

# PETERLOO REVISITED

through the collection of Manchester Local History Library

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Visitors to the site of Manchester's most notorious event need not travel far to discover a mass of information on the happenings of August 16th 1819, for a few yards away in the Central Library, the Local History department houses a wealth of material on the city's past, few episodes of which have engendered such enduring interest, or led to the publication of such a plethora of prose, polemic and poem, of accusation and counter-accusation as the "Peterloo massacre". In the immediate aftermath of the disaster, whilst feelings still ran high, and wounds both literal and metaphorical were yet unhealed, the widespread interest created a market for the tracts and pamphlets, many of an extremely partisan nature, which poured from the presses. Later works, looking back on the day's events with both the benefits and the disadvantages of distance, still fail to agree on exactly what happened and why. The historical importance of this episode in the search for electoral reform, together with the challenge of such a wealth of varied and contradictory sources, seem certain to ensure continued popularity for the subject amongst scholars, students and local historians. It is hoped that this brief guide to the Peterloo collection in Manchester Local History Library will be helpful in outlining the wide range of material available.

Bibliographies of Peterloo can be found in most of the monographs on the subject, and there are over 250 relevant entries in Volume 9 of the Lancashire Bibliography series.<sup>1</sup> A comprehensive list of Manchester Central Library's collection was compiled by Margaret Leighton and published by the Libraries Committee in 1969.<sup>2</sup> The intention in this article is to complement and update Miss Leighton's bibliography without unnecessary duplication, so references have been kept brief, indicating in the text the appropriate item number in the Leighton listing where full bibliographical details and library call number may be found. Only new or additional material has been footnoted. Copies of the Leighton bibliography are available for reference or loan in the Local History Library, or can be purchased at a cost of 50 pence (or 70 pence by post).

By way of manuscript material the library houses an eyewitness account of Peterloo by John Benjamin Smith (Leighton 143), a printed version of which appears in the collection of *Three Accounts of Peterloo* edited by F.A. Bruton (Leighton 160). Letters by Earl Fitzwilliam and Henry Hunt can also be seen. The former (Leighton 71) outlines the Earl's personal view on the meeting — a view, unpopular with the establishment, which led to his dismissal as Lord Lieutenant of the West Riding. The letter from Hunt was sent from New Bailey prison in an attempt to gain legal advice, and is accompanied by a copy of the reply from attorney Fenton Atkinson (Leighton 82 & 46). A journal kept by Hunt whilst in Ilchester Jail is also housed here (Leighton 81), as is a manuscript collection by Henry Edward Napier entitled *On the field of Peterloo . . . and other poems* (Leighton 110). A letter from George Swift to his brother following his arrest at the meeting can be seen in facsimile form (Leighton 148).

Printed sources are much more numerous. The earliest reports of the day's proceedings appeared in the

newspapers, and a comparison of these may indicate why there have been conflicting opinions ever since. Relevant issues of *The Times*, whose reporter was mistakenly arrested at the meeting, can be viewed on microfilm in the Social Sciences department (Leighton 150), whilst the sharply contrasting stories in the Manchester papers — the pro-radical *Observer and Gazette*, or the loyalist *Mercury, Chronicle and Exchange Herald* — can be seen on film in the Local History Library (Leighton 103, 61, 102, 156 & 70). Other newspaper accounts are available in the Manchester-based *British Volunteer* and *Liverpool Mercury* (Leighton 52 & 99). There is also an array of newscuttings from around the country in one of the collected volumes on Peterloo (Leighton 114), and a microfilmed assortment of newspapers and pamphlets.<sup>3</sup>

## A STRIKING RESEMBLANCE

OF THE

### *Two Swearing Parsons,*

HAY AND ETHELSTONE,

*Reading the Riot Act,*

ON ST. PETER'S PLAIN,

August 16th, 1819.



*Vide Trial Redford, v. Birley and Others.*

Printed and Published by J. T. Saxon, 2, Nottingham-street, Port-street, Manchester.

*Cartoon of Hay and Ethelstone reading the Riot Act.*

The political periodicals which were rife in the early nineteenth century contain much conflicting comment on the situation. The *Black Dwarf*, *Medusa*, *Republican*, *London Alfred* and *Sherwin's Weekly Political Register* thunder out the radical viewpoint (Leighton 51, 108, 136, 100 & 140), whilst the *Patriot* (Leighton 121) replies in its attempt to "arrest the progress of seditious and blasphemous opinions too prevalent in 1819". A collected volume of issues of the *Scotsman* relating to Peterloo and its aftermath, offers a more balanced approach.<sup>4</sup>

