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Radical “Citizens of the World” 1790-1795: Henry Redhead Yorke, a case study.

“A man feels an energy about him when embarked on a just cause ... that which enables a man to kindle in the common blaze of liberty, and impels him in a time of danger ... to be foremost.” Henry Redhead Yorke¹

As is well-established, the term “radicalism” was not a contemporary term used to describe the English reform movement of the 1790s; it was not adopted in this usage until the 1820s.² Radicals tended to describe themselves as “reformers” and the government and loyalists denigrated them as “Jacobins”. Thereafter “radicalism” has been liberally applied retrospectively to construct a collective English political movement oppositional to loyalism.³ E. P. Thompson and other socialist and Marxist historians sought to recover a radical tradition in the English past. In terms of politicization this grand narrative identified a primarily working-class movement with a shared working-class consciousness.⁴ Such narratives were then challenged, notably, by the “linguistic turn” and by the inclusion of the English middle class in radicalism.⁵ Another challenge came from those who argued that the ideology of English radicalism was fragmented and diverse with radicals experimenting with ideas old and new including those from America and France.⁶ The shift towards a focus on political culture has broadened the scope for understanding and interpreting radicalism in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.⁷ Yet, for the most part, historians have retained the “Englishness” of the radical movement, perceiving it as a movement focused upon a challenge to the Westminster Parliament and organized among Britons predominately in towns and cities within the British Isles.⁸

It is clear however that British radicalism was no more an entirely English affair, than the French Revolution remained within the boundaries of France.⁹ C.L.R. James, Laurent

Dubois and others have shown that French Revolutionary ideology reached far beyond the shores of France and triggered revolution among the maroons and slaves in the French colonies.¹⁰ Indeed, the revolution in Saint-Domingue became a revolt against slavery, and in 1794 Paris declared the slaves in all French colonies were to be citizens of the French Republic. These connected events suggest that ideas about the rights of man could be universal and that radical action spread globally within empires and between races.¹¹ Suzanne Desan has recently argued that French revolutionaries “drew legitimacy and vital energy” from the presence, ideas, and participation of foreigners.¹² Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker, similarly, highlighted the role of forgotten radicals of the “Revolutionary Atlantic” those people from below, sailors, slaves, commoners; a multi-ethnic class who travelled the Atlantic but engaged with political ideas. Linebaugh and Rediker argued that “what was most vigorous in the debate did not come from any single national experience, English or otherwise.”¹³ Other men from the Atlantic periphery also engaged with political reform and/or the abolition movement in Britain, such as Oloudah Equiano, Quobna Ottobah Cugoana, Joseph Gerrald, Robert Wedderburn and William Davidson. Henry Redhead Yorke represents such a radical from the West Indies, but, as a gentleman, he was from “above” rather than below and more embedded in English society than Linebaugh and Rediker’s Atlantic radicals or emancipated slaves.

Moreover, recently the radical movement has been considered in terms of exclusion rather than inclusion. Mark Philp has argued that the radical movement of the 1790s was not formulated primarily in terms of class, or class consciousness, but comprised a motley collection of those who felt dissatisfaction with the established order and challenged the status quo. In theory it was a movement that incorporated all those who for one reason or another felt excluded from society or politics: a diverse group including the disenfranchised, the poor, religious minorities or those excluded on the grounds of race, gender and so on.

Some of these excluded came together within radical societies and meetings and developed a shared agenda for reform. Philp questioned whether what in fact marks out British radicalism is “outsider status.”¹⁴ In the same volume, Conal Condren then concluded that such alienated radicalism reflects a “condition of frustrated exclusion,” which may produce “extreme reactions to a given set of circumstances.”¹⁵ On this interpretation, radicalism can be marked out in terms of identity, exclusion and outsider status and incorporate those from beyond the geographical boundaries of England or the British Isles. Furthermore, in terms of politicization it is important to consider radicals as individuals rather than merely as part of a homogenous movement. It is claimed here that such alienated radicals could be found in particular in Paris in 1792 claiming the status of “citizens of the world” and in Britain as “gentleman leaders on the outside platform”.¹⁶ Yorke was one such radical fulfilling both these roles and expounding extreme revolutionary views, but also manifesting a certain alienation that reflected his excluded status and complex identity.¹⁷

Identity is generally classified by historians in terms such as class, gender, politics, nation, and race; a series of overlapping categories and/or conflicting differences or exclusions which render identity complex and volatile.¹⁸ As an immigrant from a British colony, Yorke would legally have been “British.” Yet, the current historiography of identities in the eighteenth century tends to highlight the growing concept of an English national identity and the “otherness” of people from the colonies and those of a different race and colour.¹⁹ The disruption of the American and French Revolutions, expansion of the empire, and the growth of the abolition movement in Britain, all contributed to the shift in the way Britons saw themselves and others, particularly colonial peoples, and concepts of national identity were hardening. There is little direct evidence as to Yorke’s own view of his identity, no diaries, memoirs or personal correspondence have been unearthed, although in 1802 he revisited France and in 1804 published his Letters from France, a travelogue which provides

some insight into earlier activities and his character and views, albeit with hindsight.²⁰ As is commonly the case for people on the fringes of society the evidence is incomplete but fragments can be inferred from the uncertainties and absences, and gaps may be filled by other less personal sources.²¹

A number of historians have briefly referred to Yorke within general discussions of 1790s radicalism and have identified him as a revolutionary radical within the English radical movement who recanted his views. But his origins and ethnicity have not been explored and this article provides new evidence as to his racial make-up.²² Yorke embodies an appropriate case study here because he represents a British radical gentleman, but from the colonial periphery whose politicization can be linked to exclusion in terms of race rather than class or wealth. In terms of the geography of politics, it is argued that Yorke and others extended the traditional concept of the “citizen of the world” both ideologically and spatially beyond European boundaries to incorporate the colonies. In terms of his ideological position Yorke shifted from Whig to radicalism to loyalist Tory and from a pro-slavery stance to one pro-abolition. It is suggested here that this frequent recanting reflects his excluded status and both a desire to evade the pervading national identity but also a desire for “belonging” in the place he made his home. The politicization and identity of such citizens of the world sheds light on the conundrum of the nature of British radicalism itself and the apparent conflict between universalist and constitutionalist ideologies. The case study functions here as a vehicle for exploring these themes anew, to consider radicalism within broader geographical and conceptual frameworks. This study focuses on Yorke’s radical years in the early 1790s. The first step will be to consider Yorke’s background and personal history. Secondly themes of contemporary attitudes to race and identity will be examined and thirdly politicisation and recanting.

I - Yorke’s Background

Historians have unearthed little information about Yorke's background and there are some inaccuracies in the interpretations.²³ Yorke's father was Samuel Redhead, from Antigua, who acted as an attorney (or agent) for the landowning Codrington family and managed the island of Barbuda which they leased. He also purchased sugar plantations of his own. Redhead was of English origin and one of the sixty-five leading Gentry families on the island.²⁴ He had five legitimate children and Yorke was the younger of two recognized, illegitimate sons and born on Barbuda an island off Antigua in 1772.²⁵ Until now Yorke's racial make-up has been unknown but the present research has found evidence that his mother, Sarah Bullock, was a slave. Robson Lowe published in 1951 The Codrington Correspondence, 1734-1851, "being a study of a recently discovered dossier of letters from the West Indian Islands of Antigua and Barbuda mostly addressed to the Codringtons of Dodington." This book, primarily focused upon the history of the postal service, includes a short section on the correspondence of Samuel Redhead 1754-79, written in Antigua and addressed to Sir William Codrington. One such letter dated August 1771, Lowe précis as "Redhead wants to purchase the freedom of a female slave in Barbuda who has borne him a son."²⁶ This son was Yorke's older brother Joseph Redhead. In his will Samuel Redhead described Joseph and Henry as "my natural or reputed sons by Sarah Bullock ... who resides with me".²⁷

Redhead never married Sarah Bullock, but it appears they lived together until his death. Yorke was, then, of mixed race and a Creole. A mezzotint of Yorke produced by James Ward and dated 1796, displays him wearing a powdered wig and with features and a dark skin tone that suggest a contemporary representation of a Creole of mixed race.²⁸ It is notable that Yorke did not allude directly to his racial origins in any of his writings.²⁹ In the one comment unearthed from Yorke on the subject he claimed he was from Barbuda but came to England in 1778 to begin his education at a school in Cambridge.³⁰ This reflects the

custom for those who identified themselves as English gentry in the West Indies, of sending their children “home” to be educated.³¹ He then obtained an LLB at Cambridge University and was admitted to the Inner Temple in 1790, but clearly delayed his legal career for radicalism.³² Yorke’s father having spent most of his life in Antigua retired to England and died in London in 1785 leaving the bulk of his estate to his legitimate eldest son George, Redhead left Yorke £500 and property in St. John’s Antigua.³³ Yorke maintained a life of independence in England and assumed the rank of gentleman. Thus it seems Yorke started his life following the conventional path of the English colonial gentry.

One unresolved mystery is Yorke’s change of name. On coming of age in 1792 Yorke rejected his family name of Redhead and adopted the name Yorke.³⁴ There is no evidence of his reason for doing so but it does suggest a desire to change his identity and distance himself from his father. It appears that the name change was never legally completed and that is probably how he came to be known as Redhead Yorke.

