



**THE
CHARTIST OUTBREAK
AT LLANIDLOES**

CENTENARY EDITION

TWO SHILLINGS.



A BRIEF ACCOUNT
OF
The Chartist Outbreak
AT
LLANIDLOES
IN THE YEAR 1839

Compiled from Various Sources by
EDWARD HAMER

"Nothing extenuate, nor aught set down in malice."

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THE AUTHOR.

EDWARD HAMER, born about 1830, was the son of Meredith Hamer, of The Close, Llanidloes. He received his early education at the National School, probably during the Mastership of Mr. Adams, to whose inspiring love of Natural History he pays tribute in his *Parochial Account of Llanidloes*. He proceeded to the Training College at Battersea, and passed out as a Gold Medalist.

In the early eighteen-sixties he became a school-master in the Pontypool district, first at Snatchwood, then at Talywaun, and lastly at Abersychan, making for himself a reputation as a most successful teacher.

During the whole of this time he did considerable research work into the history of Llanidloes and district, returning to his native town (as we learn from one of his diaries that has survived) whenever school holidays gave him the opportunity. Probably his earliest work was that on *The Chartist Outbreak* (published in 1867). He contributed papers to *Archæologia Cambrensis*, and to *Montgomeryshire Collections* (the journal of the Powysland Club, of which he was an original member),

in which most of his work first appeared. In 1869, with the Chevalier Lloyd, of Clochfaen, he wrote *A Parochial Account of Llangurig* (reprinted in 1875); between 1871 and 1876 he wrote *A Parochial Account of Llanidloes*; and in 1879 *A Parochial Account of Trefeglwys* which was not finished.

In 1878 he resigned his post at Abersychan, and returned to Llanidloes, living once more at The Close, and lending assistance in the way of book-keeping, to the widow of his cousin, John Brown (father of Mr. William J. Brown and Mr. John R. Brown, to whom I am indebted for help in compiling this note on the author). During this time he assisted the Chevalier Lloyd in his compilation of *The History of Powys Fadog* (published in six volumes, 1881—'87). After some years he moved to Birmingham to live with his sister, Mrs. Graham, and spent his time in research work in the libraries there. He died in the early years of this century, and was buried in Birmingham.



INTRODUCTION.

THE BACKGROUND...

A hundred years ago this country was passing through a period of unrest more severe than at any time in its history. The causes were so many and so deeply rooted that it is impossible to examine them in this brief note, though realisation of the distressing economic conditions of the mass of the people is vital to an understanding of the movements that arose from that condition.

The Industrial Revolution, with its rapid growth of towns and the enormous migration to these centres from rural areas, was the primary cause; the shocking housing conditions of the working classes in the big towns; the wholesale enclosure of Common Lands; the cry for Education; the agitation for Parliamentary Reform; disappointment over the limited provisions of the Reform Bill of 1832; and objections to the new Poor Law of 1834—all these made a forcing bed for the growth of innumerable movements, some of genuine reform by constitutional steps, but others for more precipitate action, almost revolutionary and anarchial in their conception.

So disturbed was the Government by these movements, and by scattered outbursts that in 1819 it passed the Six Acts, designed to curb these popular excesses by regulating and restricting the press, by prohibiting the training of persons in the use of arms and military exercises, by preventing seditious meetings, by empowering magistrates to search for and to seize arms, and by other arbitrary limitations of the liberty of the people.

Movement for organisation among the workers was difficult and dangerous, threatened as they were by the perils of the Combination Acts, which made any banding together a criminal offence. Yet despite this, Trade Unions under able and courageous leaders were active and daring, and could often disguise their character under the name of Friendly Societies.

In the five years between 1829 and 1834 tremendous progress was made in the awakening of the working classes to their power and to the possibilities that lay within their reach. Robert Owen had come into touch with the Trade Union movement, and his idea of a new moral order based on co-operation had been readily accepted. The Grand National Consolidated Trades Union found itself faced by a Government in fighting spirit. In March 1834 the blow was struck. Some agricultural labourers at Tolpuddle in Dorset had formed a branch of the Friendly Society of Agricultural Labourers, and had administered the oaths that were part of the ritual commonly followed on such occasions. But the use of this ritual had been

made a crime, and six men were prosecuted and transported for seven years.

The effect was to disintegrate the Grand Union, a crumbling that was hastened by the opposition of the employers to such an organisation.

But the failure of this attempt did not mark the end of the movement. The Owenite effort was followed by the revolt of Chartism.

The Charter itself was the product of the London Working Men's Association, a body of London Radicals led by Lovett and Place, who had already waged a war against the Newspaper Stamp Duty. Their Charter was cast in the form of a draft Parliamentary Bill, and made provision for the passing into law of six points (see page 21) which the Association considered essential to the welfare of the people. These points seem tame enough now, and it is difficult to believe that people even got excited about them. Of the provocative six points all but one are now an accepted part of our constitution. Yet a hundred years ago the mere demand for these things set all Britain in an uproar. In the House of Commons scorn and ridicule were poured upon the project, and outside the House blood was shed, and shed in vain, that the six points of the Charter might be secured.

THE LLANIDLOES OUTBREAK...

Hamer's *Brief Account*, though well known in the district, has long been unobtainable. It is well to

remember that to Hamer, writing in the winter of 1866, the Outbreak was as near as events of 1911 would be to us to-day. While this fact enabled him to collect and compare the narratives of eye-witnesses, yet it imposed very real limitations on his freedom of speech. Which of us to-day would care to disinter some local scandal of such recent date, and fearlessly to point out the actors by name, and apportion the blame as it appeared to us? Hamer's admirable *Parochial Account of Llanidloes* is sufficient proof of his love of accuracy and care for detail, but prudence counselled a story of the Chartist Outbreak that is more discreet than documented. Over all the leading Chartists a cloak of anonymity is cast. On page after page we meet these indefinite references—"an old militia-man," "one speaker, a printer," "a Chartist, armed with a long tin horn," "the genius who superintended the manufacturing of bombshells,"—but rarely a name. He was scrupulous to avoid giving offence to anyone in the locality, but whenever he referred to people outside the district he allowed himself to do so by name, e.g. Hetherington of London, and Powell of Welshpool.

It was this lack of any complete and detailed account that led the late Mr. E. R. Horsfall Turner to begin his research into the subject. For several years he gave all his leisure time to the unravelling of the confused threads, and found in doing so that the story of the Llanidloes Outbreak could only be told as part of a much wider narrative, that of the unrest in the whole county of Montgomery in 1839. While still at work on

this immense task, he was persuaded to deliver a lecture to the members of the Montgomeryshire Society in London, and in December 1935 he spoke on "Montgomeryshire in 1839: The History of a Year," The *County Times* report of this speech was later reprinted in booklet form by the Montgomeryshire Society, but Mr. Turner was not enthusiastic about the re-issue of this speech in a more permanent form, for he was contemplating the production of something much bigger. In March 1936 he died, the work being still unfinished.