Eyewitness accounts of the meeting vary a great deal. In addition to the John Benjamin Smith report mentioned above, Bruton reprinted the stories of Bishop Stanley, an independent observer, and Lieutenant Joliffe of the 15th Hussars (Leighton 160). Hunt's version of events appears in his *Memoirs* (Leighton 84), and another major protagonist, Samuel Bamford, tells his own tale in *Passages in the Life of a Radical* (Leighton 48). Less involved were the engineer John Galloway, who includes the Peterloo incident in some notes on his life and times (Leighton 75), and the middle-class radical Archibald Prentice, who was absent from St Peter's Field when the main events took place, but still has his own viewpoint to give in *Historical Sketches and Personal Reminiscences of Manchester* (Leighton 128).<sup>5</sup> A recent article by Philip Lawson brings to light the account of Robert Mutrie, one of the Special Constables on duty, in a private letter to his brother-in-law.<sup>6</sup>

Many more first-hand reports can be found in the published proceedings of the trials which followed the day's tragic events. In addition to newspaper accounts of the transactions, verbatim reports of the evidence were published privately and distributed either with or without editorial comment. The New Bailey examination of Hunt and his fellow prisoners (Leighton 87), was followed by the much lengthier trial at York (Leighton 88), at which prosecution and defence witnesses produced their widely divergent tales. Another copy of this trial report, apparently once the property of magistrate W.R. Hay, has a manuscript index of witnesses, and notes by Hay justifying his decision to leave the trial early.<sup>7</sup> The coroner's inquest on the body of John Lees (Leighton 65) brought forth evidence from many ordinary people who were present on St Peter's Field, before a legal technicality led to an abandonment of the hearing. The action taken against Hugh Hornby Birley by Thomas Redford for assault, had a similar string of supportive and opposing witnesses (Leighton 130). The libel trial of Sir Francis Burdett (Leighton 53 & 54) revolved around the validity of the earliest newspaper accounts of the "massacre". The series of *State Trials* edited by John Macdonnell covers the major hearings (Leighton 55, 89 & 134).

Several works were published in 1819, not only in Manchester but across the country, purporting to give the authentic version of the Peterloo incident. James Wroe at the Manchester Observer office produced, in fourteen weekly instalments<sup>8</sup> later issued as one work, *Peterloo Massacre containing a faithful narrative of the events which preceded, accompanied and followed the fatal sixteenth of August, 1819* (Leighton 123), the "faithful narrative" being very much from a radical's viewpoint. Similar accounts in support of the reformers' version were published elsewhere, such as the *Examination of the late dreadful occurrences at the meeting at Manchester* published in Newcastle-upon-Tyne (Leighton 69), and the *Disturbances at Manchester!* and *Manchester*



THIS IS THE  
PRINCE OF BIRDS.  
The PROUD PEACOCK,  
NOW entrass'd in mail,  
STRUTS UNCONCERN'D at  
COCK ROBIN'S sad tale.

*Cartoon of the Prince Regent from  
Who Killed Cock Robin? (1819).*

*Massacre!* both published in London (Leighton 64 & 101). Attempts at a more balanced view are the *Report of the Manchester Meeting* published by John Leigh in Manchester (Leighton 135), and the Liverpool-published *Impartial Narrative of the late Melancholy Occurrences in Manchester* (Leighton 92). The latter is generally attributed to Liverpool Mercury journalist John Smith, and probably comes closest of all the accounts to that claim of impartiality. Feeling that the reformers were having things too much their own way, Francis Philips, a local merchant and special constable at Peterloo, penned his *Exposure of the calumnies circulated by the enemies of social order . . .* (Leighton 125), bringing an anonymous reply from John Edward Taylor in his *Notes and Observations, critical and explanatory . . .* (Leighton 149). Taylor's work also studied the government's reaction to the Peterloo incident, and the decision that a parliamentary inquiry would not be appropriate.

One of the main strengths of the Central Library's stock is the priceless collection of nineteenth-century tracts and pamphlets covering a wide range of topics of contemporary interest and concern. This is reflected in the number of such works available giving a wide spectrum of opinion on the Peterloo affair. A debate in print evolved over the legality of mass meetings, the rights of the working man to have his say, and the necessity for a parliamentary inquiry. Many of those drawn into the debate were clerics or religious representatives. The *Address to the Higher Classes in the town of Manchester* (Leighton 42), thought to be by Reverend Tweddell, attacks the *Manchester Observer* for stirring up resentment, and defends the Manchester Infirmary against claims that the injured were mistreated. Reverend Melville Horne is even more outspoken in his criticism of the radicals' blasphemies in his *Moral and Political Crisis in England* (Leighton 80). Reverend John Stephens's sermon *The Mutual Relations, Claims and Duties of the Rich and Poor* (Leighton 29) argued that as the poor were created by God, any attempt at levelling in society would be an impiety, a view soundly dismissed in Reverend James Scholefield's *Remarks on the sermon, adapted to the state of the times . . .* (Leighton 25) which sought understanding and assistance for the plight of the sufferers. Beaumont's *To the Professors of Religion* (Leighton 50) is also a call to fellow Christians not to forget the martyrs of Peterloo, and to fight for better conditions for the lower orders. Bishop Henry Phillpotts entered the debate in support of the magistrates with his *Letter to the Freeholders of the County of Durham* (Leighton 126), and was taken to task, along with the Reverend John Davison, for pre-judging matters which

Who'll toll the bell?