Little is known of Yorke’s political life before 1792 but the evidence suggests a conservative position and allegiance to the Whigs, he later declared himself a member of the Whig Club.³⁵ One uncorroborated contemporary report suggests he was a protégé of Edmund Burke and “an ardent aristocrat” at the beginning of the French Revolution.³⁶ Yorke first engaged with the English radical movement in 1792 when he joined the Derby Society for Political Information. In the same year he was sent by that Society as a delegate to the French National Convention in Paris. He joined the group of British enthusiasts for the French Revolution who gathered in Paris in 1792, known as the “British Club.”³⁷ The evidence suggests that Yorke attended the Convention and sittings of the Constituent Assembly, and heard there figures such as Danton, Marat, and Brissot and also attended the trial of “Louis Capet”. Yorke was allied to the more extreme radical members of the British Club including Paine, John Frost, John Oswald and Robert Merry.³⁸ Paine was by this time an elected

member of the National Convention while Oswald was in the Paris Jacobin Club and the citizen army. The Club celebrated the spread of the Revolution and promoted its principles.³⁹ Yorke's travelling companion from Derby Dr William Brooks Johnson lodged with Paine in the Faubourg St.-Denis and it appears that Yorke also did so for a fortnight before returning to Britain. Nevertheless in early 1793 Yorke and Johnson stood out from the majority of the British Club and voted against their proposal to promote a French invasion of Britain. Yorke then seceded from the Club and was condemned by fellow members. He was denounced as an English spy to the French authorities and a warrant was issued for his arrest.⁴⁰ There is no evidence to suggest that he was a British spy in Paris.

Yorke fled back to England where he became well-known as an itinerant speaker, associated with a number of popular societies around the country. He wrote three radical pamphlets, published in England.⁴¹ He was linked to the Society for Constitutional Information, the Manchester Constitutional Society and the London Corresponding Society (LCS) but was most closely associated with the large Sheffield Society for Constitutional Information, one of the most plebeian and openly radical societies of the time. When in Sheffield Yorke lodged with the radical proprietor of the Sheffield Register Joseph Gales. After giving an inflammatory speech at an outdoor meeting at Castle Hill in Sheffield in April 1794, before an audience of up to 12,000, Yorke was arrested and imprisoned to await trial. Yorke was identified as a Jacobin and an extreme radical by the government in his indictment for high treason.⁴² Yorke was also repeatedly implicated in accusations of arming for insurrection during the Treason Trials of other radicals during 1794.⁴³ At his own trial evidence was given by government spies who had linked him to training in use of weapons by Sheffield radicals. The Second report of the Committee of Secrecy to the House of Commons declared that Yorke had urged the people of Sheffield to take arms and manufacture pikes, as used in France, to march on London and that pikes were then made at

Sheffield under his orders and sold for 10d a-piece.⁴⁴ This was, however, never proved at his trial. Nevertheless, Yorke was convicted of seditious conspiracy and sentenced to two years imprisonment in Dorchester jail.

In 1798 Yorke recanted his radicalism and married his prison warden's daughter. He wrote much in the political press, ranting against France and Napoleon Bonaparte, and has been dubbed a "xenophobic ultra-loyalist" for such writings.⁴⁵ There is evidence that he was paid by the government for loyalist writings.⁴⁶ Yorke was finally called to the bar at Inner Temple in November 1811 but died in 1813.⁴⁷ The *Gentleman's Magazine* carried two notices of his death; one in 1793 gallantly on the battlefield fighting for the French revolutionaries and the other in 1813 at the age of 41, as a respected man of letters. This mistake is rather apposite for it inadvertently reflects the two dominant aspects of Yorke's identity and also his changeability.

II - Race and Identity

In order to better understand Yorke's politicization it is necessary to place it within the context of ideas about race and identity in eighteenth-century Britain. How Yorke was received in late eighteenth-century English society as a gentleman but also the illegitimate son of a West Indian plantation owner of mixed race requires some exploration. Of course we can assume he kept his illegitimacy under wraps, it is certainly not mentioned in any texts viewed here. The existence of racism in eighteenth-century society is much debated among historians, complicated by the fact that the concept was not one familiar to contemporaries. There was no legal category of citizenship in Britain at the time and a number of historians have argued from what has been called the "big tent position." That is, the category of "Briton" was sufficiently undefined to allow a loose inclusiveness around the margins and black people could and did live reasonably comfortably within British society. Others have shown that eighteenth century society was acutely aware of racial difference and that what

would now be termed racism was common.⁴⁸ This suggests that that on the ground attitudes to those of a different race and colour were inconsistent and circumstantial.

On the face of it the evidence suggests that Yorke viewed his identity collectively through external factors such as, political allegiance and social position as was common at the time.⁴⁹ Yet, as the burgeoning historiography on identity reveals, such a view was becoming increasingly difficult to sustain as society's reaction to issues of ethnicity and nationality hardened during the later eighteenth century.⁵⁰ A system of British imperial dominance was put in place and a sense of nationhood was constructed on the basis of difference.⁵¹ National belonging was "kept within strict territorial, cultural, and increasingly, racial boundaries."⁵² Being English reflected a domestic national identity and British more loosely an imperial one; the former taking priority over the latter. Indeed, race and class formed important "axes of European social hierarchy" which extended to the colonies. To be "English" one had to be white, Christian and "free from all taint of the Negro race."⁵³ But, to be West Indian meant being both colonizers and colonized, included and excluded, being "one kind of inside/outside" to Britain.⁵⁴ Their "hybrid class status" created difficulties in "demarkating the colonial from the metropolitan and resulted in the racialization of whiteness."⁵⁵ Indeed, not only black slaves but also white West Indian planters were at the center of discourses on the abolition of slavery. The "problem of slavery" could be resolved by disowning and repudiating those "un-British" West Indian planters - and "displacing the spaces of slavery" to the colonial periphery.⁵⁶

Yet, members of the West Indian planter class had always considered themselves as loyal subjects of the empire.⁵⁷ They associated themselves primarily with the metropole and viewed their residence in the West Indies as temporary. Many, probably including Samuel Redhead, travelled to the West Indies initially as adventurers aiming to make money and then return home. Many wealthier English plantation owners functioned as absentee landowners

often sending out young sons or hiring managers, like Redhead, to manage their plantations. Most viewed the West Indies as an inhospitable place that they longed to exchange for the tranquility of England.⁵⁸ Edward Codrington wrote home from Antigua in 1775 that he hated the heat of the West Indies and “I as much long for the time of my return, as a Schoolboy does for the Holidays.”⁵⁹ Many retired to England, as did Samuel Redhead when Yorke was still a young boy. Yorke had been educated in the English Enlightenment tradition and presumably in metropolitan manners and mores. Indeed, embedding Yorke in English society and culture from the age of six was clearly intended to render him “English.” But the literature suggests that this was increasingly difficult to achieve. Edward Long exposed the practice of planters sending their illegitimate mixed-race children to schools in England and hoping that their antecedence could be buried under a veneer of Englishness. They assumed that “the bronze of their complexion” would be “ignorantly ascribed to the fervor of the sun in the torrid zone.”⁶⁰ Moreover, Planters returning to England with an entourage of slaves and mulattos found that they were derided as “Nabobs” and treated with contempt.⁶¹ The source of their wealth was frowned upon particularly by the growing abolition movement. From 1791 abolitionists promoted a popular abstention from West Indian sugar.⁶² West Indian planters were also frequently mocked for their social pretensions in the press, novels and plays and fears about racial intermingling were also expressed.⁶³ Long and others also identified Creoles as having their own “national character” incorporating extravagance, promiscuity, idleness and lethargy.⁶⁴ Their behavior in business and society did not match the high moral standards expected of a gentry class and was tainted by their inappropriate associations with the Negroes on their plantations. The reckless and extravagant behavior of Creole landowners resulted in their failure to secure and improve their patrimony and hence family fortunes dwindled.⁶⁵ Samuel Redhead allegedly engaged in much sexual association with negro women particularly on Barbuda and the evidence suggests that Yorke and his

brother were far from his only illegitimate children.⁶⁶ The family patrimony was also dwindling after Samuel Redhead's retirement and the estate fell into heavy debt.⁶⁷ Thus Yorke's family background appears to fit the contemporary derisory profile of West Indian planters to an uncanny degree. David Lambert has noted that such attacks left West Indian planters on the defensive and feeling "themselves to be an increasingly beleaguered group" and it is unlikely that Yorke escaped such feelings.⁶⁸

On the basis of this evidence it seems that Yorke was British in the imperial sense rather than as an Englishman. His roots were on the fringes of national belonging at a time when the English were resistant to incorporating their colonial members in the nation. For Yorke class, race and nationality would have reflected conflicting aspects to his identity. His Gentry status was tainted by illegitimacy, mixed race and a denigrated Creole planter background. He was identified as a gentleman by contemporaries and in his indictment for treason and the report of his trial.⁶⁹ Yet the evidence suggests that his contemporaries did not see him entirely as an English gentleman for he was also identified variously as a mulatto, a Creole, a quadroon, or a half-caste. Clearly, then, he was seen as racially "different". James Montgomery a journeyman printer in Joseph Gales' newspaper office in Sheffield remembered Yorke in his Memoirs: "He called himself Yorke, but always said he was the son of a plantation agent, ... of the name of Redhead at Barbuda, ... He was, if not a mulatto, a quadroon."⁷⁰ Reports of his trial in the press described Yorke as, for example, a "Creolian by birth, a man of some property in the West Indies" and a "Mulatto".⁷¹ Uncertainty about Yorke's name, his ethnicity and his place of abode were all expressed at his trial. In Howell's State Trials Yorke's trial is entitled "Trial of Henry Redhead, alias Henry Yorke," the "alias" suggesting uncertainty as to who he was.⁷² Evidence given also suggested a shadowy figure, floating from one radical society to another, but never quite belonging anywhere. In the original indictment he is a "gentleman" late of Manchester and in the report of his trial it is

“late of Sheffield.” No permanent address was given for Yorke he seemed to be perennially of no fixed abode. Yorke did not himself link his politicization to issues of identity. Yet his behavior and writings can be associated with a complex identity and particularly with a sense of exclusio and “outsider status”.