To anyone brought up, as it were, on Hamer's *Brief Account*, Mr. Turner's treatment of the story comes as a shock. "I believe it will be found, contrary to general belief, but I am prepared to prove my contention, that the troubles in Montgomeryshire in 1839 were caused solely and entirely through the follies of the magistracy." Mr. Turner made T. E. Marsh the villain of the piece, and it has been said that this view is not in accordance with the traditional narrative of the Outbreak. To anyone reading between the lines it will be seen that when Hamer touches on the behaviour of the Ex-Mayor he abandons his attitude of caution. Marsh is not only bluntly named, but to him is attributed a rather shady part in the business, and Hamer has no compunction in blaming him for breaking the first pane of glass, "thus initiating the mob in the work of destruction."

The question of firearms is an open one. Hamer states that the shooting match was a stratagem designed

to give an appearance of legality to an unlawful act. Mr. Turner says equally emphatically that the shooting match was a genuine recreational contest, maliciously used by the prosecution as a charge against the Chartist leaders. Without the knowledge possessed by these two men we cannot disprove the statement of either of them, but in fairness to the Chartists it should be noted that Hamer weakens his own argument by the statement that "although a diligent search was made, but few arms were discovered."

Mr. Turner's valuable manuscript is now in the possession of his son, Mr. Eric Horsfall Turner, Town Clerk of Scarborough, who has obtained more than one opinion on the question of publication. The early chapters are almost complete, but much of the remainder is unfortunately still in note form, and a great deal remains to be done in the way of writing up the results of intensive research. Someday there may be found someone with the time and ability to finish the work. At Mr. Turner's wish, expressed shortly before he died, the manuscript will ultimately be offered to the National Library of Wales, at Aberystwyth.

Readers to-day are inclined to magnify the importance of the Outbreak when they read of the arrival in Llanidloes of the Yeomanry, and of the 14th and the 12th Light Infantry. It is often forgotten how seriously disturbed the country was in the years after Waterloo. In 1815 barracks, scattered all over the country, had been built for 17,000 cavalry and 138,000 infantry, held

in readiness for coping with any subversive movements. The general fear of a popular rising sometimes showed itself in acts of panicky severity, and Llanidloes was fortunate in being occupied, during those few days after the Outbreak, by such a disciplined body of soldiers.

We cannot hope to see the Outbreak through Hamer's eyes. Writing in 1866, when the demands of the Chartists were still unfulfilled, he could overlook the essential justice of their claims, and fall back on references to the progress already made in social reform. To readers in these democratic days it is not the Charter itself that is objectionable, but the idea that reform should be brought about by a resort to physical force.

THE END OF CHARTISM...

The Outbreak at Llanidloes was not part of a concerted national rising. During the winter of 1838-39 fiery meetings of the workpeople took place in most of the big manufacturing towns, and at these there was wild talk of physical force to redress their grievances. These demonstrations culminated in a grand Convention made up of delegates from all the local Chartist organisations. The Convention devoted itself mainly to the preparation of a vast petition to Parliament, for which a million signatures were eventually obtained. In April and May the crisis in Llanidloes was reached; it had no effect on the Convention in London. In July the Petition was presented to Parliament, and rejected out of hand.

The Convention could not agree on the line now to be taken, and was divided by violent disputes. In November occurred Frost's miserable rising in South Wales, but this was the only big outbreak of violence.

Chartism after this never recovered its earlier force. A serious attempt was made to reorganise the movement in 1842, but control passed out of the hands of Lovett into those of the mentally unbalanced O'Connor, who led the Chartists to their final catastrophe. When a petition was presented to Parliament in 1848, the demonstration which had spread such alarm in anticipation proved in the event to be a complete fiasco, leaving a legend of ridicule about what had been a great and significant movement.

C. E. V. O.

LLANIDLOES,

April, 1939.

NOTE.—The following pages are a literal reprint of Hamer's *Brief Account*. The notes and appendix appear in the original edition.



THE OLD MARKET HALL

(From a pen and ink drawing by the late Mr. E. R. Horsfall Turner, B.A.)

THE CHARTIST OUTBREAK.

IN these days of Fenianism,* and of agitation for Manhood Suffrage and other points of the Charter, the readers of this sketch will doubtless feel interested in the details of a Chartist attempt to set law and authority at defiance, and by means of physical force and terrorism redress presumed grievances. The outbreak at Newport (Monmouthshire) is already a matter of history; and it is intended in these few pages to set forth the record of a similar movement at Llanidloes, hitherto chronicled only in the long forgotten columns of newspapers, which are inaccessible to the general public.

Between thirty and forty years ago Llanidloes contained but few well-built houses to ornament its ample streets, the greater portion being constructed of a timber frame work which was generally painted black, the intermediate space being filled up with a composition known a "wattle and dab." Sometimes boards were substituted for this rough plastering. Most of the houses were covered with rough tiles from the adjacent mountains, the crest of the roof being formed of a mixture of clay and chopped straw. At this date there were still existing several specimens of more primitive habitation in the form of straw thatched

* Written in the Winter of 1866.

cottages. Before their houses the poorer classes accumulated heaps of ashes, decayed leaves, fern, &c., to form a "misen," which its proprietor got carted away to some neighbouring field in the spring of the year, and was allowed to plant with potatoes as much land as his "misen" would manure. Gas, and even oil lamps to light up the streets of a dark night, were desiderata existing only in the future, a state of things which required great care on the part of the pedestrian after nightfall.

The massy, dilapidated building in the centre of the town having become unsafe as a town hall, the council had for some years been obliged to adjourn their meeting to the neighbouring inn, and a company was formed for building the present Public Rooms on a piece of land then used as a garden. Though deprived of some of its functions, on the basement of the old building stood the old "crib" or lock up, in which the parish stocks were kept, thus continuing to exercise a species of moral influence over the unruly portion of the inhabitants—an influence however which had become greatly weakened at the time our history begins. For, sad to say, we find the town council in the year 1838 offering "a reward of £5 for the apprehension of the person or persons concerned in violently destroying the parish stocks," the constable not interfering through alleged fear. This constable was the last of the race of old watchmen* in the town. He was a general favourite with the townspeople, always making his efforts at keeping the general peace as pleasant as he could to the individuals with whom he came in contact. The portion of his duty, however,

* Nathan Mills. He was buried June 20th, 1842, aged 56 years.

most pleasing to him, seemed to be the singing out of the hours of the morning as he perambulated the different streets, something after this manner,

“ Four o'clock, a cold and frosty morning.”

The old man's acquaintance with the English language was not very profound, so that sometimes his announcements were a ludicrous mixture, in which purity was apparently sacrificed for the rhythm, as in the following,

“ Six o'clock, a cold and *niwliog* morning.”

