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the people against you. They have, in fact, told the people, that your tythes are a tax; that they are a heavy burden upon the farmer and the poor; that they are oppressive; and, in short, that they are one of the great causes of the present miseries of the people. But, who are these persons? Not the Reformers; no, but those very men whom you are labouring to uphold against the Reformers! And, what is more, you must see, that these men have now in contemplation a measure, which, if adopted, will inevitably, in a few years, produce the total annihilation of the whole of your Temporal means! On the other hand, so far from joining in this deceptious outcry against you; so far from putting the tythes upon the level of the taxes, I have taken no inconsiderable pains to show the fallacy of such a notion. I have reminded my readers, that it would be difficult to show, how the mass of the people can suffer, because the rent of the landlord is divided with the parson; I have reminded them, that, if tythes were abolished to-morrow, they would only be added to the farmer's rents; and go to add to the already immense estates of the landlord, without doing any good to the people at large; I have reminded them, that tythes have existed for seven hundred years, and that England has been very happy during that time, but Paper-Money, National Debts, Standing Armies, Enormous Sinecures, Pensions, and Grants to East-India Companies, French Emigrants, &c. are quite NEW THINGS; and that to these, and not to our ancient establishments, are our miseries to be ascribed. Who but me, amongst all the Laymen in England, has ever treated your Order with this fairness and liberality? Who, with any degree of talent at his command, has ever put your cause upon its true ground? And yet, whom have you ever pursued with so much foulness and illiberality?

However, with regard to your Temporalities you must now be left to take your chance. If prejudices, though they may be unfeigned, exist against your possessions, I look upon myself as absolved from the duty of interference, seeing that those possessions are made use of by you to impede the progress of political knowledge; and that your pupits resound with the cry of "sedition" against truths which cannot be denied, and arguments which cannot be answered. You have, for years past, been cheering on the gentry and yeomanry in the pursuit, and for, the destruction of the Reformers; and, it will, therefore, not be a subject of very deep regret, if, at last, you should like ACTON, be devoured by your own bounds!

It is possible, that some of you may doubt whether a Parliamentary Reform would produce all the good which we contemplate; but, it is quite impossible that you should not be convinced that it would put an end to the greatest mass of

wickedness that ever exhibited in any nation upon earth. You know as well as I do, that the land is filled with crimes in consequence of the present mode of election. You know that drunkenness, fraud, calumny, bribery, corruption, false-swearers, and, in short, every species of infamy, are produced by this cause, and that, too, in degree and quantity, wholly unparalleled in the history of the world. When I was at Holton in 1806, many of the wretched voters told me, in the hearing of witnesses now alive, that they knew how wicked it was to do what they did, but that they wanted the money to pay their rents, and that they should be starved if they did otherwise. Some abused me very foully, and said that, in advising them to vote uninfluenced by money, I was endeavouring to rob them of their blessing! For this was the term they gave to the money which they were to receive. But, indeed, the bribery and corruption, the frauds and false-swearers, are too notorious to need particular instances to establish their existence. The records of parliament, the proceeding of election committees, contain a greater mass of proofs of fraudulent villainy, than, as I verily believe, is to be found in the records of all the criminal courts of all the other nations in the world. And, if to this be added the frauds and the perjuries, growing out of the Custom and Excise Laws, which, for the far greater part, have grown out of Paper-Money, National Debts, and Standing Armies, the picture is too huge and too horrid to be endured by any one, lost to every sense of morality and honor.

Now, if, this be not a true and fair statement of the case, why have none of you ventured to contradict and disprove it? There are more than fifteen thousand of you, who have livings, or benefices of one sort or another, and, there are more than twenty thousand of you in Orders. Out of this number can no man be found, with all your College acquirements, to put a cool and fair answer upon paper. Forty years has that venerable and most noble, and virtuous Reformer, Major Cartwright, challenged you to the discussion; and never has he been answered but by revilements. Not that you dislike to meddle with politics; for, what else have you printed sermons consisted for the last twenty-five years? Amongst these pamphlet writers in favor of the war against the French nation, who signed, next after the pensioned Burke, Who, but the Ministers of the Church of England? Mr. HUGBERT MARSH, who is now become a Bishop, wrote a pamphlet to prove the justice and necessity of the war; and, this gentleman had a pension of more than five hundred pounds a year. Whether he has it now is more than I can say; but, he had it in 1808. He published his pamphlet in 1799, or in 1800; and, the pension was given him in the month of May, 1804. I mention this, not only as a well-remembered instance of Clergymen meddling with politics; but also, as a proof that such

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building has not been displeasing to the Government. The late Rev. JOHN BRAND wrote a political pamphlet in favor of Pitt and the war, and he had the great living of St. GEORGE, in the Borough of Southwark, given to him very soon afterwards by the then Lord Chancellor Loughborough. Messrs. NARES and BELOE were long, and, perhaps, still are, the chief conductors of that political engine, called the BRITISH CRITIC. They have both good rich livings, if not two each. Besides, Mr. NARES, who has the living of Reading, is an Archdeacon, and Mr. BELOE was librarian of the British Museum: the manner of his ceasing to be, which, may, when I have more time, be fully recorded.

The object, in giving these instances, is, not to throw blame on these gentlemen for writing on politics. I could say, that some of them have written very badly, and, I am convinced, that, whatever may have been their intentions, they have, in the same degree as they have produced effect, done mischief. But, this is not the point at which I am aiming. The object is to shew, that you have not been backward to meddle with politics; and, indeed, it is notorious, that, at public meetings, held for the purpose of promoting the continuation of the late wars, you have seldom failed to take a prominent part, and that, upon one particular occasion, the Clergy of the Diocese of Salisbury, just after the death of Percival, stood alone in urging the Prince Regent to push on the war with vigour.