ANSWER.

I, said honest JOHN BULL,  
The PEACOCK has heard,  
and won't give a pull,  
Tho' he's entrass'd all over  
in Coat of Mail,  
The MASTER BIRD  
from his crown to his tail.

SECOND QUESTION.

Should Robins pull,  
and pull together—  
Will they not—if they do—  
get the better?

required an unbiased investigation in *An Essay upon the Necessity of Parliamentary Inquiry and Some observations as to the Propriety of an enquiry* (Leighton 68 & 145). The aggrieved Davison responded with *Reply to an article entitled "Parliamentary Inquiry . . ."* (Leighton 62). *A View of Public Affairs* from the *Christian Observer* tries to take an unbiased stance (Leighton 59).

The publication of letters addressed to prominent figures was a popular method of making one's own feelings known. Two letters to Earl Fitzwilliam and one to the Recorder of Doncaster favour firm action, and question the legality of mass meetings (Leighton 72, 73 & 115). Gracchus's *Letter to Lord Sidmouth* and Hobhouse's *Letter to Lord Viscount Castlereagh* plead for justice for the lower classes through a parliamentary enquiry (Leighton 76 & 79). Open letters were also prevalent as in Ryan's *Address to the English Nation* (Leighton 137), *An address . . . from the pen of Equal Justice* (Leighton 43), *Manchester represented and misrepresented* (Leighton 105), *Reflections . . . in a letter from a gentleman at Bath to his friend*<sup>9</sup> and *An Englishman's Address to his fellow Townsmen* (Leighton 67). All of these argue against political agitation and support strong action.

Meetings were held up and down the country in which the circumstances of Peterloo were debated. Reports of these were often printed, as is the case with the meetings at Palace Yard in Westminster, Dundee, Leeds, Norwich and Hereford (Leighton 74, 41, 96, 98, 116 & 129). Elsewhere letters were published seeking to influence the opinions of freeholders who would take part in the petitioning of parliament, as in Berkshire and Durham (Leighton 95 & 126). The furore created in the country was not sufficient, however, to bring about a parliamentary inquiry, but the Hansard reports of the Commons' debates make interesting reading (Leighton 118 to 120). Key speeches by George Canning and W.C. Plunket were published separately (Leighton 56 & 127).

In Manchester the two opposing bodies of opinion could not be reconciled. The reformers signed a *Declaration and Protest* (Leighton 63) in response to the Star Inn meeting at which a vote of thanks had been made to the magistrates. In October the loyalist faction sent their *Loyal Address to the Prince Regent from the towns of Manchester and Salford*.<sup>10</sup> Whilst the debate raged on, some practical assistance was sought for the sufferers. Subscriptions were requested for a fund to help the injured, details of which can be found in *Outrage at Manchester* (Leighton 117) and *Report of the Metropolitan and Central Committee appointed for the relief of the Manchester sufferers* (Leighton 109).

The library's broadside and poster collection contains several interesting documents connected with Peterloo. Henry Hunt's pre-meeting address *To the inhabitants of Manchester and neighbourhood* (Leighton 85)<sup>11</sup> is relevant to the debate over the alleged riotous intentions of the crowd. In the letter Hunt clearly asks his followers to "be steady, firm and temperate" and to come "armed with no other weapon than that of a self-approving conscience". The magistrates had been alarmed by the so-called military exercises being practised by the radicals on open ground outside the town, and responded on August 17th with an official notice *To the Inhabitants of the Hundred of Salford* banning such activities.<sup>12</sup> *An account of the Manchester Meeting* published on August 17th, is very much a loyalist's response to the previous day's happenings, in which the "revolutionary attempts of this base junto" are seen to have received their just deserts, and the only sympathy shown is for a member of



EXAMINATION  
OF  
**HENRY HUNT, Esq.**

Joseph Johnson, Jacob Mearns, &c.

AT THE  
NEW BAILEY COURT-HOUSE,

Salford,

On Friday the 27th Aug. 1819.



MANCHESTER,  
Printed by T. Wilkinson, Ridgefield.