These were the times when Morgan's “ Waggen Fawr ” and the old horse post to Newtown were in their glory. But the “ all sweeping besom of societarian reformation ” has been busy in this little town, and has removed these and many other relics of the past, the old waggon being perhaps the most tenacious in keeping its ground against modern improvements.

Its population numbered little more than 2,000 at that time, yet there were no less than 800 hand-loom in the town, from which fact we may easily infer that the mass of the people were engaged in the flannel trade. Welsh was the language then spoken generally by the lower orders (although English was understood), and these clung to the former with a fondness and devotion that nothing could shake. Railways, and the cheap English press had not then pronounced its doom. With true Celtic warmth and enthusiasm no effort was spared by its devotees to ensure it a long life. Blessed, perhaps, with no other education than the ability to read in both languages, with impulsive feelings, vivid imaginations, and possessed of a ready though rude eloquence of tongue, a little learning in their hands

was indeed a dangerous thing. Some, it is true, made good use of their meagre opportunities of improvement, by starting a kind of Welsh Literary Society, where they read papers on various subjects connected with the national (Welsh) literature, and discussed questions after the fashion of our modern debating societies. The members also contributed freely to a Welsh periodical* published in the town, and which was edited by one of their number. Three members of this humble society became leading preachers among the Nonconformists. Another was a distinguished musician, well known to his countrymen, and was at the same time a poet and orator of no mean order. Three still survive; the first is well known in the Principality as one of the most eloquent of Welsh preachers; a second has established his fame by the publication of a Welsh commentary; while a third is well known by his labours among the Jews, and his numerous contributions to Biblical literature; a fourth was a valued contributor to the Welsh "Essayist," a quarterly periodical. Others, chiefly factory hands, turned their attention to the fascinating, and to them, dangerous pursuit of studying politics, and reading the manifestoes of the great Celtic leader of democracy—O'Connell, the "Repealer." Politics among them was something more than a smattering of the names of leading men, and a superficial knowledge of leading events, for they entertained each question that came under their notice as if they were members of Parliament, and not simple weavers talking over their work. On Monday politics generally gave way to theology. Most of the weavers had attended the chapel of some dissenting sect on the previous Sunday, and the merits

* *Yr Athraw*, edited by Mr. Gwalchmai.

of the various preachers would be canvassed with as much interest as if the operatives were so many divinity students debating over the different dogmas which constituted their respective creeds. The latter arguments sometimes assumed the form of a disquisition respecting the claims of revealed religion, for an occasional cynical sceptic was to be found who delighted to bother the controversialists by suggesting that such and such a proposition required more definite proof. Such was the town in which our scene is laid, and such were some of the actors upon that scene.

The introduction of the new Poor Law into the parish of Llanidloes was extremely unpopular among the class for whose benefit it was intended. It was their first shadow of a grievance; and they who had previously been the recipients of indiscriminate outdoor relief, cried out lustily against the new regulations with their supplementary red brick "palace" at Caersws, which they facetiously termed the "Poor Man's Hall." The old system could be so easily abused; and there was no fear of their being starved on worse than prison diet, and confined in the deeply-hated Poor House, which broke up their families and separated the husband from his wife. The last relieving officer* under the out-door system, often related many a humorous tale of the tricks played upon him by the paupers. One night he and his worthy wife sat by the fire side enjoying their humble meal, when they were disturbed by a knock at the door. The disturber of their supper being admitted, entertained them with a most pitiful account of the state of her house, how that she was on the point of

* The late Mr. Thos. Morgan, father of the present Mr. D. Morgan,

starvation, &c. The officer, who was a bit of a wag, assumed a serious demeanour, appeared to sympathise with the visitor, and earnestly entreated her to join them at supper. The invitation was eagerly accepted; but while the pauper was busily engaged in devouring her porridge, her host managed to slip out unobserved, and hastened to her house, which he found well stocked with food and coals, stored away so as to prevent an ordinary observer from noticing them. These deceptions were of frequent occurrence; and when the delinquents were summoned, they generally managed to evade punishment. On some occasions the agents of landlords were seen in the room, where the relieving officer dispensed money to the paupers, under the guise of relief, but which he knew at the time would be transferred to the agents in payment for rent. So that it is not surprising to find that guardians were reluctant in assuming an office which was so abhorred by the lower classes, who never allowed an opportunity to pass without manifesting their dislike to the Poor Laws. On one occasion a Poor Law Commissioner visited the town. The sufferers under the new act looked upon him as a personal enemy, and some of the practical jokers deeming his property lawful game for a lark, took his gig and quietly pitched it over the bridge into the river. A large reward was offered for information which would lead to a conviction of the offenders, but they were never discovered. By itself, however, the hatred of the new Poor Law would never have actuated the lower orders to break out in open riot.

The period between 1830-40 is a marked one in the history of English Society. To this decade we owe the Reform Bill, the Abolition of Slavery, the intro-

duction of the new Poor Laws, the Municipal and Corporation Acts, all of which followed each other in such rapid succession, that unscrupulous leaders found no difficulty in stirring up the minds of the ignorant masses of the manufacturing population to agitate for further concessions. Commissions of enquiry were issued without ceasing, in the language of Sydney Smith, the "Whole earth was in fact in Commission." Society was thoroughly unsettled; the fanatic Thom personifying the Saviour in Kent; and the Rev. Mr. Stephens, at Bury, playing the part of demagogue, and addressing the people in the most inflammatory language, afforded thinking men like Arnold and Carlyle, food for anxious thought. It was during this transition period that Chartism began to take root in the land. The document called the "People's Charter" was embodied in the form of a bill in 1838, and comprised the following six points—universal suffrage (excluding women); division of the country into equal electoral districts; vote by ballot; annual parliaments; no property qualifications for members; and payment of members. These principles quickly recommended themselves to the working classes, so that by December of that year the matter was of sufficient importance to demand notice from government. A proclamation was issued against illegal Chartist assemblies, several of which had been held "after sunset by torchlight." This proclamation, however, did not deter such leaders as Mr. Stephens and Fergus O'Connor, who turned their attention to getting up a monster petition to present to Parliament for the purpose of assisting their bill through the two houses. Political unions were got up in different localities to promote the cause of what was termed the "National Convention," established for the furtherance of Chartist principles. The disaffected

labouring classes of Llanidloes had already welcomed the first agitator who appeared among them, in the person of a fellow-townsmen who had returned from Birmingham, imbued with Chartist proclivities. This man collected a few individuals, and distributed some of the inflammatory publications of the leaders of the movement among them, at the same time inviting them to discuss their contents. Their first acquaintance with the fascinating and dangerous pastime proved highly agreeable to them; the people's charter seemed to endue them with an elevating estimate of their own importance. They began now to think that they had an inherent right to claim representation in the national Parliament, so that the invitation to "discuss politics" shortly came to be considered only of secondary importance to their daily labour. The individual who initiated them into the new mysteries was regarded as the promulgator of a new gospel of liberty, and many an ignorant and narrow-minded enthusiast would fall on his knees and fervently thank the Almighty for sending them an ambassador to "lighten their darkness."* Chartism and scepticism

* Here is one of the actual prayers, "Diolch i ti, O Arglwydd, am anfon y fath ddyn a Richard Jerman atom i'n goleuo ar y pwnc dyrus hwn."

