

## **A tale of two funerals: civic ritual, public mourning and community participation in late nineteenth century Middlesbrough**

### **ABSTRACT**

In the late nineteenth century, British funerals became increasingly rational as they began to strip away the excesses of Victorian custom. Yet imposing public funerals for well-known figures continued to take place. Historians have previously underestimated the entertainment value which a public funeral could offer. As this article demonstrates, attendance at such funerals could only be guaranteed if the occasion held particular emotional resonance, personal appeal or came with a degree of novelty. Focusing on Middlesbrough in 1889, the circumstances surrounding two particular funerals are considered in order to understand both local shifts in values and priorities concerning death ritual, as an indicator of a broader national trend.

### **Keywords:**

funerals, custom, civic ritual, entertainment, death

### **INTRODUCTION**

In August 1889, two extraordinary funerals took place in Middlesbrough, which encapsulated the changing nature of public mourning convention in the late nineteenth century.<sup>1</sup> The first was for Alderman William Fallows, a man widely regarded as ‘the father of Middlesbrough’, who died of ‘senile decay’ aged ninety-two. The second funeral was for Moses Carpenter, a First Nations Christian convert who worked as a solo cornet player in the ‘Sequah’ travelling medicine show, who died of pneumonia, aged approximately thirty-five.<sup>2</sup> The public response to the deaths, and more directly the funerals of these two very different men, was indicative of broader changes in contemporary attitudes to mortality, funeral custom and the role of popular culture in influencing social attitudes in the late nineteenth century.

Both occasions, as will be shown, were representative of civic ritual in the provincial setting. The funerals of well-known local figures were key aspects of municipal culture and useful indicators of the prevailing popularity of urban ceremony. This article uses the example of Middlesbrough, an archetypal nineteenth-century British town, to highlight the too-often unacknowledged role of culture and more specifically leisure in slowly modifying the way society engaged with public funerals. The focus of historical research regarding funereal convention has given only limited consideration to ceremonial mourning customs relating to public figures. Death ritual linked to the British middle-class and municipal political figures has been frequently overlooked, in favour of consideration of aristocratic and royal funerals.<sup>3</sup> Crucially for this study, there has also been no exploration of the deaths of notable visitors to a particular locale, whose remains could not be returned to their home, but who generated considerable public interest. Despite these oversights, the existing literature reveals certain facts that shed light on the link between public ceremony and death ritual.

Considerable attention has been paid to the processes of bereavement, familial and communal mourning and burial custom linked to the poor and working classes.<sup>4</sup> This has drawn attention to the basic facets of funereal custom in the period, which led to the utilisation of elaborate ceremonies and traditions to mark the passing of a loved one. Ostentatious mourning convention has been frequently linked to several factors including higher mortality rates (especially amongst the poor and the young), the widespread Victorian concern for respectability, and the social impact of Queen Victoria's prolonged grief following the death of Prince Albert in 1861. The customs attached to nineteenth century death ritual and funereal trends, many of which will be discussed here, do attest

to a public conformity with an accepted and established form of death ritual. Yet the point at which public obsession with death began to decline is much contested. David Cannadine has recognised that by the 1870s, the public had already begun to lose interest in complex funereal customs, citing the 1875 formation of the National Funeral and Mourning Reform Association as evidence of an increasingly rational approach to death.<sup>5</sup> This suggests that by the late nineteenth century, attitudes relating to death and mourning were adopting a more rational tone.

However, there has also been debate regarding whether the Victorian celebration of death was as extensive as the broader historiography has implied. Pat Jalland has stated that a focus on 'ostentatious displays of grief' has overlooked the fact that there had been an elaboration of funerals since the late seventeenth century.<sup>6</sup> Therefore, the popularity of elaborate death ritual was less representative of a peculiarity of the Victorian period, than a continuation of a popular trend which may, as Cannadine has suggested, have been starting to wane. Additionally, Jalland, along with Julie-Marie Strange acknowledge the capacity of mourning ritual to fulfil an emotional need.<sup>7</sup> This was no less true for the civic community, than it was for an individual mourner or a family unit. In the case of well-known figures, the process was assisted by public death ritual.

The civic elite funeral, for example, commemorated the deceased's contribution to local society and permitted the community as a whole to pay their respects, while engaging in collective patterns of behaviour linked to death. Simultaneously, such a funeral allowed surviving authority figures to demonstrate their continued public role through participation.<sup>8</sup> Simon Gunn has utilised the term 'centipedic funeral' to describe this process, with cortèges comprising the deceased's colleagues and representatives of

various other elements of civic society, alongside immediate family.<sup>9</sup> Municipal political funerals would also frequently make widespread use of the urban landscape, by touring sites associate with the life of the deceased, as a visible reminder of their community role.<sup>10</sup> Symbolically, this served as a final means of declaring the authority of the deceased over the urban landscape. As Paul O'Leary has recognised, civic funerals promoted the 'unity of the social body' whilst simultaneously acknowledging the hierarchical nature of life in a municipality.<sup>11</sup> In this sense, the funerals of more prominent individuals maintained a spirit of elaboration and a high degree of symbolism in this period despite such occasions evidently becoming more rational from as early as 1850.<sup>12</sup> Yet these funerals also played a part in the continuing evolution of civic ritual, which despite showing signs of decline in larger British cities from the 1870s onwards,<sup>13</sup> actually flourished in smaller towns well into the twentieth century.<sup>14</sup>

Historians have previously shown somewhat of a reluctance to explore the links between death ritual and other aspects of urban ceremony. Yet the pageantry involved in a public funeral for a well-known local figure juxtaposed obligatory sombre overtones with celebratory public processional culture, similar to that associated with occasions such as Mayoral Sunday, foundation stone ceremonies, or royal coronations and jubilees. Before the 1880s, urban pageantry and ceremony were predominantly linked to events specifically for local elite figures, to the exclusion of other social groups. The opening of public buildings would be marked by social gatherings for local worthies, with the public element of such occasions taking the form of an associated procession, which presented the opportunity for street theatre and the reinforcement of local power structures.<sup>15</sup>

By the late nineteenth century, the structure of civic ritual in Britain began to change. Queen Victoria's prolonged period of mourning had severely curtailed the frequency of national festivals. The staging of celebrations for the Queen's Golden Jubilee in 1887, followed by her Diamond Jubilee in 1897, therefore forced civic authorities to create appropriate celebrations to mark the occasions, after a relative dearth of such events in mid-nineteenth century Britain. This resulted in a reevaluation of much civic ritual in order to incorporate a degree of public recreation such as variety entertainments, competitive sports and greater public representation in major processions. In turn, the experience of the individual on the street was shifted from passive bystander of pageantry and custom, to active participant.<sup>16</sup>