III - Politicization

In terms of politicization the first cause with which Yorke became engaged was the abolition of slavery. His first known pamphlet, published in 1791, was written in support of the slave trade. The addressee of this pamphlet, Bache Heathcote, was a member of the Derbyshire gentry.⁷³ In this pamphlet Yorke dismissed the petitions for the abolition of the trade claiming that “under our present circumstances, the immediate abolition would cause the ruin of our colonies.” The West Indians were “firm patriots,” and the abolitionists who had crossed the Atlantic to the West Indies were “base and bold usurpers of the public authority” who intended to “to corrupt the innocence of our plantations, to call the negro from agriculture and peace, to uproar and rebellion.”⁷⁴

Yorke provided conventional contemporary arguments for retaining the slave trade commonly promoted by planters. He described a colonial identity and suggested familiarity with the West Indies and plantation life. He declared that he had “often observed” the slaves before the house of the planter, revelling “to the sound of the Banja and the Pipe.”⁷⁵ He commented that in the “Torrid Zone” slaves were ravaged by contagious diseases that were accelerated by the climate and the waywardness of the negroes themselves. This meant that they did not pass on healthy dispositions to their children. Indeed, “they are of so extremely warm a constitution in those countries, that when a woman takes into her head to gratify her passion, she will not hesitate with a man whose body is full of running sores.” Diseases are then passed on to the children who are born “emasculated, pitiful objects” ... “I have known of an estate, 250 slaves out of 300 under the care of the doctor and incapable of performing

any work.”⁷⁶ Here and elsewhere in the text Yorke registered the Negro in terms of “difference” and himself as the colonizer, as British and superior, representative of white civilization.⁷⁷ Reflecting Long’s comments on the danger to British colonizers of female negro promiscuity Yorke singled out negro women as recklessly and rapaciously sexually active and here Yorke conflated race and gender as “other.”⁷⁸ Thus it seems that Yorke was engaged in what Wilson has termed, a “performance of Englishness” attempting to distance himself from “indigenous savagery.”⁷⁹

Yet, in 1792 Yorke recanted his former conservative views in terms of both politics and slavery. Yorke claimed that it was in Paris he fell “madly in love with Ideal Liberty.”⁸⁰ Winifred Gales wrote that in “Paris during the sitting of the Jacobin Club” Yorke was “carried away by the specious program of that infamous body ... flung aside his conservative principles, becoming a sudden proselyte and flaming stickler for the rights of man.”⁸¹ Here he came across French views of slavery. The Societe des Amis des Noirs, founded by Brissot, had from the calling of the Estates General in 1789 seen the French Revolution as an opportunity to further the abolitionist cause and the call for universal rights.⁸² French radicals were much exercised by the slave insurrection in Saint-Domingue and by the time Yorke reached France the National Assembly had already declared that equality of political rights should be enjoyed by the homes de couleur and the negres libres as well as the white colons.⁸³ Paine has been linked to the Brissotins and was instrumental in placing a paragraph written by Yorke’s friend, Brookes Johnson, in Brissot’s Patriote Francais.⁸⁴

It is likely, then, that Yorke’s presence in Paris further developed his views which came to reflect French and Brissotin, rather more than English, ideas on abolition. Yorke’s first radical pamphlet Reason Urged against Precedent, published in London in 1793, (but a pamphlet it appears he wrote in part in France⁸⁵), appears to be the refutation of his Letter to Bache Heathcote. Here he expressed his new radical conviction and performed a complete

volt face in his views on slavery. He lamented “I have injured the wretched Negro, by formerly denying him his rights.” He claimed that he now thought “we should be richer and happier without any Colonies” and that it was not just the slave trade that should be abolished but “SLAVERY itself.” He hoped that emancipation would persuade rehabilitated slaves to return to Africa and arouse their fellow Africans “to a sense of their rights” and then “to co-operate with Europeans in breaking their chains over the heads of their tyrants, and to participate in the approaching happy system of equal and universal liberty.”⁸⁶ Thus, by incorporating slaves into calls for universal freedom Yorke extended radicalism beyond European national geographical boundaries to incorporate the colonial periphery. But at the same time Yorke appears to be evading or denying his own colonial identity. There is no mention of his ethnicity or antecedence in this pamphlet and also absent is the familiarity with slavery expressed in the pro-slavery pamphlet.

Moreover, in Paris Yorke took on a new identity as a “citizen of the world”. Such citizens of the world or “cosmopolities” reflected the Enlightenment cosmopolitanism that had centered in Paris throughout the century and continued and developed among the foreigners who flocked there in the 1790s, such as members of the British Club. The intellectual focus and aims of such cosmopolities were not on the national scale but embraced mankind as a whole and they shared ideas and hopes for a new future, promoting universal rights and freedom for all mankind.⁸⁷ In 1792 the National Convention was dubbed “a congress of the whole world” and on 26 August the Legislative Assembly had awarded French citizenship to eighteen such citizens of the world, including Thomas Paine, Joseph Priestley and William Wilberforce, as a gesture of the Revolution’s cosmopolitan goals. Such men were invited to “defend the cause of the human race against tyrants and their slaves”. At the same time the Assembly decreed the nation’s cosmopolitan “renunciation of all conquest and its desire to fraternize with all peoples” and that the National Convention

would set “the destiny of France, and perhaps that of the whole human race”. Thus the French revolutionaries appropriated and politicized cosmopolitanism in the development of a universalist ideology and the ideal of a regenerative republic. Such universalism was not, built on rights ideology alone but also by encompassing “foreign peoples and projects” into the new republic.⁸⁸

Presented with such a direct appeal to foreigners to join the revolutionary project it is unsurprising that Yorke became a citizen of the world. Moreover, as Dror Wahrman has argued, by adopting such a persona, citizens of the world could successfully evade the increasingly entrenched individual national identity of their home country. They abandoned national belonging for a universal humanity.⁸⁹ Such men adopted French universalist ideas championing a “world of revolutions” and universal human rights which they claimed could not be contained within political frontiers. This was a clear “international act” that defied the long-established European system of dynastic monarchical “geopolitics” within which national identities were being forged.⁹⁰ Moreover, Sophia Rosenfield has noted that as a citizen of the world it was possible to find a role on the political stage but to speak from no place or position as “a citizen of nowhere in particular”. This “fungible individuality” enabled such cosmopolitans to avoid the general focus on social position, family name and increasingly national identity, and to imagine a sort of “global citizenship.” Indeed she argued, “one can situate oneself cosmopolitically in multiple ways simply by manipulating that basic identifier that is one’s name.”⁹¹ Perhaps Yorke’s attempt to change his name was a way of re-situating himself and by joining the citizens of the world in Paris Yorke could evade his outsider status, both personally and geographically. And the same can perhaps be said of others excluded from national identity such as Thomas Paine outlawed in Britain; Joel Barlow an American; Irish nationalists the Sheares brothers, and John Oswald a much-travelled Scot who arrived in Paris via India and Turkey and fought in the French

revolutionary army.⁹² As Desan has suggested, such men represented revolution already “on the march”⁹³ and Yorke brought his new identity and ideology with him on his return to England in 1793.

Certainly, Yorke’s writings published in London reveal his adoption of the French universalist ideology and similarities to Paine’s writings. In Reason Urged, he declared, that he was taking up “the great cause of public Freedom”, found himself “interested in the happiness of my fellow creatures” and had visited Paris to pay “personal homage to the enlightened and regenerated REPUBLIC.”⁹⁴ Yorke promoted reason, justice, fraternity and equality, calling for “universal emancipation” of the oppressed and “the universal happiness of the world.” He called on his “brethren, to pay tribute ... to those gallant and undaunted citizens of France” who “contended not for France alone, but the whole human race.” Yorke declared, “throughout every nation of the earth, let the oppressed awaken from their drunken sleep, let the African, the Asiatic, the European, burst asunder their chains and raise a pious war against tyranny.” In tune with French universalism Yorke termed European monarchs “tyrants” and “despots” and declared; “WAR has ever been the wretched policy of courts, to uphold their government” and “During all ages” dynastic power politics have destroyed the world, “the woeful chronicle of human miseries is filled up with the narrative of the quarrels of Kings, Priests, Nobles, and prostitutes”.⁹⁵

Historians have identified something of a cosmopolitan ideology in England, as well as France, during the years 1790-2, but on a smaller scale. Linebaugh and Rediker have noted that the interaction between such individuals as Olaudah Equiano, Thomas Hardy, William Blake, and the dissemination of works such as Volney’s Ruins in translation to the LCS, resulted in the spread of “egalitarian, multi-ethnic conceptions of humanity.”⁹⁶ The LCS and other radical Societies had promoted an anti-slavery agenda. Calls for religious toleration, parliamentary reform and abolition could sometimes be found in one radical pamphlet. James

Walvin and Richard Huzzey have argued for a considerable interaction between the abolition movement and English radicalism particularly in terms of ideology.⁹⁷ Yet, it seems that the cosmopolitan ideology that linked political radicalism with abolition of slavery in Britain had largely disappeared by 1793 and societies no longer incorporated those outside Britain in their calls for reform.⁹⁸ Certainly, on Yorke's return English radicalism was increasingly embracing an Anglo-focused constitutionalism that functioned within the English constitutional structure and the law.⁹⁹ Reform of the British government and enfranchisement for people in Britain became the dominant stated aims. Indeed "universal suffrage" invariably meant male suffrage to vote for representatives in the Westminster Parliament and those in the colonies, along with women, were implicitly excluded. Thus, at a time when the French were accepting the slaves in all their colonies as French citizens, most English radicals were closing the door on such possibilities. It seems then that a form of recanting had already begun in England which rendered it not an entirely appropriate political home for a citizen of the world such as Yorke.