Your not answering us, therefore, cannot be ascribed to your dislike to enter into political discussions. No: it arises from your consciousness of the goodness of our cause, and the consequent badness of that of our opponents. You do not answer, because you cannot answer. You cannot openly say, that it would be an evil to get rid of bribery, corruption, perjury and subordination of perjury; and yet this you must say, or no answer can you give. There are no shifts and shuffles to be made avail with you. Others may say, that a Reform of the Parliament would not do good in certain other ways. But you, being Clergymen, must say, at once, that you approve of bribery, corruption, and perjury, or that a Reform would be a good thing. This is the reason why you do not answer our writings, and why you endeavour to misrepresent our characters and our motives.

But, what is most surprising to me, is, that you above all men in the world, should be able to endure the thought of the existence of such disgraceful crimes, such an audacious violation of decency and moral rectitude, such an open defiance of the religion you profess. When I have beheld the scenes of drunkenness, fraud, perjury, bribery, and of beatings at the contested rotten borough elections, and, indeed, at all elections, where money is expended as the means of obtaining a majority on the poll, I have felt shame

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interest, and at the express recommendation of Mrs. Clarke! Now, though I do not pretend to believe, that you, as a body, approved of these things, yet never did I hear of your disapprobation of them; and, I well recollect, that, when, at a public Meeting at Winchester, Resolutions strongly condemning these scandalous translations, were proposed, a Clergyman of the Church of England was the only man, who had the shamelessness to oppose them. He too, called the resolutions *sedition*, which is a very convenient word, as it seems to mean any thing that those who use it please; but, the sense which we ought to put on it when used against fact and argument, is, that it means "true and unavoidable but dangerous to the corrupt."

Amongst all the Ministers of my time Perceval was the favorite of the Church. All men in great power are favorites; but there seemed to be a sort of intrinsic merit in Perceval, which intitled him to your peculiar regard and affection. This man, when Attorney-General, prosecuted a Tinman of Plymouth, for having offered Mr. Addington, then Minister, a sum of money for a place under the government. This appears to have been a very ignorant man, and he had seen so much of bribery, that he, I dare say, thought there was no danger in what he was doing. Perceval, however, made a grand display of the enormity of the offence, and took occasion to assert, that in no age, in no country, were men in power so free from this species of traffic. He, therupon, called for punishment on the Tinman, who was fined and imprisoned, whose family was utterly ruined, and who soon after died with grief and misery. Well! But was it not right, you will say, "to punish that attempt to bribe?" Yes: but now let us look at the conduct of this same Perceval, when he became a Minister, six years afterwards. The exposures of 1809 included every species of bribery; selling of offices; swapping of offices for seals; all sorts of trafficking in this way. But, at last, out came a distinct charge of Mr. Maddocks against the same Perceval himself, whom Mr. Maddocks accused of having, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, who was also a Privy Councillor, CONNIVED at the sale of a seat in Parliament, and at the causing of the holder of the seat to quit it afterwards, because the holder would not vote for the acquittal of the Duke of York.

Now, then, what did your favorite Perceval, the unrelenting prosecutor of the poor Tinman, do? Why, he did not deny the charge, but, begged off the House to get rid of Mr. Maddock's motion, and not to hear his witnesses; and why? because, as he said, those who brought forward such charges were ENEMIES to the Constitution, and were actuated by seditious motives. And, generations to come will hear with indignation, that the House determined by a very large majority, that, THEY WOULD NOT HEAR the witnesses! And Perceval continued to be Chancellor of the Exchequer, he continued to be a Privy Councillor, he was afterwards exalted to be Prime Minister, and, when he was killed by Mr. Bellingham, you, particularly in the diocese of Salisbury, sent up an address to the Regent, in which you eulogised his character!

Do you think, that these things can be forgotten? Do you think, that the calling the exposure of such things SEDITION will silence the voices, or assuage the indignation, of the virtuous part of mankind? Do you wish the people of England to be a MORAL and RELIGIOUS people, and yet do you wish that they should NOT hold these things in abhorrence? Do you wish them to be HONEST and TRUE, and yet do you wish that they should approve of the foulest of frauds and the basest of perjuries? Do you wish

them to believe in the Scriptures, and yet do you wish to regard those men as SEDITIONISTS, who reprobate bribery and corruption and false-swearing agreeably to the principles of those very Scriptures?

Samuel, when about to yield up his Rulership over the Israelites, appeals, thus, to their justice as to his conduct in his great office:—"Behold, here I am: witness against me before the Lord, and before his anointed: whose ox have I taken? or whose ass have I taken? or whom have I defrauded? whom have I oppressed? or of whose hand have I received any bribe to blind mine enemies therewith? and I will restore it to you."—1. Sam. xii, chap. 3 verse. But, his sons, whom he had appointed to rule after him, appear to have been of a different character.—"And his sons walked not in his ways, but turned aside after lucre, and took bribes, and perverted judgment."—1. Sam. viii, chap. 3 verse. What was the consequence? Nothing short of revolution; for the people, abhorring so much this act of taking bribes, called upon Samuel to leave them under the sway of a king; and, though Samuel told them, that a king would scourge them and plunder them; though, in short, they were assured, that they should be subjected to the most horrid despotism, yet, with their eyes open, and with the choice fairly before them, they preferred an open despotism however severe, to a base and cowardly, undermining and hypocritical system of bribery, by which they would have been as cruelly oppressed as by an undisguised despotism, and would, at the same time, have been deprived of the sympathy, which is always felt for those who suffer under the hand of an open and acknowledged despot. This is a remarkable instance of the horror, in which the crime of bribery was held in those times; and, indeed, it is a crime, which in every part of the Scripture, where it is mentioned or alluded to, is, as far as I recollect, numbered amongst the most atrocious of offences. "Gather not my soul with Sinners, nor my life with bloody men, in whose hands is mischief, and whose right hand is full of bribes."—Psa. xxvi, ver. 9 and 10. And, really, there can be little doubt, that he who will deliberately tender or take a bribe, being well aware of all the consequences, is capable of any crime. How many crimes has bribery actually created! Isaiah charges the Israelites with being corruptors, and tells them, that their burnt offerings and sacrifices are a base and insolent mockery of God, while they are guilty of such things. "Learn to do well," says he (chap. i.) but you do not rely upon the formalities of your religion. Jeremiah compares "CORRUPTERS" to brass and iron; and, indeed, as we well know, they are the most impudent, the most profligate of all mankind. He calls them "grievous REVOLTERS," also (chap. vi. ver. 29); but if he had lived in our day, he would have been called a REVOLUTIONIST, that is to say, a REVOLUTIONIST, himself! For this is the name given to us, who are labouring to put down Corruptors and Bribery by destroying the sources of corruption and bribery. Is it thus that we ought to be treated? From any of your Order ought we to expect such treatment? And, will any of you still persist in opposing the circulation of this work, the plain and obvious tendency of which is to drive from the land the abominations against which both Scripture and Reason cry aloud? Despitefully as some of you have treated me; great and unjust as is the hatred, which some of you have shewn towards me; yet I will not apply even to these my most bitter enemies the description given by Ames (chap. v. ver. 10, 11, and 12); but, if they persevere in their foul hostility, I shall leave the people to make the application. "They hate him that rebuketh in the gate, and they abhor him that speaketh