*Report of the New Bailey trial.*

the Yeomanry wounded by a brickbat during the affray (Leighton 40). *Mr Hunt's entrance into London* was reprinted from the *Globe* newspaper,<sup>13</sup> as was the reported *Violent outrage upon Sir Charles Wolseley and Mr Pearson at Warrington* as they tried to obtain a warrant against one of the Yeomanry on a charge of wounding.<sup>14</sup>

Following Hunt's death in 1835, his Manchester friends erected a memorial statue, and an illustrated poster was produced to raise funds for this under the title *Henry Hunt and the Manchester "Massacre"* (Leighton 39). The demise of this statue, which stood for over forty years in the yard of Every Street Chapel, is reported in a cutting from the *Manchester Guardian*, October 3rd 1888 (Leighton 178). A movement later emerged with a view to restoring or replacing this memorial, and again a poster was produced soliciting funds.<sup>15</sup> A receipt book of this second Henry Hunt Memorial Fund is preserved in the library's miscellaneous collection.<sup>16</sup>

The broadside collection also illustrates the fact that the reaction to Peterloo was not confined to prose. The day's

New Bailey Prison ③

Sir,

Tuesday 4th October -

I could never obtain a Copy of the Warrant  
altho repeatedly demanded both of the Magistrate  
& the Constables, as well as the Governor of the Prison  
till about half past 2 this Day more than 24 Hours  
after I was in custody. In the Warrant I am charged  
with a bailable offence & I am to be kept in custody  
before the Magistrate & to enter into recognisance to  
appear at the next Assizes - Altho I am but  
imperfectly known to you yet I trust that I  
shall not apply in vain for your professional  
advice & assistance - Will you therefore do me the  
favour of a visit this evening as I cannot see you  
your

I am Sir  
Your obedient Servant  
H. Hunt,

*Letter written by Hunt from New Bailey prison.*

events were recorded in a number of poems and songs, most of which depict the violent assault upon an unarmed crowd. Broadsheet ballads in the library's stock include *The renowned achievements of Peterloo* (Leighton 146), *Answer to Peterloo* (Leighton 45), *New Song* (Leighton 111), *To the Yeomanry Cavalry* (Leighton 152), *Peterloo*,<sup>17</sup> *Tribute to the Immortal Memory of the Reformers*<sup>18</sup> and a sheet including both *Manchester Meeting, a new song* and the *Meeting at Peterloo*.<sup>19</sup> Longer poetical works inspired by the day's happenings are Shelley's *Mask of Anarchy* (Leighton 139), Bamford's *Song of the Slaughter* (Leighton 49), Helicon's *White Hats* (Leighton 78), Ragbotham's *Siege of Manchester* (Leighton 142), Brown's *Field of Peterloo*<sup>20</sup> and the satirical rhymes entitled *Who killed Cock Robin?* (Leighton 157) and *A Frown from the Crown*.<sup>21</sup> A critical review of magistrate Reverend Ethelston's poetry also

owed its origin to the events of August 16th (Leighton 106).

The literary inspiration of Peterloo was not confined to the months immediately following the tragedy. Another account in rhyme appears in Aston's *Metrical Records of Manchester* (Leighton 172), and there are several novels including accounts of the meeting, of which Mrs Linnaeus Banks's *Manchester Man* (Leighton 194) is probably the best known. Howard Spring opened one of his locally-based novels with an Old Warrior's account of the death of his sweetheart on St Peter's Field,<sup>22</sup> and similar stories of personal tragedies appear in *The Peterloo Weaver*,<sup>23</sup> *Looms of Destiny*,<sup>24</sup> *Jack o' Peterloo*<sup>25</sup> and *The Black Lamp*.<sup>26</sup> *The Distant Storm* (Leighton 195) takes the opposite viewpoint, with the hero acting as one of the special constables on duty. The play *Working Class Hero* is based on the events of August 1819, and a typescript copy of this, along with details of the Library Theatre's 1984 production, can be seen in the collection.<sup>27</sup>

Peterloo also inspired several artists to record their version of events in pictorial form. In addition to the four depictions of the "massacre" listed in Leighton bibliography item numbers 196 to 199, the library's print collection contains several other illustrations of the event.<sup>28</sup> Two works including hand-coloured representations of St. Peter's Field are *Disturbances at Manchester* (Leighton 64) and *A Tribute to the immortal memory of the reformers*.<sup>29</sup> Various plans of the site of the meeting, and the positions of the involved parties, appear in the items in the Leighton bibliography numbered 65, 75, 92, 130, 147, 159 and 211 to 213.

Secondary sources on Peterloo are not difficult to find, as most social histories of nineteenth-century England or Manchester cover the incident to a greater or lesser degree. Of the monographs on the subject the earliest we have is James MacDonald's *Peterloo — the massacre* (Leighton 166), published in 1904, and based, he says, on an account in his own possession which is not available in Manchester Reference Library. In 1919 F.A. Bruton's very readable *Story of Peterloo* (Leighton 159) was produced to mark the centenary. After examining the available sources, Bruton comes down fairly gently on the side of the reformers. A much more strident criticism of magistrates and yeomanry appears in the 1928 publication *Peterloo — the story of the terrible massacre of the Lancashire workers* by the Communist Party of Great Britain (Leighton 161). Ellis Smith's *The Story of Peterloo*<sup>30</sup> contains less rhetoric, but concludes that the action of the magistrates was at best a folly. Published in 1957 and 1958 respectively, R.J. White's *Waterloo to Peterloo* (Leighton 36) and Donald Read's *Peterloo: the "massacre" and its background* (Leighton 169) both concentrate on the events leading up to August 16th, but Read's is a much more detailed study of the situation in Manchester, whereas White's interest is in the country as a whole.