Nevertheless, in his writings Yorke continued to invoke a cosmopolitan or universalist ideology but at the same time he promoted constitutional reform in Britain. This resulted in something of discordance and it is not always entirely clear what he meant. In his second and third radical pamphlets published in 1793 and 1794, Yorke included non-English peoples in his universalist rhetoric.¹⁰⁰ In These are the Times that Try Men's Souls!, for example, he declared; "Man is everywhere the same ... the vast majority of the people are excluded from their lawful rights" but they should be encouraged to "DEMAND THEIR RIGHTS; and to assert triumphantly the empire of Peace and Happiness."¹⁰¹ And Thoughts on Civil Government commenced with "despotism is an agony ... Hear ye not, the toxin of Freedom ringing through the world" and the "millions of living beings preparing to take terrible vengeance on their Oppressors."¹⁰² In these pamphlets Yorke ranted against despots and

tyrants, aristocracy and kings, corporations and factions, corruption in, and inadequacy of, the established institutions; government, the judiciary and the Church in England but also more loosely in Europe.¹⁰³ In one example, he declared that “UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE” is the “Right of the People” but here he traced such rights back to the English King Alfred.¹⁰⁴

Yorke also had a tendency to digress at length into theoretical and constitutionalist discussions of law and history. In his third reform pamphlet, in among the extensive universalist rhetoric, he promoted in Britain: a system of national education; religious toleration; sovereignty of the people; universal suffrage; meritocracy in government; a fairer representation and annual parliaments. Ultimately, though, Yorke declared that it was up to:

“the governors to choose whether the aged and monstrous colossal pile of feudality, shall be peacefully taken to pieces by the skilful hand of the reforming workman, or tumbled into a heap of ruins by the wild and naked fury of the people. They will have to decide, whether the sun of despotism shall go down into the calm waters of oblivion, or set in blood and horror”.¹⁰⁵

The only printed version of Yorke’s speeches available is the speech given at Castle Hill Sheffield although this states that it does not record the whole speech.¹⁰⁶ In this speech, of more than an hour, he allegedly spent some time discussing the constitution and the need for parliamentary reform. Yorke went on to warn that if reform could not remedy the nation’s ills due to the corruption and failure of government then history “teaches the suffering Nations of the present day, in what manner to prepare their combustible ingredients and ... in what manner to enkindle them, so as to produce with effect that grand political explosion” that “buries despotism.” He then went on to state that in Britain first there must be a “revolution of sentiment ... the People must grow wise, in order that the people may rule” and when this is achieved “then the commanding voice of the whole people shall recommend the Five Hundred and Fifty-eight Gentlemen in St. Stephen’s Chapel, to go about their

business.”¹⁰⁷ At Yorke’s trial, such provocative sections of the speech were read to the court by the prosecution and, despite his call for a “revolution of sentiment”, were taken to mean that radicals intended to abolish the House of Commons, by force if necessary.

A petition to be presented to the king calling for “total and unqualified emancipation of the Negro slaves” was also read out by Yorke at the Castle Hill meeting. Here he declared: “JUSTICE is eternal, unconfined by time, person, circumstances or place” and called for the abolition of “Negro slavery in the West Indies, “in the fullest manner, and without any qualification.” Abolition would extend “the Brotherhood of the Human Race” and establish “on their purest principles, the Claims of Justice and the Rights of Man.”¹⁰⁸ Here, clearly, political rights were to be extended to slaves and Yorke was putting forward a more radical agenda than most of his contemporaries at that time.¹⁰⁹ Yorke also condemned those “unfeeling barbarians, who, unblushingly, call themselves Slave Dealers, West Indian Merchants and Planters” who wished “to prevent the Abolition of the Slave Trade.”¹¹⁰ Again, Yorke appears here to have been denying or rejecting his own background.

Yorke stopped short of directly promoting in his writings a republic or revolution in Britain but he frequently came close.¹¹¹ And ultimately, the juxtaposition of universalism with constitutionalism is not easy to reconcile. In common with other radicals, his writings consisted primarily of an attack on present systems of government but were thin on detailed proposals as to what should replace them. There is some suggestion in his writings that Yorke shared the view of many Englishmen that whilst revolution might be necessary in Europe, it was not in England. This was because England had already experienced revolutions in the seventeenth century and had a constitution that could be traced back to King Alfred and Magna Carta, hence, constitutional reform would be sufficient.¹¹² Here perhaps Yorke’s actions could be identified with something of Epstein and Karr’s “Jacobin performance” that is; “inflecting British tradition with democratic possibilities previewed in France”, while at

the same time retaining an underlying constitutionalism. Pushing at the boundaries of what was possible showing how far one could go in openly expressing revolutionary ideas before coming up against legal sanction. Yet the evidence suggests that Yorke went further than this. His writings were dominated by the universalist rhetoric and ideology with English constitutionalism playing a smaller part. They suggest that Yorke was not merely “playing”, or reflecting a current “mood or temper”, in the manner of such Jacobin performers, or not entirely anyway.¹¹³ Nor, as John Barrell suggested did Yorke just dress “peaceable principles in fighting words.”¹¹⁴ It is clear that Yorke reflected something of Mee’s “revolutionary enthusiasm”, promoting “the possibility of the world being utterly different from its present state”, being made anew in line with universalist ideology.¹¹⁵ But this was his profound hope and in this Yorke’s writings echo Paine’s *Rights of Man*. Yet Yorke did not focus as strongly as Paine on practical reforms aimed at improving the lot of the English working man. Nor, it seems, did he wish to abolish the concepts and boundaries of states altogether in favour of a global brotherhood of the sort Marx was later to envisage. As a citizen of the world but, from a different background to Paine, Yorke had a slightly different agenda that looked to remedy a social as well as political exclusion for him, and those like him, excluded more widely within a global context. In this he displayed genuine universalist ideological commitment but one that was personal to his particular position. Fundamentally, though, he believed strongly in civil society and the rule of law and some form of social hierarchy, where he could be “foremost” and hence constitutionalism was theoretically comfortable for him. In a typical declaration, in his last pamphlet, Yorke roared, “As a CITIZEN, I glory to see the insolent and rapacious dominion of Kings about to be supplanted by the mild rule of Laws That mass of Disfranchised Human Beings ... about to be protected by Equal Laws”. And “They charge us with the desire of overthrowing Government

... whereas, we wish to purge Government of its anarchy, in order that Society may become desirable”.¹¹⁶

Yorke, then, remained a citizen of the world once back in Britain and an exploration of his actions there also contributes to a better understanding of his politicization. On returning to England, having narrowly escaped arrest in France, Yorke expressed unhappiness at his treatment both by the French authorities and by loyalists in England. Yorke complained that he had suffered “hatred and invective” and been ‘so hardly dealt with’ by those who saw his conversion to radicalism “in glaring colours of madness ... as an act of flagrant apostacy and treason” and counter to “notions of honourable conduct”. He lamented, “though I can find neither friendship nor security in any place, I am resolved in despite of Prosecutions, Threats and Bastiles not to flatter my country.”¹¹⁷ Implicit here is a sense of isolation, of not “belonging” within the English political world.

It is not surprising that Yorke then took to the outdoor platform, once again evading conventional politics and national identity. He became well-known as an itinerant speaker associated with radical popular societies around the country. He reportedly arrived in Manchester in 1793 with the “apparatus of a kind of apostolic mission.”¹¹⁸ He was also much feted by fellow radicals for his fiery and passionate speeches. Joseph Gales declared him “one of the finest orators in the kingdom.”¹¹⁹ William Broomhead, a secretary of the Sheffield Society, confirmed that members of the Society considered Yorke “a man of considerable abilities, and as an orator, paid great respect to him.” Indeed, although he was not a settled inhabitant of the town, many attended meetings “principally on the account of Mr. Yorke being in Sheffield.” Clearly, Yorke made an instant impact at popular meetings and Sheffield was an important venue for him. The report of his trial suggests that he arrived at the Castle Hill meeting once the audience was assembled “and when it was known he was there, there was a great noise from the people calling for Mr. Yorke in the chair and the

crowd made an opening for him and he was pressed forward.” After his speech supporters allegedly took the horses from his carriage and dragged it bearing Yorke through the streets of Sheffield.¹²⁰ Thus Yorke’s performance suggests celebrity status as a leader hero that was awarded to such political figures in popular culture at the time.¹²¹ Certainly, Yorke’s performance at Castle Hill in 1794 was his crowning moment as a radical.

Here Yorke represents some similarities with Belchem and Epstein’s nineteenth-century leaders, Henry Hunt and Fergus O’Connor. Such gentleman leaders lived on the edge, outside party politics and tended to reflect the charismatic romantic hero. A gentleman but set-off from his social background, at home on the outdoor reform platform, but otherwise moving outside any local community, devoid of permanent attachments.¹²² Moreover, in common with other such outdoor speakers, Yorke made a claim on public space, using it to exploit the popular enthusiasm and to generate a sense of excitement and imminent confrontation.¹²³ Yorke’s aristocratic flamboyance would have stood out among the plebeian audience at outdoor meetings.

Yorke was described by contemporaries as something of a peripatetic romantic hero, young, handsome, and somewhat “exotic”. Winifred Gales said that Yorke would fascinate all who met him “by his charming manners, wit, and unusual attainments ... while his discussion of the all-absorbing national question ... rendered him a powerful auxiliary in the Reform movement.” Indeed “few men could withstand his eloquent boldness of assertion, flattering prognostication; and ... powerful appeals.”¹²⁴ Montgomery said of Yorke, that he was;

a fiery orator, and ... his style was altogether French. His figure, when he appeared at the Castle Hill meeting, was good, and his dress striking, if not in the best taste – with Hessian boots and a stock of republican plainness; he wore a silk coat and waistcoat of

court fashion; his hair at the same time defying the curt French character by its luxuriant curl – a tendency derived from the sunnier side of his ancestral tree.

And later in the Memoirs Montgomery declared:

This eloquent, restless, and attractive individual ... was personally unknown to Mr. Gales before the winter of 1793, when he presented himself one evening in Sheffield as a patriot; he was about twenty-two years of age, a handsome figure, and so insinuating were his manners, that he contrived not only to domicile himself for a time in the family at Hartshead, but ultimately to obtain the affections of his host's youngest sister, Sarah.¹²⁵

Montgomery provided an intriguing portrait of Yorke as something of an opportunist and a showman, his dress and style suggesting an eclectic identity.¹²⁶ Belchem and Epstein have noted that “Sunday best” was a way of imposing order on the crowd at outdoor meetings. Such dress helped create an “exotic distance” that separated the gentleman leader from his more lowly audience.¹²⁷ It also helped confirm an outdoor speaker's “reputation as a political adventurer.”¹²⁸ Yet in Montgomery's description there is something more, he noted Yorke's ethnicity, his fiery delivery, striking but eclectic dress, his insinuating manners altogether suggesting something perhaps rather exciting and exotic but also dangerous and predatory. He was perhaps marking out racial difference here and suggesting that Yorke was not entirely in tune with Englishness.