Another enthusiast (old Owen the Llechwedd) after he had attended a few meetings prayed to this effect, 'O Arglwydd, os yw yn unol a dy feddwl di, yn bendramwnwgl yr elo hi, ag mi a af i fyw i'r Ffynnant."

TRANSLATION.

(1) "O God, we thank Thee for having sent such a man as Richard Jerman to enlighten us upon this intricate subject."

(2) "O Lord, if it be in accordance with Thy will, let the cause proceed headlong, and I will go to live at the Ffynnant."

The latter was the farm marked out in the old Chartist's mind's eye, as his future residence, when the time of the re-distribution of land would arrive.

were now the absorbing topics among a section of the working class of the town; the works of Voltaire and Tom Paine did not act as sedatives to the warm impulsive spirits, who were taking up the new cause with a zeal which their forefathers in days gone by had displayed in the cause of religion. "Liberty and fraternity," they learned from Voltaire, "is the watchword of England; it is of far higher worth than St. George and my right; it is the cry of nature."

"My brethren these are all truths and mighty ones;
Ye are all equal: nature made ye so—
Equality is your birthright."

And much more in the same strain sang Southey in his days of red radicalism, before he became the "renegade laureate." Such precepts, and the irreverent and sweeping doctrines of Paine, were eagerly read by the young enthusiasts, who had brooded over their social position between the four posts of a weaver's loom.

Those who were inoculated with the sentiments of Chartism formed themselves into a "*Political Union*" in connection with the "National Convention" of London, in order to enjoy the full benefits which would accrue from the presentation of the monster petition. The numbers of the Unionists were small, and their social position and influence so insignificant, that their movements did not attract much attention. None regarded the knot of "political fanatics" as they were termed,

—————"As a serpent's egg,
Which hatched, would as his kind, grow mischievous."

At first they assembled in an old building in the

“Hosier’s Close,”* from which place, when their ranks were swelled by a few disciples, they adjourned to an inn in the upper part of the town. Here for months they conducted their meetings in a peaceable and orderly manner, meeting their expenses by subscriptions not only among themselves, but from those of the townspeople who sympathised with them. Their plan at this stage was very cautious. They held two kinds of meetings,—one in public, in which their views were explained in the most careful and guarded manner; while at the assembly of the initiated, every thing was disclosed—the rules and objects of the society, their correspondence with the Convention, and the unions of the neighbouring towns were fully discussed. After some delay, a request they had made to the Parent Society respecting a delegate was granted, and Hetherington† of London, accompanied by others, were sent to the town as missionaries to promulgate the views of the Chartist leaders. A public meeting was held at the “New” Hall, at which the delegates warmly but guardedly explained and advocated the principles of the “People’s Charter.” Equality was promised, if their hearers would only become united and determined in freedom’s holy cause; the poor house at Caersws could not exist when they had gained their just rights; universal suffrage and vote by ballot would cause every man to be properly represented in a people’s parliament, &c., &c.,

* Now the property of Mr. John Brown, Senr.; is so styled in an old deed.

† This Hetherington, I believe, was the editor and proprietor of the *Poor Man’s Guardian*, and styled the father of the “glorious unstamped,” who published the collection of Chartist Songs, edited by Mr. H. Williams, and oddly enough dedicated to the Queen.

were some of the sentiments which the artful demagogues insinuated into the impressible and enthusiastic Celtic minds. Many a credulous youth received their statements as gospel, and many a grey head can now recall to mind the time when he believed that "equality and fraternity" would in a short time be general, Parliament annual, and suffrage universal. When, in the words of the song,

" We'll have no pension, place, or Court,
 No King, no regent, to support ;
 No priests to feed, no taxes to pay,
 And we'll go to the devil in our own way.
 Then hey for Radical Reform,
 To raise in England a glorious storm,
 'Till every man his dinner has got
 For twopence a loaf, a penny a pot.

A Parliament shall be held once a year,
 Without the presence of bishop or peer ;
 And every man be his own law maker,
 In the right of his single vote and acre.
 Then hey, &c."

After the public meeting, a conference of the initiated was held in the usual assembly room of the inn, presided over by Hetherington, who, among his friends, carried out his principles to their logical conclusion, by advising them, if not already prepared, to procure themselves fire arms for the purpose of self-defence. This open and undisguised declaration of "physical force" Chartism took the local leaders by surprise, for they never intended resorting to such extreme measures; they were, they said, "moral force" men, and their advice was not to have recourse to such weapons. In spite of this prudent counsel the chairman's motion, which was warmly supported by the younger fanatics, was ultimately put to the meeting and

carried, and henceforth the Llanidloes Political Union was ranked as one of the "physical force" supporters of the National Convention. On his return to London, Hetherington, in a speech recounting the results of his journey into Wales, spoke of these men as "timid, but religious, and if they could only be inspired with the same enthusiasm in politics as they felt in religion, they would be a most valuable acquisition. They were men who would walk miles and make any sacrifice to uphold what they considered their just rights. Some of them stated to him that they deemed the affixing of their signatures on the roll* in the same light as the shilling which the recruit receives when entering the service, and that it enrolled them in the army of liberty."

In accordance with the resolution passed at the general meeting, parties were sent into the country to collect arms from the farmers. They were generally successful in procuring fowling pieces, the country people being too timid to deny them, for in most instances they only pretended to borrow the weapons. One day one of these parties arrived at a farmstead called the Brithdir, the door of which was locked, the farmer being warned of their approach and intentions. This precautionary measure, however, did not avail him, for a window was broken in to afford means of entrance to one of the party, who unfastened the door and admitted his companions. They failed however to find any weapons. The occupant of the house on the following market day reported the affair to his landlord, the late T. E. Marsh, Esq., who happened to be the Ex-Mayor of the town. As this was the first

* The writer has failed to obtain satisfactory proof of the existence of the muster roll here alluded to by Hetherington.