uprightly. Forasmuch, therefore, as your treading is upon the poor, and ye take from him burdens of wheat: ye have built houses of hewn stone, but ye shall not dwell in them; ye have planted pleasant vineyards, but ye shall not drink wine of them. For I know your manifold transgressions and your mighty sins; they afflict the just, they take a bribe, and they turn aside the poor in the gate from their right." If this serve to show, that there were bribery and corruption in times of old, it also serves to show, that there were men to reprobate such crimes, and to utter denunciations against those who committed them.

"The civil and political institutions of the Israelites were different from ours; but the principles of morality and of justice have always been, and must always be, the same; and, without speaking profanely,

which was Amos more than a Reformer, and a political Reformer too, of his day? He found the people in a state of oppression, he saw the poor trodden down, he saw them heavily burdened with taxes, he saw a large part of the produce of their labours taken from them, he saw those who took the taxes building splendid mansions and living in luxury, he saw the work of partiality and bribery going on; he saw the lower orders in society turned out of their rights, and he complained, that whoever rebuked any uprightly, was hated and abhorred by those who had no interest in the continuance of the oppression.

As to the crime of false-swearing it is notoriously one of the heaviest of those sins against which the wrath of God has been denounced; but it becomes of much more than ordinary enormity, when it affects the well-being of a whole community. You know as well as I, that, if any man gives a vote, either in the parliament or at an election, from any motive of self-interest, he is guilty of false-swearing. You know, that the Peers are strictly forbidden by law, and that it is a breach of their honor and their oath as Peers, to exert any sort of influence in the returning of Members to the People's House, or Common's House, of Parliament. And, well knowing these things, how can you, as Clergymen bound by solemn vow to God to watch vigilantly over the morals, and earnestly to labour for the safety of the souls, of the people; how can you, possessing this knowledge, and bound by these obligations, hold your tongues as to the accuse, which, relative to these matters, are almost constantly before your eyes? And, do you think, that your silence will be justified by the plea, that the Reformers are seditious men? Do you think, that, if asked why you have not endeavoured to put an end to the scenes exhibited at elections, it will be sufficient for you to say, that you feared worse might come? Do you suppose, that the bare plea of apprehension of a neglect or endeavour to put an end to a notoriously existing evil? If so, you must believe, that to suffer a poor creature to starve by the roadside, will be justified upon the plea of its being possible, that, if relieved, he might do harm in the world. This, however, you cannot believe. We are not to do evil that good may come of it; but we are not to refrain from doing good from the fear that evil may possibly be the ultimate consequence. The old Norman proverb *Fait ce qu'il faut, arrive ce qu'il pourra*: Do what you ought to do, let the consequence be what it may. This is a rule of conduct worthy of men of honor and of true religion, and this is the maxim of our able and virtuous leader MAJOR CARTWRIGHT, whose answer to all the forebodings of the timid and insincere, has always been: "Let us, keeping the laws and constitution for our guides, do all that we are able to do, and leave the rest to

God." And, indeed, this is the language of common sense, and is conformable to the common practice of mankind in all the concerns of life, public as well as private. Not to act upon this principle would be effectually to prevent every species of enterprise; nothing could ever be undertaken even for the preservation of the independence of a country. No improvement could ever be adopted; no difficulty could ever be overcome; nothing good could ever be undertaken, and, of course, could ever be accomplished.

"Where much is given, much is required;" and

though this applies to all men, in their several degrees, it applies more especially to you, whose very profession calls you to exert yourselves against the evil wickedness, and who receive such very large sums for your services. The annual income of the Church, arising from tithes and other sources, which are destined by the law for the purpose of insuring teachers of the people, is not less, I believe, than five millions of pounds a year, exclusive of the immense Church Property in Ireland. It is impossible to reconcile to reason, that this property ought to be suffered to be enjoyed by you but as a reward for public duties. It was originally so intended, as the endowments and the early laws clearly show. That it is not private property in you is certain, for you can neither give it away in your lifetimes nor bequeath it at your deaths. If, then, it is to be locked upon the compensation for services, how great ought those services to be? And, it will not be denied, I believe, that the poor as well as the rich, have a claim to a share in those services. Have not the people, then, the great mass of the nation, a right to call on you to come forth to their assistance upon this occasion? If you post yourselves up as the Clergy only of the rich and powerful, on what do you ground your claim to any attention on the part of the people? Besides you ought to bear in mind, that the tithes were not granted to Clergymen and their families; that they were granted to a Clergy who never had wives; that the income of each living was to be divided into four equal parts, one part for the poor, one for the repairing of the Church and Church-yards, and for the furnishing of Sacramental Elements, &c one part for keeping hospitality for travellers and pilgrims, and the remaining part for the support of the Priest. The poor are now maintained, by the parish, Churches, &c. are provided for by the parishes, you keep no hospitality for travellers, and you and your families consume the whole of the income! I know that modern laws allow of this; but, pray, then, do not object, to the people's obtaining a modern law to insure to them their political rights.

