] George Barnsby considers the publication of *The Patriot*, G. Chandler and I.C. Hannah catalogue posters and pamphlets, whilst examples of the handbills sometimes occur in other publications but chiefly as illustration. G.J. Barnsby, *The Dudley Working Class Movement, 1750 to 1860* (Dudley, 1986), pp. 9-10; G. Chandler and I.C. Hannah, *Dudley As it Was and As it is To-day* (London, 1949), especially chapter XI, pp.115-129 and pp. 180-185 and figures 112 & 113; E.G. Lyon, *Politicians in the Pulpit: Christian Radicalism from the Fall of the Bastille to the Disintegration of Chartism* (Aldershot, 1999), figure 1, p. [9].

[58] J.C. Sullivan, 'Paying the price for industrialisation: the experience of a Black Country town, Oldbury in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries' (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Birmingham, 2014); S. Briercliffe, '"The blackest shadows are cast by the Irish Quarter": the making of Stafford Street, 1832-1882' (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Birmingham, 2022).

Finally, this thesis is a study of people and place and what Navickas terms 'space and place'. Exclusion from public space has been equated with exclusion from 'the civic body politic', but access to both was becoming easier by the end of the period.[59] Dudley still lay in the shadow of the ruined castle, but the castle's role had changed markedly. Rather than the forbidding back-drop to loyalist military training manoeuvres, the castle grounds provided an important recreational space to a town which lacked public pleasure gardens. The clearing of the Market Place was an early sign of civic awareness and, rather than the scene of political and religious conflict, it had become a central area for celebrations, as seen in the drinking fountain ceremony (chapter 7). Equally important, Louise Rayner's painting shows that the Market Place was being used for the open-air market for which it had always been intended (figure 9.1). It is the people at the market who are central to Rayner's picture, and she portrays a vibrant mix of classes with the working class better represented here than in the town's written records. The picture is fittingly symbolic of Dudley's identity as a commercially active town that was politically and religiously diverse.

[59] Navickas, *Protest and the Politics of Space and Place,* p. 154.



Figure 9.1. Louise Rayner, Dudley Market Place (1870).[60] (Dudley Council Museum Collection).

[60] Louise Rayner, Dudley Market Place (1870, Dudley Council Museum Collection). Although dated 1870, it is believed to be based on sketches made in 1865. The best discussion of Louise and her brother Richard Rayner's visit to Dudley is in an archived website: DudleyMall - Louise Rayner (archive.org). [accessed 28 April 2024].

APPENDICES

Appendix 1

Biographies of key people in the religion and politics of Dudley, c. 1779-1867

List of biographies

No.	Name	Page
A1	Badger family	445
A2	Barrs, Frederick William George	451
A3	Benbow, John	453
A4	Blackwell, Samuel Holden	456
A5	Bond, James Isidore	458
A6	Booker, Luke	459
A7	Browne, James Caulfeild	466
A8	Campbell, John	470
A9	Cartwright family	473
A10	Clark, Charles Francis George	478
A11	Cochrane family	481
A12	Cook, Samuel	486
A13	Dawson, James	495
A14	Downing, Francis	500
A15	Finch family	505
A16	Griffiths, Thomas	510
A17	Hawkes, Thomas	513
A18	Hill, Thomas	518

A19	Hollier, Elliott	523
A20	Lester, Thomas	527
A21	Lyttelton family	533
A22	Palmer, John	537
A23	Parkin, Thomas	540
A24	Rogers, William	545
A25	Sheridan, Henry Brinsley	548
A26	Smith family	553
A27	Spencer family	558
A28	Twamley, Charles	565
A29	Wallace family	569
A30	Wallwork, Daniel	573
A31	Walters, George	576
A32	Ward family	579
A33	Williams family	586
A34	Wood family	590

A1. Badger family, entrepreneurs

Isaac Badger, senior, c. 1749-1808 and sons:

Thomas Badger, 1782-1856

Isaac Badger, junior, 1784-1860

Septimus Badger, 1794-1845

Edward Badger, 1799-1821

Although the Badger family was one of the most powerful in mid-nineteenth-century Dudley, there are almost no biographical studies of the family. The main exception is Jason Ellis's history of glass manufacturers in the area which discusses the Badgers' role as glass manufacturers, gives some biographical information and includes a few references to their political standing.[1] The political power that the Badgers enjoyed in the nineteenth century was built on economic advancement which began in the late eighteenth century. Isaac Badger, senior, a builder in Dudley, was enterprising and alert to opportunities. The original meeting to set up the Dudley Annuity Society in 1792 was held at his house and prior to 1795 he ran a building society or club for those who wanted a house built.[2] In partnership with others, Badger was able to retain ownership of some of his buildings, thus maintaining an income stream from rentals.[3] He had enough wealth and standing in the town to be appointed one of the early Town Commissioners in

[1] The Badger brothers ran the Phoenix Glass Works in Dudley (marked on the map in figure 1) from about 1820 till 1858 when a strike by glassworkers led the Badgers to quit the industry. J. Ellis, *Glassmakers of Stourbridge and Dudley, 1612-2002: A Biographical History of a Once Great Industry* (Harrogate, 2002), pp. 299-311.

[2] DALHS, DSCAM/4/4/2/1, Records of Messrs Slater and Camm, The Dudley Annuity Society, Minutes, 1792; J. Price, *Building Societies: Their Origin and History* (London, 1958), p. 62.

[3] DALHS, DSCAM/2/1/18/1-3, Records of Messrs Slater and Camm, Dudley Deeds, Vicar's Close, Deed of partition being a lease and release by Thomas Caddick of Dudley, timber merchant and Mary his wife, and Sarah Badger of Dudley, widow (of Isaac) [who has an annuity charged on Isaac's real estate] et al. (8-9 May 1818).

1792. Later in life, he and one of his sons set up as ‘nail manufacturers’, trading as Isaac Badger & Son.[4] In a legal document following Isaac’s death in 1818, his four sons – Thomas, Isaac junior, Septimus and Edward – were all described individually as ‘nail ironmongers’.[5] Not only was nail making a local speciality but for those with some money to invest it would have been a comparatively simple way to enter the iron trade because the work was carried out by the nailers in their own homes. Several of Dudley’s wealthy families, such as those of Finch, Parsons and Guest, made fortunes out of being middlemen in the nail trade and it is probable that this was the Badger brothers’ first step to securing significant wealth for themselves. Of the four brothers, the eldest two, Thomas and Isaac junior were the most enterprising. In partnership with Richard Wallis, a Birmingham merchant, they issued their own tokens in 1811 (figure A1.1).

[4] *Holden’s Triennial Directory,* Vol. 2, 1809-1811 (London, 1811), p. 147.
[5] DALHS, DSCAM/2/1/18/1-3, Records of Messrs Slater and Camm, Solicitors, Dudley Deeds, Deed of partition being a lease and release by Thomas Caddick of Dudley, timber merchant and Mary his wife, and Sarah Badger of Dudley, widow (of Isaac) [who has an annuity charged on Isaac's real estate] et al. (8-9 May 1818).



© **The Trustees of the British Museum**. Shared under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 4.0 International (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0) licence

Figure A1.1 Penny token issued in 1811 by Richard Wallis of Birmingham and Thomas and Isaac Badger of Dudley.[6]

The Badgers and their tokens were mocked in an anonymous satirical poem which was first published in 1818. Amongst other things, the poem drew attention to the design on the obverse of the token:

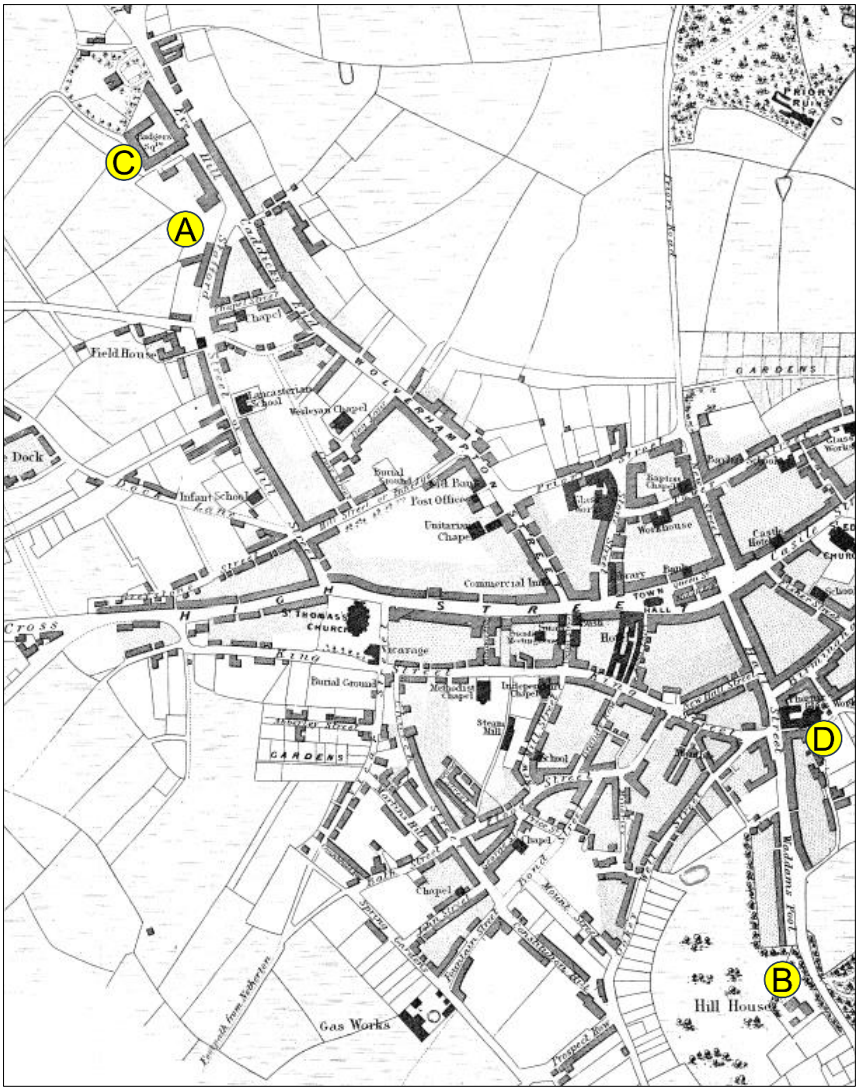
> A female figure took the place
> Britannia would, in other case;
> Whilst, by her side, in small, pourtray'd
> A cask of Dudley nails was laid;[7]

It is clear from the poem, which is discussed in more detail in chapter 4, that the Badger brothers were already stirring up resentment against themselves. From being nail ironmongers the brothers branched out into the manufacture of 'chains,

[6] British Museum, T.6351, penny token in metal alloy issued by Richard Wallis of Birmingham and Thomas and Isaac Badger of Dudley, 1811.
[7] The poem then lists various sorts of nails. *The Procession and the Bells, or the Rival Poets: Inscribed to the Inhabitants of Dudley* (Walsall, 1818), pp. 15-16.

vices, malt mills etc' by about 1820 and at the same time they also became glass manufacturers.[8] The younger brothers, Septimus and Edward seem to have concentrated on the glass business, but remarks by Septimus show he shared the Conservative, loyalist and Anglican beliefs of his elder brothers.[9] Thomas and Isaac expanded their business empire to become coal and ironmasters, with collieries in Tividale, Rowley Regis and other places.[10] Thomas also moved into banking. From the outset, in October 1833, he was a member of the committee formed to establish a joint stock bank in Dudley.[11] This was formed as the Dudley and West Bromwich Bank and by at least February 1837, he was chairing its annual meetings.[12] Unusually for wealthy men, both Thomas and Isaac chose to remain living within Dudley town until they died, albeit in large houses on the outskirts, as shown in the map (figure A1.2).

[8] S. Lewis (comp), *Worcestershire General and Commercial Directory* (Stourbridge, 1820).
[9] See for instance: *The Morning Herald,* 25 April 1840, p. 2.
[10] *Directory of Worcestershire* (London, Pigot and Co., 1835) and many subsequent trade directories.
[11] *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 30 October 1833, p. 1.
[12] *The Staffordshire Advertiser,* 11 February 1837, p. 4.



Key:	A – Eve Hill House, home of Isaac Badger
	B – Hill House, home of Thomas Badger
	C – Badger's Court
	D – Phoenix Glass Works (Badgers)

Figure A1.2. Map of the centre of Dudley showing places associated with the Badger family.[13]

[13] The map is extracted from J. Treasure, *Plan of the Town of Dudley & its Environs* (n.p., c.1835).

The map also shows a court called Badger's Square, near to Isaac Badger's house. Badger's Square was presumably built by their father and remained in the possession of one or other of the brothers. This court was one of those heavily criticised for insanitary conditions by the government inspector, William Lee in 1851 and led to the Badgers being described as 'slum landlords' by George Barnsby.[14]

Through their wealth and physical presence in the town, the Badger brothers dominated many aspects of life in Dudley. In his obituary in 1856, Thomas was described as 'a staunch Tory and upholder of the established church' and a magistrate for Staffordshire and Worcestershire.[15] He had been the chief magistrate officiating in Dudley for many years. His obituary also noted that he had been 'the chairman of the Turnpike Trust for the whole of the roads in the district' for over thirty years.[16] Both brothers were Town Commissioners and Isaac also became a magistrate, although some years later than Thomas. Isaac, every bit as staunch a Tory and Anglican as his brother, involved himself in every sphere of political influence in Dudley, including the parish vestry and the court leet. He derived much of his influence from dominating the Dudley Union Board of Guardians from its inception in 1836 till near his death in 1860. Isaac disapproved of the Board of Health but when it was established, he and his nephew, Thomas junior were elected to the board. Always self-confident and often combative, the

[14] In 1851 the property belonged to Isaac Badger. W. Lee, *Report to the General Board of Health on a Preliminary Inquiry into the Sewerage, Drainage and Supply of Water, and the Sanitary Condition of the Inhabitants of the Parish of Dudley in the County of Worcester* (London, 1852), p. 79; G.J. Barnsby, *Social Conditions of the Black Country,* 1800-1900 (Wolverhampton, 1980), p. 54.
[15] *The Worcestershire Chronicle,* 20 August 1856, p. 3.
[16] Ibid.

Badger brothers were disliked enormously by reformers and Liberals. However, the brothers enjoyed a considerable popular following, particularly from fellow Tories, but also because they were large employers, and many people would have given them credit for continuing to live in the town. Of the four brothers, only Thomas married. As none of his sons married, the death of Thomas junior in 1866 signalled the end of Dudley's Badger dynasty, although the brothers' widowed sister, Eliza Green, continued to live in Isaac's house until her death in 1870.

A2. Barrs, Frederick William George (1802-1875), Chairman of the Dudley Union Board of Guardians

Frederick Barrs drew most of his religious and political views from his father, the Reverend George Barrs, who also established the family's fortune by marrying a rich young widow. George left Norfolk to become the curate of Rowley Regis in 1800 and in August 1801 he married Mary, the widow of John Haden of Haden Hill, an important landowner in the parish. Mary had a daughter, Anne Eliza, from her first marriage but Anne died unmarried in 1876, and the rich estate devolved to the Barrs family who had already been exploiting its mineral wealth. Frederick, who was George and Mary's eldest son, described himself on the 1851 census return as 'land and mine proprietor'. Frederick inherited an evangelical Protestant zeal from his father, whose views Frederick described as 'Calvinistic'. After his father's death, Frederick and his family gave financial and other support to Spring Meadow Baptist Chapel, Old Hill, although Frederick did not attend there

as regularly as did some family members.[17] Frederick also inherited his father's anti-Catholicism, and in a memoir, Frederick proudly claimed that his father devoted one sermon a month to preaching against 'the Papal Apostasy' and that 'Damnable Idolatry' was not 'permitted to get footing within the parish'.[18] Both father and son were Tories and shared the same attitude to the reform agitation, believing it was led by 'dissent and Popery in unholy union'.[19]

Frederick followed his father as a Dudley Union Poor Law Guardian representing Rowley Regis from 1842 till his death in 1875. He worked his way up from deputy vice-chairman and vice-chairman till he replaced Isaac Badger as chairman when Badger succumbed to ill health in 1859. Shortly afterwards, Barrs was made a JP. Originally, he sat with the Dudley magistrates but latterly served mainly on the Old Hill bench. Although he lived at Haden Hill, five miles from Dudley, he counted Dudley's residents as his 'fellow-townsmen'.[20] Barrs was also a sometime director of the Dudley and West Bromwich Banking Company. For many years Barrs was re-appointed chairman of the Board of Guardians without opposition but in April 1870, when he was nominated once more, there was a successful challenge to his re-appointment. The newspaper report did not mention any policy or political arguments against him but amongst those pressing for change was Elliott Hollier, one of Dudley's leading Liberals. Rather than anything

[17] The implication is that the Anglican clergy in Rowley Regis after George Barrs were not sufficiently Calvinistic. F.W.G. Barrs, 'Memoir', in G. Barrs, *Four Sermons…to which is Affixed a Brief Memoir of his Life by his Son….* 2nd ed. (Birmingham, 1879), pp. xii-xxxviii, especially p. xviii; *The Earthen Vessel and Christian Record,* Volume 32 (1876), p. 33; *The Centenary History of Ebenezer Chapel, Station Road, Old Hill,* History of the Chapel - Ebenezer Baptist Chapel (ebenezeroldhill.org.uk)) [accessed 16 October 2023].
[18] F.W.G. Barrs, 'Memoir', p. xxiv.
[19] Ibid., p. xxv.
[20] *The Birmingham Daily Gazette,* 12 November 1867, p. 4.

to do with policy, Barrs was accused of shifting work onto others, showing irritability and being disrespectful to other Guardians. Some of those present merely argued that the role of chairman should not be seen as 'a life appointment'.[21]

Despite his high public profile, comparatively little is known of Barrs's private life. He lived at Haden Hill in what was later known as the Old Hall, which had come to his father through his marriage. Frederick married Elizabeth Ann Spiers in April 1835, but she died the following year. He married again in 1838 to a widow named Mary Hill. Both marriages were childless, but Frederick and his wife helped to rear Frederick's sister's children.[22] After Barrs died in 1875, Mary lived in the Old Hall till her death in 1904, a reclusive but wealthy widow.[23]

A3. Benbow, John (1769-1855), lawyer and MP

John Benbow was the youngest son of John Benbow, a gentleman of Ribbesford, Worcestershire. The younger Benbow was admitted to Gray's Inn on 26 June 1792 but moved to Lincoln's Inn on 12 February 1794.[24] Whilst a partner in a London firm of solicitors, Benbow worked for the Ward family as early as 1804.[25] In various capacities, he continued to work for them for half a century. The

[21] In the vote, Barrs was defeated by fourteen to eight with one abstention. *Aris's Birmingham Gazette,* 23 April 1870, p. 8.
[22] Like Frederick, his younger brother, Alfred was also childless but their sister Emiline who married the iron manufacturer Benjamin Best, had children who were the eventual heirs to the Haden Hill estate. Both Emiline and Benjamin died comparatively young, after which their children went to live with Frederick and Mary Barrs.
[23] Mary's bequests give a useful overview of the family at the time of her death: *The London Evening Standard,* 20 September 1904, p. 7.
[24] Information supplied by the archivists of Gray's and Lincoln's Inns.
[25] The firm was Alban & Benbow. The two men seem to have been related by marriage, with Benbow probably being Alban's father-in-law. DALHS, DE/4/2/1/21. Letters received by Benbow &

degree of trust in which Benbow was held by the first Earl of Dudley is clear from the latter's will, drawn up in 1831.[26] Benbow was one of the executors, a beneficiary of £5,000, one of two men appointed to pay annuities to the Earl's mistresses and, most significantly of all, Benbow was one of six trustees put in charge of the large Dudley estate for twelve years after the earl's death. Furthermore, with the other trustees – namely, the Earl of Aberdeen, James Abercromby MP, Henry Phillpotts (the Bishop of Exeter), E.J. Littleton (later Lord Hatherton), and Francis Downing (for a time the mines' agent of the Dudley estate) – all either unable or unwilling to spend much time overseeing such a complex undertaking, by far the largest share of running the estate for the twelve years that the trust operated fell to Benbow. Hatherton acknowledged Benbow's key role, apparently calling him 'the active manager of Lord Ward's estates'.[27] The development of the estate in the twelve years of the trust (1833-1845) has been better recognised as the estate papers have become available to historians.[28] Benbow was a solid advocate of the Church of England in religion and a Conservative in politics. In 1837 he made an unsuccessful bid as a candidate for the parliamentary borough of Wolverhampton.[29] The two sitting 'free-trade' MPs were well ensconced, perhaps explaining why none of the more high-powered Conservative politicians stood. Benbow and his fellow candidate, Captain Ryder Burton, claimed to be independent but it is clear that they were being endorsed by

---

Alban from Thomas Brettelll and Booth & Haslewood on estate business, with papers relating to the position of the settled estates, 1804.

[26] The National Archives (TNA), PROB 11/1821/159, Will of the Right Honourable John William, Earl of Dudley, 17 September 1833,

[27] *Berrow's Worcester Journal,* 1 February 1844, p. 4.

[28] DALHS, DE, The Earl of Dudley Estate Collection, Catalogue introduction and administrative history note.

[29] Wolverhampton Archives, DX-634/14, Handbill, To the worthy and independent electors of the borough of Wolverhampton (Wolverhampton, 1837).

local Conservatives, particularly ironmasters like G.B. Thorneycroft and Philip Williams.[30] Much was made of Benbow's position in the Dudley estate and he had the backing of the Ward family.

The trust ran till March 1845 when Lord Ward was finally able to take full control of his estate, thus releasing Benbow from most of his trustee's duties. However, before the trust ended, a new role was found for Benbow. Thomas Hawkes, the Dudley MP, had been virtually bankrupt for some years and was spending most of his time living on the continent to avoid creditors. Hawkes finally agreed to relinquish his seat in August 1844 and, in a snap by-election, Benbow was installed as the new Conservative MP for Dudley, despite being well into his seventies. Although Benbow again claimed to be 'independent' he was clearly in Parliament as Lord Ward's nominee. The mid-1840s were the time of the so-called 'railway mania' and Benbow was later accused of furthering railway development that benefited the estate rather than the town.[31] With Ward's backing, Benbow was re-elected as Dudley's MP in 1847 and 1852, remaining in that position till his death in 1855. Benbow was not a good public speaker and in his eleven years in Parliament never gave a speech, but he remained one of Ward's most loyal agents.[32] Ward increasingly allied himself to Robert Peel, which probably explains Benbow's otherwise unexpected support for the Maynooth grant in 1845 and for repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846. In his later years, old, frail and in poor health, Benbow rarely attended the Commons, but Ward remained loyal to the Benbow

---

[30] Wolverhampton Archives, DX-584/5/38, Broadsheet, To the electors of the Borough of Wolverhampton. Fellow countrymen! (Wolverhampton, 1837); *The Staffordshire Advertiser,* 29 July 1837, p. 3.
[31] Anonymous handbills quoted in: C.F.G. Clark (comp. & ed.), *The Curiosities of Dudley and the Black Country from 1800 to 1860 etc.* (Birmingham, 1881), pp. 102-105.
[32] *Hansard*: Mr John Benbow (Hansard) [accessed 23 May 2023].

family, appointing his son, John Henry Benbow, to succeed his father as chief legal agent for the Dudley estate.

A4. Blackwell, Samuel Holden (1816-68), ironmaster

Samuel Holden Blackwell's father, John, changed career, from being a shopkeeper to become a partner in the firm which owned Russell's Hall ironworks, the closest ironworks to the centre of Dudley.[33] Having been born in Henwick, near Worcester, Samuel moved to Dudley and joined the firm, working his way up from clerk to managing partner. His father left the business in 1847. Samuel's brother, John Kenyon Blackwell, was a partner for a time, but he became better known as one of the early government mines inspectors. As well as being an industrialist, S.H. Blackwell was a geologist with an interest in science and he helped search for coal and iron deposits. One of his widest known achievements was putting together an impressive collection of samples of British iron ores for the Great Exhibition of 1851. Blackwell was a Unitarian, and he held the same liberal, political beliefs as two of Dudley's leading Unitarians: their minister John Palmer and the solicitor Charles Twamley. In both industry and political matters, Blackwell also worked closely with another early Liberal, the ironmaster A.B. Cochrane. Blackwell supported many liberal causes, such as the Anti-Corn Law League, and several educational or self-help initiatives, including the Mechanics' Institution, the Dudley Freehold Land Society, and the Model Dwellings initiative.[34] He also

[33] There were various partnerships, particularly as their business expanded, including: Blackwell and Jones; Blackwell, Oakes & Jones and Blackwell, Jones & Oakes.
[34] The Model Dwellings initiative was aimed at improving the standard of working-class homes. Blackwell was one of the prime movers in the Dudley branch of the Metropolitan Association for Improving the Dwellings of the Industrial Classes and, in January 1855, 'hoisted the inscription stone' onto the only block of buildings that was completed. DALHS has photographs of terrace and

chaired early meetings of what became the South Staffordshire Water Works Company.[35] In 1850 Blackwell was amongst the first Liberals in Dudley to be made magistrates. When the Liberals did well, briefly in the early 1850s, Blackwell was elected to both the new Dudey Local Board of Health and the Board of Guardians for the Dudley Poor Law Union. Also, in 1853, he allied with Cochrane to force the vicar, Dr Browne, to accept a measure of voluntaryism instead of compulsory church rates. At the height of his industrial activity, Blackwell owned blast furnaces, forges and rolling mills in the Dudley district as well as coal mines in Monmouthshire and iron ore mines in the Forest of Dean, Exmoor and other places. However, contemporaries were aware that he had expanded too much and over-reached himself. When it came, in 1860, Blackwell's crash was sufficiently great to undermine the bank he used, the Birmingham Banking Company, which never fully recovered and failed in 1866.[36] Blackwell was particularly close to the Twamley family and married Charles's sister Harriet in 1845, but she died the following year and Blackwell remained a widower. In the final months of his life, he lived with his sister-in-law, Ann Twamley in Edgbaston, but he was buried in the Unitarian burial ground in Dudley.

---

plaque before demolition. *The Worcestershire Chronicle,* 17 January 1855, p. 6; DALHS, pst/3763 & 3764, Street sequence of photographs, The Terrace (Dock Lane), 1959.

[35] J. Van Leerzem and B. Williams, *The history of South Staffordshire Waterworks Company, 1853-1989* (South Staffordshire Water Archives online documents, (n.d.), p. 2. http://www.southstaffswaterarchives.org.uk/SSHISTRY2.pdf

[36] *The Birmingham Daily Post,* 12 November 1860, p. 2 & 14 July 1866, p. 3; *The Birmingham Journal,* 28 March 1868, Supplement, pp. 2-3.

A5. Bond, Reverend James Isidore (1819-1887), Roman Catholic priest

The best source of family information about Reverend James Bond, who was the Catholic parish priest in Dudley from late 1858 to August 1887, is an obituary of his brother, Father Vincent Bond.[37] The Bond family were from Cornwall, and are evidence of the revival of Catholicism in Britain prompted by religious houses fleeing the continent at the end of the eighteenth century. Bond's father had worked as a gardener at one of these, a convent of Carmelite nuns in Mawgan and, under their influence, he and his wife converted to Catholicism. Of their ten children who survived to adulthood, all the men, including James, were destined for the priesthood and all the women joined religious orders.[38] James Isidore Bond was educated at the Venerable English College, Rome and then at St Mary's College, Oscott from 1841 to 1844. He was ordained on 22 November 1846 and remained at Oscott as a Prefect of Discipline from 1847 to 1850. After spending a few years each at St Chad's, Birmingham, Wolverhampton and St James's, Spanish Place in London, Bond was appointed to Dudley in October 1858. He arrived in a turbulent month for Dudley's Catholics as the self-styled Baron de Camin, a Protestant agitator, had made his first visit to the town. A group of Dudley's Irish Catholics had prepared to fight him, but the authorities had prevented trouble breaking out. Bond's predecessor, who was Irish, had stayed for only two and a half years, but Bond remained Dudley's Catholic priest till he died in 1887. He particularly focused on improving the education of Catholic

[37] Information has also been supplied by the Archdiocese of Birmingham Archives. 'Obituary: Father Vincent Bond' in *Letters and Notices* (Society of Jesus), Vol. 21 (1892), pp. 440-447.
[38] All the men who reached adulthood trained as priests, but their brother John, who had taken his first vows, died shortly before his scheduled ordination: 'Obituary, Father Vincent Bond', pp. 440-447.

schoolchildren in the parish. The census of education in 1851 had shown that the number of Catholic children being educated was behind other denominations, both in Sunday schools and day schools.[39] Bond continued fund-raising to improve Catholic education in Dudley during the unrest of 1867/68 caused by William Murphy's activities. Some well-wishing Protestants supported Bond's fundraising events and Bond defended the teaching sisters (Sisters of Charity and Sisters of Mercy) from the disparaging remarks made about them by Murphy and his acolytes.[40] The fund-raising paid off and a new school, St Joseph's, was opened in 1871.[41] Later that year, when Bond celebrated his jubilee of twenty-five years since ordination, two of his brothers, the Reverends William and Vincent Bond, took part in the grand high mass, followed by a public dinner and concert.[42] At his funeral, in 1887, newspaper reports commented on the 'considerable number of Protestants' who attended the service, including the vicar and senior members of the council. Bond's brothers, William and Vincent were again present.[43]

A6. Booker, Reverend Luke (1762-1835), Vicar of Dudley

Luke Booker published a variety of material from the mid-1780s onwards and he featured in biographical dictionaries during his lifetime but those, and subsequent articles, including an entry in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* contain information that is inaccurate or impossible to verify. His obituary in *The*

[39] Great Britain, Census Office, *Census of Great Britain, 1851: Education in England and Wales: Report and Tables* (London, 1854), pl. clx & clxxxviii.
[40] *The Tablet,* 18 January 1868, p. 4.
[41] *Church of Our Lady and St Thomas of Canterbury, Dudley: A Brief History* (Birmingham, 1965) [n.p.].
[42] *The Advertiser for Brierley Hill, Stourbridge, Kidderminster, Dudley etc.,* 25 November 1871, p. 6.
[43] *Stourbridge, Brierley Hill and County Express,* 3 September 1887, p. 5.

Gentleman's Magazine, seems to have been written by a friend.[44] It gives no family information but lists his church appointments and chief publications and offers an assessment of Booker's qualities. There are few records of Booker's early life, and his apparent lack of schooling makes it a mystery as to how he acquired a classical education. What can be corroborated is that he was born in Nottingham in 1762, a son of Matthew Booker who is most reliably described as a baker.[45] Both father and son married four times but one of the commonest claims, that Matthew Booker senior named his sons after the four evangelists, cannot be fully verified.[46] The eldest son, Matthew junior, was fifteen years older than Luke and, strictly speaking, a half-brother, but he seems to have been a major influence on Luke whose career echoed that of the older man. Both were described as schoolmasters before they were ordained. Matthew may well have been the Matthew Booker who ran a private school at Bramcote between Nottingham and Derby, which ceased advertising in 1773, the year that Matthew Booker (Luke's brother) was ordained.[47] Rather unusually, Luke, who had no degree, was ordained (as a deacon) 'without a title' in June 1785.[48] Following that, he took some services at St Peter's in Wolverhampton where Matthew was coming to the

[44] 'Obituary - Rev. Luke Booker, L.L.D.', in *The Gentleman's Magazine,* Volume V, new series (January 1836), pp. 93-94.
[45] Unless Matthew Booker senior had a late change of job, all the articles, including *ODNB*, which claim he was a schoolmaster, are incorrect. However, he seems to have played a role in his parish because when he died in 1784, it was said of him that he was 'many years assistant to the Parish of St Mary', Nottingham. *The Northampton Mercury,* 25 October 1784, p. 3.
[46] Matthew, Mark and Luke are verifiable, but John is more difficult, particularly as there were other families named Booker in Nottingham at the time and the parish registers are difficult to read in many places.
[47] The last traced advertisement is: *Drewery's Derby Mercury,* 8 January 1773, p. 4.
[48] 'Obituary - Rev. Luke Booker, L.L.D.'; ordination details: Ordination Record, ID 76269 (theclergydatabase.org.uk) [accessed 20 October 2023].

end of an appointment as Lecturer (an ecclesiastical title).[49] However, no corroboratory evidence has been found that Luke was also appointed as a Lecturer, as is commonly claimed.[50] If he was, it could only have been a short appointment because he was acting as curate in Oldswinford by at least June 1786. After finishing at Oldswinford, Luke also seems to have acted as curate at Ipsley in 1788 before being ordained as a priest by Richard Hurd, Bishop of Worcester, who had already appointed Matthew to the Free Charity School, Alcester.[51] Unlike his ordination as a deacon, Luke's ordination as a priest in June 1789 brought with it an appointment as curate to both Dudley Free Grammar School and 'St Edmund's chapel' in Dudley.[52] Although subordinate to the vicar, Joseph Cartwright, Booker played an active part in the town. In 1794, with the post of headmaster of the Grammar School having become vacant, Booker was elected 'unanimously' and continued as both headmaster and minister of St Edmund's until 1805/06.[53]

Booker soon put his improved prospects to good effect and in January 1796 made the first of his marriages. This was to Ann Blakemore, the sister of Richard Blakemore, a major ironmaster and related to several other leading industrialists. In May 1805 Blakemore presented Booker to the living of Tedstone Delamere, a small parish in Herefordshire. The Bookers did not move immediately, and Ann died the following year, possibly before they moved. Recently widowed and with

---

49 When signing marriage registers, lecturers like Matthew usually added 'Lecturer' after their signature, but Luke never gave his status as more than 'Clerk'. Wolverhampton Archives, Wolverhampton St Peter's, Parish Registers, marriages, 1538-1837.
50 See, for instance, his obituary: 'Obituary - Rev. Luke Booker, L.L.D.'.
51 *Aris's Birmingham Gazette,* 26 May 1788, p. 3 & 2 June 1788, p. 3; CCEd: Appointment Evidence Record, ID 84629 (theclergydatabase.org.uk) [accessed 27 May 2023].
52 CCEd: Appointment Evidence Record, ID 84721 (theclergydatabase.org.uk) [accessed 27 May 2023].
53 *Aris's Birmingham Gazette,* 14 April 1794, p. 3.

relatives having taken his children into their care, Booker found Tedstone very quiet. He kept in touch with Dudley, and he was repaid in 1811 when, on the death of Joseph Cartwright, Viscount Dudley and Ward offered Booker the Dudley living, which he accepted with alacrity. He only held two livings, so subsequent charges of pluralism, which were not made in his lifetime, hinge on whether he retained Tedstone while he was Vicar of Dudley. Some contemporary sources are confused but the ecclesiastical records are clear; he was presented to the Dudley living in December 1811 and resigned Tedstone Delamere in April 1812.[54]

Returning to Dudley as its vicar, he brought with him his second wife, Phyllis Ann, described as 'a co-heiress'. Booker also retained ownership of a field that he had bought in Tedstone. This gave him a vote in Herefordshire county elections. Booker opposed extending the parliamentary franchise but prized his own rights to vote which he kept for Nottingham, Staffordshire, Herefordshire and Worcestershire. Booker was not wealthy, unlike his predecessors. When he moved into the vicarage it was said to be the first time it had been lived in for fifty years. Booker was appointed a magistrate shortly after becoming vicar, but he seems to have decided that sitting on the magistrate's bench detracted from his more spiritual role and after about 1816 he largely confined his magisterial activities to emergencies such as calling for military assistance in the face of imminent disturbances.[55] In his time as vicar, Booker did not publish as much as in his younger years. However, he soon became embroiled in the re-building of the

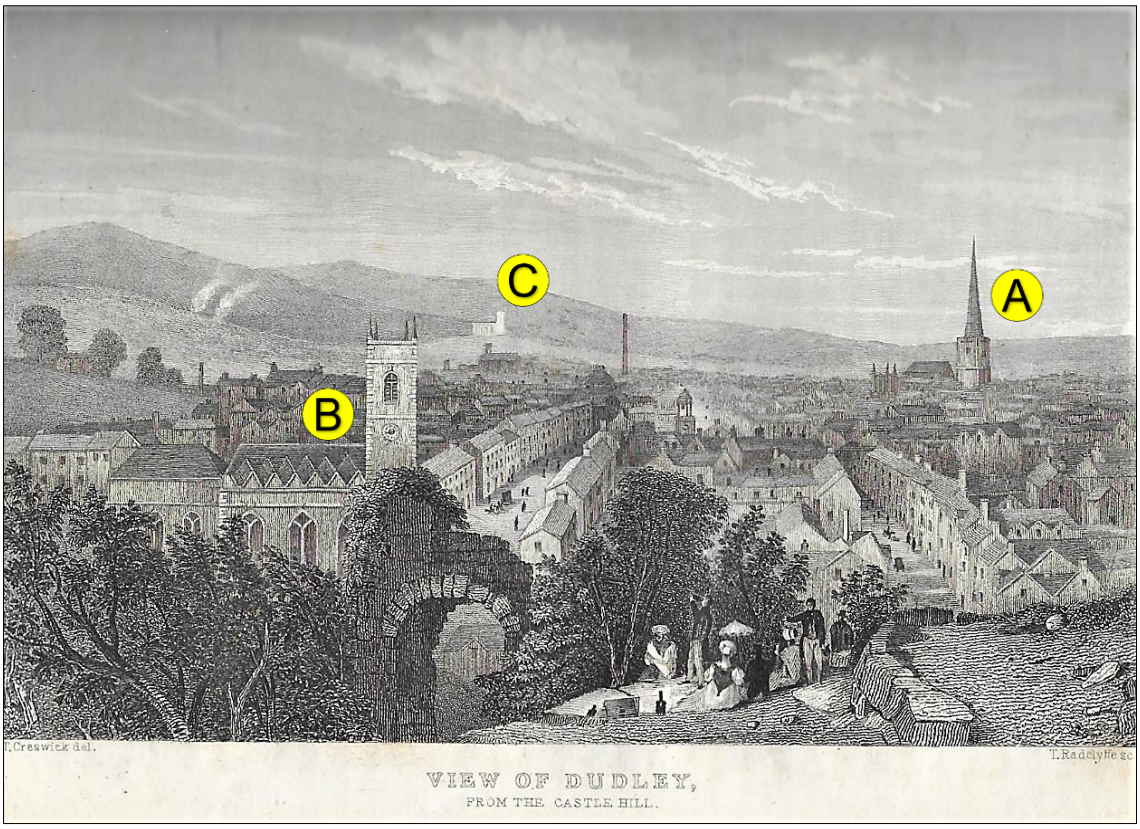
[54] CCEd: Vacancy Evidence Record, ID 216321 (theclergydatabase.org.uk) [accessed 2 November 2023].
[55] There are no newspaper records of Booker committing or convicting anyone in a scheduled court sitting later than December 1816: *Aris's Birmingham Gazette,* 9 December 1816, p. 3. See also a letter from an anonymous supporter: *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 23 June 1824, p. 3.

parish church which necessitated increased fund-raising and, as his contribution, Booker published two volumes of sermons. His second wife and his brother Matthew, who had moved to Lye, a few miles from Dudley, died within a few weeks of each other in 1817. Eighteen months later, Booker married again, this time Elizabeth Grant. Contemporaries commented on Booker marrying four young, virginal brides but they did not remark that he seems to have targeted similar types of women – either the younger daughters of wealthy men or women with wealth and no close guardian. After Elizabeth's death, a court case known as 'Booker v Allen' tried to extract money from her relatives for the children of the marriage and did not show Booker in a very good light.[56]

Although, in church terms, Booker is chiefly remembered for the re-building of St Thomas's, he was just as proud to have procured a church for Netherton, especially as it was mainly funded by government grant for which he had long campaigned. It was the first new Anglican foundation in the parish since mediaeval times. The drawing in figure A6.1 shows Booker's three churches with the new St Andrew's at Netherton perched on a hill in the distance.[57] The land was donated by the Ward family and the church was built on a hilltop at some distance from the inhabited part of Netherton. It was clearly intended to dominate the landscape rather than be convenient for the people. A satirical poem had ridiculed the stone-laying ceremony for the new St Thomas's which had included a procession from St

[56] Technically, the case was brought in the name of the children, but it was clearly at Booker's instigation. J.A. Dunlap, *Reports of Cases Decided in the High Court of Chancery*…Vol. 13 (New York, 1842), pp. 29-45.
[57] T. Radclyffe after T. Creswick; *View of Dudley from the Castle Hill,* in W. Hawkes Smith, *Birmingham and its Vicinity, as a Manufacturing & Commercial District* (London and Birmingham, 1836) opposite p. 44.

Edmund's up to St Thomas's.[58] However, Booker was not deterred and the procession from the town to the site of St Andrew's was even more elaborate. Booker performed the stone-laying ceremony himself.[59]



Key:	A: St Thomas's, the parish church
	B: St Edmund, King and Martyr.
	C: St Andrew's at Netherton

Figure A6.1. View of Dudley from the Castle Hill, T. Radclyffe after T. Creswick, c. 1836. This print shows Dudley's three Anglican churches.[60]

[58] *The Procession and the Bells, or the Rival Poets: Inscribed to the Inhabitants of Dudley* (Walsall, 1818).
[59] *The Staffordshire Advertiser,* 8 December 1827, p. 3. The silver trowel he was presented with for the occasion became a treasured possession and was mentioned in his will: The National Archives, PROB 11/1854/360, Records of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, Will of Reverend, Doctor Luke Booker, Doctor of Laws, late Vicar of Dudley, Worcestershire.
[60] T. Radclyffe after T. Creswick, *View of Dudley from the Castle Hill,* by in W. Hawkes Smith, *Birmingham and its Vicinity, as a Manufacturing & Commercial District* (London and Birmingham, 1836) opposite p. 44.

When parliamentary reform began to look inevitable, Booker changed tack from opposing all reform to calling for ‘moderate reform’, but he was never reconciled to the Reform Act of 1832 and blamed it for divisions in the borough. One of his last political acts was to suggest a petition to the government asking for Dudley borough to be disenfranchised.[61] He got no support, unsurprisingly because the Tories had just enjoyed a triumphant by-election in which the popular Thomas Hawkes had unseated John Campbell, the sitting MP. Furthermore, even if the borough had been abolished, the borough voters would have been eligible to vote in East Worcestershire elections, some of which had been rowdier in Dudley than the borough ones. There was no explanation given as to why Booker left Dudley about August 1835 and retired to live near Bristol. His retirement only lasted a few months as he died in October 1835. Booker had married his fourth wife, Elizabeth Barclay, in 1829 and they had one son, John Kay. One of the downsides of Booker’s marrying his last wife when he was sixty-seven years old was that she remained a widow for fifty-four years. Apparently not very well provided for, mother and son lived together till she died, and John only survived her by another eight years.[62] Although Luke Booker married four times, and all his wives had at least one child, only five of his children reached adulthood. He buried eight of them in his lifetime. The son who did best in life, Thomas William, was

[61] L. Booker, *A Friendly Address to the Inhabitants of Dudley with the Form of a Petition to the Legislature from Electors and Non-electors (Males and Females) Praying that the Elective Franchise may be Discontinued in the Parish* (Dudley, 2nd edition, 1835).
[62] John Kay Booker became a clergyman like his father but at a time when there were a lot of Anglican clergymen and not enough incumbencies, so he spent many years as an assistant curate.

adopted by his uncle Richard Blakemore for whom he became estates manager.[63] Although sermons and poetry predominate, Luke Booker left behind him a range of published works. His history of Dudley Castle is the one that has retained most interest.[64] A detailed bibliography of his printed works is given in *Bibliotheca Staffordiensis*, edited by Rupert Simms.[65] Some of Booker's lesser works have not survived.[66]

A7. Browne, Reverend Doctor James Caulfeild (1804-1870), Vicar of Dudley

James Caulfeild Browne was descended from two Irish aristocratic families, the Brownes and the Caulfeilds, but was himself born in Berkshire.[67] He was educated at Winchester College and Cambridge University, and later obtained a DCL from Oxford.[68] He was ordained at Ely in 1828.[69] After several fairly short placements, Browne became the Rector of Compton Martin in Somerset in 1840.[70] Without public explanation, in June 1845 Browne and Reverend William Henry Cartwright suddenly exchanged livings and Browne became the Vicar of Dudley, a position he held until his death in 1870. Cartwright had apparently alienated his

---

[63] Thomas William was a 'protectionist' MP for Herefordshire from 1850 till his death in 1858. Blakemore had no children and when he died in 1855 Thomas William added Blakemore to his name and inherited the estate.
[64] L. Booker, *A Descriptive and Historical Account of Dudley Castle, and its Surrounding Scenery* (London, 1825).
[65] R. Simms (comp.), *Bibliotheca Staffordiensis* (Lichfield, 1894), pp. 67-68.
[66] For instance, no copies have been traced of his address to the Dudley Loyal Association, which would have been helpful for this thesis. *An Address to the Dudley Loyal Association, Delivered at the Consecration of their Colours* (n.d., c. 1798).
[67] On the Browne side his grandfather was John Browne, 1st Baron Kilmaine, whilst on the Caulfeild side, his great grandfather was James Caulfeild, 3rd Viscount Charlemont. The Peerage: Person Page (thepeerage.com) [accessed 26 October 2023].
[68] DCL stands for Doctor of Civil Law. This was the term Oxford University used for what was more commonly known elsewhere as Doctor of Laws or LLD. *Aris's Birmingham Gazette,* 12 March 1870, p. 8.
[69] CCEd, Ordination Record, ID 21352 (theclergydatabase.org.uk) [accessed 4 October 2021].].
[70] List of rectors, St Michael the Archangel, Compton Martin.

congregation by trying to introduce what were thought to be Puseyite practices. Browne must have been a better judge of the mood of the day as he later 'surpliced' the choir without provoking a backlash.[71] Elliott Hollier, a sometime churchwarden at the parish church, claimed that Browne had gained considerably in financial terms from the exchange.[72] Browne brought a large family to Dudley, with his wife having their last child shortly after Browne took up his appointment.[73] His obituary names thirteen children with a marked preponderance of girls.[74] The effects of bad sanitation and pollution in the town caused Browne to be particularly concerned for the health of his children so he rented Oakham Cottage on higher ground outside the town and some of his family lived there.[75] When the cottage was re-let in 1854 the advertisement emphasised that it was in a 'healthy neighbourhood, entirely free from smoke'.[76] Browne was not above nepotism and, at the time of his death, two of the four livings in his gift were held by close relatives.[77]

Browne remained allied to his patrons, the Ward family, and made a point of praising their philanthropy towards the town.[78] Unlike his predecessors, Browne never became a magistrate, and he showed more long-term commitment to social

---

[71] A surpliced choir would have been regarded as Puseyite earlier on. 'Interview with Mr Elliot (sic) Hollier', *The Advertiser for Brierley Hill, Stourbridge, Dudley etc.* 22 June 1901, pp. 4-5, particularly p. 4.
[72] Hollier thought that Browne's income had increased from about £300 to £1,200 per annum. Ibid.
[73] The Peerage, Person Page (thepeerage.com) [accessed 26 October 2023].
[74] There were four boys and nine girls. *Aris's Birmingham Gazette,* 12 March 1870, p. 8.
[75] W. Lee, *Report to the General Board of Health on a Preliminary Inquiry into the Sewerage, Drainage and Supply of Water, and the Sanitary Condition of the Inhabitants of the Parish of Dudley in the County of Worcester* (London, 1852), pp. 58-59.
[76] 'Cottage' would be a misnomer nowadays as it had five bedrooms and stood in fifteen acres of land. *The Birmingham Journal,* 7 January 1854, p. 1.
[77] *The Gloucestershire Chronicle,* 19 March 1870, p. 3. Browne's son, J.G.C. Browne, was incumbent of St James's and his son-in-law, G.Y. Osborne was incumbent of St Edmund's. The Earl of Dudley would have had to approve the appointments.
[78] For instance: *The Express (London),* 29 July 1847, p. 3.

and educational matters than had Cartwright. In politics Browne was a Tory paternalist but the social policies he favoured aligned him more with Dudley's Liberals. He championed education for children and adults, health care, sanitary improvements and the greater relief of poverty. He was particularly associated with the opening and continued support for the Dispensary in Dudley and the inauguration of the Dudley School of Art, but he was also a strong supporter of the establishment of the Mechanics' Institution and the Model Dwellings initiative.[79] Browne was credited with instigating the government enquiry into the sanitary condition of Dudley. His evidence of the bad effects moving to Dudley had had on the health of members of his family was highlighted in the enquiry's report, and its recommendation that Dudley adopt the 1848 Public Health Act was accepted.[80] In the ensuing election for the first Dudley Local Board of Health, Browne was included on a slate of candidates dominated by leading Liberals such as S.H. Blackwell, Elliott Hollier, A.B. Cochrane, Thomas Lester, James Evers Swindell and Thomas and William Wood.[81] Browne topped the poll and became the first chairman of the board.[82] Although he had initially done well out of his association with the Liberals, when those Liberals subsequently lost power, Browne was defeated too.

In church matters Browne arrived in Dudley at a period of transition, with the ancient parish having been recently subdivided into districts. Although Browne

---

[79] Model Dwellings associations were part of an initiative to improve the standard of working-class homes. *Berrow's Worcester Journal,* 3 June 1854, p. 3; *The Staffordshire Sentinel etc.,* 31 March 1855, p. 5; *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 31 October 1855, p. 3.
[80] Lee, *Report to the General Board of Health* (1852), pp. 58-59.
[81] C.F.G. Clark (comp. & ed.), *The Curiosities of Dudley and the Black Country from 1800 to 1860 etc.* (Birmingham, 1881), p. 169; DALHS, Dudley Local Board of Health, minute book, June 1853-August 1853, 27 June 1853.
[82] Clark, *The Curiosities of Dudley and the Black Country,* p. 171.

was Vicar of Dudley and had some overall responsibility for all the districts, they soon evolved into independent parishes. Browne also inherited the problems caused by Cartwright alienating his congregation, meaning that no church rate had been set since February 1842.[83] Browne used a very legalistic approach to try to resolve the controversy. At vestry meetings he often refused to accept resolutions that aimed at setting no rate or a triflingly small amount. With this approach, Browne antagonised not just nonconformist opponents of church rates but also some Anglicans. Browne also showed a quick temper on occasions, not least when hitting a man whom he believed to have been lurking about the girls' toilets at one of his church schools.[84] Browne became increasingly frustrated with both the Board of Guardians and the Board of Health when they refused to spend money on what he thought were necessary improvements, sometimes threatening legal action but little came of it. For different reasons, he also managed to antagonise leading Anglicans such as Isaac Badger and A.B. Cochrane. In alliance with the Wards, Browne became one of the earliest supporters of incorporating the borough. In his later years he suffered badly from gout which may be why he welcomed the proximity of his son, Reverend John George Cotton Browne, as the minister of St Edmund's.

[83] A.J. Ware (ed.), *Dudley Parish Order Book, 1821-1856* (Dudley, typescript, 1991), pp. 99-101.
[84] The case went to the County Court and the jury were obliged to find Browne guilty but awarded the plaintiff only one farthing in compensation. He had asked for £10. *The Birmingham Journal,* 25 March 1848, p. 3.

A8. Campbell, Sir John (1779-1861), MP, later Lord Chancellor

John Campbell had a long and illustrious career after his connection with Dudley came to an abrupt end.[85] This piece focuses on his earlier career and his association with Dudley. The son of a minister in the Church of Scotland, Campbell was precocious and attended St Andrews University from the age of eleven.[86] He had been expected to follow his father's career but, after spending time in London as a tutor, Campbell switched to studying the law. He eked out his finances by writing for the press, including reviews and criticisms, but as journalism was often considered to be demeaning, Campbell turned to writing law reports.[87] He entered Lincoln's Inn in November 1800, and he was called to the bar in November 1806. As a junior barrister, he first worked in the Home circuit before moving to the Oxford circuit. Campbell was self-confident and ambitious, both for his professional career and in politics where he was a committed Whig. Two factors in particular reinforced Campbell's interest in politics: firstly, political patronage was essential for gaining promotion to the highest levels in the legal profession; and secondly, he held a long-standing interest in law reform.

Standing for the borough of Stafford in 1826, Campbell failed in his first attempt to enter Parliament. However, his legal career advanced when men more favourable to him took power and he was made a King's Counsel in June 1827.[88]

---

[85] For detail on his later life see: G.H. & V. Jones, 'Campbell, John, first Baron Campbell of St Andrews (1779-1861) lord chancellor', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (published 23 September 2004, version 3 January 2008) Campbell, John, first Baron Campbell of St Andrews (1779–1861), lord chancellor | Oxford Dictionary of National Biography [accessed 30 July 2024]; *Life of John, Lord Campbell, Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain; Consisting of a Selection from his Autobiography, Diary, and Letters*, edited by Mrs Hardcastle, 2 Vols (London, 1881), henceforth *The Life.*

[86] *The Life,* Vol. 1, p. 13.

[87] Jones, 'Campell, John'.

[88] *The Life,* Vol. 1, p.446.

In August that year, Samuel Cook of Dudley was tried at Worcester for seditious libel. Cook was fortunate to secure Campbell's services as his chief defence lawyer.[89] Campbell used a multi-stranded approach and showed a brutal streak in discrediting both the porter who had broken Cook's window to procure the allegedly seditious writing and the constable who had arranged it. Campbell emphasised the fact that the prosecution was brought forward privately, and it was not clear who had instigated it. He surmised that this was because higher authorities thought the case was not worth bothering with. This may well have been true as there were other occasions when the authorities in Dudley were keener to prosecute than was the Home Office (chapters 3 and 5). Campbell also tried a more complicated line of defence, that publishing a libel (which Cook was charged with) might be relevant if a bookseller had used a similar notice in his window because he sold books but as Cook was a draper there was no such connection.[90] Cook was merely bound over to keep the peace, but it is impossible to know how much the verdict owed to Campbell's expertise. Shortly after Cook's trial, Campbell, who was always ambitious both to improve his legal career and to rise in the political world, complained to his brother: 'Unfortunately the Oxford circuit is very obscure, and the public know nothing of it or me'.[91]

In the general election of 1830, Campbell stood again for the borough of Stafford. Not only was he successful, but he retained the seat in the general election called on the reform issue in 1831. In both elections he was opposed by

[89] *A Full Report of the Trial of Samuel Cook, Draper, Dudley, for an Alleged Seditious Libel, Tried at Worcester, August 1 1827 before Mr Justice Littledale* etc. (Dudley, 1827).
[90] *A Full Report of the Trial of Samuel Cook,* pp. 39-40 etc
[91] *The Life,* Vol. 1, p. 448.

the Dudley glass manufacturer, Thomas Hawkes. Although more interested in law reform than parliamentary reform, Campbell supported the Reform Bill and was relieved when it passed. E.J. Littleton (later Lord Hatherton) suggested Campbell for the new constituency of Dudley.[92] Campbell disliked the entrenched bribery and corruption in the Stafford borough and he was pleased to have the chance to stand for what he later termed a 'virgin constituency' where bribery was not endemic.[93] On his first visit to Dudley he reported staying with 'a great grocer in the town, my principal supporter'.[94] This was probably John Twamley who had the honour of proposing Campbell at the nominations. Campbell was swept to victory in the reform fervour of 1832 with his opponent, Sir Horace St Paul, conceding after the first day's poll. In discussing the pressure put on voters by the Dudley Estate (which supported Sir Horace), Campbell commented: 'If the franchise had been lower, we should have been beaten; but the ten-pounders are chiefly shopkeepers and independent tradesmen, and set all threats at defiance.'[95] During the campaign, Campbell was made Solicitor-General.

Despite the excitement of the election in December 1832, Campbell did not remain long as Dudley's MP. His loss of popularity partly reflected disenchantment with the Whig government. For instance, the Irish Coercion Bill proved to be unpopular with Campbell's voters in Dudley. As a government law officer, Campell was forced to defend it, although when he first saw a copy of the Bill, he wrote privately: 'I read it with amazement and grief.'[96] Campbell also managed to

---

[92] Staffordshire Record Office (SRO), D260/M/F/5/27/53, p. 162, Hatherton correspondence, E.J. Littleton to Rev. W. Leigh (1830-1832), 16 June 1832
[93] *The Life,* Vol. 2, p. 43.
[94] *The Life,* Vol. 2, p. 21.
[95] *The Life,* Vol. 2, p. 17.
[96] *The Life,* Vol. 2, p. 27.

energise the Tories by apparently criticising Dudley's magistrates (chapter 5). On 22 February 1834 Campbell was promoted to Attorney-General and by what he called 'an absurd law' he had to fight a by-election in Dudley.[97] Campbell found himself less favourably received and realised he was heading for defeat. He was again faced by the man he had twice defeated in Stafford, Thomas Hawkes, whom Campbell described as 'a good-natured, silly, harmless fellow'.[98] Crucially, however, Hawkes was a popular local glass manufacturer and magistrate, strongly backed by the local Tories. This time it was Campbell who had to concede before the end of polling and he was advised to leave town as the best way to quell the riot that was developing.[99] He was later returned for a seat in Edinburgh which he retained until he was elevated to the Lords in 1841. His career continued to advance when the Whigs were in power but stalled under Conservative administrations.