known act of open violence, his deposition was taken down. Emboldened by his example, other farmers came forward and testified to the forcible seizure of their property. Acting upon this information, the authorities of the town drew up a despatch and transmitted it to the Secretary of State for the Home Department (the late premier, Earl Russell), who was undecided as to the course to be pursued, and left it to the magistrates to apprehend the parties known to be engaged in these illegal acts. Having procured weapons, the Chartists proceeded to make use of them. They had previously practised a little foot drill on the top of a hill near the town known as the "race course"; but now, with an old militia-man for their drill instructor, the manual and platoon exercises were added to their military acquirements. Most of those who took part in the drill were young men of from eighteen to twenty five, who were reckless and thoughtless. Several times a week were the peaceful inhabitants disturbed by the martial displays of the old militia-man's pupils, whose meetings were generally wound up by a stirring address from one of the local orators. Matters were now getting to assume a serious aspect; pikes were secretly manufactured by some of the Chartists, while others, possessed of higher mechanical skill, turned their attention to the making of bombshells, grenades, &c.; even coining was resorted to, preparatory to the ushering in of the new reign of equality. In the midst of these preparations, some of the leaders, however, were cautious enough to get up a mock shooting match—the prize a silk handkerchief—to afford each *borrower* of a gun an excuse for the possession of the weapon. The event came off, and the stratagem proved of considerable service in the defence set up for the prisoners

at the assizes.*

The only police force available in a case of emergency, was the harmless old watchman before alluded to, and a few special constables. Under these circumstances, when the town authorities learned that resistance would probably be made to the execution of the law in arresting those individuals concerned in unlawfully procuring arms, they applied through the Lord Lieutenant of the county to the Home Secretary for a sufficient force to repel any attempts which the Chartists might make to rescue their friends. Lord John† acquiesced in the demand by sending *three* London policemen! These men, although brave, were not of the slightest use in quelling any disturbance which was likely to arise; but on the contrary, their presence proved a source of great irritation to the Chartists, who directed all their animosity against them. The magistrates, however, adopted precautionary measures for strengthening their position by swearing in upwards of 200 trustworthy men, from the town and neighbourhood, to act as special constables. The work of "swearing in" began before the arrival of Lord John's "forlorn hope," and continued up to the very day of the outbreak. On taking the oath, each man was presented with a slip of yellow paper (on which the word "constable" was printed in large letters,) to be pinned on his hat. These preparations *seemed* formidable enough for the arrest of two or three agitators, but the event proved otherwise.

* The person who advised this step was Mr. Edward Lewis, then town clerk; he threw out the hint to a friend, who was prudent enough to act upon it.

† The title by which the present Earl Russell is best known has been preserved here.

On Monday evening, April the 29th, 1839, the leaders of the Political Union convened a meeting to be held at the corner of the "Old" Hall for the purpose of considering the measures lately adopted by the authorities. One speaker, a printer, had concluded his intemperate address, and was succeeded by another, whose speech was for a moment interrupted by a closed carriage passing the crowd on its way to the Trewythen Arms Hotel. This carriage contained Sergeant Garrett and Constable Banks (of London), Blenkhorn (of Newtown), and Henshaw (of Welshpool). The Chartist meeting broke up without any disturbance of the peace, those who composed it never suspecting that their enemies were so close at hand.

Tuesday 30th. A lovely spring morning ushered in this eventful day, one ever to be remembered, by those who witnessed its proceedings, as perhaps the most momentous in the little town's history. At an early hour, information that a police force had arrived from London, leaked out through the domestics of the hotel, and it was also stated that they had come for the purpose of arresting the Chartist leaders. This intelligence spread rapidly through the town, and caused the greatest excitement among the members of the Political Union. After conferring together, the leaders determined to call a meeting of their supporters. A Chartist, armed with a long tin horn, was sent to parade the streets, and after each flourish of this musical instrument, he announced the fact that an assembly of the members of the Union would be held on the "Long" Bridge. The tin horn, which is still preserved as a sacred relic in the family of the "bugler," was styled by the Chartists the "Horn of Liberty," while the soldiers who visited the town after

the outbreak dubbed it the "Chartists' Bugle."* In obedience to the summons numbers flocked to the bridge, where they were addressed from the parapet by one of the leaders, whose usual high-souled courage had deserted him upon the arrival of the London police, and had converted the confident leader into a timid suppliant for a mob's protection. While still appealing to the crowd around him in the most pathetic and touching manner, that they would not allow himself and his fellows to be given up to the minions of the law, messengers from different directions were seen approaching the spot. As soon as they came within hearing, they shouted out that three of their comrades had been arrested in front of the hotel by the London police. This startling intelligence threw the meeting into disorder, every one of its members seemed to think only of releasing their friends at once, and "To the rescue!" pealed from lip to lip; and, as if galvanised, an instantaneous disorderly rush was made towards the Trewythen Arms to set their companions at liberty. Let us leave them for a moment, to explain the cause of this sudden outburst of feeling.

Strengthened by the arrival of the men sent by the Home Secretary, the magistrates assembled at the hotel, and decided upon arresting the individuals against whom the warrants were out; and, to be prepared for the worst, had sent the town crier to request the immediate presence at the Trewythen Arms of the special constables then in the town. Between forty and fifty obeyed the call, and, loitering before the inn, watching the proceedings, were the identical men whom the authorities were so anxious to

* See Appendix.

apprehend: they were pointed out to the police, who at once took them into custody, and secured them inside the hotel. Upon this the tocsin of alarm was given, and the news of the arrest reached those assembled at the bridge in a very short time. This crowd, with their numbers swelled on the way, soon arrived in sight of the hotel, where they saw the police and special constables drawn up to receive them. The sight took them aback, but it was only the momentary impediment which dammed up the waters for a more impetuous rush. Without arms of some description, their great number was no match for the police and specials, armed with their staves of office. They accordingly withdrew for a few moments to procure whatever they could lay their hands on in the form of weapons—guns, staves, pikes, hay forks, sickles, and even spades were hastily seized by the excited and turbulent mob!

Some of the women who had joined the crowd kept instigating the men to attack the hotel—one old virago vowing that she would fight till she was knee-deep in blood, sooner than the Cockneys should take their prisoners out of the town. She, with others of her sex, gathered large heaps of stones, which they subsequently used in defacing and injuring the building which contained the prisoners. When the mob had thus armed themselves, the word "Forward!" was given, and as soon as they were within hearing of the police, they imperatively demanded the release of their friends, which demand was of course refused. What took place during the next few minutes cannot be easily ascertained; both parties afterwards accused the other of commencing the fray. The special constables, many of whose acquaintances were among the crowd,

were seen to give way on the approach of the Chartists, and to seek their safety either in the hotel, or by trusting to their legs. When their request was denied them, the mob set up a terrible shout, and pressed forward towards the door of the inn; the rioters asserting that the London police began the conflict by striking one of their number, which only exasperated them the more, and caused them to shout out for "revenge!" as well as the release of the prisoners. They further state that the Ex-Mayor, on finding that he was locked out, to ensure his own safety, suddenly appeared to sympathize with the mob, by crying out "Chartists for ever";* and, with a stick which he had in his hand, broke the first pane of glass, thus initiating the mob in the work of destruction.