The 150th anniversary in 1969 brought forth a spate of publications, of which Joyce Marlow's *The Peterloo Massacre* (Leighton 167) and W.H. Shercliff's *150 Years On: a short account of Peterloo*<sup>31</sup> are both extremely readable introductions to the subject. The representatives of law and order are roundly condemned in a pamphlet by the Lancashire and Cheshire District Communist Party.<sup>32</sup> The most notable publication in 1969, and one which refuelled the debate over the responsibility for the tragedy, was Robert Walmsley's *Peterloo: the case reopened* (Leighton 171). Having painstakingly sifted through an abundance of evidence,



**IN MEMORY**  
OF THE  
**FIFTEEN UNFORTUNATE INDIVIDUALS,**  
WHO DIED  
IN CONSEQUENCE OF WOUNDS RECEIVED  
DURING THE  
**YEOMANRY CAVALRY**  
AND OTHERS, ON THE  
PLAINS OF ST. PETER'S  
On Monday, the 16th of August, 1819,  
Whilst peaceably assembled, to observe the legal and  
constitutional privileges of Englishmen; and on  
which fatal day, upwards of 600 persons  
were also severely wounded.

**NAMES OF THE KILLED.**  
Thomas Ashworth, Bull's Head, Manchester.  
John Ashton, Cornhill, near Oldham.  
Thompe Buckley, Barreter, Chadderton.  
James Crompton, Barton.  
William Dawson, Saddler's-Work.  
Fildes, Knosed-street, Manchester (see below).  
Mary Hey, Rasthous's-buildings, Oxford-road, Man-  
chester.  
Sarah Jones, Silk street, Manchester.  
John Lees, Oldham.  
Arthur O'Reilly, Fenton-street, Manchester.  
Matha Parington, Endon.  
John Rhodes, Pitt-Hopwood.  
Joseph Whitworth, Hyde.  
William Bradshaw, Lily-hill, near Bury.

**NAMES OF THE MAGISTRATES WHO TOOK AN AC-  
TIVE PART IN THE ABOVE OCCASION.**  
Rev. W. H. Bay, Vicar of Rochdale.  
Rev. C. W. Ethelston, one of the Fellows of the Col-  
legiate Church.  
Wm. Hulton, Esq., Hulton Park.  
Robert Fildes, Esq., Manchester.  
Wm. Marriott, Esq., Manchester.  
Ralph Fletcher, Esq., Bolton.  
James Norris, Esq., Manchester.  
Ralph Wright, Esq., Flixton.  
T. W. Tatton, Esq., Wharfedale, Cheeshire.  
J. Stretcher, Esq., Chorley.

**NAMES OF THE MANCHESTER YEOMANRY, ON  
THE SIXTEENTH OF AUGUST, 1819.**  
**RICH HORNBY SIBLEY, COMMANDER.**  
Anthony, Joseph, cheese-monger, Deansgate.  
Ashton, ———, Innis, manufacturer Cotton Court,  
Deansgate.  
Barker, Wm. King's Head, Old Shambles.  
Barker, John, cotton dyer, Back Salford.  
Barker, Wm. corn and sugar warehouse, St. Bridge-st.  
Barrow, John, Water Castle, near the George Inn,  
Deansgate.  
Barns, ———, spinner, Miles Platting.  
Barns, William, the Pitt, Jackson's Row, Deansgate.  
Bridges, Samuel, Miller's-lane, St. Mary's-gate.  
Barns, Thomas, cloth-dealer, Ardwick-gate.  
Burgess, John, cooper, Worsley.  
Euzene, Geo. lutealation Here and Chirkos, Deansgate.  
Bailey, George, watch-maker, near St. Ann's-gate.  
Bailey, John, Braughton.  
Barker, James, Neston (son of Joseph Barker).  
Barnes, J. water-lane, (son of the coachmaker).  
Bentley, John, labouring man (subsistence for Thomas  
Gander, butcher, Stafford).  
Cotton, Wm. hose-maker, sign of the Sun, Deans-  
gate.  
Cope, ———, lace-maker, corner of Bridge-street.  
Chaderton, James, Wood Park, Farncliffe.  
Chadwick, James, butcher, Stafford.  
Chapman, Paul, Farncliffe (in foreigner).  
Coper, James, near the college, St. Peter.  
Cotton, John, (son of Richard Cotton, cotton dealer,  
Cock-shack).  
Cotton, ———, (son of Charles, late Cheshire  
and Co.).  
Dwyll, Geo. George, sheep-copier, Stafford.  
Dwyll, John, butcher, St. Mary's-gate.