Even if public duty were out of the question, and if you could divest yourselves of all considerations of a religious nature, your interest, it seems to me, would naturally push you forward in the people's cause, which, if rightly viewed, is your own cause too.

You can hardly believe, that things can proceed long without a great change of some sort, and nothing short of downright infatuation can induce you to hope that you can do any thing to prevent such change.

And, I would ask you seriously, whether, under such circumstances, it is prudent, leaving justice out of the question, for you to keep aloof from the people?

However, this will now be your own affair; and, if you resolve, after this remonstrance, to convince the people, that you will be the very last

to afford them support, the people will, with the less reluctance leave you to your friends, the Agricultural Gentry and the Yeomanry Cavalry, who will probably dispose of your affair even before the question of Parliamentary Reform shall have been finally settled.

I now come to the Second Part of my subject, and

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I call upon you to deny, if you can, the cruelties of the House of Bourbon, and the horrors of the Inquisition. And why do I thus call upon you? Because it is notorious, that, in every stage, you were for war against the French people; and because, at the peace, there was a Thanksgiving in the Church of England, which last took place after the restoration of the Pope and the Bourbons.

As to the cruelties of the House of Bourbon previous to the Revolution in France, the hereinafter mentioned would fill volumes. I shall, therefore, only assert here, that it is notorious, that they were the most cruel tyrants that Europe ever saw, and that I am able to prove when any one of them shall deny the fact. But as to the INQUISITION, I have something more particular to say, and, though I have said the same things upon a former occasion, this is a proper time to say them again. We are now seeing the weight of a war that cost more than a thousand millions; the miserable people of this country are now sinking under the consequences of that war. That war put down Napoleon; that war sent the BRAVE and GENEROUS NAPOLEON into captivity; the war restored the Bourbons in Spain, and Naples; it restored the Pope and the Inquisition, all which Bonaparte had put down. This is the price of our taxes, debts, and misery; and, let us see, then, how it agrees with the religious opinions you have taught, to rejoice at this restoration.

There was one trait, above all others, by which your sermons and prayers, until of late years, were characterised, it was by your zealous, your violent, not to say foul-mouthed, attacks on the Romish Pontiff, faith, and worship. You had no scruple to represent the Pope as Anti-Christ, and as the Scarlet Whore of Babylon, covered with abominations. How clearly did you prove that he was the Beast of the Revelations; that he had made the world drunk with his fornications; that his seven heads were the seven hills on which Rome is situated; his ten horns the ten principal Catholic Sovereigns of Europe; and that his colour was scarlet, because it was DYED IN THE BLOOD OF THE SAINTS? Was there scarcely a sermon, was there a prayer, that issued from your lips, in which you did not call on the Lord for vengeance on this "MAN OF SIN," and in which you did not describe the Catholic Religion as IDOLATROUS, BLASPHEMOUS, DIABOLICAL, and as evidently tending to the ETERNAL DAMNATION OF MILLIONS AND MILLIONS OF PRECIOUS SOULS?

Every one, who shall read what I am now writing, must acknowledge, that this description of your conduct, in regard to the Romish Church, is far short of the mark. What, then, have you now to say in justification of your recent conduct? Where is your justification for your violent attacks on Napoleon and his family, to say nothing, at present, of your thanksgivings for the restoration of the ancient order of things, or, in your own language, "the ANCIENT and VENERABLE INSTITUTIONS?" Where is your justification for your attacks on the Bonapartes? Others, indeed, might consistently attach them. Such as thought that the Church of Rome and her power were good things; or, such as regarded one religion as good as another, might consistently attack Bonaparte. But YOU! you who professed the opinions above described; how can you apologize to the world, and to your flocks, for the part which you have taken against him?

The case with regard to you, stands thus:—There was, before Bonaparte's power commenced, existing in Europe a system of religion, or, as you called it, irreligion, basing at the head of it a Sovereign Pontiff, with innumerable Cardinals, Bishops,

Vicars General, Abbots, Priors, Monks, Friars, Secular Priests, &c. &c., under him. To this body you ascribed false-doctrines, tricks, frauds, and cruelties without end. You charged them with the propagation of idolatry and blasphemy; with keeping the people in ignorance; with nourishing superstition; with blowing the flames of persecution; with daily murdering, in the most horrid manner, the martyrs to the true faith. The Sovereign Pontiff himself, the corner stone of the whole body, you constantly called Anti-Christ, the Scarlet Whore, the Beast, and the Man of Sin. And you prayed most vehemently for his overthrow, insisting that the system, of which he was the foundation, manifestly tended to the eternal damnation of the souls of the far greater part of the people of Europe.

Well! Napoleon arose. He hurled down the Pope; he overthrew the Anti-Christ, the Scarlet Whore, the Beast, the Man of Sin, and with him all the long list of persecutors of the Saints. Napoleon and his associates did, in three years, what your prayers and preachings had not been able to effect in three centuries. The Pope was stripped of all temporal power; the Cardinals and Bishops were reduced to mere cyphers; the Monks were driven from their dens of laziness and debauchery; the tricks and frauds were exposed; the adored images were turned into fire wood; the holy reliques were laughed at; the light of truth was suffered freely to beam upon the minds of the people; religious persecution was put an end to; and all men were not only permitted, but also encouraged, openly to profess, pursue and enjoy, whatever species of religious faith and worship they chose. Every man became eligible to offices, trusts, and honors; and, throughout the dominions of Italy and France, where a Church of England man would have been tied to a stake and roasted rather than be suffered to fill an office of trust, or to preach to a congregation, religious liberty was, under Napoleon, made perfect as in America.

These are facts, which none of you will dare openly to deny. They are as notorious as they will be, and, let me assure you, memorable.