Public engagement with civic ritual had always been extensive. Even before such occasions became more inclusive, large crowds could be expected to gather for even the most basic of ritualistic events. In this regard, the funeral of a well-known figure in the provincial setting was no different. An elaborate funeral procession could actually serve as a day out for working-class communities and was a form of free entertainment, irrespective of the individual emotional investment in the occasion. Ostentatious funereal decoration held considerable visual appeal. Additionally, the presence of a large number of local worthies added to the 'display' and made the funeral appear more attractive. Such events also presented a chance to 'dress up', gather with family and friends, collectively participate in a ritualised act, engage with expected societal behaviour linked to death and also be involved in an important event in local history. In turn, this served to encourage the creation of a collective civic memory. The civic funeral therefore was

unique in the manner it was able to blend sombre decorum with recreational appeal and ceremonial symbolism.

Public funerals in smaller British towns were not immune from the prevailing funereal rationality, which Gunn has observed taking place from the 1850s and Cannadine from the 1870s. Middlesbrough provides useful evidence of the factors which were forcing change on funereal conventions. The town's urban development was rapid, having only twenty-five residents in 1801, but almost 20,000 by 1861, prompting William Gladstone to refer to the town as 'the Infant Hercules'.<sup>17</sup> Use of civic ceremony and ritual played a major part in fostering a sense of local identity and community cohesion in this period. The annual regularity of occasions such as Mayoral Sunday, observed in the town with a civic parade from the mid-1870s, served to increase public familiarity (and interest) in ceremonial styles of procession.<sup>18</sup> Similarly, 'urban development ceremonies' linked to the building or opening of a new public institution utilised elaborate ritual to generate both public and press interest and to give a degree of gravitas to the occasion. This was especially useful for a town without an extensive heritage or unique traditions or extensive heritage. Consequently, masonic ritual was frequently incorporated into municipal ceremony in the mid-to-late nineteenth century so that occasions could be more ritualistic and visually appealing.<sup>19</sup> Yet the practicalities of the urban landscape were not always compatible with the manner in which civic ritual was implemented, which was particularly pertinent when planning a public funeral.

An important factor related to the route taken by the funeral cortège. A central ceremonial route was advantageously neutral, reducing arguments regarding certain areas being overlooked. Such a route would also be more accessible by a greater number

of local people. Depending on the urban development of the particular community, this was also frequently the location of churches and chapels of different denominations, which had been built in accordance with local demography. In Middlesbrough, Linthorpe Road emerged as the town's central space. For centuries, it had served as the lane connecting the small village of Linthorpe in the south, to the bank of the River Tees in the north. With the rapid nineteenth century growth of Middlesbrough as an industrial powerhouse, 'Linthorpe Lane' soon became 'Linthorpe Road'. It gradually developed as the arterial link that ran through all parts of the town, starting with working-class housing closer to the river, then passing through the commercial buildings of the new town centre, including places of worship, finally reaching the middle-class suburb of Linthorpe in the south. Civic ritual soon affirmed this route as being central to an evolving sense of local custom, pageantry and tradition. It also had the advantage of leading to the town's two new cemeteries, 'Linthorpe Road Cemetery' (consecrated in 1854) and 'Linthorpe Cemetery' (opened in 1869).<sup>20</sup>

## **DEATH RITUAL REFORM: THE EVIDENCE FROM MIDDLESBROUGH**

Despite the establishment of a central processional route increasing the chances that the wider civic community would gather to witness the passing of a funeral cortège, the reality was that most elite figures who were honoured with a civic funeral tended to live at a distance from urban centres. A useful example of this problem can be found in relation to the deaths of two of Middlesbrough's most famous industrialists. John Vaughan and Henry Bolckow were local ironmasters who were widely regarded as the town's founding fathers, the makers of what became known as *'Ironopolis'*.<sup>21</sup> They were heavily involved in local society, having both served as Mayor, and with Bolckow also serving as

the town's first Member of Parliament. Yet despite their position as Middlesbrough's principal residents, their funerals (Vaughan's in 1868 and Bolckow's in 1878) took place close to their private residences in the small village of Marton on the outskirts of Middlesbrough. In both cases, the funeral procession started from the central railway station but soon led away from Middlesbrough's more demographically dense areas through open countryside. Consequently, on both occasions, fewer people lined the route.<sup>22</sup>

The local press had done their utmost to publicise both events by extensively reporting the funeral plans in advance and by printing obligatory potted biographies of the two men.<sup>23</sup> However, despite the implementation of this regularly used journalistic trope, public participation could not be guaranteed if the route and funeral location were not central. This is in contrast to one of the earliest detailed reports of a major public funeral taking place in Middlesbrough, in May 1868, when the funeral cortège of the Town Clerk led to 3,000 people lining the route along Linthorpe Road. Yet four months later, for the funeral of John Vaughan, local newspapers were careful to avoid direct reference to crowd estimates. Reports were instead dominated by descriptions of overcrowding and the assembled crowd not being able to view the proceedings.<sup>24</sup> While this made the occasion sound well attended, it did not take into account that the parish church of Marton was extremely small. It was also located on a country lane, which would have become crowded if any more than 100 people gathered there, in contrast with the extensive principal street of the town, which could easily accommodate thousands.

For the majority of the nineteenth century, the public expression of grief for a public figure relied heavily on personal mourning conventions. The newspaper was the central

vehicle to inform the populace of a death, utilising techniques such as black borders for articles and title banners to emphasise deep mourning. This simultaneously facilitated, prompted, and encouraged public grief and connection to the deceased. Public mourning then found physical expression through the closing of shops and businesses, the drawing of curtains to coincide with the funeral, the suspension of the normal functions of civic society and the local populace acknowledging the event through the wearing of black clothes, or at the very least a black armband. These acts gave physical representation to the perceived loss, which the death of the public figure brought to the town and were a visible means of reinforcing a sense of local community spirit.

