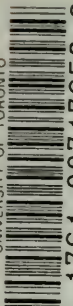



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OF

Peterloo Massacre.

TO BE CONTINUED.— PRICE TWOPENCE.

IT will not be our province in giving a faithful Narrative of the events which took place on the never-to-be-forgotten 16th of August, 1819, to enter into any vindication of the conduct of the Radical Reformers;—their *theoretical* opinions need not now be contrasted with the *practical* exposition which the *friends of order and good government* have afforded us of *their own*. The week which has elapsed since the foul and bloody Tragedy of St. Peter's Field was acted, (under what authority we are yet to learn) has allowed the fever of the blood to cool; and we can dispassionately assign to the several performers in the piece, their appropriate places in the drama.

That the Borough-mongers and their abettors should be determined to thwart the peaceable views of the Reformers, and harass them *according to law*, we can readily conceive. But when these Reformers had condescended to temporise with the borough-mongers, when they had given up a disputed right to meet for a certain specified purpose, and had expunged from their Requisition the obnoxious words which alarmed these good and loyal subjects,—it almost exceeds belief; that the satellites of corruption and corruptionists, would dare to lay a plot, which had for its object the inhuman and indiscriminate murder of at least One Hundred Thousand men, women, and children, who were as unarmed as unoffending. Yet, that such was the deadly purpose which rankled in the bosoms of these dastardly minions of power, will abundantly appear from the concurrent testimony of every beholder, two or three of the vilest of the vile Editors of a venal press only excepted.

Mr. Hunt arrived at Manchester in the afternoon of the 9th of August, being the day first appointed for holding the Meeting, which has since produced such fatal results. Of the postponement of that Meeting, he was entirely ignorant until his arrival at Bul-

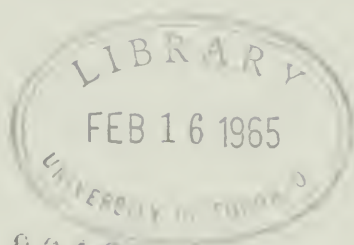
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lock Smithy, the preceding day, the communications timely made to him, having been (*by some means*) intercepted.—He was received with enthusiasm by the great mass of the people, and conducted to Smedley Cottage, the residence of Mr. Johnson, by at least some thousands of our townsmen and their neighbours, where we believe he remained until the day which it was basely intended should have been the last of his existence.

The object of the meeting on the 16th, was stated in the notice to be “for the purpose of taking into consideration the most effectual legal means of obtaining a Reform in the Representation of the House of Commons.” To the meeting, publicly announced through the medium of the newspapers and placards, no official objection was made by the magistracy on the ground of its illegality; though the Boroughreeves and Constables of Manchester and Salford, expressing in oblique terms their dislike of the proposed meeting, published a notice, which was framed in the following terms:

“The Boroughreeves and Constables of Manchester and Salford most earnestly recommend the peaceable and well disposed inhabitants of these towns, as much as possible to remain in their own houses, during the whole of this day, (Monday, Aug. 16,) and to keep their children and servants within doors.”

At ten o'clock on Monday morning, the magistracy assembled a considerable number of special constables in the vicinity of the place of meeting, which was fixed upon to be in a large open space of ground near St. Peter's Church; and the different military corps were resting on their arms, prepared to act at a moment's notice, if their services should be deemed necessary.

The Reformers, who seemed determined to make this a splendid day, were equally on the alert, not indeed in preparing arms, for of those they were totally destitute, but in preparing flags and small bands of music, and in arranging matters for the approaching meeting. It is evident, however, from the great number of females, and even children, who formed part of the procession, that nothing was anticipated that could involve them in the least degree of peril; and an immense multitude gathered together, relying with confidence on each other's peaceable intentions, and certainly not expecting, that the precautions taken by the magistracy to preserve the peace, would be employed to destroy it, and convert a peaceful assembly into a scene of terror and alarm, danger and death.

At half-past one, Mr. Hunt's procession arrived. It had passed the Exchange, and came through Deansgate, without the slightest disorder or conflict of sentiment. Mr. H. was drawn in an open carriage, accompanied by Mr. Johnson, of Smedley, and other friends. On the coach box sat a female with a colour, and a board was carried before it with the words “Order, order.” The

whole assembly at this time could not be less than 150,000 persons, and the acclamations of welcome were above all description.