Ought you not, therefore, to have rejoiced at this wonderful change in favor of religious liberty? How could you see fifty millions of souls set free without finding it impossible to suppress an expression of your pleasure? How could you see the fall of Anti-Christ without putting up thanksgiving to that God, to whom you had been so long praying, whom you had so long been worrying with your importunities, for the accomplishment of that object?

Was not this an event calculated to call forth your admiration? What, then, have you now to have expected from you, that you should speak very cautiously in disapprobation of Napoleon and the French Republicans, who had effected what you had so long been praying for, apparently in vain? Ought you not, if you had spoken at all of the sin of his ambition; if you had blamed him as an invader, a conqueror, to have touched him with a tender hand, considering the immense benefits which religious liberty had received in consequence of his invasions and conquests? Ought he not to have found in you, above all men living, if not merciful judges, at least, mild and moderate censors?

If this were what naturally and justly have been expected from you, what must have been the surprise and indignation of those who saw you, amongst the very fiercest of Napoleon's foes; amongst the foulest of his calumniators; amongst the first and loudest of those who rejoiced in his fall; who heard you hail with rapture the return of "the ancient order of things," and the re-establishment of the "venerable

institutions" of Europe; who heard you joining in and declare the cause of their imprisonment; for they are neither told their crime, nor confronted with witnesses. As soon as they are imprisoned, their friends go into mourning, and speak of them as dead; not daring to solicit their pardon, lest they should be brought in as accomplices. When there is no shadow of proof against the pretended criminal, he is discharged, after suffering the most cruel tortures, tedious and dreadful imprisonment, and the loss of the greatest part of his effects. The sentence against the prisoners is pronounced publicly, and with the greatest solemnity. In Portugal, they erect a theatre capable of holding 3000 persons; in which they place a rich altar, and raise seats on each side in the form of an amphitheatre. There the prisoners are placed, and over against them is a high chair, whither they are overthrown them. All the persecutions of the Protestants; all the frauds, insolence, and cruelty of the Romish Priests must have been in your view—

You are not IGNORANT men. You know to a moral certainty, that the Pope, whom you had formerly led your flocks to believe was Anti-Christ, would be destroyed. You knew that, instead of a milder sway, he would naturally be more rigid than ever. You knew, that the TOLERATION of all the Protestant sects, the encouragement of them, the free use of reason on religious subjects, and the free circulation of religious opinions, which were so complete under Napoleon, would be instantly destroyed in the far greater part of Europe.

The Holy Father, whom you formerly called the "Scarlet Whore," dyed in the blood of the Saints—the "BEAST," as you used to call him, whose "mouth was full of blasphemies," renounced his chair even before "the Most Christian King" got upon his throne. One of his first acts was to restore the JESUITES, that "ancient and venerable institution," which had become so odious, on account of its wicked acts, that it had been abolished by all the Princes of Europe, and even by a former Pope himself.

The next remarkable step was, the re-establishment of the INQUISITION in Spain, where it had been abolished by Napoleon on the day that he took possession of the Government of that country.

You yourselves well know what that tribunal was; but, as some of the good people may not know the precise nature of that "venerable institution," which Napoleon abolished, and which has been restored in consequence of the successes of the war, I will here insert an account of it from the last edition of the Encyclopaedia Britannica, under the words "Inquisition" and "Act of Faith," as follows:—

"In the Church of Rome, a tribunal in several Roman Catholic countries, erected by the Popes, for the examination and punishment of heretics. This Court was founded in the twelfth century, by Father Dominic and his followers, who were sent by Pope Innocent III. with orders to excite the Catholic princes and people to extirpate heretics, to search into their number, and quality, and to transmit a faithful account thereof to Rome. Hence they were called Inquisitors; and this gave birth to the formidable tribunal of the Inquisition, which was received in all Italy and the dominions of Spain, except the kingdom of Naples and the Low Countries.—This diabolical tribunal takes cognizance of Heresy, Judaism, Mahometanism, Sodomy, and Polygamy; and the people stand in so much fear of it, that parents deliver up their children; husbands their wives, and masters their servants, to its officers, without flinching in the least to incur punishment. The prisoners are kept for a long time, till they themselves turn their own accusers, 230

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tor-General, on a white horse, led by two men with black hats and green hat-bands. A scaffold is erected in the *Teniero de Pacs*, big enough for two or three thousand people; at one end of which are prisoners, at the other the Inquisitors. After a sermon made up of encomiums of the Inquisition, and invectives against heretics, a priest ascends a desk near the middle of scaffold, and having taken the abjuration of the penitents, recites the final sentence of those who are to be put to death; and delivers them to the secular arm, earnestly beseeching at the same time the secular power not to touch their blood, or put their lives in danger. The prisoners being thus in the hands of the civil Magistrate, are presently loaded with chains, and carried first to the secular gaol, and from thence in an hour or two brought before the civil Judge; who, after asking in what religion they intended to die, pronounces sentence on such as declare they die in the communion of Rome, that they shall be first strangled, and then burnt to ashes; on such as die in any other faith, that they be burnt alive. Both are immediately carried to the Ribera, the place of execution; where there are as many stakes set up as there are prisoners to be burnt, with a quantity of dry furze about them. The stakes of the professed, that is, such as persist in their heresy, are about four yards high, having a small board towards the top for the prisoner to be seated on. The negative and repented being first strangled and burnt, the professed mount their stakes by a ladder; and the Jesuits, after several repeated exhortations to be reconciled to the church, part with them, telling them they leave them to the devil, who is standing at their elbow to receive their souls, and carry them with him into the flames of hell. On this great shout is raised, and the cry is, **LET THE DOGS BE MADE**; which is done by thrusting flaming furzes, fastened to long poles against their faces, 'till their faces are burnt to a coal, which is accompanied with the loudest acclamations of joy.—At last fire is set to the furze at the

bottom of the stake, over which the professed are chained so high, that the top of the flame seldom reaches higher than the board they sit on; so that they rather seem roasted than burnt.—There cannot be a more lamentable spectacle; the sufferers continually cry out, while they are able, *Misericordia per amar de Dios*. "Pity for the love of God!" yet it is bebel'd by all the sexes and ages with transports of joy and satisfaction."