Moreover, a number of historians have seen the populist style and constitutionalist ideology of such gentleman leaders reflected in later leaders such as Bright and Gladstone and thus as indicative of continuities between popular radicalism, Liberalism and socialism. Belchem and Epstein have agreed that constitutionalism was the political position promoted by both Chartists and Liberals. They argue, however, that the earlier leaders such as Hunt and O'Connor represented a “more aggressive brand of popular politics.”¹²⁹ In Yorke's case the

concept of the gentleman leader can be traced back into the eighteenth century.¹³⁰ Yet, Yorke too disrupted such continuities with a popular politics that was more raw and radical than that of either the earlier or later reform movements. He promoted universalist revolutionary radicalism that incorporated a broader humanity than the working-class and included an anti-slavery component that Chartist leaders such as Hunt and O'Connor would have denounced.¹³¹

Moreover, in many ways Yorke was more like John Wilkes than the nineteenth century leaders. All were mavericks, but both Yorke and Wilkes manipulated the crowd and exploited public space for their own ends as well as for the cause.¹³² They were showmen who wanted to make their mark not just among their radical followers but in political society more generally. Interestingly, Wilkes was something of an outsider, coming from a plebeian background, and finding his place in the political establishment had proved difficult. It has been suggested that in the case of Hunt and O'Connor the "exotic distance" separating gentleman and popular audience was mediated by their "singular devotion to working people" a certain familiarity, the sense of "a father returning home to his children."¹³³ This was not the case for Yorke, or indeed Wilkes, both of whom fell short of paternal benevolence representing more the reckless romantic adventurer. Yorke's writings and speeches suggest a citizen of the world loftily preaching universal rights of all people rather than for a distinct working class of Englishmen with whom he had little connection. He invoked history and political philosophy that his outdoor audience would not understand interspersed with passionate rhetoric that they would. Yorke was a demagogue as much as a popular orator. Yorke's role on the outdoor platform did not entirely render him a "displaced gentleman" like Hunt and O'Connor, but was rather more a tool by which Yorke could evade a questionable gentlemanly status. He was neither an English gentleman nor an Irish aristocrat, he was something altogether more complex, a citizen of the world in more ways

than one. As perhaps Montgomery spotted, the “exotic difference” that separated Yorke from the crowd was not only one of class but also one of race.

Thus, the gentleman leader and his performance were not always and only informed by the politics he promoted. It is not just where he stood politically as a 1790s revolutionary radical, a Chartist or a Victorian liberal that denoted his public performance and use and occupation of space but also his identity and sense of self. The legitimate public political sphere, was difficult to penetrate for radical leaders and extra parliamentary popular politics and the outside platform offered what historians have classed as “alternative,” “counter,” or “competing,” “plebian” public spheres.¹³⁴ Such contested sites of assembly also provided alternative routes to fame and recognition for those of the displaced and excluded, Condren’s alienated radicals, who sought it. The outdoor platform provided an agency Yorke might otherwise have been denied to promote his role and ideology as a gentlemanly citizen of the world but also to seek inclusion as one from the Atlantic periphery.¹³⁵ Perhaps, then, we can add a “periphery” public sphere to the list of possibilities.

Yorke’s last appearance as a radical gentleman leader was at his trial for seditious conspiracy in 1795.¹³⁶ In the battle that ensued in the court room Yorke placed himself at the centre of proceedings conducting much of the defence himself and giving a robust three hour speech to the jury. Again he was the showman, courting fame and recognition, but here did not retain his hero status gained on the outdoor platform. He positioned himself primarily as an enlightenment-educated English gentleman reformer rather than the Jacobin leader the government portrayed him as. In his speech Yorke professed considerable knowledge of English government, law and history and attempted to legitimise annual parliaments, universal suffrage and free speech within an established and accepted British constitutional past. He remonstrated that he was “an enemy certainly to anarchy and revolutions”, and a staunch and abiding supporter of the English constitution. Indeed, he was a “Reformer” rather

than a “Revolutionist.” On slavery he said little, merely highlighting the failure of the House of Commons to consider abolition.¹³⁷ But Yorke concluded with a burst of characteristic rhetoric:

The political hemisphere is extremely portentous ... the most ancient thrones are now trembling beneath their possessors ... a general wreck of the Gothic policy is taking place, and all the old and venerated governments of the world are passing gradually away ... The great and mighty change of sentiment which is electrifying Europe, hath not passed over this country. Already the minds of the people of England are veering towards the polar star of truth ... already they acknowledge the necessity of a reformed representation as the only means of saving us from ruin.¹³⁸

Thus Yorke’s call for a “reformed representation” again required a dramatic “change” that reflected European events and that was sure to frighten a contemporary jury. Nevertheless, it seems that Yorke’s trial and imprisonment in Britain brought an end to his citizen of the world identity. Amnon Yuval identified Yorke’s trial a “major turning point” in his political development and the cause of his recantation.¹³⁹ Yorke recanted to English loyalism, by means of two pamphlets, claiming that it was the threat from France that had provoked him to do so. He asserted his patriotism, his contrition and refocused his zeal on attacking the French and particularly Napoleon.¹⁴⁰

The issue of recanting among political activists in the eighteenth century has been little explored by historians. They have noted that in such circumstances recanting from a radical to loyalist position, and vice versa, was not uncommon or particularly surprising at a time of flux such as the French Revolution¹⁴¹ Well known recanters include William Wordsworth, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Charles Lamb, Sir James Mackintosh, and William Cobbett. There are clearly both generic reasons for recanting and those specific to Yorke to be considered here. Historians have suggested that many expressed enthusiasm for the

French Revolution and concomitantly for English radicalism in the early years but lost faith as the Revolution turned to violence and terror and Britain went to war with France. During Pitt's reign of Terror (1793-4) radicals were hunted down and persecuted as 'Jacobins' and this resulted in many deserting radicalism or operating underground.¹⁴² F. K. Prochaska and others have noted the heavy-handed tactics of the government and the judiciary in their treatment of radicals.¹⁴³ Increasingly revolutionary radicalism was limited to an extreme fringe of the reform movement with more moderate constitutionalism dominating the mainstream.¹⁴⁴

Yorke, crossed political boundaries between loyalist and radical and back again. He also wrote both for and against slavery calling for political rights for slaves at a time when most radicals and societies were silent on the issue. Nor could his views be identified as moderate, leaning easily towards either side of a political divide. Taking the last recantation first it is clear that, as a victim of Pitt's 'Terror', Yorke experienced the denunciation and harassment by the authorities at first hand. While those indicted for treason during the Treason Trials were acquitted, Yorke, left until last, had his charge changed from high treason to seditious conspiracy for which he was convicted. It is clear that the government would have hung radicals for treason if it could and Yorke's charge was reduced not from leniency but from the fear that a jury would not convict on a charge of high treason which was a capital offence. In the Introduction to his own published report of his trial in 1795 Yorke declared that he had "suffered more than any other man, under every species of obloquy, falsehood and calumny; not satisfied with inveighing against my public character, my private one was also to be assailed" and that he had not "gained one single friend from among the multitude who professed themselves friendly to reform, and having experienced more ill-usage from them than those of the opposite description." He also complained; "it is rather hard that I should now suffer in prison for asserting, ... that the will of the people was

the supreme law, when I saw Earl Fitzwilliam standing as a spectator at my trial, whom I have frequently heard, as President of the Whig Club, of which I am a member, give this toast, “The Majesty of the People.”¹⁴⁵ Clearly, Yorke fell victim to the sort of invasion of his private life by the public state recently identified by John Barrell.¹⁴⁶ He was shaken to the core by this treatment, and was left feeling singled out, isolated, alienated and deserted by his fellow radicals. Unlike other English gentlemen, Yorke’s fragile gentlemanly status had not protected him against ill-treatment. He must also have been aware of how narrowly he had escaped an even worse fate that the full force of the state could have imposed. Consequently, once out of jail, his universalist dreams crushed, Yorke reverted to his preferred identity as the conservative English gentleman, however precarious that might be. Perhaps marrying his jail-keeper’s daughter helped to connect him more closely to Englishness and seek a more conventional path.

IV - Conclusion

So, returning to the starting point of this article, what conclusions can be reached about the politicization of Henry Redhead Yorke as a citizen of the world? The first question here, that is perhaps as pertinent today as in 1792, is; why would a young man, apparently embedded in English society and a gentlemanly Whig milieu turn to radicalism? Yorke claimed that he became a radical because he believed that it was right to join the cause that advocated a new focus on liberty, equality and universal rights beyond national boundaries; a world without hereditary hierarchies and patrician politics. Whilst there is no reason to disbelieve Yorke’s claims the evidence suggests that such politicization was not the result of political conviction alone but also to complex issues of identity. Adopting a citizen of the world persona enabled Yorke to deny or evade contemporary conditions for national identity while at the same time embracing an ideology that he hoped would bring change to that society and his place within it. The fluidity of the radical movement and the spaces which it

occupied, including the outdoor platform, gave Yorke agency to assert his ideas, but also himself. He clearly hoped that radicalism would offer new opportunities for unconditional belonging through its promotion of a universalist ideology and political and social inclusion. It offered potential emancipation, empowerment and social mobility in a cause which could make up its own rules.¹⁴⁷

Wilson has suggested that a sense of “identity results from the negotiation between where one is placed and where one places oneself within social networks, working through what is possible as well as what is forbidden.”¹⁴⁸ Clearly this negotiation was problematic for Yorke and the evidence suggests that he was subconsciously engaged in “a kind of self-fashioning” or “imagining” an identity that denied his difficult origins and excluded status.¹⁴⁹ Politics here appears to be a means to finding his place in the world. Yorke, then, provides an example of the significance of cultural influences on politicization.