A9. Cartwright family

Joseph Cartwright (1744-1811), Vicar of Dudley
Cornelius Cartwright (1780-1867), surgeon (son of above)
William Henry Cartwright (1799-1880), Vicar of Dudley (grandson of Joseph)

Reverend Joseph Cartwright

In the eighteenth century, the Cartwrights were one of the leading families in the Dudley area and they were closely inter-married with similar families such as

[97] *The Life,* Vol. 2, p. 41.
[98] *The Life,* Vol. 2, p. 42.
[99] *The Life,* Vol. 2, p. 43,

those of Antrobus and Brettell. Their social standing was reinforced by wealth from industrial activity.[100] Joseph gained the patronage of the Ward family and on occasion seemed to act as their agent.[101] He worked his way up through lesser church appointments in both Dudley and Sedgley before being made Vicar of Dudley in 1779.[102] The Ward family's dominance, combined with a lack of minor gentry and a shortage of other figures of authority, all resulted in the part played by the vicar becoming more important. Cartwright was made a magistrate for both Staffordshire and Worcestershire and in that role, he rode out to help prevent the Priestley riots spreading in 1791. At a subsequent public meeting in Birmingham, he was one of those praised for his efforts.[103] Cartwright worked with Viscount Dudley and Ward to enhance Dudley as a business centre and help cement it into the Tory stronghold it became. An early initiative was the building of the Dudley Arms Hotel, beginning in 1786. Paid for by subscriptions, the hotel was conceived as a place where important men could meet and transact business. The Wards took the largest number of shares with the next greatest going to the wealthy Finch family, whilst Cartwright took two shares (£100).[104] It soon became the town's Tory headquarters. Dudley was lacking in local government structures and although it is not known who petitioned for the Dudley Town Act of 1791, it fell to Cartwright to organise the establishment of the Town Commissioners' body which resulted from

[100] For instance, a mineral lease between the Cartwrights and the industrialist, James Foster of Stourbridge, shows them leasing him different grades of coal, slack, coke and ironstone. DALHS, DSCAM/2/1/24/1-2, Records of Messrs Slater and Camm, Dudley deeds, mineral lease, 1825.
[101] See, for instance, the letting of Tipton collieries: *Aris's Birmingham Gazette,* 5 August 1799, p. 2.
[102] The Clergy of the Church of England Database (CCEd.), Appointment Evidence Record, ID 53160 (theclergydatabase.org.uk) [accessed 3 August 2022].
[103] *Aris's Birmingham Gazette,* 15 August 1791, p. 3.
[104] *Articles for Building an Inn and Market-Place and Shambles in Dudley* (Wolverhampton, 1786), pp. 1-3 and the schedule, i-ii.

the act.[105] As another example of his standing in Dudley, in a banking crisis in 1793, Cartwright chaired a meeting to try and restore confidence in two local banks and, in the list of notables backing the resolutions, Cartwright's name was third, only behind the aristocrats, Ward and Foley. The Cartwright family did not reside in the vicarage and it is not clear where they did live. Cartwright's funeral in 1811 took place at Tetenhall Regis near Wolverhampton. Cartwright and his wife, Mary, had nine children.[106] Of their four sons, the first, Henry Antrobus, became an Anglican clergyman, the second, William Perry, joined the army and the third, Cornelius, became a surgeon.[107] The fourth son died aged seventeen. Of these four, only William Perry married and both he and his wife died in India, leaving an infant son, William Henry, who was Joseph's only grandchild bearing the Cartwright name.

Cornelius Cartwright

Joseph's third son, Cornelius was a surgeon. He had been apprenticed to the Wainwrights, who were Dudley's leading surgeons and the leaders of Dudley's Tories. All the Cartwright family were Tories, but unlike most of the family, Cornelius lived in Dudley. When the Lords Lieutenant began trying to widen the group of magistrates operating in Dudley, Cornelius was one of the first

---

[105] Great Britain, local and personal act, 31 George III, CAP LXXIX, *An Act for better Paving, Cleansing, Lighting, Watching, and otherwise improving the Town of Dudley in the County of Worcester, and for better Supplying the said Town with Water*, *1791* (Henceforth, Dudley Town Act, 1791); DALHS, Town Commissioners' Minutes, Volume 1, 1791-1832, especially 21 June 1791.
[106] The records are confusing, but nine seems to be the correct number; two died in infancy and two as young adults.
[107] The Reverend Henry Antrobus Cartwright was briefly the Vicar of Sedgley which, like the family's other clerical appointments, would have been courtesy of the Ward family. However, he only remained in post comparatively briefly, from May 1813 till resigning in November 1816. There are no records of his working again. CCEd: Appointment Evidence Record, ID 111292 (theclergydatabase.org.uk) [accessed 28 October 2023].

professional men to be appointed, becoming a magistrate for Worcestershire in 1833 and Staffordshire in 1836. His nephew, William Henry was also appointed a magistrate in 1833. John Roberts, another surgeon, and Cornelius's brother-in-law, was similarly appointed in 1846, thus reinforcing the tightly related magistracy that proved difficult for opposition groups to challenge. On his death in 1867, Cornelius was described as 'chairman of the Dudley division of county magistrates' for many years and 'a sound Conservative'.[108] When Joseph died, his wife Mary became a wealthy widow and she used some of her money to set up clothing and educational charities for Dudley. Her sons, Henry Antrobus and Cornelius, as well as her daughter, Mary Anne Roberts, augmented these charities with further bequests when they died.[109]

Reverend William Henry Cartwright

Despite his family ties with Dudley, William was born far away in India where his father was a captain in the Bengal army.[110] William was left an orphan when his parents died from fever (likely to have been cholera) within a few days of each other in 1804.[111] Fortunately, the wider family was wealthy enough to support the child. He not only inherited his father's share of family wealth, but he was bequeathed money by several relatives.[112] Cartwright took a degree at Trinity

---

[108] *The Morning Herald,* 25 October 1867, p. 4.
[109] H.M. Light and M. Campbell-Curtis, 'Dudley', in J.W. Willis-Bund and W. Page (eds.), *The Victoria History of the County of Worcester*, Volume III (London, Archibald Constable & Co. Ltd., 1913), pp. 90-105, especially pp. 104-105.
[110] Note: the Bengal army was maintained by the East India Company and was not made directly responsible to the Crown till the Government of India Act of 1858. On some censuses William Henry gives his birthplace very vaguely as 'East Indies' but on one he states 'Cawnpore, India'.
[111] *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 1805, Vol. 75, part 2, p. 877. Note there are discrepancies between some accounts and the family memorial in St Thomas's, Dudley.
[112] DALHS, DSCAM/3/72, Messrs Slater & Camm, Solicitors, Wills etc., Will of Joseph Cartwright, 1810-1812.

College Oxford and was ordained in 1822.[113] His early appointments came courtesy of the Ward family and Cartwright was probably seen as the natural successor to Luke Booker when the latter died in 1835. Cartwright was thus given the position of Vicar of Dudley previously held by his grandfather.[114] Like Booker, Cartwright was a keen proponent of church rates, and he continued Booker's programme of church building, adding two new suburban churches to the parish by 1840. Cartwright also shared Booker's Tory politics, but he was even more of a hard-line magistrate than Booker had been. Cartwright regularly sat on the magistrates' bench with the industrialist, Thomas Badger, and they organised the military response to what they saw as the threat of Chartism, particularly in the general strike of 1842. Cartwright was unrepentant when he and Badger were censured for refusing bail to the Christian Chartist, Arthur O'Neill in 1842. For taking a strong line against perceived disorder, Cartwright and Badger were feted by the local gentry in 1843 but in the summer of 1845, Cartwright suddenly exchanged livings with James Caulfeild Browne, rector of Compton Martin in Somerset. Cartwright had apparently upset his congregation by trying to introduce practices widely condemned as 'Puseyite'. Cartwright's income from the living in Somerset was considerably less than he enjoyed in Dudley, but he had family wealth to fall back on.[115] There was another consolation for Cartwright; two months before moving he married for the first time. His wife was Harriet Rogers, a woman twenty-one years his junior. Having engineered the move to Somerset, the Cartwrights did not stay long in Compton Martin. Three years later Cartwright

[113] CCEd: Ordination Record, ID 42514 (theclergydatabase.org.uk) [accessed 20 November 2023].
[114] Ibid.
[115] 'Interview with Mr Elliot (sic) Hollier', *The Advertiser for Brierley Hill, Stourbridge, Dudley etc.* 22 June 1901, pp. 4-5, particularly p. 4.

became the rector of Butcombe, an even smaller Somerset village than Compton Martin and there they completed their family.[116] Cartwright still had friends and relatives in the Dudley area and returned occasionally for weddings and funerals.

A10. Clark, Charles Francis George (1818-1893), chemist

C.F.G. Clark, whose full first names are rarely used in print, is mainly known as the compiler of the first political chronicle of Dudley: *The Curiosities of Dudley and the Black Country.*[117] However, Clark is a good example of a newcomer to the town who made an impact. He was born in Yorkshire to a prosperous farming family, but the 1841 census shows Clark living in a lodging house in London. Amelia Hicks, a milliner from Cornwall lived in the same house and they married in June 1843. The marriage took place in London, but Clark gave his abode as Dudley, which is where they went to live, each setting up business in the High Street – he as a chemist and she as a milliner. He later claimed to be 'successor' to the well-known Dudley chemist, Squire Knight.[118] Bringing new ideas with him, in March 1845 Clark was the first to open a newsroom in Dudley. The subscription was ten shillings a year and Clark became secretary.[119] Although financial difficulties occasionally forced it to close, it lasted long enough to become one of the organisations that fed into the establishment of Dudley's Mechanics' Institution. Another innovation by Clark was to produce the first handy guidebook to Dudley

[116] According to the 1851 census, the population of Compton Martin was 577 and Butcombe's was 269. 'Census of Great Britain, 1851. Population Tables', *Command Papers*, Paper No. 1631, p. 76.
[117] C.F.G. Clark (comp. & ed.), *The Curiosities of Dudley and the Black Country, from 1800 to 1860 etc.* (Birmingham, 1881).
[118] See for instance, *The Birmingham Journal,* 5 June 1858, p. 5.
[119] *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 2 April 1845, p. 3.

Castle. He was said to have been 'induced' to publish it in 1846 and it was into its fifteenth edition by 1888.[120] *The Worcestershire Chronicle* described it as 'a waistcoat-pocket manual' and [a] 'useful little work' aimed at the growing number of visitors to the castle grounds and caverns.[121] Clark soon became a leading figure in the Loyal Rose and Thistle Lodge of Odd Fellows in Dudley. A detailed and enthusiastic lecture he gave as secretary suggests that he may well have been an 'Odd Fellow' before he moved to Dudley.[122] Clark was a Liberal in politics and several of Dudley's leading Liberals, such as Thomas Lester and Charles Twamley, joined the same lodge, as did the vicar, Reverend James Caulfeild Browne. The sudden and unexpected alliance between the Tories and radicals in the 1857 general election, which defeated Lord Ward's nominee, took many Liberals by surprise but Clark was one of those who rallied to support the Liberal, the honourable F.H.W.G. Calthorpe, in the East Worcestershire by-election of 1859.[123] Clark was also privy to the negotiations to secure a Liberal candidate for an unsuccessful attempt to unseat H.B. Sheridan, the alliance's MP, in a further general election in 1859.[124]

Clark took part in Dudley's Court Leet on occasion and in October 1859 he was elected high bailiff for the coming year.[125] Samuel Cook, the radical, made his usual protest about the proceedings, particularly complaining that Dudley's so-called mayor was only elected by the Court Leet. It was traditional that whoever held the post of high bailiff one year, became mayor the next, so Clark should

---

[120] *Stourbridge, Brierley Hill and County Express,* 1 May 1888, p. 7.
[121] *The Worcestershire Chronicle,* 9 October 1850, p. 6.
[122] *Berrow's Worcester Journal,* 2 April 1846, p. 3.
[123] *The Birmingham Daily Post,* 9 February 1859, p. 4.
[124] Clark, *The Curiosities of Dudley and the Black Country,* pp. 275-276.
[125] *The Birmingham Journal,* 29 October 1859, p. 8.

have expected to be made mayor the following year and the Manor Court records show that Clark did, indeed, become mayor in October 1860.[126] Unfortunately, there are no newspaper reports of that Court Leet meeting, but Cook would have had even more to protest about, if it had been realised that, at about the same time, Clark had taken his family to live in his native Yorkshire.[127] Without any personal documents, it is difficult to know why he left Dudley, but it may have been in response to a family inheritance. He retained the shop with a manager to run the business.[128] If Clark had hankered after the life of a farmer or a country gentleman, it does not seem to have been a success. His home, Heaton House near Boroughbridge, was auctioned off in September 1868 and Clark and his family returned to Dudley. Even while he was supposedly living in Yorkshire, Clark's name appears on the list of the committee trying to unseat Sheridan by electing F. Wyatt Truscott as a Liberal Conservative in 1865, so perhaps Clark missed the hurly-burly of Dudley's politics.[129] On his return to the town, he was soon elected to the council of the newly incorporated borough, firstly for St Edmund's ward and later for Castle ward.

In 1881 Clark published *The Curiosities.* The book is an interesting mix of 'printed items' which Clark said he had been collecting 'for the last 40 years'.[130]

---

[126] DALHS, DE/3/3/1/28, Manorial Records, Dudley, Court Book for the Manor of Dudley, 1798-1866, the Court Leet, 26 October 1860.
[127] There is no discussion of Clark's removal to Yorkshire in the West Midlands newspapers. He did not resign and made a few pronouncements in his role of mayor. He seems to have travelled back to Dudley on occasion.
[128] At least for a time, the manager was Clark's former apprentice, Thomas Weston Watkins. The 1861 census shows Watkins and his family living at the chemist's shop, but Clark is also there, presumably on a visit. DALHS, DSCAM/2/13/1/2, Records of Messrs Slater and Camm, miscellaneous deeds, apprenticeship indentures, Thomas Weston Watkins, 14 January 1845; Public Record Office, England and Wales Census, 1861 Dudley, St Edmund's District, High Street Dudley, p. 6: https://www.ancestry.com [accessed 15 February 2025].
[129] *The Birmingham Daily Post,* 1 July 1865, p. 2.
[130] Clark, *The Curiosities of Dudley and the Black Country,* preface (n.p.).

Several of the items pre-date his time in Dudley, whilst the collection is particularly strong for events, such as the 1857 election campaign when Clark was at his most active. The book has limitations for historians as it is not clear where many of the items were first published or whether some of them merely represent Clark's own opinions. Beginning in 1887, *The County Express* began a series of articles, 'Dudley in the Days of our Grandfathers', with much of the material being familiar from Clark's book. Some of the articles carry his initials and it is likely that he wrote them all. The first article, which is anonymous, describes coming to Dudley from London for the first time in November 1842 'in search of a business'.[131] At some point, Clark went into partnership with his son, also Charles Francis George Clark, but the partnership was dissolved in 1884 and the younger man went bankrupt in 1888, from which he struggled to recover.[132] Clark senior quit Dudley for Pedmore where he died in 1893, but he still owned several properties in Dudley.[133]

A11. Cochrane family, iron manufacturers

Alexander Brodie Cochrane, senior (1786-1853) and sons:

Alexander Brodie Cochrane, junior (1813-1864)

John Cochrane (1823-1891)

A.B. Cochrane\, junior's sons include:

Charles Cochrane (1835-1898)

[131] The timing would fit with this having been written by Clark, assuming that he was looking for a business a few months prior to his marriage. *Stourbridge, Brierley Hill and County Express,* 19 February 1887, p. 3.
[132] The original notice in *The Gazette* added that the dissolution of the partnership was caused by the retirement of the elder Clark. *The London Gazette,* 28 November 1884, Issue 25418, p. 5556 and various entries from 18 September 1888 to 29 April 1892; *The Birmingham Daily Post,* 14 September 1888, p. 6; *The Birmingham Daily Post,* 18 May 1892, p. 6.
[133] *The Advertiser, Brierley Hill, Stourbridge, Dudley etc.,* 4 August 1894, p. 1.

Joseph Bramah Cochrane (1840-1908)

The Cochrane family originated in Scotland but moved to the English Midlands to work in iron manufacturing. Alexander Brodie Cochrane, senior first lived in the Dudley area as manager of the colliery, furnace and foundry at Netherton belonging to Michael and William Grazebrook. Cochrane's son, Alexander Brodie Cochrane, junior gained experience under his father and was sent to work for the engineer John Joseph Bramah with whom he made his first iron-founding partnership at Bilston. Subsequently, Bramah and both Cochranes formed a partnership which leased land from the Dudley estate in 1841 and set up the Woodside Ironworks, not far from Grazebrooks. The area held several attractions, particularly the availability of coal, adjacent canals and local expertise. Cochrane senior left the business in 1842 and Bramah died in 1846, at which point Cochrane junior found new partners.[134] With the firm trading as 'Cochrane and Co.' it soon made a good name for itself, particularly with large-scale engineering jobs such as making the iron supports for the Crystal Palace in 1850.[135] The Cochranes were a big family and many of the men became engineers. John Cochrane (brother to A.B. Cochrane, junior) worked for Fox, Henderson and Co. and 'personally superintended' the erection of the Crystal Palace, before leaving the firm and joining that of his family.[136] The Cochranes also began to open businesses in other parts of the country, often overseen by various members of the

[134] *The Weekly Chronicle,* 13 August 1842, p. 8; Obituary: 'Mr Alexander Brodie Cochrane', *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Institute of Civil Engineers,* Volume 23 Issue 1864, Session: 1863-1864, p. 506.
[135] *The Express (London),* 30 October 1850, p. 3.
[136] John Cochrane later branched out on his own. He died by suicide in 1891. *County Express for Worcestershire and Staffordshire,* 3 October 1891, p. 8.

family.[137] The firm was aware of the value of good publicity and representatives of the higher echelons of local society were invited to visit the Woodside Works.[138] The illustration shows guests inspecting part of a railway bridge destined for India (figure A11.1).[139]

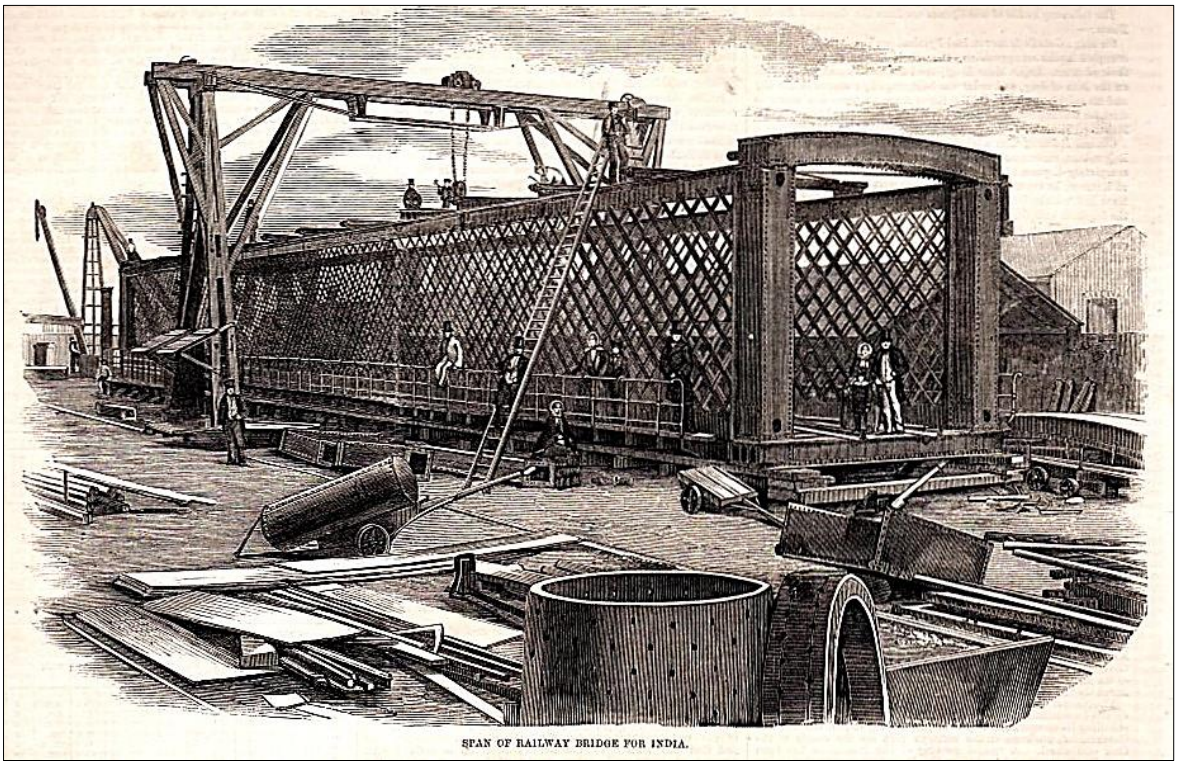


Figure A11.1. Construction of a railway bridge for India at Messrs. Cochrane and Co., Woodside, Dudley, *The Illustrated London News*, 18 September 1858.[140]

A.B. Cochrane junior was the first of the family to involve himself in community affairs and take part in the life of Dudley. He soon became one of the

[137] For instance: *Berrow's Worcester Journal,* 12 September 1857, p. 8; *The Birmingham Daily Post,* 12 May 1898, p. 6.
[138] For instance, invitations were sent out to view the Medway bridge before it was dispatched. *The Brierley Hill Advertiser,* 29 March 1856, p. 4.
[139] 'Railway bridges for India', *The Illustrated London News,* 18 September 1858, p. 254.
[140] *The Illustrated London News,* 18 September 1858, p. 254.

leading Liberals in Dudley and he was close to the ironmaster S.H. Blackwell, a man with whom he shared similar interests. The Cochranes were also strongly allied to another Liberal family, that of Evers Swindell, who were leading manufacturers in the Cradley area. Within that generation there were four inter-marriages between the two families.[141] In the short-lived Liberal surge of the early 1850s, A.B. Cochrane junior, Blackwell and James Evers Swindell were elected to the Board of Guardians of the Dudley Union and to the Dudley Local Board of Health. Cochrane, Blackwell and Charles and James Evers Swindell were all made JPs for Worcestershire in 1854.[142] Cochrane worked closely with Blackwell both as magistrates and furthering education projects in the Dudley area, such as the Mechanics' Institution. They also combined to force the Vicar of Dudley, James Caulfeild Browne, to accept a measure of voluntaryism in 1853 to try to ease the church rates controversy. Unlike Blackwell and the Badger family who remained living in Dudley, Cochrane used his wealth to move out to the more prestigious area of Stourbridge, buying up Heath House following the collapse of Rufford's Bank in 1851.[143] In the controversial parliamentary election of 1857, when the Tories under Isaac Badger allied with Samuel Cook and the radicals, Cochrane and other Liberals remained loyal to Lord Ward and his nominee. Cochrane was accused of being activated by the need to renew his lease from the Dudley estate and he, together with the Evers Swindell brothers, were pilloried in poster campaigns. Nevertheless, Cochrane performed acts of philanthropy, particularly building schools in Woodside which incorporated an Anglican church, previously

[141] E. Evers, *Butterflies in Camphor: A Family Chronicle* (London, 1974), p. 13.
[142] Blackwell and Charles Evers Swindell had been JPs for Staffordshire since 1850. *Aris's Birmingham Gazette,* 25 September 1854, p. 2.
[143] *The Worcestershire Chronicle,* 2 July 1851, p. 5 and 6 August 1851, p. 1.

lacking in the village. Unfortunately, perhaps from lingering resentment, Browne was not prepared to accept the proposed clergyman and A.B. Cochrane, junior died in 1863 before the church was fully utilised.[144] His surviving eight sons all inherited a stake in the Woodside Works but Charles, the eldest, became the driving force. In 1875, six of the others left the partnership, leaving just Charles and his brother, Joseph Bramah Cochrane, to run the firm.[145]

In the early years Charles lived at The Ellowes near Dudley and took an active part in the town's affairs. He was elected to the first council after incorporation in 1865 and became one of the first aldermen. He then proposed that Frederick Smith, the Earl of Dudley's chief agent, should be mayor for the first term.[146] However, the first term was not a full year and Cochrane himself was elected mayor in November 1865.[147] He was also later described as the borough's 'chief magistrate'.[148] Although he was a JP for both Worcestershire and Staffordshire, he was not very active in either role. He showed greater enthusiasm for being 'an ardent Liberal' like his father.[149] Although the older man had opposed H.B. Sheridan when he won the Dudley constituency courtesy of the Tory/Radical alliance, the MP was later able to hold the Dudley seat as a thorough-going Liberal and Charles Cochrane became one of Sheridan's greatest supporters. Not surprisingly for the head of a firm that had large orders from across the world,

---

[144] The details of the controversy were not made public but there were letters in the local newspapers. As a possible compromise, Browne asked the headmaster of the Grammar School, an ordained clergyman, to take services at the school, which he did for a time. *The Birmingham Daily Post,* 14 October 1861, p. 4.
[145] *The Worcestershire Chronicle,* 9 October 1875, p. 3.
[146] *The Birmingham Daily Post,* 21 June 1865, p. 4.
[147] *The Birmingham Daily Post,* 10 November 1865, p. 4.
[148] *The Birmingham Daily Post,* 12 May 1898, p. 6.
[149] Ibid.

Cochrane was also a great advocate of free trade. Charles, like his father, was originally an Anglican and married the eldest daughter of the long-serving incumbent of St Edmund's in Dudley.[150] A son and daughter survived him. Despite his Anglican connections, Charles later advocated the separation of church and state and became associated with the Unitarians in Stourbridge. He was also a member of the Cremation Society of England.[151]

A12. Cook, Samuel (1787-1861), radical draper

This piece focuses on Samuel Cook's family background and highlights significant aspects of his life other than his involvement in religious and political controversy. The most influential biographical article on Cook is the entry in *Dictionary of Labour Biography* by John Rowley and Eric Taylor but it contains errors.[152] Cook was born in Trowbridge on 15 July 1787, the son of a cloth manufacturer (also Samuel Cook).[153] Industrialisation and the rise of the woollen trade in other parts of the country were already affecting the woollen industry in Wiltshire and causing problems in industrial relations. Cook senior entered into a partnership with the Earl of Ailesbury in December 1794 to try to help revive Wiltshire's woollen industry by introducing more mechanisation, but the project

[150] Although married in Dudley, Charles was said to be living in 'Middlesbro-on-Tees', i.e. Middlesbrough. *The Birmingham Journal, 5* September 1857, p. 5.
[151] *The Advertiser, Brierley Hill, Stourbridge, Dudley etc,* 14 May 1898, p. 5.
[152] Mistakes include the dates of his birth and first bankruptcy, the number of his children, lack of clarity as to who owned his shop and failure to credit Cook with being the president of the Dudley Working Men's Institute. J. Rowley & E. Taylor, 'Cook, Samuel (1786-1861) Chartist and Radical', in J.M. Bellamy & J. Saville (eds.), *Dictionary of Labour Biography,* Vol. VI (London, Macmillan, 1982), pp. 64-68.
[153] All subsequent biographical articles follow Rowley and Taylor by giving Cook's date of birth as 1786 but this is incorrect, possibly owing to a misinterpretation of an obituary. Rowley & Taylor, 'Cook, Samuel (1786-1861) Chartist and Radical', pp. 64-68.

bankrupted Cook.[154] He had begun production early in 1796 but by January 1797 the whole 'woollen manufactory' was being auctioned off.[155] In 1799 he was described as 'a bankrupt' and he may have suffered more than one failure as he was listed as bankrupt in 1804, with a further sale of stock, and the last dividends were not paid out till 1809.[156]

As well as witnessing problems associated with industrialisation, the younger Samuel Cook probably drew his religious beliefs from his early years in Trowbridge where nonconformism had been strong and was becoming stronger.[157] The late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were a time of flux in many dissenting chapels and this seems to have been the case in Silver Street Chapel where Cook was baptised, although it was probably still Presbyterian while Cook was growing up.[158] The baptismal register, which runs from 1757, is simply entitled: '*Silver Street Chapel, Trowbridge. Children of Protestant Dissenters*'.[159] Another influence on Cook which may have helped incline him to evangelical Calvinism was having had a female evangelist in the family. This was Joanna

---

[154] It was a mixed project at Elcot, near Marlborough, introducing 'Hamer's shearing frames' and a 'double raiser gig mill' but retaining hand-spinning. Wiltshire and Swindon Archives, 9/2/336, Ailesbury family of Savernake, Earls of Cardigan, Records of individual manors, leases, The Earl of Ailesbury and Mr Samuel Cook, Agreement for a Lease, 24 December 1794; A.J. Randall, 'The shearmen and the Wiltshire outrages of 1802', *Social History,* Vol. 7, No. 3 (October 1982), pp. 283-304, especially p. 287.

[155] Randall, 'The shearmen and the Wiltshire outrages of 1802', p. 287; *Reading Mercury and Oxford Gazette,* 16 January 1797, p. 2.

[156] *The Bath Chronicle,* 2 May 1799, p. 1; *Bell's Weekly Messenger,* 12 August 1804, p. 6; *The Salisbury and Winchester Journal,* 17 September 1804, p. 4 and 20 March 1809, p. 2.

[157] H.F. Chettle, W.R. Powell, P.A. Spalding and P.M. Tillott, 'Parishes: Trowbridge,' in *A History of the County of Wiltshire: Volume 7*, R.B. Pugh and E. Crittall eds. (London, 1953), pp. 125-171, section on Protestant nonconformity.

[158] The chapel was originally supported by the Presbyterian fund but, 'by 1827 the congregation was regarded as Independent'. Chettle et al., 'Trowbridge,' in *A History of the County of Wiltshire: Volume 7*, pp. 125-171, section on Protestant nonconformity; Wiltshire and Swindon Archives, Church registers: Trowbridge Silver Street (Presbyterian), 1757-1837.

[159] Wiltshire and Swindon Archives, Church records, Trowbridge, Silver Street (Presbyterian), 1757-1837.

Cook who married Thomas Turner, a grocer. Not only did they use their shop for evangelism but they helped found 'The Tabernacle' in Trowbridge.[160] Joanna's spiritual writings were edited and published after her death.[161] She was probably Cook's great aunt, and although she died a year or two before Cook was born, he named one of his daughters Joanna Turner Cook, presumably as a tribute to Joanna Turner's legacy.[162]

Had it not been for his father's bankruptcy, Cook may well have expected to enter the family business but, instead, he was apprenticed to a draper in Poole, from about 1801 to 1808. It is the subsequent ten-year period of Cook's life that is the hardest to tie down. According to a small souvenir history of Cooks shop, after leaving Poole, Cook 'lived in London, Birmingham and Manchester', but it has not been possible to verify the details.[163] Cook certainly spent time in Birmingham where he married Maria Jones in August 1812, but he was already giving his place of abode as Liverpool.[164] Maria was the daughter of George Jones, a builder in Edgbaston, whose father, also George Jones, had been a builder in Dudley where he was one of the trustees of the Countess of Huntingdon's chapel in 1788.[165] Although George Jones, the younger was amassing wealth and moving closer to the establishment, it is possible that Cook had met Maria at the Independent

---

[160] Chettle et al., 'Trowbridge,' in *A History of the County of Wiltshire:* Vol. 7, pp. 125-171, section on Protestant nonconformity.
[161] M. Wells, *The Triumph of Faith over the World, the Flesh, and the Devil; Exemplified in the Life, Death, and Spiritual Experience, of that Bright and Shining Light, Mrs. Joanna Turner etc.* (Bristol, 1787).
[162] Having had a strong, independently minded woman in the family might also have helped shape Cook's views on the rights of women, such as advocating that they should have a vote.
[163] *1819-1897, An Illustrated Souvenir of F.W. Cook's Drapery Warehouses*… (Dudley, 1897) [p.5].
[164] DAHLS has a letter to their father by both Samuel and his brother Joseph, sent from Liverpool in 1810. DALHS, C8748/7/3/1, Records and papers of D.R. Guttery, records related to Samuel Cook and family, letter to their father by Joseph and Samuel Cook, 1810; Marriage certificate, Samuel Cook and Maria Jones, St Martin's, Birmingham.
[165] A.A. Rollason, *The Old Non-Parochial Registers of Dudley etc.* (Dudley, 1899), p. [35].

chapel in Carrs Lane, Birmingham where Cook later claimed to have taught in the Sunday School.[166] As a sign that this was a middle-class marriage, there was a marriage settlement but Cook later claimed that he did not benefit from it.[167]

By 1812, Cook and his brother Joseph had set up two drapery businesses in Liverpool. They were less than a mile apart and their advertisements suggest that they were hoping to benefit from the Irish linen trade.[168] They may have been over-ambitious. In 1813 Samuel and Maria's first child, Mary Anne, was born and she was baptised at the Independent chapel in Great George Street, Liverpool. About the same time, the brothers dissolved both partnerships, but this failed to prevent each of them going bankrupt in August 1813.[169] Rowley & Taylor and Richard Allen give the date of bankruptcy as 1818 which they probably got from a report in *The Wolverhampton Chronicle* some thirty years after the event and seems to be an error.[170] The only verifiable date, from the contemporary *London Gazette*, is that of 1813.[171] By November 1814, the brothers were paying out dividends but Samuel did not receive his certificate of discharge which was later said to have been lost in transit.[172] Allen adds that Cook was in a 'debtors' prison'

---

[166] Cook claimed to have taught in the Sunday School where George Holyoake was later a scholar, which would have been Carrs Lane, Birmingham. This was in a letter from Cook originally published in *The British Banner. The Reasoner,* No. 13, 30 March 1853, pp. 197-198.
[167] *The Worcester Herald,* 10 February 1844, p. 2.
[168] Although they had two partnerships, it seems that Joseph concentrated on 'The Drapery Hall' in Church Street and Samuel on 'The Linen Hall' in Pitt Street. *The Liverpool Mercury,* 13 March 1812, p. 5, 19 March 1813, p. 4 & 7 May 1813, p. 1.
[169] *The London Gazette,* 19 June 1813, Issue 16743, p. 1210; *Aris's Birmingham Gazette,* 20 August 1813, p. 3.
[170] Rowley & Taylor, 'Cook, Samuel (1886-1861)', p. 64; R.C. Allen, 'Cook, Samuel (1786–1861), Chartist', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (23 September 2004), Cook, Samuel (1786–1861), Chartist | Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (oxforddnb.com) [accessed 15 May 2020]; *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 10 April 1844, p. 2.
[171] Cook himself seems to have been vague as to the date. When he went bankrupt in 1843/44, he told the bankruptcy hearing that he had been bankrupt before 'about 28 years ago', which would make it 1816. Rowley & Taylor, 'Cook, Samuel (1886-1861)', p. 64; *The Worcester Herald,* 10 February 1844, p. 2.
[172] *The Worcester Herald,* 10 February 1844, p. 2.

before his move to Dudley, which may be Allen's interpretation of the article in *The Chronicle*.[173] If Cook was in gaol for debt for some or all of the time from 1813 to 1819, he never referred to it in his subsequent writings or speeches. A letter from Samuel to his younger brother James, written in 1816, was addressed from Manchester, which fits the account in the souvenir mentioned above.[174] Whatever the reason, Cook and Maria seem to have spent several years apart for there were no more children after Mary Anne till the family settled in Dudley where they opened a draper's shop in premises owned by the Jones family in May 1819. Maria had a further six children born in Dudley, four girls and two boys, but she died shortly after the last child was born in 1827.[175] Cook was left a widower with seven children ranging in age from fourteen years to eight days. He never re-married. Cook's time in Dudley is better chronicled than his early years, but there are still mistakes in the biographical articles.[176]

In his religious beliefs, Cook took the traditional Protestant nonconformist view of the supremacy of the Bible which put him at odds with Catholicism but he

---

[173] Allen, 'Cook, Samuel (1786–1861)'; *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 10 April 1844, p. 2.
[174] Unfortunately, the only 'address' Cook gives in his letter is 'Messrs Aaron Stone & Co.' and 'Manchester'. One trade directory describes the firm as 'American merchants' and another just as 'merchants'. It is likely that Cook was working there, perhaps trying to repair his fortunes. The souvenir brochure omits to mention the time Cook spent in Liverpool. DALHS, C8748/7/3/1, Records and papers of D.R. Guttery, records related to Samuel Cook and family, Personal records, letter by Samuel Cook to brother James, 1816; *1819-1897, An Illustrated Souvenir of F.W. Cook's Drapery Warehouses*… (Dudley, 1897) [p.5]; *Pigot and Dean's Manchester and Salford Directory for 1817* (Manchester, 1817), p. *230; The commercial directory for 1818-19-20, containing the names, trades, and situations of the merchants, manufacturers, tradesmen etc.* (Manchester, James Pigot, 1818), p. 321.
[175] If biographical studies, beginning with *Dictionary of Labour Biography*, mention the Cooks' children, they only give the number as six, apparently unaware of the daughter born in Liverpool. Rowley & Taylor, 'Cook, Samuel (1886-1861)', p. 64.
[176] For instance, Rowley & Taylor imply that Cook was kept in gaol for over a year before his trial for seditious libel in 1827. Although he refused to find bail before the magistrates in Dudley, he found it after he was committed to Worcester Gaol and was then set at liberty till his delayed trial. Rowley & Taylor, 'Cook, Samuel (1886-1861)', pp. 64-68.

also opposed what he called 'Church of England-ism'.[177] In handbills, Cook made clear links between his belief in the Bible and his political views.[178] In Dudley, as in Birmingham and Liverpool, he associated himself with the Independent chapel, which was in King Street. The extant records show that he was a pew-holder, but without ever taking full membership, although Maria and most of their children did.[179] Cook attended the chapel enthusiastically from his arrival till his death in 1861. Both religiously and politically, he was closely attuned with the Independent's long-serving minister, James Dawson. However, after Dawson's death in December 1843, Cook found himself at odds with the new minister, John Raven, and some of the chapel's leaders. Relations reached a low in January 1846 when Cook charged one of the stewards with assault and took him before the magistrates. He also suggested that the magistrates should prosecute Raven as well.[180] Nothing came of either complaint. At the same time, Cook was enraged by the way the chapel's leaders had treated his friend, Thomas Hill, whom they had expelled. The repercussions of this affair led to Cook's issuing a furious handbill denouncing James Wood, a glass maker and deacon at the Independent chapel. Cook challenged Wood to put their disagreement to some sort of independent arbitration.[181]

---

[177] Cook argued that the Church of England derived its power from legislation and not the Bible. DALHS, SC/99, SCC, Is Protestant Episcopalianism….
[178] DALHS, SC/10, SCC, The Bible is the best political book (Birmingham, 1836).
[179] DALHS, N/C/DUD/KIN/2/1/1 & 2 and 3/2, King Street Congregational Church records: Church books, 1801-1849 & 1849-1892, Pew rent book, 1847-1898 and several other documents.
[180] Cook had been barred from a members-only meeting, but he pushed his way in. His argument was that it was public worship and those in charge had no right to hold it behind locked doors. *The Birmingham Journal*, 17 January 1846, p. 8 and 24 January 1846, p. 8.
[181] The printed handbill seems to have been amended by hand by Cook himself. DALHS, SC/108, SCC, James Wood and Samuel Cook (Dudley, 1846).

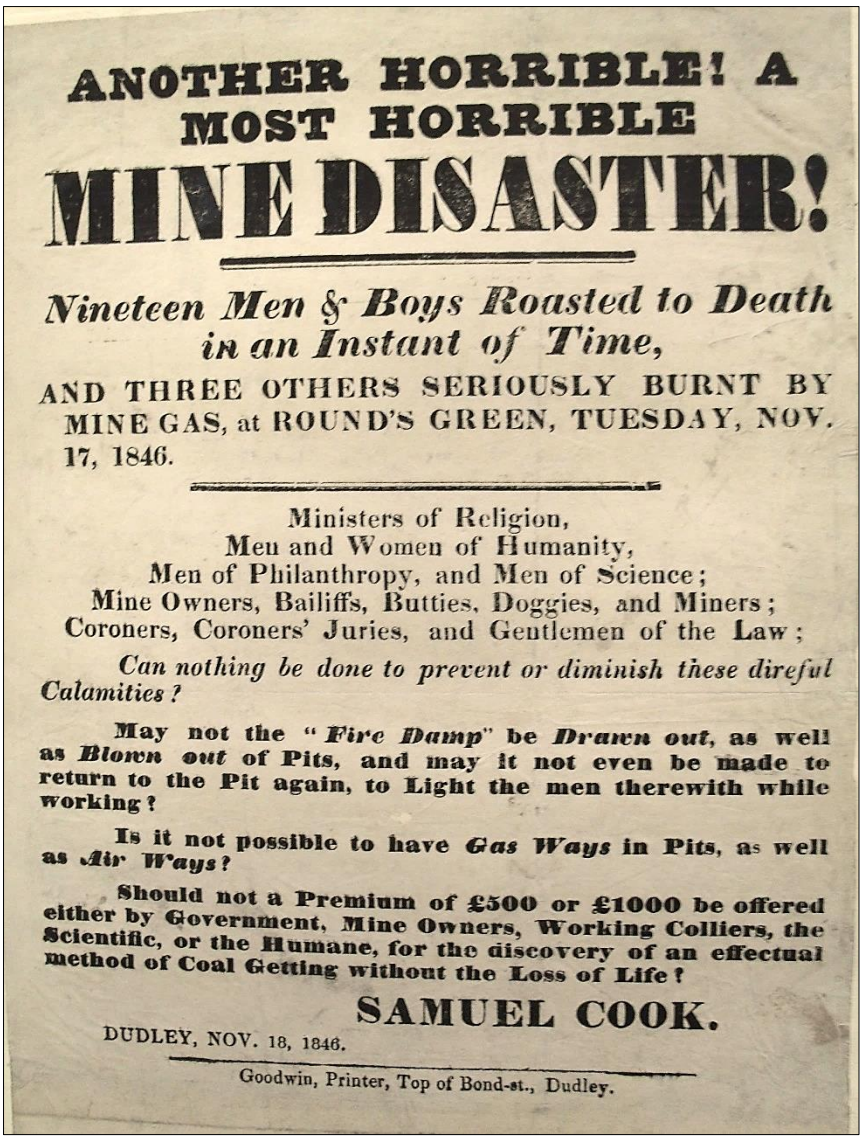
Of the many causes that Cook championed, his demand for open decision-making was probably the most fundamental and he used his shop window as a town noticeboard to disseminate information and ideas.[182] Cook campaigned for civil liberties, which he claimed for Catholics as well as nonconformists. His long struggle against church levies was a natural extension of asserting the rights of nonconformists. Cook also campaigned for improved employment conditions and for the opportunity of greater political involvement for the working classes. He helped lead the reform movement in Dudley and frequently challenged the magistrates and other vested interests. In a long-running case, he was sued for defamation by the leading Tory magistrate, Thomas Badger. Cook was a strong advocate of political unions from which he moved into Chartism and for this he was imprisoned twice. It is for being a Chartist that Cook is best remembered. However, he supported many other causes, such as increasing leisure time for shop workers by earlier closing of shops. Although Cook advocated principles such as universal education he often favoured self-help rather than services being provided by local authorities. He was a reluctant ratepayer and spoke out against the suggestion that Dudley needed a 'free library'.[183] An important aspect of Cook's radicalism was that he was an internationalist, as seen in his support for the French revolutions. Almost his last public act was to collect money and send it to Garibaldi, accompanied by a letter. Cook was proud to receive a reply and had it translated into English.[184]

---

[182] Rowley & Taylor, 'Cook, Samuel (1886-1861)', pp. 64-68.
[183] *The Birmingham Journal,* 13 February 1858, p. 7.
[184] Giuseppe Garibaldi was a patriotic Italian general who fought for Italy to become a united republic. He was popular with the British public. DALHS, Z107, Miscellaneous acquisitions, Letters: G. Garibaldi to Samuel Cook, in Italian, Samuel Cook to G. Garibaldi and translation of Garibaldi's reply, 1861.

One of the salient features of Dudley in Cook's time was that it was a mining town with many old mine workings left abandoned with minimal safety precautions. Cook had first-hand experience of the effects of this lax control. One of his brothers, who worked for Samuel as a traveller for a time, fell to his death in an abandoned mine in Netherton.[185] The body was only found many months later, in December 1825, when the pit was re-opened.[186] The newspaper reports anticipated an inquest but fragmentary records at Dudley Archives suggest that, although Cook urged the coroner to hold an inquest, it was refused.[187] Cook was able to identify the remains as his brother's from artefacts which had been found with them.[188] In the 1840s, the number of severe accidents to miners spurred Cook to one of his most passionate humanitarian campaigns aimed at procuring better safety for those working in mines (figure A12.1).[189]

[185] When his brother failed to return from a business trip, Cook tried to find out what had happened but was only able to verify that his brother got as far as Birmingham on his return journey. *The Staffordshire Advertiser,* 17 December 1825, p. 3.
[186] The pit was said to have been closed for two years, but was opened up to prepare it to be worked again. *The Staffordshire Advertiser,* 17 December 1825, p. 3.
[187] No records of an inquest have been found. Cook's notes suggest that the coroner refused because the remains did not constitute a complete body. *The Staffordshire Advertiser,* 17 December 1825, p. 3; DALHS, C8748/7/3/1, Records and papers of D.R. Guttery, Records related to Samuel Cook and family, Personal records, a copy(?) of a letter to Richard Cooke of Doncaster, but possibly with additional notes, various dates but mainly December 1825. Although not signed it is written, in reverse, on Cook's headed notepaper and the writing seems to be his.
[188] Contemporary reports do not name the brother, but in an article several decades later, he is named as James Cook and, judging from earlier correspondence, this seems likely. See, for instance, a letter from James to Samuel, apologising for his having ignored advice and left Dudley to go to work in London and asking if he could return to the Cooks in Dudley at a minimum salary. *The Staffordshire Advertiser,* 17 December 1825, p. 3; *The Western Daily Presswith*6 December 1864, p. 3; DALHS, C8748/7/3/1, Records and papers of D.R. Guttery, Records related to Samuel Cook and family, Personal records, letter from James Cook to brother Samuel, 12 July 1824.
[189] There are copies of this handbill at both DALHS and The Bishopsgate Institute. The one reproduced here is from Bishopsgate. Bishopsgate Institute**,** Labour history manuscript 14, Chartism and reform, handbill, Another Horrible! A Most Horrible Mine Disaster! (Dudley, 1846); also DALHS, SC/28, SCC, Another Horrible! A Most Horrible Mine Disaster! (Dudley, 1846); DALHS, Z38, Miscellaneous acquisitions, Mine accidents, copy letter by Samuel Cook and extracts from newspapers (1846).



ANOTHER HORRIBLE! A MOST HORRIBLE

MINE DISASTER!

Nineteen Men & Boys Roasted to Death in an Instant of Time,

AND THREE OTHERS SERIOUSLY BURNT BY MINE GAS, at ROUND'S GREEN, TUESDAY, NOV. 17, 1846.

Ministers of Religion,
Men and Women of Humanity,
Men of Philanthropy, and Men of Science;
Mine Owners, Bailiffs, Butties, Doggies, and Miners;
Coroners, Coroners' Juries, and Gentlemen of the Law;

Can nothing be done to prevent or diminish these direful Calamities?

May not the "*Fire Damp*" be *Drawn out*, as well as *Blown out* of Pits, and may it not even be made to return to the Pit again, to Light the men therewith while working?

Is it not possible to have *Gas Ways* in Pits, as well as *Air Ways*?

Should not a Premium of £500 or £1000 be offered either by Government, Mine Owners, Working Colliers, the Scientific, or the Humane, for the discovery of an effectual method of Coal Getting without the Loss of Life?

SAMUEL COOK.

DUDLEY, NOV. 18, 1846.

Goodwin, Printer, Top of Bond-st., Dudley.

Figure A12.1. Handbill by Samuel Cook calling for improved safety for miners, 1846.[190]

Cook was declared bankrupt for a second time in December 1843.[191] A few weeks after the bankruptcy hearing, his wealthy father-in-law, George Jones, died,

[190] The Bishopsgate Institute**,** Labour history manuscript 14, Chartism and reform, handbill, Another Horrible! A Most Horrible Mine Disaster! (Dudley, 1846).

[191] Cook may have been unfortunate in this instance. Several 'country banks' had recently failed and Cook's bank, Dixon, Dalton and Co. which had suspended payments for a short time in August 1843, seems to have embarked on a policy of better managing their risks by reducing outstanding overdrafts. Presumably, Cook was unable to meet the demand on him. The bank was the only creditor mentioned in the bankruptcy case. *The London Gazette,* 29 December 1843, Issue 20300, p. 4595; *The Staffordshire Advertiser,* 20 January 1844, p. 2.

still in possession of various properties in Dudley, including Cook's shop.[192] Jones's will reflected Cook and Maria's marriage settlement, leaving nothing to Cook but enough to their children for the family to be able to secure the shop and adjacent property.[193] Cook was soon trading again, having formed a partnership with his eldest son, Samuel Quartus Cook. They were advertising as 'Samuel Cook and Son' by at least August 1844.[194] After S.Q. Cook married, his family and his father continued living together in the shop till Cook senior died in 1861. Of his other children, Cook stayed closest to his daughter Joanna and her husband, David Lloyd, both stalwarts of the Independent chapel. They named one of their children Samuel Cook Lloyd and both he and S.Q. Cook's son, Frederick became Liberal councillors, and, in time, both were mayors of Dudley.[195] Cook's shop remained a well-known, family-run business until it closed in 1983.[196]

A13. Dawson, Reverend James (1779-1843), Independent Minister

James Dawson was the minister of the Independent chapel in Dudley for over forty years and oversaw its development from a small chapel with a struggling congregation to being re-built as probably the largest nonconformist chapel in Dudley. When the census of religious worship was taken in 1851, the chapel's total

---

[192] *The Worcester Herald,* 10 February 1844, p. 2; *The Birmingham Journal,* 16 March 1844, p. 7.
[193] Cook's shop was one of the lots in an auction of George Jones's property due to be held on 21 May 1844. It was advertised for sale up to the day before the auction, but it was apparently secured by the family in a private treaty, although the conveyance was not drawn up till September and the property was mortgaged. TNA, PROB 11/1997/49, Will of George Jones of Edgbaston, 1844; *Aris's Birmingham Gazette,* 29 April 1844, p. 2 and 20 May 1844, p. 2; The Black Country Living Museum (BCLM), 1988/2008/025-027 etc, Papers relating to F. W. Cook Limited, 1779-1844, especially, 25, abstract of title, 26, conveyance to Miss Eliza Cook and 27, mortgage, all 1844.
[194] *Aris's Birmingham Gazette,* 26 August 1844, p. 3.
[195] A.A. Rollason, *Patronymica* (Dudley, 1908), pp. 7 & 69; *The Dudley Chronicle,* 8 February 1919, p. 6; *Birmingham Gazette,* 24 December 1929, p. 5 etc.
[196] *Sandwell Evening Mail,* 16 October 1982, p. 3.

attendance for the day was recorded as 1,310 worshippers.[197] The main source of biographical information about Dawson is an anonymous 'Memoir' in *The Evangelical Magazine* which has to be taken on trust as much of the information cannot be verified from other sources.[198] C.F.G. Clark claimed to have been shown Dawson's diary, which was chiefly concerned with his inner life. There is no evidence that the diary survived, but Clark reproduced a few quotations from it.[199] The records of the Independent chapel also cover various aspects of Dawson's ministry in Dudley.[200]

Dawson was born to a well-established dissenting family in Marple Bridge, Derbyshire in 1779. Nevertheless, the 'Memoir' follows the fairly traditional pattern of such biographies by claiming that Dawson had fallen into bad company as a youth before, almost literally, seeing the light.[201] One of the proofs that is offered of the young Dawson's dissolute behaviour was his fondness for the political pamphlets of Tom Paine, 'which led him frequently into company that gradually

---

[197] This was not Dudley's highest nonconformist attendance, which was recorded at the main Methodist New Connexion chapel with the day's total of 1,430 worshippers, although this is based on individual figures that look suspiciously rounded. However, according to A.G. Cumberland, the census for religious worship showed Dudley's Independent chapel to have had the largest morning congregation of any nonconformist chapel in the Black Country. J. Aitken, (ed.), 'Census of religious worship, 1851. The returns for Worcestershire', *Worcestershire Historical Society,* New series 17 (2000), pp. 4-10; A.G. Cumberland, 'Protestant nonconformity in the Black Country, 1662-1851' (Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Birmingham, 1951), p. 113.

[198] Although the article is published anonymously, it is mentioned in the Church Book which claims it was written by 'Dr Redford' [George Redford], the Congregational minister from Worcester who was also the President of the Congregational Union of England and Wales. 'Memoir of the late Rev. James Dawson, more than forty years Pastor of the Independent Church, Dudley, Worcestershire' in *The Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle* (October 1844), pp. 497-501; DALHS, N/C/DUD/KIN/2/1/2, King Street Congregational Church records: Church book, 1849-1892. P. 16.

[199] C.F.G. Clark (comp. & ed.), *The Curiosities of Dudley and the Black Country from 1800 to 1860 etc.* (Birmingham, 1881, pp.94-96.

[200] DALHS, N/C/DUD/KIN/2/1/1 & 2, King Street Congregational Church records: Church books, 1801-1849 & 1849-1892 and other documents.

[201] Note: According to the Memoir, Dawson 'describes the thought of his sinfulness as coming upon him like a flash of lightning'. 'Memoir of the late Rev. James Dawson', p. 498.

weakened the restraints of religion'.[202] However, Dawson remained a radical and even the 'Memoir' lists, amongst Dawson's attributes, that he was a 'devoted friend of civil and religious liberty'.[203] Dawson first came to Dudley in 1801 for a few weeks, as a student from the Hoxton Dissenting Academy, but he was invited back immediately on a more permanent basis and began his pastorate later the same year.[204] Clark calls the first period 'probation', after which Dawson was ordained as pastor in June 1803.[205] He remained the minister at the King Street chapel until his death on 23 December 1843.[206] There are no surviving examples of Dawson's sermons but Robert Simpson, the tutor at Hoxton, was said to drill his students in the 'three Rs: Ruin, Redemption and Regeneration', at the same time insisting that they got their message across using 'Animation, Affection and Application'.[207] Dawson must have been successful, particularly at generating affection, and seems to have been genuinely popular. According to the church book, when Dawson first arrived at the chapel, 'Everything relating to the place was discouraging to the last degree'.[208] The church made slow progress at first and needed outside help to clear its debts but a few years later the congregation began to grow appreciably and, by 1809, they needed to expand the seating accommodation within the existing chapel.[209] Extra land was bought and the

[202] Ibid., p. 498.
[203] DALHS, N/C/DUD/KIN/2/1/1 & 2, King Street Congregational Church records: Church books, 1801-1849 & 1849-1892 and other documents; 'Memoir of the late Rev. James Dawson', p. 500.
[204] DALHS, N/C/DUD/KIN/2/1/1 & 2, King Street Congregational Church records: Church books, 1801-1849 & 1849-1892. Note: The history of the church which is written in the earlier Church Book is copied out and repeated in the second book.
[205] Clark, *The Curiosities of Dudley and the Black Country,* p. 94.
[206] DALHS, N/C/DUD/KIN/2/1/1, King Street Congregational Church records: Church book, 1801-1849, pp. 11-12.
[207] Quoted by R.T. Jones, *Congregationalism in England, 1662-1962* (London, 1962), pp. 177-178.
[208] DALHS N/C/DUD/KIN/2/1/1, King Street Congregational Church records: Church book, 1801-1849, p. 6.
[209] Ibid., p. 7.

chapel was enlarged in 1824.[210] By 1838 they were discussing the possibility of building a new chapel and this duly took place. The new chapel, which was built on land acquired to the side of the original building, was opened in 1840.[211]

Having been the minister in Dudley for so long, Dawson was well known to neighbouring Independent clergy (or 'Congregational' as they were becoming known). One of the most renowned of these was John Angell James, the minister at Carrs Lane in Birmingham. Whilst editing his father's works, Thomas Smith James reviewed his father's relations with neighbouring ministers and wrote:

> Dudley he often visited, where Mr Dawson was settled before he (i.e. J.A. James) came into the neighbourhood; to whom my father bore the testimony that he knew no man who, all things considered, had done more in building up a church than he had; a testimony the stronger that Mr Dawson was a much higher Calvinist and much more prominent as a politician than he was himself.[212]

Thus, Dawson's interest in politics was well-known to his fellow ministers. Dawson seems to have grown more radical as he got older. When he first came to Dudley, he was paid a very low stipend and, to support a wife and children, 'Mr Dawson was obliged to resort to school-keeping'.[213] Later in life he probably had more time and more confidence for taking part in politics. His earliest recorded campaigning was in January 1826 when he was one of the speakers at an anti-

---

[210] Ibid., pp. 8-9.
[211] Ibid., p. 10.
[212] J.A. James, *The Works of John Angell James, Onewhile Minister of the Church Assembling in Carrs Lane Birmingham, edited by his son, Vol XVII, Autobiographical* (London & Birmingham, 1864), p. 517.
[213] 'Memoir of the late Rev. James Dawson', p. 499.

slavery meeting in Dudley.[214] He was active in the reform movement and, in December 1832, Dawson made the opening speech welcoming John Campbell's election victory, but stressing the need for further reform.[215] Dawson also supported repeal of the Corn Laws and his role as one of the leaders of the anti-church rates campaign is discussed in chapter 6. Dawson was one of the secretaries, for a time, of the Dudley Auxiliary Bible Society which shows that he was prepared to work with Anglicans in certain circumstances. As secretary, in 1820/21 he took the Protestant lead in a war of words with the local Catholic priest (chapter 4).