Not a soldier was visible in the neighbourhood, and individuals were congratulating each other upon the peaceableness of all parties. Mr. H. was called to the chair amidst great applause, and was surrounded by the members of the different committees, and by several females supporting the colours. The Chairman then spoke as follows :

“My friends and fellow countrymen,—I must intreat your indulgence for a short time; and I beg you will endeavour to preserve the most perfect silence. I hope you will exercise the all-powerful right of the people in an orderly manner; and if you perceive any man that wants to raise a disturbance, let him be instantly put down, and kept secure. For the honour you have done me, in inviting me a second time to preside at your meeting, I return you my thanks; and all I have to beg of you is, that you will indulge us with your patient attention. It is impossible, that, with the utmost silence, we shall be able to make ourselves heard by this tremendous assembly. It is useless for me to relate to you the proceedings of the last week or ten days in this town and neighbourhood. You know them all, and the cause of the meeting appointed for last Monday being prevented. I will not therefore say one word on that subject: only to observe, that those who put us down, and prevented us from meeting on Monday last, by their malignant exertions have produced two-fold the number to-day. It will be perceived, that in consequence of the calling of this new meeting, our enemies, who flattered themselves they had gained a victory, have sustained a great defeat. There have been two or three placards posted up during the last week with the names of one or two insignificant individuals attached to them. One Tom Long or Jack Short, a printer”——

Here Mr. Hunt broke off suddenly, and gave directions for a shout with three times three, which was made; and turning round, with a manner that showed him perfect master of the art of managing large assemblies, he exclaimed to his friends, who were at a loss what to shout for, that it was only that “there was a little alarm manifested at the outskirts, and he gave the shout to re-inspire confidence—that was all.”

The alarm, however, turned out to be too well founded; for, at the instant, a troop of the Manchester Cavalry, about a hundred in number, galloped on the ground at full speed, and halted within a hundred yards of the hustings, near the house where the magistrates sat. They halted in extreme disorder, and Mr. Hunt cried out—“Let us give three cheers, and be firm.” The orders thus made were punctually obeyed, and Mr. Hunt again said—“They are all in disorder: this is a trick.” But it was no trick; for, after

a minute's pause, forming, brandishing their sabres, and spurring their horses, they charged through the compact crowd, cutting their way among the ranks of the special constables, who had been silently forming a passage for them, and who suffered dreadfully, not being easily distinguished.

We had proceeded thus far in our narrative, when on perusing the different papers of the week, we perceived that they had invariably adopted the Report of a Mr. Tyas, who was sent down by the *Times* Newspaper to witness and record the business of the day. As we are told by the *Statesman* that Mr. Tyas is an "honourable and intelligent man," we shall adopt the language of that Reporter, especially as from our own knowledge he varies as little from the truth as a man in his peculiar situation could be expected to do. In saying these words we do not pledge ourselves the advocate of his reasonings or the admirer of his deductions. We have continued his detail of what he saw, or thought he saw, in his journey to and at Macclesfield, where a few misled and starving people had been urged to a state of desperation, and *broke the windows* of their oppressors, and where, he states, similar disturbances were expected at other places.

"He had scarcely said these words, before the Manchester Yeomanry Cavalry rode into the mob, which gave way before them, and directed their course to the cart from which Mr. Hunt was speaking. Not a brickbat was thrown at them—not a pistol was fired during this period: all was quiet and orderly, as if the cavalry had been the friends of the multitude, and had marched as such into the midst of them. A bugle-man went at their head, then an officer, and then came the whole troop. They wheeled round the waggons till they came in front of them, the people drawing back in every direction on their approach. After they had surrounded them in such a manner as to prevent all escape, the officer who commanded the detachment went up to Mr. Hunt, and said, brandishing his sword, "Sir, I have a warrant against you, and arrest you as my prisoner." Mr. Hunt, after exhorting the people to tranquility in a few words, turned round to the officer, and said, "I willingly surrender myself to any civil officer who will show me his warrant." Nadin, the police officer, then came forward and said, "I will arrest you; I have got informations upon oath against you," or something to that effect. The military officer then proceeded to say that he had a warrant against Mr. Johnson. Mr. Johnson also asked for a civil officer, upon which a Mr. Andrews came forward, and Mr. Hunt and Mr. Johnson then leaped from off the waggon, and surrendered themselves to the civil power. Search was then made for Mr. Moorhouse and Mr. Knight, against whom warrants had also been issued. In the hurry of this transaction, they had by some means or other contri-