Fiddian, Edward, (for T. and Ann Beest)  
Fischer, Jacob, Eccles.  
Fallows, William, Stafford.  
Wax, Edward W. Limestone, Cannon-street.  
Wren, Samuel, dyer and printer, New Street.  
Green, John, stay-maker at the  
Green, William, son of Robert Green, Burgess-st.  
Red Back, iron-merchant.  
Gibson, William, farmer, Ford-lane.  
Gooder, Mark, butcher, Stafford.  
Greenhalgh, John, (son of the Sheriff's officer).  
Grogan, ———, Sergeant Major, 13, back King-st.  
Grindshaw, ———, warehouse in St-Denis's-lane.  
Hollis, John, Bath-lane, near Bury, gunsmith's work.  
Hartmann, James, tobaccoist, Salford.  
Hogben, ———, cotton spinner.  
Horsfield, Parker, White Protection, Water-gate.  
Haine, John, calico printer, Cannon-street.  
Hobgate, John, partner with Leasing, Deansgate.  
Hoyward, ———, chandlery, St. Mary's-gate.  
HANNETT, JAMES, Hackney, Winton, Salford.  
Holme, Edward, blue cap, Salford.  
Hudson, ———, brewer's clerk, Miller's-lane.  
Hulton, ———, cotton-monger, Salford.  
HINDLEY, ROBERT, captain, brewer, Salford.  
Harrison, Samuel, Milk-Plating (for T. Porter, Broad-  
gate).  
Hilton, John, calico dealer.  
Hule, Henry, watch maker.  
Jones, Richard, for T. Marriott, Water-gate.  
Jackson, John, Park Street, T. Ford.  
Jackson, Peter, under Trafford, of Trafford Hall.  
Kraus, John, dyer, Cheetham (in Leasing).  
Knowles, John, iron-merchant, Oldham.  
Lilly, Frederick, shoe dealer, Stone Hill.  
Laveland, William, Bury street, Salford.  
Lorant, Richard, tobaccoist, Salford-street.  
Lover, George, iron-merchant, Salford-street.  
Lyon, ———, Crown and Thistle, Ball street.  
Long, James, miller, Market-street.  
Lynn, James, calico dealer, Salford.  
Miles, ———, liquor merchant, Appleton-street.  
MAGGER, EDWARD, tailor, Transporter.  
Olliver, Alexander, (son of the publisher of  
Shade Hill).  
Pelland, Jonathan, iron-merchant, Salford.  
Pitt, Wm. iron-merchant, Salford.  
Pickering, Thomas, late coachmaker, Mr. Kay.  
Paynt, William, wine merchant, Fountain-street.  
Pill, J. M., druggist, market, St. Mary's-gate.  
Rogers, Benjamin, commission agent, Oxford-road.  
Red, John, Glove, Garstide-street.  
Rangell, Parker, butcher, Stafford.  
Ravens, ———, Salford, coach dealer.  
Sharwood, James, near Hulton.  
SHERCLIFF, THOMAS (for John Collier, Esq.,  
Spring-Field, Salford).  
Sharp, H. iron dealer, Market-street.  
Smith, John, shoe-maker, Salford (son of the landlady  
of the Turk Inn, Deansgate).  
Statt, William, H. Farncliffe, Middle-lane.  
Sampson, Richard, cotton spinner, Miller's-lane.  
Street, Samuel, Lead warehouse, Bridge street.  
Sykes, ———, (son of the landlady of the Red Horse,  
Farncliffe).  
Shawcross, William, labourer, Buzard.  
Tobinell, Edward, manufacturer, Post Office.  
Tryde, John, St. Bridget-street.  
Thorp, Robert, surgeon.  
Taylor, Robert, miller, Stafford (subsistence for Peter  
Hume).  
Tanner, William, for Smith and Ingle, paper maker.  
WITHERTON, RICHARD, Tanner's-lane, Farncliffe  
Trenchard, Back-gate).  
Wick, James, weaver, Eccles.  
Wilson, Richard, Alton-lane, (son of the landlady,  
Willow, Need-wood, Richard, attorney).  
Ward, William, plumber and Gas-fitter.  
White, John, James, back Bridge Street (for Mr. Ch-  
apman, attorney).

**TO THE EDITOR OF THE MANCHESTER OBSERVER.**  
Mr. Editor,  
Manchester, July 20.  
Three weeks ago, prompted more by  
curiosity than my desire to profit by his instructions,  
I called upon the person who styles himself the author  
of a New Prospect of Short-Hand Writing, and  
was agreeably surprised to find, that instead of saying  
too much in praise of his own system in the advertise-  
ment he had, as far as I could learn from a short half-  
hour's examination, really undervalued it, from the  
as he said, that what he had stated was sufficient  
ground of preference, and that more might look too  
much like puffing. Convinced of the superiority of  
his plan, and anticipating little trouble in the acquies-  
cence of a system comprised in one single plate, I  
determined upon learning it, but was disappointed to  
learn on calling at his apartments a few days after-  
wards, that Mr. Kay (for that is the name of the  
author) had left the town almost in disgust, having  
had but one pupil during the time, which I impute  
more to the incredulity of our young townsmen, than  
to any disposition to encourage novelty. Had his  
plan of teaching the system succeeded, we understand  
it was his intention not to publish the system further  
than by opening a school for his exclusive instruction.  
What is his present intention I cannot learn; but  
should this meet his eye, perhaps he may not quite  
relinquish the first; and I am persuaded that when  
the merits of his system are generally known, it will  
supercede every other; and that consequently he will  
not want pupils, nor among them  
RICHARD BENTLEY.