Dawson married Elizabeth Cox at Oldswinford in 1804. Known as Eliza, she supported her husband's work and became a member of the chapel in 1806.[216] She died in 1828 having borne six children, only two of whom outlived their father.[217] Dawson re-married in 1832, but his second wife, Mary remains an enigma. The 'Memoir' suggests that she survived Dawson, but there is no corroboration for this.[218] She does not feature in any newspaper reports or chapel records, was not recorded with Dawson on the 1841 census and is not mentioned in his will.[219] Dawson was an important figure in Dudley in his own right, but he is also significant because, for twenty-four years, he ministered over Samuel Cook,

---

[214] *Berrow's Worcester Journal,* 2 February 1826, p. 3.
[215] *The Birmingham Journal,* 5 January 1833, p. 3.
[216] 'Memoir of the late Rev. James Dawson', p. 499; DALHS, N/C/DUD/KIN/2/1/1, King Street Congregational Church records: Church book, 1801-1849.
[217] *Berrow's Worcester Journal,* 11 September 1828, p. 3.
[218] 'Memoir of the late Rev. James Dawson', p. 500.
[219] A 'Mary Dawson' appears as one of the witnesses to the marriage of David Lloyd and Joanna Turner Cook in 1842 but the whole certificate, including the names, seems to have been written by the same person and the name may be a mistake for Dawson's daughter-in-law, Mary Ann Dawson. Copy marriage certificate: David Lloyd and Joanna Turner Cook, Dudley Independent Chapel, Dudley 19 August 1842; The National Archives, PROB 11/1996/292, Will of Reverend James Dawson, Dissenting Minister of Dudley, Worcestershire, 1844.

Dudley's leading radical and most outspoken nonconformist. The two men were closely aligned in both religion and politics. There were also social connections between them, with Cook's family brought up within the society of the chapel.[220] Dawson's only surviving son, John and Cook's eldest son, Samuel Quartus, married two sisters, daughters of a London Baptist minister.[221] John Dawson became a chemist in Dudley and, like his father and Cook, opposed church rates.[222]

A14. Downing, Francis (1777-1857), mines agent and estate trustee

Born in 1777, in Churchill, north Worcestershire, Francis Downing was the son of an Anglican clergyman, Reverend Harry Downing and his wife Jemima. Francis remained a committed Anglican in religion, opposed parliamentary reform and strongly supported Tory politics. He was a keen loyalist, joining the Dudley Volunteer Infantry in which he became a lieutenant in 1803.[223] Downing spent his working life in the service of the Ward family at their Dudley estate. He began as a clerk in the chief steward's office in about 1796 and worked his way up to chief land agent in 1823 and chief mineral agent in 1826, holding both senior posts for ten years.[224] In 1825 Viscount Dudley and Ward built a large 'Tudor Gothic' house in the grounds of Dudley's ruined priory and this was where Downing lived for

[220] Two of Cook's daughters married within the circle of Independent chapel families.
[221] The Baptist minister was the Reverend Owen Clark, a well-known temperance advocate.
[222] DALHS, PR17/4/1/2, Parish of Dudley, St Thomas: Vestry Order Book, 1821-1856, especially entries for 9 March 1849.
[223] *Aris's Birmingham Gazette,* 12 December 1803, p. 3.
[224] Downing was persuaded to hand over the post of land agent in 1834 and that of mineral agent in 1836. T.J. Raybould, *The Economic Emergence of the Black Country. A Study of the Dudley Estate* (Newton Abbot, 1973), pp. 12, 226 & 229.

twenty years although, from the 1830s, it also provided office space for some of the estate's administration.[225] Having one of the estate's employees occupy such a grand house, known then as 'The Priory', gave status to both the Wards and Downing (figure A14.1).



Figure A14.1. Priory Hall, Dudley, formerly known as The Priory, residence of the Dudley estate's chief agent.[226]

Downing had no professional engineering or business training and was, in the opinion of Trevor Raybould, 'promoted beyond his capabilities'.[227] However, the Ward family prized loyalty and, even before his final promotion, Downing proved to be a useful link between the Wards and Dudley's townspeople. Downing

[225] A. Foster, N. Pevsner and A. Wedgwood, *Birmingham and the Black Country* (New Haven, 2002), p. 484; Raybould, *The Economic Emergence of the Black Country,* p. 228.
[226] Priory Hall, Dudley. Early twentieth-century postcard by John Price & Son.
[227] Raybould, *The Economic Emergence of the Black Country,* pp. 142-143, 176-177, 194-196 & 228; T.J. Raybould, email correspondence with the author, 10 May 2013.

was mayor of Dudley, a position derived from the Court Leet, on three occasions, all in troubled times: 1818, 1819 and 1831.[228] He was not only loyal to the Wards but, in political terms, he was a loyalist too and one of his most notable acts as mayor came in October 1819 when he acceded to requests to call a public meeting which he chaired himself, to send a loyal address to the Prince Regent and support for the government in the wake of Peterloo and the radical backlash.[229] The ramifications of this meeting are analysed in chapters 3 and 4. Shortly afterwards, Downing was made a Town Commissioner. In summer 1826 he chaired a meeting of local coalmasters taking a hard line on reducing miners' pay.[230] In the reform controversy of 1831/32, Downing signed anti-reform petitions, but when the Reform Act of 1832 made Dudley a one-member parliamentary borough, he chaired the Tory committee which tried unsuccessfully to secure the election of Sir Horace St Paul. The Parish Order Book shows Downing often supporting the vicar and other church authorities and he was used by them to liaise with the Ward family.[231] Downing was a churchwarden at the parish church for two years in 1834 and 1835 and as such was one of those who prosecuted Thomas Wood for non-payment of church rates, with the case being taken as far as the Court of Arches (chapter 6).[232]

---

[228] The Court Leet derived from the Manor Court and was subservient to the Lord of the Manor, in this case the head of the Ward family.
[229] *Aris's Birmingham Gazette,* 4 October 1819, p. 3.
[230] *Aris's Birmingham Gazette,* 31 July 1826, p. 3.
[231] For instance, when the church authorities wanted a new road cut to Netherton church. DALHS, PR17/4/1/2, Vestry order Book, 1821-1856, 16 February 1831.
[232] The other churchwarden, William Rose Baker, was a draper. Lambeth Palace Library (LPL), Arches H 532/1-26 & 27-29, Court of Arches, Nineteenth Century case papers, Baker and Downing v Wood, 1835.

Downing was trusted by the Earl of Dudley and in the terms of his will, Downing was named as one of six trustees appointed to safeguard the Dudley estate for twelve years following the Earl's death which took place in 1833.[233] Downing was persuaded to give up the role of land agent in 1834.[234] A study was commissioned into the management of the estate's mineral wealth, in part carried out by Richard Smith, a more professional mines agent with wide experience. The report of the study was highly critical of the poor way the estate's mineral assets had been managed. Downing tried to contest the report, but he was overruled by the other trustees who asked Smith to replace Downing as chief mines agent in December 1836. Downing remained a trustee and retained his salary and residence with an honorific title till he resigned the post in 1840.[235]

Rather than retire gracefully, Downing leased mines from the trustees under his own auspices. Still living at The Priory, Downing described himself as a coalmaster on the 1841 census. If he had hoped to vindicate himself, the plan went disastrously wrong. By 1843 he was facing bankruptcy and had to throw himself on the mercy of his fellow trustees. In his initial letter explaining his financial 'difficulties and embarrassments', his only suggestion was that he would have to look for 'a small house'. Whilst listing the problems he had faced, he took no blame himself.[236] Emboldened by a kind reply from fellow trustee, Lord Hatherton, Downing wrote again and seemed to suggest that the estate should

[233] The National Archives (TNA), PROB 11/1821/159, Will of the Right Honourable John William, Earl of Dudley, 1833.
[234] Raybould, *The Economic Emergence of the Black Country,* p. 229.
[235] Ibid., pp. 199-200.
[236] Staffordshire Record Office (SRO), D260/M/F/5/19/11, Hatherton Papers, Earl of Dudley executorship, Letter: Francis Downing to Lord Hatherton, 2 August 1843.

take back the mines without implementing any penalty clauses.[237] He also pointed out how much the trustees had saved by not paying him a salary for three years. He still attached no blame to himself whilst saying: 'the disastrous undertaking under the Trustees has totally ruined me'. He even seemed to hope that the estate would pay back something for the mines which he could use towards 'liquidating' the debt of nearly £13,000 which he had accrued at Dixon's bank. In both letters he emphasised his many years of faithful service to the Wards and their Dudley estate. Details of any financial agreements remained private, but help must have been forthcoming from the trustees as Downing was never declared bankrupt. He moved house, first to Dixons Green, then to Wall Heath, but his death in 1857 was recorded at Winson Green. Hatherton, at least, remained well-disposed towards Downing. In his journal for 1853, Hatherton noted that whilst visiting the Wards at Himley, he had walked to Wall Heath to visit Mr and Mrs Downing, describing them as 'very old friends of mine'.[238]

Downing and his wife did not have a large family. Two sons pre-deceased their father. The death of the eldest, also named Francis was particularly tragic. When about thirteen years old, he was accidentally poisoned whilst the pupil of an Anglican clergyman.[239] Downing's only daughter was widowed early. In the 1841 census, she and her son are shown living at The Priory with her parents. The Downings' son, Henry, followed his grandfather by becoming an Anglican

[237] SRO, D260/M/F/5/19/11, Letter: Francis Downing to Lord Hatherton, 12 August 1843.
[238] SRO, D260/M/F/5/26/60, Hatherton Papers, Journals of E.J. Littleton, later 1st Lord Hatherton, October 1852-April 1853, 26 January 1853.
[239] The boy was accidentally given oxalic acid by the cook who could not read. *The Staffordshire Advertiser,* 17 December 1825, p. 3.

clergyman and, with Lord Ward's patronage, spent many years as the incumbent of St Mary's, Kingswinford.[240]

A15. Finch family, Unitarians

John Finch (c.1736-1791), but also other family members with the same name

William Finch (c. 1756-1831)

Francis Finch (1793-1874)

The Finch family had been important ironmongers in Dudley over a long period. John Finch was one of the partners with Dud Dudley in Dudley Furnace in 1674 and, referring to that time, Peter King describes the Finches as 'a prominent family long established at Dudley as ironmongers'.[241] That John Finch may have been the same 'John Finch of Dudley' who issued an undated halfpenny in the seventeenth century.[242] Finch House, built in 1707, still stands in Wolverhampton Street, one of Dudley's finest surviving eighteenth-century buildings.[243] Many of the Finch family were associated with the Old Meeting House in Wolverhampton Street and became some of Dudley's leading Unitarians in the latter half of the eighteenth century. John Finch (c.1705-1759) and his son, also John Finch (c.1736-1791), were wealthy ironmongers who began to move into banking. John Finch the younger apparently introduced himself to the Birmingham historian,

[240] *The Morning Post,* 6 April 1846, p. 6.
[241] P.W. King, 'Dud Dudley's contribution to metallurgy', *Historical Metallurgy,* Vol. 36. No. 1 (2002), pp. 43–53, especially p. 48.
[242] Several members of the family, across different generations, were called John Finch and it is not always possible to distinguish between them. M. Perkins, *Dudley Tradesmen's Tokens of the Seventeenth, Eighteenth & Nineteenth Centuries; with Descriptive and Historical Notes of Issuers, etc.* (Dudley, 1905), p. 14.
[243] A. Foster, N. Pevsner and A. Wedgwood, *Birmingham and the Black Country* (New Haven and London, 2022), p. 486.

William Hutton as 'John Finch, banker, of Dudley'.[244] The subscription list for buying shares in the building of the Dudley Arms Hotel and shambles in 1786 gives a good indication of the wealthiest men in Dudley, and their standing.[245] Viscount Dudley and Ward bought £300 worth of shares, as did his half-brother and heir, William Ward. The only other man to pay more than £100 was John Finch who bought £200 worth of shares. William Finch, who is discussed below, was one of those paying £100.

John Finch died childless soon after his encounter with Hutton in 1791. He was the last Finch male in his immediate family and following his death, his cousin, William Finch, became the most important member of the Finch family in the Dudley area. William was the son of Joshua Finch (1722-1798), who had been born in Dudley but had moved to Cambridge by 1740.[246] In Cambridge, Joshua inherited an iron foundry and ironmongery from another branch of the Finch family which had left Dudley in the seventeenth century.[247] A family history suggests that there were close relationships between the Dudley and Cambridge branches of the family, with both working in the iron trade.[248] William Finch was one of those who moved between the two and, although born in Cambridge, he was living in the West Midlands by at least 1786. In that year, Finch married Sarah Priestley, the

---

[244] Hutton was grateful to Finch for offering him assistance in the wake of the Priestley riots of 1791. W. Hutton, *The Life of William Hutton and the History of the Hutton family,* edited by L. Jewitt (London, 1872), p. 241.
[245] *Articles for Building an Inn and Market-Place and Shambles in Dudley* (Wolverhampton, 1786), pp. 1-3 and the schedule, i-ii.
[246] R.N. and E.S. Finch, *Our Finch Family and Others; mainly from Worcestershire and Cambridgeshire spreading to London and Lancashire…* (n.p., 1993), p. 55.
[247] The date of the original removal from Dudley to Cambridge is given as 1680. *Cambridge Independent Press,* 15 August 1874, p. 5.
[248] Finch, *Our Finch Family and Others,* p. 197.

only daughter of Joseph Priestley, the radical Unitarian.[249] Finch, who is usually described as either an ironmaster or a nail ironmonger, was already working Heath Forge at Wombourne near Dudley. That was where the married couple lived and had at least four of their children who were baptised at the Unitarian chapel in Dudley.

William showed neither the commitment to town affairs nor the business acumen of other members of the Finch family. At the inauguration of the Town Commissioners in 1791, William Finch signed the oath second only to the vicar, Joseph Cartwright, but it may have been a show of status as Finch does not even seem to have stayed for the inaugural meeting and he is not recorded as attending any others.[250] Priestley had wanted William, Sarah and their children to go to the United States with him and the rest of his family in 1794 but Finch refused.[251] 1794 was the time of the Great Terror in France and John Brooke, a Birmingham attorney who had been partly responsible for law and order during the Priestley riots, visited Dudley and wrote to the Home Office claiming that a number of Dudley's dissenters met regularly and supported 'the diabolical Jacobin principles'.[252] He singled out Finch as someone known to incite the mob, but it was based on hearsay. Also, in 1794 Finch pulled out of a partnership with Daniel and Richard Parsons, fellow Unitarians and wealthy nail ironmongers.[253] By 1797

[249] *The Derby Mercury,* 15 June 1786, p. 4.
[250] DALHS, Town Commissioners' Minutes, Volume 1, opening pages, headed 'The Form of the Oath'.
[251] R.A.M. Dixon**,** 'Priestley's daughter and her descendants, Part 1', *Transactions of the Unitarian Historical Society,* Vol. 5, No. 1, 1931, pp. 43-68, especially pp. 51-52.
[252] TNA, HO/42/30/120, ff. 299-300, Home Office, Domestic Correspondence, George III, Letter from John Brooke of Birmingham, 1794.
[253] Daniel Parsons was also named on Brooke's list of undesirables. *The London Gazette,* 1 April 1794, p. 294; TNA, HO/42/30/120, ff. 299-300, 1794.

Finch was all but bankrupt and there was a big sale at Heath Forge which may have marked the time when the family moved to Bordesley, Birmingham.[254] Being concerned that his son-in-law was not sufficiently supportive of Sarah and the children, Priestley tried to make provision for them himself. He specifically wrote into his will that Finch should not have control of money left to Sarah, but she died in September 1803, a few months before her father who died in February 1804.[255] Although some aspects of Finch's life are open to criticism, Guy Sjögren numbers Finch amongst 'leading West Midland ironmongers' and shows that he tried to make significant innovations in nail production.[256] He died in Birmingham in 1831.

Francis Finch, who was William's nephew, was another of the Cambridge branch of the Finch family who moved back to the Dudley area. It is not clear exactly when he arrived, but his family connections enabled him to move in the higher echelons of Dudley society. Like many other members of the family, he was a Unitarian and one of the earliest mentions of him in Dudley is in 1814 when he was named as one of the trustees of a charity established by Daniel Parsons. Finch also became a Town Commissioner in 1815 and, unlike William, Francis attended some of the meetings.[257] In 1818 he married into an important Stourbridge family of dissenters. His wife was Eliza Rogers, daughter of Daniel

---

[254] Finch, *Our Finch Family and Others,* p. 199.
[255] Dixon, 'Priestley's daughter and her descendants. Part 1', pp. 52-57; *Aris's Birmingham Gazette,* 5 September 1803, p. 3; R.E. Schofield, 'Priestley, Joseph (1733–1804), theologian and natural philosopher', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (published 23 September 2004, version 3 October 2013), http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22788 [accessed 3 June 2014].
[256] F.G.N. Sjögren, 'Entrepreneurship and technological change: the Birmingham and district cut-nail trade, c. 1811-1913' (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Birmingham, 2019), pp. 69 & 72-76. Also see: Finch, *Our Finch Family and Others,* pp. 199-202.
[257] DALHS, Town Commissioners' minutes, Volume I, 1791-1832, List of those 'sworn and subscribed', also 4 April 1815, 10 April 1815, 23 December 1818, 17 March 1819, 16 April 1819, 9 September 1819 etc.

Rogers of Wassell Grove near Hagley. Two of her brothers had been baptised at the Unitarian chapel in Dudley. The Rogers family had made money as glass manufacturers, particularly at Holloway End, Amblecote and Daniel's brother was the famous poet and banker, Samuel Rogers.[258] Following Peterloo, when Dudley's Tories called a meeting to support the government's stance, Finch became the leading spokesman of the infuriated radicals who tried to oppose the resolutions put to the meeting (chapter 3). Although Finch may not have been living in the area for very long, it was because he was part of the well-established and respected Finch family that he had to be taken seriously by the Tory establishment. He was visited privately by Thomas Wainwright the leader of Dudley's Tories, 'accompanied by two friends', presumably to explain to Finch the errors of his ways.[259] Finch clearly enjoyed taking part in the ensuing pamphlet battle (chapter 4). However, when the situation quietened down there are no further references to his taking political action in Dudley and he seems to have concentrated on trying to establish himself in business, particularly favouring trades or manufacturing in which his family had experience, including two partnerships with nail ironmongers, the second until December 1835.[260]

As with many others, the rise of the reform movement rekindled Finch's interest in politics and he became involved in the movement to increase the number of MPs with commercial or manufacturing experience.[261] As Finch's

[258] J. Ellis, *Glassmakers of Stourbridge and Dudley1612-2002. A Biographical History of a Once Great Industry* (Harrogate, 2002), pp.73-77.
[259] F. Finch, *Remarks on a Pamphlet assuming to itself the title of a 'Reply to the Faithful Unvarnished Narrative, concerning the late Dudley Meeting'* (Birmingham, 1819), p. 12.
[260] *Aris's Birmingham Gazette,* 18 September 1820, p. 4; *Staffordshire Advertiser,* 23 April 1836, p. 4.
[261] *Aris's Birmingham Gazette,* 19 July 1830, p. 1.

business interests in both coal and iron started to stretch from Dudley to Great Barr, he began to try to enter Parliament himself, standing twice (unsuccessfully) for Lichfield.[262] Perhaps wishing to emulate other members of his family, or in-laws, Finch also moved into banking which was to prove his undoing.[263] Although he won a surprise election result in 1837, becoming Walsall's first radical MP, he was not able to enjoy the position for very long. With his finances in trouble, he fled to the United States, possibly as early as 1839, but only applied for the Chiltern Hundreds late in 1840.[264] Eliza had not been party to his decisions and was left behind in Britain, having to return to Wassell Grove and live with her unmarried sister. After many years apart, Eliza eventually joined Finch in America, but they later returned to Britain. The marriage was childless.

A16. Griffiths, Thomas (1810-1864), Chairman Board of Health and Vice-Chairman Dudley Union Board of Guardians

Although he achieved influential positions in Dudley's society, Thomas Griffiths had a comparatively mundane career and very quiet private life. Whilst this suggests that power was slowly becoming more diffuse in Dudley, Griffiths owed much of his advancement to being an acolyte of the industrialist, Isaac Badger. In a retrospective piece, J.F. Timmins wrote of: 'the reign of King Griffiths and the tyrant Badger'.[265] Little is known of Griffiths's private life beyond

[262] *Aris's Birmingham Gazette,* 10 Dec 1832, p. 3; *The Sun,* 13 December 1832, p. 2; *The True Sun,* 7 January 1835, p. 2; *Aris's Birmingham Gazette,* 12 January 1835, p. 2.
[263] For instance, Finch promoted the Birmingham Exchange Bank in 1836. *The Birmingham Journal,* 9 July 1836, p. 1.
[264] *The Morning Post,* 22 December 1840, p. 2.
[265] This was an appreciation of Eliott Hollier by J.F. Timmins. Timmins was a Shakespeare scholar who also wrote for local newspapers and he was a Liberal supporter. The article was reprinted. *The Dudley Herald,* 20 January 1900, p. 8; J.F. Timmins, *Dudley Character Sketch. Mr. Elliott Hollier.*

information revealed by the decennial census records. He and his sister Rebecca apparently lived together all their adult life till Thomas died in 1864.[266] Both of them were born and died in Dudley and neither of them married. According to the 1841 census they were shoe dealers in High Street, and they had one female servant living with them. Subsequent censuses all show just one live-in servant. By the 1851 census, the Griffithses were in Stone Street, having apparently given up the shop.[267] Thomas listed his occupation as 'proprietor of houses', with nothing for Rebecca. By 1861 they had moved out of the town centre and were living in Wellington Road where each was described as 'proprietor of houses'. It was there that Thomas died and Rebecca remained till her own death in 1875. In the 1871 census she had no occupation listed. Nothing is known about the properties they owned. They are not mentioned in William Lee's scathing report on the state of housing in Dudley.[268]

Griffiths was one of the strong Conservatives, backed by Isaac Badger, who were elected to both the Dudley Union Board of Guardians and the Dudley Local Board of Health during the Liberal reversals of the mid-1850s (chapter 7).[269] Griffiths was elected as a Guardian in 1854, becoming Deputy Vice-Chairman in 1856 and Vice-Chairman in 1859 and he was elected to the Board of Health in

---

Retrospect & Appreciation (reprinted from *The Dudley Herald:* Dudley, Dudley Herald? c. 1900), p. 5.

[266] According to a memorial plaque in St Thomas's, their father was also Thomas Griffiths and he died in 1831, but his occupation is unknown.

[267] Stone Street runs into High Street so they had only moved a short way or possibly they may not have moved at all if their premises were on the corner of High Street.

[268] W. Lee, *Report to the General Board of Health on a Preliminary Enquiry into the Sewerage, Drainage and Supply of Water, and the Sanitary Condition of the Inhabitants of the Parish of Dudley…* (London, 1852).

[269] *Berrow's Worcester Journal,* 23 June 1854, p. 8 and 16 June 1855, p. 8.

1855, becoming Chairman in 1857.[270] He retained these posts until he died suddenly in March 1864. When Badger nominated Griffiths as chairman of the Board of Health, Badger said of Griffiths that he was 'out of business' and had 'plenty of time on his hands'.[271] Griffiths strongly supported Badger's policies of strict economy. For instance, on the Board of Guardians, they worked together to cut the salaries of employees and, on the Board of Health, Griffiths opposed capital projects and anything else that would increase the rates. As with Badger, Griffiths's policies made him popular with many ratepayers. Shortly before he died, a committee had been set up to raise funds for a testimonial to him. This was mentioned in a short obituary in *The Birmingham Daily Gazette*.[272] The newspaper also claimed that 'as a public man he has been most indefatigable in his exertions to reduce local taxation, and has, in his office at both Boards, strenuously advocated such measures of economy as were consistent with the public welfare'. Whilst adding that 'Mr Griffiths was thoroughly Conservative' it argued that he had not let his political views 'bias his opinion'. When Rebecca replied to a letter of condolence from the Board of Health, she too seemed to put her brother's concern for ratepayers before his concern for the health of the parish, writing: '[he] always manifested a deep concern for the welfare of the Rate payers and, as far as he was able, for the health of the inhabitants of the Parish'.[273] A memorial to Griffiths was placed in St Thomas's 'by his fellow Townsmen as a record of his valuable public services during many years to the town and parish of Dudley'.

---

[270] DALHS, GDU/1/4, Dudley Union Board of Guardians, minutes, 1856-1859, 18 April 1856 and 23 April 1859; *The Staffordshire Advertiser,* 20 June 1857, p. 4.
[271] *The Birmingham Journal,* 20 June 1857, p. 7.
[272] *The Birmingham Daily Gazette,* 25 March 1864, p. 4.
[273] DALHS, Dudley Local Board of Health, Minutes 7, November (sic) 1863-May 1865, copy letter Rebecca Griffiths to Board of Health, dated 6 April 1864, entered in minutes 3 May 1864.

Although no details of their finances are available, brother and sister must have done sufficiently well out of letting property for Rebecca to be able to make several generous bequests when she died, including setting up 'Mr. Thomas Griffiths' and Miss Rebecca Griffiths' Charity', which produced an annual sum towards providing clothes for poor working people. She also left over £1,000 each to Dudley's Guest Hospital and the Dudley Dispensary which suggests that Rebecca, and probably Griffiths too, supported traditional Tory paternalism rather than funding public health from the rates.[274]

A17. Hawkes, Thomas (1778-1858), glass manufacturer and MP

The Hawkes's glass business in Dudley was started by Thomas's father, Abiathar Hawkes (c. 1749-1800), in the latter decades of the eighteenth century.[275] Originally, both the family home, where Thomas was probably born, and the glassworks were in the High Street, but in the 1780s the works were moved to a new glass cone in Stone Street and became well known as the Dudley Flint Glassworks. As an entrepreneur, Abiathar was also involved in promoting canals and he was a subscriber to the Dudley Arms Hotel, which was built to provide men of commerce like himself with a suitable place to transact their business. He became a Town Commissioner in 1791, the year the body was established. Abiathar had several sons, of whom Thomas was the eldest to survive infancy. Thomas and his brother George seem to have taken over the business before

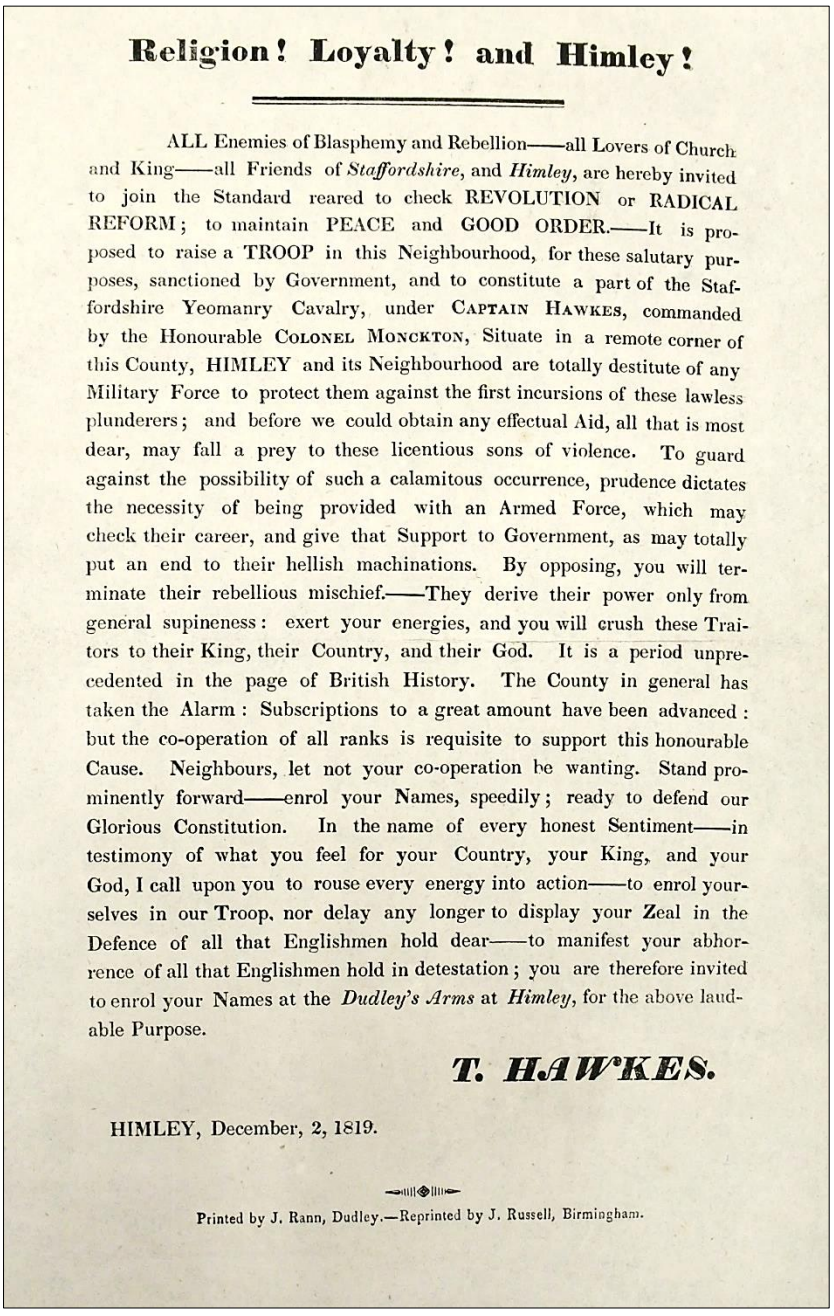
[274] *The Dudley Guardian etc.,* 13 March 1875, p. 4; H.M. Light and M. Campbell-Curtis, 'Dudley', in J.W. Willis-Bund and W. Page (eds.), *The Victoria History of the County of Worcester*, Volume III (London, Archibald Constable & Co. Ltd., 1913), pp. 90-105, especially 104-105.
[275] The most detailed study of the Hawkes family as glass makers is by Jason Ellis: J. Ellis, *Glassmakers of Stourbridge and Dudley 1612-2002. A Biographical History of a Once Great Industry* (Harrogate, 2002), Chapter 30, Dudley Flint Glassworks, Dudley, pp. 267-284.

Abiathar died in 1800.[276] Under the brothers, the Dudley Flint Glassworks produced a wide range of glassware with a good reputation which resulted in a buoyant export trade to both Russia and America.[277]

Thomas soon achieved positions of trust within Dudley and the wider community. In 1801, he too became a Town Commissioner. One of Thomas's most notable characteristics was his fervent loyalism and this manifested itself early when he joined the Dudley Volunteer Infantry, becoming a captain in 1803 before being promoted to major in 1808 and lieutenant colonel in 1811.[278] Also in 1811, he was appointed Sheriff of Worcestershire and a JP for Staffordshire.[279] Hawkes moved to a large house in Himley, next to Himley Hall, and married an heiress, Alice Anna Blackburne.[280] As proof of his Tory credentials, he became one of the vice-presidents of Dudley's Pitt Club (chapter 3).[281] Hawkes remained an ardent loyalist and completely opposed to reform, equating radicals with irreligion. He chaired several meetings either to express support for the government or call for increased measures to avert lawlessness. He also worked with fellow magistrates to maintain law and order.[282] In 1819, he reacted to the radical resurgence by raising the Himley Troop of the Staffordshire Yeomanry. The handbill Hawkes

[276] Ellis, *Glassmakers of Stourbridge and Dudley,* pp. 268-269.
[277] Ibid., pp. 269-270.
[278] *Aris's Birmingham Gazette,* 12 December 1803, p. 3; *The Star,* 28 March 1808, p. 4; *Aris's Birmingham Gazette,* 14 January 1811, p. 3.
[279] *The Courier,* 11 February 1811 p. 4; SRO, Q/SB 1811 E/254, Justices' oaths, Thomas Hawkes, 1811.
[280] Ellis, *Glassmakers of Stourbridge and Dudley*, p. 270.
[281] DAHLS, DSCAM 6/2/7/1, 8 & 12, Records of the Dudley Pitt Club (1813-1821).
[282] For instance, during disturbances by miners in 1816: *Aris's Birmingham Gazette,* 16 February 1816, p. 3; *The Courier, 5* March 1816, p. 3.

issued, calling for men to join up gives a good summation of his religious and political beliefs (figure A17.1).[283]



Religion! Loyalty! and Himley!

ALL Enemies of Blasphemy and Rebellion——all Lovers of Church and King——all Friends of *Staffordshire*, and *Himley*, are hereby invited to join the Standard reared to check REVOLUTION or RADICAL REFORM; to maintain PEACE and GOOD ORDER.——It is proposed to raise a TROOP in this Neighbourhood, for these salutary purposes, sanctioned by Government, and to constitute a part of the Staffordshire Yeomanry Cavalry, under CAPTAIN HAWKES, commanded by the Honourable COLONEL MONCKTON, Situate in a remote corner of this County, HIMLEY and its Neighbourhood are totally destitute of any Military Force to protect them against the first incursions of these lawless plunderers; and before we could obtain any effectual Aid, all that is most dear, may fall a prey to these licentious sons of violence. To guard against the possibility of such a calamitous occurrence, prudence dictates the necessity of being provided with an Armed Force, which may check their career, and give that Support to Government, as may totally put an end to their hellish machinations. By opposing, you will terminate their rebellious mischief.——They derive their power only from general supineness: exert your energies, and you will crush these Traitors to their King, their Country, and their God. It is a period unprecedented in the page of British History. The County in general has taken the Alarm: Subscriptions to a great amount have been advanced: but the co-operation of all ranks is requisite to support this honourable Cause. Neighbours, let not your co-operation be wanting. Stand prominently forward——enrol your Names, speedily; ready to defend our Glorious Constitution. In the name of every honest Sentiment——in testimony of what you feel for your Country, your King, and your God, I call upon you to rouse every energy into action——to enrol yourselves in our Troop, nor delay any longer to display your Zeal in the Defence of all that Englishmen hold dear——to manifest your abhorrence of all that Englishmen hold in detestation; you are therefore invited to enrol your Names at the *Dudley's Arms* at *Himley*, for the above laudable Purpose.

T. HAWKES.

HIMLEY, December, 2, 1819.

Printed by J. Rann, Dudley.—Reprinted by J. Russell, Birmingham.

Figure A17.1. An appeal by Thomas Hawkes for volunteers to join his proposed Himley Troop, 1819.[284]

[283] DALHS, PO/346, PC, Religion! Loyalty! and Himley! Appeal by T. Hawkes (Dudley, 1819).
[284] Ibid.

Hawkes had a younger brother named Abiathar, after their father. Following a military career, Abiathar returned to Dudley where he was made mayor in 1824 and became a JP in 1825.[285] A year later, working with the Reverend John Clare, an experienced magistrate, Abiathar helped commit Samuel Cook to Worcester gaol for the first time.[286] Abiathar shared Thomas's political and religious views. During Anglican protests against proposed Catholic emancipation, Abiathar chaired what the Catholic newspaper, *The Truthteller*, called the 'Dudley Brunswick Meeting' (chapter 3).[287]

As a glass manufacturer, Thomas Hawkes was a keen opponent of the high excise duty on glass, and this fuelled his determination to enter parliament. He made unsuccessful attempts to become one of the members for the borough of Stafford in 1830 and 1831. Also in 1831, well before the Reform Bill had completed its passage through Parliament, Abiathar announced his intention of standing for the new, one-member Dudley borough.[288] However, as the first election approached, Abiathar withdrew and the experienced Tory politician, Sir Horace St Paul, stood against Sir John Campbell, the Reform candidate in an election that Campbell won. When Campbell became Attorney General and had to face a by-election in February 1834, it was Thomas Hawkes who provided the successful Tory challenge and became the Member of Parliament for Dudley (chapter 5). In Parliament, Hawkes was a forceful champion of the glass and other industries and

---

[285] Following his military service, Abiathar was often referred to as Major Hawkes, which can be confusing as Thomas had been a major with the Volunteers. *The British Press,* 10 February 1825, p. 3.
[286] The newspaper report wrongly gives Cook's first name as Joseph instead of Samuel. *The Birmingham Journal,* 24 June 1826, p. 3.
[287] DALHS, PO/107A, PC, Dudley Brunswick meeting (Birmingham, 1829); A. Blackstock, *Loyalism in Ireland, 1789-1829* (Woodbridge, 2007), pp. 225-226.
[288] C.F.G. Clark (comp. & ed.) *The Curiosities of Dudley and the Black Country from 1800 to 1860 etc.* (Birmingham, 1881), p. 28.

proposed several protectionist measures.[289] As a local man, Hawkes was popular in Dudley and he increased his parliamentary majority in each subsequent election (chapter 5).[290] Unfortunately, in business, he paid the price of not diversifying sufficiently and the trade depression from 1838 to 1842 ruined his glass business, forcing the works to close in 1843.[291] Rumours had circulated for some time that Hawkes was bankrupt and, as such, he should have resigned his parliamentary seat. Although he was spending less time in Parliament because of his financial problems, he tried to continue supporting causes he particularly cared about and in 1842 he voted against a motion by John Easthope to bring in a bill to abolish church rates.[292] By spending much of his time in France, he managed to evade his creditors and hang on to the constituency till August 1844 when he finally applied for the Chiltern Hundreds.[293]

Hawkes avoided being declared bankrupt by living abroad but sometime after his wife died in France in 1853, he returned to Britain. By 1855 all five of their daughters were married, including Eleanor Lucy, since 1843 the wife of Lord Ward's younger brother, Humble Dudley Ward. In 1857 Hawkes's poor finances finally caught up with him. He was arrested for an unpaid debt of £10,000, imprisoned and, shortly afterwards, he petitioned for bankruptcy.[294] Hawkes died in Brighton in December 1858, but he was buried in Himley, and, on its way, the

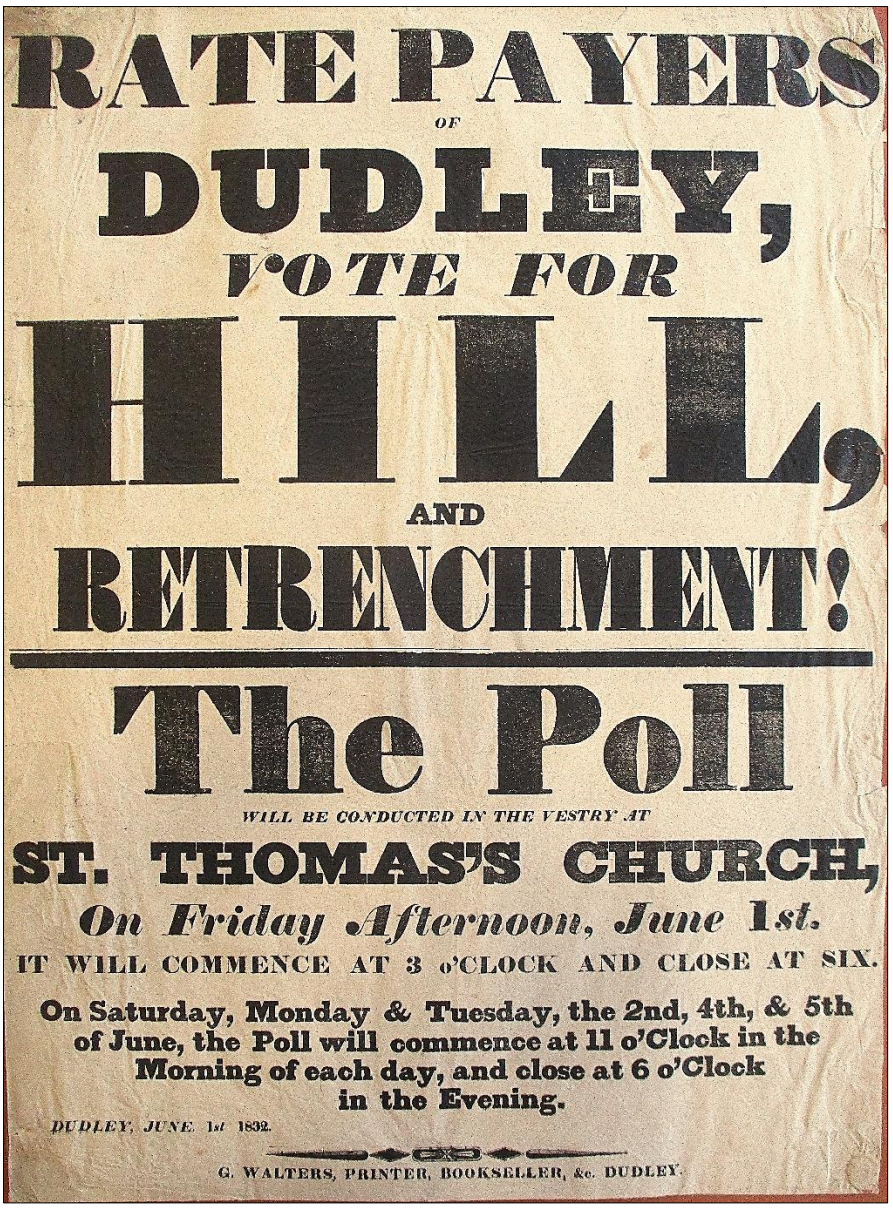
[289] See, for instance, *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 21 February 1838.
[290] T.C. Turberville, *Worcestershire in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1852), pp. 53-54.
[291] Ellis, *Glassmakers of Stourbridge and Dudley*, pp. 277-278.
[292] *The Sun,* 18 June 1842, p. 8.
[293] Turberville, *Worcestershire in the Nineteenth Century,* p. 54.
[294] *The London Gazette,* 26 June 1857, Issue 22015, p. 2225

cortège passed through Dudley, so those who wished to pay their respects were able to do so.[295]

A18. Hill, Thomas (c. 1785- ?), dissenter and radical shopkeeper

Little is known about Thomas Hill's private life, but in his religion and politics he is the man who seems to have been closest to Samuel Cook, Dudley's leading radical. Hill and his wife, Sarah, lived at their shop in upper High Street, Dudley, not far from the Cooks. Hill was born in the parish and lived there for most of his life.[296] The Hills seem to have been childless and not particularly well-off. Hill was variously described as a tailor, a shoemaker or dealer, or a shoe and stay seller and in 1834 he was appointed to collect the town rate. Hill was only able to secure the latter position with backing from political allies who jointly stood security for him.[297] As part of the growing reform movement in Dudley, both Cook and Hill actively opposed the Church of England. In June 1832, coinciding with the final stages of the struggle for the Reform Bill in Parliament, Hill was the first of Dudley's nonconformists to stand for the post of churchwarden in a bitterly contested poll (Figure A18.1).[298]

[295] DALHS, PO/613, PC, Funeral of the late Thomas Hawkes, Esq. (Dudley, 1858); *The Birmingham Journal,* 11 December 1858, p. 8.
[296] Lambeth Palace Library (LPL), Arches H532/1-26 & 27-29, Court of Arches, Nineteenth Century case papers, Baker and Downing v Wood, 1835, evidence of Thomas Hill.
[297] It is apparent from the Town Commissioners' minutes that a new collector had to put up a surety in advance. Hill's backers included Thomas Lester and Thomas Wood who were opponents of church rates and became leading Liberals in Dudley. DALHS, Dudley Town: Town Commissioners' Minutes, Volume 2, 1833-1863, 29 September 1834.
[298] DALHS, PO/17, PC, Rate payers of Dudley, vote for Hill, and retrenchment! (Dudley, 1832).



RATE PAYERS
OF
DUDLEY,
VOTE FOR
HILL,
AND
RETRENCHMENT!

The Poll
WILL BE CONDUCTED IN THE VESTRY AT
ST. THOMAS'S CHURCH,
On Friday Afternoon, June 1st.
IT WILL COMMENCE AT 3 o'CLOCK AND CLOSE AT SIX.
On Saturday, Monday & Tuesday, the 2nd, 4th, & 5th of June, the Poll will commence at 11 o'Clock in the Morning of each day, and close at 6 o'Clock in the Evening.
DUDLEY, JUNE 1st 1832.
G. WALTERS, PRINTER, BOOKSELLER, &c. DUDLEY.

Figure A18.1. Handbill supporting Thomas Hill's candidature for Churchwarden in Dudley, 1832.[299]

Because they had acted together in the reform movement, Hill and Cook were often linked together in disparaging remarks by their opponents. In Dudley's first elections following the passing of the Reform Act, there were various disturbances and, for the worst, a report sent to the Home Secretary by local

[299] DALHS, PO/17, PC, Rate payers of Dudley, vote for Hill, and retrenchment! (Dudley, 1832).

magistrates blamed Cook and Hill, 'two notorious Political Unionists', for planting two waggons fastened together in front of the place where the Tory candidate was due to address the crowd.[300] After the reform controversy, Hill and Cook continued opposing church rates, a struggle in which they had the backing of their minister, Reverend James Dawson. Hill was amongst the witnesses supporting Thomas Wood in his case opposing the setting of the church rate in 1834 which went to the Court of Arches in 1836.[301] The following year, Hill was one of the leaders of the campaign to refuse to pay church rates and he had ten pairs of shoes seized by the authorities.[302] In 1841 *The Staffordshire Gazette* listed church rates protesters, ending with: 'last, though not least, Mr Thomas Hill of Radical notoriety, and Mr Sammy Cook, the Chartist demagogue'.[303]

For a time, Hill showed a radicalism in Dudley that was similar to Cook's, but in his later years Hill's name was more often mentioned in association with the moderate reformers, such as Thomas Lester and Charles Twamley, who became the hub of Dudley's Liberal grouping. Hill seemed to work well with Twamley. As early as the church rates poll in 1834, Hill helped Twamley oversee the poll on behalf of the opposition. In 1844, when Twamley wrote to the Poor Law Board to complain that his nominations for the elections to the Dudley Union Board of Guardians had all been ignored, he queried whether their paperwork had been disregarded because it was signed by the Liberal party's agent, a Mr Hill. This was

[300] The National Archives (TNA), HO 52/20, f. 166, Home Office, correspondence, letter concerning election riots, 23 October 1832.
[301] Lambeth Palace Library (LPL), Arches H 5321-26 & 27-29, Court of Arches, Nineteenth Century case papers, Baker and Downing v Wood, 1835, evidence of Thomas Hill.
[302] DALHS, PO/340, PC, Church rates! Seizures in Dudley during the year 1837 (Dudley? 1837?).
[303] *The Staffordshire Gazette,* 25 March 1841, p. 3.

most likely Thomas Hill.[304] In C.F.G. Clark's collection of articles about Dudley, Hill (like Cook) was listed amongst 'pronounced Chartists', but there is no corroboration for Hill having ever been a Chartist.[305] In May 1843 a 'Mr Hill' accompanied Cook to a meeting of Joseph Sturge's Complete Suffrage Union in Birmingham, a meeting which Twamley also attended.[306] At the nomination for the parliamentary election in Dudley in 1847, the Chartist, Joseph Linney, was proposed by Cook and they called on 'Mr Hill' to second the nomination but he declined.[307]

Hill was a deacon at the Independent chapel and was described in some places as 'the senior deacon'.[308] In 1845, he quarrelled with the Reverend John Raven, the minister who had replaced Dawson. The original details of the affair were written by Raven so they may be prejudiced. Raven wrote that Hill accused him of preaching 'error and heresy and that the church encouraged blasphemy in allowing him to enter the pulpit.'[309] According to Raven, when the resolution to suspend Hill was put to the church meeting 'only two or three hands [were] held up

---

[304] TNA, MH 12/13959, Great Britain, Records created or inherited by the Ministry of Health and successors, Poor Law Commission, Correspondence, Worcestershire Poor Law Unions, Dudley 528, 1843-1844, 5566B, 19 April 1844 – 6232B, 9 August 1844.
[305] Note: this is one of several instances in Clark's book where it is not clear if he is quoting from a contemporary source or adding his own interpretation many years later. C.F.G. Clark (comp. & ed.) *The Curiosities of Dudley and the Black Country from 1800 to 1860 etc.* (Birmingham, 1881), p. 96.
[306] Twamley joined in the evening. Edward Williams was also listed with Cook and Hill as the Dudley delegates. He was almost certainly a member of one of Dudley's well-known Quaker families. *The Birmingham Journal,* 27 May 1843, p. 3; *The Worcestershire Chronicle,* 31 May 1843, p. 4.
[307] *The Birmingham Journal,* 31 July 1847, p. 7.
[308] In the Independent tradition, deacons were the senior, elected laymen in a congregation. In the first account of this affair, Hill was described as the 'senior deacon' but 'senior' was crossed through. However, it is reinstated in the second version. DALHS, N/C/DUD/KIN/2/1/1 & 2, King Street Congregational Church, Church book, 1801-1849, pp. 17-18 and Church Book, 1849-1892, pp. 17-19.
[309] DALHS, N/C/DUD/KIN/2/1/1, King Street Congregational Church, Church Book, 1801-1849, notes written against Hill's name in the membership list, see 1814.

against.'[310] Raven also claimed that Hill had not been present to hear a sermon that he took exception to.[311] However, a later church account is less one-sided and shows that Hill's objections to Raven had been building up over a longer period.[312] It is also apparent from the later version that there were members who thought that issues raised by Hill had not been taken seriously enough.[313] These members eventually formed a numerically small, but significant, secession from the church.[314] Although Cook was not one of the secessionists, he was disgusted by what he called 'the farcical trial of Mr Hill'.[315] This was the church meeting on 9 December 1845 that sealed Hill's fate. As he had not repented after his three months' suspension, he was permanently excluded from the Independent fellowship. When Hill's wife died in 1847, she was buried in the Methodist graveyard, but no records have been found of Hill's joining any other church or chapel.[316]

Sometime after the death of his wife, Hill must have given up the shop because the 1851 census showed him living in a house with an unrelated family, presumably as a lodger, but he had insisted that the census enumerator list him as

[310] DALHS, N/C/DUD/KIN/2/1/1, King Street Congregational Church, Church Book, 1801-1849, p. 18.
[311] Ibid.
[312] DALHS, N/C/DUD/KIN/2/1/2, King Street Congregational Church, Church book, 1849-1892, pp. 17-19. The later account seems to have been partly copied from the previous one but from a wider perspective.
[313] Ibid, p. 19.
[314] The most notable secessionists were John Dawson and his wife, John being the son of Reverend James Dawson. In 1851, after Raven had left, the Dawsons returned to the Independent chapel. DALHS, N/C/DUD/KIN/2/1/2, King Street Congregational Church, Church book, 1849-1892, list of members, nos. 53 and 54, 1851.
[315] DALHS, SC/108, SCC, James Wood and Samuel Cook (Dudley, 1846) and SC/45, SCC, Who ought to make the apology? (Dudley, 1846).
[316] The Dawsons and a few other secessionists moved to the English Presbyterian Church, but most chapels only recorded those who took membership and Hill is not amongst them.

a separate household.[317] The only occupation he gave was his job of collecting the town rate and he lost that when the rate transferred from the jurisdiction of the Town Commissioners to the new Dudley Local Board of Health in 1853.[318] Hill seems to have died in obscurity for there is no record of him after he reported to the new authority, in October 1853, as to how much of the old rate was still outstanding.[319] Even his year of death cannot be determined.