ved to make their escape. As soon as Messrs. H. and J. had jumped from the waggon, a cry was made by the cavalry, "Have at their flags." In consequence, they immediately dashed not only at the flags which were in the waggon, but those which were posted among the crowd, cutting most indiscriminately to the right and to the left in order to get at them. This set the people running in all directions, and it was not till this act had been committed that any brick-bats were hurled at the military. From that moment the Manchester and Salford Yeomanry Cavalry lost all command of temper. A person of the name of Saxton, who we believe is editor of the *Manchester Observer*, was standing in the cart. Two privates rode up to him. "There," said one of them, "is that villain Saxton; do you run him through the body." "No," replied the other, "I had rather not—I leave it to you." The man immediately made a lunge at Saxton, and it was only *by slipping aside that the blow missed his life*. As it was, it cut his coat and waistcoat, but fortunately did no other injury. A man within five yards of us in another direction had his nose completely taken off by the blow of a sabre; whilst another was laid prostrate, but whether he was dead or had merely thrown himself down to obtain protection we cannot say. Seeing all this hideous work going on we felt an alarm which any man may be forgiven for feeling, in a similar situation: looking around us we saw a constable at no great distance, and thinking that our only chance of safety rested in placing ourselves under his protection, we appealed to him for assistance. He immediately took us into custody, and on our saying that we merely attended to report the proceedings of the day, he replied, "Oh! oh! You then are one of their writers—you must go before the Magistrates."—To this we made no objection; in consequence he took us to the house where they were sitting, and in our road thither, we saw a woman on the ground, insensible, to all outward appearance, and with two large gouts of blood on her left breast. Just as we came to the house, the constables were conducting Mr. Hunt into it, and were treating him in a manner in which they were neither justified by law nor humanity, striking him with their staves on the head. After he had been taken into the house, we were admitted also; and it is only justice to the man who apprehended us to state, that he did every thing in his power to protect us from all ill-usage, and showed us every civility consistent with his duty. In the room into which we were put, we found Messrs. Hunt, Johnson, Saxton, and some other individuals of minor note, among whom was another woman in a fainting condition. Nadin, the constable, was also there.—Messrs. Hunt and Johnson both asked him to show them the warrants on which they had been apprehended. This he refused to do, saying that he had information upon oath against them, which was quite sufficient for him. Mr. Hunt then called

upon the persons present to mark Nadin's refusal. Shortly after this transaction, Mr. Hay, the Chairman of the Magistrates, came into the apartment, and asked Mr. Hunt if he was afraid to go down to the New Bailey; if he was, he himself would accompany him, and look after his safety. Mr. Hunt, who we forgot to mention had received a slight sabre wound on one of his hands, said that he had no objection to the Magistrate's company; he certainly did not like either a cut from a sabre or a blow from a staff, both of which had been dealt out to him in no small quantity. Mr. Hay shortly afterwards went out, having first made a reply to Mr. Hunt, which some riot out of doors prevented us from hearing. On casting our eyes at the place where the immense multitude had lately been assembled, we were surprised in the short space of ten minutes to see it cleared of all its former occupiers, and filled by various troops of military both horse and foot. Shortly after this had occurred, a Magistrate came into the room, and bade the prisoners prepare to march off to the New Bailey. Mr. Hunt was consigned to the custody of Colonel l'Estrange, of the 31st foot, and a detachment of the 15th Hussars; and under his care, he and all the other prisoners, who were each placed between two constables, reached the New Bailey in perfect safety. The staffs of two of Mr. Hunt's banners were carried in mock procession before him.

"After these individuals had been committed to the custody of the Governor, they were turned into one common yard, where the events of the day formed the subject of conversation. Mr. Knight and Mr. Morehouse, who had been taken a short time after them, were afterwards added to their company.—About five o'clock the Magistrates directed the Governor of the prison to lock each of them up in a solitary cell, and to see that they had no communication with each other. This was accordingly done.

"The writer of this article was one of the parties thus imprisoned. Except that it was imprisonment, he had no reason to complain of the treatment which he received. He was in custody from two o'clock on Monday till 12 o'clock on Tuesday. As soon as the Magistrates were acquainted with the circumstances under which his apprehension had taken place, they immediately ordered his release, and expressed in very polite terms their regret for the inconvenience to which he had been subjected. When we were once more allowed to enjoy that freedom of which we had been for a moment deprived, we took a walk through most of the principal streets of Manchester, and found that they were at that time (12 o'clock) completely under military disposal. Soldiers were posted at all the commanding positions of the town, and were to be seen extended at full length on the flags in various directions. At three o'clock, they had, however, all of them returned to their quarters, and the town was, to all outward appearance, once more in a state of tranquillity.

"At seven o'clock, when we quitted Manchester, all was quiet in the town. A report had, however, reached it that there was a serious riot at Oldham, and in consequence some troops of the Chester Yeomanry were sent to quell it.