Is there a man in the whole world, whose heart is not steeled against all the cries of nature, who can read this without feeling his blood run cold? Yet this horrible institution has been restored by that Bourbon, whom we, by our wars, and at our expense, re-seated on the throne of Spain! Aye, and we are now taxed to pay the interest of the enormous Debt, contracted for this purpose! An yet, there are men so basely impudent as to assert, that our money was expended in obtaining the **FREEDOM** and **HAPPINESS** of Europe!

Gentlemen, even laying the Clergyman aside, can you, when you dismiss all prejudice; when you coolly reflect on what has been done; when you consider, that we found the Pope dethroned, the Jesuits scattered, the Bourbons driven out, and the Inquisition put down, and that our success has caused them all to be RESTORED, and that the wars which produced that effect have reduced the people of England to such misery as to accept of CHARITY at the hands of a Bourbon Prince; when you coolly—oh, no! not COOLLY, for coolness on such a subject is impossible. But, when you reflect on these things, and, at the same time remember what noble struggles our fathers maintained in the cause of religious liberty, are you not half-maddened with shame and confusion? And do you, or can you, either believe or hope, that a state of things so unnatural, so monstrous, can possibly last? If you do, more words are useless; and, if you do not, I have already said more than enough.

WILLIAM COBBETT.

## LONDON PLOTS.

ALL; for, we have no other authority than the Times, the Courier, the Post, the Sun, &c. and as to these four, we know that they positively asserted, upon authority, that Mr. Hunt and I were in the King's Bench, plotting with Lord Cochrane, at the very time when I was at Peckham, in Surrey, and Mr. Hunt at Wanstead, in Essex. In short, they will say and swear anything, in order to alarm or mislead the people as suits their purpose; and, they are quite capable of fabricating a WOUND as well as a PLOT. I do not know that there was NOT a man wounded; but I never will believe that there WAS, until I see the certificate of some respectable surgeon; or until I have the fact upon better authority than that of these vile newspapers.

Nottingham: Printed (by Permission) by Sutton and Son, No. 1, Bridlesmith-gate,

Price 2d. or 12s. per 100.

Cobbett's Address to the Journeymen and Labourers of England; his Letters to the Lord Mayor of London, the Luddites, H. Hunt, Esq. and the Country Gentlemen, price Twopence each; also, his Address to Mr. Whittingham, of Lynn, price Three-halfpence; and the Political Catechism, and Counselor Phillips' Speech, price One Penny each, may be had where this was bought.

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**SUTTON'S EDITION**  
**OF**  
**COBBETT'S ADDRESS**  
TO THE  
**Country Gentlemen,**  
SHOWING THAT  
THEIR ONLY REMAINING CHOICE  
IS BETWEEN  
**PARLIAMENTARY REFORM**  
AND  
**TOTAL RUIN.**

From the Political Register, of Saturday, December 21, 1816.

London, 20th December, 1816.

**GENTLEMEN**—Innumerable are the instances in private life where men blindly and pertinaciously listen to those who are their worst enemies, who are undermining their characters and their fortunes, and who are fattening at their expense, while, towards those who are naturally, as well as by inclination their friends, they wear an eye of constant suspicion, and entertain a feeling nearly approaching to that of enmity. That this failing, which is so common amongst individuals, is not without its influence on whole bodies of men, the conduct of the Country Gentlemen of these Islands, for many years past, most abundantly proves. And, as such conduct in private life seldom fails to produce ruin to the party, or his family; so, in your case, total ruin to yourselves, or, at least, to your descendants, appears to be a consequence altogether inevitable, unless you immediately rouse yourselves, shake off the infatuation, and act as becomes men who have children whom they do not wish to become beggarly dependents.

Amongst the other marks of this fatal infatuation, is, an obstinate refusal not only to follow the advice of those who propose a Reform of the Parliament, or who disapprove of the measures of the government! but, a refusal equally obstinate to hear what they have to say. A stubborn, a stupid, a contemptible obstinacy, to give way to which is justly punishable with ruin and disgrace. And, indeed, instead of patiently hearing what we have to say, no small part of you have repaid our endeavours with every species of persecution within your power. You have shown no sense of justice in these matters. You have not, both sides, as common fairness pointed out;

but have suffered yourselves to be led along by Corruption's sons, as an ass is led by a gipsy; you have spitefully kicked at every man who has endeavoured to set you free; and even now, when your backs are breaking under your burdens, and your bones are sticking through your skins, you appear to feel a new fit of alarm at the proposition of that measure, which alone can, by any possibility, afford you relief and security.

Under such circumstances, it is almost impossible for us so far to master our resentment as to entertain a desire that you should now act the part that becomes you; but, to harbour such resentment would be to injure the great cause of the country, and it is, therefore, our duty to bury it, if possible, in everlasting oblivion. For my own part, bred up in the country, and taught in early life to look towards your order with great respect; remembering the times when your hospitality and benevolence had not been swept away by the tax-gatherer; having still in my recollection so many excellent men, to whose grandfathers, upon the same spots, my grandfathers had yielded cheerful obedience and reverence, it is not without sincere sorrow that I have beheld many of the sons of these men driven from their fathers' mansions, or holding them as little better than tenants or stewards, while the swarms of Placemen, Pensioners, Contractors, and Nabobs, with all the keen habits of their former lives, have usurped a large part of the soil, and wholly changed the manners and even the morals of the country. Upon this occasion, I wish to address you in the temper inspired by the recollection of early impressions, rather than in that which recent facts would naturally dictate. For more than ten years I have been endeavouring to shew

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you, that that which has now taken place would take place. I have hitherto, with regard to you, laboured in vain; and, one more effort, though it should prove equally useless, will form but a trifling addition to the disappointments already experienced.

My opinion is, that you have now no choice remaining, except that which lies between a Reform of Parliament and the loss of your estates through the means of taxation; and the soundness of this opinion I will, if you will give me a patient hearing, endeavour to prove in the clearest manner.