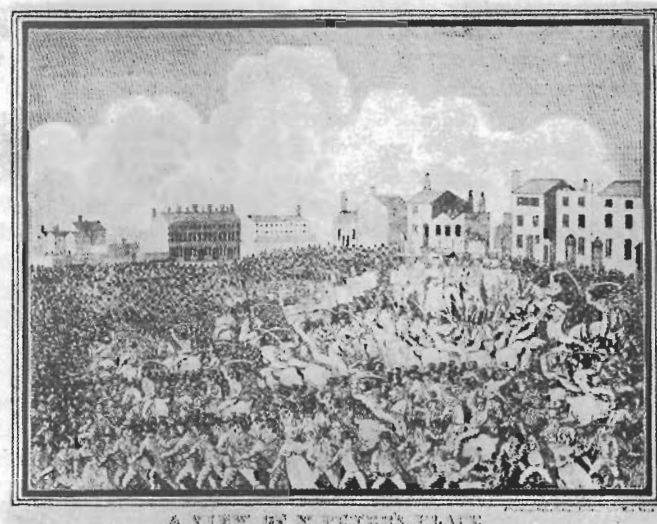
Memorial article from Wooler's British Gazette, 27 July 1822.

Walmsley exonerated the magistrates from much of the blame placed on them by generations of historians. This conclusion was not well received by the reviewers,<sup>33</sup> but Walmsley was determined to have the last word. The library has an unpublished typescript of his lengthy refutation of the reviewers' arguments entitled *The Peterloo Reopener and his Critics*.<sup>34</sup> An earlier unpublished typescript by the same author shows the initial interest in William Hulton, the chairman of the magistrates, which led on to the wider topic of Peterloo.<sup>35</sup>

There are several interesting articles on particular aspects of the Peterloo affair. Donald Read's *Social and Economic Background to Peterloo* (Leighton 21) was a fore-runner of his book on the subject. G.M. Trevelyan wrote on *The number of casualties at Peterloo* (Leighton 170), whilst an article in the *Quarterly Journal of Speech* analyses the language used by Orator Hunt, and whether it could be called inflammatory (Leighton 165). Edmund and Ruth Frow examined the Peterloo tragedy from the point of view of the Eccles reformers.<sup>36</sup> A similar study on the Bury contingent and their role was published as a pamphlet by Bury and District Local History Society,<sup>37</sup> and the Rochdale connections were unfolded by G.E. Leach.<sup>38</sup> The legal implications of Peterloo were examined in L. Webley's *Across the Atlantic* (Leighton 186). There was a note of vindication for Major Hugh Hornby Birley in an article by J.R.M. Albrecht (Leighton 189). E.P. Thompson recorded his views on the 1969 spate of publications on Peterloo in *People for the People*.<sup>39</sup>

The Peterloo collection as a whole has often been found most useful when groups of schoolchildren visit the library to be familiarised with the types of material available. Few single subjects produce such a fine array of examples of all aspects of the library's stock. There are several publications aimed specifically at schoolchildren, to introduce them to a subject which seems certain to fire the imagination. G.R. Kesteven's *Peterloo, 1819*<sup>40</sup> is one in a series of text book studies of particular incidents in English history. John Hipkin's *The massacre of Peterloo* (Leighton 162) is a play written for secondary school children, and includes a project to be completed by pupils in conjunction with the dramatisation. There are two portfolios containing facsimiles of contemporary documents to help in the production of project work. One is in the Jackdaw series (Leighton 164), whilst the other was produced in 1969 by the Manchester Libraries Committee.<sup>41</sup> Copies of the latter can also be purchased from the Local History Library at a cost of £2.10 (or £2.60 including postage and packing). As the new G.C.S.E. syllabus requires pupils to study a range of primary source material, and to gain an insight into the difficulties of evaluating historical evidence, the conflicting narratives of Peterloo would seem to be a worthwhile subject for investigation.