"In our road to Stockport, our attention was forcibly struck by the numerous groups of idle men, who were congregated together along it. They appeared ready for any wicked or desperate purpose; and we have reason to believe that before the evening was concluded they were engaged in an attack upon the Magistracy of Stockport. About a mile from that place some hundreds of them were assembled near a petty public-house. A new hat, a tea-kettle, and some other articles of little value, were displayed at the window, as is customary to display the prizes given at wakes or feasts in this part of the country. This was to serve as a pretext for their meeting together; but that it was only a pretext we learned to a certainty during our stay at Macclesfield.

"On our entry into that town about 10 at night, we were met by several women, who flung themselves in the way of our chaise, and intreated us for God's sake not to enter it, as murderous work was going on within it. This was not, to be sure, pleasing information; but on consulting with our driver, he said that there could be no harm in our proceeding on as far as the Royal Hotel, which lies nearly at the entrance of the town as you come from Manchester. On arriving there, our horses were seized by some special constables, and we were advised not to proceed further up the town, if we had any regard whatsoever for our lives. Of course we took their advice, and turned our horses into a yard, as they desired us. On enquiring into the cause of the anxiety which was depicted in all their faces, they informed us that the Reformers in their neighbourhood, irritated by the defeat which they had sustained at Manchester the day before, had assembled in a body of two or three thousand men, and had been committing the most abominable acts of violence in different quarters of the town. In the market-place they had broken every window which looked into it, and in various other places had done similar acts of atrocity. They were emboldened in their villainy by the knowledge that there were only a few military men in the town, and that in the custody of these men, were 300 stand of arms, and several thousand rounds of ball cartridge. The circumstance of these arms being so loosely guarded, filled the minds of the peaceable inhabitants with the utmost dread, especially when they found, on going to the guard-house, that out of the six soldiers stationed in the town, two were dead drunk, and one of them the serjeant at the head of the detachment. They were all, however, persuaded to stand to their arms, and being aided by several respectable inhabitants of the town, assumed so formidable an appearance, that the rioters thought it unwise to attack them. This disinclination on their part gave fresh courage to the friends

of order, and tranquillity; and in consequence they made an attack on the multitude, and took several of them prisoners. In the meanwhile, an express was sent off to Stockport, desiring that one of the three companies of the 51st, which had marched from Macclesfield to Stockport, might be sent back to the former place, or else a company of the Cheshire Yeomanry Cavalry, many of whom are inhabitants of the place, might be dispatched to the assistance of their townsmen.

“ Whilst this scene was transacting in Macclesfield, it was said that bonfires had been lighted on the hills which surround it, and it was surmised that these served as signals to the disaffected. The first lighted was on Blakeney-hill; this was answered by similar fires on all the hills, from thence up to Northern Laney, there it stopped; but at another signal, fire-rockets were thrown up from it.—Whether there was any meaning in these fires or not we are unable to say; but shortly after they appeared, the people resumed their attacks, having first taken the precaution to extinguish all the gas lights in the town. This was attended by a two-fold advantage, inasmuch as it did not leave them so open to detection, and therefore gave them a better opportunity of continuing their devastations. Still, with all these advantages, they never durst meet the small but resolute band of special constables, who, under the command of the Mayor, were every where ready to resist them. Some eight or nine Gentlemen, who had mounted themselves on horseback and armed themselves with swords, were of great utility in scouring the streets and bringing in prisoners, who were immediately placed in the custody of the soldiers of the 51st. We are happy to say, that in the struggles between the two parties, no serious personal injury was done to either of them. Some of the People got heavy blows from the staves of the constables, and some of the constables awkward contusions from the brick-bats hurled at them by their opponents; but no lives were either lost or endangered. When we left the town, which was about four o'clock in the morning, tranquillity was re-established; 30 or 40 persons were in custody, and the Gentleman who had gone with the express to Stockport, had returned with the intelligence, that, though a battle between the military and the people was momentarily expected, a troop of infantry had started from Stockport, and were, when he left them, within an hour's march of Macclesfield. At Stockport the Magistrates were assembled at the Warren Bulkeley Arms, before which the soldiery was drawn out, as that was the first point against which the People had declared their intention of making an attack. Similar disturbances were expected at other places, almost all the military being stationed at Manchester.

We have allowed Mr. Tys to conduct us through his perilous journey to Mucclesfield, and as he has not favoured us with an account of the “hair breadth escapes” which he encountered in the re-

remainder of his travels to the city of refuge, we must presume that the *new hats*, and *tea-kettles* (dreadful emblems of civil commotion) were more terrible to his affrighted imagination, than the *newly-sharpened swords* of the Manchester Yeomanry Cavalry.