Such signposts of mourning were almost universal for the majority of the nineteenth century, but were less frequently reported by the late 1880s. An added complication came with the practicalities of extensive public mourning. The closure of businesses encouraged attendance at a civic funeral and by association, participation in collective mourning.<sup>25</sup> However, following Henry Bolckow's death in 1878, the *North Eastern Daily Gazette* recognised that a 'suspension of public life' would be inconvenient for local trade, indicating the pervasive rationality that was becoming evident in relation to funeral custom.<sup>26</sup> David Cannadine's claim that Victorian death ritual represented a 'bonanza of commercial exploitation' designed to encourage consumerist spending in order to satisfy perceived cultural norms is clearly evidenced at the national level, but public funerals at the local level could sometimes be viewed as a barrier to everyday commercial life.<sup>27</sup> This was especially the case if the public funeral is viewed as a form of entertainment. If the public were spending their free time gathered together to participate in a collective act of mourning, then they were not spending time in public houses, shops or at other

commercial enterprises - if those places of business were permitted to open at all during periods of mourning.

Public funerals were perhaps not, therefore, as significant for the public of towns like Middlesbrough by the 1880s as they once had been. However, it would still be expected that if a funeral cortège made use of a central route and the public were well informed in advance, there would be a large attendance – particularly given the increasing size of the population, which by the late 1880s was over 70,000.<sup>28</sup> Consequently, it was presumed that the local community would be united in grief in August 1889, following the death of William Fallows.

### **THE FUNERAL OF WILLIAM FALLOWS: SATURDAY 17 AUGUST 1889**

Born in 1797, Fallows had a long association with Middlesbrough. He supervised the first coal shipment to the newly established 'Port Darlington' (an early name for Middlesbrough) in 1829, and was one of the first residents of the newly laid-out town. He was responsible for organising the building of the first place of worship in 1833, the first school in 1837 and played a leading role in the building of the parish church in 1840 and the first town hall in 1846. He was heavily involved in local charitable pursuits and was at the heart of some of the town's most notable events, including Middlesbrough's first royal visit by the Duke of Sussex in 1838 and the visit of Chancellor of the Exchequer and later Prime Minister William Gladstone in 1862. In the final months of his life, he attended the 1889 royal visit of the Prince and Princess of Wales to open the new Town Hall. Following Middlesbrough's municipal incorporation in 1853, he held office as councillor, Mayor, Alderman and then went on to oversee the Tees Conservancy Commission - the body established to make the River Tees more safely navigable for trade.<sup>29</sup> Due to his long-

standing public role in the town as employer, former mayor, councillor, philanthropist and alderman, there would have been few people in Middlesbrough in 1889 unaware of Fallows. He had been a public champion of community development, had been personally involved in many of the young town's improvements and had even been a co-sponsor of Middlesbrough's immensely popular fifty-year jubilee celebration in 1881. He had also been the first person to receive the Honorary Freedom of the Borough in 1886.

Following his death, local newspapers were quick to emphasise what they viewed as a profound, if not entirely unexpected loss. The *North Eastern Daily Gazette* stated that 'It would not be easy to exaggerate the position which William Fallows long held in the community... [He] enjoyed more than a local celebrity. He was known and honoured by princes, peers and leading statesmen.'<sup>30</sup> In a similar vein, the *Northern Echo* acknowledged that 'Mr Fallows [had] faithfully served the public... and after a long and useful life, [had] passed away amid the profound regrets of the town to whose interests he was so devotedly attached.'<sup>31</sup> Both statements from two of the principal newspapers for the area indicate the manner in which the local press prompted and channelled an appropriate sense of public grief. Officially at least, the public also demonstrated a degree of sorrow, with tributes being paid by all public bodies, organisations and societies.<sup>32</sup>

When the funeral was announced, the press continued to orchestrate this ritual expression of grief by conveying the mayor's wish that all local officials attend.<sup>33</sup> Yet, the same report also noted concerns over the inconvenience of commercial premises having to close; the *North Eastern Daily Gazette* reported that as Fallows' funeral was to take place on a Saturday afternoon, it would mean that it would be 'inconvenient for those in business to attend', echoing the earlier concern linked to the 1878 funeral of Bolckow.<sup>34</sup>

Cultural changes are rarely sudden or dramatic; the gradual shift to a more 'rational' and 'commercial' approach to civic funerals was evident in Middlesbrough in this period. In 1878, the traditional expectations of what was expected following the death of a 'founding father' were prioritised, leading to the town effectively closing for business. In 1889, the same tensions were apparent, but the increase of rationality linked to ceremony led to the business argument beginning to prevail. In the case of William Fallows, there was also another issue which would prevent extensive engagement with the funeral. As the *Gazette* acknowledged, Fallows had died at a time when many of his municipal colleagues were on their summer holiday – mostly on the continent; therefore official attendance and representation at the funeral would be reduced.<sup>35</sup> However, the newspaper still anticipated - or rather hoped - that many people would turn out for the occasion.

A public memorial service had taken place in the nearby Unitarian Church the evening before the burial, presumably as a way of allowing business owners to pay their respects. Fallows had long been associated with the church, having been part of the committee which had organised its building. His family had worshipped there since its consecration in 1873 and he continued to serve on the church council for the rest of his life.<sup>36</sup> It was therefore fitting that this was the location for the service, despite this being the only religious ceremony before the burial. The subsequent day, Fallows' body was taken from his home in Southfield Villas, the most exclusive area of the town, (adjacent to the principal processional route of Linthorpe Road), for interment in the new cemetery. Despite the lack of attendance of many local councillors, the funeral procession was still reasonably elaborate, led by the children of the local industrial school, followed by all

available local officials from every aspect of civic life including governance, education, law and religion. The procession also included representatives from neighbouring municipal corporations, followed by six mourning carriages containing the deceased's closest family and friends.<sup>37</sup> After the cortège's arrival at the cemetery, Unitarian Minister, the Reverend John Bevan read the first part of the burial service, before the coffin was borne to the graveside for committal, with all participants in the funeral procession gathering around for the final farewell.<sup>38</sup>

Seemingly, this was a fairly standard funeral for an individual who had led such a significant life; yet public engagement with the event was relatively minor. Two days later, the newspaper *North Star* reported that 'unostentatiously, but with every token of respect, the mortal remains of the late Mr William Fallows of Middlesbrough were consigned to their last resting place... [witnessed by] small but respectful groups of people,' who gathered along the route of the cortège.<sup>39</sup> Despite all local elites and officials, including those from neighbouring towns joining in the cortège, the funeral had apparently proven to be less appealing to the public. Significantly, the fact that the associated spectacle would be reduced due to the absence of certain officials had been reported in the local press before the funeral and may have been a factor in accounting for the relatively low turnout. No mention had been made beforehand of the planned presence of neighbouring civic officials or many of the local bodies who ultimately formed an imposing procession. This would attest to the power of local newspapers to influence opinion, together with the limits of perceived Victorian respectability if the majority of the local community could be discouraged from paying their respects due to the cortège promising to be less elaborate.