The women followed the example thus set them by throwing stones at every window of the house, while the men pressed forward and tried to burst in the front door, through which the police had retired. The thought of their prey slipping through their fingers infuriated the mob, who sent repeated showers of stones at the door and windows; the latter were soon shattered into a thousand fragments. Guns were next fired through the door, which, after resisting all their efforts for some time, was ultimately burst open. The mob quickly spread themselves over the house in search of their comrades, whom they found handcuffed in the kitchen. They were at once led off to a smith's shop, where their gyves were knocked off. Finding themselves masters of the house, the rabble proceeded to hunt out the policemen, against whom alone their

* The trick enabled him to pass through the crowd in safety. Having done this, he travelled with all possible speed to give the Lord Lieutenant information respecting the outbreak.

they seemed to derive the most exquisite pleasure from witnessing the beautiful pier glasses being cast through the windows upon the pavement beneath. During the affray in front of the hotel, a half-pay officer of the forty-second regiment made himself conspicuous, by rushing into the thickest part of the mob with a view of arresting one of the leaders; but he was soon overpowered and knocked down. He, however, managed to escape after receiving considerable injury.

The family of the landlord were dreadfully alarmed, but they received no personal injury, although they were rudely treated by some of the ruffians who were the worse for their visit to the cellar. The hotel had formerly been the private residence of General Jones, who had distinguished himself in the American War of Independence; and the accommodation, furniture and fittings of the house were at that time superior to any in the county. The damage done was immense; the inside of the house seemed a perfect wreck. Yet, singular as it may appear, robbery did not form a part of the programme of these reckless men; they took none of the valuables from the house; even the landlord's watch was smashed to pieces, but left in the bedroom where they found it. Destruction alone seemed to relieve the intense feeling of hatred which they experienced against the police and the house which sheltered them.

About mid-day all work in the different factories and throughout the town was suspended. A general feeling of anxiety and trouble prevailed; groups assembled in the streets discussing the events of the morning. Those who had taken an active part in the

proceedings could be heard attempting to justify their violence, by saying that the policemen obliged them to defend themselves. The escape of the Ex-Mayor, and the probable consequences were, however, the principal topics touched upon. Had he gone to seek the aid of the military? were there any soldiers in the neighbourhood? would the yeomanry cavalry draw their swords against them? were some of the questions, respecting which arguments were offered *pro.* and *con.* The mob's hatred of the police was not satisfied by the ill treatment which poor Blenkhorn suffered at their hands; they were fearful that the others would escape from the town with intelligence of what had occurred. So that when the Aberystwyth Mail arrived, it was immediately surrounded by a large crowd, brandishing their weapons, to the great alarm of the poor coachman, who expected to be robbed, if not murdered. The mob, however, contented themselves by exacting a promise from him that he would not convey the policemen from the town. The respectable portion of the townspeople passed a night of alarm and apprehension; many of the timid sitting up till the next morning, for they knew that the town was in the possession of the Chartists, who could act just as they pleased, as there was not a shadow of authority to restrain them; so that sunrise on the morning of Wednesday was hailed by these troubled watchers with great joy—daylight would, in their opinion, prove a salutary check on all disorderly proceedings.

The Chartist leaders now became solicitous about preserving order, and restraining their more reckless followers, in order to obtain the confidence of their fellow-townsmen, and allay the anxiety of the more timid. With this object in view, at the suggestion

of some of the more respectable inhabitants, they appointed a few of their number to act as watchmen, whose duty it was to patrol the streets at night for the purpose of maintaining order. To pay these men the leaders required money, which they obtained from the town people. The arrangement concerning the watchmen had scarcely been made, before these self-constituted governors* had an opportunity of displaying their zeal and impartiality in the discharge of their newly-acquired functions. One of their own party had been detected in the act of collecting money for the support of "the cause" (Chartism) in the name of the leaders. He was not authorized to do this, and accordingly was tried, found guilty, and sentenced to be ducked in the Severn. This sentence was faithfully carried out. The miserable man, extended at full length, was tied to a ladder, and carried through the streets of the town on the shoulders of his comrades, who took a delight in exhibiting him as an example of the stern rigour of their chief men. When they brought him to the river's brink, they took him from their shoulders and pitched him into the water, being still secured to the ladder. They pulled him out by means of ropes which were attached to it. This act seems to have had a beneficial effect on some of the minor culprits, who were more careful in future as to

* One of the leaders was known as king of the town. Perhaps it was to him the following doggerel was addressed :—

' Hail thou ! on whom our town is leaning,
O Chartist of the mildest ruling ;
Blest with such virtues to talk big on,
With such a head (to clap pot on) :
Head of wisdom—soul of candour,
Happy Idloes' guardian gander,"

their manner of breaking the laws. But the principal Chartists continued to act much as they liked, limiting, however, their acts of tyranny chiefly to the levying of contributions on provision shops and market produce. Sometimes these dignitaries condescended to pay some trifling sum for the goods, but, generally speaking, they entered a house or shop, accompanied by a follower, and coolly took what suited them without payment.

On the day following the riot, a number of miners from the neighbouring lead mines entered the town and paraded the streets to evince their sympathy for the Chartist cause. Messengers were despatched to Merthyr and other parts of South Wales for assistance. In the old tumble-down building on the left of the present Railway Station, resided the genius who superintended the manufacturing of the formidable bombshells, which he thought would commit such havoc among the cavalry and infantry, and level the Poor House with the ground. Here also was stationed the Chartist mint, where the coins to be used during the "reign of liberty" were turned out, which were described by a wag as a mixture of lead and buttons.

The town remained in the hands of the members of the Political Union from Tuesday until Saturday. The Ex-Mayor, who had escaped on Tuesday, reported what he had witnessed to Lord Clive, the Lord Lieutenant of Montgomeryshire. His Lordship issued orders for the Montgomeryshire Yeomanry Cavalry to hold themselves in readiness for active duty; and sent an account of the disturbance to the Home Office. Lord John gave immediate orders for troops in Brecon, Chester and Ireland, to be pre-

pared for marching orders. The cavalry of the county, commanded by the Right Hon. C. Wynne, M.P., and those of South Shropshire under the command of Lord Clive, mustered speedily and marched for the disturbed district. Exaggerated accounts of the numbers of the Chartists were circulated throughout the neighbourhood. They were said to number 500 men, armed with muskets, pikes, and other dangerous weapons, and that they were well drilled. These rumours caused the cavalry to proceed warily. As they passed through Newtown, the body of the men at the rear were assailed by a volley of stones from the populace, who followed them at their heels. The cavalry at once wheeled round and cocked their pistols, when the mob scampered away with an agility that did credit to their prudence. When they arrived within a few miles of Llanidloes they halted, not deeming it prudent to enter the town (as they only numbered 200), before some of the regular troops, which they knew to be on their way from Brecon, had preceded them.