From the Manchester Observer.

We enter upon the task of detailing the proceedings which took place at the Meeting, on Monday last, with feelings of the most poignant description. For although *four days* have elapsed since the tragic occurrence, we find the time much too short to record *with correctness* the transactions in general; and a month would be insufficient to detail all the individual and truly deplorable cases, which have been communicated to our office.

For the information of those who do not regularly read the Observer, it may be necessary to state, that in order to make the meeting a perfectly legal one, *i. e.* one, which even the magistrates themselves could not deem otherwise, the meeting which was to have taken place on the previous Monday was relinquished, and another announced for Monday last, free from the objection which was supposed to exist in the first notice; and from the circumstance of no notice having been taken that the second was illegal, the most timid were satisfied, that all would pass over in profound tranquillity. We must here, however, observe, that several Gentlemen informed us, *that the military would most certainly interfere*; a declaration which we, in common with 999 in 1000, treated as the offspring of alarm, undeserving of any notice. The morning was extremely fine, and well calculated to produce the attendance of an immense assemblage. So early as ten o'clock every thing was in motion, and every one big with the expectation of an immense, and withal peaceful meeting; nor do we think, that one person in ten thousand, anticipated the least harm from the Reformers; for but few, if any shops, even in the most public streets, were thoroughly closed; and wherever Mr. Hunt made his appearance, he was hailed with acclamations. Mr. Hunt left the residence of Mr. Johnson, at Smedley Cottage, in an open carriage, about 12 o'clock, in which were also seated Mr. Johnson, Mr. Knight, &c. and on the box was seated along with the coachman, a female, bearing a flag, which she continually waved as the procession passed along. Wherever the huzzas of the populace were met by the residents of the town, and particularly by shopkeepers at their dwellings, with the like demonstration, a spontaneous and universal cry of "*we will buy of you*," rent the air. — The procession came through Shudehill, Hanging Ditch, Old Millgate, Market-place, St. Mary's Gate, Deansgate, and Peterstreet, to the area appointed for the Meeting. The site on which this prodigious assembly was convened, was by admeasurement 170 yards by 150, which gives 25,000 yards, exclusive of all the avenues, which were filled by the wondering spectators. As 9

persons will stand in one superficial square yard; and as the whole of the above space would undoubtedly have been not only filled, but closely filled, had it been either prudent; or possible, for persons to have existed in such an indissoluble mass, we may fairly reckon, at only six to the yard, that the aggregate number about half-past one o'clock would be 153 000.—The assemblage was doubtless very imposing; but when silence was commanded, whilst the resolution was put to appoint Mr. Hunt to the Chair, the populace were answered by an exhibition of their townsmen's sabres. Even this demonstration of hostility, excited no alarm; the spectators conceiving, that they were only in readiness to suppress any commotion which might occur; never dreaming that the legal protectors of the public peace, would be the first illegally to break it. Yet the calculations of all well disposed persons were mocked. But; before we relate the most wanton, cowardly and bloody attack, made by the Manchester and Salford Yeomanry Cavalry, and others, which was ever made either in this or any other country;—we beg leave again to digress, in order to state some transactions which took place in the house of Mr. Buxton, the rendezvous of the Magistrates. The Magistrates, with a number of Gentlemen of the town, were here in consultation, and the opinion of the Magistrates was divided as to the proper mode of proceeding. This difficulty, however, was soon got rid of by 30 civilians, resident Gentlemen of Manchester, voluntarily offering to make oath, that they conceived the peace of the town was endangered by this peaceable assembly. Mr. Oswald Milne administered the oaths; and Mr. John Bradshaw, and Mr. Thomas Watkins, and 30 or 40 others, were among those whose fears were thus excited, and to whose praiseworthy conduct the friends of the killed and wounded may attribute these calamitous events. For, it appeared to a few who were present on this memorable occasion, that the Magistrates, would not and durst not apparently have acted, without this legal cobweb garment to cover their nakedness. However the whale did not swallow up Jonah with more dexterity than these gentlemen swallowed their oaths. No sooner had this THIRTY sworn and signed the Manchester Magna Charta, than the Boroughreeve was called upon to mount his charger, and lead on the Special Constables in the rear of our *should have been protectors*.—They were led on by an *Irishman* trumpeter to the Corps; but the populace were so compact and stood so firm, that they could not reach the bustings without halting. Few, if any of the Meeting, even yet, supposed that this martial display was intended for any thing more than se-curnig Mess. Hunt, Johnson, Knight, Saxon, and Morehouse, for *whom they had warrants*.—Mr. Hunt was called upon to deliver himself up, which he offered to do to a Magistrate, but not to the *Manchester Yeomanry Cavalry*.—A Gentleman in the commission presented himself, and Mr. Hunt acknowledged his authority; and departed for the rendezvous of the Magistrates; Mr. Johnson

and Mr. Saxton were taken direct to the New Bailey prison : Mr. Knight escaped, but was afterwards arrested at his own house, and Mr. Morehouse was taken into custody at the Flying Horse Inn.