There is also the possibility that the lack of a religious service on the day of the committal reduced public interest. Press descriptions of the memorial service acknowledged a 'large congregation', so the majority of mourners may have attended this event rather than the actual burial.<sup>40</sup> The evidence against this lies not only with the widely recognised and deeply-deplored religious apathy of working people, but also the physical capacity of the church to accommodate great numbers. Even large churches in the town could accommodate only a few hundred people and reports of similar funerals, such as that of the Town Clerk in 1868, recognised that mourners lined the full route of the cortège, rather than gathering at the church.<sup>41</sup> Following the funeral of Fallows, there were few newspaper reports of the occasion than had previously been the case. Of those that were published, most were composed of a mere list of those who participated in the procession, rather than a conventional discussion and celebration of the public response to the occasion.

Perhaps the most telling evidence comes from an obituary published in *The Christian Life and Unitarian Herald* on the day of the burial. It recognised that as well as being an 'ardent believer in civil and religious liberty... [Fallows] gave unmistakable evidence of his simple manly piety... [and was] faithful to his Unitarian principles.'<sup>42</sup> This seems to indicate that the decision to hold the memorial service on the previous day could have been a deliberate ploy to attempt to avoid a lavish civic funeral. Municipal friends and colleagues may have been fully aware of Fallows' wishes in this regard. However, this still does not explain the absence of an extensive gathering of fellow Middlesbroughnians. All in all, when this event is compared to other funerals of the age, the lack of a wider public engagement is both surprising and significant.

## **THE FUNERAL OF MOSES CARPENTER: SUNDAY 18 AUGUST 1889**

The day after the interment of Fallows saw the funeral in Middlesbrough of First Nations man, Moses Carpenter, following a short illness. Carpenter was an assistant in the 'Sequah' travelling medicine show, which toured Britain in the 1880s and 1890s.<sup>43</sup> In order to understand the local community's response to his death in more detail, it is first essential to explore both the sales techniques employed by this company and the way in which the public responded. The business, established by Yorkshireman William Henry Hartley, in the mid-1880s, mainly sold what were advertised as 'miraculous' Native American restorative treatments for various medical complaints. After being formally registered in early 1889, the company soon expanded and by 1890, there were twenty-three official Sequah franchises, each made up of between five and eight men, travelling Great Britain and Ireland selling their wares.<sup>44</sup> Each franchise was accompanied by a brass band, usually made up of First Nation or Native American men, who performed in full tribal dress while their particular 'Sequah' performed for the public. The 'Sequah' figure's main job was to entertainingly convince the crowd of the efficacy of the company's products in order to persuade them to part with their money. Ultimately, the Inland Revenue Regulation Act of 1890 made the purveying of medicine outside of official premises illegal, forcing the company to transfer its focus overseas, before being formally wound up in 1895.<sup>45</sup> However, at its height, the popularity of Sequah's central product, 'Prairie Flower', captured the imagination (and the finances) of the nation.

The marketability of Sequah intersected with the public's strong desire for entertainment of any kind.<sup>46</sup> In a similar vein to the visual attractiveness of processional culture as basic street theatre, the travelling show brought with it undeniable intrigue and

appeal. A central part of the sales technique employed by each franchise relied on capturing the imagination of bystanders. This was achieved in several ways. Firstly, the imminent arrival of the Sequah caravan was advertised in the local press in order to generate anticipation. This was frequently accompanied by testimonials from satisfied customers; usually vicars, ministers and rabbis were included in order to increase consumer confidence. In the case of testimonials printed in the *North Eastern Weekly Gazette*, several quotes from members of the clergy were accompanied by 'Sequah Limited' in place of an address, implying connection to the company.<sup>47</sup> If the visit to a particular town was for an extended period, a subsequent batch of testimonials would be published, this time from local residents, but again mostly from professional backgrounds.<sup>48</sup>

All of this appeared alongside direct appeals to the afflicted. A four-page advertisement in the Middlesbrough-based *Northern Review* newspaper in August 1889 proclaimed:

SEQUAH SPEAKS! To the halt and the lame, to all suffering from chronic diseases, to the incurables, and to those whom doctors have failed to relieve, to those whose life is a misery on account of constant pain and suffering – now is your opportunity! Take care that it does not pass you by. As it has been in Newcastle, Sunderland and other cities, so will it be in this...<sup>49</sup>

The grandiose declaration of Sequah's efficacy in healing the sick came with illustrations of those who made up the company, in full costume and regalia, along with sketches of customers being healed – no doubt included for dramatic effect. This type of advertising campaign was perfect for publications which made use of the 'New Journalism' and were

looking for a style of editorship, centred on sensationalism. It created an awareness of the company in the minds of potential customers, which, it was hoped, would lead to curiosity. Efforts continued in the actual shows, which relied on dramatic performance to help sell the product. The performance element was assisted by a side-line of the Sequah 'show' which provided on-the-spot dentistry. This frequently delivered its own form of entertainment for provincial audiences who, facilitated by the press and print media, found entertainment in the most gruesome details of life.<sup>50</sup> In the atmosphere of nineteenth century rational recreation, many of the more macabre spectacles of traditional British provincial culture, such as public executions, punishments and blood sports had long since vanished.<sup>51</sup> Sequah's brand of entertainment provided an alternative within the urban setting. The show, usually staged twice a day, incorporated music, costume and spectacle to maximise sales and appears to have been extremely effective in guaranteeing large crowds for almost every performance.<sup>52</sup> In particular, the public found fascination in Sequah's Native American and First Nations bandsmen and attendants.