A19. Hollier, Elliott (1813 - 1905), chemist

Elliott Hollier was one of several men who proved influential in nineteenth-century Dudley without being native to the town. Hollier was born in Market Bosworth, Leicestershire and came to Dudley in 1827 to be apprenticed to an established chemist.[320] He remained in Dudley, first becoming a partner of the chemist's and later taking over the business. Hollier had a long career of public service, which continued well into old age. Because he remained a public figure, his career was well reported and an interview he gave in June 1901 provides some useful eye-witness insights into Dudley's politics in the nineteenth century.[321] Over the years, Hollier held many positions of authority within Dudley, first becoming a Town Commissioner in June 1837 in one of the waves of new commissioners being sworn in (chapter 5). When interviewed in 1901, Hollier

[317] The Hills were still living in High Street and still trading when Sarah died. In the 1851 census, an entry was made for Thomas Hill, but crossed out with a note attached and Hill is listed again at the end of the section. Death certificate of Sarah Hill, copy, 1847; Great Britain census, 1851, Dudley, Wolverhampton Street.
[318] DALHS, Local Board of Health, minute book, August 1853 - December 1854.
[319] Ibid., 24 October 1853.
[320] During his lifetime, Hollier's first name was often spelt 'Elliot' rather than 'Elliott'.
[321] *The Advertiser for Brierley Hill, Stourbridge, Dudley etc.,* 22 June 1901, pp. 4-5.

praised the Town Commissioners as ‘a very good governing body’.[322] Although he later became known as a Liberal, one of Hollier’s earliest recorded political acts was to vote for Thomas Hawkes, the Conservative in the 1837 general election.[323] In July 1839, Hollier was one of many special constables sworn in to quell anticipated Chartist riots. During his interview in 1901, Hollier showed the reporter the staff with which he had been issued, to help maintain order.[324]

Hollier married Elizabeth Robinson, a Dudley woman, at the parish church in 1841. In religion, Hollier was a Liberal Anglican. From 1848 to 1852, he acted as churchwarden, but reluctantly. Although Hollier became involved in the church rates dispute, to the irritation of the Anglican hard-liners, he proved reluctant to distrain those refusing to pay (chapter 6). However, during the papal aggression controversy of 1850, Hollier joined with fellow Anglicans in condemning ‘the errors of Popery and the evils of Puseyism’.[325] Apart from his public service, one of the pastimes for which Hollier was best remembered was cricket and he was described in one obituary as ‘the founder of the Dudley Cricket Club’.[326] As well as being a keen cricketer himself, he helped raise the money to fund a cricket ground. Hollier was also an amateur geologist and a member of the first Dudley Geological Society which began in 1842. Unfortunately, it struggled to establish itself and maintain permanent premises. When the society folded, sometime after December 1852, Hollier took the initiative to gather up the society’s fossil collection which he

[322] Ibid.
[323] DALHS PO/535, PC, A list of the electors of Dudley, who voted (Dudley, 1837).
[324] *The Advertiser for Brierley Hill, Stourbridge, Dudley etc.,* 22 June 1901, pp. 4-5.
[325] *The Worcestershire Chronicle,* 27 November 1850, p. 5.
[326] ‘The late Mr Elliott Hollier’, *Blocksidge’s Illustrated Dudley Almanack, 1906* (Dudley, c. 1906), pp. 89 & 91, especially p. 91.

placed in storage, thus securing the nucleus of a fine geological museum.[327] In 1862 the society was finally revived as the Dudley and Midland Geological and Scientific Society and Field Club, with Hollier as one of its honorary secretaries.[328] For a time Hollier also traded as a fossil dealer and supplied some of the specimens for what became the Lapworth Museum of Geology.[329]

Hollier took part in the Court Leet and served in various of its positions, including two terms as mayor. He used the first term, starting in 1847, to push for the establishment of a Mechanics' Institution. After it was started, Hollier remained one of its strongest advocates and was its president from 1848 to 1860 and 1872 to 1874.[330] He was also treasurer and secretary to 'the old Library' and on his initiative it was merged with the Mechanics' Institution, with books and other property being transferred to the new establishment.[331] It was possibly as a fund-raiser that Hollier made his greatest mark on Dudley. When the first Geological Society was beset with debt, Hollier suggested to Lord Ward's agent the idea of holding a fete in the Castle grounds to raise money to clear the debt. The first fete took place in May 1850 and such events proved to be so popular that they not only became an annual event at Whitsun but in some years, there were more than one. The chief beneficiary was the Mechanics' Institution but other good causes in the

---

[327] E. Blocksidge, revised by E. Hollier … and others, 'History of the Dudley Mechanics' Institution, afterwards called ''the Dudley Institute'', in *Blocksidge's Illustrated Dudley Almanack, Diary and Directory, 1905* (Dudley, c. 1905), pp. 73-105, with plates, especially pp. 79-84; *The Advertiser for Brierley Hill, Stourbridge, Dudley etc.,* 29 July 1905, p. 5.
[328] Blocksidge, revised by E. Hollier … and others, 'History of the Dudley Mechanics' Institution', (1905), p. 88.
[329] C.F.G. Clark (comp. & ed.), *The Curiosities of Dudley and the Black Country from 1800 to 1860 etc.* (Birmingham, 1881), n.p. amongst advertisements at the end of the book; Lapworth Museum of Geology, University of Birmingham: Hollier Collection.
[330] ''Blocksidge, revised by E. Hollier … and others, 'History of Dudley Mechanics' Institution, now called ''The Dudley Institute'', part two', *Blocksidge's Illustrated Dudley Almanack, Diary and Directory, 1906* (Dudley, c. 1906), pp. 45-59, especially p. 55.
[331] *The Advertiser for Brierley Hill, Stourbridge, Dudley etc.,* 29 July 1905, p. 5.

town also benefited.[332] Not only did Hollier become chairman of the fetes committee, but he remained in post for fifty years. Two other features of the town credited to Hollier were the Sebastopol guns, for it was he who applied to have two of them placed in the castle grounds.[333]

Despite voting for Hawkes in 1837, Hollier soon became identified with Dudley's Liberals. He was elected to the Board of Guardians in 1848 together with a few other Liberals. Hollier also joined the vicar, Reverend Browne, in pressing for the adoption of the Public Health Act and Hollier was one of several Liberals voted onto the first Board of Health in 1853. In the Conservative resurgence of the early 1850s, all the Liberals, including Hollier, were voted off the Board of Guardians in 1854 and off the Board of Health in 1856 (chapter 7). Some of the policies Hollier advocated with fellow Liberals included earlier shop closing, the model dwellings scheme and allowing press reporting at the meetings of both Boards. The failure of the Board of Health to deal with drainage and sanitation problems led Hollier to become one of the leading proponents of incorporation which was achieved in 1865. He was re-elected to the Board of Guardians in 1867 and remained on it till the end of 1875 when he resigned so he could apply for the vacant post of registrar of births, deaths and marriages for Dudley borough.[334] His former colleagues on the Board appointed him unanimously and this seems to have been when Hollier gave up his business.[335] He remained registrar until well into his

---

[332] 'Dudley Castle Fetes account from the commencement', *Blocksidge's Illustrated Dudley Almanack, Diary and Directory, 1899* (Dudley, c. 1899), pp. 135-140.
[333] A large number of Russian cannons had been seized by the allies after the fall of Sebastopol in the Crimean War. It is not clear what position, if any, Hollier held for him to make the application. *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 10 June 1857, p. 7.
[334] The post of registrar was appointed by the Board of Guardians and Hollier could not have been considered for it while a serving member. *The Dudley Herald,* 1 January 1876, p. 3.
[335] *The Advertiser for Brierley Hill, Stourbridge, Dudley etc.,* 29 July 1905, p. 5.

eighties, only retiring in 1897.[336] In his later years, he and his wife lived in Lower Hagley. Writing at the end of the century, J.F. Timmins urged that 'such men as Elliott Hollier, and other old servants of the town, should not be allowed to pass away unregarded and unhonoured'.[337]

A20. Lester, Thomas (c. 1788-1854), reformer and wine & spirit merchant

In the 1830s and 1840s, Thomas Lester was one of the very few leading Methodists in Dudley who took an active part in the town's political affairs. Like several of the other men who helped to change Dudley, Lester was not a native of the town, having been born to a farming family in Kings Norton.[338] However, he claimed to have been living in Dudley by at least 1811 when he married Mary Hodgetts from near Oldbury.[339] During his working life he tried his hand at various aspects of the retail trade. In 1836 he described himself as 'provision dealer and coal master'.[340] He was also a pork butcher for some years and the 1841 census suggests that he had passed the butcher's business to his son Charles, whilst Lester himself concentrated on the trade that was to prove most lucrative – that of wine and spirit merchant. He lived at the shop, in the heart of the Market Place,

[336] 'The late Mr Elliott Hollier', *Blocksidge's Illustrated Dudley Almanack, 1906* (Dudley, c. 1906), pp. 89 & 91, especially p. 91.
[337] J.F. Timmins, *Dudley Character Sketch. Mr. Elliott Hollier. Retrospect & Appreciation* (Dudley, 1900), p. 11.
[338] The family seems to have been moderately well-off. For probate, in 1822, his father George's estate was valued at under £3,000. During his life George had had money to lend out and in his will there were modest bequests to all his sons and his daughter. Ref: DALHS, DSCAM/3/263/1-3, Messrs Slater & Camm, Solicitors, Will etc of George Lester, will dated 15 August 1818.
[339] This makes his arrival in Dudley a little earlier than is suggested in his obituary notice. *The Worcestershire Chronicle,* 2 May 1854, p. 6.
[340] Lambeth Palace Library (LPL), Arches H 532/1-26 & 27-29, Court of Arches, Nineteenth Century case papers, Baker and Downing v Wood, 1835, Evidence from Thomas Lester.

and in 1824 he became one of the Town Commissioners.[341] Despite being a Methodist, he was active at the parish vestry, even chairing some of the meetings.[342]

Lester was an active leader of the reform movement in Dudley from its early days in 1831 when he was one of the treasurers of Captain Spencer's election committee (chapter 3).[343] Lester was, however, always more moderate than radicals like Samuel Cook and in May 1832 Lester joined the solicitor, Charles Twamley, in founding a second Political Union that would be more 'constitutional' than the one led by Cook and Thomas Parkin.[344] When John Campbell stood as a Whig reformer for the new Dudley borough in 1832, Lester chaired his campaign committee and did so again when Campbell re-contested the seat in 1834.[345] In the early 1830s Lester joined the struggle against church rates and he was the second nonconformist to stand for election as a churchwarden in Dudley. Despite being a popular figure, Lester only received seven votes (against 422).[346] There could be several reasons for this, one being that the opposition group claimed that Lester had been officially elected at the vestry before the poll was called.[347] The following year Lester joined a wide-scale boycott of the church rate in protest at

[341] DALHS, Dudley Town, Town Commissioners' Minutes, Volume 1, 1791-1832.
[342] Some of these meetings may have been sub-committees rather than the full vestry. A.J. Ware, *Dudley Parish Order Book* (Dudley, 1992), pp. 48, 58-59, 65 & 69.
[343] DALHS, PO/189, PC, Notice. At a meeting of the friends of the Honourable Captain Spencer (Dudley, 1831).
[344] DALHS, PO/226, PC, Dudley Political Union, established May 14, 1832 (Dudley, 1832?).
[345] DALHS, PO/1B, PC, To those electors of Dudley, who are friends and supporters of Mr Campbell (Dudley, 1832) and PO/75B, PC, To the inhabitants of Dudley, Sir John Campbell … (Dudley, 1833).
[346] DALHS, PO/180, PC, Election of Church Wardens, second day (Dudley, 1833).
[347] The vestry meeting had split and Lester's supporters issued a handbill claiming that John Campbell backed their view that Lester had been legally elected but it seems largely satirical or 'tongue-in-cheek'. DALHS, PO/126, PC, Opinion of Sir John Campbell on the recent election of Mr Lester (Dudley, n.d. 1833?).

what many, including some churchmen, thought were illegalities in the way it had been set. Initially the church wardens took out test cases against one dissenter and one churchman, but the case against the dissenter, who was to have been Lester, was subsequently dropped without explanation.[348] Lester remained a key witness in defence of the churchman, Thomas Wood.[349]

Lester was not only pro-reform in politics, but he was also a reform-minded member of the Methodist church. He was a chapel trustee at both the King Street chapel and the new 'Wesley' chapel in Wolverhampton Street and in 1835/36 he worked closely with the rebellious Methodist minister, Reverend John Gordon, to take the Wesley chapel away from the mainstream Wesleyans and join it to what they considered to be the more democratic Methodist New Connexion.[350]

Although Lester's contribution to the development of politics in Dudley has largely been forgotten, he was an important figure in his day and able to straddle the middle ground between extremes on both sides, Tory and radical. At each meeting of the Town Commissioners, a chairman was chosen by those present, and Lester chaired this body more often than anyone else in the period from 1815 till its end in 1853 (figure A20.1).[351] Lester not only served on this unelected Town

[348] LPL, Arches H 532/1-26 & 27-29, Court of Arches, Nineteenth Century case papers, Baker and Downing v Wood, 1835, Evidence from Thomas Lester.
[349] Ibid.
[350] Reverend John Gordon, a Dudley man, resigned as a Methodist Minister in 1834 in solidarity with the Reverend Joseph Rayner Stephens who had been expelled by the Wesleyans for agitating for Church disestablishment. Later in 1834 Gordon became involved in the so-called Warrenite controversy which tried to reduce the power that the leading ministers derived from the annual conference and devolve more power to the laity and localities. R. Leese, 'The impact of Methodism on Black Country society, 1743-1860' (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Manchester, 1972), pp. 150-192.
[351] These results are significant as they show that Lester chaired more meetings than the powerful Badger brothers and also more than the clergy combined. However, apart from Lester, the data shows that shopkeepers were still lagging behind in influence on bodies like the Town Commissioners. The only other identifiable shopkeeper is Ralph Musselwhite, a draper, whilst John

body, but he was also elected to both the Board of Guardians (1848) and the Board of Health (1853) and as such was one of only a small number to have served on all three.

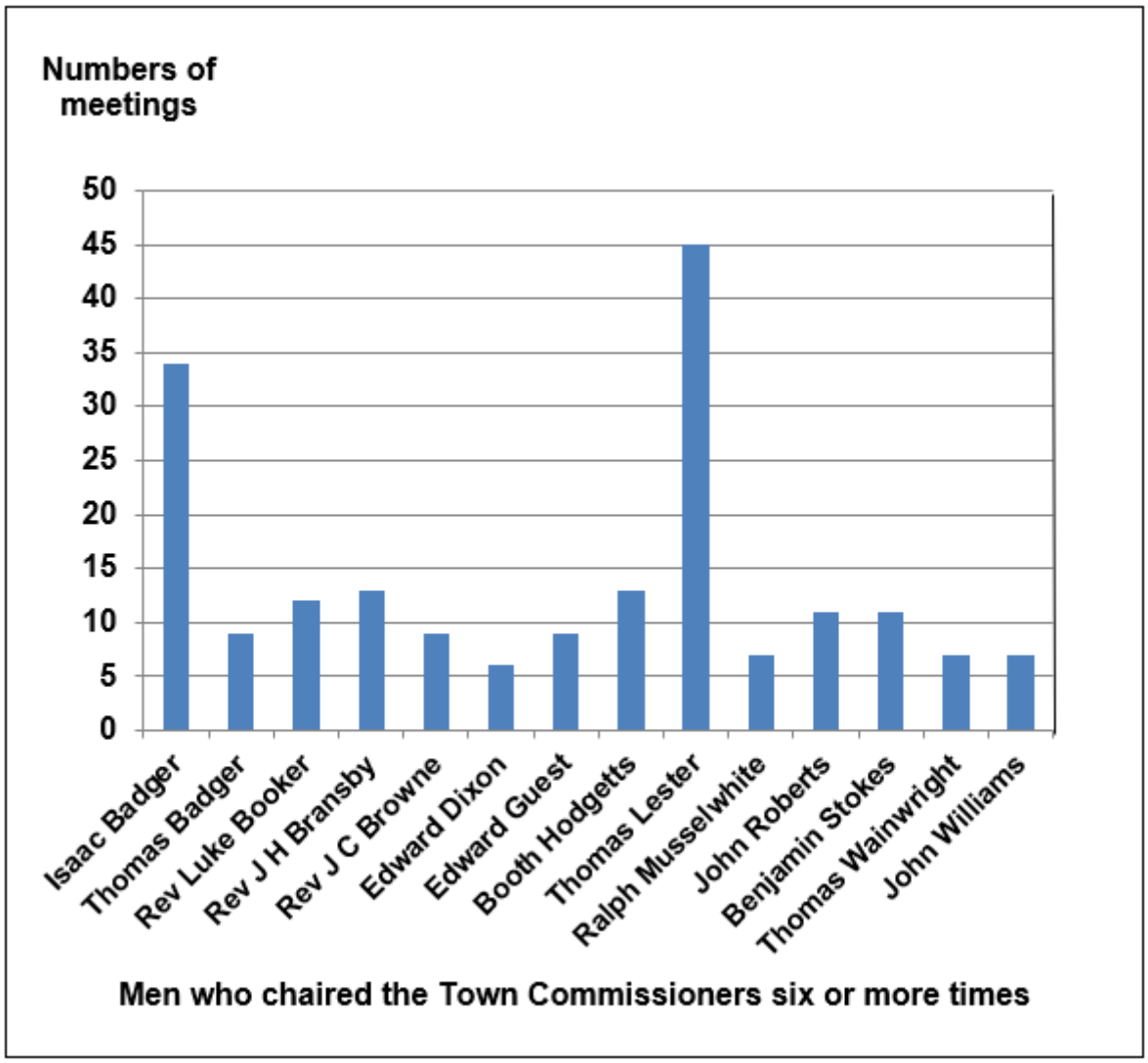


Figure A20.1. Dudley Town Commissioners: men who chaired six or more meetings, 1815-1853.[352]

Williams may also have been a draper (there were two Commissioners with the same name) and Benjamin Stokes had made his money as a baker but later styled himself 'a gentleman'.

[352] This chart is based on data collated from DALHS, Town Commissioners' Minutes Volume 1, 1791-1832 & Volume 2, 1832-1853.

Like his political associate, Charles Twamley, Lester moved away from the more passionate politics of his youth to become a solid Liberal politician. Also, like Twamley, Lester threw his weight behind the Anti-Corn Law League.[353] He became wealthy as a wine and spirit merchant and was able to broaden his business interests, becoming, for instance, heavily involved in trying to connect Dudley to the railway network.[354]

Not only did Lester become more moderate in his politics but, as he joined the establishment, he also grew more tolerant of the Church of England. In 1845 he was the only well-known opponent of the rate to attend a public dinner arranged by the church party 'to celebrate the granting of the reduced church rate of 5d in the pound'.[355] There is no record of Lester's breaking away from the Methodists, but his children were baptised at the parish church and those of his children's marriages recorded in local newspapers all took place in the Church of England. Finally, Lester acquired a 'family vault' at St Edmund's. It was there that he was buried in 1854, following an Anglican service by the incumbent.[356] In his book of extracts about Dudley, C.F.G. Clark included a short appreciation of Lester, describing him as a man of 'universal worth'.[357] Shortly before his death, the esteem with which Lester was regarded by fellow members of the Board of Health was shown when they moved their meeting from the Dudley Arms Hotel to Lester's

[353] *The Worcestershire Chronicle*, 10 May 1843, pp. 2-3.
[354] *Aris's Birmingham Gazette,* 8 September 1845, p. 2; *Berrow's Worcester Journal,* 30 October 1845, p.1.
[355] *The Worcestershire Chronicle,* 1 October 1845, p. 5.
[356] *The Worcestershire Chronicle,* 3 May 1854, p. 6.
[357] This seems to be Clark's own assessment rather than an extract from somebody else. C.F.G. Clark (comp. & ed.), *The Curiosities of Dudley and the Black Country from 1800 to 1860 etc.* (Birmingham, 1881), p. 189.

house, so that the sick man could attend the meeting.[358] Two separate licensed premises known as Lesters remained in the Market Place well into the twentieth century (figure A20.2).[359] Having built up a sizeable estate, Lester was able to provide generously for his family.[360]



Figure A20.2. View of Dudley Market Place showing one of Lester's shops, early twentieth century.[361]

[358] Lester's public house presumably included a meeting or assembly room. *Berrow's Worcester Journal,* 14 January 1854, p. 5.
[359] J. Richards, *The Pubs and Breweries of the Old Dudley Borough* (Pensnett, 1989), pp. 35-36 & 38.
[360] DALHS, DSCAM/3/264/1, Slater & Camm Solicitors, probate of the will of Thomas Lester, 12 May 1854.
[361] Lester's other shop was also in the Market Place, not far to the left of the one in the picture. *Market Place Dudley*, postcard from 'The Prince Series', early twentieth century.

A21. Lyttelton family, aristocrats

Barons Lyttelton of the new creation:

William Henry Lyttelton, 1st Baron (1724-1808)

George Fulke Lyttelton, 2nd Baron (1763-1828)

William Henry Lyttelton, 3rd Baron (1782-1837)

George William Lyttelton, 4th Baron (1817-1876)

Based at Hagley Hall near Stourbridge, the Lyttelton family were significant aristocrats in the Dudley area. Like Stourbridge, Dudley was in Worcestershire and although much less wealthy than the Wards, the Lytteltons in this period were more disposed than the Wards to hold Worcestershire county positions.[362] The Lytteltons were known as one of Worcestershire's major Whig families. The two Members of Parliament for Worcestershire were usually decided upon by the main county families in advance and elections rarely went to a poll. However, in a move that foreshadowed the controversies of the 1830s, William Henry Lyttelton (later the 3rd Baron) contested an election in 1806, challenging William Beauchamp Lygon, the Tory, who expected to take the seat vacated by his father's elevation to the peerage.[363] Although unsuccessful, Lyttelton limited Lygon's majority to 357.[364] The following year Lyttelton was elected to Parliament as one of the county representatives and remained so until 1820 after which he did not stand again, apparently because of shortage of funds for election expenses.[365] In 1813 William

[362] The other nearby aristocrats, namely the Earls of Stamford and the Earls of Dartmouth, were based in Staffordshire, at Enville Hall and Sandwell Hall respectively.
[363] T.C. Turberville, *Worcestershire in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1852), p. 21.
[364] Ibid.
[365] G. Le G. Norgate, revised by H.C.G. Matthew, 'Lyttelton, William Henry, third Baron Lyttelton and third Baron Westcote (1782-1837), politician', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (23 September 2004), Lyttelton, William Henry, third Baron Lyttelton and third Baron Westcote (1782–1837), politician | Oxford Dictionary of National Biography [accessed 2 September 2024].

Henry Lyttelton married Lady Sarah Spencer, the eldest daughter of Earl Spencer of Northampton. William had an elder half-brother, George Fulke, who inherited the baronetcy on their father's death in 1808 but George lapsed into insanity and William was already administering the Hagley Hall estate when George died and William became the 3rd Baron in 1828.[366] As a Whig and a reformer, Lyttelton took it upon himself to find a second reformer for the Worcestershire constituency in the 1831 general election which was called on the issue of parliamentary reform (chapter 3). Sarah's younger brother, Frederick Spencer, was asked to stand and the Lytteltons helped Spencer achieve a famous victory, briefly banishing another member of the Lygon family (Henry Beauchamp Lygon) from the House of Commons.

Civil unrest in 1831 led to the reconstituting of the Worcestershire Yeomanry with Lord Lyttelton in the role of Lieutenant Colonel. The authorities feared that strikes amongst the colliers in late November 1831 would lead to riots. Escalating rumours at the start of December resulted in Lyttelton having to muster troops at short notice, with claims made that Dudley, in particular, was in a state of 'complete insurrection'.[367] Although many of the newspaper reports were alarmist and exaggerated, the disturbances lasted longer than the Lytteltons expected (chapter 3). Lyttelton was pressed for time as he was due in the House of Lords to second the address responding to the King's speech. When doing so, he took the opportunity to urge his fellow peers to settle 'the great measure of reform'.[368]

---

[366] B. Askwith, *The Lytteltons: A Family Chronicle of the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1975), pp. 32-35.
[367] *Worcester Herald,* 3 December 1831, p. 3.
[368] *The Birmingham Journal,* 10 December 1831, p. 4; G. Le G. Norgate, revised by H.C.G. Matthew, 'Lyttelton, William Henry, third Baron Lyttelton and third Baron Westcote (1782-1837), politician', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (23 September 2004), Lyttelton, William Henry,

Lyttelton was Lord Lieutenant of Worcestershire from 10 May 1833 until he died in 1837.[369]

William was succeeded by his eldest son, George William (becoming the 4th Baron Lyttelton), who was finishing at Cambridge University and had not yet come of age when his father died. However, George had already fixed on the woman he wanted to marry. She was Mary Glynne, one of the daughters of the Glynne family who owned the Hawarden estate in Flintshire as well as a tract of land centred on Oak Farm, between Kingswinford and Himley, which was being developed for mining and industrial purposes. Mary was particularly close to her elder sister, Catharine, who was courted by the politician William Ewart Gladstone. Both couples married at Hawarden in a double wedding ceremony in 1839. The head of the Glynne family was Sir Stephen Glynne, Catherine and Mary's elder brother and, as wedding presents, he gave shares in Oak Farm to both couples.[370] To add a further degree of complexity to family relationships, in 1843 George Lyttelton's younger sister, Lavinia, married Catharine and Mary's younger brother, Reverend Henry Glynne, Rector of Hawarden.

In his time at Cambridge, Lyttelton was an excellent classics scholar and he remained interested in educational reform. University also left him a high-church Anglican and in politics he moved to the Conservatives. In 1839 the Whig Prime Minister Lord Melbourne offered Lyttelton the post of Lord Lieutenant of Worcestershire. In his reply, Lyttelton drew attention to his own shift in politics

---

third Baron Lyttelton and third Baron Westcote (1782–1837), politician | Oxford Dictionary of National Biography [accessed 2 September 2004].

[369] *The Globe,* 2 May 1837, p. 2.

[370] T.W. Pritchard, *The Glynnes of Hawarden* (Norwich, 2017), pp. 238 & 242; DALHS, DE/16/5/15, Map of the Coppice Mill and lands adjoining, 25 November 1840 and DE/16/6/156, Plan of land at the Oak Estate near Himley Wood, nineteenth century.

towards the Conservative party, but Melbourne was happy for the appointment to go ahead and Lyttelton retained the position until he died in 1876.[371] It was not without controversy. For instance, during the general strike of 1842 Lyttelton was believed to have encouraged Dudley's magistrates in taking a hard line against the Chartist Arthur O'Neill (chapter 5).

Lyttelton had hoped to make money out of his share in Oak Farm, but he was badly disappointed. The brothers-in-law pulled back from direct involvement in the ironworks in 1845 but they still suffered financial consequences when the business failed spectacularly in November 1847.[372] Stephen Glynne was not a businessman and Lyttelton was impecunious: therefore the effort to save the Glynne family honour, and as much as possible of their joint investment, fell almost entirely on Gladstone, with financial help from his father.[373] The Lyttelton and Gladstone families remained close, although Mary Lyttelton died in 1857, worn out by twelve pregnancies in eighteen years of marriage. Another drain on Lyttelton's financial resources came through his involvement with the Canterbury Association, a Church of England scheme for settling British people in New Zealand. Lyttelton was chairman and had to help settle the association's debts when it ran into financial difficulties. The harbour and port town of Lyttelton in South Island, New Zealand are named after him.[374] Lyttelton found public service stressful, but he

---

[371] Askwith, *The Lytteltons,* pp 102-103; *The Standard,* 23 October 1839, p. 1.
[372] *Berrow's Worcester Journal,* 9 December 1847, p. 4.
[373] Recent scholarship suggests that, nowadays, Stephen Glynne would be diagnosed as being on the autism spectrum. As the Gladstones increasingly helped out with the expenses of Hawarden, they became joint occupants with Stephen Glynne and in due course the whole estate was bequeathed to the Gladstones' eldest son. Pritchard, *The Glynnes of Hawarden,* pp. 174-177 & 270-273.
[374] P. Gordon, 'Lyttelton, George William, fourth Baron Lyttelton and fourth Baron Westcote (1817-1876), educationist', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (published 23 September 2024, version 25 May 2006), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/17307 [accessed 15 April 2024].

was happy to take part in local initiatives. In 1845 he suggested that Stourbridge and Dudley should establish a shared dispensary. Although it proved unfeasible, it stimulated interest in both towns. Lyttelton's main work was in the field of education where he served on various commissions and encouraged local developments – for instance, supporting the establishment of the Mechanics' Institution in Dudley and he was president of Dudley's Geological Society.[375] Lyttelton was also a keen advocate of encouraging the working classes to play chess.[376] Later in life, Lyttelton re-married. His second wife was Sybella Mildmay, a widow with whom he had three daughters. Lyttelton had long suffered from depression, and he committed suicide in April 1876.[377] A family tree credits Lyttelton with having forty-four grandchildren.[378] He was succeeded as 5th baron by Charles George, the eldest of his eight sons.

A22. Palmer, Reverend John (c. 1801-1869), Unitarian minister

John Palmer was born and died in Waterford, Ireland, but his career in between took him far away, including a spell of nineteen years as the Unitarian minister in Dudley. The best biographical source is a piece to which Palmer's son, Reverend Henry Gordon Palmer, contributed in *Midland Churches* by G.E. Evans.[379] John Palmer took a BA at Trinity College Dublin and was expected to become a clergyman in the Church of Ireland but, according to his son, Palmer

[375] *The Birmingham Daily Post,* 30 December 1863, p. 3.
[376] *The Graphic,* 29 April 1876, p. 416.
[377] Askwith, *The Lytteltons: A Family Chronicle,* pp. 186-188.
[378] Askwith, *The Lytteltons: A Family Chronicle,* front matter, n.p. [viii?].
[379] G.E. Evans, *Midland Churches: A History of the Congregations on the Roll of the Midland Christian Union* (Dudley, 1899), pp. 106-109 & 120.

could not, in conscience, sign his name to the Athanasian Creed.[380] He therefore earned his living with a mix of short-term preaching engagements and tutoring until he was appointed as Dudley's Unitarian minister in February 1833, remaining as such till 1852. Although Palmer had missed the reform controversy in Dudley, he soon lent his support to many liberal causes in the town and became one of the acknowledged leaders of Dudley's emergent Liberal Party. He was also an educationalist.

Palmer married Jessy Langley in Ireland in 1825, but she died in Carmarthen in 1832. There was one surviving daughter from the union, Aphra. In 1836, Palmer married his second wife, Jane Gordon, who was much younger than he was. This second marriage produced a son, Henry Gordon, and a daughter, Mary. Like Palmer himself, the Gordon family were an example of changing religious allegiances.[381] Jane's brother was the Reverend John Gordon who left the Wesleyan ministry in one of the secessions of the mid-1830s. He worked with Thomas Lester in Dudley to take the newest Wesleyan chapel over to the Methodist New Connexion, but Gordon then became a Unitarian minister like Palmer.

Palmer continued some tutoring by the side of his minister's duties. He was one of the first in Dudley to urge adult education in the form of a Mechanics'

---

[380] The Athanasian Creed was part of the Thirty-Nine Articles which were believed to sum up the doctrines of the Anglican Church. The creed is strongly trinitarian, based on the belief that God was formed of three persons: Father, Son and Holy Spirit. This is contrary to the views of Unitarians.

[381] Jane's parents were Alexander Gordon, a Scottish presbyterian who was converted by John Wesley and became a Methodist local preacher, and Maria, a convert to Methodism from the Anglican church. Jane's brother, John, was destined to be an Anglican clergyman till he refused to subscribe to the thirty-nine articles and became a Methodist minister. H. McLachlan, *Alexander Gordon (9 June 1841-21 February 1931): A Biography with a Bibliography* (Manchester, 1932), pp. 1-2.

Institution. The original attempt was a nonconformist initiative in 1833, led by Palmer, James Dawson, the Independent minister, and others. Without wider support it was short-lived, but Palmer's inaugural lecture, 'On the advantages of uniting scientific with practical knowledge, in the arts and manufactures', fitted the ethos of the early mechanics' institute movement and was printed as a pamphlet.[382]

Palmer protested at vestry meetings, particularly against church rates, as early as 1834, making common cause with fellow nonconformist ministers, James Dawson and William Rogers and with Liberals, including Lester and Charles Twamley. He also became one of Dudley's leading campaigners against the Corn Laws and argued with Chartists who tried to disrupt repeal meetings.[383] At the 1847 general election, after Lord Ward and John Benbow had become Peelites, Samuel Cook criticised 'Mr Palmer and the Liberal party' for having gone over to Benbow (chapter 5). Palmer was one of the presidents of Dudley's freehold land society which aimed at helping the lower classes acquire land and, with it, the right to vote. In his later years in Dudley, Palmer supported the second attempt to set up a Mechanics' Institution. This time it had Anglican backing as well, significantly including that of Palmer's fellow Liberal, Elliott Hollier who was its driving force. Palmer's support included giving lectures on topics such as Egyptian antiquities and hieroglyphics, and helping lead a Shakespeare reading class.

---

[382] The original pamphlet has not survived but it was reproduced in: C.F.G. Clark (comp. & ed.), *The Curiosities of Dudley and the Back Country from 1800 to 1860* (Birmingham 1881), pp. 50-60; DALHS, PO/65A, PC, Dudley Mechanic's Institution. A lecture on the origin … (Dudley, 1833); T. Kelly, *George Birkbeck, Pioneer of Adult Education* (Liverpool, 1957), pp. 56-57.
[383] *The Worcestershire Chronicle,* 10 May 1843, p. 2.

After many years of seemingly opposing the establishment and the Church of England, Palmer suddenly changed course and accepted a colonial appointment as Treasurer on the Island of Dominica. No explanation was given, so it is impossible to know if the move represented a crisis of faith, but Palmer left the ministry and probably the Unitarian denomination. Palmer, his wife and youngest daughter seem to have arrived in Dominica in May 1852 before being joined by Palmer's eldest daughter and his sister early the following year.[384] The womenfolk paid a heavy price for Palmer's adventure. In an outbreak of yellow fever in May 1853, his sister and both daughters died within sixteen days of one another. Politics in Dominica were turbulent and, as an important member of the colonial administration, Palmer fell foul of George Charles Falconer, leader of the Liberal party and editor of *The Dominican.*[385]

Palmer suffered ill health and returned to Ireland in 1867 taking Jane with him. His religious journey also came full circle. Shortly before his death in 1869, he was received back into the Church of Ireland and his son Henry Gordon Palmer became an ordained minister in the same church. Jane outlived both her husband and son, not dying till 1914, aged 97.

A23. Parkin, Thomas (1780 - ?), radical and engineer

Thomas Parkin was a man of many parts, but he was also opinionated and irascible, which made him a difficult political ally and put a strain on his family

[384] *The Dominican,* 26 May 1852, p. [2]; *The Dominican,* 25 May 1853, p. [2].
[385] J.A. Borome, 'George Charles Falconer', *Caribbean Quarterly,* Vol. 6, No. 1 (1960), pp. 11-17, especially pp. 14-17.

relationships.[386] Furthermore, his financial affairs were frequently in a perilous state which rendered him a poor business associate. Parkin was born in Farnham, Surrey, but settled in the London area. Apart from helping with family businesses he first described himself as a merchant.[387] Parkin's connection to Dudley came through his wife, Elizabeth Hughes. Her father 'was a baker and maltster at Dudley; but had retired to West Bromwich'.[388] Hughes's death in 1804 left Elizabeth with a large inheritance but it was protected by trustees.[389] Parkin married Elizabeth at Aston, near Birmingham in 1807. On their pre-nuptial marriage settlement, Parkin was described as a merchant of Dalby Terrace, Islington, and he gained an interest in 'three pieces of land in Dudley and Sedgley', although it is not clear if he was permitted to exploit them straight away.[390]

Parkin later preferred to describe himself as an engineer or a civil engineer, although he never referred to having had any training. He seems to have seen himself as an inventor and he applied for many patents, presumably hoping to make financial gains from innovations. One of his first patents concerned printing machinery and was probably associated with a small press which he owned in London.[391] Parkin was a 'show man' and some of his claims need treating with caution. For instance, he wrote that he was a Sandemanian.[392] He may have been

---

[386] See for instance: *The Christian Corrector,* No. 59, 16 May 1832, p. 445.
[387] *The Christian Corrector,* No. 18, 13 February 1830, p.141.
[388] *The Christian Corrector,* No. 21, 27 March 1830, p. 169.
[389] *The Christian Corrector,* No. 21, 27 March 1830, p. 169; DALHS, DSCAM/3/230/6, Slater & Camm, wills etc, Hughes family, will of William Hughes, 1804.
[390] DALHS, DMAR/2/4, Marsh & Baxter Ltd., Brierley Hill, deeds, Dudley, copy pre-nuptial marriage settlement, 1807.
[391] *The Law Chronicle, Commercial, and Bankruptcy Register,* 3 June 1824, p. 7.
[392] *The Christian Corrector,* No. 18, 13 February 1830, p.141 and No. 21, 27 March 1830, p. 169.

an adherent but there are no records to prove it and scholars of Sandemanianism believe that Parkin was too overtly political to have retained membership of a Sandemanian chapel.[393] From the late 1820s, Parkin became a writer, particularly using religious topics to attack the state church.[394] The British Library catalogue styles him 'controversial writer'. Parkin was a London radical and, although a lesser figure, he moved in the same circles as Francis Place, Richard Carlile and John Cleave. Parkin was particularly associated with the National Union of the Working Classes and chaired some of their meetings at the Rotunda in London.[395] Between 1829 and 1832 Parkin took part in 'the war of the unstamped' by editing a radical paper, *The Christian Corrector*, and refusing to pay stamp duty on it. Although it was originally dominated by religious topics, it became increasingly more political.[396]

Parkin never severed his ties with London but in the first half of the 1830s he spent time in Dudley where, in association with others, he had coal mines and a brick-making business. He was, therefore, well positioned to play a prominent role in Dudley's reform movement. Parkin became a member of the council of the Birmingham Political Union in 1830, but he was de-selected in 1832.[397] Parkin was

---

[393] For advice on this topic, the author is indebted to Frank James and Neil Dickson and to archivists in various parts of the country for checking their Sandemanian holdings.
[394] For instance: T. Parkin, *An Exposure of Religious and Civil Despotism; in Observations on the Prophecies of Daniel, Paul and John, respecting the Fall and Destruction of 'The Mystery of Iniquity'…. and an Answer to Mr Irving's Letter to the King on the Test and Corporation Acts* (London, 1828).
[395] *The Morning Chronicle,* 11 May 1832, p. 4: *The True Sun,* 20 April 1833, p. 3 etc. The Rotunda, on Blackfriars Road, was a building bought by Richard Carlile to be a centre of radical debate.
[396] Like many reformers, Parkin was incensed when the House of Lords defeated the 1831 Reform Bill. He dubbed it 'the House of Hogs' and used 'Hog' instead of 'Lord' when referring to individual members as in: Hog Haddington, Hog Wicklow, Hog Londonderry et al. *The Christian Corrector,* No. 57, 2 May 1832, p. 435.
[397] Carlos Flick claims that Parkin and Weston [William Weston] were 'refused re-election … for supporting hard money and church rates' but this cannot be true of Parkin who opposed everything to do with the Church of England. It is more likely that Parkin was too radical for the majority. C.

more radical than most of the reformers in Dudley and he was particularly critical of the moderates who set up a second Dudley Political Union to rival the one he ran in association with Samuel Cook. For a time, after the Reform Act was passed, Parkin remained the moving force behind Dudley's surviving Political Union, which particularly enjoyed lampooning the vicar, Luke Booker. *The Christian Corrector* ceased in June 1832 but Parkin found other outlets for letters and short articles, particularly *The True Sun* and *The Poor Man's Guardian*. He made various complaints about Dudley's magistrates, accusing them of bias for not protecting his interests, but Parkin's finances were complex and over-stretched, so it is not surprising that the magistrates were wary of getting involved.[398] Both Parkin and his son, Thomas William Parkin, spent months in prison for debt.[399] Although Parkin continued to describe himself as being 'of Dudley' for several more years there are few mentions of his being active in the town after 1834. The mines he owned were put up for sale in 1836, with five years for the purchaser to mine the coal and ironstone, but he retained the land and continued to feature on Sedgley's electoral roll until at least 1842.[400]

Parkin spoke out on behalf of the Tolpuddle Martyrs and contributed to at least one Chartist paper, *The Southern Star,* although concentrating on attacking the Church of England as much as discussing politics.[401] Parkin parted company

---

Flick, *The Birmingham Political Union and the Movements for Reform in Britain, 1830-1839* (Hamden, Connecticut and Folkestone, 1978), pp. 41 & 102.

[398] Because of Parkin's frequent insolvency, it is likely that other people had claims on his property. See, for instance, a short item headed 'Dudley Police': *The True Sun,* 25 February 1833, p. 4.

[399] None of Parkin's businesses flourished. A list in *The London Gazette* shows his many moves and suggests multiple failures. *The London Gazette,* Issue 20233, 13 June 1843, p. 200.

[400] *Aris's Birmingham Gazette,* 4 July 1836, p. 4; Staffordshire poll books, Seisdon North, parish of Sedgley, 1842 etc, available on https://www.ancestry.co.uk In the poll books he is listed as Thomas Parkins.

[401] *The True Sun,* 9 April 1834, p. 2; *The Southern Star,* 26 April 1840, p. 1.

with *The Southern Star* as he became increasingly critical of the Chartist leader, Feargus O'Connor.[402] Parkin announced publication of a new newspaper, *The Eastern Star*, but little came of it and that marked the end of his contribution to Chartism.[403] Stephen Roberts argues that this was typical of London radicals who lost interest in Chartism from about 1839.[404]

Parkin's later years are increasingly difficult to track down. He has not been traced on any of the censuses which he may have boycotted because he was implacably opposed to governments' accruing more powers than he considered absolutely necessary. In the 1840s, after giving up politics he concentrated on his first enthusiasm as a rather eccentric inventor, particularly concerning various aspects of locomotion. He continued to apply for patents and struggled to get his ideas put into practice. He seems to have taken out his last patent in July 1846.[405] That same year, an encyclopaedia featured 'Parkins windmill railway', together with an illustration and stated that it was supposedly 'under trial in France' (figure A23.1). As Parkin's death has not been traced in Britain, he may have died abroad.[406]

[402] *The Southern Star,* 17 May 1840, p. 1 & 31 May 1840, p. 1.
[403] *The Northern Liberator,* 20 June 1840, p. 3.
[404] Email correspondence between the author and Stephen Roberts, 22 April 2016.
[405] *The Manchester Courier,* 12 August 1846, p. 6.
[406] L. Hebert, *The Engineer's and Mechanic's Encyclopaedia, Volume 2* (London, 1846), pp. 521-522.

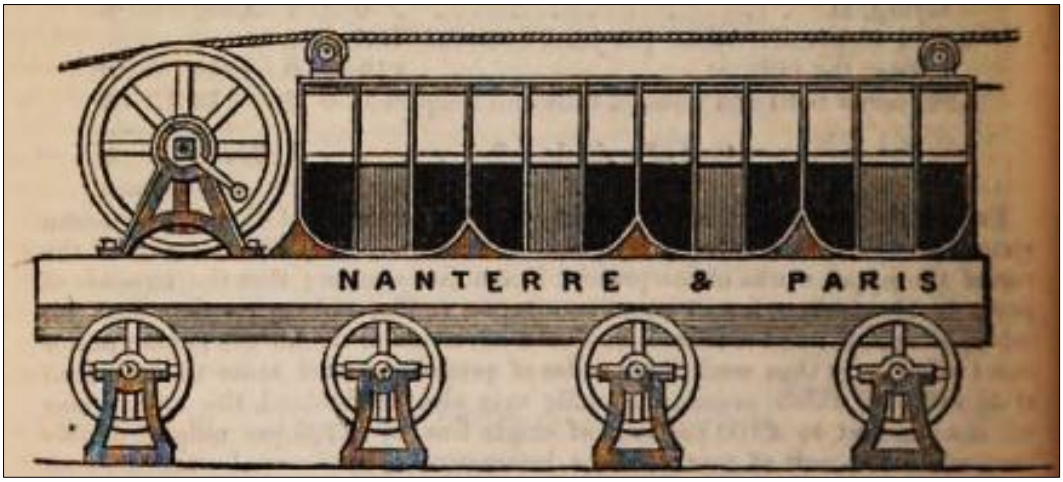


Figure A23.1. Illustration appertaining to Parkin's Windmill Railway.[407]

A.24. Rogers, Reverend William (c. 1790-1867), Baptist minister

C.F.G. Clark described William Rogers as 'a true specimen of a Welshman' and 'a zealous minister' of the Baptist chapel in Dudley.[408] It is not clear if Rogers was bi-lingual, but he apparently understood Welsh.[409] For someone with a long association with Dudley, surprisingly little is known of either his private life or his early career. Family history records indicate that he was born in Aberystruth, Monmouthshire, an ancient parish which became better known by the name of its central village, Blaina. According to Rogers, his father was a farmer.[410] In 1815, Rogers married Rachael Lewis in Llanwenarth, also Monmouthshire, but they

[407] L. Hebert, *The Engineer's and Mechanic's Encyclopaedia, Volume 2* (London, 1846), pp. 521-522.
[408] C.F.G. Clark (comp. & ed.), *The Curiosities of Dudley and the Black Country, from 1800 to 1860* (Birmingham, 1881), p. 87.
[409] Rogers praised the Welsh sermons of his successor, David Dudley Evans. J.F. Smith (ed.), *Full Report of the Proceedings attending the Welcome of the Rev. David Evans … to the Pastorate of the Baptist Church, Dudley etc.* (Dudley, 1858), p. 25.
[410] This information is from the wedding certificate for his second marriage. If his father (also William Rogers) was indeed a farmer, it may have been at Arael Farm where Rogers family farmed into the 1850s. It is not clear how much land they owned.

seem to have begun married life in Aberystruth.[411] A memorial tablet and the deaths register for Dudley Baptist church showed that Rachael died a few months after they moved to Dudley.[412] They had at least one daughter, Sarah, who was married in 1839 at the Baptist chapel in Dudley, whilst a son, Ebenezer, became a colliery manager in Abercarn. Nothing is known of William Rogers's early career, except that he claimed to have spent seven years at a Baptist church near Hereford before coming to Dudley.[413] The place has been identified as Orcop Hill, a small village south of Hereford and about six miles from the Welsh border.[414] In March 1826, Rogers was invited to the Dudley Baptist chapel (situated on the corner of New Street and Tower Street) as assistant to Reverend John Hutchings. When Hutchings died in 1833, Rogers became pastor, remaining in post until 1854.[415]

There are no newspaper reports of Rogers taking part in politics whilst he was an assistant at the chapel but his son remembered an occasion when his father had preached from the pulpit before 'adjourning with most of his crowded congregation to one of the Reform committee rooms'.[416] After Rogers became the pastor in 1833 his political interventions were more obvious, particularly his joining

---

[411] Their son, Ebenezer, gives Aberystruth as his place of birth (information from censuses). The Lewises seem to have had some property. Marriage certificate: William Rogers and Mary Adams Windsor, Baptist Meetinghouse, Dudley, 1846; Gwent Archives, D751, The Blaenavon Company, D.751.187, 192 & 197, Lease, release and common recovery, William and Rachel Rogers, Rebecca Lewis and others, 1820.
[412] A.A. Rollason, *The Old Non-Parochial Registers of Dudley etc.* (Dudley, 1899), pp. 57 & 62.
[413] Smith, *Full Report of the Proceedings attending the Welcome of the Rev. David Dudley Evans,* p. 24.
[414] Information supplied by Baptist historians, Mair and Brian Granthier. D. Coleman, *Orcop: The Story of a Herefordshire Village from Pre-history to Present Times* (Hanley Swan, Worcs., 1992), pp. 226-229.
[415] *Our Goodly Heritage; Dudley Baptist Church, 1772-1972* (Dudley? Dudley Baptist Church, n.d., 1972?), pp. 6-7.
[416] Smith, *Full Report of the Proceedings attending the Welcome of the Rev. David Dudley Evans,* p. 7.

with fellow nonconformist ministers, James Dawson (Independent) and John Palmer (Unitarian) in opposing church rates (chapter 6). For his political leanings, Rogers was targeted by the Conservatives at the Revising Court and his right to a vote was taken away in October 1839.[417] With Dawson, Rogers showed an early interest in the repeal of the Corn Laws (chapter 5). In religion, Rogers also joined in ecumenical initiatives, often those with a nonconformist leaning, such as supporting the so-called 'British schools', but also, more generally, as when he served on the local committee of the British and Foreign Bible Society.[418] As political controversies abated at the end of the 1840s, Rogers joined fellow nonconformist ministers putting their enthusiasm into establishing the Mechanics' Institution.[419]

A history of Dudley Baptist chapel assumes that Rogers had a private income, noting that he was generous towards the chapel.[420] As Rogers aged, internal divisions within the congregation took their toll on him and, in 1853, he declined an offer to have another assistant to help him carry on.[421] He preferred to retire, which he did the following year, leaving the chapel without a pastor until 1858 when the position was taken by David Dudley Evans, another Welshman and Liberal supporter, whom Rogers had strongly recommended. At the event to celebrate Evans's arrival, Rogers showed his generosity by publicly tearing up 'a

[417] *The Worcestershire Chronicle,* 2 October 1839, p. 3.
[418] See, for instance: *The Worcestershire Chronicle,* 13 April 1842, p. 3; *The Birmingham Journal,* 27 December 1845, p. 8; *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 18 May 1853, p. 2.
[419] For instance: *The Worcestershire Chronicle,* 5 March 1851, p. 5; *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 5 November 1851, p. 3; *The Worcestershire Chronicle,* 25 February 1852, p. 5; *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 5 October 1853, p. 6.
[420] *Our Goodly Heritage*, pp. 6-7.
[421] *Our Goodly Heritage,* p. 8.

bond' which represented money that he was owed by the chapel.[422] In February 1846, Rogers married again; this time to a local woman, Mary Adams Windsor, who was baptised at the chapel the following year. Mary died in early 1861. Rogers remained living in Dudley until his death in 1867.

A.25. Sheridan, Henry Brinsley (1820-1906), MP

Henry Brinsley Sheridan was MP for Dudley for twenty-nine years, but despite his long association with the area, little is known of his private life. He does not seem to have bought property in the area or to have involved his family in the life of the town and showed little interest in the borough after his eventual defeat in the general election of 1886.[423]

Henry Brinsley was the son of Garrett Sheridan and they were lawyers. The 1841 census shows them both in residence at Lyons Inn – an inn of chancery affiliated to the Inner Temple. Garrett was born in Cavan, Ireland and his son's unusual middle name was apparently in homage to the Dublin-born playwright, Richard Brinsley Sheridan, although Henry frequently had to deny that they were related. In 1850 Sheridan married Elizabeth Wood, the daughter of Reverend John Wood. It was an Anglican marriage ceremony although Wood was a minister in the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion. Both Sheridan and his father-in-law were

[422] Smith, *Full Report of the Proceedings attending the Welcome of the Rev. David Dudley Evans*, p. 25.
[423] One exception to not involving his family is that his second son, who was born the year after Sheridan first became MP, was named 'Dudley', presumably as a reference to the constituency.

active in the Times Life Assurance and Guarantee Company.[424] Sheridan was admitted to the Inner Temple in 1852 and called to the bar in 1856.[425]

In 1857, an unexpected Tory/Radical alliance was made in Dudley, aimed at challenging Lord Ward and the parliamentary candidate whom he had chosen unilaterally. With barely a week to the election, the alliance's committee obtained Sheridan's contact details as someone who was interested in becoming a Member of Parliament (chapter 7). Although living in Fulham, Sheridan responded immediately, coming to Dudley as an opportunist with nothing to lose. He claimed that he had had offers to represent two other constituencies but preferred to help rescue Dudley from 'the trammels of political serfdom'.[426] In a short campaign, the momentum was with the alliance, causing Ward's candidate to pull out before the poll, which left Sheridan to be elected unopposed. When he declared his means for satisfying the required MP's qualification, at least one newspaper sneered at his lack of 'real estate'.[427] Sheridan was uncowed and hit back in a letter claiming: 'It is not an uncommon occurrence for commercial men to have most of their property closely invested in commercial enterprises.'[428] Sheridan further argued that he thought he deserved more credit for investing in 'the prosperity of some of the most respectable public companies in London' than 'being the possessor of a large income arising from bare landed property'.[429] Although Sheridan never

[424] *The Sun,* 8 June 1850, pp. 1 & 3.
[425] Information supplied by Celia Pilkington, Archivist at the Inner Temple, London. There are no records of his having become active as a barrister.
[426] With barely a week before polling, it seems unlikely that Sheridan was still considering two other offers, even if he had had them. *The Birmingham Journal,* 25 March 1857, p. 1.
[427] The original piece from *The Morning Star* was reproduced in *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 27 May 1857, p. 3.
[428] *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 27 May 1857, p. 3
[429] Ibid.

achieved government office, he was an active backbencher. As early as July 1857 he was trying to make amendments to government legislation.[430]

In the election of 1857 and again in 1859, Sheridan demonstrated political adroitness in keeping the fragile alliance together, but it was over by the election of 1865 and Sheridan was opposed by a Liberal and a Conservative. However, his Liberal opponent was persuaded to stand down. Sheridan was then able to take up his preferred position as a Liberal and easily defeated the Conservative. Sheridan was a strong advocate of parliamentary reform and after the Second Reform Act of 1867 and the enlargement of Dudley's constituency in 1868, Sheridan was unopposed in the election later that year.

In 1869, Sheridan's position was threatened by the fall-out from the failure of the large Albert Assurance Company – a failure which was thought to be caused by an excessive number of 'amalgamations'.[431] One of these had been with the Times Life Assurance and Guarantee Company of which Sheridan was the manager and he had also been involved in other amalgamations for which he had received payments.[432] This made him a target for angry policy-holders who had lost money.[433] Sheridan repudiated criticisms, arguing that the business he had brought to the firm had been profitable and the problems faced by the Albert Assurance Company had occurred after his own involvement had ceased.[434]

---

[430] *Hansard,* Vol. 147, Banking Bill, Committee stage, 21 July 1857, columns 130-131.
[431] It was said that the Albert Assurance company had undergone twenty-two amalgamations since it was founded in 1838 and its outstanding policies were valued at between £3 million and £4 million. *The Birmingham Daily Post,* 16 August 1869, p. 5.
[432] The Albert Assurance Company had taken over the Times Life Assurance and Guarantee Company of which Sheridan was the manager in 1857 for £21,250. *The Daily Telegraph,* 30 August 1869, p. 2.
[433] *The Daily Telegraph,* 30 August 1869, p. 2.
[434] *The Daily News,* 1 September 1869, p. 5.

Sheridan may have been fortunate that there was not another election until 1874. In that election, Sheridan's Conservative challenger was the Earl of Dudley's former chief mines agent, who was formerly known as Frederick Smith, but had changed his name to Frederick Smith Shenstone.[435] While the Conservatives tried to stir up the Albert Assurance affair, Sheridan was able to revive the suggestion that, if elected, Smith Shenstone would represent the Earl of Dudley rather than the townspeople.[436] Sheridan won the poll, but the election was marred by rioting which led to the result being declared void. At the re-run, Smith Shenstone did not stand again, leaving Sheridan to defeat the new candidate, the industrialist, Noah Hingley, who claimed to be 'no party man'.[437]

The cartoon of Sheridan is the only known depiction of him (figure A25.1).[438] Although undated, its 'Albert' references suggest that it is probably from the period 1869 to 1874. In his early days as an MP, Sheridan had used donations and subscriptions to different groups in Dudley to ingratiate himself with his constituents, but R.H. Trainor claims that Sheridan came to resent the drain on his finances.[439] Sheridan first won the Dudley seat as an anti-establishment figure, and it was an aspect that he never entirely lost. Trainor contrasts Sheridan's aloofness from the local authority with that of Brooke Robinson, the Conservative who defeated him in 1886. According to Trainor, Robinson 'eagerly grasped the

---

[435] Shenstone was a place near Lichfield where Richard Smith had property.
[436] For an example of how the Conservatives tried to use the Albert Assurance affair against Sheridan see: DALHS, PO/231, PC, Fellow townsmen. In the contest now at hand…(n.p,, [1874]); *The Dudley Guardian,* 7 February 1874, p. 6.
[437] *The Birmingham Daily Post,* 4 May 1874, p. 4.
[438] Unfortunately, Dudley Archives has no record of the provenance of this cartoon, and it has not been possible to trace the publication it was taken from. DALHS, PO/296, PC, The Member for Dudley, counting the cost (n.p., n.d.).
[439] R.H. Trainor, *Black Country Elites: The Exercise of Authority in an Industrialized Area, 1830-1900* (Oxford, 1993) p. 226.

role of civic celebrity'.[440] After his defeat, there are no records of Sheridan taking up a legal practice. As late as 1895 he visited Dudley with a view to contesting the seat again, but it was said that he had been advised against it on medical grounds.[441] It may have been equally significant that he found Robinson well entrenched in the constituency.



Figure A25.1. Cartoon of H.B. Sheridan MP, undated.[442]

[440] Ibid., p. 226.
[441] *Stratford-Upon-Avon Herald,* 28 Jun 1895, p. 8.
[442] DALHS, PO/296, PC, The Member for Dudley counting the cost (n.p., n.d.), Source unknown.

A.26. Smith family, mine and ironworking engineers and agents

Including:

Richard Smith (1783-1868)

Frederick Smith, later Smith Shenstone (1824-1916)

Edward Fisher Smith (1811-1892)

The Smiths were part of a large Staffordshire family – in particular, of the branch associated with Tibbington House in the parish of Tipton.[443] Several generations of the family were important in mining and ironworking, both in the Dudley area and much further afield. Richard Smith's father was Thomas Smith (1747-1808), a coalmaster but also an enthusiastic Baptist who helped build the Darkhouse Baptist chapel in Coseley and served as a pastor there for some years.[444] However, Richard and the family of his brother Joseph (1769-1832) later conformed to the Church of England. After Thomas died in 1808, Richard and other members of the family continued to live at Tibbington House. In 1811, Richard married Elizabeth, the daughter of Samuel Fereday, one of the Black Country's best known, late eighteenth-century ironmasters. Smith joined Fereday in a partnership and the firm was one of those that did well during the Napoleonic Wars, but was ruined by the depression following the ending of the wars. Smith

[443] C.E.M. Hudson, *The Manors of Wike Burnell and Wyke Waryn, in the County of Worcester, with some Account of the Several Lords thereof, of their Families, of the Village, and of the Immediate Neighbourhood, from the VIIth Century to the Present Time* (Oxford, 1901), pp. 159-169.
[444] R.P. Fereday, 'The career of Richard Smith', part one, *The Acorn* (Summer, 1966), pp. 11-14.

was declared bankrupt in August 1816 and the partnership suffered the same fate the following year.[445]

Whilst Fereday went into exile to avoid creditors, Smith faced up to his and spent at least ten years trying to settle his debts.[446] He gradually re-established himself, concentrating on coal mining operations, including in Wales and Portugal, but his big break came when he was hired by the General Mining Association (GMA) to organise their coal mining operations in Nova Scotia and he arrived in Pictou in June 1827.[447] Amongst other things, he built a fine house, named Mount Rundell after the firm who employed him and he was joined there by his wife and daughter. His brother Joseph's son, also Joseph (1806-1884), came as an assistant in 1828. Smith reorganised existing operations and opened up new areas, making the whole enterprise much larger and more profitable. However, his chief loyalty lay with the firm and his policy of increasing the GMA's monopoly suppressed the area's revenue and antagonised local leaders. Smith involved himself in politics and stood for the Assembly, a 'monopolist' against a reformer in a contest that threatened to break into violence. Although elected after an enquiry, Smith served only part of his term before returning to England in May 1834. His

[445] The third member of the partnership was James Fisher. *The London Gazette,* Issue 17268, 15 July 1817, p. 1582.
[446] Fereday, 'The career of Richard Smith', part one, p. 14.
[447] The GMA was the mining arm of the jewellery firm Rundell, Bridge and Rundell and they subleased the mineral rights in Nova Scotia from the Duke of York who was in debt to them. D. Frank, 'Smith, Richard,' *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Vol. 9 (University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003), Biography – SMITH, RICHARD – Volume IX (1861-1870) – Dictionary of Canadian Biography (biographi.ca) [accessed 17 April 2024]; R.P. Fereday, 'The career of Richard Smith', part two, The Acorn (Autumn, 1966), p. 7.

nephew, Joseph, assumed charge of the operations and took over Mount Rundell.[448]

In May 1835, the trustees in charge of the Dudley estate, under the will of the Earl of Dudley, commissioned Richard Smith, together with Liddell, a mining engineer from Northumberland, to survey the estate's mining operations.[449] Their report was ready by March 1836 and showed that the estate had been working very inefficiently. Although the estate's chief mines agent, Francis Downing, was one of the trustees, he was overruled and in December 1836 Smith was given the job of reorganising the estate's industrial activities. Smith allied with the estate's auditor, James Loch, in urging 'a more efficient system of book-keeping and accounts'.[450] Loch, whose main employment was as agent for the Duke of Sutherland, tried to recruit Smith to work for the Bridgewater Trust.[451] Smith remained loyal to the Dudley estate, whilst the trustees agreed to match the extra salary that Smith had been offered, although it was only the same that Downing received.[452] Smith's eldest son, George Samuel Fereday Smith (1812-1891), went to the Bridgewater Trust in his father's stead and served it for over fifty years, rising through the ranks of senior managers and becoming very wealthy.[453] Downing retained a position in the Dudley estate that was largely honorific and

---

[448] Fereday, 'The career of Richard Smith', part two, *The Acorn* (Autumn 1966), pp. 7-14, especially pp. 8-10.
[449] Liddell was probably Matthew Liddell who later worked with Smith's eldest son. T.J. Raybould, *The Economic Emergence of the Black Country: A Study of the Dudley Estate* (Newton Abbot, 1973), p. 194.
[450] Raybould, *The Economic Emergence of the Black Country*, p. 232.
[451] Loch is chiefly known to history for his central role in implementing the Highland clearances.
[452] R.P. Fereday, 'The career of Richard Smith', part three, *The Acorn* (Winter, 1966), pp. 7-12, especially pp. 7-8.
[453] G. Crompton, 'Smith, George Samuel Fereday (1812-1891), industrialist and canal manager', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (23 September 2004), Search Results for George samuel fereday smith | Oxford Dictionary of National Biography [accessed 2 September 2024].

remained living at the imposing Priory (later Priory Hall) until he over-reached himself trying to set up in business and withdrew in 1843. Smith's first wife, Elizabeth had died in 1838 and in 1843 he married Mary Ann Emery and they took up residence at the Priory vacated by Downing.[454]

After the trust finished its work in 1845, Smith worked directly for Lord Ward. Smith made the estate more efficient and profitable, particularly by encouraging integrated working and increasing the royalties taken from its lessees. His most successful and best-known integration scheme was the establishment, in the 1850s, of the Round Oak Iron Works, just outside the Dudley boundary in Brierley Hill. Smith brought family members up through management. His younger son, Frederick, became manager of the New Level Furnaces and his nephew, Edward Fisher Smith (Joseph's younger son), was the estate's mines agent.[455]

As well as his industrial activities, Richard Smith was expected to further Ward's political aspirations as, for instance, when he hosted Sir Stafford Northcote as parliamentary candidate in 1854, and Smith would have been expected to arrange for the estate's tenants to support Ward's chosen candidate. The Smiths played a limited role in public affairs in Dudley. Richard served on the first Board of Health and was replaced by Edward for a term, but he gave up in the face of Tory obstructionism (chapter 7). Edward did, however, serve as a Dudley Guardian for over a decade. When Richard finally retired in 1864, he was replaced as the

[454] Smith was in residence by December 1843. Fereday, 'The career of Richard Smith', part three, p. 8; *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 27 December 1843, p. 3.
[455] E.F. Smith was Richard's nephew but some authors, including Trevor Raybould, mistakenly claim him as Richard's grandson. Raybould, *The economic emergence of the Black Country,* pp. 152 & 229.