As soon as Mr. Hunt was secured, followed a scene so truly bloody and horrific, that no pen or tongue (were the Earl of Chatham now living) could paint in its true colours.—Without reading the Riot Act, which that despicable sycophant Mr. Aston, has the unblushing impudence to assert *was* read ;—without the usual notice to disperse, if it was read ;—and without ceremony did they dash in upon this peaceable and defenceless multitude. So indiscriminate was the attack, that these lambs literally put to death one of the Special Constables, and wounded many more. So eager did they appear to display their zeal in the preservation of the peace, and to come in contact with unarmed men and defenceless women. A most terrific shriek now rent the air ; we may add hundreds were thrown down, produced by their anxiety to get out of the crowd. Very many were necessarily ridden over in consequence ; as if they were eager to give a practical proof of the ardency of their courage, but which by the bye was not previously to these exploits, in the estimation of many of the Waterloo kind. Had the military only attacked robust men, only wounded those who had offered them insult, only dealt out death and destruction with something like discrimination, much less infamy would have been their lot. But it is notorious, that some of our gentlemen, who shall be nameless, not only struck the quickest but the heaviest on those who were the most defenceless. The women seemed to be the special objects of the rage of these bastard soldiers. In some narrow passes, particularly among some oak trees near the Quakers' Meeting House, many were thrown down, which impeded the progress of the flying multitude :

From all the inquiries we can make, there appears to be five or six dead—as many mortally wounded, and not less than 300 severely and slightly wounded. The tragic relation is much heightened from the universal conviction, that all the blood which has been spilled, has been most wantonly and and unnecessarily spilled. We do not think, nay, we are quite confident, that out of a population of 120,000 inhabitants, and as many strangers in addition, that a hundred persons could be found, who could solemnly affirm it as their opinion, that there was any intention on the part of the Reformers, to commit the slightest breach of the peace ; nor five who would make oath, that the meeting would not have been dispersed by the troops from the barracks, (had the riot act been read, and had the execution of the Magistrates' order been confided to them, after the usual time allowed by law for dispersion had elapsed,) without the least injury to any individual.

The affidavit to which the gentlemen affixed their names, was drawn up, not at Mr. Buxton's house, the Magistrates' rendezvous, but somewhere or other before they came to the place of meeting ;

how penetrating the judgment that could thus discern treason in embryo! We should ill discharge our duty, if we did not notice the exemplary conduct of the troops from the barracks; every one with whom we have conversed, concur in applauding their humane conduct; we do not think, and we pronounce our opinion on the concurrent testimony of all we have conversed with, that one was severely wounded by these truly good soldiers. Mr. Hunt was conducted to the rendezvous; his arrival was greeted with the shouts of some; and with brutal joy by others: he only asked for a glass of water, which a brute and a great constable actually denied him; but a gentleman observed, he had sufficient authority in that house, to say, he should have a glass of water, which was immediately brought. Mr. Hunt then said, pointing to Mr. Nadin, "that brute, it seems would not permit an exhausted man to have a drop of water;" this silenced the deputy. A coach was now called for, to convey Mr. Hunt to the New Bayley; another wretch now bawled out, "Let him walk." However, as no coach was in attendance, Mr. Marriot, the Magistrate, offered him his protection; and even that was hardly sufficient to keep him from the fury of those through whom he had to pass, viz. the S—al C—s. He was lodged in the New Bayley, where he yet remains with the other gentlemen, as it now appears, upon a childish charge, made by Mr. Richard Owen, and others, upon oath, that they conceived it to be necessary to the peace of the town, that the meeting should be dispersed, and that the parties before mentioned, should be apprehended. If this is law, it is high time to have it altered; for it appears that 30 gentlemen, supposing those proceedings legal, can, at any time, if they can find magistrates as timid, and as foolish as themselves, and of which there can be no doubt, prevent Englishmen from assembling, and from consulting on the best means to have their crying grievances redressed. But it is not law, it is not reasonable, it is not that which will be much longer endured. Are the people, a well-known industrious, and yet a starving people, to be told when they ask for bread, that they shall only have a bullet or a sabre? or if they ask for constitutional liberty, are they to be immured in a jail? Yes, all this, if some men must govern. But we feel satisfied that Lord Sidmouth would never authorise any proceedings so flagrantly opposed to law, justice and humanity.