The appeal of 'Red Indians'<sup>53</sup> was at its height in this period, as a result of the widescale popularity of the Buffalo Bill show.<sup>54</sup> This served to increase the European appetite for anything connected to the American west. The public demand was satisfied through novels, children's toys, tours and of course the travelling Sequah show, all of which testified to the degree to which Americana was celebrated in British culture at this time.<sup>55</sup> The combative and savage nature of the 'wild west' in the European imagination was not only appealing in itself but intersected with western European imperial notions linked to the civilising mission of empire.<sup>56</sup> All of this helps to explain why the native peoples of North America held so much fascination for the British public. Those who

toured with the Sequah Show brought with them fascination, exoticism and perceived danger – all of which had undeniable appeal for a provincial audience who were eager for novel forms of entertainment and anxious to ‘experience [America] vicariously’.<sup>57</sup>

The perception that Native Americans were also more in tune with nature and the essential ‘mysteries of life’ no doubt played a part in making the medicinal products more alluring. The regularity of the Sequah performances encouraged audiences to attend several times, leading to increased familiarity with those involved and a growing fondness for them. Local press reports linked to the departure of the caravan after a provincial stop attest to the popularity all of those linked to the company enjoyed, almost verging on celebrity. The illustrations provided by the *Northern Review* of Sequah’s eventual departure from the town in 1889 show crowds of hundreds of people gathering to wave the caravan off,<sup>58</sup> while the *North Eastern Weekly Gazette* described an ‘immense assembled throng’ that had come to demonstrate a ‘genuine affection’ for Sequah and his attendants.<sup>59</sup>

The death of Moses Carpenter was a significant, but obviously unexpected factor in creating this apparent attachment. Little is known about Carpenter’s early life. His Mohawk name was Ska-Yun-Ra-Te and at some point he converted to Christianity before finding his way to Europe. A letter of thanks received by the *North Eastern Daily Gazette* after his death from the Council of the Chiefs of the Six Nations Indians of the Grand River in September 1889 indicated that Carpenter was an unmarried Chief.<sup>60</sup> Following his sudden development of pneumonia after several days in Middlesbrough, Carpenter was admitted to the North Riding Infirmary, where on Thursday 15 August, he died. Local newspapers did not initially report the death for they were focusing on the loss of William

Fallows, yet the public response to the two deaths could not have been more different. The news appears to have spread through the town through word of mouth, but on Sunday 18 August, only one day after 'small but respectful groups of mourners' had lined the streets for the 'father of the town', an estimated 15,000 people gathered to witness the cortège of Moses Carpenter, making it the best attended funeral in the town's history.<sup>61</sup> The funeral cortège of course offered more of a spectacle than had been the case with Fallows, which served to increase its visual appeal. The coffin was carried on top of one of the Sequah show's colourful wagons, topped with wreaths and floral tributes from customers, with six of the other Sequah bandsmen following in full tribal dress, playing - in what can only be described as a hybrid form of cultural traditions - Handel's Death March from "Saul". Behind them came William Rowe, the 'Sequah' figure for this particular franchise, followed by four attendants all attired in tribal dress.<sup>62</sup> The spectacle was maintained for the full length of the processional route, ahead of the burial in Linthorpe Cemetery.<sup>63</sup> In terms of uniqueness and novelty, Carpenter's funeral undoubtedly surpassed that of Fallows, and helps to account for an astonishing turnout. Despite this, there are other factors which must be considered.

### **CIVIC TRADITION VERSUS NOVEL ENTERTAINMENT**

The emotional resonance of the occasion can be partly attributed to the efficiency and effectiveness of the Sequah advertising campaign. This, together with the genuine appeal of the performances had created ample opportunity for familiarity and even endearment to develop on the part of the public towards the performers. Undoubtedly, this mixed with genuine feelings of compassion. As Carpenter was originally from Canada, it was not possible at the time to repatriate his body, leading to his burial in

Middlesbrough. Arguably, this added to the public sentiment, as the migrant history of nineteenth-century Middlesbrough created a degree of sympathy with Carpenter's lonely death far from home. The distance might not have been as great, but many in the town had been born in other places and were separated from their original families and communities. It is not hard to see how this 'migrant mentality' increased public sympathy. Added to this, Robert Rydell and Rob Kroes talk of a contemporaneous perception of Native Americans (and by association First Nations people) as a 'vanishing race'<sup>64</sup> and this too may well have been a factor; here after all was Middlesbrough's 'Last of the Mohicans'.<sup>65</sup>

There are also practicalities which made engagement with the occasion more likely. Carpenter's funeral took place on a Sunday, therefore all businesses were closed and the working-class majority of the town obviously had free time to enable them to attend the funeral or witness the passing of the cortège. The funeral service took place at St. Paul's Church, Middlesbrough, following the regular Sunday morning service led by curate J.H. Ellaby,<sup>66</sup> with public interest being maintained beyond the confines of the religious ceremony. Attendance was noted as being consistent along the entire route of the cortège, which, like that of Fallows the previous day, mostly followed the length of Linthorpe Road. Its centrality meant that many would be using the road on the day to either attend a place of worship or to make their way to the town's park, to the south. Yet reports specifically refer to the 'lining' of the streets, rather than the streets being crowded. Subsequent press reporting was also notably different. While the funeral of Fallows caught the attention of several newspapers in the north east of England, the novelty of Carpenter's funeral resulted in it being reported by several Middlesbrough-based

newspapers, followed by provincial and national newspapers throughout Great Britain and Northern Ireland, with each article suggesting that the vast crowds attested to his popularity.

Contemporary newspaper reports form the majority of the body of evidence relating to the funerals of Fallows and Carpenter. From a methodological perspective, this is largely unavoidable. Unlike national or state funerals, which may have been recorded through a variety of means, the details of provincial public funerals are mostly preserved through newspapers. This understandably raises a note of caution for the historian due to the ease with which journalistic flair can misrepresent reality. However, newspapers play a vital role in shedding light on civic ritual. Historians have increasingly recognised the degree to which late nineteenth-century local newspapers were central to municipal community identity in recent years.<sup>67</sup> There is a strong correlation between the local press and civic ritual of the period, with both frequently being used as a vehicle to bring the community together. Civic ritual was an important feature of late Victorian newspapers which operated in the style of New Journalism. Such publications were reliant on 'constructionist representation' to dramatize ceremonial events in order to make them more appealing to the reader.<sup>68</sup> This usually involved describing the scene, as it was witnessed by observers, in extensive detail. In the case of a public funeral, this technique exaggerated the extent of the funeral cortège and the size of the crowd. Clearly, this was not the case with the reporting of the Fallows funeral. With regards to Carpenter, the extent of newspaper coverage suggests that constructionist representation was also unlikely, as various local titles described the event in exactly the same manner. The wording of Carpenter's gravestone, which gives some detail of the funeral cortège, also

compares with the scene described by the press. The fact that there is a correlation between the form of this unusual funeral and the manner in which newspapers typically chose to present civic ritual attests to the fact that this was an event which held natural appeal for the people of Middlesbrough.

Viewed from one perspective, the relatively low public engagement with the funeral of Fallows appears indicative of the decline of grandiose civic funereal custom in latter nineteenth-century Middlesbrough. Yet the funeral of Carpenter, a man who could not claim to rival the illustrious career of the elderly politician who had been associated with the town since its inception, managed to generate a much larger turnout and clearly captured the imagination of the people of '*Ironopolis*'. The two occasions were only separated by twenty-four hours, both utilised the same landscape and the men concerned were both buried in the same cemetery, yet both elicited contrasting responses.