Dudley estate's chief agent by his son Frederick. The following year, when Dudley was incorporated, Frederick Smith was elected as the corporation's first mayor and helped design the borough's new heraldic shield. It included several parts of the Ward family's coat of arms but also, from the coat of arms granted to Richard Smith, a salamander which has remained in place through various vicissitudes of local government administration up to the present day.[456]

Frederick Smith only held the top position in the Dudley estate until 1870 when he took very early retirement. His father had died in 1868 and Frederick, who changed his name to Frederick Smith Shenstone, retired to the life of a country squire at Barcombe in Sussex.[457] He did not marry till after he left Dudley but in 1873 he took a young bride, Augusta Knapp. The Earl of Dudley was one of the witnesses to the marriage.[458] There was one child from the union, a daughter, but it was not a happy marriage and Augusta petitioned for a judicial separation in 1890, citing Frederick's bullying and violent behaviour towards her.[459] The petition was dismissed and they continued to live together. In 1874, shortly after his marriage, Smith Shenstone challenged Dudley's sitting MP, H.B. Sheridan at the general election. Smith Shenstone claimed to be a Liberal Conservative and part of the campaign was an attack on Sheridan's association with the failed Albert Assurance Company.[460] Sheridan won but the result was annulled due to election

[456] The salamander is currently on Dudley Metropolitan Borough's heraldic shield.
[457] He added the name 'Shenstone' from an estate near Lichfield which he inherited from his father. His residence at Barcombe had various names but was generally known as Sutton Hall.
[458] Parish register, St George, Hanover Square: https://www.ancestry.co.uk, [accessed 22 April 2024].
[459] Shenstone, Augusta Emma Grace v Shenstone, Frederick Smith, High Court of Justice … (Divorce), Court minutes, 4 November 1890-19 January 1891, https://www.ancestry.co.uk [accessed 25 May 2024].
[460] DALHS, PO/231, PC, Fellow townsmen. In the contest now at hand…(n.p,, [1874]).

violence. However, Smith Shenstone withdrew before the election was re-run. Smith Shenstone was replaced as the Dudley estate's main agent by his cousin, Edward Fisher Smith, who was older than Shenstone but stayed in post from 1870 until 1886. After returning from Nova Scotia, Edward's brother, Joseph settled in the Handsworth area where he was described as the manager of a tube works.[461]

A.27. Spencer family, aristocrats

Including:

Sarah Spencer, later Lady Sarah Lyttelton (1787-1870)

Frederick Spencer, later 4th Earl Spencer (1798-1857)

George Spencer, later Father Ignatius Spencer (1799-1864)

Although the second Earl Spencer's family estate was at Althorp near Northampton, three of his nine children were associated with the Dudley area for varying lengths of time, whilst their eldest brother, Viscount Althorp, took a central role in securing the Reform Act of 1832 as leader of the House of Commons in the Whig government. The Spencers were one of the great Whig families of the eighteenth century and had been known for their rakish ways, but the new generation were increasingly respectable and even pious, as seen below in George's conversion to Catholicism.[462] More is known of Sarah because she was

[461] It is not clear when Joseph Smith returned to Britain. He was described as 'Manager of the General Mining Association, 1834-1840' but he may have held other posts. Nova Scotia Archives, Nova Scotia Archives - Men in the Mines, [accessed 20 May 2024]. He is described as 'manager of a tube works' in the 1861 and 1871 censuses.

[462] B. Askwith, *The Lytteltons: A Family Chronicle of the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1975), pp. 2-4.

an enthusiastic letter-writer, both before and after she married William Henry Lyttelton in 1813.[463] William's elder half-brother, George, was currently Baron Lyttelton and residing at the Lyttelton's family estate, Hagley Hall, near Stourbridge. George was an invalid and unmarried, and as his mental health worsened, William and Sarah moved closer to help administer the estate. At first, they took a house in Hagley then, when George died and William became 3rd Baron Lyttelton in 1828, they moved into Hagley Hall.[464]

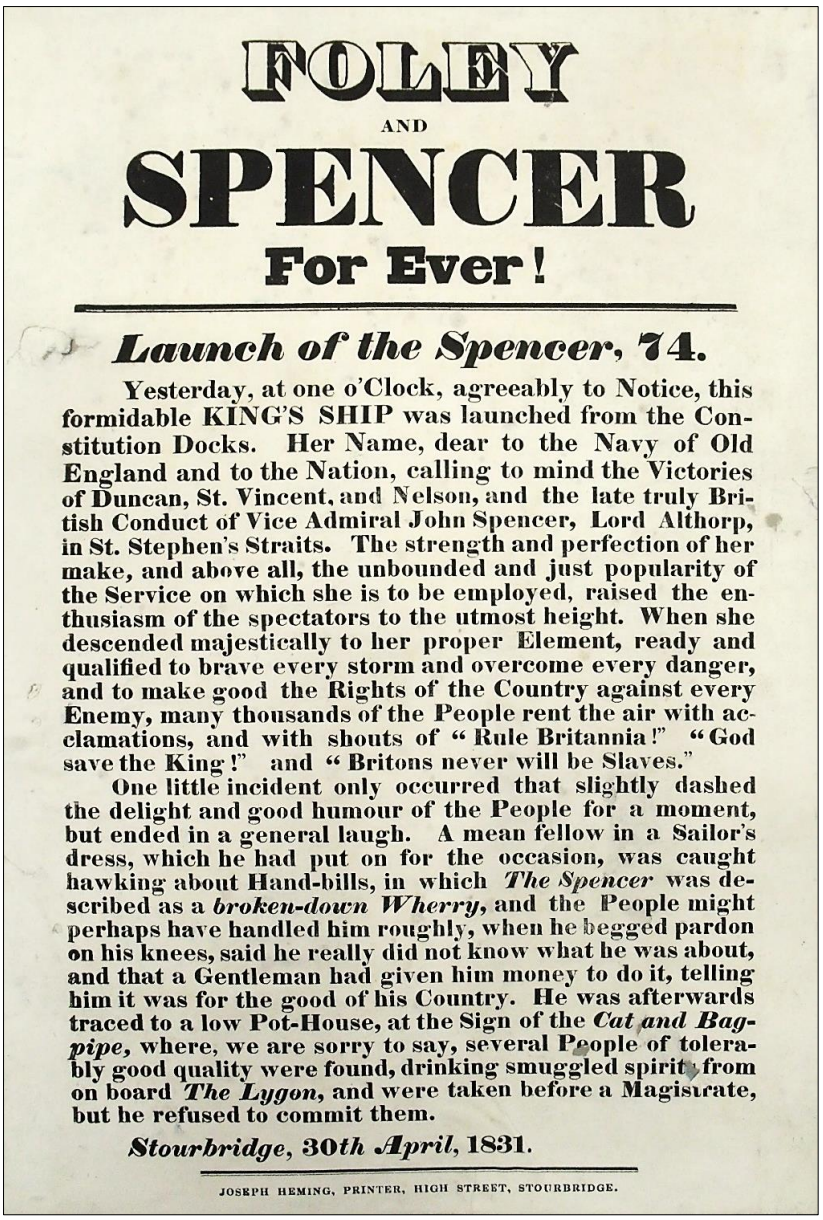
The Spencers, like many aristocratic families, were much concerned with having male heirs. They wished to perpetuate the family, ensure the continuance of the title and keep the estate intact. With four marriageable sons this had not seemed a problem until 1830 when George, the youngest son, who had been an Anglican clergyman, converted to Catholicism, followed later in the year by the untimely death of his brother, Robert.[465] Although, his mother, Lady Spencer, went into mourning on hearing the news that George had converted, his father treated him kindly and paid him an allowance.

Like the Spencers, the Lytteltons of Worcestershire were a leading Whig family and when a general election was called on the reform question in 1831, Lord Lyttelton was pressed to find a second Reform candidate to challenge Worcestershire's anti-reform Tory MP, Colonel Lygon.[466] With Lygon's mother said

[463] S.S. Lyttelton, *Correspondence of Sarah Spencer, Lady Lyttelton, 1787-1870* (New York, 1912).
[464] Askwith, *The Lytteltons,* pp. 32-35.
[465] There was the likelihood that George would wish to become a Catholic priest and, as such, would not be able to marry and have children – and indeed that is what happened. Viscount Althorp was a widower, childless and disinclined to re-marry. Frederick, the other brother, married in 1830 but there were doubts as to the health and strength of his wife.
[466] At the time, Worcestershire had two MPs and, as was frequently the case, they had been split between the two parties. The Whig MP, the Honourable Thomas Henry Foley, a reformer, was also standing for re-election.

to have pledged £50,000 to secure her son's re-election, there were few men willing to take on Lygon. Therefore, Lyttelton asked his brother-in-law, Frederick Spencer, who took up the challenge enthusiastically and moved into Hagley Hall for the duration of the campaign. Spencer proved to be particularly popular in the Stourbridge and Dudley area. Although registering mock dismay, Sarah Lyttelton described the election campaign in a letter to her sister-in-law.[467] Frederick had had a career in the navy and many of the handbills supporting him used nautical puns or metaphors. Sarah hinted that the family may have helped write some of them.[468] Figure A27.1 shows an example of such a handbill which also draws attention to the part played by Viscount Althorp, Sarah and Frederick's elder brother.[469]

[467] S.S. Lyttelton, *Correspondence of Sarah Spencer, Lady Lyttelton, 1787-1870* (New York, 1912), Lady Lyttelton to the Hon. Mrs Pole-Carew, 9 May 1831, pp. 261-262.
[468] Ibid.
[469] DALHS, PO/392, PC, Foley and Spencer for ever! (Stourbridge, 1831).



FOLEY
AND
SPENCER
For Ever!

Launch of the Spencer, 74.

Yesterday, at one o'Clock, agreeably to Notice, this formidable KING'S SHIP was launched from the Constitution Docks. Her Name, dear to the Navy of Old England and to the Nation, calling to mind the Victories of Duncan, St. Vincent, and Nelson, and the late truly British Conduct of Vice Admiral John Spencer, Lord Althorp, in St. Stephen's Straits. The strength and perfection of her make, and above all, the unbounded and just popularity of the Service on which she is to be employed, raised the enthusiasm of the spectators to the utmost height. When she descended majestically to her proper Element, ready and qualified to brave every storm and overcome every danger, and to make good the Rights of the Country against every Enemy, many thousands of the People rent the air with acclamations, and with shouts of "Rule Britannia!" "God save the King!" and "Britons never will be Slaves."

One little incident only occurred that slightly dashed the delight and good humour of the People for a moment, but ended in a general laugh. A mean fellow in a Sailor's dress, which he had put on for the occasion, was caught hawking about Hand-bills, in which *The Spencer* was described as a *broken-down Wherry*, and the People might perhaps have handled him roughly, when he begged pardon on his knees, said he really did not know what he was about, and that a Gentleman had given him money to do it, telling him it was for the good of his Country. He was afterwards traced to a low Pot-House, at the Sign of the *Cat and Bagpipe*, where, we are sorry to say, several People of tolerably good quality were found, drinking smuggled spirits from on board *The Lygon*, and were taken before a Magistrate, but he refused to commit them.

Stourbridge, 30th April, 1831.

JOSEPH HEMING, PRINTER, HIGH STREET, STOURBRIDGE.

Figure A27.1. Handbill supporting Foley and Spencer, 1831.[470]

Frederick Spencer, being a younger son, did not own sufficient property to meet the property requirement for an MP and at the nominations in Worcester, one of the Tory party demanded to see proof that he met the property qualification. Spencer was able to produce a deed dated two weeks previously showing that his

[470] DALHS, PO/392, PC, Foley and Spencer for ever! (Stourbridge, 1831).

father had transferred property in Hertfordshire to him with a rentable value of £600 per annum.[471] Following an enthusiastic campaign, both Foley and Spencer were elected, although Spencer made it clear that he would not stand for Worcestershire again after the Reform Bill was passed. With two brothers and her husband taking part in the reform battle and meeting key protagonists, both in London and Birmingham, Sarah had political insights to pass on in her letters, but she also noted the cholera scare in November 1831, closely followed by disturbances amongst the miners which Lord Lyttelton was called on to help deal with.[472] Again, in July 1832, Sarah commented on cholera, saying that it was 'all round us', but claimed that the fear of it was diminishing, adding: 'When first it was at Sunderland I could not have imagined the composure with which I now daily inquire for the new cases of the night at Stourbridge!'[473]

Earl Spencer died in 1834 and John, Viscount Althorp, became the 3rd Earl Spencer. With George now ordained as a Catholic priest, the new Earl took a more robust line in that George was still welcome to visit the family home, but it was made a condition that he did not speak to anyone of lower rank while he was there – thus for instance, preventing him from proselytising the servants. George thought that that compromised his vows, so he saw less of his family.[474] Following his ordination, George Spencer had a short-term appointment in Walsall before being moved to work at a new chapel in West Bromwich, but his area soon

[471] *Jackson's Oxford Journal,* 14 May 1831, p. 2.
[472] Lyttelton, *Correspondence of Sarah Spencer, Lady Lyttelton,* pp. 263-271.
[473] Lyttelton, *Correspondence of Sarah Spencer, Lady Lyttelton,* Lady Lyttelton to the Hon. Mrs Pole-Carew, 23 July 1832, pp.271-272.
[474] G. Skinner, *Father Ignatius Spencer: English Noble and Christian Saint* (Leominster, 2018), pp. 198-199.

expanded, first to take in Tipton and then, from Easter 1834, Dudley as well.[475] Of the latter, Spencer wrote:

> I take great delight in Dudley where there is a very excellent spirit prevailing, and at the same time a vast deal of evil and misery to be remedied; and among no class more than in my peculiar flock, the Irish settlers.[476]

There had been no provision for Catholics in Dudley before Spencer's mission, but after first meeting in a school room, Spencer managed to acquire a warehouse in which to hold services and later he rented a redundant Methodist chapel.[477] Spencer handed over the allowance his father gave him to the Catholic authorities to use as they saw fit and did so again with the money he inherited on his father's death in 1834. George was bequeathed £3,600 together with an annual sum of £300 which could be augmented by another £300 'at the discretion of the succeeding earls'.[478] A large proportion of the money for the mission at West Bromwich and then Dudley's Pugin-designed church came from Spencer's money which also helped to pay for the land when the Catholic training college at Oscott was expanded and re-built on a new site in 1838.[479]

Sarah and her husband were both committed Anglicans but when George was taken seriously ill in 1835, they not only brought him to Hagley Hall so that he

---

[475] Ibid., pp. 191 & 194.
[476] Ibid., p. 195. Letter dated 20 June 1834.
[477] Skinner, *Father Ignatius Spencer* p. 195; Original article from *The Watchman*, reprinted in: *The Morning Herald,* 11 March 1836, p. 6.
[478] Skinner, *Father Ignatius Spencer,* p. 225.
[479] *Letters from Ignatius Spencer C. P. Vol. 8* (unpublished, typescript), Ignatius Spencer to Father Provincial, 27 February 1853, p.11; Skinner, *Father Ignatius Spencer,* pp. 142 & 225.

could be nursed, but also made arrangements for his religious devotions.[480] Lord Lyttelton hoped that he might yet win his brother-in-law back to Protestantism, but Lyttelton died in April 1837.[481] Later the same year, Sarah was offered a post as one of the Ladies of the Bedchamber to the young Queen Victoria. Having accepted, Sarah was unwittingly part of the so-called 'bedchamber crisis' of May 1839.[482] In February 1840 Victoria married Prince Albert and they soon began building a large family. In April 1842, Victoria and Albert appointed Sarah as governess to their young children.

George Spencer was moved from Dudley in 1839, before the new church was built, but he was allowed to return to take part in the opening ceremony (chapter 8). His new post was as spiritual director at St Mary's College, Oscott. However, Spencer increasingly saw his life's work as leading prayers for the conversion of England. He was closely associated with the Italian priest, Father Dominic Barberi who founded a Passionist noviciate in Staffordshire at Aston Hall, Stone. Spencer obtained the reluctant permission of his superiors for him to join the order, becoming a noviciate at the end of 1846. He took the religious name of Ignatius of St Paul and, after making his vows, was fully received as a Passionist in January 1848.[483] As well as his spiritual work, Father Ignatius was able to use

---

[480] Skinner, *Father Ignatius Spencer,* p. 201.
[481] Ibid. p. 202.
[482] It is not clear if Sarah's elder brother, now Earl Spencer, put her name forward, but she apparently had his blessing to accept the position. Robert Peel had been asked to form a government but, as a Conservative, he took exception to Queen Victoria's ladies of the bedchamber all being from Whig families. When the Queen refused to appoint any Conservative women, Peel withdrew, leaving Lord Melbourne to form another Whig government. E.A. Wasson, *Whig Renaissance: Lord Althorp and the Whig Party, 1782-1845* (New York, 1987), p. 338.
[483] E. Hamer, 'George Spencer [Ignatius of St Paul], 1799-1864, Roman Catholic priest', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* (published 23 September 2024, version, 21 May 2009), Spencer, George [name in religion Ignatius of St Paul] (1799–1864), Roman Catholic priest | Oxford Dictionary of National Biography [accessed 2 September 2024].

his extensive contacts to fundraise for his order. However, his brother Frederick had succeeded as the 4th Earl Spencer and, interpreting the terms of their father's will, Frederick insisted that the second £300 per annum could not be used for Catholic purposes.[484] Ignatius died from a sudden heart attack in 1864.

Sarah, Lady Lyttelton held the post of royal governess until 1850 when she resigned to take care of her grandchildren whose mother had died.[485] Sarah herself died in 1870 and was buried at Hagley, having outlived all her siblings. Frederick, the 4th Earl Spencer, allayed family fears over the succession by having a son by both his first and second wife. One of his descendants is now heir to the British throne.[486] Father Ignatius, formerly George Spencer, has been put forward as a candidate for sainthood. In February 2021 he was declared Venerable by the Catholic church, a step towards becoming a saint.

28. Twamley, Charles (1805-1887), radical solicitor and local historian

Charles Twamley was born into one of Dudley's Unitarian families. His father, John, had earned a good living as a grocer and tea dealer and had been wealthy enough to be one of Dudley's earliest Town Commissioners. The family were known as reformers and had probably been Whig supporters for some time. The eldest son, named John after his father, went into retail and later moved to Warwick but Charles trained in the law and, in Dudley, he was considered to be a

[484] Skinner, *Father Ignatius Spencer*, p. 325.
[485] V. Surtees, 'Lyttelton (née Spencer), Sarah, Lady Lyttelton (1787-1870), courtier', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (published 23 September 2004, version 28 September 2006), Search Results for Sarah Lady Lyttelton | Oxford Dictionary of National Biography [accessed 2 September 2024].
[486] Frederick was the great-great-great-grandfather of Prince William, now the Prince of Wales.

radical solicitor. He was articled in 1821 and he followed his father by becoming a Town Commissioner in 1836.[487] Like others, the Twamleys first came to notice as reformers during attempts to celebrate the French Revolution of 1830.[488] They were prominent in the reform election in 1831 and, in an election ballad, the family was named amongst those who were first to back the reform candidates, Foley and Spencer.[489] According to the ballad, John Twamley (presumably senior) seems to have headed the Dudley voters who journeyed to Worcester to vote for the Reform candidates:

'John Twamley they chose for a captain so bold…'[490]

The Twamleys were pro-reform but were also advocates of law and order. John Twamley junior signed up as a special constable during the disturbances late in 1831.[491] As a solicitor, Charles eschewed anything illegal. One of the worst disturbances of Dudley's election campaigns in 1832 came when the Tory standing for East Worcestershire entered Dudley. According to an anonymous letter in a newspaper, when it became known that the magistrates had read the Riot Act, it was Charles Twamley who addressed the crowds and advised them to go home.[492] Twamley allied with the more moderate reformers, such as Thomas

---

[487] The National Archives**,** CP/5/193/72, Records of the Court of Common Pleas and other courts, Articles of clerkship for Charles Twamley, articled to John Thomas Smith, 1821; DALHS, Dudley Town, Town Commissioners' Minutes, Volume 2 1832-1863.
[488] John Twamley junior and Charles were both on the committee collecting subscriptions to send to General Lafayette, while Twamley's shop was one of three where subscriptions were being collected. DALHS, PO/458. PC, French independence. At a public meeting of the inhabitants of Dudley (Dudley, 1830).
[489] DALHS, PO/82A, PC, Dudley election, or the triumph of Spencer (n.p., nd. 1831?).
[490] Frederick Spencer had been in the navy, and consequently nautical metaphors had been used frequently in his election material. Ibid.
[491] John Twamley's papers as a special constable were signed by the Tory magistrate Thomas Badger. DALHS. PO/18, PC, County of Worcester. To John Twamley the younger and County of Worcester. These are to certify … (n.p., 1831), two printed forms; the summons and certificate of John Twamley the younger's appointment as a special constable.
[492] *Evening Mail,* 29 October 1832, p. 8.

Lester, and in May 1832, Twamley and Lester tried to organise a more 'constitutional' Political Union to rival the one led by Samuel Cook and Thomas Parkin (chapter 3).[493]

For the first election in Dudley after the Reform Act, E.J. Littleton, later Lord Hatherton, claimed credit for sending John Campbell to Dudley as its reform candidate and having arrived, according to Campbell, he lodged with 'a great grocer… my principal supporter'.[494] This was almost certainly John Twamley senior who, as a Whig supporter, was probably known to Littleton. John Twamley was given the honour of nominating Campbell at the election.[495] As further evidence of the relationship between Hatherton and the Twamleys, Charles was paid £81 13s as one of Hatherton's agents in 1835.[496]

Charles Twamley used his legal training to try and further the case against church rates and organised the defence when the test case against Thomas Wood went to the Court of Arches in 1835/36 (chapter 6).[497] In 1842, although not himself a Chartist, Twamley defended the Christian Chartist, Arthur O'Neill, when the latter was brought before the Dudley magistrates who denied him bail.[498]

---

[493] DALHS, PO/226, PC, Dudley Political Union, established May 14, 1832 (Dudley, 1832?).
[494] *Life of John, Lord Campbell, Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain; Consisting of a Selection from his Autobiography, Diary, and Letters*, edited by Mrs Hardcastle, Vol. 2 (London, 1881), p. 21.
[495] *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 19 December 1832, p. 4.
[496] This was during an election for South Staffordshire. Staffordshire Record Office (SRO), D260/M/F/5/12, Records of the Littleton family, Hatherton papers, Correspondence on the South Staffordshire election, 1835, no. 131.
[497] Lambeth Palace Library (LPL), Arches H532/1-26 & 27-29, Court of Arches, Nineteenth Century case papers, Baker and Downing v Wood, 1835, see particularly evidence from Charles Twamley.
[498] *The Birmingham Journal,* 3 September 1842, pp. 3-5.

Twamley's arguments and his submission as part of O'Neill's appeal helped to get O'Neill's case referred up to the Lord Chief Justice, Lord Denman.[499]

Twamley remained interested in reform and was an adherent of Joseph Sturge's Complete Suffrage Association.[500] Twamley also backed the Anti-Corn Law League and when its treasurer William Rawson stood against John Benbow for the Dudley parliamentary seat in 1844, Twamley was his proposer and gave a wide-ranging speech in which he advocated free-trade as well as managing to address other topics such as church rates.[501] Like other moderate reformers, Twamley moved to supporting the Liberal party. His obituary described him as 'a most earnest Liberal'.[502]

Twamley was called to the bar but remained a solicitor rather than becoming a barrister. He practised in Dudley till the chance of promotion took him to London in March 1847.[503] He held the post of registrar at the Lambeth County Court for twenty-nine years, from its establishment until he retired in March 1876.[504] When he married, in 1848, it was to Catherine Freeman, a member of a leading Unitarian family from the Coventry area. Their only child, a daughter, was eight years old when she died. After Twamley retired, they lived in Catherine's family home, Ryton House at Ryton-on-Dunsmore. Twamley's sister, Harriet,

---

[499] Parliamentary papers, House of Commons and command, volume 44, 1843 (96). Staffordshire magistrates. Copies of affidavits filed in the Court of Queen's Bench, on the application for a criminal information against certain magistrates of Stafford:- also, copies of affidavits in answer to such application, together with a copy of the role of court made thereon.
[500] *The Birmingham Journal*, 27 May 1843, p. 3.
[501] *The Staffordshire Advertiser,* 10 August 1844, p. 2.
[502] Obituary in *The Nuneaton Advertiser,* 23 July 1887, p. 2.
[503] A subscription collected in Dudley as a parting gift suggests that Twamley was popular with the townspeople. *The Worcestershire Chronicle*, 27 October 1847, p. 5.
[504] *The South London Observer,* 25 March 1876, p. 2.

married a leading Dudley ironmaster, S.H. Blackwell, also a Unitarian and a man with whom Twamley had much in common.[505]

Twamley was a painstaking scholar, particularly in the fields of geology and history. He wrote a book about Dudley Castle and the family who owned it.[506] He was a supporter of the Mechanics' Institution and, despite leaving Dudley in 1847, he returned to give the occasional lecture.[507] He also remained a trustee of the Old Meeting House in Dudley.[508] He died at Ryton-on-Dunsmore in 1887.

A.29. Wallace family, Unitarians

Robert Wallace, draper etc (1750-1830)
Phoebe (or Phebe) Wallace, née Cowden (1759-1837)
John Wallace, artist and radical (1788?-1880)

Robert Wallace, the son of a Scottish farmer, moved to England in the late eighteenth century. The first definite record of Robert's being in England and Dudley is the baptism of a son, William, in May 1786. Although William was said to be the son of Robert and Phebe Wallace, they were yet to be married. This they

[505] *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 14 May 1845, p. 3.
Note: like Twamley, Blackwell supported the Anti-Corn Law League, was a keen geologist and helped promote the Mechanics' Institution.
[506] DALHS, Z75, MC, Common-place book of Charles Twamley of Dudley, commenced August 24th 1831; C. Twamley, *History of Dudley Castle and Priory: Including a Genealogical Account of the Families of Sutton and Ward* (London, 1867). Note: DALHS have his manuscript notes for this work: D32/MS/2.
[507] *The Worcestershire Chronicle,* 21 December 1853, p. 6.
[508] DALHS, N/U/OMH Old Meeting House, Wolverhampton Street, Dudley, List of the Trustees, Treasurer & Honorary Secretary etc., original date 29 January 1857, but with later additions.

did in London in September 1787.[509] Robert's wife, Phoebe (or Phebe) Cowden had been baptised at the Presbyterian chapel in Wolverhampton Street, Dudley. Although William was baptised at the parish church, their subsequent children were baptised at the chapel in Wolverhampton Street. Originally Presbyterian, like many such chapels it was increasingly becoming Unitarian. James Hews Bransby, the chapel's Unitarian minister from 1805 to 1828, was a strong influence on the Wallace family and, in due course, three of Robert and Phoebe's sons became Unitarian ministers.[510] Robert was variously described as a pawnbroker, clothier, dealer in clothes, draper or shopkeeper. He achieved sufficient standing in Dudley for his name to be included in a list of 'tradesmen and principal inhabitants' who met during the banking crisis of March 1793 and pledged support for Dudley's two local banks.[511] In 1796 Robert Wallace was recorded as having a draper's shop in the High Street. His son, John Wallace, who was baptised in January 1789, took a very different path from both his father and his brothers. John became an artist, but he was not immediately successful. In 1811 he married Elizabeth Rollason in Solihull. By 1812, John was living in Wolverhampton but seemed to be on the verge of bankruptcy with 'Mr Wallace of Dudley and Mr Rollason of Stourbridge' (the latter, presumably one of his in-laws) both named as helping to sort out his

[509] The marriage took place at 1787 at St Stephen's, Coleman Street in the City of London. John Wallace, possibly Robert's father, was a witness. Details from: https://www.ancestry.co.uk
[510] The three who became ministers were Robert (1791-1850), James Cowden, sometimes 'Cowdan' (1793-1841) and Charles (1796-1859). Their other surviving sons were John and Thomas. John was baptised on 20 January 1789. Some secondary sources give his date of birth as December 1788 but without quoting their primary source. Thomas was baptised in 1798. R.K. Webb, 'Wallace, Robert (1791–1850), Unitarian minister and biographer', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (published 23 September 2004, version 3 January 2008), http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28540: [accessed 9 May 2017]; A.A. Rollason, *The Old Non-Parochial Registers of Dudley etc* (Dudley, 1899), pp. 25-34.
[511] *Aris's Birmingham Gazette,* 1 April 1793, p. 1.

debts.[512] Spending time in Wolverhampton, Wallace may well have come under the sort of radical influences that were lacking in Dudley.

John Wallace is known to have spent time in Dudley around 1818 because there are drawings of Dudey Castle by him. One in particular is a detailed etching of the triple gateway which he engraved himself.[513] When Wallace shot to notoriety with the production of the radical paper, *The Patriot*, in November 1819, the Constable of the Court Leet claimed that Wallace was known to have been active in setting up 'union societies' in the neighbourhood, but there is no corroboration for that.[514] *The Patriot,* which is analysed in chapter 4, was part of the reaction to Peterloo. It was produced by Wallace and may have been entirely written by him, with a quotation from William Wallace on the front page: 'God armeth the patriot'.[515] The paper was printed by Dudley's radical printer, George Walters.[516] Only managing four issues, it was quickly snuffed out by the authorities in Dudley who pressed the Home Office to prosecute both Wallace and Walters. No action was taken against Wallace because there was no proof that he had written it, despite his name being on the front. In his evidence to the Court of King's Bench,

[512] *Aris's Birmingham Gazette,* 7 September 1812, p.
[513] William Salt Library: Dudley Castle, the entrance, etching, drawn and engraved by John Wallace, c. 1818, Resource Details - Staffordshire Past Track (staffspasttrack.org.uk) [accessed 25 May 2023].
[514] The National Archives (TNA), HO 42/198, Home Office, Domestic Correspondence, George III, Letters and papers: Joseph Payton to Lord Sidmouth, letter and copy of *The Patriot*, folios 111-116, 1819.
[515] Although born in England, John seems to have been proud of his Scottish ancestry and gave his sons Scottish names, several of them associated with the struggle for Scottish independence in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, including: William Ellerslie, John Howard, James Bruce and Robert Douglas.
[516] J. Davies, 'A "Paper War": John Rann, George Walters and the Political Print Culture in Dudley, Worcestershire, c. 1814–1832', in I. Cawood and L. Peters (eds.), *Print, Politics and the Provincial Press in Modern Britain* (Oxford and New York, Peter Lang, 2019), pp.31-55.

Walters made it clear that Wallace was the driving force behind the publication.[517] After his arrest, Walters struggled to find bail. Robert Wallace and another member of the Unitarian congregation eventually came to his aid and put up part of the required bail.

John Wallace played no further part in Dudley's politics. At some point he moved to Birmingham where he was able to improve his career prospects. Like other local artists, he benefited from the founding of the Birmingham Society of Artists in 1821. In 1828 he was a member of the Society's Artists' Committee in association with more established artists, including members of the Lines family.[518] The Society provided Wallace with the opportunity to exhibit more of his work. However, in the early 1840s Wallace followed one of his sons in emigrating to New Zealand. Most of their family joined them in due course and Wallace continued as an artist.[519] The family first settled in New Plymouth where a street, Wallace Place, is named after them. Wallace later moved to Wellington where he was elected as a representative to the newly formed provincial council and, for a time, he was the Provincial Treasurer. When he died, aged 92, he was described in a Wellington newspaper as one of 'the veteran founders of the colony'.[520]

Although most of their children spread out widely, Robert and Phoebe remained living in Dudley. There is no evidence of Robert taking part in local politics and he died in 1830 before the reform struggle. Phoebe, however, is one of

[517] TNA, TS11/80/253, Treasury Solicitor etc., Rex v. George Walters. Publishing libel in The Patriot. Court: King's Bench, 1819-1820.
[518] *The Birmingham Journal,* 8 March 1828, p. 1.
[519] 'Wallace, John FSA 1788–1880', Una Platts*, Nineteenth century New Zealand artists: a guide & handbook* (Christchurch, N. Z.: Avon Fine Prints, 1980), p. 245.
[520] Information on Wallace Place and the death of John Wallace: Wallace Place (pukeariki.com) [accessed 25 May 2024].

the few women in Dudley known to have shown interest in political matters, in the broadest sense. Coming from a strong nonconformist background, she owned a copy of the satirical poems which were published in 1812, mocking the Reverend Luke Booker and other town leaders.[521] Phoebe lived in King Street and Robert's death left her sufficiently well off to be a rate payer. For the 1831/32 town rate she was assessed at 10s 10d and for the 1834 church rate she was asked for 5s 5d.[522] Being a rate payer, she was eligible to vote in polls of rate payers and, in 1834, she was one of the few women who voted in the poll held to decide whether or not to allow a church rate of 10d. (chapter 6 and appendix 2). She voted against the rate.[523]

A30. Wallwork, Daniel (1824-1909), Chartist and secularist

The most significant biographical piece about Daniel Wallwork is the entry by John Rowley in *Dictionary of Labour Biography*, but it contains some errors.[524] Daniel was christened at Ashworth in Lancashire in 1825, the son of Howarth and Ann Wallwork, with Howarth being described as a fuller. Daniel moved around the Rochdale area in his youth and his place of birth has been variously named but

[521] Phoebe's copy is now at Dudley Archives. It may have been this copy which George Walters used when he reprinted the collection in 1833. *The Procession and The Bells; or The Rival Poets* (London, 1818); *The Procession and The Bells; or The Rival Poets* (London, reprinted Dudley, 1833).
[522] DALHS, Z53, Small and miscellaneous accessions, Dudley Town Rate Book, 1831-1832; Lambeth Palace Library (LPL), Arches H 532/1-26 & 27-29, Court of Arches, Nineteenth Century case papers, Baker and Downing v Wood, 1835, Church rates collector's book for the parish of Dudley, 1834.
[523] This is the only local poll for which voting details are known. They were published by George Walters as he had done for parliamentary elections. DALHS, PO/29, PC, A list of the rate-payers of Dudley who voted against … (Dudley? 1834?).
[524] One error is his assumption that Wallwork's first wife had died when he married again. J. Rowley, 'Wallwork, Daniel (1824-1909), Chartist and secularist', in J.M. Bellamy and J. Saville (eds.), *Dictionary of Labour Biography,* Vol. 6 (London, 1982), pp. 259-262.

the most authoritative source is his baptismal record which gives his parents' abode as Wickin Hole in Butterworth.[525] Wallwork's early education was village school and Sunday School and as a young man he was an enthusiastic member of the Wesleyan Association chapel in Heywood.[526] Whilst Wallwork later turned from religion and became an atheist, another influence he came under in the 1830s – the Temperance movement – remained important to him throughout his life.

Wallwork originally worked as a weaver at Fenton's Hooley Bridge mills.[527] According to his obituary, he furthered his education at night school and became active in pressing for working men's rights, which cost him at least one job.[528] He then 'passed through the principal cities of Yorkshire on to Dudley in search of employment'.[529] He arrived in Dudley in about 1848. Wallwork had been secretary of the 'Perseverance Tent' in Heywood which provided him with a 'travelling card'. This may have helped introduce Wallwork to Joseph Truman of Dudley, who was also a temperance enthusiast. Truman welcomed Wallwork and taught him his craft as a locksmith. In 1851 Wallwork married Truman's daughter, Fanny. There were no children from the union.

Wallwork became secretary of several organisations in Dudley, either temperance or aimed at working men. He worked with the radical, Samuel Cook, in developing the Dudley Mutual Improvement Society and trying to revive

---

[525] The church where he was baptised was at some distance from his birthplace. The immediately adjacent entry in the baptismal register is for another Wallwork family which suggests the baptisms may have involved a wider family gathering. It was a sparsely populated rural area with large parishes. On the 1851 census Wallwork's place of birth is spelt Wigginhole.
[526] J.A. Green, *Bibliography of the Town of Heywood* (Heywood, 1902), pp. 88-89.
[527] Ibid.
[528] *The Heywood Advertiser,* 26 November 1909, p. 3.
[529] Ibid.

Chartism when circumstances allowed (chapter 7). Wallwork was sent to the last national Chartist convention as a regional delegate in 1858. Like Cook, Wallwork favoured working with middle-class reformers. By 1860 the two men had extended the Mutual Improvement Society to become the Working Men's Institute. However, Wallwork's increasingly outspoken atheism alienated the traditionally-minded members of various societies that he worked for.[530] He resigned as secretary of the Working Men's Institute in October 1860 and after Cook died in November 1861, Wallwork was expelled by the membership.[531]

Wallwork emigrated to Australia in 1863. Fanny refused to go and was left behind in England. It is not clear if Wallwork failed to consult her or if she had initially agreed but changed her mind. In Australia, Wallwork collected a rebate on her ticket.[532] There is no record of a divorce. Fanny lived till 1898 and for much of the time she lived with the family of her married sister but when they moved to Birmingham, Fanny stayed in Dudley. On the census returns for 1871 and 1881 she is described as the wife of Daniel Wallwork, locksmith and that is repeated on her death certificate. Thus, when Wallwork married Emily Goodsir in 1871 it seems to have been a bigamous marriage.[533] After Emily died, Wallwork married Maria Heywood in 1895 but, as Fanny was still alive, that too was bigamous. For the whole of his working career in Australia, Wallwork was employed by the New South Wales Government Railways. In later life, he enjoyed travelling, including at least two return visits to Britain. In Australia he continued his long-standing

[530] J. Rowley, 'Wallwork, Daniel (1824-1909)', pp. 257-258.
[531] *The Birmingham Daily Post,* 3 January 1862, p. 4.
[532] Emigration data from: https://www.ancestry.co.uk
[533] The law was not very clear and frequently misunderstood. Seven years was often considered to be a significant period of time to have been separated. Wallwork may have argued that Fanny had deserted him, or even that she was 'presumed dead'.

activities, promulgating both temperance and secularism and urging better conditions and practices for working men.[534]

A31. Walters, George (c. 1792-1864), printer

Little is known of George Walters's private life, especially his early years. The 1851 census gives his place of birth as Walsall and suggests that he was born about 1792. Nothing has been traced of his education or training but in 1810 he married Elizabeth Day in Birmingham.[535] His wife had been born in Dudley and that is where he began printing in about 1812. Their only child, Louisa, was born soon after. Walters was the third printer to set up in Dudley and his shop, with a central position in the upper High Street was well placed, especially when he was printing for quick-moving political campaigns.[536] Although Walters became known as a printer of radical political material, often printed hurriedly, he also published an array of pamphlets and small books.[537] There are surviving examples of these that show he could print to high standards.[538]

---

[534] E. Royle, *Victorian Infidels: The Origins of the British Secularist Movement, 1791-1866* (Manchester, 1974), p. 172; *The Heywood Advertiser,* 26 November 1909, p. 3; J. Rowley, 'Wallwork, Daniel (1824-1909)', p. 261.
[535] The marriage was at St Martin's, Birmingham. George's surname has been incorrectly entered as 'Waters'. Both bride and groom are described as being 'of this parish' but that does not prove that either had lived there for very long. St Martin's, Birmingham, marriage register, 1808-1811, available on https://www.ancestry.co.uk
[536] For instance, he printed state-of-the-poll figures during some key elections. See: DALHS, PO/242B, 388A & 388B, PC, Dudley election, gross state of the poll etc. (Dudley, 1832).
[537] For a study of his radical publishing see the author's: J. Davies, 'A "Paper War": John Rann, George Walters and the political print culture in Dudley, Worcestershire, c. 1814-1832', in I. Cawood and L. Peters (eds.), *Print, Politics and the Provincial Press in Modern Britain* (Oxford, 2019), pp. 31-55.
[538] A good example is a guidebook to Dudley Castle, 1840. *A Guide to Dudley Castle, containing an Historical and Descriptive Account of the Ruins etc. Also, a Short Account of the Priory…* (Dudley, 1840).

In the radical backlash to Peterloo, Walters agreed to print an outspoken radical paper called *The Patriot* (chapter 4). He showed naivety in thinking that the printer could not be held accountable for the contents and he was arraigned before the Court of King's Bench, although the government allowed the prosecution to lapse.[539] Walters had only managed to find bail with help from two Unitarians.[540] In the early 1820s Walters published both sides of a bad-tempered scrap between the Catholic priest, Thomas Tysan, and his nonconformist opponents. Although Walters did not divulge his own political beliefs, he worked closely with the radical, Samuel Cook, and the exuberance of Walters's anti-Tory handbills, particularly during the reform controversy of the early 1830s, suggests that he shared radical beliefs.

Later in the 1830s, Walters began to be assailed by the financial problems that ruined his career. The proliferation of printers and stationers in Dudley was probably a contributory cause, whilst his association with radical printing alienated him from potential wealthier customers. His first crisis came in November 1838. *The London Gazette* announced that Walters had assigned 'all his estate and effects … upon trust for the equal benefit of all the creditors'.[541] Although a sale of all his goods was announced, it does not seem to have taken place and Walters managed to continue as a printer.[542] From the sale details it can be seen that he

[539] The National Archives (TNA), TS 11/80/253, Treasury Solicitor etc, Rex v. George Walters. Publishing libel in *The Patriot*. Court: King's Bench, 1819-1820; TS 11/156/506-507, Cases for opinion, and copies of *The Patriot*, numbers 2 and 4 (1819-20).
[540] One of these was Robert Wallace, father of John Wallace, the man who wrote and edited *The Patriot.*
[541] Two of the trustees mentioned, Jesse Wright, the auctioneer, as a trustee, and Charles Twamley, the solicitor, as legal officer, were well-known reformers and probably kindly disposed towards Walters. *The London Gazette,* Issue 19671, 9 November 1838, p. 2463.
[542] *Aris's Birmingham Gazette,* 12 November 1838, p. 2.

had tried to diversify – for instance, by selling music and musical instruments.[543] However, by November 1849, Walters was again deeply in debt and a sale was announced of all his printing type, presses etc and household furniture.[544] This time there was no avoiding bankruptcy.[545] His chief creditor was Walter Bangham, a Birmingham paper dealer. The 'peremptory sale' shows Walters had a range of type, presses and bookbinding tools as well as stationery and books. This marked the end of Walters's printing career.

Walters and his family left Dudley almost immediately after his bankruptcy. The 1851 census shows the family living with Elizabeth's widowed sister in Islington. Elizabeth died in 1856 and by the 1861 census George and Louisa were living in Bromley, Kent where Walters had regained his independence as a bookseller and stationer. However, in September 1862, he was committed to the county lunatic asylum at Barming Heath. Walters was suffering from delusions and showing other signs of psychosis, with the cause of his insanity being attributed to 'reverse of fortune'.[546] In 1864 Louisa asked to take her father home but from the official documents it looks as though she had been waiting for three months without a reply when Walters died on 24 August. Louisa seems to have retained the stationers, but she described herself as a schoolmistress on the 1871 census. She died the following year.

---

[543] Ibid.
[544] *The Wolverhampton Chronicle,* 21 November 1849, p. 2.
[545] *The London Gazette,* Issue 21058, 11 January 1850, p. 107.
[546] Kent History and Library Centre, MH/Md2/Ap 1/4, Barming Hospital admission register, 1862-1864.

A32. Ward family, aristocrats

John Ward (1704-1774), 6th Baron Ward from 1740 to 1763, 1st Viscount Dudley and Ward, 1763-1774.[547]

John Ward (1725-1788), 2nd Viscount Dudley and Ward, 1774-1788.

William Ward (1750-1823), 3rd Viscount Dudley and Ward, 1788-1823.

John William Ward (1781-1833), 4th Viscount Dudley and Ward from 1823 to 1827, Earl of Dudley, 1827-1833.

The Reverend **William Humble Ward** (1781-1835), 10th Baron Ward, 1833-1835.

William Ward (1817-1885), 11th Baron Ward from 1835 to 1860, Earl of Dudley, 1860-1885.

Throughout the period covered by this thesis, the Ward family remained the most significant landowners and industrialists in the Dudley area, but there are surprisingly few biographical studies of them. Descended from the lords of Dudley castle, the family underwent various vicissitudes and changes of name over the centuries but from 1643 the Dudley estate was in the hands of the Ward family.[548] Whilst they had influence and gained extra titles over time, on occasion the male line died out, resulting in the more recent titles being lost. The Wards' family tree is shown in figures A32.1 and A32.2.

[547] Although it is customary to give a person's final title first, this list gives each man's titles in chronological order to show their progression more clearly.
[548] The original owners, the Sutton family were heavily in debt in the early seventeenth century. The heiress Frances Sutton was married in 1628 to Humble Ward, son of a wealthy goldsmith, and his family cleared the debts on the Dudley estate. Frances and Humble Ward gained full entitlement when her grandfather died in 1643. H.M. Light and M. Campbell-Curtis, 'Dudley', in J.W. Willis-Bund and W. Page (eds.), *The Victoria History of the County of Worcester*, Vol. III (London, 1913), pp. 90-105, especially p. 93; *Burke's Genealogical and Heraldic History of Peerage, Baronetage and Knightage* (London, 1914), p. 657.

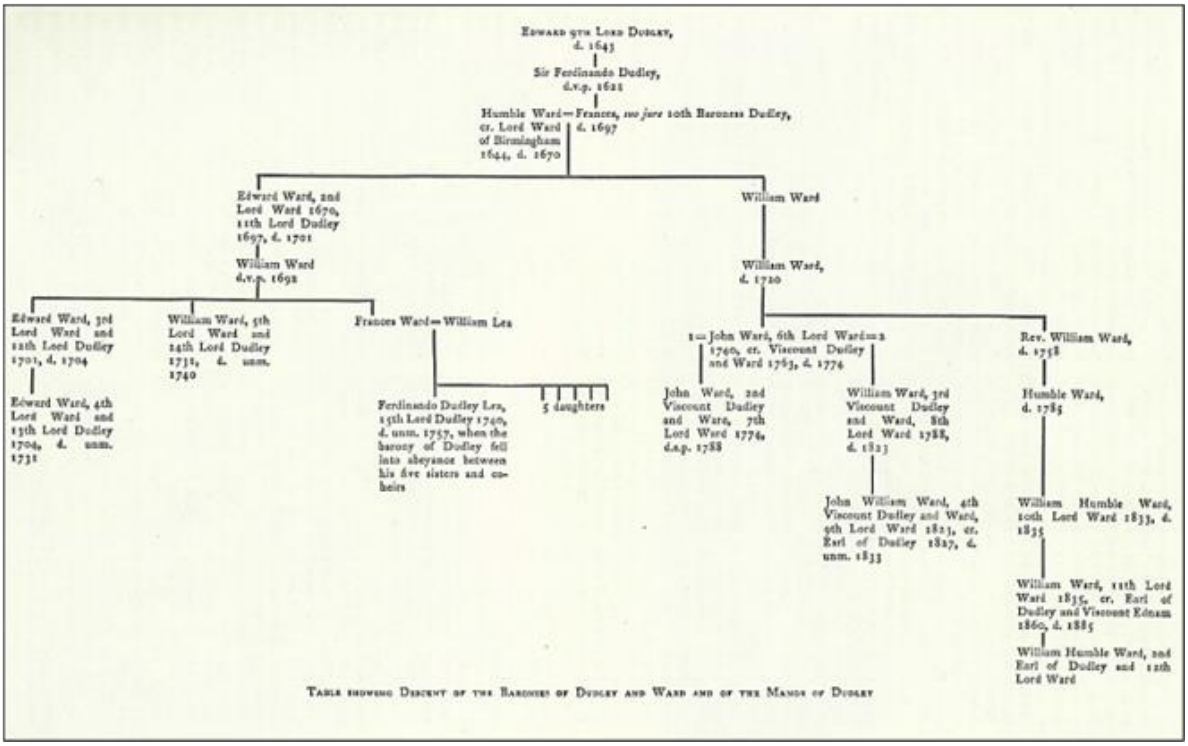


Figure A32.1. Overview of the Ward family tree from 1621.[549]

[549] H.M. Light and M. Campbell-Curtis, 'Dudley' in *The Victoria History of the County of Worcester*, Vol. III, edited by J.W. Willis-Bund and W. Page (London, Archibald Constable & Co. Ltd., 1913), pp. 90-105, family tree, p. 95.

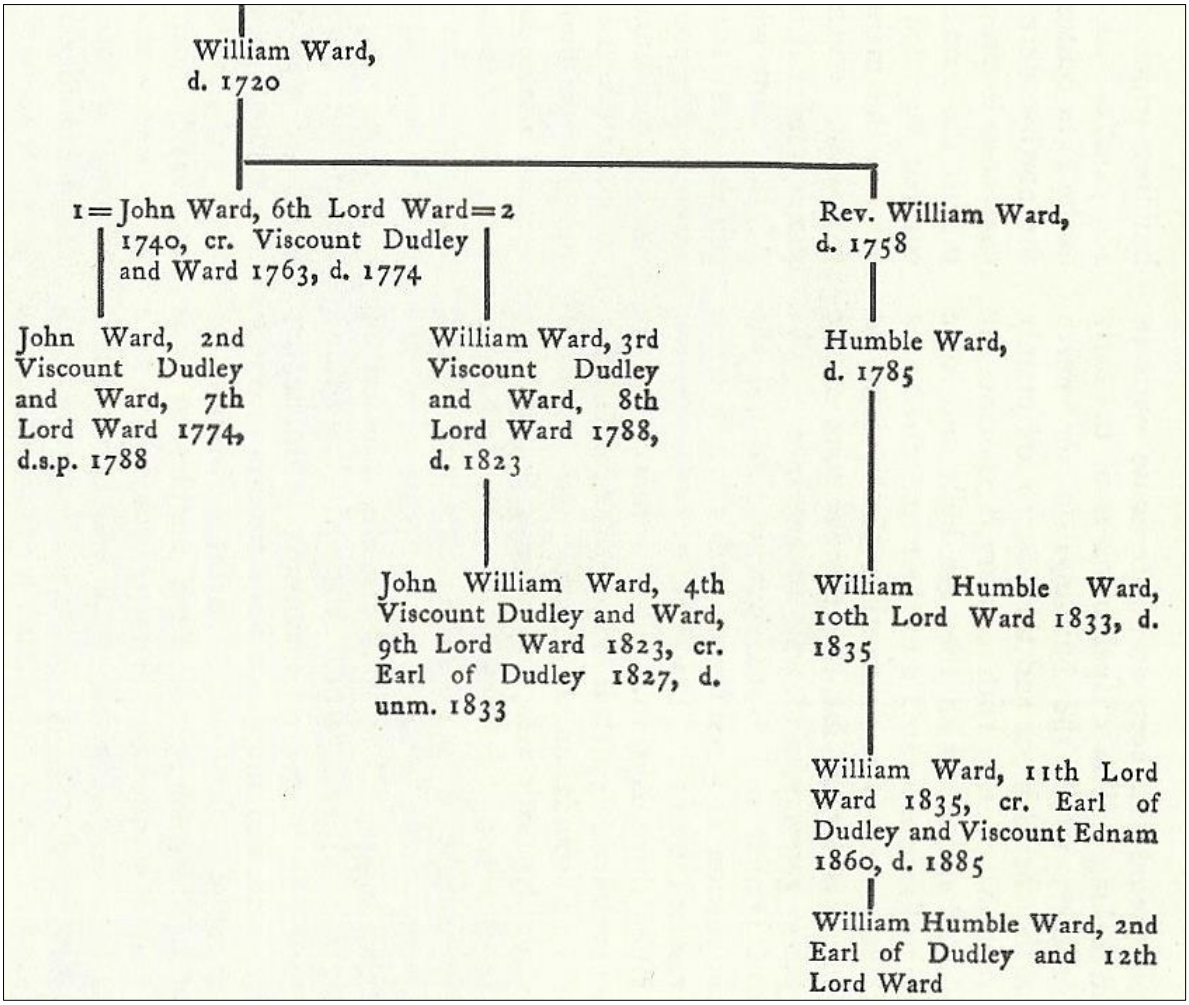


Figure A32.2. Detail from the Ward family tree (1720-1885).[550]

The Ward family's estate covered a large area in both south Staffordshire and north Worcestershire, as well as in other parts of the country and even overseas.[551] The head of the Ward family was Lord of the Manor for Dudley as well as neighbouring Sedgley, Kingswinford and Rowley Regis. This benefited

[550] H.M. Light and M. Campbell-Curtis, 'Dudley' in *The Victoria History of the County of Worcester*, Vol. III, edited by J.W. Willis-Bund and W. Page (London, Archibald Constable & Co. Ltd., 1913), pp. 90-105, family tree (detail), p. 95.

[551] For an overview of the family and their estate, see the catalogue entry for the Earl of Dudley Estate Collection at Dudley Archives and Local History Service (DALHS). In 1782, William Ward inherited three sugar plantations in Jamaica from his mother which, in due course, became part of the family estate. DALHS, DE, The Earl of Dudley Estate Collection, Administrative history note; The National Archives (TNA), PROB 11/1091/319, Will of the Right Honourable Mary Lady Viscountess Dudley and Ward, 19 June 1782.

them substantially in a series of Enclosure Acts in the late eighteenth century which increased the family's acreage and gave the 'Lord Dudley' (as he was often known) greater power over the mineral rights.[552]

John Ward (1704-1774) was a Tory Member of Parliament for Newcastle-under-Lyme from 1727 to 1734.[553] He inherited the Ward barony and estate from a cousin in 1740 and was created 1st Viscount Dudley and Ward in 1763.[554] His first wife, Anna Maria died young, but Ward waited over twenty years before re-marrying, this time to Mary Carver, a sugar heiress, who was responsible for the Wards subsequently owning Jamaican sugar plantations. The Viscount was particularly interested in re-building Himley Hall as his main residence. His late re-marriage caused family feuds. He had sons by each wife, twenty-five years apart, and the elder, John who had a mistress and no legitimate offspring, resented his younger half-brother, William being heir to the estate after himself.

John Ward (1725-1788), 2nd Viscount Dudley and Ward, was much more of an industrial entrepreneur than his father had been.[555] Ward was an MP, firstly for Marlborough and then Worcestershire until his father's death in 1774 elevated him to the peerage.[556] His estate was underlain by rich minerals and Ward enhanced their potential for exploitation by promoting improved transport connections, particularly canals. He obtained Enclosure Acts which were particularly beneficial

---

[552] T.J. Raybould, *The Economic Emergence of the Black Country. A Study of the Dudley Estate* (Newton Abbot, 1973), pp. 35-36.
[553] WARD, John (1704-74), of Sedgley Park, Staffs. | History of Parliament Online
[554] H.M. Light and M. Campbell-Curtis, 'Dudley' in *The Victoria History of the County of Worcester*, Vol. III, edited by J.W. Willis-Bund and W. Page (London, 1913), pp. 90-105, especially p. 94.
[555] D. Brown, 'Ward, John, 2nd Viscount Dudley and Ward (1725-1788), industrialist and politician', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 23 September 2004, version, 3 October 2013, Ward, John, second Viscount Dudley and Ward (1725–1788), industrialist and politician | Oxford Dictionary of National Biography [accessed 24 August 2024].
[556] Ibid.

to him as Lord of the Manor, but he also promoted industrial developments across the West Midlands in association with men like the industrialist Matthew Boulton.[557] Ward had an illegitimate daughter, Anna Maria, by his mistress and he was able to establish a separate fund for the girl, making her a wealthy heiress. Relations with his younger half-brother, William reached a low when William twice obtained injunctions from the Court of Chancery to stop John cutting down trees on the Himley estate.[558] Hoping to father a legitimate male heir, John married his mistress in July 1788, but he died in October the same year without achieving his ambition, so William succeeded to the title and the entailed estate.[559]

William Ward (1750-1823), 3rd Viscount Dudley and Ward. Although an MP for Worcester from 1780 till he inherited the viscountcy in 1788, the 3rd Viscount seemed happier with the life of a country gentleman. He developed a name for being pious which encouraged the Vicar of Dudley, Luke Booker, to foster Lord Dudley's legend as that of 'the rich man's model and the poor man's friend'.[560] The Viscount and his wife had only one child, John William, to whom they showed little affection.[561]

---

[557] D. Brown, 'The industrial revolution, political economy and the British aristocracy. The second Viscount Dudley and Ward as an eighteenth-century canal promoter', *The Journal of Transport History,* Vol. 27, No. 1 (March 2006), pp. 1-24.
[558] Ibid.
[559] Entailment was a legal device many landowners used to prevent their estates being broken up after their death. The property was put into a trust by a deed or settlement which would stipulate who would succeed to the property; this was usually the eldest male, next in line to the succession.
[560] L. Booker, *A Sermon Preached in the Parish Church of Dudley, on the Sunday after Internment of the Late Right Honourable William, Viscount Dudley & Ward* (Dudley, 1823); M. Perkins, *Notes on Old Dudley Institutions, with Facsimiles of Medals and Checks* (Dudley, n.d., c. 1910), p. 4.
[561] D.R. Fisher, 'Ward, John William, Earl of Dudley (1781-1833), politician', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (published 23 September 2004, version 10 Jube 2021) Search Results for John William Ward | Oxford Dictionary of National Biography [accessed 2 September 2024].