It is rumoured, and we believe it correct, that orders have been sent to an eminent artist for a design, to be engraved for a medal, in commemoration of Peterloo Victory. Books will be open for subscription at the Observer Office, in aid of this patriotic design, and we have no doubt but that it will be liberally supported. We understand that the Reformers mean to retaliate in a peaceable, yet effectual way, upon some of our townsmen. If report be correct,

some individual manufacturer is to be selected out, who has made himself busy on this occasion, and for whom no man will in future weave on any terms whatever, and thus bring these gentlemen at least to reflection. In the country it is intended to desert all shopkeepers and others; who are not only passive, but all who are opposed to Reform. The poor are thus driven to measures, eminently calculated for their protection. The scheme will answer.

Some of our Police Officers and Soldiers, accompanied by Mr. Richards, of the Talbot Inn, and others, entered, it is said, the room where the reformers intended to have dined on Monday; and where they found some *roast beef*, which they ventured to eat, and wonderful to tell, not *one* of them was *poisoned*. Reformers' beef, it appears, good, when it comes cheap. In the evening of Monday, many of the constables burnt their staves; and many more are laid up of nervous fevers; and we are sorry to hear that there is no probability of their recovery while the present commotion exists.—Mr. Murray, the ginger-bread baker, has certainly been most seriously injured; this active constable has made himself obnoxious, by the diligent discharge of his duty, and which is always the case in every situation, where the duties of those situations are improperly discharged. Mr. Murray, then, not wishing to rely upon common report, repaired to White Moss, about 5 miles distant from Manchester, accompanied by a beadle or two, to make observations on those who were "training." He was soon recognized as no reformer; and as soon pounced by a few men, and corrected for his heinous offences without mercy: not contented to give him a common castigation, he was made to recant his former opinions; he begged pardon on his bare knees; we understand he made his obeisance no less than ten times; and in this prostrate condition promised, on his word, to be good for the future: and on this solemn promise, he was suffered to depart. After his arrival at home, he was visited by no less than four surgeons, who declared that his brain was not affected; the skull, it seems, was proof even to *clogs*. He is now convalescent.

The following letters, will be perused with interest, as they not only show the sentiments of gentlemen in other towns, on the subject of Reform, but contain reasoning which cannot be readily overcome on the *illegality* of calling forth an armed force to repel the creature of their own creation.

"Liverpool, 14th August, 1819.

"SIR,—I have had the honour to receive, through Mr. Knight, an invitation to attend the public meeting at Manchester on Monday next, for the promotion of Parliamentary Reform; and I hereby acknowledge that invitation, to you, as the intended Chairman of that meeting.

"But, for, reasons which have always actuated my conduct in political matters, I must decline taking any part on that occasion, even if business, which is more than probable, should induce me to visit Manchester about the time. Those reasons I assure you, are perfectly free from any disrespect toward the meeting, or its conductors; and as I declined a similar invitation in the very sunshine of our cause in 1816, it will not be supposed that my motives are disgraced by any thing like fear. I disregard alike the recent blustering threat of the magistrates, and the nonsense of the late ministerial proclamation,* as much as I despise all the principles of those who would employ cannon to answer argument.

"As a sincere constitutionalist, advocating every improvement in our political system which truth and justice may dictate, I heartily wish success to the peaceable endeavours of my fellow countrymen to obtain their right of representation; and the warmest hope of my political feelings is for such reform in Parliament, whether founded on householder or more extended suffrage, as will make the people the real constituents of the democratic branch of the state. Then indeed our Government will be formed, as it ought to be, of King, Lords, and People. To obtain this object, all constitutional means should be adopted; and, until it be obtained, the people, I trust, whether in prosperity or adversity, will never rest satisfied.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,

"Your obedient servant,

"JOHN SMITH.

"*Henry Hunt, Esq. Smedley Cottage.*"

* The placard issued by the magistrates, to prevent the meeting on the 9th, cautioned, "All persons to *abstain*, at their *peril*," from attending the said meeting! And the whole *spirit* and substance of the proclamation is a declaration, that "unlawful assemblies are *contrary to law*!"

TO

THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DERBY,

LORD LIEUTENANT AND CUSTOS-ROTULORUM

OF THE COUNTY OF LANCASTER.