The staging of both events attested to changes in tradition. The customary approach for Fallows represented civic continuity and stability, which on less sombre occasions continued to prove popular. People gathered in their thousands to witness similar rituals, such as mayoral parades and events celebrating royal events for decades to come. The funeral cortège, admittedly reduced due to the elderly politician's extended collegiate network being away 'on holiday', still epitomised the formal nature of Victorian funereal custom and therefore did not represent anything unique. The significance of the funeral was purely linked to the role of Fallows, as a founding father and leader of the town. While the deaths of similar public figures had witnessed a collective outpouring of grief, public response to the loss of Fallows was strangely muted and this, at first sight, seems to support the conclusions of Simon Gunn and David Cannadine, regarding a decline in

civic ritual and funereal custom.<sup>69</sup> Yet the death of local Anglo-Catholic priest, Father John Burn, over thirty years later in 1924 led to an estimated 100,000 people gathering in the streets of Middlesbrough to mark his passing. This astonishing turnout hardly fits the linear simplicity of a model that sees a decline of public funerals taking place from the late nineteenth century onwards.<sup>70</sup>

Moses Carpenter's funeral is another case in point. He and his cortège represented the archetypal 'other'; his nationality, ethnicity, culture and perceived 'exoticism' struck a chord with local working-class people who were progressively more influenced by a desire for recreation. The arrival of the 'Sequah' show in Middlesbrough intersected with the continuing development of popularised culture and recreational styles of entertainment. This included sensational news and stories associated with New Journalism and also the increasingly commercialised forms of popular culture to be found in music halls, melodramas, cheap novels, and wild west shows. The show and the funeral were not that dissimilar in nature when viewed in these terms. Carpenter in particular brought with him a potent air of mystery, intrigue, exoticism and glamour, which was deeply attractive to a predominantly working-class town that was increasingly embracing new forms of amusement. Put simply, the death of an elderly municipal politician was less exciting than the death of a Mohawk tribesman. Yet there was also an emotional dimension to the event which cannot be underestimated and which was largely absent from the death of elderly Fallows.

The legacy of Carpenter was partly ensured by the 'Sequah' of this particular franchise, William Rowe, who paid the funeral expenses, including the cost of the gravestone, enscribed:

Sacred to the memory of a faithful servant

This stone was erected by "SEQUAH" in affectionate remembrance of MOSES CARPENTER (Ska-Yun-Ra-Te) a Mohawk of the Six Nations Indians who died in the North Riding Infirmary, Middlesbrough, August 15<sup>th</sup> and whose remains were interred here Sunday August 18<sup>th</sup> 1889. His body was followed to the grave by his sorrowing master to whom he was a devoted servant, by three of his brother Indians who mourned his loss, by thousands of the inhabitants of Middlesbrough, who brought many tokens of sympathy, and thus wished to show respect to the stranger who had died within their gates.<sup>71</sup>

The placing of the company name over both of the deceased's names was a fact that seemed to be overlooked at the time but now perhaps suggests that this could have been, at least in part, a commercial ploy; the enterprising William Rowe was almost certainly anticipating a future visit to Middlesbrough or one of its neighbouring towns. The Middlesbrough leg of the tour had produced profits of £2,000-£3,000, demonstrating the lucrative nature of the market.<sup>72</sup> The Sequah show stayed in the town for three weeks in total, securing many sales contracts with local companies in the process. It then crossed the River Tees to Stockton, followed by nearby Hartlepool, where news of Carpenter's death, Rowe's grief at his loss and the sentimental relationship between the travelling salesmen and the people of Middlesbrough had all been widely reported.<sup>73</sup>

Despite the possibility of such cynical marketing, the wording of the gravestone seemed entirely appropriate given the apparent outpouring of public grief and the numbers witnessed at the funeral. During the elaborate goodbye event held for the Sequah caravan in Middlesbrough, an illuminated address was presented as a token of

thanks from the local population for the apparent assistance, which the Sequah products had brought to the town's afflicted. Part of the address stated 'you have our deepest and heartfelt sympathy in the loss you and your company have been called to sustain during the past week in the death of one of your Indians, which sympathy was demonstrated by the tens of thousands who attended the funeral of Moses Carpenter.' In response, Rowe addressed the crowd and spoke of the 'severe loss' which he had felt through Carpenter's death and as a consequence, felt himself 'drawn to the town', even considering himself to be 'an outside citizen of Middlesbrough.'<sup>74</sup> In a very short space of time, an emotional connection had seemingly developed, linked to the death of a Mohawk cornet player. Carpenter's story quickly became part of local legend in Middlesbrough. No history of the town is complete without mention of the 'Red Indian' buried in Linthorpe Cemetery. The grave of Fallows, however, was not even marked with a stone until the 1990s.

## **CONCLUSION**

Elaborate public funerals were one of the few Victorian civic rituals to decline by 1900. Other forms of urban ceremony, such as heritage events and jubilees, were able to modernise by offering more inclusivity to bystanders through interactive entertainment. In a similar fashion, other aspects of processional culture such as that used for a royal celebration, or for a civic event were able to embrace modernity through greater representation of the public in the body of the parade, or by including aspects of modern culture.<sup>75</sup> Within the remit of necessary and expected decorum, apart from rare exceptions such as that associated with Carpenter, the public funeral was incapable of doing the same. The adaptation of civic ritual came easier to Middlesbrough, where the relatively narrow local heritage meant that traditions were not grounded in an extensive

and well-known history. This enabled adaptation of processional culture and other aspects of civic ritual to be a more straightforward process than in towns and cities with firmly established local customs and civic identities.<sup>76</sup> Yet the broader forces of cultural change were being experienced throughout the country at the end of the nineteenth century, as mid-Victorian notions of respectability began to unravel.