John William Ward (1781-1833), 4th Viscount Dudley and Ward and later the Earl of Dudley, was more interested in politics than his father had been. Ward first became an MP in 1802, after which he moved between various seats until being raised to the House of Lords by the death of his father in 1823. Although originally a Whig, Ward became a follower of George Canning and was henceforth known as a Canningite Tory. During Canning's brief premiership in 1827, Ward served as Foreign Secretary. After the death of Canning, Ward was created the Earl of Dudley and remained as Foreign Secretary under the Duke of Wellington until May 1828 when he resigned with the other Canningites.[562] In the controversy over the Reform Bill the Earl showed himself to be increasingly reactionary with more than a suggestion of paranoia. One of his expressed anxieties was that estates such as his would be threatened by Jacobins and this may partly explain why he drew up a very careful will aimed at preserving the estate.[563] He succumbed to mental health problems in 1832 which prevented his playing any further part in public affairs. He died unmarried in 1833 when both the earldom and the Dudley viscountcy became extinct whilst the Dudley estate went into a trust for twelve years.

The Reverend **William Humble Ward** (1781-1835), 10th Baron Ward, had spent his middle years in East Anglia. There were questions over his sanity, and he was already in an asylum in Bath when it began to look certain that he would shortly inherit the estate from his second cousin, the Earl of Dudley. This probably

---

[562] Ibid.

[563] The Earl's final recorded letter to a friend contains forebodings about the fate awaiting aristocrats and their privileges. Letter dated 12 January 1832 in S.H. Romilly, (ed.), *Letters to 'Ivy' from the first Earl of Dudley* (London, Longmans, Green and Co., 1905), pp.380 & 382.

encouraged the Earl to use his will to set up a trust to ensure that most of the inheritance by-passed Reverend Ward and went into trust for Ward's eldest son, William.

William Ward, (1817-1885), 11th Baron Ward and 1st Earl of Dudley of the second creation, inherited the title Lord Ward on the death of his father in 1835 but, by the terms of the Earl of Dudley's will, he had to wait another ten years to take full possession of the Dudley estate. It was Ward's long-standing ambition to have the earldom re-instated, a goal he finally achieved in 1860. Ward's first marriage, to Selina Constance de Burgh, was short and not very happy. They married in April 1851, and she died in November the same year while they were in Germany. In the intervening months, newspapers reported that she had returned to her parents. Ward remained a widower till 1865. Despite Ward's long wait for his full inheritance, the trust had increased the value of the estate and the family's wealth continued to grow apace in the middle decades of the nineteenth century.[564] The trust had the remit to enhance the estate, and a tangible sign of success was its purchase of Witley Court and estate from the Foley family in 1837. Further ostentatious signs of their fortune could be seen in lavish additions to Dudley House, their mansion in Park Lane, London (1855). In 1868 the American, Elihu Burritt, thought that the Earl of Dudley might 'be considered the Iron Earl of England'.[565] The Earl became a noted philanthropist and one of his most generous acts was to bankroll the restoration of Worcester Cathedral between 1859 and

[564] Dudley Archives and Local History Service (DALHS), DE, The Earl of Dudley Estate collection, Introduction to the catalogue entry, Administrative History Note.
[565] E. Burritt, *Walks in the Black Country and its Green Borderland* (originally published 1868, reis.. Kineton, 1976), p. 87.

1877. In 1953 his body was removed from the church at Witley Court and re-interred in the Lady Chapel at Worcester Cathedral.

A33. Williams family, Quakers and millers

John Williams (c. 1802 -1872)
Thomas Williams (1806-1894)
Edward Williams (1808- 1866)

By the mid-eighteenth century, Dudley's Quaker community was heavily reliant on several large families. One of these was the Williams family who were the main millers in Dudley from the late eighteenth century to the mid-nineteenth century. However, they were not exempt from being criticised for failing to meet strict Quaker disciplinary codes. William Williams and his son Marshall were charged with a variety of offences, including neglecting attendance at worship, being drunk, bad language and fornication.[566] Marshall settled down and married Nancy Painter in February 1799 at St Martin's in Birmingham although they lived in Dudley, in the upper part of the High Street. Marshall took at least two of his sons, John and Edward, into partnership, but not apparently his other son, Thomas. After Marshall's death in 1821, the firm remained officially 'Marshall Williams and Sons' but in the Friends Book of Sufferings it is listed as 'Nancy Williams & Sons'.[567] As such, in 1824, they are first shown as being distrained for non-payment of church rates, although the constables generally took money rather than goods from the

[566] Birmingham Archives and Collections (BAC), SF/2/2/1/1/1/4, Society of Friends, Central England Area, Chadwick, Men's Monthly Meeting, Minutes, 1780-1799, especially 1796 & 1798.
[567] BAC, SF/1/6/1, Society of Friends, Central England Area, Warwickshire Quarterly Meeting Book of Sufferings, 1790-1828, especially 1824-1827.

Williamses. Only in 1827 were they distrained for goods, namely 24 bushels of flour.[568] Later records are not so easy to trace, but in the accounts of Dudley's church rates controversy in the 1830s and 1840s, the Williams family were frequently mentioned as suffering distraints (chapter 6). In 1837 when opposition to church rates in Dudley was particularly active, a letter from the brothers addressed to their 'fellow townsmen' was printed as a handbill by George Walters.[569]

The Williams brothers took part in other aspects of town life. For instance, Thomas and Edward became Town Commissioners in the large intake of April 1834 and John similarly in a second large wave in June 1837 (chapter 5). Edward went as a delegate to Joseph Sturge's meeting on Complete Suffrage in 1843.[570] All three brothers were active in the Society of Friends, frequently representing Dudley and Stourbridge at the monthly meeting in Birmingham and John became one of the clerks to that meeting. John and his growing family moved out of Dudley town to the higher, wealthier areas, going first to Tansley Hill, then to a large house on the road to Oakham. Edward and family later moved to Tansley Hill as well. Despite looking solidly respectable and well-off, John and Edward's business dealings began to unravel from 1841 onwards.[571]

The Quaker community prided itself on maintaining good business ethics and their monthly meetings regularly included reports on any of their members

[568] After 1827, the Warwickshire Friends discontinued recording their sufferings in a separate book and subsequent distrainments are harder to track down. Ibid. Note from yearly meeting, 1828.
[569] DALHS, PO/415, PC, To the inhabitants of Dudley. Fellow Townsmen, (Dudley, 1837).
[570] *The Birmingham Journal,* 27 May 1843, p. 3; *The Worcestershire Chronicle,* 31 May 1843, p. 4.
[571] BAC, SF/2/1/1/1/1/17, Society of Friends, Central England Area, Warwickshire North Men's Monthly Meeting minute book, 1839-1850. Report to the meeting on 13 September 1848.

who were thought to be falling below the high standards expected. There was shock – both in Dudley itself and amongst the wider Quaker community – when John and Edward's business failed in July 1848.[572] John resigned as clerk to the monthly meeting which sent a small delegation, including John Cadbury, to interview John and Edward Williams. The report could hardly have been worse. The brothers had lost £10,000 speculating in corn and the situation had been deteriorating for some time, possibly since 1841. Their debts were put at £30,000 with assets of only £8,000. They had over-extended credit from their bank using 'accommodation bills'. Also, against approved Quaker practices, they had failed to keep proper business records. However, the Quaker delegates were even more concerned by the brothers' attitude. Although John and Edward expressed sorrow for the losses suffered by their creditors, the report found that they were 'not alive to their own moral and religious loss'.[573] A second visit was arranged, but the report was only fractionally better, with John found to be slightly more in the frame of mind they hoped to see.[574] It was not enough and both John and Edward were formally disowned by the Society of Friends on 8 November 1848.[575] After they were officially declared bankrupt, John and Edward lost their homes, their jobs and their standing in the community. They both found positions as millers – John in a mill at Holbeache and Edward at Coppice Mill, Himley – before moving on to Birmingham. Edward's wife and children were still members of the Society of Friends and they asked to transfer their membership from Dudley to Birmingham

[572] By an agreement reached with creditors they were allowed to resume trading for a time, but bankruptcy followed in 1849. *The Birmingham Journal,* 2 March 1850, p. 3.
[573] BAC, SF/2/1/1/1/1/17, Society of Friends, Central England Area, Warwickshire North Men's Monthly Meeting minute book, 1839-1850. Report to the meeting on 13 September 1848.
[574] BAC, SF/2/1/1/1/1/17, Report to the meeting on 11 October 1848.
[575] BAC, SF/2/1/1/1/1/17, Note in the minutes of the meeting 8 November 1848.

in 1852 which is probably when the family left Himley.[576] John stayed at Holbeache a few years longer before also moving to Birmingham where both he and Edward had an assortment of jobs, including broker, agent and commercial traveller.

John's first wife had died just before the firm crashed so when he remarried, after his disownment, his second wife, although a Quaker, was deemed to have married outside the Society and thus lost her membership 'by her marriage'. In 1861, after ten years, she successfully applied to be re-instated and her 7-year-old daughter was also admitted.[577] Having been 'disowned', John and Edward could take no further part in Society of Friends' business meetings, but they were not cast out from all communion. When they died – Edward in 1866 and John in 1872 - their deaths were recorded as part of the Quaker community.[578]

Thomas, who was not implicated in the bankruptcy, retained his Society membership, but he did not escape unscathed. In the 1841 census he had been described as a miller, so he probably worked for the firm, and he was living in one of the family's properties in Dudley High Street. Thus, the firm's collapse saw him lose both home and employment. In the 1851 census, Thomas was said to be a 'corn dealer's servant' in Pensnett, but the description may have undervalued his role. By 1861, still in Pensnett, he was a corn dealer in his own right. Between 1849 and 1862 Thomas frequently represented Dudley and Stourbridge at Quaker

[576] BAC, SF/3/7/1/1/1/2, Society of Friends, Central England Area, Dudley/Stourbridge Preparative Meeting, minute book, 1830-1877, April-May 1852.
[577] BAC, SF/2/1/1/1/1/19, Society of Friends, Central England Area, Warwickshire North Men's Monthly Meeting minute book, 1861-1870, 13 March & 10 April 1861.
[578] Their deaths were listed in *The Annual Monitor* the year following: *The Annual Monitor for … or Obituary of the Members of the Society of Friends in Great Britain and Ireland,* 1867 and 1873.

monthly meetings, usually in Birmingham.[579] He died at Stourbridge in 1894 having spent some of the intervening years with family in the north of England.

A34. Wood family, shopkeepers

Thomas Wood (1799-1877)

Edward Wood (1801-1882)

William Chrysostom Wood (1803-1867)

The Wood brothers, members of a large family of small shopkeepers, were native to Dudley.[580] This piece focuses on the three eldest brothers who are good examples of members of the middle class pursuing their aspirations in politics, religion and commerce. While many of the men who made significant impact on political and religious controversy in Dudley have been identified as incomers, the Wood brothers were part of a local family which grew in status throughout the middle decades of the nineteenth century. Their parents seem to have been mismatched. Thomas Wood senior was a shoemaker who rented a shop in Middle Row and later made blacking. His wife, Rebecca Dudley, who was already pregnant when they married, was part of a well-established family of merchants, manufacturers and property owners.[581] Sarah's eldest brother Richard followed their father as a thread manufacturer at the Trindle in Dudley but he was

[579] BAC, SF/2/1/1/1/1/17-19, Society of Friends, Central England Area, Warwickshire North Men's Monthly Meeting minute books, 1839-1850, 1851-1861 & 1861-1870.
[580] J. Davies, 2019 Conference blogs – A large family of small shopkeepers | RetailHistory (wordpress.com)
[581] For insights into the Dudley family affairs, see Rebecca's father's will and deeds arising from a family trust: TNA, PROB 11/1179/295, Records of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, Probate, Will of William Dudley, grocer and threadmaker of Dudley, Worcestershire, 27 May 1789; DALHS, DE/1/6/129, The Earl of Dudley Estate Collection, Title deeds, Rowley Regis, Lease and Release, 12-13 November, 1804.

bankrupted by the depression following Waterloo which presumably dented the family's fortunes.[582] Whilst the Dudley family remained conservative, the Woods became leading reformers in the town. When Thomas senior died in 1829, Rebecca and their unmarried daughter carried on the blacking business for a time. Middle Row, where the Woods lived and worked, was a row of shops and houses that ran down the centre of the Market Place. Wishing to restore the Market Place to its original function, the Town Commissioners embarked on a slow programme of clearing Middle Row. Rebecca was given notice to quit in 1838 and that was probably the end of the blacking business.[583]

Although born Anglicans, the brothers diverged over religion. Thomas Wood junior, the eldest brother, was the only one of the three to remain an Anglican but he was unusual in Dudley in the 1830s for being a Liberal Anglican. During the reform debate and the church rates controversy, his reforming zeal seems to have been greater than his attachment to the Church of England and he frequently joined other reformers in disrupting the business of the parish vestry. That may have been why the church authorities made an example of him by prosecuting him through the ecclesiastical courts for non-payment of church rates. By 1837, Wood's case reached the highest court for such matters, the Court of Arches (chapter 6). Thomas lost and was billed for about £1,000 costs as well as the outstanding rate. His brothers distanced themselves further from the Anglican church.

---

[582] *The London Gazette,* No. 17143, 8 June 1816, p. 1106.
[583] Three of her sons and her son-in-law were amongst the Commissioners at the meeting when the decision was made to give her notice to quit. DALHS, Town Commissioners' Minutes, Volume 2, 29 August 1838.

Edward Wood and his family joined the Independent congregation. Edward never took membership, but several family members did. Although the Independent chapel was one of the largest and most influential nonconformist chapels in Dudley, it was split when a majority of the congregation voted to oust their minister, Reverend T.W. Tozer in 1865.[584] Edward was amongst those who stayed loyal to Tozer. The secessionists met for worship in the Public Hall and set about fund-raising to build a Congregational church. Edward was one of its major backers and in 1876 he single-handedly cleared a debt of £1,000 to allow building work to be completed.[585] Although Edward was less politically active than his two brothers, he was ardently opposed to church rates. The 1834 church rates collector's book has a comment written against Edward's name, that seems to suggest he threatened the collector with violence.[586] Edward and his brother William were amongst the leading shopkeepers who were distrained for non-payment of church rates (chapter 6). In seeking a religion that suited him, William was more experimental than his brothers.[587] Like Edward, he attended the Independent chapel for a time, but William then tried the Unitarian chapel and that was where he stayed, in due course becoming one of the trustees. Their brother-

[584] DALHS, N/C/DUD/KIN/2/1/2, King Street Congregational Church, Church Book, 1849-1892, especially June-December 1865; N/C/DUD/KIN/2/3/1, Trustees' Minute Book, 1862-1865, which includes legal advice on dismissing Rev. Tozer, 1865; N/C/DUD/KIN/2/4/1, Deacons' Meeting Minutes, 1863-1865, especially June-July 1865.
[585] *The Patriot* (London)*,* 22 March 1866, p. 1 & 12 April 1866, pp. 1 & 4; *The Dudley Herald,* 2 December 1876, p. 4.
[586] Lambeth Palace Library (LPL), Arches H 5321/1-26 & 27-29, Court of Arches, Nineteenth Century case papers, Baker and Downing v Wood, 1835, supporting evidence, church rates collector's book, 1834.
[587] William Chrysostom Wood is usually referred to as W.C. Wood in newspaper reports.

in-law, Samuel Sedgley, who remained an Anglican, showed disdain for William's changing religious allegiances.[588]

As to their politics, the three brothers followed the trajectory of being pro-reform and anti-church rates, before becoming associated with the emergent Liberal party. Thomas was the only man in Dudley who can be identified as having a political career that spanned being a radical in the pro-Caroline disturbances of 1821, then being a keen reformer in the 1830s, before becoming a Liberal elder statesman in the town.[589] He was one of only nine men who, in due course, filled all three roles of Town Commissioner, member of the Dudley Local Board of Health and Guardian of the Dudley Poor Law Union. William was both a Town Commissioner and a member of the Board of Health whilst Edward was not active in local politics other than being a Town Commissioner.

The three brothers gained influence thanks largely to their success as businessmen. Thomas had been apprenticed as a draper and originally opened a draper's shop, but he switched to being a wine and spirit merchant which was far more lucrative. He renamed his shop the Crystal Palace and developed it to offer dining and entertainment as well. Whilst Thomas remained living in the town centre, both William and Edward moved to the wealthier districts outside the town. Edward derived a large income from three shops. He had a clothier's and a plate shop in the Market Place, but it was his pawnbroker business which was probably the most profitable, and the one he kept after selling off the other two. William was

[588] LPL, Arches H 5321-26 & 27-29, Court of Arches, Nineteenth Century case papers, Baker and Downing v Wood, 1835, Samuel Sedgley's evidence.
[589] For his support of Queen Caroline: *Birmingham and Lichfield Chronicle,* 2 August 1821, p. 2; *Berrow's Worcester Journal,* 25 October 1821, p. 2; *Aris's Birmingham Gazette,* 29 October 1821, p. 4.

a grocer and expanded his business to take in several shops. He also built up a property portfolio and served as a director of both the Dudley Waterworks Company and the Dudley Gas Company.

There was one difference between the brothers that became apparent. Thomas not only earned a good living from selling wines and spirits, but he became an active leader of the local 'Licensed Victuallers' Protection Society'. William also sold alcohol, but Edward, possibly influenced by his son Albert, promoted the temperance movement. At the ceremony unveiling the Earl of Dudley's elaborate drinking fountain in 1867, Albert Wood, described as the president of the Dudley Temperance Society, presented an address to the Earl, while his father's shop displayed a large temperance banner.[590]

Despite making money and improving their status the various branches of the Wood family were not exempt from Dudley's curse of high mortality. All three brothers lost sons in what should have been the prime of their lives and who would have been expected to take over the family businesses. The effect was starkest for Edward whose remaining two sons were either unwilling or unable to carry on any of their father's business interests.

[590] *The Birmingham Daily Gazette,* 18 October 1867, p. 4.

Appendix 2

Women ratepayers who voted in Dudley's 1834 church rate poll

Table A.B.1. The women ratepayers who voted in the 1834 Dudley parish poll, for or against a tenpenny church rate, also showing their church rate assessment.[1]

Voted against 10d. church rate

Surname	First name	Title	Address (street or area)	Church rate charged in 1834	Remarks by rate collector (if any)
Adams,	Hannah	Mrs	New St	9s. 2d	
Baker,	Anne	Widow	New Mill St	2s. 4d	
Brookes,	Mary		Vicar St	5s. 5d	
Brown,	Elizabeth	Mrs	High St	£1 3s. 4d	
Caddick,	Mary	Mrs	High St	2s. 1d	
Dainty,	Elizabeth	Widow	Halesowen Rd	3s. 6d	Cannot pay
Downing,	Elizabeth	Miss	Stone St	6s. 8d	
Fletcher,	Sarah	Mrs	High St	7s. 11d	
Gill,	Sarah		Halesowen Rd	3s. 6d	
Grainger,	Elizabeth	Mrs	High St	10s. 10d	
Grosvenor,	Anne	Miss	High St	4s. 2d	
Hollies,	Ann	Mrs	Oakey Well St	£1 3s. 9d	
Hutchings,	Sarah	Mrs	New St	7s. 1d	
Lester,	Lydia	Widow	Hall St	2s.	
Roberts,	Jane	Widow	Wolverhampton St	2s.	
Roberts,	Caroline	Miss	Stafford St	4s. 2d	

[1] This table has been created from the results of the poll printed by George Walters, together with the entries from the church rate collector's book which show what each woman had been charged. It also gives any comments by the collector. In total, twenty-eight women voted against the proposed rate and seventeen voted in favour. The names of the women who cannot be positively identified in the rate book are given at the end. DALHS, PO/29, A list of the rate-payers of Dudley, who voted against a tenpenny church-rate being granted for the year 1834 (together with a list of those who voted for) (Dudley? 1834?); Lambeth Palace Library (LPL), Arches H5321/1-26 & 27-29, Court of Arches, Nineteenth Century case papers, Baker and Downing v Wood, 1835, Dudley church rates collector's book, 1834?

Salt,	Anne	Miss	Wolverhampton St	3s. 2d	
Smith,	Mary	Widow	Wolverhampton St	3s. 4d	Not able to pay
Storer	Mary Anne	Mrs	High St	£1 2s 11d	
Vanes,	Elizabeth	Widow	Mill St etc	2s. 6d	
Wallace,	Phoebe	Mrs	King St	5s. 5d	
Webb,	Mary	Widow	Church St	2s. 11d	
Woodall,	Sarah	Widow	Dixon's Green	2s. 1d	Cannot afford to pay
Wyley (or Whyley)	Sarah	Widow	Queen's Cross/Spring's Mire	5s.	

Voted in favour of 10d. church rate

Surname	**First name**	**Title**	**Address (street or area)**	**Church rate charged in 1834**	**Remarks by rate collector (if any)**
Aston,	Mary	Widow	Baptist End & Bumblehole	2s. 4d	
Brinton,	Hannah		High St	18s. 4d	
Cattell,	Frances	Miss	High St	£1 4s. 2d	
Child,	Mary	Miss	New Hall St	5s.	
Davies,	Ann	Mrs	Wolverhampton St	19s. 2d	
Devy,	Hannah	Widow	Wolverhampton St	5s.	
Dixon,	Elizabeth	Mrs	High St	4s. 5d	
Dunn,	Anne	Widow	Stone St	7s. 1d	
Fowler,	Ann		Stone St	10s.	
Higgs,	Mary	Widow	Woodside	£1 12s. 6d	
Hughes,	Mary	Widow	Stone St	£1 - 10d	
Leech,	Mary	Widow	Woodside	4s. 7d	
Prince,	Sarah	Widow	Dixon's Green	3s. 2d	
Trowman, (Trueman?)	Anne	Widow	Derby End	8s.	

The average rate of the women voting against the tenpenny rate was 6s. 10½d.

The average rate of the women voting in favour of the tenpenny rate was 11s. 9d.

To put the women's rate charges in perspective, in a ranked list of Dudley's 1834 church rates charges, beginning with the largest charges first, the highest rated woman to vote, Mary Higgs, would only come equal 81st. Overall, the highest woman in such a list of charges would be Widow Eley of Northfield Road, Netherton (who did not vote) whose charge of £3 7s. would have put her 27th in the list. The only other woman who would have been in the top fifty was Miss Parsons of Wolverhampton Street, a member of the wealthy Unitarian family. Although their rate assessments do not suggest that the women who voted in the parish poll were particularly wealthy, those who are listed in *Pigot's Commercial Directory* of 1835 had a variety of occupations (table A.B.2).[2]

Table A.B.2 The women ratepayers who voted in the 1834 Dudley parish poll and whose occupations can be ascertained

Voted against 10d. church rate

Surname	First name	Occupation
Baker,	Ann	Shopkeeper, groceries and sundries
Brown,	Elizabeth	Innkeeper
Downing,	Elizabeth	School proprietor
Fletcher,	Sarah	Listed with 'gentry'
Gill,	Sarah	Beer retailer
Grainger,	Elizabeth	Milliner and dress maker
Grosvenor,	Ann	School proprietor
Hollies (or Hollis)	Ann	Maltster and beer retailer
Hutchings,	Sarah	School proprietor

[2] DALHS, PO/29, A list of the rate-payers of Dudley, who voted against a tenpenny church-rate being granted for the year 1834 (together with a list of those who voted for) (Dudley? 1834?); *Pigot and Co.'s National Commercial Directory: Comprising a Classification of the Merchants, Bankers, Professional Gentlemen, Manufacturers and Traders …* (London, 1835), pp. 635-641.

Roberts,	Caroline	Milliner and dress maker
Storer,	Mary Anne	Publican

Voted in favour of 10d. church rate

Surname	**First name**	**Occupation**
Brinton,	Hannah	Butcher
Cattell,	Frances	School proprietor
Child,	Mary	Milliner and dress maker
Davies,	Ann	Listed with ‘gentry’
Dixon,	Elizabeth	Slater
Dunn,	Anne	Pork butcher
Higgs,	Mary	Beer retailer
Hughes,	Mary	Publican
Trowman (Trueman?)	Anne	Shopkeeper, groceries and sundries

The following women who voted cannot be matched with the rate book:

Voted against -

Catherine Bishop, Spring’s Mire

Sarah Dean, Eve Hill

Phoebe Parkes, Dudley Wood

Sarah Wilks, Hill House

Voted for -

Maria Bowen, High Street

Margaret Parkes, Tower Street

Ann Wright, Netherton

Appendix 3

1851 censuses – of religious worship and of education

Two special censuses in 1851 recorded data of relevance to the study of religion in Dudley. Of chief interest is the census of religious worship, but there is also important information in the census of education.[1] The education data is much less specific than that provided by the religious census, for which the individual census returns have survived, whilst the education census results are only available in summary form in the official report.[2] The main purpose of the religious census was to ascertain if church building, and the number of seats available in churches and chapels, had kept pace with unprecedented population growth. Each place of worship was asked for information about the building, including the number of seats (or 'sittings'), and to record attendances at services on census Sunday, 30 March 1851.[3] The data given here is for the Dudley sub-district (part of the larger Dudley district) which equated to the ancient parish of Dudley and was not further divided for census purposes.[4] The data for the religious worship tables is taken from John Aitken's survey of the census returns for Worcestershire, checked against the original returns held by the National Archives.[5] Table A.C.1 lists all the places of worship in Dudley which completed a census return.

---

[1] For detail on the Census of Religious Worship see: K.D.M. Snell and P.S. Ell, *Rival Jerusalems: the geography of Victorian religion* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 23-53 etc.
[2] *Census of Great Britain, 1851: Education. England and Wales. Report and Tables* (London, 1854); The National Archives (TNA), HO 129 382/4/1/1-33, Census of Religious Worship, Returns for the parish of Dudley, 1851.
[3] The census for the small synagogue was taken on Saturday 29 March 1851.
[4] The boundaries for calculating census data were based on the boundaries of the Poor Law Union. Thus, Dudley district covered the parishes of Dudley, Sedgley, Tipton and Rowley Regis.
[5] J. Aitken, (ed.), *Census of Religious Worship, 1851. The Returns for Worcestershire*, Worcestershire Historical Society, New series, Vol. 17 (2000), pp. 4-10; TNA, HO 129 382/4/1/1-33, Census of Religious Worship, Returns for the parish of Dudley, 1851.

Table A.C.1. Census of Religious Worship, 1851: Places of worship in Dudley which submitted census returns

Census reference numbers	Denomination or religion	Name as given and place if known (Information in square brackets has been derived from local knowledge or other sources)	Date if given (This is the date of building unless otherwise described)
HO 129 382.4.1.1	C of E	Perpetual Curacy of St James, Eve Hill	1840
2	C of E	Dudley Parish Church (St Thomas's)	Re-built 1816 to 1819
3	C of E	St Edmund's Church, Castle Street	Consecrated before 1800
4	C of E	St John, Freebodies [i.e. Kate's Hill]	1840
5	C of E	St Andrew's District Church, Netherton	Consecrated 16 July 1830
6	Presbyterian Church in England	Trinity Presbyterian Church, Wolverhampton Street	1847
7	Jews	Synagogue [The evidence suggests that this was part of, or attached to, a tailor's workshop in Wolverhampton Street]	1848
8	Wesleyan M	Salop Street Chapel	1850
9	MNC	Wesley Chapel, Wolverhampton Street	1828
10	Latter-day Saints	Latter-Day Saints Chapel, Chapel Street	1820 [the building had been built and used by other denominations]
11	Unitarian	Chapel of Protestant Dissenters, Wolverhampton Street (notes have been added to the census form to clarify the name and denomination)	1717
12	Particular Baptist	Baptist Chapel, formerly a nail warehouse, adjoining Mechanics Institution [Wolverhampton Street, or just off]	c. 1770
13	Society of Friends	Meeting-House, High Street [off High Street]	Before 1700
14	Wesleyan M	King Street Chapel	Before 1800

15	Independent	Independent Chapel, King Street	Before 1800 but rebuilt and enlarged 1841
16	Primitive M	Primitive Methodist Chapel, George Street	1829
17	MNC	Dock Chapel, New Dock	1848
18	Wesleyan M	Unnamed [identified as Hartshill][6]	1850
19	MNC	Mount Zion, Woodside	1827
20	Wesleyan M	Wesleyan Chapel, Woodside	1814
21	Primitive M	Woodside	1834
22	Baptist	New Street Meeting House	1777
23	Catholic	Catholic Church	1842
24	Primitive M	Primitive Methodist, Kate's Hill	1848
25	MNC	Ebeneza (sic), Kate's Hill	1837
26	General Baptist	Unnamed, [from the date of this church, it is that at Cinder Bank, north of Netherton]	1740
27	Baptist	Baptist Chapel, Sweet Turf [this is Netherton]	1842
28	MNC	St John's, Netherton	1848
29	Primitive M	Windmillend (sic) Chapel [usually 'Windmill End']	Since 1810
30	MNC	Providence Chapel [Darby Hand]	1837
31	Wesleyan M	Darby Hand Chapel	1821
32	Primitive M	Primitive Methodist Chapel, Primrose Hill [south-east of Netherton]	1851
33	Wesleyan M	Wesleyan Mount Zion Chapel, Dudley Wood	1829

Key:	C of E	-	Church of England
Table	Wesleyan M	-	Wesleyan Methodist
A.C.1	MNC	-	Methodist New Connexion
	Primitive M	-	Primitive Methodist

[6] All the evidence points to this chapel being in Hartshill: its position in the schedule, the minister being based in Brierley Hill and newspaper reports of such a chapel opening in 1850.

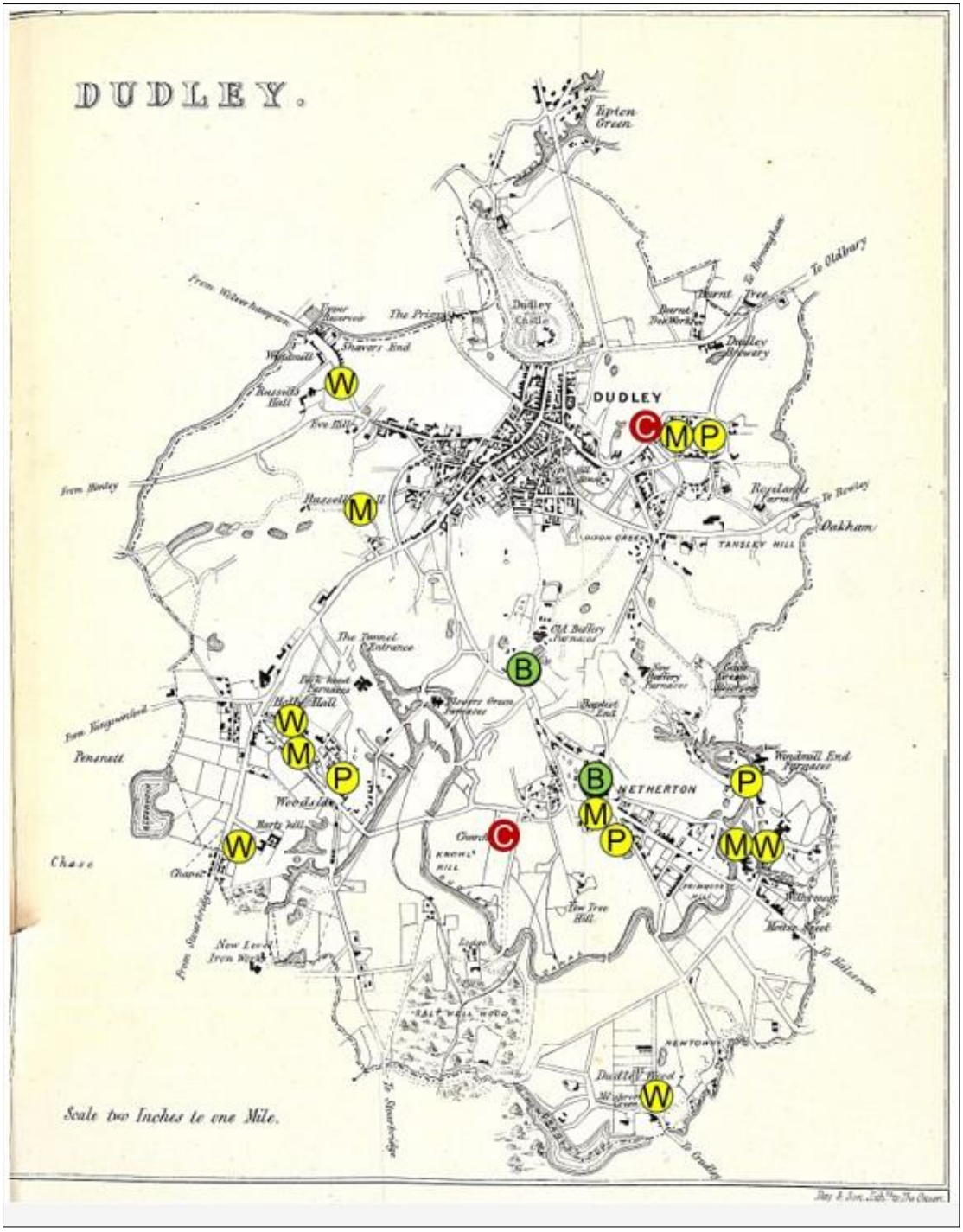


Figure A.C.1. Census of religious worship, 1851. Spatial distribution of churches and chapels outside the continuously built-up area of Dudley town.[7]

[7] Dudley parish, c. 1851, map by Day & Son, reproduced courtesy of the Wellcome Institute, from William Lee's enquiry into the sanitary condition of Dudley, 1852. The map does not have the usual, vertical north/south axis; north is approximately 26 degrees anticlockwise from the map vertical.

Key to Figure A.C.1.	Methodist Chapels are colour-coded yellow
C – Church of England (2)	W – Wesleyan Methodists (5)
B – Baptist Chapels (2)	P – Primitive Methodists (4)
	M – Methodist New Connexion (5)

A range of criticism aimed at the census of religious worship is discussed by K.D.M. Snell and P.S. Ell.[8] Clerical errors blighted the transfer of Dudley's data from the census returns into the official report. In the Dudley report as published, only the Anglican section and denominations that were represented by a single place of worship are completely error free. The worst failure is with the Primitive Methodists who are only credited with four chapels when there are census returns for five.[9] Very few of the other Methodist attendances given in the official report correctly match the census returns. The Baptist summaries are also incorrect. One church must have been mistakenly identified as belonging to the Particular Baptists but because the numbers given do not match the census returns it is impossible to identify the mistake with certainty. The figures for Dudley in the official report are given in table A.C.2.[10] The per centage breakdown, between the different denominations of their total attendances, given in figure A.C.2, shows that

---

Locations of outer churches and chapels, which have been overlaid on the map, are taken from the census of religious worship, 1851. Day & Son, Map of Dudley in W. Lee, *Report to the General Board of Health on a preliminary inquiry into the sewerage, drainage and supply of water, and the sanitary condition of the inhabitants of the Parish of Dudley in the County of Worcester* (London, 1852); Aitken (ed.), 'Census of religious worship, 1851', Dudley Sub-District, pp. 4-10.

[8] Snell and Ell, *Rival Jerusalems,* pp. 35-46.

[9] Comparing the sets of statistics suggests that it was Kate's Hill Primitive Methodist Chapel that was left out of the official report.

[10] The figures have been left as in the original report, but the structure of the table has been amended to improve accessibility. *Census of Great Britain, 1851. Religious Worship. England and Wales. Report and Tables* (London, 1853), Summary Tables, Dudley, p. cclvii.

the Church of England only retained about a quarter of attendances (adults and children combined) whilst Methodists, taken together, accounted for nearly half.

Table A.C.2. Census of Religious Worship, 1851: Dudley's data from the official report.[11]

RELIGIOUS DENOMINATION	Number of places of worship	Number of free sittings	Number of appropri-ated sittings	Total number of sittings	Number of attendants - adults & children - Morning	Number of attendants - adults & children - Afternoon	Number of attendants - adults & children - Evening
PROTESTANT CHURCHES							
C of E	5	2,994	2,700	5,694	2,311	1,745	1,211
Presbyterian Church in England	1	200	450	650	390	-	300
Independents	1	420	758	1,178	836	-	474
General Baptists	1	50	50	100	224	60	100
Particular Baptists	2	250	500	750	160	60	400
Baptists not otherwise defined	1	350	-	350	350	270	250
Society of Friends	1	170	-	170	18	-	-
Unitarians	1	-	-	500	190	-	182
Wesleyan M	6	862	1,354	2,216	1,542	795	1,290
MNC	6	1,010	1,540	2,550	1,530	661	1,950
Primitive M	4	756	444	1,200	737	535	990
OTHER CHRISTIAN CHURCHES							
Roman Catholics	1	200	238	438	830	-	500
Latter-Day Saints	1	105	-	105	-	35	50
OTHER FAITHS							
Jews	1	-	10	10	10	10	10
TOTAL	**32**	**7,367**	**8,044**	**15,911**	**9,128**	**4,171**	**7,707**

[11] *Census of Great Britain, 1851. Religious Worship. England and Wales. Report and Tables* (London, 1853), Summary Tables, Dudley, p. cclvii.

Key to Table A.C.2	C of E	-	Church of England
	Wesleyan M	-	Wesleyan Methodist
	MNC	-	Methodist New Connexion
	Primitive M	-	Primitive Methodist

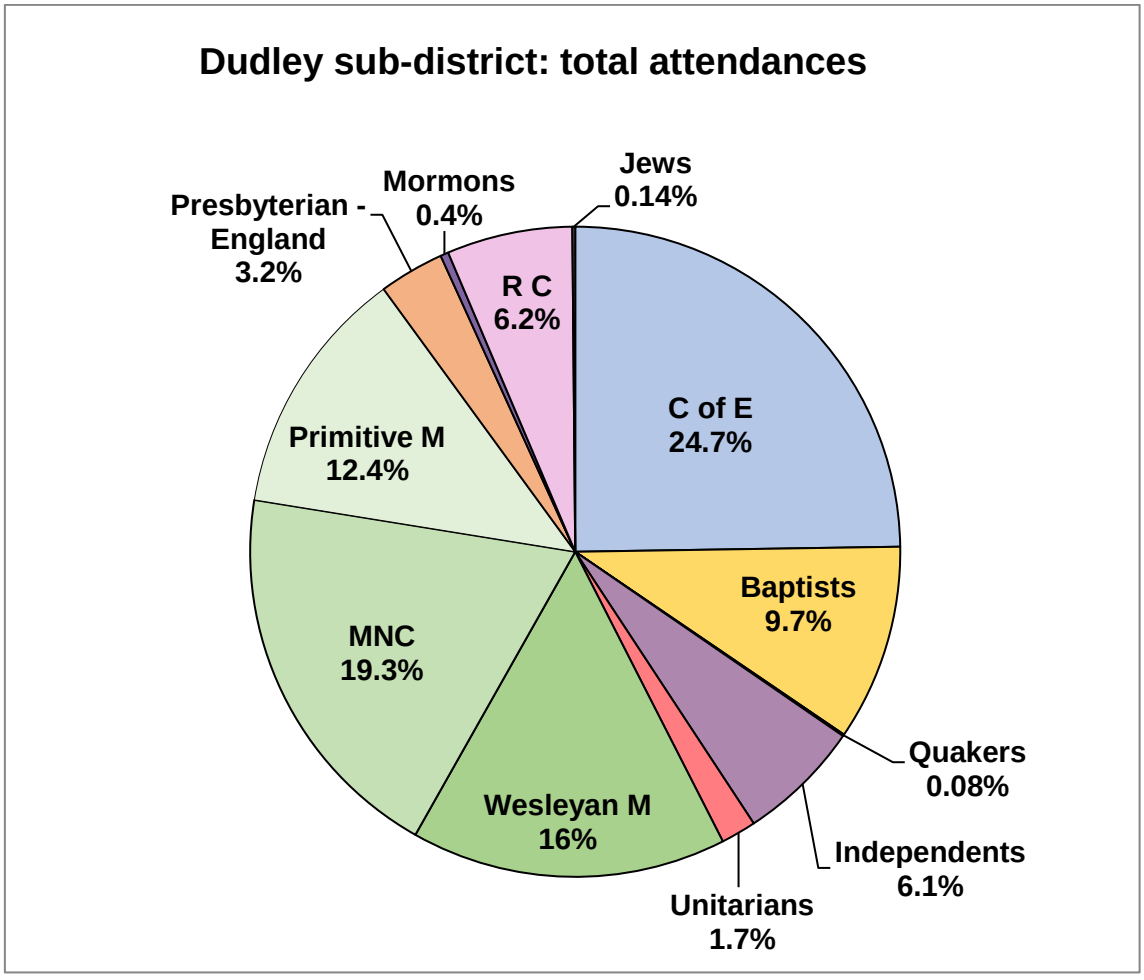


Figure A.C.2. Census of Religious Worship, 1851: Total attendances of Dudley's denominations expressed as percentages.[12]

[12] Data for this chart is based on the census returns for Dudley taken from: J. Aitken (editor), 'Census of religious worship, 1851. The returns for Worcestershire', *Worcestershire Historical Society,* New series 17 (2000), pp. 4-10.

Key to Figure A.C.2	
C of E	Church of England
Quakers	Society of Friends
Wesleyan M	Wesleyan Methodists
MNC	Methodist New Connexion
Primitive M	Primitive Methodists
Presbyterian - England	Presbyterian Church in England
Mormons	Church of Christ of Latter-Day Saints
RC	Roman Catholic Church

To be able to compare attendance figures, both between denominations and across geographical areas, Keith Inglis devised what he terms an 'index of attendance'.[13] This expresses the total attendances as a percentage of the population in a given area. Table A.C.3 gives the indexes of attendance for the different religious groups in Dudley compared with Worcestershire and England and Wales.

[13] K.S. Inglis, 'Patterns of religious worship in 1851', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. 11, No. 1 (1960), pp. 74-86.

Table A.C.3 Census of Religious Worship, 1851: Indexes of Attendance for Dudley, Worcestershire and England and Wales.[14]

Denomination	Dudley	Worcestershire	England & Wales
Church of England	13.87	31.58	29.52
Presbyterian Church in England	1.82	0.25	0.21
Independents	3.45	2.78	6.77
Baptists	5.47	4.25	5.19
Society of Friends	0.05	0.1	0.13
Unitarians	0.98	0.75	0.28
Wesleyan Methodists	8.79	5.66	8.62
Methodist New Connexion	10.86	2.61	0.55
Primitive Methodists	6.96	3.99	2.85
Wesleyan Methodist Association	n/a	0.29	0.52
Independent Methodist	n/a	0.14	0.02
Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion	n/a	0.89	0.25
Brethren	n/a	0.04	0.1
Isolated congregations	n/a	0.25	0.58
Roman Catholics	3.5	1.76	2.14
Latter-Day Saints	0.22	0.13	0.2
Jews	0.08	0.01	0.03
Total	**56.05**	**55.48**	**60.78**

[14] John Aitken points out that his total of 60.78 for England and Wales is slightly below the actual total as he has not included denominations that were not present in Worcestershire. Inglis gives the total for England and Wales as 61. Inglis also gives a different figure for Dudley than that calculated here (55.3 rather than 56.05). The discrepancy may be because Inglis used summaries rather than individual census reports. Aitken (ed.), 'Census of religious worship, 1851: the returns for Worcestershire', Table 2, p. xxxv, including note 4 and Dudley data: pp. 4-10; K.S. Inglis, 'Patterns of religious worship in 1851', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. 11, No. 1 (1960), pp. 74-86, especially p. 80.

Whilst places of worship were encouraged to include Sunday School children in the religious census, Sunday Schools were also counted in the Census of Education. Table A.C.4 shows that Anglican dominance in the provision of Sunday Schools was being successfully challenged, particularly by the two main Methodist groups. However, table A.C.5 indicates that the Church of England remained dominant in the provision of denominational day schools in Dudley.

Table A.C.4. Census of Education, 1851: Numbers of Sunday schools and their scholars in Dudley.[15]

Denomination	**Number of schools**	**Number of scholars**
Church of England	6	924
Church of Scotland [16]	1	205
Independents	1	593
Baptists	2	362
Unitarians	1	50
Wesleyan Methodists	6	1,089
Methodist New Connection	7	1,306
Primitive Methodists	6	668
Roman Catholic	1	193
Total		**5,390**

[15] *Census of Great Britain, 1851: Education. England and Wales: Report and Tables* (London, 1854), Table S, p. clxxxviii
[16] This was called the Presbyterian Church in England in the religious census.

Table A.C.5. Census of Education, 1851: Numbers of denominational day schools and their scholars in Dudley.[17]

Denomination	Number of schools	Scholars, total	Scholars, male	Scholars, female
C of E - National	4	856	487	369
C of E - Others	3	330	194	136
Independents - British	1	204	204	-
Independents - Others	-	-	-	-
Baptists - British	-	-	-	-
Unitarians	1	140	-	140
Wesleyan Methodists	-	-	-	-
Roman Catholics	1	128	58	70
Total	**10**	**1,658**	**943**	**715**

[17] *Census of Great Britain, 1851: Education. England and Wales: Report and Tables* (London, 1854), Table P (Class III), p. clx.

Appendix 4

Timeline

1750	Dudley Castle rendered uninhabitable by a major fire
1760	George III ascended the throne
1763	John Ward, 6th Baron Ward, was created 1st Viscount Dudley and Ward
1774	John Ward succeeded his father as 2nd Viscount Dudley and Ward
1776	Acts of Parliament to allow the building of Stourbridge and Dudley canals
1777	Calvinist Baptist chapel opened in New Street, Dudley
1779	Joseph Cartwright appointed as Vicar of Dudley; Dudley canal opened
1784	Enclosure Acts for Pensnett Chase and Dudley Wood
1786	Agreement made to build the Dudley Arms Hotel
1788	William Ward succeeded his half-brother as 3rd Viscount Dudley and Ward; a new Methodist chapel and one for the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion (later Independent) opened in close proximity in Dudley
1788/89	First regency crisis; George III recovered on this occasion
1789	French Revolution; Luke Booker ordained as a priest and appointed as Curate to both Dudley Free Grammar School and St Edmund's, Dudley; a meeting of Protestant dissenting ministers from neighbouring regions chaired by Reverend William Denny Wood (Dudley Unitarian), agreed to keep pressing for repeal of Test and Corporation Acts, arguably Dudley's first reform meeting
1790	Edmund Burke published *Reflections on the Revolution in France;* John Wesley made his last of fifteen visits to Dudley and preached in the recently built King Street chapel
1791	Thomas Paine published *Rights of Man*; First Local Act for Dudley, established a body of Town Commissioners; Priestley Riots in Birmingham
1792	Dudley canal tunnel opened, connecting the town by canal to Birmingham

1798	Formation of Dudley Loyal Association
1800	Acts of Union between Great Britain and Ireland, enacted in both Dublin and Westminster
1801	The Act of Union between Britain and Ireland came into effect on 1 January 1801
1805	Luke Booker left Dudley to become Rector of Tedstone Delamere, Herefordshire; Dudley subscription library established
1811	Start of the Regency; Luddite riots
1812	Joseph Cartwright died and replaced as Vicar of Dudley by Luke Booker
1814	Booker appointed one of the Chaplains in Ordinary to the Prince Regent
1815	Volcanic eruption of Mount Tambora on Sumbawa affected climate and exacerbated poor harvests over a wide area, including Britain; Battle of Waterloo and Congress of Vienna; Corn Law passed; an Act of Parliament for the taking down and re-building of St Thomas's parish church, Dudley.
1816	Post-war economic slump caused widespread social distress
1818	Primitive Methodism first recorded in Dudley
1819	Peterloo massacre and radical backlash; consecration of St Thomas's, the newly re-built parish church; Samuel Cook moved to Dudley and opened a draper's shop
1820	Accession of George IV; controversy over the status of Queen Caroline
1821	Support for Queen Caroline at the time of her husband's coronation, in Dudley as elsewhere; establishment of the Dudley Gas Light Company brought gas lighting to the town
1822	Suicide of Lord Castlereagh; sparked an incident in Dudley, picked up by *The Black Dwarf*
1823	John William Ward succeeded his father as 4th Viscount Dudley and Ward; Cook's earliest, dated handbills, complaining about the Church of England

1826	Cook arrested for seditious libel; Dudley Town Commissioners unsuccessfully attempted to obtain support for applying for a second Town Act
1827	Cook tried for seditious libel but only bound over to keep the peace; Booker laid foundation stone of St Andrew's, Netherton; Viscount Dudley and Ward briefly Foreign Secretary and created Earl of Dudley
1828	Repeal of Test and Corporation Acts
1829	The Roman Catholic Relief Act passed; Wesley chapel opened in Wolverhampton Street, Dudley
1830	William IV ascended the throne; further Revolution in France, inspired reformers in Dudley as elsewhere; St Andrew's, Netherton, consecrated.
1831	General election on the reform issue; Lord Grey's government secured a majority for reform; two reformers elected for Worcestershire; economic and social distress caused civil unrest
1832	Reform Act passed, giving Dudley its own MP; Dudley seriously affected by the cholera epidemic; Sir John Campbell elected as Dudley's first MP of modern times
1833	Earl of Dudley died and by the terms of his will the Dudley estate was put into a trust for twelve years; Reverend William Humble Ward became the 10th Baron Ward
1834	Poor Law Amendment Act; Thomas Hawkes became MP for Dudley having defeated John Campbell in a by-election; Dudley Waterworks Company formed by a private Act of Parliament
1834/37	Thomas Wood was prosecuted by Dudley's churchwardens through the ecclesiastical courts for non-payment of church rates
1835	Booker died and replaced as vicar of Dudley by William Henry Cartwright; William Ward succeeded his father as 11th Baron Ward; Hawkes re-elected in the general election
1835/36	Acrimonious split amongst Dudley's Methodists worked in favour of the Methodist New Connexion
1836	Dudley Poor Law Union established (combined parishes of Dudley, Sedgley, Tipton and Rowley Regis)

1837	Victoria ascended the throne; beginning of compulsory, civil registration of births, deaths and marriages; Hawkes re-elected in the general election
1838	The People's Charter launched; first recorded Chartist meeting in Dudley
1839	Bull Ring riots in Birmingham; Cook arrested for taking part in a meeting, then tried and gaoled for six months
1840	Dudley's first purpose-built Roman Catholic church opened; two new Anglican churches, St James's and St John's and a new, larger Independent chapel opened
1841	General election: Hawkes re-elected
1842	General strike; Cook, Joseph Linney, Arthur O'Neill and many other Chartists arrested and gaoled
1843	Cook declared bankrupt for second time
1844	Hawkes resigned and in the ensuing by-election he was replaced as Dudley's MP by John Benbow, Lord Ward's agent and trustee; the ancient Dudley parish was divided into five districts
1845	Start of the severe Irish potato famine; Maynooth grant controversy; Lord Ward took full control of the Dudley estate as the trust ended; the vicar, W H Cartwright exchanged livings with Reverend Dr James Caulfeild Browne
1846	Prime minister, Robert Peel, secured legislation to repeal the Corn Laws but lost office; Ward supported Peel; Dudley Dispensary opened
1847	General election: Benbow re-elected with token opposition from Chartists, Joseph Linney and Cook; Presbyterian church in Wolverhampton Street opened
1848	Revolution in France; unease in the British establishment that revolutionary fervour in Europe might spread to Britain; Public Health Act, an example of permissive legislation
1849	Dudley suffered a further cholera epidemic
1850	Papal Aggression controversy; first railway link to Dudley opened by the South Staffordshire Railway; George Walters, the radical printer bankrupt and ceased printing

1851	Great Exhibition in London; census of religious worship and of education; William Lee, a government sanitary inspector, investigated the sanitary state of Dudley town and parish
1852	General election: Benbow re-elected; Lee's damning report into the state of Dudley led to the adoption of the Public Health Act; prosecution of church rates non-payers, defended by George Edmonds of Birmingham
1853	Establishment of the Dudley Local Board of Health, an elective body, to replace the Town Commissioners; Dudley adopted the Small Tenements Rating Act, after a poll; Dr Browne, the vicar, forced to accept a measure of voluntaryism rather than a church rate
1853/56	The Crimean War
1855	Dudley by-election caused by the death of Benbow; Lord Ward brought forward Sir Stafford Northcote who was duly elected as Dudley's MP; Maine Law riots in Dudley
1857	General election: Northcote left Dudley, having refused to vote in parliament as Ward requested; Ward's efforts to install another nominee as Dudley's MP were thwarted by a Tory/Radical alliance and the alliance candidate, Henry Brinsley Sheridan was elected unopposed
1859	By-election for East Worcestershire resulted in Frederick Calthorpe's election showing increased electoral support for Liberals; at the general election, Sheridan was sufficiently able to keep the Conservative/Radical alliance together to secure re-election in Dudley borough
1860	The earldom of Dudley was revived, with William, Lord Ward becoming the 1st Earl of Dudley of the 2nd creation; Dudley Working Men's Institute established
1862	Dudley Waterworks Company fully taken over by the South Staffordshire Waterworks Company
1863	Formal opening of the purpose-built Mechanics' Institution and Public Hall in Wolverhampton Street
1864	Appointment of Dudley's first vestry clerk, after years of debate
1865	General election: Sheridan re-elected; Dudley was incorporated; the borough was divided into 7 wards with a 40-man council made up of councillors and aldermen; 6,316 men on the burgess roll; a visit to

	the Dudley Caverns and Wren's Nest by the British Association was well publicised
1866	The Dudley and Midland Fine Arts, Scientific and Industrial Exhibition held at the Mechanics' Institution
1867	Second Reform Act; a son and heir born to the Earl and Countess of Dudley; The Earl presented a sculptured drinking fountain to Dudley
1867/68	William Murphy held controversial meetings in Dudley and elsewhere in the West Midlands
1868	Boundary Act; greatly enlarged Dudley's parliamentary constituency; general election: Sheridan re-elected unopposed

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary sources:

Archive material

Dudley Archives and Local History Service (DALHS)

(a) Dudley Town:

Town Commissioners' Minutes, Volume 1, 1791-1832, Volume 2, 1832-1853

See also: Z, Small and Miscellaneous Accessions, Z53

Dudley Local Board of Health

Minutes, 1.1-1.7, June 1853 - May 1865

Minutes 2, Aug 1853-Dec 1854, January/February 1854, include: Houghton, J.H., *First Quarterly Report to the Dudley Local Board of Health on the Sanitary State of the Parish*, pasted in, folio 127 & f.

Finance committee minutes, 2.1-2.3, August 1853-June 1865

Borough of Dudley and Dudley County Borough Council, Minutes

1. Council minutes
1.1 Dudley agenda, 1865-1874
1.2 Minute book, November 1867-December 1869

Government School of Design and Technical Instruction and School of Art Committee Minutes, Volume 1 (1853-1901), Minutes

Note: most of these records covering the town of Dudley do not have reference numbers.

(b) GDU, Dudley Union Board of Guardians

GDU/1/1-8, Board of Guardians, Minutes, 1836-1869.

(c) MDU, Dudley Magistrates' Court

MDU/9/1-4, Justices' Notebooks, 1848-1855 and 1857-1858.

(d) DDIS, Dudley Dispensary and Badley District Nursing Home

DDIS/1/1, Minutes 1 (1836-1952).

(e) Church records:

Church of England, Dudley parishes:

PR17, St Thomas's:

Parish Registers:

PR17/1/1, Baptisms: 1794-1812 (with notes written at the back by the Reverend Luke Booker), 1813-1816, 1816-1820, 1820-1823, 1823-1825, 1825-1828, 1828-1833, 1833-1835 & 1835-1838

PR17/1/2, Marriages: 1770-1791, 1791-1808, 1808-1812, 1813-1818, 1818-1823, 1823-1826, 1826-1829, 1829-1832, 1832-1834 & 1834-1836

PR17/1/3, Burials: 1795-1812, 1813-1818, 1818-1825, 1825-1831, 1831-1835 &1835-1838

The re-building of St Thomas's Church:

PR/17/3/7/3, Account of William Brooks, architect for the re-building of the Church, 1814-1820

PR/17/3/7/4, Order book of the Trustees for re-building St Thomas's, 1815-1837

Order books:

PR17/4/1/2, Vestry order Book, 1821-1856
The above is also available in transcript: Ware, A. J. (ed.), *Dudley Parish Order Book, 1821-1856* (Dudley, typescript, 1992)
PR17/4/1/3, Vestry minute book, 1856-1956

PR9, St Andrew's:

PR9/4/1, Vestry minute book, 1845-1918

PR12, St Edmund's:

PR12/4/1, Vestry minute book, 1845-1968

PR/14, St James the Great:

PR/14/4/1, Vestry minutes, 1863-1970

PR15, St John's:

PR15/4/1/1 Vestry minute book, 1845-1883

Nonconformist churches:

King Street Congregational Church (formerly the Independent Chapel)

N/C/DUD/KIN:

N/C/DUD/KIN/1/1/1, Register of baptisms etc, 1803-1968

N/C/DUD/KIN/1/2/1, Burial register, 1840-1933

N/C/DUD/KIN/1/3/1, Communion register, 1845-1876

N/C/DUD/KIN/2/1/1-2, Church books, 1801-1849 & 1849-1892

N/C/DUD/KIN/2/3/1, Trustees' Minute Book, 1862-1865

N/C/DUD/KIN/2/4/1, Deacons' Meeting Minutes, 1863-1865

N/C/DUD/KIN/3/2/1, Pew rent book, 1847-1898

Old Meeting House, Wolverhampton Street

N/U/DU/OMH:

List of the Trustees, Treasurer & Honorary Secretary etc., original date 29 January 1857, but with later additions.

Methodist Circuits, Accession no. 8363

Dudley Circuit Records: An account of the members in the Dudley Circuit, 1810-1828.