My Lord,

I address you as his Majesty's Lieutenant and the Custos of this County, not in behalf of any party of men or any set of political opinions, but in the behalf of the laws and constitution of my country. I was an eye-witness of occurrences at Manchester, on Monday last, unparalleled in the annals of England: occurrences which will arrest the attention of the world, and which it is the duty of every Englishman to bring to legal investigation.

To you, my Lord, as a conservator of the public peace, I appeal for the protection of the rights of the subject, by your personal and official interference, in bringing to justice all those who have

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violated the law, whether in authority or in subjection. I am perfectly convinced, that the result of this important business will decide at once the fact of—the liberty or slavery of the people.

The public meeting appointed for Monday, the 9th Instant, when it was proposed to elect a representative for Manchester, was early denounced by the Magistrates, who gave notice that they would put it down: and to the satisfaction of all parties the notice for its taking place was countermanded. A meeting was then convened for Monday last, merely for the purpose of considering the most legal means of obtaining a reform of the House of Commons. To this meeting, summoned in the usual way, no legal objection appeared. It is true, that threats and rumours of interference prevailed amongst heated partizans in Manchester; but on Saturday last, it was fully understood upon 'Change, that the Magistrates had resolved not to disturb the meeting, unless some breach of the peace occurred. It was then said, by men of all parties, "well, then, the meeting will go off quietly." On that day, and on Sunday, it was currently reported that letters had been received from Lord Sidmouth and the Duke of York, ordering the entire quiescence of the military, unless popular violence should be manifested. This report was never contradicted by any circumstance. On Monday morning a placard was issued by the Boroughreeve and Constables, recommending persons to remain in their houses during the day; but still nothing appeared to indicate the intension of resorting to violent measures.

The meeting assembled in the most peaceable manner; the usual compliment to our monarch was performed by the bands playing "God Save the King," the people uncovered; the chairman of the day at length arrived, and was beginning to address his countrymen when the volunteer cavalry of the town, many of whom but a few days before had made most violent declarations, rushed upon the people, cutting right and left, taking forcible possession of the conductors of the meeting, and then proceeding by direct charges upon the multitude to force them from the ground. I saw numbers of men and women cut down on every side of me; and even a few who stood against the farthest wall of the area, as spectators, were sabred without distinction of sex or circumstance.

The reasons upon which these proceedings were adopted, have never been avowed, nor can they be imagined. Was the meeting convened illegal? No one pretends it. Was it tumultuous? All evidence denies it. Did it design violence? It was so completely unarmed, as not to withstand a few swordsmen, and the experience of all former meetings gives the lie to the supposition. Did any one previously depose that he knew of intended mischief? He must have learnt it from some individual circumstances, and he was a

traitor if he did not apprehend the criminal. Was the language used by the speaker seditious? It was to urge silence and good order; politics had not even been introduced. Was the carrying of the cap of liberty treasonable? Then is the man a traitor who bears this popular emblem before the King, on his coronation; and so was the coiner of the copper coin of the last century. Were any of the banners and inscriptions seditious? They might have been seized, or their carriers prosecuted. Was the exhibition of caps of liberty and inscriptions a matter of bad taste, which I think it was, because it offended the prejudices of political opponents? Surely the people must not be cut down for bad taste. Was the attendance of women bad taste? Still, the sword is not the proper correction of it. Were warrants to be served on the speakers for some particular reason? This could have been done during the procession, or even on the ground, without wounding scores of unresisting people after the prisoners were secured. Had the Riot Act been read, and the civil power found insufficient to quell the riot? There was no riot. Was it read, as stated, soon after twelve o'clock? The hour would then have expired before the great procession arrived; and the crowd then present might have been dispersed with comparative ease. Was it read at all? numbers of persons who stood in every different part of the meeting are ready to swear they never heard any mention of it. And if it was read, there having been no riot, was the meeting to be dispersed? And if it was to be dispersed, was the killing and wounding of unresisting people necessary?

The above, my Lord, are questions which are now running like electricity through all the frame of society, and it will become your Lordship's high character and office to bring to the test of the law, the conduct of the movers and actors of these memorable deeds, in order that acquittal or punishment may take place accordingly. The great question must be now determined, whether or not Englishmen may be cut down for meeting to discuss their rights and opinions, and whether we are in future to recognize our country as an England or an Algiers.

I have the honour to be,

My Lord,

Your obedient servant,

Liverpool, August 18, 1819.

JOHN SMITH.

No: 2,

Will be ready for delivery in a few days.

Printed by J. Wroe, Observer Office, 18, Market-Street, Manchester.

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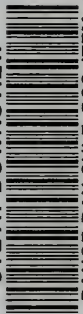
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