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"God is our guide! our cause is just!" The *National Chartist Hymn Book* and Victorian Hymnody

Mike Sanders

From the smug conservatism of Mrs. Alexander's "All Things Bright and Beautiful" to the cultural-imperialist sentiments of "From Greenland's Icy Mountains," Victorian hymns are often seen as exemplifying the ills of nineteenth-century culture.[1] Politically, aesthetically, and even theologically offensive to many scholars, the Victorian hymn currently languishes in an obscurity that many consider well deserved. Studies of Victorian hymns have generally concentrated on their theology (as in the work of Lionel Adey and Ian Bradley), their role in fostering primarily "conservative" social attitudes (Susan Tamke and Stephen Wilson), or their literary and aesthetic value (J. R. Watson). More recently, there has been a burgeoning interest in women's hymn writing (Nancy Cho and F. E. Gray). These lonely champions of Victorian hymnody are all agreed on the cultural vitality and influence of the hymn form in Victorian society. In *Abide with Me: The World of Victorian Hymns*, Bradley comments on "the ubiquity and pervasiveness of hymns in Victorian culture," noting that hymn texts "appeared on postcards and tombstones, on framed posters to be hung up at home and in school reading books"

Abstract: Despite the undeniable influence of hymns in Victorian culture, hymnody has remained a neglected field of criticism in Victorian studies, having been largely restricted by the conception that Victorian hymns reflected or perpetuated conservative social attitudes. This essay examines the contents of a previously unknown hymnal, the *National Chartist Hymn Book*, in an effort to make room in the critical understanding of Victorian hymnody for radical and working-class hymns and for what I argue was a distinctive Chartist theology. These politically conscious hymns capture the tension between Chartism's own religious sensibility and Chartist attitudes toward religious institutions. Their imagery centers on political and economic antagonisms rather than the visions of heaven and unified nature that characterize conventional Victorian hymns. I argue that Chartist hymnody is also marked by a complex relationship with Romanticism, which generates a Chartist theology that prioritizes communal feeling and action over individual subjectivity.

and that hymn tunes "were played by brass bands and barrel organs and formed the largest single category of subject matter for pianola rolls" (xiii-xiv). In similar fashion, J. R. Watson argues that "hymnbooks, of every style, and catering for every taste (and even every locality, or school), were produced in vast numbers" throughout the nineteenth century (341). The raw data clearly supports this assessment, as the British Library catalogue lists 1,200 hymnbooks published between 1837 and 1901. W. T. Stead estimated that by the 1890s more than two million hymnbooks were being sold in Britain annually (Bradley 54–55). Even the Anglican Church, which tended to regard hymn singing as a "badge of dissent," and which took its last legal action against hymn singing in 1820, was ultimately unable to resist this cultural phenomenon, tolerating (if not officially sanctioning) the publication of *Hymns Ancient and Modern* in 1861.[2]

If, in spite of its undeniable cultural influence, Victorian hymnody remains a neglected field of study, Victorian radical and working-class hymn making are all but invisible to the critical eye. Apart from Watson's work on Owenite hymns, very little attention has been paid to radical hymnody. Ian Bradley, for example, notes the existence of hymns by the "Corn-Law Rhymer" Ebenezer Elliott and the Tolpuddle Martyr, George Loveless, as well as an 1849 collection entitled *Democratic Hymns and Songs* (125), but comments that, overall, "hymn-writing was a middle-class and upper-class occupation in Victorian Britain and did not attract many devotees from lower down the social scale" (88). Similarly, Lionel Adey in *Class and Idol in the English Hymn* notes the existence of *Democratic Hymns and Songs* (52) and also identifies the Primitive Methodists as an important denominational site of working-class hymn writing (43). Susan Tamke's *Make A Joyful Noise Unto the Lord* records the existence of Owenite and Chartist hymns as well as the contribution made by James Montgomery, the editor of the *Sheffield Iris*, to radical hymnody (103–06). However, she goes on to argue that for much of the nineteenth century, hymns on the subject of social justice are conspicuously absent from denominational hymnbooks, and where such hymns appear they tend to be "imported from America" (110).

With this article I intend both to rekindle discussion of the Victorian hymn and to recover a hitherto neglected aspect of Chartist culture. I will demonstrate the importance of hymn singing within Chartism, explore the various attempts to produce a Chartist hymnbook, and examine an example (possibly the only one) of a surviving

Chartist hymnal—the *National Chartist Hymn Book*. Through a detailed analysis of this hymnbook, I will explore the types of cultural and ideological work performed by the Chartist hymn, arguing for the existence of a "Chartist theology" that informed the movement's economic and political understanding as well as its sense of agency and identity. I will analyze the relationship between Chartist hymns and Victorian hymnody in general to suggest that the *National Chartist Hymn Book* challenges the account of Victorian hymnology offered by Tamke, Adey, and Bradley. Finally, I will consider Chartist hymnody as a form of poetic practice.

Chartist Hymns and Hymnbooks

The columns of the Chartist press testify to the importance of the hymn throughout the movement's existence. Under the headline "Great Demonstration at Norwich," the *Northern Star* for 10 November 1838 reports a Mr. Stephens as declaring: "We want the English workman to be restored to his happy home, enjoying the just reward of his labour, with his wife by his side, singing hymns of gratitude to heaven for the blessings bestowed on him" (2). Some six months later in the *Northern Star* for 18 May 1839, a notice for the forthcoming Great West Riding Meeting at Dewsbury announces that a "hymn selected by the Secretary, and inserted in the *Northern Star* this week, [is] to be sung at the beginning of the West Riding meeting on Whit Tuesday next" ("Leeds"). These two announcements attest to the importance and flexibility of the hymn form within Chartist culture. At one end of the spectrum, hymn singing appears as a spontaneous, even instinctual aspect of an idealized working-class domesticity; at the other, the hymn inaugurates the great setpiece of Chartist political theater—the mass meeting.

On 2 March 1839, the *Northern Star* published the hymn written by John Peacock specifically for the first Chartist convention. Thereafter, many hymns were published not only in the *Northern Star* but also in the Scottish *Chartist Circular* and, in a significant efflorescence, the *English Chartist Circular*, which published eighteen hymns between July 1842 and August 1843. Almost from the outset these individual compositions were accompanied by attempts to produce a Chartist hymnal for general use throughout the movement. For example, the *Northern Star* for 17 January 1841 carried an advertisement for a volume entitled *Hymns for Public Worship—Suitable for Chartist Congregations*. A few months later in early April 1841 another notice appeared in the *Northern Star* advising readers

of the preparation for publication of a *Chartist Hymn Book*. Over a year later this same hymnbook was advertised for sale as a threepenny volume available directly from its editor, Thomas Cooper. The advertisement also explains the origins of the *Chartist Hymn Book*: "The Hymns will be a re-publication of contributions to the *Commonwealthman*, by Messrs Bramwich and Jones, of Leicester—and a few Hymns which have recently appeared in the *Chartist Circular*, &c.—in all, about fifty in number" ("Chartist Hymn Book").