Let me first ask you a question, or two applicable

to this matter. Look, each of you, just around your

own neighbourhoods. Take a circumference of thirty

or forty miles. Put all the Gentlemen's mansions

within that compass down upon paper. Write

against each who was the owner thirty years ago,

and who is the owner now. And then tell me, what

reason you have to hope, that your sons will possess

your estates? If you have any love for your chil-

dren, can you take this survey without experiencing

the most poignant anguish? Then, look at the nu-

merous little farm-houses tumbling down, or suffer-

ed to dwindle into wretched shacks for labourers.

Look at the out-stretches of the Metropolis, and

see the increase of glittering chariots that rattle

through its streets and squares; then turn to the

places where numerous hamlets once stood, inhabited

by happy people; and, then tell me, whether the

accumulation of property into great masses, by the

means of taxes and loans, has been for the glory

or the disgrace of the country? Search the poor-

books of fifty years back, and, when you find one

pauper for every hundred paupers that are now up-

on those books, tell me whether you can behold the

horrid sight without shame for the present and ap-

prehension for the future? The sons of Corruption

would fain induce you to believe, that this dreadful

change has been produced by a change in the morals

and manners of the labouring people. This is not a

very decent charge to make against them at the close

of a war, during which those classes have shown so

much valour, and have endured with patience so

many and such great hardships. But the fact is,

that there is less drunkenness than formerly; the

labourers work harder than their forefathers worked;

and, it surely will not be denied, that they are

better educated, if by education we mean reading

and writing. What, then, can have caused the poor-

rates to rise, during the sway of the Pitts and the

Roses, from *two millions and a quarter to eight mil-*

*lions a year?* What can have been the cause of this

increase of human degradation? It is useless, be-

sides being unjust, to call against the poor. It is

clear, that they ought to be fed, that they have both

a legal and equitable right to be fed out of the pro-

duce of the soil; but, it is also clear, that they must

be so fed. They never can be made to die by thou-

sands quietly under the hedges; and, if they could,

the evil would be still greater; for then there would

be nobody to labour, and the country would become

again a wilderness...

It is impossible for you to dwell upon reflections

of this kind for ten minutes without being convinced

that there is some great radical cause of all these

evils. And, does it not become you, then, patiently

to investigate the cause? If you, however unrea-

sonably, have imbibed a dislike of the person who

now addresses you; if you have addicted, however

unjustly, to rail against his motives; if you still

think him actuated by mischievous designs; exam-

ine that opinion ought not, unless you prefer self-de-

struction to self-preservation, to shut your ears

against his reasonings, which can belong to no family

or nation, which must be either true or false; thus to shut

your ears would be to act a foolish part as the re-

fusing of a witness because tendered to you by a man

against whom you happened to have a grudge. If

you had a bad opinion of the man who tendered the

evidence, you would examine very carefully to ascer-

tain whether it was good; you would weigh it to see

whether it was weighty; but, if you found it of pure

quality and of full quantity, you would weigh it to see

whether it was foolish as to refuse to put it into your pocket.

But, at the present day, there is another and most

important refuge for you, lending a patient ear; for

your example is well and most weighty, and is to be

seen in the eyes of the people.

Write again each who was the owner thirty years ago,

and who is the owner now. And then tell me, what

reason you have to hope, that your sons will possess

your estates? If you have any love for your chil-

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The Press of Corruption calls upon you to keep aloof upon these grounds : They say, that the standing army is necessary ; that the present amount of Civil List, Sinecures, Pensions, Grants and Salaries is also necessary ; and that to reduce the interest of the Debt would be a breach of national faith and a robbery.

Now, the Reformers say, and I for one, that a Reform would cause the peace of the country never to be broken, or attempted to be broken, except in such a trifling degree as to be easily restored by peace-officers. We say, that, as to Sinecures, Pensions, &c. a Reformed Parliament would reduce them to the standard of strict public services. We say, that as to Salaries and Pay, they would be reduced in the proportion in which the wages of labourers and mechanics and manufacturers have been reduced. We say, that, if we were to stop here, the drain upon your estates would become much less than it is.— But, I am not for stopping here. I am for making that reduction of the interest of the Debt, which has been stigmatized as a breach of national faith, and, by others, as a robbery ; and, I will endeavour to prove, that it is neither one nor the other.

At several of the public meetings it has been resolved, that the Debt is not national ; that those only owe the money, who have voted for those who borrowed the money ; and that those who have filled the seats owe the Debt. Without attempting to enter into this question at present, I shall proceed to say, that those who have lent their money to the government were the best judges of the security they received for re-payment. They very well knew, that they had no other security than that which the power of collecting a sufficiency of taxes gave them ; and, the simple question is, whether, in order to collect a sufficiency of taxes, the nation is bound to hazard the very lives of a great part of the people ; I say, that it is not ; I say, that the safety and happiness of millions is to be preferred to the safety and happiness of thousands ; and, I say, that this is a principle that is consonant with every notion of justice and humanity.

But, let us look a little into the facts of this case. There are some of the Fundholders, who lent their money in a currency, one pound of which was equal in value to a pound of the present day ; but, all those who lent the Government money after the stoppage of the Bank in 1797, lent no such a thing.— They lent a paper-money of inferior value ; and now, when the currency has been again raised in value, is the nation bound to pay the lenders at much of this paper as they lend of an inferior paper ? If the lending had been in pieces of gold of one ounce weight each, would it be a robbery to make payment for ten pieces in five pieces of two ounces weight each ? If the lending had been in bushels of wheat at 9s. a bushel, would it be a robbery to make payment for ten bushels in five bushels at 18s. each ?— And, though the price of wheat is now more than half what it used to be when the money was lent, this is merely owing to a short crop, and, if we take all the articles of produce, baa stock, meat, wool, flax, and corn, they do not sell for half the price they sold for when the main part of the money was borrowed.— And yet they call it robbery, if we do not continue to pay two for one !