Saturday, as before stated, was the fifth day of Chartist domination in the town. This day had been eagerly looked forward to by the inhabitants as the one on which they should be released from their odious thralldom by the military. The more timid, it is true, misled by the boastful and confident tone of the Chartists, thought that the latter would be able to make short work of the cavalry if not assisted by the regular soldiers. The rioters, however, became reserved and careful in expressing themselves. The rumours respecting the approach of the yeomanry paled many of the cheeks of those who, the day before, had spoken of the "glorious martyrdom offered to liberty," &c.

The excitement in the town increased greatly about mid-day; little business was transacted in the market, except on the part of the butchers, who sold an immense quantity of meat to the innkeepers, who were providing for the coming soldiers. About one o'clock a man arrived with the welcome intelligence that he had seen in the neighbourhood of Rhayader a large number of soldiers on the route for Llanidloes. This news spread rapidly through the town. Persons arriving from Newtown stated that the cavalry were expected there every moment. Hemmed in on both sides, the terrified Chartists thought it high time to be up and moving; the more timid ones needed not the promptings of their leaders to do this, for, as soon as they heard of the arrival of the soldiers at Rhayader, they at once took flight to the neighbouring hills and woods. About two o'clock p.m. the "horn of liberty's" discordant sound was heard once more in the streets,—the leaders had issued orders for a meeting to be held on the Long Bridge. But their authority had already become a thing of the past. Terror had usurped the place of obedience in the breasts of the fickle mob. The approach of the troops had converted the ranting patriots of yesterday into the cowardly cravens of to-day. All thoughts of organized resistance were abandoned, and *sauve qui peut* became the order of the hour. Some scores of the guilty ones left the town in the course of the afternoon for South Wales,—the iron works being regarded by them as the safest hiding place.

Between four and five in the afternoon, to the great joy of the people, a portion of the 14th regiment of light infantry, under the command of Major Barlow, arrived from Brecon. Most of the men appeared to be

raw recruits, and the forced march had told fearfully upon them. They had indeed the appearance of "poor fellows"—the phrase with which the compassionate townfolk, who crowded round, greeted them. The Chartists would not have found in them formidable enemies in their then pitiable condition, for several of them fainted in the street before the Trewythen Arms. Shortly after, the cavalry rode into the town with drawn swords. This sight, and the general salute of the infantry with fixed bayonets, at once restored to the inhabitants a feeling of security to which they had been strangers for many a day. The officers expressed themselves agreeably disappointed at not finding the Chartists prepared for resistance. After a brief consultation the men were dismissed to seek refreshment and rest. The presence of so many soldiers in the small town gave it a warlike appearance; it seemed all the more so in the eyes of some of the inhabitants, who had never seen so many red coats before. An additional number of Chartists escaped during the night, for the authorities were considerate enough to allow them another day in order to let the excitement abate before they proceeded to make any arrests.

On Sunday morning the townspeople were startled by the unusual sound of the military bugle, which summoned the soldiers to parade for church. The authorities employed the afternoon in making preparations for the work of the morrow.

On Monday morning a number of special constables were called to assist the police and military in carrying out the plans agreed upon for the capture of the individuals who had taken part in the late riots and outrages. At an early hour, the Montgomeryshire

Yeomanry and the 14th Infantry were drawn up in the main streets, where orders were given for several detachments to repair to the different outlets of the town, to act as a blockade for the prevention of egress or regress. This being done, other detachments of foot were despatched with the London police and the special constables to search the houses of the suspected persons, for the purpose of apprehending them, and discovering arms. Four, who were implicated in the riot, were captured in this way at their own homes; but the principal ringleaders had left the town. One of these was captured shortly afterwards in the neighbourhood of Merthyr, through the instrumentality of one of his relatives. Another made his escape to Liverpool, where he had the pleasure of perusing a handbill offering £50 for his apprehension. Through the intervention of a benevolent Quaker he managed to escape to America. Several years afterwards he re-visited the scenes of the outbreak accompanied by a wife and family, then returned to America; when last heard of he was fighting before Charleston. Another of the leaders, notwithstanding the high reward offered by the authorities for his capture, escaped altogether. Although a diligent search was made, but few arms were discovered. The police, however, found a dagger, which was manufactured from a spindle (an instance of the ready ingenuity with which the Chartists made use of the materials at hand), and quantities of sheet lead rolled up in parcels of about two pounds weight, with the names of different Chartists scratched upon them. On the premises of another man, the London sergeant discovered a quantity of base coin, and a mould for manufacturing counterfeit money. From a neighbouring ditch was extracted a number of cheese loaves, slightly covered with

earth, which had been discovered by a dog,—mementoes of the pilfering abilities of the members of the "Political Union." While the search was going on in the town, numbers of the frightened Chartists were seen attempting to escape over the hills in the direction of South Wales. The cavalry were sent in pursuit, and they succeeded in apprehending twelve of the runaways, who were at once placed in close confinement. The infantry were sent out in the neighbouring woods accompanied by special constables, to beat the bushes for Chartists, and they succeeded in apprehending three or four. Had the specials entered into the work with the same zeal which the soldiers displayed, the captures would have been far more numerous. Many of the soldiers expressed an anxious desire to secure the famous "Chartist Bugler," respecting whose stature and abilities they had heard so many exaggerated rumours. In the afternoon of Monday a number of printed copies of Her Majesty's proclamation,* against the illegal practices of drilling and arming, were received from London by mail, and immediately posted about the town. The proclamation afforded a fresh item of food for discussion; and, about dusk, the streets rapidly became filled with individuals who were eager to propound their views on the affairs of the day.

Tuesday, May 7th. During the night the weather had changed, and the morning of this day was cold and chilly. Those who were expiating their folly in the woods, or on the hills of the neighbourhood, felt the alteration severely. The search was rigorously maintained throughout this and the following day;

* See Appendix.

but the Chartists had sufficient time allowed them to escape, and to destroy all traces of their participation in the recent riot. Some of their papers were, however, discovered in the house of one of their number. It was evident that their plans were not ripe for execution, and that they did not intend to commit any open acts of outrage against the authorities until a much later period than that of the riot, into which they had been led by the excitement arising from the unexpected arrest of three of their prominent men. The great rising in South Wales did not take place till six months after. Among the papers was found a letter signed by two of the leaders. It gave an account of the meetings held just before the outbreak, and of the resolutions which were then passed; it also contained an invitation to a Chartist leader at Welsbpool to come to Llanidloes to agitate in favour of the cause. The writers stated that there was plenty of Chartist fire at Llanidloes, and all that was wanted was somebody to blow it into a blaze; and, in their opinion, Powell of Welsbpool was the man best suited for the purpose.