An advertisement in June 1843 announced the publication of the *Shakespearian Chartist Hymn Book* (a revised edition of the *Chartist Hymn Book* containing thirteen new hymns). The advertisement claims that the first edition had sold 2,000 copies, but despite its apparent popularity the *Chartist Hymn Book* was never reviewed in the *Northern Star*. However, the *Northern Star* did review *Hymns for Worship* edited by Joshua Hobson (who would serve as editor of the *Northern Star* from July 1843 to October 1845), a sixpenny volume that described itself as offering "the pure spirit of genuine, practical Christianity—pure Political Truth, without an atom of theological, sectarian dogmatism." The *Northern Star*'s review reprinted one hymn entitled "God Will Avenge Oppression" and commented, "The hymns are all of the same character—genuine poetry and genuine Chartism" ("Reviews").

Cooper's hymnbook received attention elsewhere in the *Northern Star*. Cooper himself produced it as evidence during his trial at the Staffordshire Assizes in early 1843, where he read out the hymn that has as its chorus "Spread the Charter through the land" ("Staffordshire Assizes"). A few months earlier an advertisement from Mrs. Cooper informed readers that during her husband's imprisonment, copies of the *Chartist Hymn Book* could be obtained directly from her at threepence each or two shillings and threepence per baker's dozen ("*Chartist Hymn Book*"). Further evidence for the use of the *Chartist Hymn Book* as a fundraiser for imprisoned Chartists is given by accounts of meetings at Rochdale and Bolton in May 1843, at which copies of the *Chartist Hymn Book* were sold, with the profits going to the prisoners' defense fund ("Chartist Intelligence," 27 May). A final note on the popularity of the *Chartist Hymn Book* is found in a *Northern Star* advertisement for *The Spirit*, a collection of poetry by William Jones, describing Jones as the editor of the second and third editions ("The Spirit").

However, other collections arose to challenge the *Chartist Hymn Book*. In January 1845 the South Lancashire delegate meeting decided to

bring out its own Chartist hymnbook and called for contributions "of an elevating kind" to be sent to Mr. Richard Radford of Manchester ("Chartist Intelligence," 1 Feb.). In February 1845, the West Riding delegate meeting approved this resolution, declaring itself "in favour of bringing out a Chartist hymn-book, which is very much wanted" ("Chartist Intelligence," 15 Feb.). Six months later an advertisement in the *Northern Star* announced that the South Lancashire delegates were taking orders for their *Chartist Hymn Book*, which would be ready in early September ("Chartist Intelligence," 23 Aug.).

Thus, at least three Chartist hymnals—Hobson's *Hymns for Worship*, Cooper's *Shakespearian Chartist Hymn Book*, and the South Lancashire *Chartist Hymn Book*—were in existence by the end of 1845. Are these hymnbooks best understood as serendipitous local productions or as commercial, perhaps even political rivals? Certainly, the compilation of songbooks for the use of the movement was sometimes controversial, as Thomas Cooper himself was to discover in 1846. Flushed by the success of his epic poem, *The Purgatory of Suicides* (1845), Cooper announced his intention of compiling a volume "of patriotic minstrelsy, that could be used in our public meetings for congregational singing" ("Chartist Poets"). Cooper invited readers to send him songs and hymns for possible inclusion but reserved absolute editorial control for himself. A fortnight later the *Northern Star*, under the heading "Mr Cooper's 'Despotism,'" printed a letter from John Mathias complaining about the undemocratic way in which Cooper had assumed sole control of the project, proposing instead the formation of a committee to oversee the compilation of a Chartist songbook. Although the *Northern Star* supported Cooper's right to edit the volume, Cooper himself took umbrage at Mathias's objections and the following week announced his intention of abandoning the entire project, expressing his regret that a number of the songs sent to him "should not be, at once, given to the world" ("Mr Cooper").

While Cooper does not mention this controversy in his autobiography, he does leave an account of the origins of the *Chartist Hymn Book*. Cooper asked two of his fellow "Shakespearian Chartists," John Henry Bramwich and William Jones, to "compose hymns for our Sunday meetings," which Cooper subsequently published in his weekly *Extinguisher* before collecting them in the *Chartist Hymn Book* (Cooper 165–66). According to Cooper, Bramwich contributed fourteen hymns to this volume while Jones contributed sixteen, with only two hymns

coming from Cooper himself (166–68). Cooper notes that Bramwich's most popular hymn was "Britannia's Sons, Though Slaves Ye Be," which was sung to the tune "New Crucifixion," and Jones's was "Sons of Poverty Assemble," usually sung to the tune "Calcutta" (166–67).

The historical record gives evidence of three completed Chartist hymnals. Sadly, neither the *Chartist Hymn Book* nor *Hymns for Worship* appears to have survived. It is possible to speculate as to the contents of the *Chartist Hymn Book* insofar as the *Northern Star* advertisement describes it as containing "about fifty [hymns] in number" ("*Shakespearian*") of which, according to Cooper's autobiography, some thirty were provided by Bramwich and Jones (166–69). In addition, the advertisement claimed that some of the hymns had "recently appeared in the *English Chartist Circular*": this journal contains eleven hymns by William Jones (but not "Sons of Poverty"), one hymn by Bramwich (not "Britannia's Sons"), three from Cooper, and one apiece from Ebenezer Elliot, E. P. Mead, and George Binns. In conjunction with the hymns identified by Cooper in his autobiography, this might identify as many as nineteen of the fifty hymns in the *Chartist Hymn Book*.[3]

The *National Chartist Hymn Book*

A small and fragile pamphlet lying in the public library in Todmorden (a Pennine town on the Yorkshire/Lancashire border) sheds further light on the *Chartist Hymn Book* produced for the South Lancashire delegate meeting.[4] The *National Chartist Hymn Book* is an undated penny pamphlet printed in Rochdale by Hall (no first name is given) "for the National Chartist Association." It consists of sixteen pages and contains sixteen hymns printed without tunes, but stipulating the meter to which a given hymn is to be sung. For example, C. M. indicates common meter (86.86)—the numbers refer to the number of syllables in each line of each quatrain. S. M. indicates short meter (66.86) and L. M. indicates long meter (88.88). In addition, the *National Chartist Hymn Book* deploys a number of less familiar meters such as "6 8's" (indicating a six-line stanza with eight syllables per line), "7's" (quatrains of seven syllables per line), and "4 8's & 2 6's" (four lines of eight syllables followed by two of six syllables). The fifteenth hymn is marked P. M. or particular meter (in this case a six-line stanza arranged 878747).