Roman Catholic Church – Our Blessed Lady and St Thomas of Canterbury

R87162/ MFM 478 (microfilm):

Registers:

Baptisms, 1835-1902, Marriages, 1835-1902, Deaths, 1835-1893, Communicants, (1839) etc.

(f) C8748, Archive Collections - Records and papers of D.R. Guttery:

C8748/7, Records related to Samuel Cook and family.

(g) D32, Manuscript books on Dudley Castle:

D32/MS/2 Bound manuscript of 'Dudley Castle' by Charles Twamley, post 1801.

(h) DE, The Earl of Dudley Estate Collection:

DE, Catalogue introduction to The Earl of Dudley Estate Collection and administrative history note.

DE/1/6/129, Title deeds, Rowley Regis, Lease and Release, 12-13 November 1804.

DE/3/3/1/28, Manorial Records, Dudley, Court Book for the Manor of Dudley, 1798-1866.

Estate records:

DE/4/1/1-2 Trusteeship records, Letters mainly from Amelia, Lady Ward, to John Benbow et al (1832-1833) and Correspondence regarding Lord Ward and the Commission of Lunacy etc.

DE/4/2/1/21. Letters received by Benbow & Alban from Thomas Brettelll and Booth & Haslewood on estate business, with papers relating to the position of the settled estates, 1804.

DE/4/4/1/1, Book of Reference to the map of the parish of Dudley, 1840. [This is dated 1840 by Dudley Archives because some amendments have been added to estate holdings, but it is primarily a copy of a parish survey ordered by the Town Commissioners, c. 1824-25.]

DE/4/9/6, Estate records, Poor rate assessment of the parish of Dudley, with plan, 1787.

Maps and plans:

DE/16/3/2, Map of the parish of Dudley, c. 1787.

DE/16/5/15, Map of the Coppice Mill and lands adjoining, 25 November 1840.

DE/16/6/156, Plan of land at the Oak Estate near Himley Wood, nineteenth century.

(i) DMAR, Marsh and Baxter Ltd, Brierley Hill:

DMAR/2/4, Deeds, Dudley, Copy pre-nuptial marriage settlement, Thomas Parkin et al., 1807.

(j) PO, Poster collection (PC):

PO/1A, A special meeting of the Dudley Political Union (Dudley, Walters, 1831).

PO/1B, To those electors of Dudley who are friends and supporters of Mr Campbell (Dudley, G. Walters, 1832).

PO/5, Church in danger!! Election of Churchwardens (Dudley, W. Maurice, 1833?).

PO/6, To the Rate Payers of Dudley (Dudley, G. Walters, 1834).

PO/7B, The Church! Let the Church be Reformed! (Dudley, Walters, 1833).

PO/13C, At a most respectable meeting of the inhabitants (Dudley, Hinton's Executors, 1832?).

PO/14C, Tory Intrigue & Trickery (Dudley, J. Goodwin, 1832).

PO/15B, No slavery! Rate payers! (Dudley, G. Walters, 1832).

PO/16A, The day of judgement and united retribution is come! (Dudley, G. Walters, 1833?).

PO/17, Rate payers of Dudley, vote for Hill, and retrenchment (Dudley, G. Walters, 1832).

PO/18A & B, County of Worcester. To John Twamley the younger and County of Worcester. These are to certify … (n.p., 1831), two printed forms; the summons and certificate of John Twamley the younger's appointment as a special constable.

PO/19A, Expense of Acts of Parliament (Dudley, G. Walters, 1826). [Duplicate of 205A]

PO/20, To J. C. Brettell Esq., Mayor of Dudley (Dudley, G. Walters,1831).

PO/21, Address of the Council of the Dudley Political Union (Dudley, G. Walters, 1831).

PO/22, A public meeting will be held (Dudley, G. Walters, 1832).

PO/25A, To the non-electors of Dudley! (London, Parkin, 1832).

PO/27, A list of the electors who voted for Sir John Campbell, (Dudley, G. Walters, 1834?).

PO/28, A list of persons who voted for Thomas Hawkes Esq. (Dudley, G. Walters, 1834?).

PO/29, A list of the rate-payers of Dudley, who voted against a tenpenny church-rate being granted for the year 1834 (together with a list of those who voted for) (Dudley? G. Walters, 1834?).

PO/32B, A secular pastoral address by the Vicar of Dudley (Dudley, Hinton's Executors, 1832).

PO/33, The following is a copy of the hole and corner petition (Dudley, G. Walters, n.d.).

PO/42B, To the Independent Electors of Dudley. Brother Electors (Dudley, Hinton's Office, 1832).

PO/43A, Irish Bill (Dudley, Hinton's Executor's, 1833).

PO/43B, The four Whig-Radical cardinal virtues!!! (Dudley, Thomas Danks, 1835?).

PO/47A, To the Electors of Dudley: Gentlemen, At this momentous crisis … (Dudley, J. Goodwin. 1832?).

PO/48A, Committee Room, Hotel, Dudley, February 19th, 1834 (Dudley, n.p., 1834).

PO/50, To the Working Classes, of the Town and Parish of Dudley. Having lately seen a hand-bill signed 'A Looker On' (Dudley, G. Walters, 1832?).

PO/51, General Election, To the Electors of Dudley. Brother Electors (Dudley, W. Maurice, 1832).

PO/52, To the Electors of the Borough of Dudley. An anonymous handbill… (Dudley, G. Walters, 1832).

PO/53B, To the electors of Dudley. Sir Horace St. Paul's committee (Dudley, Hinton's executors, 1832).

PO/55, Notice to the electors of the Borough of Dudley (Dudley, J. T. Bogle, 1841).

PO/60, A list of the electors of Dudley who voted in the memorable and glorious contest for that Borough, in 1832 (Dudley, G. Walters, 1832).

PO/61B, Reformers of all classes; Whigs and Liberals! (Dudley, Walters, 1832).

PO/63B, To the inhabitants of Dudley and its vicinity (Dudley, J. Goodwin, 1831).

PO/64, Earl Grey is again Minister!! Reform triumphant!! (Dudley, G. Walters, 1832).

PO/65A, Dudley Mechanic's Institution. A lecture on the origin … (Dudley, W. Maurice, 1833).

PO/67A, To the Working Men of Dudley and its Vicinity (Dudley, G. Walters, 1832).

PO/67B, The Bubble Burst. Statement of facts (Stourbridge, J. Heming Printer, 1832?).

PO/68A, The following address from the Rev. W. Leigh… (Dudley, reprinted by G. Walters, 1829?).

PO/70, (To) the Gentry, Clergy, and Independent Electors of the Eastern Division of the County of Worcester (Bromsgrove, R. Lawson, 1832).

PO/71, Address of the Council of the Birmingham Political Union (Birmingham, Charles Watson, Midland Representative Office, 1831).

PO/75B, To the inhabitants of Dudley, Sir John Campbell … (Dudley, Joseph Goodwin, 1833).

PO/81, To the magistrates of the County of Worcester acting for the town of Dudley (Dudley, G. Walters, 1831).

PO/82A, Dudley election, or the triumph of Spencer (Dudley? n.p., 1831?).

PO/84B, Persecution of the *True Sun* by Sir John Campbell (Dudley, G. Walters, 1834).

PO/92, Borough of Dudley. Principle again triumphant! (Dudley, G. Walters, 1832).

PO/95B, At a public meeting held in Dudley, February 12, 1833, the following petition (Dudley, Joseph Goodwin, 1833?).

PO/98A, Lord Dudley turned Republican! (Dudley, G. Walters, 1831).

PO/98B, O Yes! O Yes! 'Whereas,' (Dudley, Walters, 1835?).

PO/101A, Reform (Dudley? W. Maurice, 1831).

PO/105A, The Dudley Anti-Catholic Petition (Birmingham, J. Russell, n.d. 1829?).

PO/107A, Dudley Brunswick meeting (Birmingham, W. Nicholls, 1829).

PO/109B, To the independent electors and men of Dudley (Dudley, G. Walters, 1834).

PO/121, Electors of Dudley: Gentlemen, We, a few working men … (Dudley, J. Goodwin, 1832?).

PO/122, Dudley Election. The committee of Sir John Campbell… (Dudley, G. Walters, 1832).

PO/124, To the Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders of the County of Worcester (Dudley, Hinton's Executors, 1831).

PO/126, Opinion of Sir John Campbell on the recent election of Mr Lester (Dudley, Joseph Goodwin, 1833?).

PO/129, "Do good unto all men." Gal. vi. 10…. A numerous and respectable meeting… (Dudley, J. Goodwin, 1831) [the correct date is 1832].

PO134/B, To glass makers and other workmen (Dudley, Walters, 1831).

PO/142, Public meeting on the Irish Coercion Bill (Dudley, Walters, 1833).

PO/150, Dishonourable coalition (Dudley, Hinton's Office, 1831).

PO/154, French independence and English sympathy! (Dudley, G. Walters, 1830).

PO/155, New Liberal Paper (Worcester, William Leicester & Son, 1837).

PO/157A, To the inhabitants of Dudley (Dudley? W. Maurice, 1837).

PO/159, Public Meeting. The meeting of the town and parish of Dudley… (Dudley, G. Walters, 1832).

PO/170, Astounding Intelligence! Christmas Eve (Dudley, Danks, late Hinton's Executors, n.d.).

PO/175, To the Reformers of the County of Worcester residing in the Town and Parish of Dudley (Dudley, W. Maurice, 1832).

PO/176A, Election of Churchwarden for the Parish of Dudley (Dudley, G. Walters, 1832).

PO/180, Election of Church Wardens, second day (Dudley, Hinton's Executors, 1833).

PO/181A, Preservation of the peace (Dudley, G. Walters, 1831).

PO/189, Notice. At a meeting of the friends of the Honourable Captain Spencer (Dudley, Maurice, 1831).

PO/195A, Notice to the electors of the Borough of Dudley (Dudley, John Rann, 1841).

PO/196, Objects, rules, & regulations of the Dudley Political Union, established May 14, 1832 (Dudley, G. Walters, 1832).

PO/200, To the constituency of the Eastern Division of the County of Worcester (Dudley, G. Walters, 1832).

PO/201, Dudley, August 1833. We, the undersigned (Dudley, Hinton's Executors, 1833).

PO/204B, Dudley New Town Act. To the rate payers (Dudley, G. Walters, 1826).

PO/205A, Expense of Acts of Parliament (Dudley, G. Walters, 1826). [Duplicate of 19A]

PO/205B, Dudley New Town Act. S. Cook with pleasure … (Dudley, G. Walters, 1826).

PO/207B, An address delivered at the late meeting of the Freeholders of East Worcestershire, held at Oldbury (Dudley, G. Walters, 1832).

PO/213A, To the Freeholders of the County of Worcester (Dudley, Hinton's Office, n.d. 1831?).

PO/214A, To the Worthy and Independent Freeholders, of the County of Worcester (Dudley, Hinton's Office, 1831).

PO/214B, Whereas, a hand-bill has been published by Mr Neracher (Dudley, T. Danks, 1835).

PO/216B, To the Working Classes, of the Town and Parish of Dudley. Having lately heard a great deal about the election… (Dudley, Hinton's executors, n.d., 1832?).

PO/217A, To colliers and miners (Dudley, Hinton's Office, 1831).

PO/226, Dudley Political Union, established May 14, 1832 (Dudley, J. Goodwin, 1832?).

PO/231, Fellow townsmen. In the contest now at hand…(n.p,, n.d), from the content, this is 1874.

PO/235A, PC, Reform. No monopoly! No Lygon!! (Dudley, Walters, 1831).

PO/235/B, To J. S. Pakington, Esq., Chairman, and the Worcester committee… (Dudley, W. Maurice, 1831).

PO/242B, 388A & 388B, PC, Dudley election, gross state of the poll etc. (Dudley, G. Walters, 1832).

PO/243, Notice. The friends of Mr Campbell (Dudley, W. Maurice, 1832).

PO/244A, Rejoice! Rejoice! Glorious victory! (Dudley, Walters, 1831).

PO/245B, Dudley, April 21, 1831 (Dudley? n.p., 1831).

PO/251, Religion! Loyalty! and Himley! (Dudley, J. Rann; reprinted: Birmingham, J. Russell, 1819). [A duplicate copy at PO/346]

PO/257, Immense attraction, Market Place, Dudley! (n.p., 1857?).

PO/258A, Protestant petitions (Dudley, Hinton's Office, 1828/1829).

PO/259, To the independent electors of the borough of Dudley (Dudley, Thomas [Danks], n.d., 1857?).

PO/260, The second heat by the Worcestershire outsiders … at present stabled in Dudley (n.p., 1859).

PO/261, Look on this picture (Wednesbury, Ellis & Co., Albion Printing Office, 1854).

PO/263, Dudley election! To Dr Brown (sic) (n.p., n.d.). [From the content this can be dated to 1859].

PO/269, Reform! Reform! Reform! (Dudley? n.p., 1852).

PO/283, To the dependent electors of the borough of Dudley (n.p., n.d.) [references are to the 1857 parliamentary election in Dudley].

PO/291, Dudley races, Saturday, March the 28th, 1857 (Dudley? n.p., 1857?) [duplicate at PO/324].

PO/296, The Member for Dudley, counting the cost (n.p., n.d.).

PO/297, To the Rate-Payers and Inhabitants of Dudley. We are about to ask (Dudley, Alice Bogle, n.d.). [From the context this can be dated 1853]

PO/301, To the free and independent electors of the Borough of Dudley (Dudley, G. Walters, 1832).

PO/304, Dudley Church Rate. Final close of the poll (Dudley, T Danks, 1840).

PO/317, Notice is hereby given (Birmingham, J. Russell, 1826).

PO/318, Dudley Working Men's Institute, (Dudley, Samuel Mills, 1860).

PO/320, Notice to colliers (Dudley, Maurice, 1831).

PO/324, Dudley races, Saturday, March the 28th, 1857 (Dudley? n.p., 1857?). [duplicate at PO/291].

PO/326, Latest from Sir Stafford H. Northcote (Dudley? n.p., 1857).

PO/327, Questions to be put to Mr Campbell (Dudley? J. Goodwin, n.d. 1832?).

PO/330, The churchwardens and overseers of the poor of the parish of Dudley (Dudley, G. Walters, 1831).

PO/331, Dudley representation. - (From the *Daily News.*) (Dudley? J. Goodwin, n.d.).

PO/334, The Black Dwarf & Mr Wainwright (London, T. J. Wooler, 1822?).

PO/340, Church rates! Seizures in Dudley during the year 1837 (Dudley? n.p., 1837?).

PO/346, Religion! Loyalty! and Himley! (Dudley, J. Rann; reprinted: Birmingham, J. Russell, 1819). [A duplicate copy at PO/251]

PO/363, Papal aggression (Dudley, Thomas Danks, 1850).

PO/364, To the Dissenters and Methodists of the parish of Dudley (Dudley, John Rann, 1838).

PO/365, To the rate payers of Dudley (Dudley, Walters, 1840).

PO/366, At a meeting of the inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood of Dudley (Dudley, J. Rann, 1819?).

PO/370A, To J. C. Brettell, Esq., Mayor of Dudley (Dudley, Hinton's Office, 1831). [This item is damaged]

PO/371, To Contractors, Speculators & Others (Dudley, W. Maurice, 1832).

PO/373, Reform. A public meeting of the Reformers of Dudley (Dudley, Walters, 1832).

PO/376B, Dudley, September 19th, 1832. Sir, By order of the 'Committee for the Relief of the Poor' (Dudley, n.p., 1832).

PO/379, Hints to Dissenters (Dudley, J. Rann, 1836).

PO/386, £50,000 reward. Lost, (Dudley, W. Maurice, 1831).

PO/388A, 388B & 242B, Dudley election, state of the poll… (Dudley, G. Walters, 1832).

PO/392, Foley and Spencer for ever! (Stourbridge, Joseph Heming, 1831).

PO/395, First day's poll. Glorious majority in favour of Colonel Lygon! (Dudley, Hinton's Office, 1831).

PO/396, To the Friends of Reform and Captain Spencer, at Dudley (Dudley, J. Goodwin, 1831).

PO/403, No Lygon! No bigotry! No slander! (Worcester, Chalk and Holl, 1831).

PO/404, Friends of Spencer and Foley! The Dudley Lygonites… (Dudley, J. Goodwin, 1811, i.e.1831).

PO/415, To the inhabitants of Dudley. Fellow Townsmen (Dudley, G. Walters, 1837).

PO/424, The requisition defeated (Dudley, G. Walters, 1831).

PO/426, To the Inhabitants of Dudley. Church Rates! (Dudley, G. Walters, 1834?).

PO/433, Vote by ballot (Dudley, G. Walters, 1831).

PO/440, To the freeholders of the County of Worcester (Dudley, W. Maurice, 1831).

PO/441, To the freeholders of the town and neighbourhood of Dudley (Dudley? Maurice, 1831).

PO/443, To the independent freeholders of Worcestershire (Stourbridge, J. Heming, 1831).

PO/458, French independence. At a public meeting (Dudley, G. Walters, 1830?).

PO/463, Riots at Dudley (Dudley, G. Walters, 1832).

PO/468, To J. C. Brettell, Esq., Mayor of Dudley (Dudley, Hinton's office, 1831).

PO/473, Another glorious victory of Conservatism! (Dudley, John Rann, 1837).

PO/490, REFORM. We the undersigned … (Dudley, Walters, 1831).

PO/495, Lud Wud's unknown and untalented Equestrian Corps (n.p. n.d.). [The content dates this to 1859.]

PO/496, To the electors of the borough of Dudley (Dudley, John Lukis, 1857).

, PO/515, The Black Dwarf's opinion of the Dudley Loyalists (London, T.J. Wooler, n.d.).

PO/524, HURRAH! Reform triumphant! The Lygon sinking! (n.p., n.d.). [from context, 1831].

PO/535, A list of the electors of Dudley who voted … (Dudley, G. Walters, 1832).

PO/613, Funeral of the late Thomas Hawkes, Esq. (Dudley, Successor to the late Alice Bogle, 1858).

PO/644, Mutual Improvement Society, Five Ways, Dudley (n.p., n.d.).

PO/641, Small Tenements Rating Act (Dudley, Goodwin, 1853).

PO/760, To the electors and non-electors of the borough of Dudley (Dudley, J. Goodwin, 1847).

(k.1) SC, Samuel Cook, printed posters (SCC):

SC/1, The duties of Parish Officers and rate payers as defined by Samuel Cook (Birmingham, J. Russell, 1824).

SC/3 (and another copy at SC/107), Dudley Toryism versus Dudley Radicalism, 6 or 8 Tories against 1 Radical (Birmingham, S. W. Russell, 1836).

SC/7, Display of Dudley loyalty (Birmingham, J. Russell, 1826).

SC/8, Badger versus Cook (Birmingham, S. W. Russell, 1836).

SC/10, The Bible is the best political book in the world! (Birmingham, S. W. Russell, 1836).

SC/12, Working Men & Women of the Borough of Dudley (Dudley, n.p., 1857)

SC/15, Samuel Cook's case (Dudley, Walters, n.d. [1842?]).

SC/17, The old alms-houses in Dudley (Dudley, J. Goodwin, 1859).

SC/18, To the inhabitants of the world. Men and Women (Dudley, Goodwin, 1854)

SC/21, A public meeting. Notice is hereby given… (Dudley? n.p., 1853).

SC/23, Some of the principles of Dudley radicalism (Dudley, Joseph Goodwin, 1834?).

SC/25, Be it known unto you, Ye 255 Solomons (Dudley. J. Goodwin, 1834).

SC/27, Mr Cobbett's second visit to Dudley postponed (Dudley, G. Walters, 1832).

SC/30, Vestry meetings (Dudley, G. Walters, 1823).

SC/32, Bravo!!! Three Cheers and one Cheer more for the Establishment in France of a Republican form of Government (Dudley, n. p.,1848).

SC/33, To the People. Ought all laws made by national authority to be obeyed?' (Dudley, n.p., 1848).

SC/37, Working men and women of Dudley and its neighbourhood (Dudley, n.p., 1848).

SC/45, Who ought to make the apology? (Dudley, n.p., 1846).

SC/105, Just published, Price 1s. 6d. A full report… (Dudley, G. Walters, 1827?).

SC/106, The vestry book and the celebrated secret order (Dudley, G. Walters, 1823).

SC/108, James Wood and Samuel Cook (Dudley, n.p., 1846).

SC/110, Overseers liable to one hundred pounds penalty! (Birmingham, J. Russell, 1823).

SC/111, Dudley Political Union. The first General Meeting (Dudley, J. Goodwin, 1831).

SC/121, To All People. That religion which requires physical force (Dudley, n.p., 1848).

(k.2) SC, Samuel Cook, hand-written notices attributed to Samuel Cook (SCC):

SC/53, Roman Catholics in America (n.d. [c. 1826?]).

SC/58, Thou vile assassin (n.d.).

SC/64, Lawyer Jem. The following is the second document

SC/65, Brookes (sic) has succeeded (n.d. 1823?).

SC/66, Is there any news from London today … (n.d.).

SC/67, A very pretty piece of business. Brooks against Guest (n.d.).

SC/69, Mr Fehrs business with the Trustees is settled (n.d.).

SC/71, Every church rate payer. Your duty on Friday next (n.d.).

SC/72, Rate Payers (n.d.).

SC/74, How are the Trustees, Churchwardens and Bondsmen going on respecting Mr Fehrs Five Hundred and Twelve Pounds?!!! (n.d.).

SC/77, To Luke Booker, Is not your claim (n.d.).

SC/81, Luke Booker. Is the Dudley terrier… (n.d.).

SC/82, Church Rate Payers, do your duty and attend the meeting this morning (n.d.).

SC/91, Ye Dissenters of Dudley who signed the petition against the Catholics (n.d. 1829?).

SC/99, Is Protestant Episcopalianism alias what is called Church of England-ism (n.d.).

SC/100, Do Protestant Episcopalians derive their religion… (n.d.).

(l) DSCAM, Messrs Slater & Camm, Solicitors:

DSCAM/2/1, Dudley Deeds (1524-1953)

DSCAM/2/13, Miscellaneous deeds (1562-1887)

DSCAM/3/72, Wills, Will of Joseph Cartwright, 1810-1812.

DSCAM/3/230, Wills and settlements, Hughes family, will of William Hughes, 1804.

DSCAM/3/263, Will etc of George Lester, will dated 15 August 1818.

DSCAM/3/264, Probate of the will of Thomas Lester, 12 May 1854.

DSCAM/4/4, The Dudley Annuity Society, 1786-1837

DSCAM/6/2/2, Papers of the Dudley Constitutional Association and other materials relating to riot and sedition, 1819-1821.

DSCAM 6/2/7, Records of the Dudley Pitt Club, 1813-1821

(m) Z, Small and Miscellaneous Accessions (MC)

Z44, Material relating to Samuel Cook and the Dudley Working Men's Institute (1822-1860).

Z53, Dudley Town Rate Book, 1831-1832.

Z75, Common-place book of Charles Twamley of Dudley, commenced August 24th 1831.

Z107, Letters: G. Garibaldi to Samuel Cook, in Italian, Samuel Cook to G. Garibaldi and translation of Garibaldi's reply, 1861.

(n) Photographs.

pst, Street sequence of photographs

pst/3763 & 3764, photographs of the Terrace (Dock Lane), Dudley, 1959.

(o) Other items:

LD 362.5P

Ward, S., *Piety, Sectarian Bigotry or Social Control? Attitudes towards Religion of the Guardians of the Poor of the Dudley Union, 1836-71* (DALHS, typescript, c. 1980s, a briefing paper by S. Ward).

Dudley: Stourbridge Library, Local Studies Collection (DSL)

LD 285.8P

Stourbridge Congregational Church: *Stourbridge Congregational Church, 1672-1972: Tercentenary Brochure* (Stourbridge? n.p., 1972?).

LD 324P

Mr Pakington and Puseyism (Worcester, The Chronicle Office, 1859).

East Worcestershire election: to the electors and non-electors (Stourbridge, R. Broomhall, 1859).

East Worcestershire election: final state of the poll (Stourbridge, Mellard, n.d. 1859?). The figures have been corrected by hand.

Birmingham Archives and Collections (BAC)

Society of Friends, SF, Central England Area

SF/1/6/1, Warwickshire Quarterly Meeting Book of Sufferings, 1790-1828

SF/2/1/1/1/1/17-19, Warwickshire North Men's Monthly Meeting minute book, 1839-1850, 1851-1861 & 1861-1870.

SF/2/2/1/1/1/4, Chadwick, Men's Monthly Meeting, Minutes, 1780-1799

SF/3/7/1/1/1/2, Dudley/Stourbridge Preparative Meeting, minute book, 1830-1877, April-May 1852.

Bishopsgate Institute, London

Labour history manuscript 14, Chartism and reform:

Handbill, Women of Dudley (Dudley, J. Goodwin, 1847).

Handbill: Another Horrible! A Most Horrible Mine Disaster! (Dudley, Goodwin, 1846).

The Black Country Living Museum, Dudley (BCLM)

1988/2008/025-027, Papers relating to F.W. Cook Limited, 1779-1844.

Gwent Archives, Ebbw Vale

D751, Blaenavon Company Ltd.

D.751.187, William and Rachel Rogers and Rebecca Lewis and Jonas Gregory, Lease, November 1820.

D.751.192, William and Rachel Rogers and others, Release to effect a common recovery, November 1820.

D.751.197, Thomas Hill, the younger, Jonas Gregory and William and Rachel Rogers and Rebecca Lewis, Common recovery, 1820.

Hull History Centre

U DLB/6/16-17, Records of the Dictionary of Labour Biography, Samuel Cook and Samuel Quartus Cook.

Kent History and Library Centre, Maidstone

MH/Md2/Ap 1/4, Barming Hospital admission register, 1862-1864.

Lambeth Palace Library, London (LPL)

Arches H532/1-29, Court of Arches, Nineteenth Century case papers, Baker and Downing v Wood, 1835.

Lapworth Museum of Geology, Birmingham

Hollier Collection

The National Archives, London (TNA)

Court of Common Pleas and other Courts, CP:

CP/5/193/72, Articles of clerkship for Charles Twamley, 1821

Home Office, HO:

HO 40, Disturbances Correspondence, 1812-1855.

HO 40/29, f. 507, Letter from George Dalton, Dudley, 8 December 1831.

HO 40/48, ff. 881-899, Correspondence from Dudley magistrates and list of Special Constables sworn in on 17 July 1839.

HO 40/48, ff. 972-1009, Accusations and testimonies against Samuel Cook and others in Dudley, 1839.

HO 41, Disturbances Entry Books

HO 41/5, ff. 244-245, Miscellaneous, September 1819 - February 1820, Letters from Henry Clive to Joseph Payton and John Roberts of Dudley, 8 November 1819.

HO 41/11, ff. 137-138 & 143-144, Miscellaneous, December 1831 – February 1834, Letters to Dudley magistrates, Thomas Badger and A. Hawkes from G. Lamb, 12 April 1832 and S? M? Phillipps, 19 April 1832.

HO 42, Domestic Correspondence, George III, Letters and papers:

HO/42/30/120, ff. 299-300, Letter from John Brooke of Birmingham, 1794.

HO 42/35/16, ff. 32-33, June-August 1795, letter from three Birmingham magistrates to the Home Secretary, the Duke of Portland, 23 June 1795,

HO 42/194, ff. 33-43, Letter and items from Reverend Luke Booker, September 1819.

HO 42/198, ff. 111-116, Letter from Joseph Payton to Lord Sidmouth, and copy of *The Patriot*, November 1819.

HO 42/199, f. 103, Handbill by the Birmingham Loyal Association stating their objectives, 20 November 1819 (Birmingham, J. Ferrall, 1819).

HO 52, Counties Correspondence

HO 52/15, ff. 64-65 & 67-69, Petition led by Reverend Luke Booker and Letter from four Dudley magistrates asking for a military presence, 7 & 8 November 1831.

HO 52/20, ff. 164-169, Correspondence and handbill concerning election riots in Dudley, including a letter from Thomas Parkin and a report from Mr Hawkes, a magistrate, October 1832.

HO 129, Ecclesiastical Census Returns

HO 129 382/4/1/1-33, Census of Religious Worship, Returns for the parish of Dudley, 1851.

Ministry of Health: Poor law Commission:

MH 12/13959, 5566B, 19 April 1844, 27 April, 4 May 1844, 21 June 1844, 29 July 1844 etc. Correspondence, Worcestershire, Dudley (528).

Probate, PROB:

PROB 11/1091/319, Will of the Right Honourable Mary Lady Viscountess Dudley and Ward, 19 June 1782.

PROB 11/1179/295, Will of William Dudley, grocer and threadmaker of Dudley, Worcestershire, 27 May 1789.

PROB 11/1821/159, pp 129a & 129b etc. Will of the Right Honourable John William Earl of Dudley, 17 September 1833.

PROB 11/1997/49, Will of George Jones of Edgbaston, 1844.

PROB 11/1854/360, Will of Reverend, Doctor Luke Booker, Doctor of Laws, late Vicar of Dudley, Worcestershire, 1835.

PROB 11/1996/292, Will of Reverend James Dawson, Dissenting Minister of Dudley, Worcestershire, 1844.

Treasury Papers, TS:

TS 11/80/253, Treasury Solicitor etc, Rex v. George Walters. Publishing libel in The Patriot. Court: King's Bench, 1819-1820.

TS 11/156/506-507, Cases for opinion, and copies of *The Patriot*, numbers 2 and 4 (1819-20).

Staffordshire Record Office, Stafford (SRO)

Records of the Littleton Family … Barons Hatherton, D260/M/F:

D260/M/F/5/12, Correspondence on the South Staffordshire election, 1835.

D260/M/F/5/19/11, Earl of Dudley executorship, correspondence mainly between Lord Hatherton and John Benbow…, c. 1830-1845.

D260/M/F/5/26/60, Hatherton's journals, Oct 1852-Apr 1853.

D260/M/F/5/26/62, Hatherton's journals, May-Sept 1853.

D260/M/F/5/26/64, Hatherton's journals, Feb-Aug 1854.

D260/M/F/5/26/66, Hatherton's journals, Jan-Apr 1855.

D260/M/F/5/27/30, Hatherton correspondence, 1857.

D260/M/F/5/27/53, Hatherton correspondence, with Rev. W. Leigh, 1830-1832.

Justices' oaths:

Q/SB 1811 E/254, Justices' oaths, Thomas Hawkes, 1811.

Walsall Local History Centre

42/1/1, Records of Darlaston (Slater Street) Primitive Methodist Circuit; minutes, 1824-1832.

William Salt Library, Stafford

bs 1842/2/1, William Salt’s original collection, printed material, Register of the electors within the Southern Division of the County of Stafford etc., 1833.

Also see Staffordshire Past Track in electronic sources.

Wiltshire and Swindon Archives, Chippenham

Church records:

Trowbridge: St James's, parish registers, 1556-1781

Silver Street Presbyterian Chapel, Trowbridge, register of baptisms, 1757 to 1837.

9/2/336, Ailesbury family of Savernake, Earls of Cardigan, Records of individual manors, leases, The Earl of Ailesbury and Mr Samuel Cook, Agreement for a Lease, 24 December 1794.

Wolverhampton Archives

Parish Registers, Wolverhampton St Peter's, marriages, 1538-1837

DX-584/5/38, Broadsheets, 1696- c. 1910s, Address in favour of Benbow & Burton (Wolverhampton, T. Simpson, 1837).

DX-634/14, Ephemera, 18th – 20th centuries, election handbills, To the worthy and independent electors of the borough of Wolverhampton (Wolverhampton, W. Parke, 1837).

Worcestershire Archive and Archaeology Service, Worcester (WAAS)

Worcestershire Quarter Sessions Records:

b154 BA827/3, Elections, poll books, 1831, for Worcestershire, Lower Halfshire.

b154/BA828/3, Elections, poll books, 1832-1837, for the Eastern Division of the County of Worcester, Stourbridge, December 1832.

110/BA1/632/144, Quarter Sessions Papers, Easter 1818, Theft of cloth from William Rose Baker, 16 March 1818.

Society of Friends Records:

b898.2, Accession no. 1303, parcel 18, An Account of the Sufferings of Friends of the Quarterly Meeting of Herefordshire and Worcestershire, 1795-1827.

Miscellaneous Archival Material

Spencer, George, *Letters from Ignatius Spencer C. P.,* Vols. 4 & 8 (unpublished, typescript, courtesy of Ben Lodge and Gerard Skinner).

Other Primary Sources

Maps

Dawson, R.K., Dudley (map), engraved by Chappell, G.G., 'Reports from Commissioners on proposed division of counties and boundaries of boroughs in England and Wales', *House of Commons Papers,* Paper No. 141 (1832), fold-out map opposite p. 131.

Day & Son, Map of Dudley in Lee, W., *Report to the General Board of Health on a Preliminary Inquiry into the Sewerage, Drainage and Supply of Water, and the Sanitary Condition of the Inhabitants of the Parish of Dudley in the County of Worcester* (London, Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1852).

James, H, 'Dudley', in *Boundary Commission. Report of the Boundary Commissioners for England and Wales* (London, G.E. Eyre and W. Spottiswoode for H.M.S.O., 1868), map opposite p. 111.

'A new plan of Dudley etc.' in Bentley, J., *Bentley's History and Guide to Dudley, Dudley Castle, and the Castle Hill, and Alphabetical and Classified Directory of the Borough of Dudley etc.* (Birmingham, Bull and Turner, n.d. c. 1840-1842), fold-out map opposite title page.

Snape, J., *A plan of the Navigable Canal from Birmingham to Autherley,* in Hutton, W., *An History of Birmingham*, 2nd ed. (Birmingham, Pearson and Rollason, 1783), fold-out map, opposite p. 266.

Treasure, J., *Plan of the town of Dudley & its Environs* (n.p., c.1835).

Prints

Cartwright, T. after Phillips, T., *Interior View of Dudley Castle with the Loyal Association of the Town and Neighbourhood as assembled on the 9th of August 1798* (published by T. Phillips, 1 May 1799).

Garner, T. after Green, W., *Great Meeting of the Political Unions, New Hall Hill, Birmingham, May 1832* (London, Thomas Kelly, n,d, c. 1835).

Dudley Castle taken from Kates Hill, lithograph by Newman and Co. (Dudley, W. Insull, n.d. c. 1860).,

Murchison, C., 'Dudley from the Wren's Nest', c. 1839, in Murchison, R.I., *The Silurian System: founded on geological researches in the counties of Salop, Hereford, Radnor, Montgomery, Caermarthen, Brecon, Pembroke, Monmouth, Gloucester, Worcester, and Stafford; with descriptions of the coal-fields and overlying formations,* in two parts (London, John Murray,1839). plate between pp. 480 and 481.

Radclyffe, T. after Creswick, T., *View of Dudley from the castle Hill,* in Hawkes Smith, W., *Birmingham and its Vicinity, as a Manufacturing & Commercial District* (London, Charles Tilt and Birmingham, Radclyffes & Co., 1836) opposite p. 44.

Paintings

The Chairing of Thomas Hawkes (Artist unknown), 1834, (Dudley Council Museum Collection).

Phillips, T., *Parade of the Loyal Association in Dudley Castle Courtyard, 9 August 1798*, oil painting, 1798 (Dudley Council Museum Collection).

Rayner, L., Dudley Market Place (1870, Dudley Council Museum Collection).

Tokens

British Museum, T.6351, penny token issued by Richard Wallis of Birmingham and Thomas and Isaac Badger of Dudley, 1811

Spence's mule halfpenny token, eighteenth century. Dudley token: We were born free and will never die slaves.

Printed primary sources

Newspapers and Journals

The Advertiser, Brierley Hill and Stourbridge Gazette (from 5 September 1868): *The Advertiser for Brierley Hill, Stourbridge, Kidderminster, Dudley etc.*, place names sometimes vary (BNA listed as: *The County Advertiser),* 1858, 1859, 1860, 1866, 1867, 1871, 1884, 1887, 1894, 1898, 1901, 1905

The Age, 1832

The Annual Monitor, 1867, 1873

Aris's Birmingham Gazette, 1775, 1776, 1788, 1789, 1791, 1793, 1794, 1795, 1798, 1799, 1800, 1803, 1811, 1812, 1813, 1816, 1817, 1819, 1820, 1821, 1826, 1827, 1830, 1832, 1833, 1835, 1836, 1838, 1839, 1842, 1844, 1845, 1850, 1854, 1857, 1858, 1859, 1864, 1870

Bell's Weekly Messenger, 1804

The Bell's New Weekly Messenger, 1843, 1844

Berkshire Chronicle, 1839

Berrow's Worcester Journal, (BNA listed as: *Worcester Journal*), 1819, 1821, 1826, 1828, 1829, 1830, 1831, 1832, 1833, 1835, 1837, 1839, 1840, 1842, 1843,

1844, 1845, 1846, 1847, 1848, 1849, 1850, 1852, 1853, 1854, 1855, 1856, 1857, 1858, 1859, 1867

The Birmingham Argus, 1830

Birmingham and Lichfield Chronicle (BNA listed as: *Birmingham Chronicle*), 1821

Birmingham Commercial Herald and General Advertiser, 1817

The Birmingham Daily Gazette, 1864, 1865, 1866, 1867, 1868

The Birmingham Daily Post, 1858, 1859, 1860, 1861, 1862, 1863, 1865, 1866, 1867, 1868, 1869, 1874, 1885, 1888, 1892, 1898, 1909

Birmingham Gazette, 1829

The Birmingham Inspector, 1817

The Birmingham Journal, 1826, 1827, 1828, 1831, 1832, 1833, 1834, 1835, 1836, 1838, 1840, 1842, 1843, 1844, 1845, 1846, 1847, 1848, 1849, 1850, 1851, 1853, 1854, 1855, 1857, 1858, 1859, 1860, 1861, 1867, 1868

The Black Dwarf, 1820, 1822, 1823

The Brierley Hill Advertiser etc (BNA listed as *The County Advertiser*), 1856

The British Press, 1823, 1825

Cambridge Independent Press, 1874

The Carlisle Journal, 1837

Cheltenham Journal, 1829

Chester Chronicle, 1795

The Christian Corrector, 1830, 1831, 1832

Cobbett's Weekly Political Register, 1825

The County Express; Brierley Hill, Stourbridge, Kidderminster and Dudley News, (from 1885, The County Express for Worcestershire and Staffordshire) 1867, 1891

The Courier, (BNA listed as: *London Courier and Evening Gazette*), 1811, 1816, 1837, 1839

The Coventry Herald, 1840, 1857

The Daily Express (Dublin), (BNA listed as: *Dublin Daily Express*), 1857

The Daily News (London), 1846, 1847, 1848, 1849, 1850, 1869

The Daily Telegraph, 1869

The Derby Mercury, 1786, 1795, 1798

The Dominican, 1852, 1853

Drewery's Derby Mercury, 1773

Dudley and District News, 1884

The Dudley Chronicle, 1919

The Dudley Guardian, 1863, 1874, 1875

The Dudley Herald, 1876, 1879, 1900

Dudley Weekly Times, 1856

The Evening Chronicle, 1842, 1846

Evening Mail, 1832, 1833, 1842, 1844

The Express, 1847, 1850

The Gentleman's Magazine, 1805, 1841

The Globe, 1837, 1841, 1857

The Glocester (sic) Journal, (*Gloucester Journal*, from January 1811), 1796

The Gloucestershire Chronicle, 1870

The Graphic, 1876

Hampshire Chronicle, 1795

Hereford Journal, 1811, 1839

The Hereford Times, 1839

The Heywood Advertiser, 1909

The Illustrated London News, 1858, 1867

Ipswich Journal, 1793

Jackson's Oxford Journal, (BNA listed as: *Oxford Journal*), 1791, 1831

The Kentish Chronicle, (BNA listed as: *Kentish Weekly Post*), 1795

The Law Chronicle, Commercial, and Bankruptcy Register, 1824

The Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Mercury, (BNA listed as: *Stamford Mercury*), 1791, 1841

The Liverpool Mercury, 1812, 1813

The London Dispatch, 1838

The London Gazette, 1794, 1813, 1816, 1817, 1838, 1843, 1843, 1844, 1850, 1857, 1884, 1888, 1889, 1892

The London Journal of Arts and Sciences, Vol. 5, (1823)

The Manchester Guardian, 1838

The Manchester Times, 1844

The Midland Counties Advertiser, 1884

The Midland Representative and Birmingham Herald, 1831

The Morning Advertiser, 1831,1833, 1838, 1839, 1842, 1844, 1859

The Morning Chronicle, 1831, 1832, 1833, 1837, 1839, 1842

The Morning Herald, 1833, 1834, 1836, 1840, 1842, 1843, 1867

The Morning Post, 1835, 1836, 1840, 1842, 1845, 1846, 1847, 1859

The National Reformer, 1861

The News (London)*,* 1831

The Norfolk Chronicle, 1795

The Northampton Mercury, 1784

The Northern Liberator, 1840

The Northern Star, 1838, 1839, 1841, 1842, 1847, 1850, 1851, 1852

Nottingham Journal, 1829

The Nuneaton Advertiser, 1887

The Patriot (Dudley)*,* 1819

The Patriot (London), 1845, 1866

The People's Paper, 1853, 1855, 1857, 1858

The Public Ledger and Daily Advertiser, 1814

Reading Mercury and Oxford Gazette, 1797

The Reasoner and Secular Gazette, 1853, 1854, 1859

The Salisbury and Winchester Journal, 1804, 1809

Sandwell Evening Mail, 1982

The Sheffield Daily Telegraph, 1864

The Sheffield & Rotherham Independent, (BNA listed as *Sheffield Independent*), 1844

Sheffield Register, 1793

The South London Observer, 1876

The Southern Star, 1840

The Staffordshire Advertiser, 1795, 1798, 1800, 1825, 1827, 1832, 1834, 1835, 1836, 1837, 1842, 1844, 1847, 1851, 1854, 1857, 1860

The Staffordshire Gazette, 1840, 1841

The Staffordshire Sentinel, 1855

The Standard (later: *London Evening Standard*)*,* 1829, 1833, 1836, 1838, 1842, 1843, 1904

The Star, 1808

Stourbridge, Brierley Hill & County Express (also see *The County Express*), 1887, 1888

Stratford-upon-Avon Herald, 1895

The Sun, 1832, 1841. 1842, 1844, 1846, 1850

The Tablet, 1868

The True Sun, 1833, 1834, 1835

The Vindicator, 1844

The Waterford News, 1867

The Weekly Chronicle, 1842

The Weekly Register and Catholic Standard, 1868,

The Weekly True Sun, 1833

The Western Daily Press, 1864

Wilts and Gloucestershire Standard, 1857

The Wolverhampton Chronicle, 1815, 1816, 1819, 1823, 1824, 1829, 1831, 1832, 1833, 1836, 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842, 1843, 1844, 1845, 1847, 1848, 1849, 1850, 1851, 1852, 1853, 1854, 1855, 1857, 1858, 1859, 1860, 1861, 1864, 1865

Wolverhampton Herald, 1854

Woolmer's Exeter and Plymouth Gazette, (BNA listed as: *Exeter and Plymouth Gazette*),1857

The Worcester Herald (Worcester Herald up to 16 June 1832), 1831, 1832, 1834, 1835, 1836, 1844, 1859

*The Worcestershire Chronicle,*1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842, 1843, 1844, 1845, 1847, 1848, 1850, 1851, 1852, 1853, 1854, 1855, 1856, 1863, 1867, 1875

Trade directories and almanacks

Bentley, J., *Bentley's History and Guide to Dudley, Dudley Castle, and the Castle Hill, and Alphabetical and Classified Directory of the Borough of Dudley etc.* (Birmingham, Bull and Turner, n.d. c. 1840-1842).

The Birmingham, Wolverhampton, Walsall, Dudley, Bilston, and Willenhall Directory; or merchant and tradesman's useful companion (Birmingham, Pearson & Rollason, 1780).

Blocksidge's Illustrated Dudley Almanack, Diary and Directory [Note: title varies a little over the years] (Dudley, E. Blocksidge, 1879-1915), 1898, 1899, 1902, 1905, 1906, 1915.

The commercial directory for 1818-19-20, containing the names, trades, and situations of the merchants, manufacturers, tradesmen etc. (Manchester, James Pigot, 1818).

Directory of Worcestershire (London, Pigot and Co., 1835).

Harrison, Harrod, and Co.'s Directory and Gazetteer of Staffordshire with Dudley, in Worcestershire etc. (London, Harrison, Harrod & Co., 1861).

Holden's Triennial Directory, Vol. 2, 1809-1811 (London, John Davenport, 1811).

Jones's Mercantile Directory of the Iron District of South Staffordshire and East Worcestershire etc., (London, Jones & Proud, 1865).

Lewis, S. (comp), *Worcestershire General and Commercial Directory* (Stourbridge, S. Lewis, 1820).

Littlebury's Directory and Gazetteer of the County of Worcester (London, J. Littlebury, 1873).

M. Billing's Directory and Gazetteer of the County of Worcester (Birmingham, M. Billing, 1855).

Pigot and Co.'s Commercial Directories of Birmingham, Worcester and their Environs (London and Manchester, J. Pigot & Co., 1830).

Pigot and Co.'s National Commercial Directory: Comprising a Classification of the Merchants, Bankers, Professional Gentlemen, Manufacturers and Traders … (London, J. Pigot and Co., 1835).

Pigot and Dean's Manchester and Salford Directory for 1817 (Manchester, R. & W. Dean, 1817).

Sketchley's and Adams's Tradesman's True guide or an Universal Directory for the Towns of Birmingham, Wolverhampton, Walsal [sic], Dudley… , 4th ed. (Birmingham, J. Sketchley and O. Adams, 1770).

Official publications

Acts of Parliament:

Birmingham and Wednesbury Roads Act, 1726 (13 Geo I, cap 14).

Bromsgrove and Birmingham Roads Act, 1726 (13 Geo I, cap 15).

An Act for better Paving, Cleansing, Lighting, Watching, and otherwise improving the Town of Dudley in the County of Worcester, and for better Supplying the said Town with Water, 1791 (31 Geo III, cap 79).

An Act for Taking Down and Rebuilding the Parish Church of Saint Thomas, in the Town of Dudley, in the County of Worcester, 1815 (55 Geo III, cap 44).

An Act for the Regulation of Parish Vestries (58 Geo III, cap 69).

Act to Amend the Laws for the Relief of the Poor (59 Geo III, cap 12).

The Municipal Corporations Act, 1835 (5 & 6 Will IV, cap 76).

Parliamentary Papers and Reports:

'Abstract of the answers and returns made pursuant to … an Act for taking Account of the Population of Great Britain …, Enumeration, Part I … 1801', *House of Commons Papers,* Paper No. 9 (1801-02).

'Abstract of the answers and returns made pursuant to … An Act for taking an Account of the Population of Great Britain … Enumeration Abstract, Vol. I, 1831', *House of Commons Papers,* Paper No. 149 (1833).

'Abstract of the answers and returns made pursuant to Acts … Occupation Abstract, 1841…', *Command Papers,* Paper No. 587 (1844).

'A Bill … To amend the Representation of the People in England and Wales', *House of Commons Papers*, Paper No. 277*,* 14 March 1832 (1831-32).

'Census of Great Britain, 1851. Population Tables. I … Vol. I'*, Command Papers,* Paper No. 1631 (1852-53).

'Census of Great Britain, 1851. Population Tables. II … Vol, I', *Command Papers,* Paper No. 1691-1 (1852-53).

Census of Great Britain, 1851: Education. England and Wales: Report and Tables (London, E. Eyre and W. Spottiswoode, 1854).

'Census of England and Wales … 1861, Population Tables, Vol. I', *Command Papers,* Paper No. 3056 (1862).

'Census of England and Wales 1871, Population Abstracts, Vol. III', *Command Papers,* Paper No. C.872 (1873).

Doyle, A., *Letter Addressed to Isaac Badger, Esq., Chairman of the Board of Guardians of the Dudley Union on the State of the Workhouses of that Union* (London, G. E. Eyre and W. Spottiswoode for H.M.S.O., 1853).

Lee, W., *Report to the General Board of Health on a Preliminary Inquiry into the Sewerage, Drainage and Supply of Water, and the Sanitary Condition of the Inhabitants of the Parish of Dudley in the County of Worcester* (London, Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1852).

Mann, H., *Census of Great Britain, 1851. Religious Worship. England and Wales. Report and Tables* (London, H.M.S.O., 1853).

Midland Mining Commission: First Report, South Staffordshire (London, William Clowes and Sons for H.M.S.O., 1843).

'Staffordshire magistrates. Copies of affidavits filed in the Court of Queen's Bench, on the application for a criminal information against certain magistrates of Stafford':- also, 'Copies of affidavits in answer to such application, together with a copy of the role of court made thereon', *Parliamentary Papers*, Vol. 44, No. 96 (1843).

Journals of the House of Commons and Hansard:

Journals of the House of Commons (1688-1834), 20 & 23 February 1726, 24 April 1727. 5 March 1790, 21 February 1791 and 28 February 1791.

Hansard, First series, Vol. 35, 7 February 1817, cc. 253-273.

Hansard, Third series, Vol. 13, 7 June 1832, c. 497.

Hansard, Third series, Vol. 25, 23 July 1834, cc. 400-422.

Hansard, Third series, Vol. 42, 15 May 1838, cc. 1268-1271.

Hansard, Third series, Vol. 68, 28 March 1843, cc. 115-116.

Hansard, Third series, Vol. 145, 7 May 1857, cc. 66-67.

Hansard, Third series, Vol. 147, 21 July 1857, cc. 130-131.

Hansard, Third series, Vol. 159, 13 July 1860, cc. 1912-24.

Other Primary Printed Sources

1819-1897, An Illustrated Souvenir of F.W. Cook's Drapery Warehouses… (Dudley, Charles, Poultney, 1897).

An Account of the Charities in the Parish of Dudley… from the Report of the Commissioners … 10th July 1832 (Dudley, G. Walters, 1824).

Aitken, J. (ed.), *Census of Religious Worship, 1851. The Returns for Worcestershire*, Worcestershire Historical Society, New series, Vol. 17 (2000).

Animadversions on a Pamphlet entitled 'Remarks etc' lately published by Mr Finch, of Dudley, (Dudley, J. Rann, 1819).

Articles for Building an Inn and Market-Place and Shambles, in Dudley. (Wolverhampton, J. Smart, 1786).

Barrs, G., *Four Sermons…, together with Copious Extracts from his Private MS Journals…, to which is Affixed a Brief Memoir by his Son, the late F.W.G. Barrs, A.M., …* 2nd ed. (Birmingham, Hall & English, 1879).

Baxter, R., *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ: or, Mr Richard Baxter's Narrative of the Most Memorable Passages of his Life and Times* (London, T. Parkhurst et al, 1696).

Blocksidge, E., revised by Hollier, E, … and others, 'History of the Dudley Mechanics' Institution, afterwards called "the Dudley Institute"', in *Blocksidge's Illustrated Dudley Almanack, Diary and Directory, 1905* (Dudley, Blocksidge, c. 1905), pp. 73-105, with plates and concluded the following year: *Blocksidge's Illustrated Dudley Almanack, Diary and Directory, 1906* (Dudley, Blocksidge, c. 1906), pp. 45-59.

Booker, L., *An address to the Imperial Legislature of the United Kingdom of Great Britain etc on Subjects of Importance to the Church and State* (Monmouth, Charles Heath, 1808).

Booker, L., *Britain's happiness; An assize sermon: preached at St. Mary's Church, Warwick, on Sunday the 1st of April, 1792: exhibiting an historical review of providential interpositions in favour of the British Empire, - a faithful representation of its present prosperity: and recommending a line of conduct to prevent its declension or its fall* (Dudley, J. Rann, 1792).

Booker, L., *The Cause and Cure of National Distress: Stated in a Sermon, Preached at Dudley* (Dudley, Hinton's Executors, 1831).

Booker, L., *A Descriptive and Historical Account of Dudley Castle, and its Surrounding Scenery* (London, Longman and Co etc., 1825).

Booker, L., *Discourses and Dissertations,* 2 vols. (Dudley, J. Rann, 1819).

Booker, L., *Doctrinal and Practical Illustrations of the Litany, of the United Church of England and Ireland, including the Lord's Prayer, to which are added Admonitory Prayers calculated for Family and Private Use* (London, Longman, Hurst and Co. & Dudley, J. Rann, 1807).

Booker, L., *A Friendly Address to the Inhabitants of Dudley with the form of a Petition to the Legislature from Electors and Non-electors (Males and Females) praying that the Elective Franchise may be Discontinued in the Parish*, 2nd ed. (Dudley, T. Danks (late Hinton's Executors), 1835).

Booker, L., *The Hop-garden: A Didactic Poem* (Newport, Rivingtons, 1798).

Booker, L., *A Sermon, Preached at St. Edmund's Church, in Dudley; and Published for the purpose of Erecting a Monument, within the said Church, to the Memory of its Pious Founder, Mr. George Bradley, who died Dec. 8, 1721* (Dudley: J. Rann, 1791).

Booker, L., *A Sermon Preached in the Parish Church of Dudley, on the Sunday after Internment of the Late Right Honourable William, Viscount Dudley & Ward* (Dudley, J. Hinton, 1823).

Booker, L., *A Sermon Preached in the Parish Church of St Thomas at Dudley, on Friday 19th April 1793, and an Address to the Common People etc. on the Subject of Riots* (Dudley, J. Rann, 1793).

Booker, L., *Sermons on Various Subjects Intended to Promote Christian Knowledge and Human Happiness* (Dudley, J. Rann, 1793).

Burke, E., *Reflections on the Revolution in France, and on the Proceedings in Certain Societies in London Relative to that Event* (London, J. Dodsley, 1790).

Burritt, E., *Walks in the Black Country and its Green Borderland* (Kineton, The Roundwood Press (Publishers) Limited, 1976), originally published: London, Samson Lowe, Son and Marston, 1868.

Catalogue of the Dudley and Midland Fine Arts, Scientific and Industrial Exhibition (Dudley, Samuel Mills, 1866).

C.B., *The Confessional Unmasked: Showing the Depravity of the Roman Priesthood etc.* (London, Protestant Electoral Union, 1866).

'The chairing of Hawkes', *Blocksidge's Dudley Almanack*, 1915 (Dudley, Blocksidge, c, 1915), pp. lv-lvi and picture reproduced opposite p. lvi.

Clark, C.F.G. (comp. & ed.) *The Curiosities of Dudley and the Black Country from 1800 to 1860 etc.* (Birmingham, Buckler Brothers, 1881).

Cobden, R., *The Letters of Richard Cobden, Vol. II, 1848-1853,* A. Howe ed. (Oxford, Oxford University press, 2010).

Continuation of an Important Letter from Old Job Nott, of Birmingham, to Thomas Parkin, of Dudley, on the Necessity of a Radical Reform (Birmingham, J. Butterworth, 1830)

Cook, S. (comp.), *Copies of Several Ancient Acts of Parliament in Reference to County and Borough Elections … re-published for the information and guidance of the public* (Dudley, Joseph Goodwin, Eagle Press, 1859).

Cook, S., *To All Genuine Reformers* (Dudley, G. Walters, 1835).

'The Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion: Articles and Plan of Association', in E. Welch (ed.), *Two Calvinistic Methodist Chapels, 1743-1811: The London Tabernacle and Spa Fields Chapel*, London Record Society, Vol. 11 (1975), pp. 88-95.

Craig, F.W.S. (comp. & ed.)*, British Parliamentary Election Results 1832-1885* (London & Basingstoke, Macmillan, 1977).

Dawson, J., C*hurch Rates: The Difference in Opinion between two Ministers of the same Persuasion* (Dudley, T. Danks, c.1836).

Dawson, J., *More Amusement for the Rev. Thomas Tysan, Roman Catholic Priest; or, a Review of his Answer to the Reply to his Address to the Members of the Dudley Auxiliary Bible Society* (Dudley, G. Walters, 1821).

Dawson, J., *Reasons for Suffering Distraint for Church Rates* (Dudley, Rann, 1841).

Dawson, J., *A Reply to an Address to the Members of the Dudley Auxiliary Bible Society: by the Rev. Thomas Tysan, Roman Catholic Priest,* 2nd ed. (Dudley, G. Walters,1821).

A Defence of the Loyal Inhabitants of Dudley by a member of the Pitt Club (London, S. Fawcett, 1820).

'Dudley Castle Fetes account from the commencement', *Blocksidge's Illustrated Dudley Almanack, Diary and Directory, 1899* (Dudley, Blocksidge, c. 1899), pp. 135-140.

Dunlap, J.A., *Reports of Cases Decided in the High Court of Chancery…*Vol. 13*,* (New York, Gould, Banks & Co., 1842).

Elwick, G., *The Bankrupt Directory: Being a Complete Register of All the Bankrupts from December 1820 to April 1843* (London, Simpkin, Marshall and Co., 1843).

Evans, G.E., *Midland Churches: A History of the Congregations on the Roll of the Midland Christian Union* (Dudley, 'Herald' Printing Works, 1899).

Finch, F., *Remarks on a Pamphlet assuming to itself the Title of a 'Reply to the Faithful Unvarnished Narrative concerning the late Dudley Meeting'* (Birmingham, James Belcher and Son, 1819).

A Full Report of the Trial of Samuel Cook, Draper, Dudley, for an Alleged Seditious Libel, Tried at Worcester, August 1 1827 before Mr Justice Littledale etc. (Dudley, G. Walters, 1827).