The reduction in the frequency of large-scale funerals for local figures seems to have been part of a wider social and political shift in which urban elites gradually withdrew from civic politics and the consensus view is that civic rituals of almost all kinds experienced a perpetual decline.<sup>77</sup> This undoubtedly played a part in reducing the frequency of such events, something which has not been fully appreciated due to the lack of extensive historiographical consideration of public funerals. Yet it seems their decline was already underway, if they are viewed as public spectacle and a form of entertainment. This period of change linked to funereal custom continued into the twentieth century, with the decline of elaborate death ritual being associated with a public shift in values resulting from a decrease in death rates and a gradual reduction in Christian observance.<sup>78</sup>

The First World War and subsequent influenza pandemic had an equally significant effect on public attitudes to death. The last remaining vestiges of individual Victorian death ritual were increasingly viewed as superfluous and inappropriate in the face of such casualties. In turn, public ritual became the reserve of collective civic memorialisation.<sup>79</sup> However, for the majority of the nineteenth century, elaborate funerals for the rich, powerful and well-known were popular civic events whether they were viewed directly from the street or from the columns of newspaper reports. Their falling popularity in the late nineteenth century took place at a time when public events were beginning to assume

a more entertaining aspect. By their very nature, funerals were incapable of doing this, unless they happened to be associated with something novel and exotic. The contrasting responses to the funerals of Fallows and Carpenter reveal not only that popular civic rituals and ceremonies increasingly had to assume the form of public entertainments but also that attitudes to public funerals in the late nineteenth century were changing.

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<sup>1</sup> I am most grateful to Tom Hulme, Daryl Leeworthy and Tony Nicholson for reading early drafts of this article.

<sup>2</sup> The term 'First Nations' describes the Aboriginal Peoples of Canada.

<sup>3</sup> Notable works include John Wolffe, 'Royalty and public grief in Britain: An historical perspective 1817-1997,' in Tony Walker, (Ed.) *The Mourning for Diana* (Oxford, 1999) pp. 53-64 and Great Deaths: *Grieving, Religion and Nationhood in Victorian and Edwardian Britain* (Oxford, 2000); Olivia Bland, *The Royal Way of Death* (Constable: London, 1986); Ruth M. Larsen, 'Death becomes her: the mourning and commemoration of elite women in Yorkshire, c.1729-1860', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 78, (2006), pp. 177-195.

<sup>4</sup> See David Cannadine, 'War and death, grief and mourning in modern Britain,' in Joachim Whaley, *Mirrors of Mortality: Studies in the Social History of Death* (London, 1981) pp. 187-242; Pat Jalland, 'Victorian death and its decline: 1850-1918' in Peter C. Jupp & Clare Gittings (Eds.) *Death in England: An Illustrated History* (Manchester, 1999) pp. 230-255; Julie-Marie Strange, *Death, Grief and Poverty in Britain, 1870-1914* (Cambridge, 2003).

<sup>5</sup> Cannadine, 'War and Death', p.192. Cannadine suggests that death ritual switched from 'celebration' to 'glorification' obviously culminating in a major shift in attitudes as a result of the First World War.

<sup>6</sup> Pat Jalland, 'Victorian Death and its Decline', p. 242.

<sup>7</sup> Jalland, 'Victorian Death and its Decline', p. 245, Julie-Marie Strange, *Death, Grief and Poverty*, p. 110.

<sup>8</sup> John Garrard, *Leadership and Power in Victorian Industrial Towns 1830-80* (Manchester, 1983) p. 35.

<sup>9</sup> Simon Gunn, 'Ritual and civic culture in the English industrial city, c.1835-1914,' in Robert J. Morris & Richard H. Trainor, (Eds.) *Urban Governance: Britain and Beyond Since 1750* (Aldershot, 2000) pp. 226-241.

<sup>10</sup> Simon Gunn, *The Public Culture of the Victorian Middle-Class: Ritual and Authority in the English Industrial City, 1840-1874* (Manchester, 2000) p. 177.

<sup>11</sup> Paul O'Leary, *Claiming the Streets: Processions and Urban Culture in South Wales c. 1830-1880* (Cardiff, 2012) p. 73.

<sup>12</sup> Gunn, *Public Culture*, p. 177.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 179-182.

<sup>14</sup> Ben Roberts, 'Civic Ritual in Darlington and Middlesbrough in Comparative Perspective, c.1850-1953'. Unpublished PhD thesis, Teesside University, 2013.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, ch. 6.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, chs.4-7. This is also in-line with the evolution of civic ritual observed in Colchester. See David Cannadine, 'The transformation of civic ritual in modern Britain: the Colchester Oyster Feast', *Past and Present*, 94, (1) (1982) pp. 107-130.

<sup>17</sup> Asa Briggs, *Victorian Cities* (London, 1990).

<sup>18</sup> Roberts, 'Civic Ritual', p. 282.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, ch. 6.

<sup>20</sup> William Lillie, *The History of Middlesbrough* (Middlesbrough, 1968) pp. 142-143. Quaker burials had taken place on the Linthorpe Cemetery site as early as 1668.

<sup>21</sup> For more on Bolckow and Vaughan's involvement in Middlesbrough's 'founding' story, see Tony Nicholson, 'Jacky and the Jubilee: Middlesbrough's creation myth', in A.J. Pollard, *Middlesbrough: Town and Community 1830-1950* (Stroud, 1996) pp. 32-52.

<sup>22</sup> *Darlington and Stockton Times*, 19 and 26 September 1868 and *North Eastern Daily Gazette*, 22 June 1878.

<sup>23</sup> *North Eastern Daily Gazette*, 20 June 1878.

<sup>24</sup> See *Darlington and Stockton Times* 19 and 26 September 1868 for Vaughan's funeral, and *North Eastern Daily Gazette*, 22 June 1878 for Bolckow.

<sup>25</sup> O'Leary, *Claiming the Streets*, pp. 76, 165.

<sup>26</sup> *North Eastern Daily Gazette*, 20 June 1878.

<sup>27</sup> Cannadine, 'War and Death', p. 19.

<sup>28</sup> Lillie, *History of Middlesbrough*, p. 474.

<sup>29</sup> See Norman Moorsom, *The Life and Times of William Fallows, J.P.* (Middlesbrough, 1997) pp. 15-28, *The Leeds Mercury*, 3 November 1838, *The Times*, 11 October 1862, *North Eastern Daily Gazette*, 24 January 1889 and Lillie, *History of Middlesbrough*, p. 121.