In printing words without tunes, the *National Chartist Hymn Book* was following the standard practice for hymnals at the time.

Bradley notes that for much of the nineteenth century, hymn tunes "were published in separate books and were not linked with particular hymns" (59). The printing of words and tunes together as well as "giving each hymn its own particular tune" was begun by *Hymns Ancient and Modern* in 1861 (72). Prior to this date, congregations possessed a repertoire of tunes from which they would select one appropriate to the metrical form of a given hymn. This not only imparts tremendous flexibility and variety to the hymn form but also creates "a kind of layering of political meaning" as a familiar melody can act as a "powerful mnemonic . . . [creating] webs of associative symbolic meanings drawing upon collective and individual memory" (Bowan and Pickering 56). In the case of the *National Chartist Hymn Book*, for example, the moral (and thus political) confidence engendered by the Chartist lyrics might well be strengthened by the use of a well-known hymn tune such as "Calcutta," which, as was noted earlier, Thomas Cooper records as the tune usually used for William Jones's hymn, "Sons of Poverty Assemble."

The origins of most of the hymns in the *National Chartist Hymn Book* are uncertain. None of the hymns published in the *English Chartist Circular*, for example, appear in this pamphlet. However, at least two of the hymns are the work of Bramwich (including "Britannia's Sons") and one is by Jones ("Sons of Poverty"), while one further hymn ("Men of England, Ye are Slaves") is an abridged version of a poem by William S. Villiers Sankey, originally published in the *Northern Star* for 29 February 1840. The collection includes the hymn composed by Bramwich for the funeral of the Chartist prisoner Samuel Holberry—"Great God! Is This the Patriot's Doom?"—intended to be sung to the tune of the "Old Hundredth." It also includes a hymn entitled "Assembled 'Neath Thy Broad Blue Sky," which Dickens records as having been sung at a union meeting during the Preston Lockout of 1854.[5]

Although the dearth of evidence precludes a more detailed exploration of the provenance and performance of the other hymns collected in the *National Chartist Hymn Book*, their existence allows us to consider the role of religious belief more generally within Chartism. It is generally accepted that, in the words of Malcolm Chase, "religious ideals were seldom far from the surface of Chartism" (51). A close relationship is often posited between dissenting Protestantism and Chartism, particularly those denominations that preached the social gospel, and Chase also observes that "the majority of Chartists" rejected

Owenite ideas on religion (250). Alongside this widespread belief that Chartism was practical Christianity, there existed a robust anti-clericalism and an opposition to Anglicanism as the official state religion, which manifested itself most dramatically in mass Chartist attendance at Anglican churches throughout July to September 1839. Eileen Yeo regards this form of protest as an attempt by Chartism to simultaneously assert its own moral authority while challenging the close connection between church and state ("Christianity" 74–83). There was a tension between Chartism's religious attitudes and its attitude to religious institutions, and it is possible that this ambivalence was compounded by an anxiety that sectarian tensions might compromise the unity of the movement. It is notable, for instance, that the *Northern Star* resolutely refused to open its columns to matters of religious controversy.

Writing in 1981, Eileen Yeo remarked that labor and religious historians alike "have taken too little account of Christianity, not as the possession of any one social group, but as contested territory" ("Christianity" 64). A few years later, in "Chartist Religious Belief and the Theology of Liberation," Yeo identified a number of parallels—consisting of three common features ("God in history, Bondage, Liberation") and one shared absence ("Women's Liberation")—among Chartist religious belief and those forms of "liberation theology" that were becoming prominent in the mid-80s in South America (410–20). Despite these interventions, hardly any attention has been paid to Christianity as an enabling or empowering discourse within Chartism.[6] Building on Yeo's work, I will now explore the extent to which a Chartist theology is discernible within the pages of the *National Chartist Hymn Book*.

Toward a Chartist Theology

Many of the hymns in the *National Chartist Hymn Book* encode a Christian cosmogony. The third and fourth stanzas of the sixteenth hymn ("Source of Good, Ethereal Essence!"), for example, exemplify this belief in the world as the work of a Creator-God:

> Thy great power bespeaks the ocean,
> In each drop Thy smile we see;
> Natures [sic] voice awakes devotion,
> Gentle breezes tell of Thee.

In the boundless world-fraught ether
In the gay and bloomy earth,
Thee we trace, indulgent Father,
See Thy glorious "going forth."

This Christian cosmogony was not without political significance; in the Chartist imaginary certain consequences necessarily followed from this fundamental proposition. In particular, the belief in a God-created universe underpinned Chartism's economic analysis and its demands. Stated baldly, the fact that God created the world meant that nature was figured as a guarantor of plenty, as in the opening stanza of the tenth hymn:

We ask "our daily bread,"
Nor do we ask in vain;
See year by year, abundance spread
O'er every fertile plain.

The image of the "fertile plain" also recurs in the sixth hymn where it becomes "the plains of fructity." In what is clearly an anti-Malthusian position, the *National Chartist Hymn Book* contends that the world as made by God comes with a guarantee of an ample sufficiency for every human being. Starvation and want (of which there were plenty in the hungry forties) are not the result of Malthusian natural checks to population growth, but the consequence of economic and political mismanagement. The second stanza of the third hymn ("Assembled 'Neath Thy Broad Blue Sky") fuses these two propositions, contrasting God's munificence with man-made dearth:

Thy bounty smiles on every side,
And no good thing hast Thou denied;
But men of wealth and men of power
Like locusts,—all Thy gifts devour!

The eighth hymn uses this claim to develop a critique of the current economic system as essentially anti-Christian. The hymn begins with a question, at once political and rhetorical, concerning the exploitation of child labor: "How long shall babes of tender years / Be doomed to toil for lazy Peers— / The locusts of our land?" While the identification of "Peers" as "locusts" upholds the established radical analysis that aristocratic mismanagement is the source of working-class suffering,

the second stanza, which invokes Moloch and figures exploitation in quasi-vampiric terms, clearly refers to the processes of capitalist industrialization.