Yorke also presents a useful case study of those who can be identified as alienated radicals and citizens of the world in the 1790s. Yorke, extended the geographical boundaries of English radicalism both in his own non-Englishness, his “exotic” performance, and his retention of a citizen of the world universalist ideology even at a time when English radicalism was largely retreating into the safety of constitutionalism. Others who reflect similar positions, and warrant investigation in this regard, include some of the most ardent revolutionary radicals such as: Thomas Paine, John Oswald, Joseph Gerrald, John and Henry Sheares, and Maurice Margarot.¹⁵⁰ Such men were all “outsiders” politically and/or racially in Britain and, notably, they all had strong connections with British colonies.¹⁵¹ They also challenged prevailing ideas about who were subjects or citizens and what forms of cultural and political belonging were possible.¹⁵² Hence, by becoming involved in English radicalism they extended the fragmented leadership beyond English boundaries and identities to create something of a “periphery public sphere.” Moreover, the many radicals who emigrated to

North America from 1792 to avoid prosecution, including Joseph Priestley, Joseph Gales, Robert Merry, Daniel Isaac Eaton and Thomas Paine, also extended the margins of radicalism.¹⁵³ Thus the geographical boundaries of British radicalism extended beyond the metropole and into the periphery of the empire and the Atlantic World.

Finally, this study highlights the importance of being careful about the labels we apply. Yorke has been identified as a revolutionary radical and a Jacobin but it is not entirely clear what was meant by such terms in the 1790s or since. Yorke slipped between revolutionary rhetoric, universalist ideology and proposals for constitutional reform, between identities as a West Indian Creole, an English gentleman, and a citizen of the world. This seemed possible in a time of political turmoil as monumental as the French Revolution. But it raises questions about how contemporaries and historians have labeled such political actors as “revolutionaries”, “radicals”, “Jacobins”, “reformers,” and also how they have labeled the movement in terms of class and nationality. This reinforces the argument that when considering complex political movements it is important to consider individuals that make up that movement as well as the collective whole. It also shows that radicalism was a more amorphous movement than has conventionally been suggested, but also that the politicisation of individual radicals was predicated to some degree on issues of identity.¹⁵⁴

¹ Henry Yorke “Introduction” in The Trial of Henry Yorke, for a Conspiracy, &c. before the Hon, Mr. Justice Rooke, at the Assizes, held for the County of York, on Saturday, July 10, 1795. Published by the Defendant (York and Sheffield, 1795) 104.

² For views on this issue see the essays in Glenn Burgess and Matthew Festenstein, eds. English Radicalism, 1550-1850 (Cambridge, 2007); Ariel Hessayon and David Finnegan, eds.

Varieties of Seventeenth- and Early Eighteenth-Century English Radicalism in Context
(Farnham, 2011).

³ For example John Cannon, Parliamentary Reform, 1640-1832 (Cambridge, 1972); Albert Goodwin, The Friends of Liberty: The English Democratic Movement in the Age of the French Revolution (London, 1979); H. T. Dickinson, ed. Britain and the French Revolution, 1789-1815 (1994). Radicalism as used in this article incorporates all those involved in promoting revolution and/or reform of government, moderate to extreme.

⁴ E. P. Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class (London, 1963). Also, Gwyn Williams, Artisans and Sans-Culottes: Popular Movements in France and Britain during the French Revolution (London, 1968); Christopher Hill, "The Norman Yoke," in Puritanism and Revolution: Studies in the Interpretation of the English Revolution of the Seventeenth Century, ed. Christopher Hill (London, 1986).

⁵ Gareth Stedman Jones, Languages of Class: Studies in English Working Class History, 1832-1982 (Cambridge, 1993), chap. 3; Patrick Joyce, Visions of the People: Industrial England and the Question of Class, 1848-1919 (Cambridge, 1991); Jenny Graham, The Nation the Law and the King, Reform Politics in England 1789-1799, 2 vols. (Maryland, 2000).

⁶ See R. R. Palmer, The Age of Democratic Revolution: A Political History of Europe and America, 1760-1800, 2 vols (Princeton, NJ, 1959 and 1964); John Dinwiddy, "Conceptions of Revolution in the English Radicalism of the 1790s," in The Transformation of Political Culture: England and Germany in the Late Eighteenth-Century, ed. Eckhart Hellmuth (Oxford, 1990), 535-560; Mark Philp, "The Fragmented Ideology of Reform," in The French Revolution and British Popular Politics ed. Mark Philp (Cambridge, 1991); James Epstein, Radical Expression: Political Language, Ritual, and Symbol in England, 1790-1850 (Oxford, 1994); Kathleen Wilson, The Sense of the People: Politics, Culture and Imperialism in

England, 1715-1785 (Cambridge, 1995). Recent French texts have also moved towards a greater focus on individuals and their politicisation. See Timothy Hackett, Becoming a Revolutionary: The Deputies of the French National Assembly and the Emergence of a Revolutionary Culture, 1789-1790 (New Jersey, 1996); Marisa Linton, Choosing Terror: Virtue, Friendship and Authenticity in the French Revolution (Oxford, 2013).

⁷ Epstein, Radical Expression; James Vernon, Politics and the people: A Study in English Political Culture, c. 1815-1867 (Cambridge, 1993); Kevin Gilmartin, "In the Theater of Counter-revolution: Loyalist Association and Conservative Opinion in the 1790s," The Journal of British Studies, 41, (2002), 291-328; Amanda Goodrich Debating England's Aristocracy: Pamphlets, Polemics and Political Ideas (Woodbridge, 2005).

⁸ In this article there is an emphasis on "English" and "Englishness" in order to differentiate from a "Britishness" that incorporated British overseas colonies. Consequently in this introductory section references to English may imply incorporation of Wales and Scotland.

⁹ See current texts on global history e.g. Suzanne Desan, Lynn Hunt and William Max Nelson eds, The French Revolution in Global Perspective (Ithaca NY, 2013); C.A. Bayly, The Birth of the Modern World, 1780-1914, (Oxford, 2013).

¹⁰ C. L. R. James, The Black Jacobins (London, 2001); Laurent Dubois, Avengers of the New World (Cambridge, Mass., 2005). See also Carolyn Fick, The Making of Haiti: The Saint-Domingue Revolution from Below (Knoxville, 1990).

¹¹ Dubois, Avengers of the New World , 3.

¹² Suzanne Desan, "Foreigners, Cosmopolitanism, and French Revolutionary Universalism," in Desan, Hunt and Nelson eds, French Revolution, 86-100, at 87.

¹³ Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker, The Many-Headed Hydra: Sailors, Slaves, Commoners, and the Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic (Boston, 2000), 284-5.

¹⁴ Mark Philp, “Disconcerting ideas: Explaining Popular Radicalism and Popular Loyalism in the 1790s,” in English Radicalism, eds. Burgess and Festenstein, 157-85: at 179-84..

¹⁵ See Colan Condren, “Afterword: Radicalism Revisited,” in English Radicalism, eds. Burgess and Festenstein, 311-337, at 320-321.

¹⁶ James Belchem and James Epstein, “The Nineteenth-Century Gentleman Leader Revisited,” Social History, 22, (May 1997): 174-193.

¹⁷ For radical performance see James Epstein and David Karr, “Playing at Revolution: British ‘Jacobin’ Performance”, The Journal of Modern History, 79, no.3 (September 2007): 495-530; Jon Mee, Romanticism, Enthusiasm and Regulation: Poetics and the Policing of Culture in the Romantic Period (Oxford, 2003).

¹⁸ Patrick Joyce, ed. Class, (Oxford, 1995), 4-7. But for a discussion of usage of the term “Identity” see, Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper, “Beyond ‘Identity’” in Theory and Society 29, no.1 (February 2000): 1-47.

¹⁹ Roxanne Wheeler The Complexion of Race: Categories of Difference in Eighteenth-Century British Culture (Philadelphia, 2000); See also Charles Taylor, Sources of the Self: The Making of the Modern Identity (Cambridge 1989); Martin Daunton and Rick Halpern eds. Empire and Others: British Encounters with Indigenous Peoples, 1600-1800 (London, 1999); Kathleen Wilson, The Island Race: Englishness, Empire and Gender in the Eighteenth Century (Oxford, 2003).

²⁰ Henry Redhead Yorke, Letters from France, 2 vols. (2nd edn., London, 1814).

²¹ Felicity Nussbaum, “The Politics of Difference,” Eighteenth-Century Studies 23, no. 4 (Summer, 1990): 375-386, at 377.

²² See for example, Thompson, Making the English Working Class, 497; Goodwin, Friends of Liberty, 367; David V. Erdman, Commerce Des Lumieres: John Oswald and the British in Paris, 1790-93 (Missouri, 1986); Goodrich, Debating England’s Aristocracy, chap.4. But

also, Philp, “Disconcerting Ideas.” 61; Amnon Yuval, Une Politique de L’émotion: Henry Redhead Yorke et le Désenchantement de la Révolution Française en Grande-Bretagne, 1789-1827, unpub. Ph.D thesis, EHESS, Paris.

²³ Dictionary of National Biography (Oxford, 2004), 839-40. See also two earlier articles on Yorke; Edward Fearn, “Henry Redhead Yorke: Radical Traitor” Yorkshire Archeological Journal, 42 (1967), 187-92; M. J. Lasky, “The Recantation of Henry Redhead Yorke,” Encounter, 41, (1973), 67-85.

²⁴ Richard B. Sheridan, “The Rise of a Colonial Gentry: A Case Study of Antigua, 1730-1775,” The Economic History Review, New Series, 13, (1961).

²⁵ Oliver L. Vere, The History of the Island of Antigua, 3 vols (London, 1894-9), vol. 3, 39-42.

²⁶ Samuel Redhead, “Letter to William Codrington.” 8 Aug. 1771 in The Codrington Correspondence, ed, Robson Lowe, 21. It appears from this text that the letters were sold privately shortly after Lowe had access to them and that this collection was broken up during sale. *Ibid.*, viii.

²⁷ Vere, History of Antigua, vol. 3, 39.