During the course of the day a number of the captured Chartists were brought before the magistrates, when they were identified as having taken part in the disturbance, and committed to take their trial at the next Montgomeryshire Assizes. They were at once despatched to the county gaol. Two of the most dangerous were placed in a post chaise, and escorted by a number of the yeomanry cavalry, one of whom rode inside. The Chartists did not expect that their companion understood Welsh, and accordingly they conversed freely on matters connected with the riot. When the journey was about half completed, one asked the other in Welsh, "Shall we pitch into this

fellow?" to which the other replied that he did not care, but that they had better wait until it grew darker. The cavalry-man, who had been attentively listening, in the hope of hearing something to criminate them, thought it time to enlighten them about his linguistic capabilities, by giving the proposer a blow with his fist, and threatening to blow their brains out if they exchanged another word. They were safely lodged in the goal, which was getting rapidly filled with prisoners of the Chartist school.

After participating in the three days' active and un-tiring search, with no appearance of any manifestation likely to lead to a renewal of a breach of the peace, the cavalry left the town on the morning of May 11th. On their departure, the officers expressed themselves highly delighted with the hospitable and kind-hearted manner in which they had been treated by the townspeople. On the following day the 14th Light Infantry left for Brecon. The same afternoon, about 5 o'clock, the 12th Light Infantry reached Llanidloes. They numbered about 500, and had, in the course of a few days, come from the city of Cork, via Aberyswyth. After a night's rest, they were portioned off for barrack duty at Llanidloes, Newtown and Welshpool,—the head-quarters of the disaffected district.

The Montgomeryshire Assizes were opened on the 15th of the following July, before Sir John Patterson, at Welshpool, and the inhabitants of the three towns in the valley of the Severn were again thrown into a state of excitement, but the presence of the military checked any outburst.

On Thursday, July 18th, there was a crowded court,

in consequence of its being the one in which the Chartists were to be placed upon their trial. The prisoners numbered thirty-two, and were brought from Montgomery gaol at an early hour. Some of them were ranged in the prisoner's dock, while others for once occupied the seats usually appropriated by solicitors. The prisoners were included all in one indictment, which charged them with having "unlawfully and riotously assembled together, and beginning to demolish, pull down, and destroy the house of David Evans, at Llanidloes." The Attorney General, assisted by three learned Queen's Counsels, appeared for the prosecution; and Mr. Yardley, instructed by Mr. Hugh Williams,* conducted the defence.

Upwards of twenty witnesses were examined for the prosecution, and the trial occupied the whole day. The principal facts of the evidence we have already given in the preceding pages. All the prisoners, with the exception of two, were identified as having taken part in the riot. Mr. Yardley addressed the jury for the prisoners, laying great stress on the fact that they had only procured the fire arms for the innocent purpose of a shooting match, and that they were only led away by the excitement of the moment to fire them at the house. After the summing up of the learned judge, the jury retired, and shortly after returned with a verdict of "Guilty" against all except the two before mentioned. Mr. Justice Patterson then proceeded to pass sentence on the prisoners, and in so doing said, that if any person's life had been sacrificed, the whole of them might have been indicted for murder. He should make an example of those who had taken the

* This gentleman is a brother to Mrs. Cobden.

most prominent part in the riots. With respect to Abraham Owen and Lewis Humphreys, who were convicted of training and drilling, he should sentence them for that offence and not for the riot, to seven years' transportation. Two were sentenced for one year, with hard labour; fifteen of the prisoners (two of them females) were sentenced to six months' imprisonment, with hard labour; ten to three months; and two to two months' imprisonment with hard labour. One of the prisoners, named James Morris,* was identified as the man who had stabbed one of the constables, and was for that offence sentenced to fifteen years' transportation.

* Morris is now a man of some property in South Wales; and Humphreys, who, after serving three years, obtained a ticket of leave, is also in good circumstances. Apparently their experience has made them wiser men.

APPENDIX.

TO PAGE 30—THE "CHARTIST BUGLE."

This tin horn was deemed worthy of the following effusion from the pen of Mr. Hugh Williams :—

" THE HORN OF LIBERTY."

BY H. W.

AIR—" Good Humoured and Merry."

The herald of freedom sounds far in the dale,
Its notes full of rapture sweep aloud through the gale,
Gay prelude of liberty's heart-thrilling voice—
" Now's the hour, my sons, to assert your free choice,
Each bosom's inspired to combat the foe,
So greet the death struggle with patriot glow ! "

She comes, lo ! she comes, to our blood-reeking land—
She sighs at the wails of her long faithful band ;
Her martyrs she cheers, who indignantly scowl
As despots add insults to injuries foul ;
Fair truth and humanity grace her bright train,
While justice rejoicing, thrice blesses her reign !

Lasting honour to those in adversity true,
Who nobly stand foremost demanding our due ;
Away with the timid—'tis treason to fear—
To surrender or falter when danger is near ;
For now that our leaders disdain to betray,
'Twere base to desert them, or succour delay !

'Tis time that the victims of labour and care
Should reap for reward what is labour's fair share ;
'Tis time that their voices in Council be heard,
The rather than pay for the law of the sword ;
That power is ours with a will of our own,
We conquer united—divided we groan !

Then, hail brothers, hail, the shrill sound of the horn—
For ages deep wrngs have been hopelessly borne ;
Despair shall no longer our spirits dismay,
Nor wither the arm upraised for the fray ;
The conflict for freedom is gathering nigh,
We live to secure it, or gloriously die !

TO PAGE 42—HER MAJESTY'S PROCLAMATION.

VICTORIA REX,

Whereas, we have been given to understand that in some parts of our kingdom persons have of late unlawfully assembled together for the purpose of training and drilling persons to the use of arms, or of being trained or drilled for the purpose of practising military exercise, movements, or evolutions; and whereas the said assemblings and proceedings are prohibited by law, being dangerous to the peace and security of our liege subjects and of our authority, all persons guilty of such offences are punishable by transportation or imprisonment.

We therefore being duly sensible of the mischievous consequences likely to arise from such unlawful practices, if suffered to continue unpunished, and being firmly resolved to put the laws into execution for the punishment of such offenders, have thought fit by the advice of our Privy Council to issue this proclamation, hereby strictly commanding all Justices of the Peace, Sheriffs, Under Sheriffs, and all the Civil Officers whatsoever, that they do use their utmost endeavours to discover, apprehend, and bring to justice the persons concerned in the unlawful proceedings above mentioned.

And whereas, in some parts of our kingdom, large numbers have lately assembled and met together, being armed with bludgeons and others offensive weapons, and have by their exciting to breaches of the peace, and by their riotous proceedings caused great alarm to our subjects; We therefore hereby strictly command all Justices of the Peace, Sheriffs and Under Sheriffs, and all other Civil Officers whatsoever, that they use their utmost endeavours to enforce the law, and proceed to put down and suppress such unlawful meetings and bring the offenders to justice. And we strictly enjoin all our liege subjects to give prompt and effectual assistance to our Justices of the Peace, Sheriffs and Under Sheriffs, and all other Civil Officers in their endeavours to preserve the public peace.

Given at our Court at Buckingham Palace, this 3rd day of May in the year of our Lord 1839, and in the second year of our reign.

God Save the Queen.