> Unceasing toil with galling chains
> Is their sad lot, for Moloch reigns
> In this unhappy land,
> Blood, sweat, and tears besmear his shrine,
> And lust, and avarice combine
> And bow at his command!

Against the experiences of economic exploitation and deprivation, and the theoretical systems deployed in defense of these conditions (Malthusianism and political economy), Chartism mounted a moral critique grounded in its belief in the existence of the benevolent Creator-God of the Judeo-Christian tradition.

Chartist theology also underpins the political analysis offered by the *National Chartist Hymn Book*. In the same way that God created a world of natural abundance, he also created human beings free. Political oppression, tyranny, and slavery are all represented not just as signs of a fallen world, but as essentially anti-Christian, even blasphemous practices. This argument is summarized succinctly in the opening and closing stanzas of "Britannia's Sons," which Thomas Cooper inelegantly calls "the most favorite hymn composed by Bramwich" (166):

> Britannia's sons, though Slaves ye be—
> God your Creator made you free;
> He, life to all, and being gave—
> But never, never made a slave.
> . . . . . .
> All men are equal in His sight,
> The bond, the free, the black, the white!
> He made them all,—them freedom gave,
> *He* made the man,—*Man made the slave*!

Hymn nine similarly rejects any notion that the status quo is divinely sanctioned:

> Crushed by oppression's heavy load,
> In slavery and want we groan,—
> That such should be the will of God
> We count it blasphemy to own!

Chartist cosmogony and theology combine to reassure the Chartist movement that its victory is providentially assured. Taken together these hymns offer a narrative of apocalyptic redemption, in which the current social order of dearth and oppression will be transformed into a world of plenty and liberty. The overriding and oft-repeated message of the hymnbook is that Chartism is consistent with God's will and must, therefore, ultimately triumph. Thus, the second hymn imagines a single moment of divine transformation: "the happy hour, / When tyranny shall own Thy power, / And prostrate fall and Thee confess!" The sixth hymn similarly offers reassurance in its final stanza: "There is a God!—let none despair! / Though tyrant man a while may reign."

Both of these examples represent the Chartist movement as passively awaiting divine intervention. Elsewhere, however, Chartism itself becomes the instrument of divine will that redeems the world. For example, the final stanza of the fourth hymn proclaims:

> Fear not the hate of man—
> God will your guardian be!
> If you pursue the glorious plan
> Of human liberty!

The closing stanza of the ninth hymn is even more forthright in its identification of Chartism's cause with God's will:

> God is our guide! our cause is just!
> Nature's immunities we claim;
> While in the living God we trust,
> We'll spread our Charter's glorious fame.

The most audacious identification of Chartism and Christianity occurs in the thirteenth hymn, which claims the Resurrection as both type and trope of the desired Chartist transformation. This hymn opens with an account of the Resurrection: the "glorious morn! when Christ arose, / And burst the fetters of the tomb." The second verse shifts the focus from this single transformative moment to contemplate those vast stretches of historical time—"While time, and tide, and planets roll"—during which "Kings, and priests, and tyrants join / To crush the burstings of the soul." The presence of those markers of geological deep time, the tidal and planetary cycles, indicates the historical

consciousness at work in this poem. The use of "burstings" clearly recalls the "burst" of the opening verse and thus associates the desire for freedom with the Resurrection itself. The revelation that an indwelling sense of "truth" prompts those "burstings of the soul" further strengthens this identification. This "truth," figured as both light and fire, is like the soul eternal and inextinguishable, and it both underpins and guarantees the final triumph of liberty. Liberty will be achieved by means of an educational apocalypse, once humankind has learned its principles. This would appear to defer the realization of freedom until some specified future date. However, as the final stanza makes clear, the fact of Christ's resurrection means that freedom can be secured in the immediate future by the Chartist movement:

> But Christ has risen from the dead
> And gained a glorious victory;
> Then follow him—the Truth—your Head,
> Demand your Charter, and be free.

In the thirteenth hymn not only is Christian belief compatible with Chartist activity, but the former demands the latter. Indeed, in many of the hymns, religious belief secures rather than sublimates political agency. Of the sixteen hymns in the *National Chartist Hymn Book* only three (the second, tenth, and eleventh) attribute agency exclusively to God, imploring him to take the necessary action to punish the oppressors, as in the second hymn: "Haste, Lord! stretch forth Thy mighty hand, / And shew the rulers of this land, / Thou wilt Thy People's wrongs redress!" In contrast, twelve of the sixteen hymns insist on the necessity of human agency. Sometimes that agency is represented as a necessary but insufficient precondition of liberty that requires divine intervention to be fully effective. In the formal structure of these hymns, active human intervention fulfills God's desire to see human freedom. For example, the eighth hymn begins by calling on God to defend the vulnerable ("Make bare thine arm, O Lord! Defend / The helpless, and, be thou their friend, / And shield them with thine hand!") yet concludes by calling for the revivification of English patriotism if tyranny is to be defeated: "Sound, sound the trumpet, far and near / Till English spirits reappear, / And tyranny is doomed!" Similarly, the second stanza of the ninth hymn begins "To Thee we look for strength and power, / Our fetters and our chains to break," but its final two verses emphasize human, and more specifically, Chartist agency:

Lo, in thy name, great God we swear
That this our country shall be free;
No more our tyrants' yoke we'll wear—
This is our Charter's liberty!
. . . . . .
While in the living God we trust,
We'll spread our Charter's glorious fame.

A clear majority of these hymns—ten out of sixteen—identify human agency (albeit divinely sanctioned) as the means by which tyranny will be overthrown and liberty established. The two main forms of agency imagined are the mass platform and the spread of political knowledge. The mass platform is frequently encoded, if not enacted, by means of the tropes of gathering and assembling—as, for example, in the opening lines of the third, ninth, and fifteenth hymns: "Assembled 'neath Thy broad blue sky" (hymn three); "Lo, in Thy name, great God! we meet!" (hymn nine); and "Sons of poverty assemble" (hymn fifteen). Elsewhere, as was noted earlier in the discussion of the thirteenth hymn, it is the spread of "truth" that will bring liberation. Sometimes, as in the twelfth hymn, with its echoes of Percy Bysshe Shelley, knowledge alone brings freedom:

Hoary age and sturdy youth,
All imbibe the sacred truth—
That your Maker made you free,
And demand EQUALITY!