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- <sup>30</sup> *North Eastern Daily Gazette*, 15 August 1889.
- <sup>31</sup> *Northern Echo*, 15 August 1889.
- <sup>32</sup> County Borough of Middlesbrough, *Proceedings of the Middlesbrough Town Council, 1889-1890*, p. 37, Teesside Archives, CB/M/C 1/50.
- <sup>33</sup> *North Eastern Daily Gazette*, 16 August 1889.
- <sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>36</sup> *Christ Church Congregation, Corporation Road, Middlesbrough: List of Enrolled Members, Chapel Minutes 1886-1896*, Teesside Archives, R/UN/M 2-12.
- <sup>37</sup> *North Eastern Daily Gazette*, 19 August 1889.
- <sup>38</sup> *Linthorpe Cemetery Burial Register 1888-1891*, p. 82, Teesside Archives, 1029.
- <sup>39</sup> *The North Star*, 19 August 1889.
- <sup>40</sup> *Northern Echo*, 19 August 1889.
- <sup>41</sup> *Middlesbrough and Stockton Gazette*, 6 May 1868.
- <sup>42</sup> *The Christian Life and Unitarian Herald*, 17 August 1889.
- <sup>43</sup> *North Eastern Daily Gazette*, 15 August 1889.
- <sup>44</sup> W. Schupbach, 'Illustrations from the Wellcome Institute Library: Sequah, an English "American Medicine" man in 1890,' *Medical History*, 29, (1985) pp. 272-317.
- <sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>46</sup> Peter Bailey, *Popular Culture and Performance in the Victorian City* (Cambridge, 2003).
- <sup>47</sup> *North Eastern Weekly Gazette*, 10 August 1889.
- <sup>48</sup> *Northern Review*, 31 Aug 1889.
- <sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, 10 Aug 1889.
- <sup>50</sup> *Cheshire Observer*, 15 March 1890.
- <sup>51</sup> Emma Griffin, *England's Revelry: A History of Popular Sports and Pastimes, 1660-1830* (Oxford, 2005).
- <sup>52</sup> Schupbach, 'American Medicine man.'
- <sup>53</sup> This terminology, whilst obviously no longer appropriate was widely used at the time in generic reference to all native people of North America.
- <sup>54</sup> Robert W. Rydell and Rob Kroes, *Buffalo Bill in Bologna: The Americanization of the World, 1869-1922*, (Chicago, 2005) p. 107.
- <sup>55</sup> Middlesbrough was not immune to this growing popularity. As Bob Nicholson has highlighted, the 'Stars and Stripes' column was a popular feature of the *North Eastern Weekly Gazette*. Bob Nicholson, 'Looming Large: America and the Late-Victorian Press, 1865-1902', Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Manchester, 2012, p. 117.
- <sup>56</sup> K. Meethan, 'Touring the other: Buffalo Bill in Europe,' *Journal of Tourism History*, 2, (2) (2011) pp. 117-132.
- <sup>57</sup> Nicholson, 'Looming Large', p. 15.
- <sup>58</sup> *Northern Review*, 31 August 1889.
- <sup>59</sup> *North Eastern Weekly Gazette*, 31 August 1889.
- <sup>60</sup> *North Eastern Daily Gazette*, 23 September 1889.
- <sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 19 August 1889.
- <sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>63</sup> *Linthorpe Cemetery Burial Register 1888-1891*, p. 83, Teesside Archives, 1029.
- <sup>64</sup> Rydell and Kroes, *Buffalo Bill in Bologna*, p. 112.
- <sup>65</sup> James Fenimore Cooper, *The Last of the Mohicans* (Philadelphia, 1826).
- <sup>66</sup> *Register of Preachers, Readers and Collections in the Church of St Paul, Middlesbrough*, Teesside Archives, PR/M (P) 1/39.
- <sup>67</sup> For further information, see Andrew Walker, 'The Development of the Provincial Press in England c. 1780-1914', *Journalism Studies*, 7, (3) (2006), pp.373-386; Andrew Hobbs, 'When the provincial press was the national press (c.1836-c.1900)', *International Journal of Regional and Local Studies*, 5, (1) (2009), pp. 16-43; Mary Lester, 'Local newspapers and the shaping of local identity in north-east London c.1885-1925', *International Journal of Regional and Local Studies*, 5, (1) (2009), pp. 44-62; Andrew Jackson, 'Provincial newspapers and the development of local communities: the creation of a seaside resort newspaper for Ilfracombe, Devon, 1860-1', *Family and Community History*, 13, (2) (2010), pp. 101-

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113; Andrew Jackson, 'Civic identity, municipal governance and provincial newspapers: the Lincoln of Bernard Gilbert, poet, critic and 'booster', 1914', *Urban History*, 42, (1) (2015), pp. 113-129.

<sup>68</sup> Stuart Hall, 'The work of representation,' in Stuart Hall, (Ed.) *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices* (Milton Keynes, 1997) p. 15.

<sup>69</sup> Gunn, *Public Culture*, p. 177 and Cannadine, 'War and Death', p.192.

<sup>70</sup> Thomas G. Fullerton, *Father Burn of Middlesbrough: A Biography* (Bradford, 1927).

<sup>71</sup> The gravestone has since been toppled, but now lies on Carpenter's grave, where local people still leave tokens to his memory such as feathers.

<sup>72</sup> *North Eastern Weekly Gazette*, 10 August 1889.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.* A year later the franchise visited nearby Darlington and returned to Stockton in 1892. See *Northern Review*, 13 September 1890 and *North Eastern Daily Gazette*, 25 January 1892. Rowe's stay in Middlesbrough was eventful. He was drawn into an ongoing debate with the hospital board of the North Riding Infirmary which played out in the press concerning his disputed status as a 'life governor' of the institution following a financial donation. This was likely following the care they gave to Carpenter, but also did the man's personal reputation no harm. He also became involved in a legal dispute, appearing in the Police Court to attempt to secure a summons against a drunken man who referred to him as a 'damned quack.' See *North Eastern Daily Gazette*, 30 and 31 August 1889.

<sup>74</sup> *North Eastern Weekly Gazette*, 31 August 1889. Following this, local people unharnessed the Sequah horses and 'dragged [the caravan] by willing hands round the town in triumph, the band meanwhile playing *Auld Lang Syne*.'

<sup>75</sup> Roberts, *Civic Ritual*, chs. 4-5.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.* The nearby town of Darlington, with a history stretching back over a millennium, frequently experienced difficulties when trying to adapt forms of civic ritual.

<sup>77</sup> See John Garrard, 'Urban Elites, 1850-1914: the rule and decline of a new squirearchy?' *Albion*, 27, (3) (1995) pp. 583-621 and Gunn, *Public Culture*, pp. 178-181.

<sup>78</sup> Jalland, 'Victorian death' p. 248.

<sup>79</sup> Jalland, *Death in War and Peace: Loss and Grief in England, 1914-1970* (Oxford, 2010) ch. 1, Peter. C Jupp and Clare Gittings, *Death in England: An Illustrated History*, (Manchester, 1999) pp. 251-253; Cannadine 'War and death', p. 195.