Girdlestone, C., *Church Rates Lawful, but not always Expedient: a Sermon on 1 Cor. ix. 11, 12, etc.* (London, n.p., 1833).

Girdlestone, C.**,** *Seven Sermons, Preached during the Prevalence of Cholera, in the Parish of Sedgley: Together with a Narrative of the Awful Visitation, and of the Religious Impression Produced in the South of Stafford Mining District* (London, J. G. & F. Rivington, 1833).

A Guide to Dudley Castle, containing an Historical and Descriptive Account of the Ruins etc. Also, a Short Account of the Priory… (Dudley, Walters, 1840).

Habington, T., *A Survey of Worcestershire, Volume 1*, edited by J. Amphlett, the Worcestershire Historical Society (Oxford, James Parker & Co, 1893-1895).

Hudson, C.E.M., *The Manors of Wike Burnell And Wyke Waryn, in the County of Worcester, with some Account of the Several Lords thereof, of their Families, of the Village, and of the Immediate Neighbourhood, from the VIIth Century to the Present Time* (Oxford, James Parker and Co., 1901),

Hutton, W., *An History of Birmingham,* 2nd ed. (Birmingham, Pearson and Rollason, 1783).

Hutton, W., *The Life of William Hutton and the History of the Hutton Family,* edited by L. Jewitt (London, Frederick Warne and Co., 1872).

An Important Letter from Old Job Nott, of Birmingham, to Thomas Parkin, of Dudley, on the Necessity of a Radical Reform (Birmingham, J. Butterworth, 1830?).

James, J.A., *The Works of John Angell James, Onewhile Minister of the Church Assembling in Carrs Lane Birmingham, edited by his son, Vol XVII, Autobiographical* (London, Hamilton Adams & Co. & Birmingham, Hudson & Son, 1864).

Kingswinford Parish, Wordsley Church. Opinions of Counsel (Brierley Hill, G. Ford, 1847).

Keir, J., 'Mineralogy of the South-west part of Staffordshire', in The Rev. Stebbing Shaw, *The History and Antiquities of Staffordshire etc.,* Volume I (London, 1798-1801), pp. 116-125.

Lang, A., *Life, Letters, and Diaries of Sir Stafford Northcote, First Earl of Iddesleigh* (Edinburgh, Blackwood, 1891).

'The late Mr Elliott Hollier', *Blocksidge's Illustrated Dudley Almanack, 1906* (Dudley, Blocksidge, c. 1906), pp. 89 & 91.

Laws and Catalogue of the Dudley Library, established December 19th 1805 (Dudley, W. Maurice, 1826).

Leigh, W., *An Authentic Narrative of the Melancholy Occurrences at Bilston, in the County of Stafford during the Awful Visitation in that Town by Cholera, in the Months of August and September, 1832* (Wolverhampton, William Parke, 1833).

Lyttelton, S.S., *Correspondence of Sarah Spencer, Lady Lyttelton, 1787-1870* (New York, Scribner, 1912).

Mason. F., *Wolverhampton, the Town Commissioners, 1777-1848: Their Story in their Minutes and the Files of the Wolverhampton Chronicle* (Wolverhampton, Wolverhampton Public Libraries, 1976).

Meeting at Dudley (A faithful unvarnished narrative…) (Birmingham, J. Belcher & Son, 1819?).

'Memoir of the late Rev. James Dawson, more than forty years Pastor of the Independent Church, Dudley, Worcestershire', *The Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle* (October 1844), pp. 497-501.

Memoranda Relative to the Worcestershire Yeomanry Cavalry, now the Queen's Own, Raised by Other Archer, 6th Earl of Plymouth in 1831 etc. (London, S. & J. Bentley, Wilson & Fley, 1843).

Monk, M., *The Character of a Convent: Displayed in the Awful Disclosures of Maria Monk, being a Narrative of her Sufferings during a Residence of Five Years as a Novice etc.* (London etc., Houlston & Stoneman, 1853).

Nash, T.R., *Collections for the History of Worcestershire,* Vol. 1 (London, John Nichols, 1781-1782).

Obituary: ‘Father Vincent Bond’, *Letters and Notices* (Society of Jesus), Vol. 21 (1892), pp. 440-447.

Obituary: ‘Rev. Luke Booker, L.L.D.’, *The Gentleman’s Magazine,* Volume V, new series (January 1836), pp. 93-94.

Obituary: ‘Mr Alexander Brodie Cochrane’, *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Institute of Civil Engineers,* Vol. 23, Issue 1864 (Session: 1863-1864), p. 506.

O’Malley, J. (ed.), *Marx’s Critique of Hegel’s Philosophy of Right* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1970).

Our Goodly Heritage; Dudley Baptist Church, 1772-1972 (Dudley? Dudley Baptist Church, n.d., 1972?).

Paine, T., *Rights of Man: being an Answer to Mr Burke’s Attack on the Revolution in France* (London, printed for J. S. Jordan, 1791).

Parish of Kingswinford, Staffordshire. Church Rates. Resolutions of Vestry Appointing a Committee etc. (Brierley Hill, George Ford, c. 1849).

Parkin, T., *An Address to the Strange Folks at Dudley, who, by a Monstrous Perversion of Language, Call themselves Real Reformers* (London, T. Parkin, 1833?).

Parkin, T., *An Exposé of Lewis & Co's Topographical Dictionary* (London, n.p., 1829).

Parkin, T., *An Exposure of Religious and Civil Despotism; in Observations on the Prophecies of Daniel, Paul and John, respecting the Fall and Destruction of ‘The Mystery of Iniquity’…. and an Answer to Mr Irving’s Letter to the King on the Test and Corporation Acts* (London, Wightman and Cramp, 1828).

Perkins, M., *Dudley Tradesmen’s Tokens of the Seventeenth, Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries; with Descriptive and Historical Notes of Issuers, etc.* (Dudley, E. Blocksidge, 1903).

Perkins, M., *Notes on Old Dudley Institutions, with Facsimiles of Medals and Checks* (Dudley, Blocksidge, n.d. c. 1910).

‘Poetry, Art. XVI, The Hop-Garden; a didactic poem. By Luke Booker, LL.D. etc.’, *The Anti-Jacobin Review and Magazine,* Vol. IV (December 1799), pp. 537-542.

Prentice, A., *History of the Anti-Corn-Law League Volume II*, 2nd ed. (original edition 1853) (Abingdon & New York, Routledge, 1968).

Priestley, J., *An Appeal to the Public, on the Subject of the Riots in Birmingham etc* (Birmingham, J. Thompson, 1791).

The Procession and The Bells; or The Rival Poets (London, Severn and Co., 1818).

Pye, C., *Provincial Copper Coins or Tokens, Issued between the Years 1787 and 1796, Engraved by Charles Pye of Birmingham etc* (London, John Nichols & T. Egerton and Birmingham, Thomas Pearson, n.d.1796?).

'The Queen v. Badger, Esq. and another', in Davison, H. and Merivale, H., *Reports of Cases Argued and Determined in the Court of Queen's Bench: and, upon Writs of Error from that Court to the Exchequer Chamber, in Trinity and Michaelmas Terms, 1843, and Hilary and Taster terms, 1844* (London, 1844), pp. 375-381.

Ransome M. (ed.), *The State of the Bishopric of Worcester, 1782-1808*, Worcestershire Historical Society, New series, Vol. 6 (1968).

Raven, J., *The Folklore and Songs of the Black Country Colliers* (Wolverhampton, Broadside, 1990).

A Reply to the Faithful Unvarnished Narrative, Concerning the Late Dudley Meeting (Dudley, J. Rann and Birmingham, Wrightson and Farrell, 1819).

Rollason, A.A., *The Old Non-parochial Registers of Dudley etc.* (Dudley, Herald Press, 1899).

Romilly, S.H. (ed.), *Letters to 'Ivy' from the first Earl of Dudley* (London, Longmans, Green and Co., 1905).

Salisbury, J., *A Glossary of Words and Phrases used in S.E. Worcestershire etc.,* English Dialect Society, Vol. 30 (1893-1896).

Simms, R., *Bibliotheca Staffordiensis etc.* (Lichfield, A. C. Lomax, 1894).

Smith, J.F. (ed.), *Full Report of the Proceedings attending the Welcome of the Rev. David Evans … to the Pastorate of the Baptist Church, Dudley etc.* (Dudley, Ebenezer Hutchings, 1858).

Stanley, J., *Popery Indefensible: Being Strictures on the Rev. Thomas Tysan's Observations; in a Letter to a Friend* (Wednesbury, J. Booth, 1822).

Stanley, J., *Remarks on the Rev. Thomas Tysan's Attack on Protestantism and Bible Societies in Letters to a Friend* (Wednesbury, J. Booth, n.d., 1821?).

Stebbing Shaw, The Rev., *The History and Antiquities of Staffordshire etc.,* Vol. II Pt. I (London, J. Nichols, 1798-1801).

Thorn, F. & C. (eds.), *Domesday Book: Worcestershire* (Chichester, Phillimore, 1982).

Timmins, J.F., *Dudley Character Sketch. Mr. Elliott Hollier. Retrospect & Appreciation* (reprinted from *The Dudley Herald:* Dudley, Dudley Herald? c. 1900).

Timperley, C.H., *A Dictionary of Printers and Printing* (London, H. Johnson, 1839).

Turberville, T.C., *Worcestershire in the Nineteenth century* (London, Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1852).

Twamley, C., *History of Dudley Castle and Priory: Including a Genealogical Account of the Families of Sutton and Ward* (London, John Russell Smith, 1867).

Tysan, T., *An Address to the Members of the Dudley Auxiliary Biblical Association* (Dudley, G. Walters, 1820).

Tysan, T., *An answer to the Rev. J. Dawson's Reply to, an Address to the Members of the Dudley Auxiliary Biblical Association* (Dudley, G. Walters, 1821).

Tysan, T., *Observations on Mr Jacob Stanley's Remarks on the Rev. Thomas Tysan's Address to the Dudley Auxiliary Biblical Association* (Dudley, G. Walters, 1821).

Tysan, T., *A Word to Major Hawkes, on the Brunswick Clubs* (Dudley, G. Walters, 1829?).

Wells, M., *The Triumph of Faith over the World, the Flesh, and the Devil; Exemplified in the Life, Death, and Spiritual Experience, of that Bright and Shining Light, Mrs. Joanna Turner etc.* (Bristol, T. Mills, 1787).

Willetts, A. *The Blackcountry Nailer's Riots of 1842* (Dudley, Dudley Libraries, 1995).

Williams, W.R., *The Parliamentary History of the County of Worcester: including the City of Worcester, and the Boroughs of Bewdley, Droitwich, Dudley, Evesham, Kidderminster, Bromsgrove and Pershore etc.* (Hereford, Jakeman and Carver, 1897).

Willis Bund, J.W. (ed.), *The Inquisitiones Post Mortem for the County of Worcester,* Pt. 1, Worcestershire Historical Society (Oxford, J. Parker & Co, 1894).

'Working Men's Institute', in *Blocksidge's Illustrated Dudley Almanack etc.*, *1899* (Dudley, Blocksidge, c. 1899), pp. 121-123.

Primary electronic sources

Ancestry.com LLC (including various databases for British nineteenth-century history, including: censuses; births, deaths, marriages and divorce; immigration and emigration records and poll books): https://www.ancestry.co.uk

British Book Trade Index (BBTI): British Book Trade Index

The British Newspaper Archive: www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk

Centre for the Study of the Legacies of British Slavery: Legacies of British Slavery

Clergy of the Church of England database: CCEd | Clergy of the Church of England Database (theclergydatabase.org.uk)

Dudley Mall (archived website):
DudleyMall - Louise Rayner (archive.org)

Erskine May online (British parliamentary procedure):
Chiltern Hundreds and Manor of Northstead - Erskine May - UK Parliament

Hansard, the official reports of parliamentary debates:
Hansard - UK Parliament To search Historic Hansard: Find in Hansard - Hansard - UK Parliament also: https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard

History of Parliament online:
Peterloo and the Six Acts, 1819 | History of Parliament Online

jonathan5485, 'The talented Rayner children. Part 3, Louise Rayner', *My daily art display* (blog), 11 October 2018: The talented Rayner childen. Part 3. Louise Rayner – my daily art display

The London Gazette: The Gazette | Official Public Record

The National Archives:
Currency converter: 1270–2017 (nationalarchives.gov.uk)

Nova Scotia Archives:
Nova Scotia Archives - Men in the Mines

Parliamentary papers:
Log in - ProQuest - U.K. Parliamentary Papers

The Peerage (genealogical survey):
http://www.thepeerage.com/p36160.htm
ProQuest Historical newspapers; The Guardian and The Observer (1791-2003):
ProQuest Historical Newspapers™

Staffordshire Past Track: Gateway to the Past: Record View (staffordshire.gov.uk) and Resource Details - Staffordshire Past Track (staffspasttrack.org.uk)

This re-illuminated School of Mars:
Dudley Loyal Association | This Re-illuminated School of Mars (wordpress.com)

Times Digital Archive:
The Times Digital Archive

UK Data Archive: Integrated Census Microdata:
I-CeM (Integrated Census Microdata) (data-archive.ac.uk)

Van Leerzem, J., and Williams, B., *The history of South Staffordshire Waterworks Company, 1853-1989* (South Staffordshire Water Archives online documents, (n.d.). http://www.southstaffswaterarchives.org.uk/SSHISTRY2.pdf

Secondary sources:

Printed secondary sources

Books

Ashdown, E., *Gleanings by a Watchman on a Dark Corner of Zion's Walls…* (London, Farncombe and Son, 1904).

Askwith, B., *The Lytteltons: A Family Chronicle of the Nineteenth Century* (London, Chatto & Windus, 1975).

Barker, E. (ed.), *The Politics of Aristotle*, revised by Stalley, R. F. (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2009).

Barker, H. and Vincent, D., *Language, Print and Electoral Politics 1790-1832: Newcastle-under-Lyme Broadsides* (Woodbridge, Boydell Press, 2001).

Barnsby, G.J., *Dictatorship of the Bourgeoisie: Social Control in the Nineteenth Century Black Country* (London, History Group of the Communist Party, 1972).

Barnsby, G.J., *The Dudley Working Class Movement, 1750 to 1860* (Dudley, Dudley Leisure Services, 1986).

Barnsby, G.J., *Radical Dudley [a summary]* (Wolverhampton, Integrated Publishing Services, n.d.).

Barnsby, G.J., *Social Conditions in the Black Country, 1800-1900* (Wolverhampton, Integrated Publishing Services, 1980).

Barnsby, G.J., *Socialism in Birmingham and the Black Country, 1850-1939* (Wolverhampton, Integrated Publishing Services, 1998).

Barnsby, G.J., *The Working Class Movement in the Black Country, 1750-1867* (Wolverhampton, Integrated Publishing Services, 1977).

Bebbington, D.W., *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain; A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (London, Routledge, 1989).

Belchem, J., *Popular Radicalism in Nineteenth-century Britain* (Basingstoke, Bloomsbury, 1996).

Bellamy, J.M. and Saville, J. (eds.) *Dictionary of Labour Biography,* Vol. VI (London, Macmillan, 1982).

Blackstock, A., *Loyalism in Ireland, 1789-1829* (Woodbridge, Boydell & Brewer, 2007).

Blake, R., *The Conservative Party from Peel to Thatcher*, revised ed. (London, Methuen, 1985).

Briggs, A., *Press and Public in Early Nineteenth-century Birmingham,* Dugdale Society Occasional Papers, No. 8 (1949).

Brock, M., *The Great Reform Act* (London, Hutchinson University Library, 1973).

Brown, D., *Palmerston, a Biography* (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 2010).

Brown, R., *Chartism: Localities, Spaces and Places, the Midlands and the South* (n.p., Authoring History, self-published, 2015).

Brown, S.J., *Providence and Empire: Religion, Politics and Society in the United Kingdom, 1815-1914* (London & New York, Taylor and Francis Ltd., 2008).

Browne, H., *Chartism* (London, Hodder & Stoughton, 1999).

Bush, J., *'Papists' and Prejudice: Popular Anti-Catholicism and Anglo-Irish Conflict in the North East of England* (Newcastle upon Tyne, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013).

Cannadine, D., *Class in Britain,* (London, Penguin, 2000).

Cawood, I. and Peters, L. (eds.), *Print, Politics and the Provincial Press in Modern Britain* (Oxford and New York, Peter Lang, 2019).

Chadwick, O., *The Victorian Church,* Pt. 1, 3rd ed. (London, A & C Black, 1971).

Chambers, R.F., *The Strict Baptist Chapels of England, Volume 4, the Industrial Midlands* (London, Fauconberg Press, 1963).

Chandler, G. and Hannah, I.C., *Dudley As it Was and As it is To-day* (London, B. T. Batsford Ltd., 1949).

Chase, M., *Chartism: A New History* (Manchester and New York, Manchester University Press, 2007).

Chitham, E., *The Story of Dudley* (Stroud, The History Press, 2014).

Church of Our Lady and St Thomas of Canterbury, Dudley: A Brief History (Wednesfield, B.J. Waddell Ltd., 1965).

Coleman, D., *Orcop: The Story of a Herefordshire Village from Pre-history to Present Times* (Hanley Swan, The S.P.A. Ltd., 1992).

Coohill, J., *Ideas of the Liberal Party: Perceptions, Agendas and Liberal Politics in the House of Commons, 1832-52* (Chichester, Wiley-Blackwell, 2011).

Cornick, D., *Under God's Good Hand: A History of the Traditions Which Have Come Together in the United Reformed Church in the United Kingdom* (London, The United Reformed Church in the United Kingdom, 1998).

Cross, W.H. (comp.), *King Street Methodist Church, Dudley: 150th Anniversary Souvenir, 1788-1938* (Dudley, Phoenix Printerie, 1938?).

D'Arcy Wood, G., *Tambora: the Eruption that Changed the World* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2014).

Davies, S.G. (comp), *Wesley Chapel, Dudley, 1829-1929, a Centenary Souvenir* (Dudley, E Blocksidge, 1929).

Davies, V.L. and Hyde, H., *Dudley and the Black Country 1760 to 1860* (Dudley, Dudley Public Libraries, 1970).

Dawson, A., *Sociology of Religion* (London, SCM Press, 2011).

Douglas, R., *Liberals: A History of the Liberal and Liberal Democrat Parties* (London, Hambledon and London, 2005).

Ellens, J.P., *Religious Routes to Gladstonian Liberalism: The Church Rate Conflict in England and Wales, 1832-1868,* (Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994).

Ellis, J., *Glassmakers of Stourbridge and Dudley 1612-2002. A Biographical History of a Once Great Industry* (Harrogate, Jason Ellis, 2002).

Evers, E., *Butterflies in Camphor: A Family Chronicle* (London, Research Publishing Co., 1974).

Epstein, J., *The Lion of Freedom: Feargus O'Connor and the Chartist Movement, 1832-1842* (London & Canberra, Croom Helm, 1982).

Evans, E.J., *The Forging of the Modern State; Early Industrial Britain, 1783-1870,* 2nd ed. (London & New York, Longman, 1996).

Finch, R.N. & E.S., *Our Finch Family and Others; mainly from Worcestershire and Cambridgeshire spreading to London and Lancashire…* (n.p., published by the authors, 1993).

Flick, C., *The Birmingham Political Union and the Movements for Reform in Britain, 1830-1839* (Hamden and Folkestone, Archon Books and Dawson, 1978).

Floyd, R.D., *Church, Chapel and Party: Religious Dissent and Political Modernization in Nineteenth-century England* (Basingstoke and New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

Foster, A., Pevsner, N. and Wedgwood, A., *Birmingham and the Black Country* (New Haven & London, Yale University Press, 2002),

Foster, J., *Class struggle and the Industrial Revolution: Early Industrial Capitalism in Three English Towns* (London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1974).

Fraser, D., *Urban Politics in Victorian England,* (Leicester, Leicester University Press, 1976).

Garrard, J., *Leadership and Power in Victorian Industrial Towns, 1830-80* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1983).

Gash, N, *Politics in the Age of Peel: A Study in the Technique of Parliamentary Representation, 1830-1850* (London, Longmans, Green and co,.1953).

Gee, A., *The British Volunteer Movement, 1794-1814* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2003).

Gilbert, A.D., *Religion and Society in Industrial England: Church, Chapel and Social Change, 1740-1914* (London, Longman, 1976).

Green, J.A., *Bibliography of the Town of Heywood* (Heywood, The Advertiser Office, 1902).

Hadfield, C., *The Canals of the West Midlands,* 2nd ed. (Newton Abbot, David & Charles, 1969).

Hamlin, C. *Public Health and Social Justice in the Age of Chadwick: Britain, 1800-1854* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1998).

Hayman, R., *Ironmaking: The History and Archaeology of the Iron Industry* (Stroud, Tempus, 2005).

Hempton, D., *Methodism and Politics in British Society, 1750-1850* (London, Hutchinson, 1984).

Henriques, U., *Religious Toleration in England, 1787-1833* (London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1961).

Hickman, M.J., *Religion, Class and Identity: The State, the Catholic Church and the Education of the Irish in Britain* (Aldershot, Avebury, 1995).

Hilton, B., *The Age of Atonement: The Influence of Evangelicalism on Social and Economic Thought, 1785-1865* (Oxford, Clarendon, 1988).

Hilton, B, *A Mad, Bad, and Dangerous People? England 1783-1846* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2006).

Hobson, J., *Dark Days of Georgian Britain: Rethinking the Regency* (Barnsley, Pen and Sword Books Ltd., 2017).

Hole, R., *Pulpits, Politics and Public Order in England, 1760-1832,* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1989).

Howsam, L., *Cheap Bibles: Nineteenth-century Publishing and the British and Foreign Bible Society* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1991).

Hymers, E.B., *Historical Notes on [the] Catholic Mission of Sedgley* (Dudley, E. Blocksidge, 1924). [‘the’ is omitted on the title page but is present elsewhere in the book.]

Jones, P.M., *Industrial Enlightenment: Science, Technology and Culture in Birmingham and the West Midlands, 1760-1820* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2008).

Jones, R.T., *Congregationalism in England, 1662-1962* (London, Independent Press, 1962).

Kelly, T., *George Birkbeck, Pioneer of Adult Education* (Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, 1957).

Lawson, T. & Garrod, J., *Complete A-Z Sociology Handbook,* 3rd ed. (London, Hodder & Stoughton, 2003).

Leonard, D., *The Great Rivalry: Gladstone and Disraeli,* (London & New York, I.B. Tauris & Co. Ltd., 2013).

Life of John, Lord Campbell, Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain; Consisting of a Selection from his Autobiography, Diary, and Letters, edited by Mrs Hardcastle, 2 Vols. (London, John Murray, 1881).

Lyon, E.G., *Politicians in the Pulpit: Christian Radicalism from the Fall of the Bastille to the Disintegration of Chartism* (Aldershot, Ashgate, 1999).

Machin, G.I.T., *Politics and the Churches in Great Britain, 1832 to 1868* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1977).

MacRaild, D.M., *Irish Migrants in Modern Britain, 1750-1922* (Basingstoke, Macmillan, 1999).

McCaffrey, L.J., *The Irish Question: Two Centuries of Conflict*, 2nd ed. (Lexington, The University Press of Kentucky, 1995).

McLachlan, H., *Alexander Gordon (9 June 1841-21 February 1931): A Biography with a Bibliography* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1932).

McLeod, H., *Secularisation in Western Europe, 1848-1914* (Basingstoke, Macmillan, 2000).

Morley, J., *The Life of Richard Cobden, Vol. II* (London, Chapman & Hall, 1881).

Morris, R.J. (ed.), *Class, Power and Social Structure in British Nineteenth-century Towns* (Leicester, Leicester University Press, 1986).

Morris, R.J., *Class, Sect and Party: The Making of the British Middle Class, Leeds 1820-1850* (Manchester & New York, Manchester University Press, 1990).

Navickas, K., *Protest and the Politics of Space and Place, 1789-1848* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2016).

Neele, G.P., *Railway Reminiscences,* new ed. (original 1904) (East Ardsley, EP Publishing Limited, 1974).

Nie, M. de, *The Eternal Paddy: Irish Identity and the British Press, 1798-1882* (Madison, Wisconsin and London, University of Wisconsin Press, 2004).

Norman, E.R., *Anti-Catholicism in Victorian England* (London, Allen & Unwin, 1968).

Paz, D.G., *Popular Anti-Catholicism in Mid-Victorian Britain* (Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1992).

Pearce, E., *REFORM! The Fight for the 1832 Reform Act,* (London, Jonathan Cape, 2003).

Petty, J., *The History of the Primitive Methodist Connexion: from its Origin to the Conference of 1860, the First Jubilee Year of the Connexion*, rev ed., (London, R. Davies, Conference Offices, 1864).

Philips, D., *Crime and Authority in Victorian England: The Black Country, 1835-1860* (London, Croom Helm, 1977).

Phillips, P.T., *The Sectarian Spirit: Sectarianism, Society and Politics in Victorian Cotton Towns* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1982).

Pickering, P., *The People's Bread: A History of the Anti-Corn Law League* (London and New York, Leicester University Press, 2000).

Poole, R., *Peterloo: The English Uprising* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2019).

Pooler, B., *From Fruit Trees to Furnaces: A History of the Worcestershire Constabulary* (Pershore, Blacksmith Publishing, 2002).

Prest, J., *Liberty and Locality: Parliament, Permissive Legislation and Ratepayers' Democracies in the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford, Clarendon, 1990).

Price, J., *Building Societies: Their Origin and History* (London, Franey & Co. Ltd., 1958).

Pritchard, T.W., *The Glynnes of Hawarden* (Norwich, Michael Russell (Publishing) Ltd., 2017).

Raybould, T.J., *The Economic Emergence of the Black Country: A Study of the Dudley Estate* (Newton Abbot, David & Charles, 1973).

Raybould, T., *Dudley Grammar School, 1562-1975: A History of the School in its Times* (Southampton, The Bassett Press, 2010).

Richards, J., *The Pubs and Breweries of the Old Dudley Borough* (Pensnett, Real Ale Books, 1989).

Robins, J., *Rebel Queen: How the Trial of Caroline Brought England to the Brink of Revolution* (London, Simon & Schuster, 2006).

Robson, G., *Dark Satanic Mills? Religion and Irreligion in Birmingham and the Black Country* (Carlisle, Paternoster Press, 2002).

Rollason, A.A., *Patronymica* (Dudley, Herald Press, 1908),

Roper, J.S., *Dudley, the Town in the Eighteenth Century* (Dudley, Dudley Public Libraries, 1968).

Royle, E., *Chartism,* 3rd ed., (Harlow, Addison Wesley Longman Limited, 1996).

Royle, E., *Revolutionary Britannia? Reflections on the Threat of Revolution in Britain 1789-1848* (Manchester and New York, Manchester University Press, 2000).

Royle, E., *Victorian Infidels: The Origins of the British Secularist Movement, 1791-1866* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1974).

Salmon, P.J., *Electoral Reform at Work: Local Politics and National Parties, 1832-1841* (Woodbridge, Boydell & Brewer, 2002).

Saunders, R., *Democracy and the Vote in British Politics, 1848-1867: The Making of the Second Reform Act* (Farnham, Ashgate, 2011).

Skinner, G., *Father Ignatius Spencer: English Noble and Christian Saint* (Leominster, Gracewing Publishing, 2018).

Smith, E.A. (ed.), *Reform or Revolution? A Diary of Reform in England, 1830-32* (Stroud, Alan Sutton Publishing Ltd., 1992).

Smith, M., *Religion in Industrial Society: Oldham and Saddleworth, 1740-1865* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1994).

Snell, K.D.M. and Ell, P.S., *Rival Jerusalems: The Geography of Victorian Religion* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2000).

Stone, L. & J.C.F., *An Open Elite? England 1540-1880,* abridged ed. (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1986).

Sykes, A., *The Rise and Fall of British Liberalism, 1776-1988* (Harlow, Longman, 1995).

Suarez, M.F. and Turner, M.L. (eds.) *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, Vol. V, 1695-1830* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2009).

Tate, W.E., *The Parish Chest: A Study of the Records of Parochial Administration in England* (Cambridge, CUP, 1946).

Taylor, M., *Ernest Jones, Chartism, and the Romance of Politics, 1819-1869* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2003).

Thompson, E.P., *The Making of the English Working Class,* (London, Gollancz, 1963; paperback edition, Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1968).

Thompson, E.P., *The Making of the English Working Class,* with new preface (Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1980).

Tosh, J., *The Pursuit of History: Aims, Methods and New Directions in the Study of History* (London and New York, 6th ed., Routledge, 2015).

Trainor, R.H., *Black Country Elites. The Exercise of Authority in an Industrialized Area, 1830-1900* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1993).

Ward, R., *City-state and Nation: Birmingham's Political History, c. 1830-1940* (Chichester, Phillimore, 2005).

Ward, W.R., *Religion and Society in England, 1790-1850* (London, Batsford, 1972).

Wasson, E.A., *Whig Renaissance: Lord Althorp and the Whig Party, 1782-1845* (New York, Garland, 1987).

Watts, D., *A History of the Black Country Baptists* (Stourbridge, David Watts, 1994).

Wiener, J.H., *The War of the Unstamped: The Movement to Repeal the British Newspaper Tax, 1830-1836* (Ithaca and London, Cornell University Press, 1969).

Willis-Bund, J.W. and Page, W. (eds.), *The Victoria History of the County of Worcester*, Vol. II (London, James Street, 1906).

Wohl, A.S., *Endangered Lives: Public Health in Victorian Britain* (London, Dent, 1983).

Wolffe, J., *God and Greater Britain: Religion and National Life in Britain and Ireland 1843-1945)* (London, Routledge, 1994).

Wong, J.Y., *Deadly Dreams: Opium and the Arrow War (1856-1860) in China* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1998).

Wright, D.G., *Popular Radicalism: The Working-class Experience, 1780-1880*, (London, Longman, 1988).

Chapters in edited books

Barnsby, G, ‘The Labour movement, religion, and the churches in Birmingham and the Black Country in the nineteenth century’, in Garscha, W.R. and Weigang, S. (eds.), *Arbeiterbewegung – Kirche – Religion* (Vienna, 1991), pp. 181-192.

Chettle, H.F., Powell, W.R., Spalding, P.A. and Tillott, P.M., 'Parishes: Trowbridge,' in Pugh, R.B. and Crittall, E. (eds.), *A History of the County of Wiltshire:* Vol. 7, (London, Oxford University Press, 1953), pp. 125-171.

Davies, J., ‘A ‘paper war’: John Rann, George Walters and the political print culture in Dudley, Worcestershire, c. 1814–1832’, in Cawood, I. and Peters, L. (eds.), *Print, Politics and the Provincial Press in Modern Britain* (Oxford and New York, Peter Lang, 2019), pp. 31-55.

Day, A., ‘A spirit of improvement: improvement commissioners, boards of health and central-local relations in Portsea’, in Morris, R.J. and Trainor, R.H. (eds.), *Urban Governance: Britain and Beyond Since 1750* (Aldershot, Ashgate, 2000), pp. 101-127.

Dinwiddy, J., ‘England’, in Dann, O. & Dinwiddy, J. (eds.), *Nationalism in the Age of the French Revolution* (London, Hambledon, 1988), pp. 53–70.

Elwell, C.J.L., ‘The Black Country Pitt Clubs, Part 1 – Dudley’, in Elwell, C.J.L. (ed.), *Black Country Essays and Reviews,* 2nd revised ed. (Kingswinford, The Black Country Society, 1998), pp. 94-98.

Gadian, D., ‘Class formation and class action in north-west industrial towns, 1830-50’, in Morris, R.J., (ed.), *Class, Power and Social Structure in British Nineteenth-century towns* (Leicester, Leicester University Press, 1986), pp. 24-66.

Gilley, S., ‘Roman Catholicism’, in Paz, D.G., *Nineteenth-century English Religious Traditions: Retrospect and Prospect,* (Westport, Connecticut and London, Greenwood, 1995), pp. 33-56.

Gladstone, D., ‘Introduction’, in Chadwick, E., *Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Great Britain,* reprint of 1842 ed. with new introduction, (London, 1997), pp. v-xv.

Hann, A., ‘Industrialisation and the service economy’, in Stobart, J. and Raven, N. (eds.), *Towns, Regions and Industries: Urban and Industrial Change in the Midlands, c. 1700-1840* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2005), pp. 42-61.

Hannah, I.C., 'V. Priory and churches', in Chandler, G., and Hannah, I.C, *Dudley As it was and As it is To-day*, (London, B.T. Batsford Ltd., 1949), pp. 57-70.

Hay, D., ‘Property, authority and the criminal law’, in Hay, D. et al., *Albion’s Fatal Tree: Crime and Society in Eighteenth-Century England* (London, Allen Lane, 1975), pp,17-63.

Kidd, A. & Nicholls, D., ‘Introduction: the Making of the British Middle Class?’ in Kidd, A. & Nicholls, D. (eds.), *The Making of the British Middle Class? Studies of Regional and Cultural Diversity since the Eighteenth century* (Stroud, Sutton Publishing, 1998), pp. xv-xl.

Light, H.M. and Campbell-Curtis, M., ‘Dudley’, in Willis-Bund, J.W. and Page, W. (eds.) *The Victoria History of the County of Worcester*, Vol. III (London, Archibald Constable & Co. Ltd., 1913), pp. 90-105.

Mather, F.C., ‘The general strike of 1842. A study in leadership, organisation and the threat of revolution during the Plug Plot disturbances’. in Quinault, R. and Stevenson, J. (eds.), *Popular Protest and Public Order; Six Studies in British History, 1790-1920* (London, Allen & Unwin, 1974), pp. 115-140.

O’Day, A., ‘Varieties of anti-Irish behaviour in Britain, 1846-1922’, in Panayi, P. (ed.), *Racial Violence in Britain in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries,* revised ed. (London, Leicester University Press, 1996), pp. 26-43.

Philp, M., ‘Introduction’, in Philp, M. (ed.), *The French Revolution and British Popular Politics* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 1-17.

Philp, M, ‘Vulgar conservatism 1792/3’, in Philp, M. (ed.), *Reforming Ideas in Britain: Politics and Language in the Shadow of the French Revolution, 1789-1815* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 40-70.

Philips, D., ‘Riots and public order in the Black Country, 1835-1860’, in Quinault, R. and Stevenson, J. (eds.), *Popular Protest and Public Order: Six Studies in British History, 1790-1920* (London, Allen & Unwin, 1974), pp. 141-180.

Raven, J., ‘The industrial revolution of the book’, in Howsam, L. (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the History of the Book* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 143-161.

Rowley, J., ‘Wallwork, Daniel (1824-1909): Chartist and secularist’, in Bellamy, J.M. & Saville, J. (eds.), *Dictionary of Labour Biography,* Vol. VI (London, Macmillan, 1982), pp. 259-262.

Rowley, J. and Taylor, E., ‘Cook, Samuel (1786-1861), Chartist and Radical’, in Bellamy, J.M. & Saville, J. (eds.), *Dictionary of Labour Biography,* Vol. VI (London, Macmillan, 1982), pp. 64-68.

Rowley, J. & Taylor, E., 'Cook, Samuel Quartus (1822-90), Chartist', in Bellamy, J.M. & Saville, J. (eds.), *Dictionary of Labour Biography,* Vol. VI (London, Macmillan, 1982), p. 69.

Stephens, W.B. (ed.), 'Political and Administrative History: Political History to 1832', in, *A History of the County of Warwick: Vol. 7, the City of Birmingham* (London, 1964), pp. 270-297.

Stevenson, J., ‘Food riots in England, 1792-1818’, in Quinault, R. and Stevenson, J. (eds.), *Popular Protest and Public Order; Six Studies in British history, 1790-1920* (London, Allen & Unwin, 1974), pp. 33-74.

Thomas, S., ‘“One of the most extraordinary publications which has ever appeared…”: George Edmonds v the *Monthly Argus*’, in Cawood, I. and Peters, L. (eds.), *Print, Politics and the Provincial Press in Modern Britain* (Oxford and New York, Peter Lang, 2019), pp. 57-80.

Trainor, R., ‘Peers on an industrial frontier: the Earls of Dartmouth and of Dudley in the Black Country, c. 1810 to 1914’, in Cannadine, D. (ed.), *Patricians, Power and Politics in Nineteenth-century Towns* (Leicester, Leicester University Press, 1982), pp. 69-132.

‘Wallace, John FSA 1788–1880’, in Platts, U., *Nineteenth century New Zealand artists: a guide & handbook* (Christchurch, N. Z.: Avon Fine Prints, 1980), p. 245.

Wood, M., ‘Radical publishing’, in Suarez, M.F. and Turner, M.L. (eds.) *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, Vol. V, 1695-1830* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 834-848.

Woolnough, G., ‘Parish constables’, in Turner, J. et al (eds.) *A Companion to the History of Crime and Criminal Justice* (Bristol, 2017), pp. 165-166.

Articles

Attarian, J., 'Edmund Burke: champion of ordered liberty', *The Intercollegiate Review,* Vol. 33, No. 1 (Fall 1997), pp. 37-43.

Barnsby, G.J., ‘Review of T.J. Raybould, *The Economic Emergence of the Black Country. A Study of the Dudley Estate* (Newton Abbot, 1973)’, *The Economic History Review,* Vol. 27, No. 3 (August 1974), pp. 475-476.

Berlinski, S., & Dewan, T., ‘The political consequences of franchise extension: evidence from the Second Reform Act’, *Quarterly Journal of Political Science,* Vol. 6: Nos. 3–4 (2011), pp 329-376.

Borome, J.A., ‘George Charles Falconer’, *Caribbean Quarterly,* Vol. 6, No. 1 (1960), pp. 11-17.

Brown, D., ‘The industrial revolution, political economy and the British aristocracy. The second Viscount Dudley and Ward as an eighteenth-century canal promoter’, *The Journal of Transport History,* Vol. 27, No. 1 (March 2006), pp. 1-24.

Cannadine, D., ‘The Landowner as Millionaire: The Finances of the Dukes of Devonshire, c.1800-c.1926’ (Continued), *The Agricultural History Review,* Vol. 25, No. 2 (1977), pp. 77-97.

Champ, J.F., ‘Priesthood and politics in the nineteenth century: the turbulent career of Thomas McDonnell’, *Recusant History,* Vol. 18, No. 3 (1987), pp. 289-303.

Colley, L., ‘The apotheosis of George III: loyalty, royalty and the British nation, 1760-1820’, *Past & Present,* No. 102 (February 1984), pp. 94-129.

Cox, D., ‘Civil unrest in the Black Country 1750-1837 (Part Two: the colliers’ march of 1816)’, *The Blackcountryman*, Vol. 36, No. 1 (2002), pp. 9-12.

Cox, D.J., ‘’The wolves let loose at Wolverhampton’: a study of the South Staffordshire election ‘riots’, May 1835’, *Law, Crime and History,* Vol. 2, Issue 1 (2011), pp. 1-31.

Darwen, D., MacRaild, D.M.B. Gurrin, B., & Kennedy, L., ‘”Irish fever” in Britain during the Great Famine: immigration, disease and the legacy of “Black ’47”’, *Irish Historical Studies,* Vol. 44, No. 66 (November 2020), pp. 270-294.

Davis, P., ‘Birmingham's Irish Community and the Murphy Riots of 1867’, *Midland History,* Vol. 31, No. 1 (2006), pp. 37-66.

Davis, R.W. 'The House of Lords, the Whigs and Catholic emancipation, 1806-1829', *Parliamentary History,* Vol. 18, part 1 (1999), pp. 23-43.

Davis, R.W., ‘The Tories, the Whigs, and Catholic emancipation’, *The English Historical Review*, Vol. 97, No. 382 (January 1982), pp. 39-55.

Dixon, R.A.M., ’Priestley’s daughter and her descendants, Part 1’, *Transactions of the Unitarian Historical Society,* Vol. 5, No. 1, 1931, pp. 43-68.

Dolphin, B., 'Gentlemanly satisfaction: the Wellington-Winchilsea duel of 1829', *Fontanus,* Vol. 9 (1996), pp. 59-80, and illustrations, pp. 93-96.

Edsall, N.C., 'A failed national movement: the Parliamentary and Financial Reform Association’, *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, Vol. 49, No. 119 (May 1976), pp. 108–131.

Elwell, C.J.L., ‘The first General Strike in the Black Country’ (in four parts) *The Blackcountryman,* Vol. 18, No. 2 (Spring 1985), pp. 6-13; Vol. 18, No. 3 (Summer

1985), pp. 43-49; Vol. 18, No. 4 (Autumn 1985), pp. 6-12 and Vol. 19, No. 1 (Winter 1986), pp. 39-42.

Emsley, C., ‘The London 'Insurrection' of December 1792: Fact, fiction, or fantasy?’, *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 17, No. 2 (Spring, 1978), pp. 66-86.

Fereday, R.P., ‘The career of Richard Smith’, in 5 parts: part one, *The Acorn* (Summer, 1966), pp. 11-14; part two, *The Acorn* (Autumn, 1966), pp. 7-14; part three, *The Acorn* (Winter, 1966), pp. 7-12; part four, *The Acorn* (Spring, 1967), pp. 7-12; part five, *The Acorn* (Summer, 1967), pp. 7-10.

Garrard, J., ‘Urban Elites, 1850-1914: The Rule and Decline of a New Squirearchy?’, *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, Vol. 27, No. 4 (Winter, 1995), pp. 583-621.

Haden, H.J., ‘The Lords of Dudley’ (in three parts), *The Blackcountryman,* Vol. 18, No. 4 (Autumn 1985), pp.34-43; Vol. 19, No. 1 (Winter 1986), pp. 26-34 and Vol. 19, No. 2 (Spring 1986), pp. 43-53.

Hall, C.M., ‘Sources for urban history, 4. Some notes on the urban population of England and Wales in the eighteenth century’, *The Local Historian,* Vol. 10, No. 1, February 1972, pp. 13-26.

Harling, P., ‘The power of persuasion: central authority, local bureaucracy and the New Poor Law’, *The English Historical Review*, Vol. 107, No. 422 (January 1992), pp. 30-53.

Hay, D., ‘Writing about the death penalty’, *Legal History,* Vol. 10, Nos. 1-2 (2006), pp. 35-51.

Hempton, D., ‘Evangelical revival and society: a historiographical review of Methodism and British society c. 1750–1850’, *Themelios,* Vol. 8, issue 3 (April, 1983), pp. 19-25.

Hinks, J., ‘The history of printing and print cultures: contexts and controversies’, *Midland History,* Vol. 45, No. 2 (2020), pp. 134-144.

Hobsbawm, E.J., ‘Methodism and the threat of revolution in Britain’, *History Today,* Vol. 7 No. 2 (1957), pp. 115-124.

Hoyler, M., 'Small town development and urban illiteracy: comparative evidence from Leicestershire marriage registers, 1754-1890', *Historical Social Research*, Vol. 23, Nos. 1/2 (1998), pp. 202-230.

Inglis, K.S., ‘Patterns of religious worship in 1851’, *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. 11, No. 1 (1960), pp. 74-86.

King, P.W., ‘Dud Dudley’s contribution to metallurgy’, *Historical Metallurgy,* Vol. 36. No. 1 (2002), pp. 43–53.

Langbein, J.H., ‘Albion’s fatal flaws’, *Past & Present,* No. 98 (February 1983), pp. 96-120.

Macdonald, A., ‘Two 18th century parliamentary elections in Worcester’, *Transactions of the Worcestershire Archaeology Society,* Vol. 22, New Series (1946, for 1945), pp. 55-68.

Machin, G.I.T., ’The Catholic Emancipation crisis of 1825’, *The English Historical Review,* Vol. 78, No. 308 (July 1963), pp. 458-482.

Mullin, K.E., ‘Unmasking the Confessional Unmasked: the 1868 Hicklin Test and the toleration of obscenity’, *English Literary History*, Vol. 85, No. 2 (2018), pp. 471-499.

Murphy, T., ‘The nomenclature of the *underserving (sic)* poor: an enduring history of marginalisation’, *Journal on European History of Law,* Vol. 6, No. 1 (2015), pp.103-108.

O’Gorman, F., ‘The Paine burnings of 1792-1793’, *Past & Present*, No. 193 (November 2006), pp. 111-155.

Philips, D., The Black Country magistracy, 1835-60: a changing elite and the exercise of its power’, *Midland History,* Vol. 3 (1976), pp. 161–190.

Radcliffe, C. ‘Mutual improvement societies and the forging of working-class political consciousness in nineteenth-century England’, *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, Vol. 16, No. 2 (March-April 1997), pp. 141-155.

Randall, A.J., ‘The shearmen and the Wiltshire outrages of 1802’, *Social History,* Vol. 7, No. 3 (October 1982), pp. 283-304.

Raybould, T.J., ‘The development and organization of Lord Dudley’s mineral estates, 1774-1845’ *The Economic History Review,* Vol. 21, No. 3 (December 1968), pp. 529-544.

Raybould, T.J., ‘Systems of management and administration on the Dudley estates, 1774-1833’, *Business History,* Vol. 10, Issue 1 (January 1968), pp. 1-11.

Roberts, M., ’Popular Conservatism in Britain, 1832-1914’, *Parliamentary History,* Vol. 26, Pt. 3 (2007), pp. 387-410.

Saville, J., ‘Class struggle and the Industrial Revolution’ (book review), *The Socialist Register* (1974), pp. 226-240.

Schofield, R.S., 'Dimensions of illiteracy, 1750-1850', *Explorations in Economic History,* Vol.10, No. 4, (1973), pp. 437-454.

Schonhardt-Bailey, C., ‘Specific factors, capital markets, portfolio diversification and free trade: domestic determinants of the repeal of the Corn Laws’, *World Politics,* Vol. 43, No. 4 (1991), pp. 545-569.

Scott, J., ‘Modes of power and the re-conceptualization of elites’, *Sociological Review,* Vol. 56, Issue 1, pp. 25-43.

Sharman, F.A., ‘An introduction to the Enclosure Acts’, *The Journal of Legal History*, Vol. 10, No. 1 (May 1989), pp. 45-70.

Skidmore, P., ‘Sir John Campbell: Dudley’s first modern MP’ (in two parts), *The Blackcountryman,* Vol. 30, No. 2 (Spring 1997), pp. 31-36 and Vol. 30, No. 3 (Summer 1997), pp. 42-48.

Stephens, W.B., 'Literacy in England, Scotland, and Wales, 1500-1900', *History of Education Quarterly*, Winter 1990, Vol. 30, No. 4, pp. 545-571.

Swift, R., ‘Anti-Catholicism and Irish disturbances: public order in Mid-Victorian Wolverhampton’, *Midland History,* Vol. 9, No. 1 (1984), pp. 87-108.

Swift, R., ‘The English urban magistracy and the administration of justice during the early nineteenth century: Wolverhampton 1815–1860’, *Midland History* Vol.17, No. 1 (1992), pp. 75–92.

Thompson, R.H., ’The dies of Thomas Spence (1750-1814)’, *British Numismatic Journal,* Vol. 38 (1969), pp. 126-162.

Trainor, R.H., ‘George Barnsby and the social and political history of the 19th century Black Country’, *The Blackcountryman,* Vol. 12, No. 3 (Summer, 1979), pp. 53-58.

Twaddle, M., 'The Oxford and Cambridge admissions controversy of 1834', *British Journal of Educational Studies,* Vol. 14, No. 3 (1966), pp. 45-58.

Williams, J.R., ‘The 1831 riots in the Black Country’, in 3 parts; *The Blackcountryman*, Vol. 7, No. 3 (1974), pp 17-25, Vol. 7, No. 4 (1974), pp. 23-30 and Vol. 8, No. 1 (1975), pp. 40-46.

Williams, J.R., ‘The Dudley Loyal Association’, *The Blackcountryman,* Vol. 10, No. 4 (Autumn 1977), pp. 56-65.

Williams, J.R., ‘Trials ensuing from the 1831 Black Country riots’, in 2 parts; *The Blackcountryman,* Vol 12, No. 1 (1979), pp. 18-25 and Vol. 12, No. 2 (1979), pp. 10-14.

Wolffe, J., ‘A comparative historical categorisation of anti-Catholicism’, *Journal of Religious History*, Vol. 39, No. 2 (June 2015), pp. 182-202.

Woods, D.C., ‘The operation of the Master and Servants Act in the Black Country, 1858-1875’, *Midland History,* Vol. 7, No. 1 (1982), pp. 93-115.

Theses and Dissertations

Atherton, J., ‘Rioting, dissent and the Church in late eighteenth-century Britain: the Priestley riots of 1791’ (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Leicester, 2012).

Briercliffe, S., ‘“The blackest shadows are cast by the Irish Quarter”: the making of Stafford Street, 1832-1882’ (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Birmingham, 2022).

Cumberland, A.G., ‘Protestant nonconformity in the Black Country, 1662-1851’ (Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Birmingham, 1951).

Davies, J. ‘The Reverend Luke Booker, Vicar of Dudley: an Anglican clergyman in the industrial Black Country’ (Unpublished MA dissertation, University of Birmingham, 2013).

Groom, R., ‘The conduct of parliamentary elections in Kidderminster, 1832-1880’ (Unpublished PhD thesis, Coventry University in collaboration with the University of Worcester, 2010).

King, P.W., ‘The iron trade in England and Wales 1500-1815: the charcoal iron industry and its transition to coke’ (Unpublished PhD thesis, Wolverhampton University, 2003).

Leese, R., ‘The impact of Methodism on Black Country society, 1743-1860’ (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Manchester, 1972).

McForan, D.W.J., ‘Birmingham radicalism, 1812-1820’ (Unpublished MA dissertation, University of Birmingham).

Nicholson, H., ‘Print and politics in the East Midlands constituencies, c.1790-1832’ (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Nottingham, 2019).

Peach, A., ‘Poverty, religion and prejudice in nineteenth-century Britain: the Catholic Irish in Birmingham 1800-c. 1880’ (Unpublished PhD thesis, De Montfort University, 2000).

Radmore, D.F., ‘The Dudley and Stourbridge Town Commissions, 1791-1853’ (Unpublished MA dissertation, Wolverhampton Polytechnic, 1987).

Sjögren, F.G.N., ‘Entrepreneurship and technological change: the Birmingham and district cut-nail trade, c. 1811-1913’ (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Birmingham, 2019).

Smith, A.D., ‘The strike for the People’s Charter in 1842’ (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of London, 2002).

Sullivan, J.C., ‘Paying the price for industrialisation: the experience of a Black Country town, Oldbury in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries’ (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Birmingham, 2014).

Taylor, D.M., ‘To the Bull Ring! Politics, protest and policing in Birmingham during the early Chartist period’ (Unpublished MRes thesis, University of Birmingham, 2013).

Taylor, D.M., ‘Governance and locality in the age of reform, Birmingham 1769-1852’ (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Birmingham, 2019).

Taylor, E., ‘The working class movement in the Black Country, 1863-1914’ (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Keele, 1974).

Thomas, S., ‘George Edmonds and the development of Birmingham radicalism’ (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Birmingham, 2020).

Tunsiri, V., ‘The party-politics of the Black Country and neighbourhood, 1832-1867’, (Unpublished MA dissertation, University of Birmingham, 1964).

Secondary Electronic Sources

Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (ODNB)

Allen, R.C., 'Cook, Samuel (1786–1861), Chartist', *ODNB* (23 September 2004), Cook, Samuel (1786–1861), Chartist | Oxford Dictionary of National Biography

Boase, G.C., revised by Wolffe, J., 'Hatton, George William Finch-, tenth earl of Winchilsea and fifth earl of Nottingham (1791-1858), politician', *ODNB* (23 September 2004), Hatton, George William Finch-, tenth earl of Winchilsea and fifth earl of Nottingham (1791–1858), politician | Oxford Dictionary of National Biography

Brown, D., 'Ward, John, second Viscount Dudley and Ward (1725–1788), industrialist and politician', *ODNB* (published 23 September 2004, version, 3 October 2013), https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-57563

Crompton, G., 'Smith, George Samuel Fereday (1812-1891), industrialist and canal manager', *ODNB* (23 September 2004), Smith, George Samuel Fereday (1812–1891), industrialist and canal manager | Oxford Dictionary of National Biography

Fisher, D.R., 'Ward, John William, Earl of Dudley (1781–1833), politician', *ODNB* (published 23 September 2004, version 10 June 2021), https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-28696

Gordon, P., 'Lyttelton, George William, fourth Baron Lyttelton and fourth Baron Westcote (1817-1876), educationist', *ODNB* (published 23 September 2004, version 25 May 2006), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/17307

Hamer, E., 'George Spencer [Ignatius of St Paul] (1799-1864), Roman Catholic priest', *ODNB* (published 23 September 2024, version, 21 May 2009), Spencer, George [name in religion Ignatius of St Paul] (1799–1864), Roman Catholic priest | Oxford Dictionary of National Biography

Howe, A.C., 'Villiers, Charles Pelham (1802-1898), politician', *ODNB* (published 23 September 2023, version 8 October 2009), https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-28286

Jones, G.H. and V., 'Campbell, John, first Baron Campbell of St Andrews (1779–1861), Lord Chancellor', *ODNB* (published 23 September 2004, version 3 January 2008), https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-4521

Jones, H.S., 'Halévy, Elie (1870-1937), historian and philosopher', *ODNB* (23 September 2004),

https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-56014

Mandler, P. ‘Chadwick, Sir Edwin (1800-1890), social reformer and civil servant’, *ODNB* (published 23 September 2004, version 3 January 2008), Chadwick, Sir Edwin (1800–1890), social reformer and civil servant | Oxford Dictionary of National Biography

Martin, P.W., 'Carlile, Richard (1790-1843), radical publisher and writer', *ODNB* (published 23 September 2004, version 11 May 2023), https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-4685

Norgate, G. Le G., revised by Matthew, H.C.G., ‘Lyttelton, William Henry, third Baron Lyttelton and third Baron Westcote (1782-1837), politician’, *ODNB* (23 September 2004), Lyttelton, William Henry, third Baron Lyttelton and third Baron Westcote (1782–1837), politician | Oxford Dictionary of National Biography

Prest, J., ‘Peel, Sir Robert, second baronet (1788–1850), Prime Minister’, *ODNB* (published 23 September 2004, version 21 May 2009), Peel, Sir Robert, second baronet (1788–1850), prime minister | Oxford Dictionary of National Biography

Rubinstein, W.D., 'Northcote, Stafford Henry, first earl of Iddesleigh, (1818–1887), politician', *ODNB* (published 23 September 2004, version 21 May 2009), https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-20328

Schofield, R.E., ‘Priestley, Joseph (1733–1804), theologian and natural philosopher’, *ODNB* (published 23 September 2004, version 3 October 2013), https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-22788

Skidmore, G., ‘Phillips [née Payton], Catherine (1727-1794), Quaker minister and writer’, *ODNB* (23 September 2004), https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-22145

Surtees, V., ‘Lyttelton (née Spencer), Sarah, Lady Lyttelton (1787-1870), courtier’, *ODNB* (published 23 September 2004, version 28 September 2006), Lyttelton [née Spencer], Sarah, Lady Lyttelton (1787–1870), courtier | Oxford Dictionary of National Biography

Thomas, S., ‘Edmonds, George (1788-1868), radical and philologist’, *ODNB* (3 October 2013), https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-74226

Ward, W.R., ‘Bunting, Jabez (1779-1858), Wesleyan Methodist minister’, *ODNB* (published 23 September 2004, version 4 October 2007), Bunting, Jabez (1779–1858), Wesleyan Methodist minister | Oxford Dictionary of National Biography

Webb, R.K. ‘Wallace, Robert (1791–1850), Unitarian minister and biographer’, *ODNB* (published 24 September 2004, version 3 January 2008), https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-28540

Wolffe, J., ‘Murphy, William (1834-1872), public lecturer’, *ODNB* (published 23 September 2004, version, 3 January 2008), Murphy, William (1834–1872), public lecturer | Oxford Dictionary of National Biography

Other online sources

The Centenary History of Ebenezer Chapel, Station Road, Old Hill: History of the Chapel - Ebenezer Baptist Chapel (ebenezeroldhill.org.uk)

Davies, J., *A large family of small shopkeepers: the Wood family of Dudley in the middle decades of the nineteenth century* (conference blog, 2019), 2019 Conference blogs – A large family of small shopkeepers | RetailHistory (wordpress.com)

Frank, D., ‘Smith, Richard,’ *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Vol. 9 (University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003), Biography – SMITH, RICHARD – Volume IX (1861-1870) – Dictionary of Canadian Biography (biographi.ca)

History of Parliament online:
WARD, John (1704-74), of Sedgley Park, Staffs. | History of Parliament Online

Navickas, K., ‘“Why I am tired of turning”: a theoretical interlude’, *History Working Papers Project* (December 2011), archived at: https://wayback.archive-it.org/14458/20200715141646/http://www.historyworkingpapers.org/?page_id=225

Oxford English Dictionary:
politics, n. meanings, etymology and more | Oxford English Dictionary (oed.com)

Turnpike Roads in England and Wales:
Turnpike roads in England and tollhouses

Puke Ariki:
Wallace Place (pukeariki.com)

Personal Communications

Dyer, C., ‘*Midland History*, vol 1, no 1 (1971). Was it a good idea?’ Keynote address to New Voices in Midlands History Conference, University of Birmingham, 11 June 2022 and subsequent email correspondence with the author, 20 November 2022.

Raybould, T.J., Email correspondence with the author, 10 May 2013.

Roberts, S., Email correspondence between the author and Stephen Roberts, 22 April 2016.