On other occasions, it is the conjunction of the mass platform with knowledge that assures victory, as in the seventh hymn, with its allusion to Ecclesiastes:

A time for *all* to blend
Their energies and might!
For minor differences to end
In one grand point of RIGHT!

For knowledge, pure, refined,
T'illumine every brow!
A time for every one inclined
To be a Chartist now!

In addition to providing Chartism with ways of imagining its own agency, these hymns also provide the movement with ways of

figuring its identity. The *National Chartist Hymn Book* both rehearses and extends the repertoire of Chartist identities identified by Ulrike Schwab and Anne Janowitz, among others.[7] The preferred self-image of the Chartists in these hymns is that of the patriot, which is explicitly invoked in seven of the sixteen hymns. In its invocations of "patriot," "Briton," or "Men of England," the *National Chartist Hymn Book* repeats Chartism's claim that it alone speaks for the nation. The image of the patriot is frequently combined with that of the martyr, as in the first hymn, but more usually contrasted with that of the slave, as in the opening lines of hymns five and fourteen: "Men of England, ye are slaves" (hymn five) and "Britannia's sons, though Slaves ye be" (hymn fourteen).

The trope of the slave is one of the most fraught and freighted images in the Chartist repertoire. For Schwab it is "the negative stock-taking from where all efforts towards a new identity start" (117). Kelly J. Mays, noting the frequency with which the concept of slavery recurs in Chartist poetry, identifies a dichotomy between critics who concentrate "on the use of slavery as a kind of generalized and generalizing metaphor" and those who regard its use as referring directly to "colonial and American slavery" (140). For her part, Mays argues that "Chartist poetry tends to render 'slavery' a trope so abstract and multivalent that it can effectively serve as a master sign for a wide range of social, economic, legal, political and moral ills" (144). Significantly, none of these critical accounts considers the possible religious significance of this trope. Slavery also alludes to the Exodus narrative, which, in the words of Eileen Yeo, possesses a "paradigm quality . . . [that] provides a permanent language for liberation struggles" ("Chartist" 414).

Elsewhere, the identities offered by the *National Chartist Hymn Book* are much more explicitly freighted with Christian significance. In two hymns (three and eleven), Chartists identify themselves as the "children" of God who are oppressed by "men of wealth and men of power" (hymn three). The rhetoric of martyrdom recalls the experiences of the early Christian church, particularly in the first hymn (Bramwich's "Great God! Is This the Patriot's Doom?"), whose fifth stanza revises Tertullian's dictum that the "blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church":

> Tho' Freedom mourns her murder'd son
> And weeping friends surround his bier;
> Tho' tears like mountain torrents run,
> Our cause is water'd by each tear.

Similarly, the repeated injunctions to proselytize—"Spread the Charter through the world!" (hymn fifteen)—suggest the work of the original apostles. Additionally, as we have seen, the Resurrection provides both trope and type of the desired social change in hymn thirteen. In similar fashion the final hymn in the *National Chartist Hymn Book* also draws parallels between Chartists and the figure of Christ:

> There are *now* who Christ resemble,
> Bear his lineaments serene;
> At their glance oppressors tremble,
> Quail before their God-like mien.

Finally, in three hymns (two, seven, and eight), Chartists are identified as the protectors of widows, orphans, and children. The repeated refrain of hymn two, for example, is: "Dry up the Whig-made widow's tears— / And shield her children fatherless!" This particular refrain underscores the extent to which all the identities imagined by the *National Chartist Hymn Book* are essentially masculine (and frequently paternalist).

There is, however, an underlying tension between personal belief and institutional religion throughout the *National Chartist Hymn Book*. Only one of its sixteen hymns (number five) does not explicitly invoke either God or Christ, and while some hymns, such as number fourteen, refer to a "Creator" and "Deity" and might, therefore, conceivably belong to a Deist tradition, the overwhelming majority of the hymns are unmistakeably Christian. In addition, many of the hymns either allude to or quote directly from a number of biblical texts. For example, the seventh hymn, "For Every Thing a Time," alludes to the third chapter of Ecclesiastes: "To every thing there is a season, and a time to every purpose under the heaven" (3.1). Hymn ten, "We Ask 'Our Daily Bread,'" not only quotes from the Lord's Prayer but also alludes to Exodus in its fourth stanza; hymn eleven alludes to both Luke 11.11 in its first stanza and to Job 14.1 in its final verse. The "writing on the wall" in the twelfth hymn refers to Daniel 5, while the first stanza of hymn eight, with its opening quotation "How long . . . ?" and its call on God to "defend / The helpless" is reminiscent (both thematically and structurally) of many of the Psalms. Yet throughout, the *National Chartist Hymn Book* is hostile toward priestcraft and organized religion.

The figure of the priest usually appears in conjunction with other agents of oppression or exploitation. Thus, in hymn thirteen the priests join with kings and tyrants "to crush the burstings of the soul"

(an image of political oppression) while in hymn seven ("For Every Thing a Time") the emphasis falls on the economic despoliation of the working classes, with the present time described as one

> For priests and lords and kings
> To let their passions loose,—
> And heedless of our sufferings,
> Devour what we produce!

Similarly, the resentment felt by many at the Established Church's collusion with the state's degradation of the working classes finds expression in the second stanza of "We Ask 'Our Daily Bread,'" which asks:

> Why starve we then?—ah? why!
> Answer thou wicked priest,
> Who scarce will give us when we die
> The burial of a beast.

Chartist and Victorian Hymnodies

Over the past thirty years, scholars have identified a set of themes and images that, it is claimed, typify the Victorian hymn. In *Make A Joyful Noise Unto The Lord*, Susan S. Tamke argues that Victorian hymnals are dominated by four key clusters of images derived from the Crucifixion, the family, the military, and the rural/agricultural world (140–55). Lionel Adey's *Class and Idol in the English Hymn*, while broadly endorsing Tamke's account of the importance of family, military, and natural imagery in Victorian hymns, argues that in Christological terms there is a shift in focus "from the Passion to the Nativity" during the Victorian period (74). Adey also differentiates between the concerns of the "popular" and "learned" hymn traditions. The former is distinguished by its "apprehension of Judgement . . . [and] Dionysian jubilation at the prospect of deliverance from the wilderness" and its insistence on the importance of domestic affection, whereas the latter emphasizes "social and national service" and deals with death and the Second Coming in a "less dramatic and personal vein" (2). Bradley comments on the "centrality of death as a theme in Victorian hymnody" (112) and a related preoccupation with heaven, particularly the idea of heaven as home (118). Thus, scholars agree that the Crucifixion and Nativity, the family, the military, the natural world, the fact of death,

and the promise of heaven provide theme and imagery for the majority of Victorian hymns.