One specific request which crops up from time to time is for a list of the dead and injured, from descendants who are tracing their family history. Item numbers 109 and 123 in the Leighton bibliography can satisfy this enquiry. It is



## PETERLOO

MONDAY, 16th AUGUST 1819:

### A BIBLIOGRAPHY

*Peterloo Bibliography (Copies available from Manchester Local History Library, 70p. inc. p. + p.).*

interesting to speculate on whether the lack of requests from descendants of the magistrates and cavalry is merely a matter of numbers, or whether law and order's participation in the Peterloo affair does not make such a good story to pass down through the generations. For those who do ask, the library's miscellaneous collection contains a photocopied extract from *Wooler's British Gazette* with the names of those involved.<sup>42</sup>

The majority of items in the Peterloo collection can only be used for reference in the library,<sup>43</sup> but photocopying and photographic services are available subject to copyright. The Local History Library is on the second floor of the Central Library, St Peter's Square, Manchester M2 5PD. Opening hours are Monday to Friday 9 a.m. to 9 p.m., and Saturday 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. The telephone number is 061-236 9422, extension 265. Most material can be produced from the stacks within a few minutes, but prior arrangements may be required for rare books, manuscripts and illustrative material.

#### NOTES

1. P.M. Turner, compiler, *Lancashire History. Historical Period: Hanover* (Manchester, 1978) Local History Library Call Number 016.94276 Lal.
2. M.E. Leighton, compiler, *Peterloo, Monday, 16th August 1819: a bibliography* (Manchester, 1969) LHL Call No. 942.730731 Ma 7.
3. *Old Newspapers and Cuttings on Peterloo Massacre* LHL Call No. MF 1163.
4. *The Scotsman or Edinburgh Political and Literary Journal*, 4 August 1819 to 20 April 1822 (incomplete) LHL Call No. 942.730731 Sc1.
5. There is a misprint here in the Leighton bibliography. The correct library call number is 942.73073 P18.
6. Philip Lawson, *Reassessing Peterloo*, *History Today*, March 1988. LHL Call No. 905 H7.
7. LHL Call No. 329.2 T1.
8. LHL Call No. 942.730731 P70 Vol 7/5.

9. *Reflections suggested by the propensity at present manifested by the disaffected to destroy the religion and laws of the British nation, in a letter from a gentleman at Bath to his friend in Ireland* (Bath, 1819) LHL Call No. P1507/6.
10. LHL Call No. f1819/2H.
11. There is a misprint here in the Leighton bibliography. The correct library call number is f1819/2F.
12. LHL Call No. f1819/2D.
13. LHL Call No. f1819/25.
14. LHL Call No. f1819/2K.
15. LHL Call No. f1889/2B.
16. LHL Call No. MSC 942.730731.
17. LHL Call No. f1819/2W.
18. LHL Call No. f1819/2CC.
19. LHL Call No. f1819/2Z.
20. Thomas Brown, *The Field of Peterloo* (London, 1819) LHL Call No. 821.7 Br2.
21. *A Frown from the Crown, or the Hydra destroyed* (London, 1820) LHL Call No. L305/5.
22. Howard Spring, *Fame is the Spur* (London, 1940) LHL Call No. 942.731 S40.
23. M. Glaiser Blake, *The Peterloo Weaver* (London, 1980) LHL Call No. 942.7331 BL1.
24. Ellen M. Fowkes, *The Looms of Destiny* (London, 1926) LHL Call No. 942.731 F6.
25. Theodora Wilson Wilson, *Jack o' Peterloo* (London, 1924) LHL Call No. 942.731 W13.
26. Peter Carter, *The Black Lamp* (Oxford, 1973) LHL Call No. 942.7331 Ca1.
27. Bob Mason, *Working Class Hero: a play* (First performed Southampton, 1983) LHL Call No. ff942.73 Ma12.
28. LHL Call No. Folio Prints 942.73 C5 : 1819 : Peterloo.
29. LHL Call No. f1819/2CC.
30. Ellis Smith, *The Story of Peterloo* (Lancashire and Cheshire Federation of Trades Councils, 1952) LHL Call No. 942.730731 Sm1.
31. W.H. Shercliff, *150 Years On: a short account of Peterloo* (Manchester, 1969) LHL Call No. 942.730731 Sh1.
32. Lancashire and Cheshire District Communist Party, *Peterloo* (1969) LHL Call No. 942.730731 Pe1.
33. See *Times Literary Supplement*, 11 Dec 1969 LHL Call No. MF 805 T1. *History*, Feb 1970. LHL Call No. 905 Hi1. *Observer*, 20 July 1969. Library Call No. Social Sciences : MF.
34. R. Walmsley, *The Peterloo Reopener and his critics* LHL Call No. q942.733073 Wa1.
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37. Ruth Slater, *Bury Folk at Peterloo* (Bury, 1973) LHL Call No. 942.730731 SL1.
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40. G.R. Kesteven, *Peterloo, 1819* (London, 1967) LHL Call No. 942.730731 Ke1.
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42. LHL Call No. MSC 942.730731.
43. Lending copies are available of item numbers 2, 4, 10, 12, 17, 19, 21, 22, 28, 31, 32, 36, 47, 48, 128, 169, 171, 173, 175, 182 and 189 to 191 in the Leighton bibliography, and items footnoted 2, 37 and 41 above.

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