²⁸ A curator at the National Portrait Gallery has confirmed these conclusions as far as is possible in a black and white mezzotint.

²⁹ Yorke’s first pamphlet was written under his birth name Redhead: Henry Redhead Letter to Bache Heathcote on the Fatal Consequences of Abolishing the Slave Trade both in England and the American Colonies (London, 1792).

³⁰ “The examination of Henry Yorke taken before John Higgins Esq. One of his Majesty’s Justices of the Peace in and for the County of Bucks, 1 June 1793,” Treasury Solicitor’s Papers, TNA T.S. 11/959/3505.

³¹ Wilson, Island Race, 149.

³² Lloyd's Evening Post, 16 June 1794.

³³ This was reduced by a codicil from £1,000. Vere, History of Antigua, vol. 3, 39.

³⁴ Henry Yorke "Introduction" in Trial of Henry Yorke, xv.

³⁵ Yorke "Introduction," xviii.

³⁶ This anecdote was taken from Winifred Gales autobiography, in Josephine Seaton, William Seaton of the "National Intelligencer": A Biographical Sketch (Boston, 1871), p.53-4.

Winifred Gales was the wife of Joseph Gales. This memoir was written some years later and contains some inaccuracies.

³⁷ The Friends of the Rights of Man associated in Paris was informally known as the "British Club." Erdman, Commerce Des Lumieres, 226-7. See also John. G. Alger "The British Colony in Paris, 1792-3," The English Historical Review 13, no. 52 (October 1898).

³⁸ Yorke, Letters from France, 155, 337-375.

³⁹ Erdman, Commerce des Lumiere, 189, 231.

⁴⁰ See Erdman, Commerce Des Lumieres, 264-5.

⁴¹ Henry Yorke, "Reason Urged against Precedent: In a Letter to the People of Derby" (London, 1793) in Political writings of the 1790s: The French Revolution Debate in Britain, ed. Gregory Claeys, 8 vols. (London, 1995), vol. 4, 67-84; Henry Yorke, These are the Times that Try Men's Souls! A letter addressed to John Frost, a Prisoner at Newgate (London, 1793); Henry Yorke "Thoughts on Civil Government: Addressed to the Disenfranchised Citizens of Sheffield" (Sheffield, 1794) in Political writings of the 1790s, ed. Claeys, vol. 4, 229-76.

⁴² "Brief for the Prosecution, Lancashire Assizes 10th August 1793", Treasury Solicitor's Papers, TNA T.S. 11/892/3035, 3.

⁴³ John Stevenson, Artisans and Democrats: Sheffield in the French Revoution, 1789-97 (Sheffield, 1989), 14-15, 19. For the Treason Trials see e.g. F. K. Prochaska, "English State

Trials in the 1790s: A Case Study,” The Journal of British Studies, 13 (1973): 63-82; Alan Wharam, The Treason Trials, 1794 (Leicester, 1992). See also Clive Emsley, “Repression, ‘Terror’ and the Rule of Law in England during the Decade of the French Revolution”, in The English Historical Review, 100, no. 397 (October 1985): 801-825. See also John Barrell, Imagining the King’s Death: Figurative Treason, Fantasies of Regicide 1793-6 (Oxford, 2000).

⁴⁴ “The Second Report of the Secret Committee” in An Account of the Treason and Sedition, Committed by the London Corresponding Society, the Society for Constitutional Information, the other Societies of London, Sheffield, Norwich, Manchester, Bristol, Coventry, Nottingham, Derby, Birmingham, Leeds, Newcastle, Hereford, York, Edinburgh, Dublin &c. &c. (London, 1794), TNA T.S. 11/892/3035 53.

⁴⁵ A. Aspinall, Politics and the Press, 1780-1850 (London, 1949), 204-5.

⁴⁶ Ibid. 88; Marc Bear, Theatre and Disorder in Later Georgian London (Oxford, 1992), 113.

⁴⁷ See the Inner Temple Admissions Database.

⁴⁸ For a succinct discussion of the historiography see Isaac Land, “Bread and Arsenic: Citizenship from the Bottom Up in Georgian England,” Journal of Social History (Fall, 2005): 89-110. See, Norma Myers, Reconstructing the Black Past: Blacks in Britain, c. 1780-1830, (London, 1996); Folarin Shyllon, Black People in Britain, 1555-1833 (Oxford, 1977); Douglas A. Lorimer, “Black Slaves and English Liberty” Immigrants and Minorities, 3 no. 2 (1984): 121-50; Gwenda Morgan and Peter Rushton, “Visible Bodies: Power, Subordination and Identity in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World” Journal of Social History, (Fall 2005): 39-64; also Margaret Hunt, “Racism, Imperialism, and the Traveller’s Gaze in Eighteenth-Century England.” The Journal of British Studies 32 no. 4 (October 1993): 333-357. For a recent discussion see Andrew S. Curran, The Anatomy of Blackness: Science and Slavery in the Age of Enlightenment (Baltimore, 2011)

⁴⁹ Wilson, Island Race, 2; Dror Wahrman, The Making of the Modern Self: Identity and Culture in Eighteenth-Century England, (New Haven, 2004), xii.

⁵⁰ See Wheeler, Complexion of Race; Wahrman, Making of the Modern Self; Wilson Island Race. But see also Kim Hall, Things of Darkness: Economies of Race and Gender in Early Modern England (Ithaca, 1995); Ania Loomba, 'Periodization, Race and Global Contact', Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies 37, (2007).

⁵¹ Linda Colley, Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837 (London, 1992), 1-7; C.A. Bayly, "The British and Indigenous Peoples, 1760-1860: Power Perception and Identity," in Empire and Others eds. Daunton and Halpern, 21; Catherine Hall, "What is a West Indian?" in West Indian Intellectuals in Britain ed. Bill Schwarz, (Manchester, 2003): 31-50, at 35.

⁵² Wilson, Island Race, 53, 151. See also Dror Wahrman, "The English Problem of Identity in the American Revolution," The American Historical Review 106. no. 4 (October 2001).

⁵³ Wilson, Island Race, 148; See also Nussbaum, "The Politics of Difference," 377.

⁵⁴ Hall, "What is a West Indian?" 35.

⁵⁵ Dana Rabin, "'In a Country of Liberty?' Slavery, Villeinage and the Making of Whiteness in the Somerset Case (1772)," History Workshop Journal 72 (August 2011): 5-126, at 9. See also Diedre Coleman, "Janet Schaw and the Complexions of Empire," Eighteenth-Century Studies 36, (2003), 169-94.

⁵⁶ David Lambert, White Creole Culture, Politics and Identity during the Age of Abolition (Cambridge and New York, 2005), 2-3, 16, 12.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁵⁸ Michael Craton, "Reluctant Creoles, The Planter's World in the British West Indies", in Strangers within the Realm: Cultural Margins of the First British Empire eds. B. Bailyn, and P. D. Morgan (Chapel Hill and London, 1991), 314-362, at 346.

⁵⁹ Letter from from Edward Codrington to Sir William 18 November 1775, in The Codrington Correspondence, ed, Lowe, 23.

⁶⁰ [Edward Long] The History of Jamaica. Or, General Survey of the Antient and Modern State of the Island 3 vols (London 1774), vol. 2, 274. Qu. In Coleman, ‘Janet Schaw’, 171.

⁶¹, Andrew Jackson O’Shaughnessy, An Empire Divided: the American Revolution and the British Caribbean, (Philadelphia, 2000), 4; Rabin, “‘In a Country of Liberty?’”

⁶² William Fox, “An Address to the People of Great Britain, on the Propriety of Abstaining from West India Sugar and Rum”, in The Political Writings of William Fox, eds. John Barrell and Timothy Whelan (Nottingham, 2011), pp. 1-10; Richard Huzzey, “The Moral Geography of British Anti-Slavery Responsibilities,” Transactions of the Royal Historical Society 22 (2012), 111-39 at 126.

⁶³ See, Long History of Jamaica. But Long had complex and mixed views about West Indian peoples and issues of race. See Craton, “Reluctant Creoles”; Hall, “What is a West Indian?”

⁶⁴ Wilson, Island Race, 154. See Edward Long, “On the Different Races of Mankind” in Three Tracts by Edward Long Esq, BL Add.MS 12,438.

⁶⁵ Wheeler, Complexion of Race, 264

⁶⁶ Lowe, ed, The Codrington Correspondence, 25.

⁶⁷ Vere, History of Antigua, vol. 3, 39-42.

⁶⁸ Lambert, White Creole Culture, 3. See also Linebaugh and Rediker, The Many-Headed Hydra, chap. 8. Also Dubois, Avengers of the New World.

⁶⁹ “Brief for the Prosecution Lancashire Assizes, 10 Aug. 1793”, 1 in Treasury Solicitor’s Papers, TNA T.S. 11/892/3035.

⁷⁰ Memoirs of the Life and Writings of James Montgomery, including Selections from his Correspondence, remains in Prose and Verse and Conversations on various Subjects eds. John Holland and James Everett ,7 vols. (London, 1854), 165-6, 171.

⁷¹ Whitehall Evening Post, 14 June 1794; Anti-Jacobin or Weekly Examiner, 4 December 1797, The Burney Collection.

⁷² Thomas Bayly Howell and Thomas Jones Howell eds., A Complete Collection of State Trials and Proceedings for High Treason 34 vols. (London, 1816-28), vol. 25, cols, 1003-1154.

⁷³ James Pilkington, A View of the Present State of Derbyshire; with an Account of its Most Remarkable Antiquities 2 vols (Derby, 1789), vol. 2, 110-11.

⁷⁴ Redhead, Letter to Bache Heathcote, 2, 74-80.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 12-13, 24.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 5-8.

⁷⁷ See Wilson, Island Race, 17.

⁷⁸ See The Jamaican Lady (1720) in Nussbaum, "The Politics of Difference," 382; Wheeler, Complexion of Race, chap. 4.

⁷⁹ Wilson, Island Race, 17.

⁸⁰ Yorke, Letters from France, xi.