The *National Chartist Hymn Book* challenges this account of conventional Victorian hymnody in almost every respect. These hymns make no reference to either the Crucifixion or the Nativity. Indeed, only three hymns explicitly invoke Christ . Hymn thirteen offers an image of the resurrection of Christ as type and trope of the social transformation desired by Chartism, and all three hymns emphasize the essential identity of Chartism with Christianity. There are, at most, two military references (the fifteenth hymn proclaims "Better by the sword to die / Than to die of want and hunger," while the fifth refers to "policemen's staves"), neither of which either valorize martial activity or use it in Pauline fashion as an analogy for spiritual warfare. Images of the family are used; God the Father or Protector is invoked in hymns three, nine, ten, and eleven. Elsewhere, those families that appear are decidedly earthly rather than heavenly and, in a reflection of the precarious nature of working-class domesticity in the early Victorian period, the emphasis falls on fragmented and vulnerable families, as in the second hymn's repeated refrain, "Dry up the Whig-made widow's tears,— / And shield her children fatherless," or the eighth hymn's "babes of tender years . . . doomed to toil." Even where the *National Chartist Hymn Book* appears closest to conventional Victorian hymnals, as in its frequent use of agricultural or natural imagery, there remain important differences of emphasis and meaning. Although it offers many examples of the natural world as the handiwork of a benevolent Creator, the anti-Malthusian polemic that usually accompanies these references to the natural world is conspicuously absent from conventional hymnals.

The dominant image patterns in the *National Chartist Hymn Book* do not revolve around the Crucifixion, the family, the military, and the promise of heaven, but center instead on political and economic antagonisms. In these hymns, patriots, martyrs, Britons, freemen, and sons of poverty confront tyrants, useless kings, idle drones, lazy peers, and wicked priests. Cumulatively these images generate a sense of Britain as a giant prison, a place of oppression and suffering. Explicit images of imprisonment and slavery occur in ten of the sixteen hymns. This emphasis on political oppression and economic exploitation might appear to suggest a secular rather than a religious outlook. However, there is a need for caution before acclaiming the Chartist movement as anticipating the avowedly secular nature of later labor and socialist

movements. Lionel Adey identifies a complex hermeneutical problem that attends the interpretation of Victorian hymns, insofar as the established practice of fourfold biblical exegesis (literal, typological, moral, and eschatological) means that "only careful reading can establish whether harvest images refer to earthly crops or the Judgement, food images to literal or Eucharistic bread" (21–22). Chartist hymns pose this problem in reverse with apparently secular images possessing religious significance. In particular, the idea of bondage (which links the images of prison, slavery, and oppression) is clearly derived from the Exodus narrative.

Chartist theology therefore acts as a deep generative structure informing Chartist consciousness—and, hence, wider symbolic praxis—not just at the level of specific ideas, but more fundamentally in terms of ethos and attitude. The contents of the *National Chartist Hymn Book*, therefore, stand in a complex relationship to conventional hymnody. Hymn ten, for example, is clearly a Communion hymn, while hymn twelve is modeled on Advent hymns (such as Doddridge's "Hark the Glad Sound").[8] Elsewhere, parallels can be drawn between the tradition of Nonconformist hymns (such as Charles Wesley's "Surrounded By a Host of Foes" and "Come, Sinners, to the Gospel Feast"), which treat of the power of Satan and the "tyranny" of sin, and those Chartist hymns that deal with earthly tyrants and the evil effects of their domination, which, as Yeo notes, are recast as "social sin" ("Chartist" 413). In similar fashion the "paradigm quality" (414) of Exodus is (as was argued earlier) readily apparent throughout the *National Chartist Hymn Book*.

The *National Chartist Hymn Book*'s challenge to conventional Victorian hymnody extends beyond imagery to the very pronouns used in its hymns.[9] Conventional Victorian hymnody often treats of the personal relationship between the individual believer and Christ (or God) and, therefore, makes greater use of "I," "me," and "my" than it does of "we," "us," and "ours." For example, in Bradley's list of "100 Victorian hymns that should be in any self-respecting modern hymnal," eighteen have titles containing a first-person singular pronoun while only ten use the first-person plural (248–52). By way of contrast, "I" appears only twice in the entire *National Chartist Hymn Book* (and "me"/"my" not at all), while "we," "ours," and "us" appear some sixty times. Furthermore, not a single hymn offers heavenly reward as compensation for earthly suffering. The consolatory aspect of hymns

mooted by Lionel Adey does not apply in the case of the *National Chartist Hymn Book* (29). In a decisive break from the conventions of Victorian hymnody, the *National Chartist Hymn Book* eschews the rewards of the next life in favor of achieving social justice in this one.

Hymnody and Poetry

In many respects the relationship between Chartist hymns and conventional Victorian hymnody is homologous with the relationship between Chartist poetry and the canonical tradition. In both cases, the Chartist variant exists in a complex relationship to the mainstream, partly determined by opposition yet also demonstrating elements of affinity. For example, both Chartist poetry and hymnody address the same fundamental aesthetic challenge first identified by Yuri Kovalev and succinctly summarized by Martha Vicinus as "the responsibility of fitting a new subject—working-class ideals—into the traditional forms of English poetry" (97). What is of particular note is the similarity between the solutions attempted by Chartist poets and hymn writers alike. The various identities enacted in the *National Chartist Hymn Book*—slave, patriot, martyr—correspond closely to the repertoire of identities that, as Schwab argues, are continually rehearsed in Chartist poetry. Similarly, while the main themes and associated image clusters found in the *National Chartist Hymn Book* such as the land, the state, natural law, and the social gospel are radically different from those found in conventional Victorian hymnody, they are remarkably consistent with those found in Chartist poetry.[10]

While the influence of Romanticism on Chartist verse correctly enjoys an almost axiomatic status in critical discussions of Chartist poetry, there is a danger that references to an abstract and generalized "Romantic" influence obscure the specifics of this inheritance.[11] A full account of Chartism's relationship to Romanticism is beyond the scope of this article, but a brief consideration of the presence and interplay of Wordsworthian and Shelleyan inheritances, and the consequences of the "Blakean disinheritance" within the *National Chartist Hymn Book* will suggest, at least, some of the complexities involved.

The Wordsworthian inheritance is most apparent in those hymns (for example, six and fourteen) that interpret phenomena in the external world as signs of a moral order underpinning the entire cosmos. However, it is hymn sixteen ("Source of Good, Ethereal Essence") that most clearly demonstrates a Wordsworthian influence.

Infinite are Thy perfections,
Up to Thee no thought can soar;
Thy omniscient eye's reflections
Sparkle all creation o'er.

Thy great power bespeaks the ocean,
In each drop Thy smile we see;
Natures [sic] voice awakes devotion,
Gentle breezes tell of Thee.

In the boundless world-fraught ether,
In the gay and bloomy earth,
Thee we trace, indulgent Father,
See Thy glorious "going forth."

Can a being so unholy,
So debased, so vile a thing,
As will cringe to pampered folly,
Be of Thy own fashioning?

Pity, Lord such degradation,
Curst effect of cruel laws;
Join, ye Patriots! up, O Nation,
And remove the baleful curse.

In part this hymn reads like a reworking of Wordsworth's "Lines Written in Early Spring" from *Lyrical Ballads* (1798). Both lyrics share stanzaic form, meter, rhyme scheme, and even key images (most notably the combination of breeze and flowers). In both, the contemplation of the pleasures of the natural world—understood as signs of a divine order at work in the universe—gives rise to sorrowful thoughts concerning the degradation of humanity. However, where Wordsworth laments "What man has made of man" (line 24), the Chartist hymn ends with a call for immediate political action.

In addition, the hymnbook is predicated on a belief in the value of the language of "common men." Indeed, on one level Chartist poetry might be seen as the realization of Francis Jeffrey's fears regarding the "Paineite" implications of Wordsworth's aesthetic.[12] Certainly, the anonymous author of "The Politics of Poets: No. III," published in the *Chartist Circular*, was in no doubt as to Wordsworth's radical credentials:

> Mr Wordsworth's writings are so almost entirely political, and those so thoroughly Radical, that . . . we cannot but wonder how he came to be called a Tory at all. Look at his poems altogether, consider the spirit of them altogether, and they are Radical—deeply, essentially, entirely Radical.

At a more formal level, the dominance of the quatrain (twelve out of the sixteen hymns use this stanzaic form) suggests the influence of the ballad, thereby providing another point of intersection not only with Wordsworth but with that wider cultural reformation, discussed by Janowitz, wherein the popular ballad is appropriated and modified by both "elite literary culture" (33) and "dissenting and Methodist practices," which saw an increase in congregational singing (36).[13]

The influence of Shelley, particularly his "Song to the Men of England" (1839), is also readily apparent; for example, the form of "Men of England, Ye Are Slaves" (hymn five), is an exact imitation of Shelley's "Song." Elsewhere Shelley's influence can be seen in those hymns whose poetic formulation of the inverse relationship between labor and reward owes much not only to "Song to the Men of England" but also to stanzas 40–45 of "The Mask of Anarchy" (1832).[14] However, the most tantalizing and intriguing echo occurs in hymn thirteen, whose use of "burst" and "burstings" recalls the final lines of Shelley's "England in 1819" (1839): "Are graves, from which a glorious Phantom may / Burst, to illumine our tempestuous day" (lines 13–14). Hymn thirteen retains this idea of hope emerging from the grave of the present, but it transforms Shelley's tentative prophecy into a confident assertion of the resurrection of Christ, which, in turn, becomes both analogue of the human desire for freedom and guarantee of its eventual realization.

> Hail, glorious morn! when Christ arose,
> And burst the fetters of the tomb,
> And triumphed o'er his cruel foes,
> Who stood amazed,—confounded,—dumb.
>
> While time, and tide, and planets roll,
> Tho' kings, and priests, and tyrants join
> To crush the burstings of the soul,
> Inspir'd with *truth—pure truth shall shine*!
> . . . . . .
> But Christ has risen from the dead
> And gained a glorious victory;
> Then follow him—the Truth—your Head,
> Demand your Charter, and be free.

Chartism's relationship to the English literary tradition is further complicated by a significant *disinheritance*—the absence of William Blake. At times it seems as if there are echoes of Blake: for example, hymn thirteen contains a vision of a radical, disruptive Christ, and its temporal disturbances seek to articulate the relationship between the present and eternity. The fourteenth hymn might be seen as a reductive version of "The Tyger" (1794), in which the unsettling question of divine responsibility for an antagonistic creation—"Did he who made the Lamb make thee?" (line 25)—is resolved rather than allowed to remain open ("*He* [God] made the man,—*Man made the slave*!"). However, Chartist poetry is channelling the key components of Blake's tradition (Milton, Dissenting Christianity, plebeian radicalism) rather than Blake himself.

Paradoxically, the absence of Blake helps to explain the political limitations of another distinctive feature of Chartist hymnody—namely, its analysis of oppression. Chartist hymnody everywhere emphasizes the externality of oppression in the form of tyrants, kings, priests, police, prisons, and unjust laws.[15] The only hymn not to include a direct reference to any of these oppressive forces is Bramwich's "Britannia's Sons," which focuses on the victims rather than the agents of oppression. In short, Chartist hymns understand oppression as something imposed on the people by external agencies; there is no recognition of those "mind-forg'd manacles" (line 8) described in Blake's "London" (1794). The nearest the *National Chartist Hymn Book* gets to recognizing the internal dimension of oppression is its acknowledgement that ignorance and lack of knowledge (especially of the Charter) actively impede the progress of freedom. However, this is seen as an organizational problem that will be resolved by the inexorable spread of knowledge. For example, hymn seven proclaims that there is a time "For knowledge pure, refined, / T'illumine every brow!" while hymn fifteen ends with the call, "Spread the Charter through the world!" In both hymns "knowledge" encounters neither opposition nor resistance. It is apprehended immediately and recognized instantly by its intended audience. The *National Chartist Hymn Book* exhibits none of the awareness, which we find in Blake, that acts of perception and interpretation are by their very nature ideological and, as a result, that the transformation of popular understanding is likely to prove an intractable process.