⁸¹ Gales, William Seaton, 53-4.

⁸² Dubois, Avengers of the New World, 73.

⁸³ This Declaration was made on April 4, 1792. Dubois, Avengers of the New World, 129-131.

⁸⁴ Alger, "The British Colony in Paris," 679-80, 693.

⁸⁵ Yorke, "Introduction," xiv.

⁸⁶ Yorke, Reason Urged against Precedent, 67-8, 74-80.

⁸⁷ Thomas, J. Schlereth, The Cosmopolitan Ideal in Enlightenment Thought (Indiana, 1977), 1, 133.

⁸⁸ Desan, "Foreigners, Cosmopolitanism," 86, 89, 95-7.

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- ⁸⁹ Wahrman, Making of the Modern Self, 279.
- ⁹⁰ See Desan, “Foreigners, Cosmopolitanism,” 88; Epstein and Karr, “Playing at Revolution,” 502.
- ⁹¹ Sophia Rosenfield, “Citizens of Nowhere in Particular: Cosmopolitanism, Writing, and Political Engagement in Eighteenth-Century Europe,” National Identities 4, no.1, (2002), 39; Lasky, Men and ideas, 73.
- ⁹² Erdman, Commerce Des Lumières, chap 2.
- ⁹³ Desan, “Foreigners, Cosmopolitanism,” 98.
- ⁹⁴ Yorke, Reason Urged against Precedent, 68, 80-2.
- ⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 78-80, 74-5.
- ⁹⁶ Linebaugh and Rediker, Many-Headed Hydra, 352. See also Peter Linebaugh, “All the Atlantic Mountains Shook,” Labour / Le Travail, 10 (Autumn 1982): 87-121.
- ⁹⁷ See James Walvin, “The Impact of Slavery on British Radical Politics: 1787-1838,” Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences (1977), 343-355; Walvin, “Making the Black Atlantic: Britain and the African Diaspora (London, New York, 2000); Huzzey, “Moral Geography,” 112-13. See also Iain McCalman, “Anti-Slavery and Ultra-Radicalism in Early Nineteenth-Century England: The Case of Robert Wedderburn,” Slavery and Abolition 7, no. 2 (1986): 99-117.
- ⁹⁸ Linebaugh and Rediker, Many-Headed Hydra, 273-4
- ⁹⁹ Epstein, Radical Expression, chap, 1.
- ¹⁰⁰ Yorke, These are the Times that Try Men’s Souls! 14, 17; Yorke, Thoughts on Civil Government, 229.
- ¹⁰¹ Yorke, These are the Times that Try Men’s Souls! 12-13.
- ¹⁰² Yorke, Thoughts on Civil Government, 229-30
- ¹⁰³ See Goodrich, Debating England’s Aristocracy, chap. 4.

¹⁰⁴ Yorke, Thoughts on Civil Government, 241.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 234-9, 252-3, 257-73.

¹⁰⁶ Proceedings of the Public Meeting, held at Sheffield in the Open Air, on 7 April 1794,

TNA, T.S. 24/3/88, 7. At his trial Yorke denied having written this speech.

¹⁰⁷ Proceedings of the Public Meeting, 11-18.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 22-25.

¹⁰⁹ But similarly, see John Thelwall, “The Tribune. No. XXVIII, September 18 1795,” in The Politics of English Jacobinism: Writings of John Thelwall, ed. Gregory Claeys (Pennsylvania, 1995), 242.

¹¹⁰ Proceedings of the Public Meeting, 24.

¹¹¹ See for example, Yorke, Thoughts on Civil Government, 273.

¹¹² Ibid, 241.

¹¹³ Epstein and Karr, “Playing at Revolution,” 500, 530-1. See also Emsley “Repression “Terror” and the Rule of Law”, 802.

¹¹⁴ Barrell, Imagining the King’s Death, 188.

¹¹⁵ Mee, Romanticism, Enthusiasm and Regulation 294.

¹¹⁶ Yorke, Thoughts on Civil Government, 263.

¹¹⁷ Yorke, Reason Urged against Precedent, 67-8.

¹¹⁸ Wharam, Treason Trials, 75.

¹¹⁹ “Gales to Aston March/April 1794”, in Holland and Everett, Life of Montgomery, vol. 1, 1671.

¹²⁰ Howells State Trials, vol. 25 cols. 591, 603-4, 1115.

¹²¹ Vernon, Politics and the People, 251.

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- ¹²² Belchem and Epstein, “Nineteenth-Century Gentleman Leader,” 176-79. Christina Parolin, Radical Spaces: Venues of Popular Politics in London, 1790-c.1845 (ANU EPress, 2010).
- ¹²³ Mee, Romanticism, Enthusiasm and Regulation, 122.
- ¹²⁴ Gales, William Seaton, 54-5.
- ¹²⁵ Holland and Everett, Life of Montgomery, 1, 165-6, 171.
- ¹²⁶ See Julia Landweber, “Fashioning Nationality and Identity in the Eighteenth Century: the Comte de Bonneval in the Ottoman Empire.” The International History Review 30, (March 2008): 1-31, 23-4.
- ¹²⁷ Belchem and Epstein “Nineteenth-Century Gentleman Leader,” 177-8.
- ¹²⁸ Malcolm Chase, Chartism a New History (Manchester, 2007), 13.
- ¹²⁹ In particular here Patrick Joyce and Eugenio Biagini referred to in Belchem and Epstein, “Nineteenth-Century Gentleman Leader,” 174-5.
- ¹³⁰ Chase, Chartism, 13-14.
- ¹³¹ See McCalman, “Anti-Slavery and Ultra-Radicalism”, 99.
- ¹³² See, Cannon, Parliamentary reform; J. Brewer, Party Ideology and Popular Politics at the Accession of George III (Cambridge, MA, 1990).
- ¹³³ Belchem and Epstein, “Nineteenth-Century Gentleman Leader,” 178-9.
- ¹³⁴ See for example, James Epstein, “Equality and No King”: Sociability and Sedition: the Case of John Frost” in Romantic Sociability: Social Networks and Literary Culture in Britain, 1770-1840 eds. G. Russell and C. Tuite (Cambridge, 2002), 43-61, at 50, 55. This is in opposition to Habermas’s bourgeois public sphere, see also Kevin Gilmartin, Print Politics: the Press and Radical Opposition in Early Nineteenth-Century England (Cambridge, 1996); G. Eley, “Nations, Publics, and Political Cultures: Placing Habermas in the Nineteenth

Century” in Habermas and the public sphere ed. C. Calhoun, (Cambridge, Mass., 1992), 289-339.

¹³⁵ See Parolin, Radical Spaces, 15.

¹³⁶ Amnon Yuval has recently written convincingly on Yorke’s trial: Amnon Yuvall, “Between Heroism and Acquittal: Henry Redhead Yorke and the Inherent Instability of Political Trials in Britain during the 1790s” Journal of British Studies, vol. 50 no. 3 (July 2011), 612-638. See also, Wharam, Treason Trials.

¹³⁷ Nevertheless, it is very much in his style and generally historians have accepted it as his work. Howells, State Trials, vol, 25 cols 1003-1154, at 1065-1113.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 1083-4, 1111-12.

¹³⁹ Yuvall, “Between Heroism and Acquittal”, 637.

¹⁴⁰ Henry Yorke, On the Means of Saving our Country (Exeter, 1797); Henry Yorke, A Letter to the Reformers (Dorchester, 1798).

¹⁴¹ Mark Philp, “Vulgar Conservatism, 1792-3,” The English Historical Review, 110, (1995): 42-69, at 68. See also Philp, “Disconcerting ideas,” 161.

¹⁴² For numerous examples see e.g. An Account of the Treason and Sedition, committed by the London Corresponding Society, the Society for Constitutional Information, the other Societies of London, Sheffield, Norwich, Manchester, Bristol, Coventry, Nottingham, Derby, Birmingham, Leeds, Newcastle, Hereford, York, Edinburgh, Dublin &c. &c. their correspondence with the Convention and Jacobin Societies in Paris; sending Deputies to France; ... and The whole of the Two Reports, presented to the Hon House of Commons, by the Secret Committee (1794).

¹⁴³ Prochaska, “English State Trials.” But see also David Eastwood , “Patriotism and the English state in the 1790s,” in Philp (ed.), French Revolution, 118-45; Emsley, “Repression, ‘Terror’ and the Rule of Law.”

¹⁴⁴ See Epstein, Radical Expression: Vernon, Politics of the People.

¹⁴⁵ Yorke “Introduction,” xvii-i, xxii-iii.

¹⁴⁶ John Barrell, The Spirit of Despotism: Invasion of Privacy in the 1790s (Oxford, 2006).

¹⁴⁷ John Mee, “The Strange Career of ‘Citizen’ Lee,” in Radicalism in British Literary Culture, 1650-1830, eds. Timothy Morton and Nigel Smith (Cambridge, 2002); Philp, “Fragmented Ideology of Reform,” 73; Michael Durey, “Thomas Paine’s Apostles: Radical Emigrés and the Triumph of Jeffersonian Republicanism,” William and Mary Quarterly Third Series, 44, no. 4 (Oct. 1987): 662-688, at 671; Goodrich, Debating England’s Aristocracy, chap. 2.

¹⁴⁸ Wilson, Island Race, 3.

¹⁴⁹ Mee, “Strange Career of ‘Citizen’ Lee,” 162-3; Wilson, Island Race, 17. See also Gerald Newman, The Rise of English Nationalism: A Cultural History, 1740-1830 (Basingstoke, 1997).

¹⁵⁰ See Linebaugh and Rediker, The Many-Headed Hydra, 285.

¹⁵¹ Included for these purposes Ireland and North America as a recently lost colony.

¹⁵² Catherine Hall, Civilizing Subjects: Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination, 1830-1867 (Oxford, 2002), 20.

¹⁵³ See e.g. Goodwin, Friends of Liberty, 487-8.

¹⁵⁴ The author is at present writing a biography of Henry Redhead Yorke which will explore his full life in more detail.