The almost complete absence of internalized subjectivity in Chartist hymns has ramifications for both Chartist strategy and the

relationship of Chartist poetry to the emerging trends within what will later become the canonical forms of Victorian poetry. It is not that the hymns lack an internal dimension; references to, and signs of, a variety of psychic states stud these hymns. Indeed, a number make unashamedly sentimental appeals: the second hymn, for example, identifies the "Whig-made widow . . . [and] her children fatherless" as proper objects of divine protection. Similarly, hymns seven and eight invoke "the poor factory child" and "babes of tender years" respectively as victims of tyranny, while the fifteenth hymn summons "Ye whose hearts with woe are riven" to the Chartist ranks. However, these interior states are represented as either collective or universal (or both). The hymns both assume and promote a commonality of feeling that will facilitate the desired political outcome. The logic of the hymns can be expressed as follows: this is how we feel, how everyone must feel, and if you feel this way, then this is the course of action you must take. The problem with this sequence is that every one of its propositions is as contestable as the apparent necessity of its deductions. Chartism's inability to recognize the complex and contradictory aspects of individual psychology left it ill-prepared to address the particular challenges posed by the increasingly subtle and sophisticated operations of power characteristic of a bourgeois hegemony.

The *National Chartist Hymn Book*'s insistence on the universality of human feeling (and its concomitant actions) follows from a belief that all humans are made in God's image and that there is an underlying (and thus universal) moral order at work in the universe. To summarize: feeling is clear and the action that arises from that feeling is natural and inevitable. When the book's assumptions are drawn out in this way, the fatal consequences of Blake's unavailability to Chartist writers becomes apparent. For Blake is, among many other things, aware of the divisions, self-deceptions, and self-contradictions that constitute the emerging bourgeois subject. These self-same problems provide the subject matter for many of the canonical Victorian poets—Alfred Tennyson, Robert Browning, Elizabeth Barrett Browning, and Arthur Hugh Clough—who are writing in the same historical moment as the authors of the *National Chartist Hymn Book*.

Thus, the *National Chartist Hymn Book* exemplifies the ways in which a cultural practice (and its accompanying texts) can exist in a simultaneously contradictory and continuous relationship with the dominant culture. Chartist hymnody gives evidence of a partial

appropriation of its Romantic influences. But its reluctance, and possibly even its inability, to engage with the diversity of interior emotional and psychological states ensured its isolation from the emerging (and ultimately canonical) modes of Victorian middle-class poetry. Similarly, the fact of Chartist hymn making is entirely consistent with the burgeoning importance and prestige of the hymn form throughout Victorian culture, yet the theological and political content of the *National Chartist Hymn Book*, as well as its repertoire of images, challenges conventional Victorian hymnody in almost every respect.

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NOTES

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[1]Lionel Adey refers to the "incalculable harm done to the Anglican church in particular" by what he refers to as Mrs. Alexander's "notorious verse on the 'rich man in his castle'" (87–88). He also sees "From Greenland's Icy Mountains" as complicit with the ideological structures of Victorian imperialism (35, 197–98).

[2]For hymn singing as "the badge of dissent" (the phrase was coined by Louis F. Benson), see Watson 337. For details of the last legal action against hymn singing and for Anglican attitudes to *Hymns Ancient and Modern* see Bradley 16–19, 59–72.

[3]J. A. Leatherland (a Chartist from Kettering) records, in *Essays and Poems, with a Brief Autobiographical Memoir* (1862), that his composition "Base Oppressors, Break Your Slumbers" was "inserted in the 'Chartist Hymn-Book' [and] became very popular" (17). As Leatherland's song does not appear in the *National Chartist Hymn Book*, he is probably referring to Cooper's collection. I am grateful to Professor Malcolm Chase for bringing this information to my attention.

[4]Linda Croft, the author of *John Fielden's Todmorden* (1994), first alerted me to the existence of the *National Chartist Hymn Book* in the local history archive at Todmorden Public Library. This is, quite possibly, the only surviving copy of a Chartist hymnal. When I first saw the *National Chartist Hymn Book*, it was lying at the bottom of an A4 box file, its fragile pages glued between covers made from an old cigar box! It has since been digitized by Calderdale Council and can be accessed at the following address: **http://www.calderdale.gov.uk/wtw/search/controlservlet?PageId=Detail&DocId=102253**.

[5]Charles Dickens's "On Strike" first appeared in *Household Words* on 11 February 1854. In this article, Dickens records all three hymn verses; the first two are identical to the version in the *National Chartist Hymn Book*, but the opening couplet of the third verse is markedly different. Dickens gives the opening couplet as "Awake, ye sons of toil! nor sleep / While millions starve, while millions weep." However, the *National Chartist Hymn Book* gives: "No longer view yourselves as *things* / Made for the use of useless kings!" The closing couplet is the same in both versions.

[6]Two studies that have engaged this question of Christianity as an empowering discourse within Chartism are Miles Taylor's *Ernest Jones, Chartism and the Romance of Politics* and Roy Vickers's "Christian Election, Holy Communion and Psalmic Language in Ernest Jones's Chartist Poetry."

[7]See Schwab, *The Poetry of the Chartist Movement* 117–23 and Janowitz, *Lyric and Labour in the Romantic Tradition* 133–59 for an analysis of the various identities created in and through Chartist symbolic production.

[8]I am particularly grateful to Reverend William and Mrs. Pam Barlow for drawing my attention to these parallels.

[9]I would like to thank Anna Barton for drawing this to my attention.

[10]See Schwab 96–123 for a detailed analysis of the identities and themes that dominate Chartist poetry. For a further discussion of Chartism's use of the "slave," see Mays. See also Sanders 87–116 for a discussion of several key themes and identities generated by Chartist poetry.

[11]In 1956, Kovalev was one of the first critics to note the indebtedness of Chartist poetry to Romanticism. Thereafter, Vicinus (1974), Schwab (1987), and Maidment (1992) note the influence of Romanticism, while Shaaban (1983, 1989) documents the presence of the Romantics in the Chartist press. Key interventions in this debate are made by Ashraf (1978) and Janowitz (1998). Ashraf highlights the dangers of overstating Shelley's influence by emphasizing the autochthonous sources of working-class symbolism (58), while Janowitz's magisterial study demonstrates the variegated influence of distinct modes within Romanticism.

[12]For details of Jeffrey's critique of Wordsworth's "Paineite" tendencies, see Butler 61–62.

[13]I am particularly grateful to Stephen Regan for his suggestion that a number of the lyrics in the *National Chartist Hymn Book* read like a cross between hymn and ballad with a little added Wordsworth.

[14]Hymns three, five, seven, eight, eleven, and twelve all make use of this trope.

[15]Prisons, police, and unjust laws feature in the first, second, fourth, fifth, ninth, and thirteenth hymns, while tyrants, kings, and priests are denounced in the third, fifth, seventh, eighth, ninth, tenth, twelfth, thirteenth, and fifteenth hymns.

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