Nor had the nation any thing to do in changing the value of the currency. The Governor and Directors of the Bank Company were bound by law to pay the amount of their notes to the bearer upon demand in gold and silver. They issued such large

quantities of Notes, that, in 1797, when the Holders of the notes went for payment, the Governor and Directors went to Pitt, and told him their fears for the safety of their concern. Pitt procured an Order of Council authorizing them to refuse to pay their notes ! This was all unlawful ; but, the Parliament passed an act to protect the Governor and Directors and Pitt and the Council against the consequences of this great and memorable breach of the laws. This Bank Company are amongst the very greatest of the Fundholders, and they cry aloud about breach of faith, about robbery, because Mr. Preston and others have proposed to pay them no longer the value of two bushels of wheat for the value of one bushel of wheat !

The Bank paper, including the Country paper, which depended upon that of the London Bank, has now been more than half drawn in. Whose fault was that ? Not the Nation's. The nation had no hand in the stoppage of 1797, nor had it any hand in drawing in the paper. The whole has been done by those who manage the paper-money ; and yet, the nation at large are to be called robbers, if they assert, that they ought not to be wholly ruined by the operations of these managers !

Let us take the case of the common day-labourer. Infinite pains have been taken by the sons of Corruption to persuade the labouring classes, that they do not pay any part of the Debt. Oh, no ! great care is taken, these corrupt men tell them, NOT TO TAX THEM. Great care is taken to lay the weight upon the shoulders of those who are able to bear it. Great care is taken not to make the poor man contribute towards the support of the splendid Sinecure Placeman and Pensioner ; and these corrupt men say, that the war, having been carried on for the protection of property, men of property are, and ought to be liable to pay the interest of the Debt which was contracted, that is to say, the money that was borrowed and expended upon the war. If this really were the case, and if the taxes paid by you and your yeoman-cavalry tenants, did not at all affect the labouring classes, it would be a matter of much less consequence than it is. But, this is not the case. The Press of Corruption tells the labouring people a gross and wicked falsehood, when it tells them, that they are not taxed. They are taxed, and pretty handsomely too. The Malt, Beer, Leather, Salt, Sugar, Tea, Tobacco, Soap, Candies, and Spirits, of which the farmer's man, the artizan, the mechanic, and the manufacturer, and their families, consume, and must consume, a very large part of all that is consumed in the country ; these articles all pay a heavy tax, and indeed, the taxes raised upon the Malt, Hops, and Beer alone amount to a greater sum, and a much greater sum, than the taxes on all the Land and all the Houses, all the Windows, all the Carriages, all the Horses, all the Servants, all the Dogs, and all the other taxes imposed on the rich and not on the poor. Let us, however, come to the moor ; for this is a great matter. Let me go to my Book ; the Book of all Books ; the Book of Taxes ! Here I have it before me. It is an account of what the Government received from the people in England, Scotland, and Wales, DURING THE LAST YEAR OF OUR LIVES. It received, for the above-mentioned things, as follows :

Pounds.  
For Beer, Hops and Malt - - - 9,585,641  
For Land, Houses, Windows, Carriages, Horses, Mules, Servants, Bailiffs, Waiters, Powder Tax, Dogs, &c. only - - - 7,716,200

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So that the Beer, Hops and Malt alone, which are chiefly used by those who are called the "Lower Classes," pay nearly one fourth part more every year than all the Land, Houses, Windows, and the other things just named. And, yet the Corrupt Press would fain make the Labouring Classes believe that THEY pay no taxes, and that GREAT CARE has been taken not to lay any burdens upon those who are not well able to BEAR THEM ! And, this is the reason, forsooth, why the poor ought not to have a vote at elections !

But, I am wandering from the point immediately before me, which was to show how the common day-labourer stands affected with regard to the Debt. The expenses of the Government may be divided into two heads.— First, the army, navy, civil list, pensions, &c. and, Second, the Debt. The taxes required to pay the army, navy, &c. amount to about 22 millions a year ; and the taxes required to pay the interest of the Debt to about 44 millions a year ; so that the charge for the Debt is twice as great as the charge for every thing else. The common day-labourer pays, in taxes, according to Mr. Preston's computation, ten pounds a year, if he earn eighteen pounds a year, and, of course his ten pounds are divided nearly as follows :—

	£. s. d.
For Army, Civil List, &c. - - -	3 6 8
For Debt - - -	6 13 4
	10 0 0

Now, when the greater part of the Debt-money was borrowed, the labouring man used to receive at Botley from 15s. to 18s. a week ; and he now receives only from 9s. to 10s. a week. And, if we reckon the time that he now loses for want of work, which used never to be the case, his wages have, in fact, especially if we include the want of work for wife and children, been reduced one half. And, is he still to pay the Gd. 13s. 4d. a year on account of the Debt ? When the Debt-money was borrowed, it took only about eight weeks' wages in the year to pay his portion of the charge for the Debt ; but now it takes sixteen weeks' wages in the year ; and the Fundholder can have these sixteen weeks' wages for the same quantity of money that he could have had eight weeks' wages when the Debt-money was borrowed.— And yet they call it a robbery to reduce the payment from sixteen weeks' wages to eight weeks' wages !— Nay, they call it a robbery to reduce the Fundholder one per cent ; that is to say, they call it a robbery to give him more than the amount of twelve weeks' wages for the eight weeks' wages which he lent to the government ! This they stigmatize as a robbery ; this they call a breach of national faith ; against this they cry as loudly as parson Parks cried, the other day, against the "horrid and diabolical plot," which he had discovered in a hackney coach, and which consisted, I suppose, in the entwining of ribbons of colours, red, white and blue !

The practicability is all that can possibly remain in doubt, for the justice of the thing is clear. Some persons, very sincere and very able friends of Reform, are disposed to stop at house-holders ; that is to say, all men who are masters of a house, or occupy a house, whether they pay any direct rates or taxes, or whether they do not. This would be doing a great deal ; for, as it would include all cottagers and all married journeymen, it would, perhaps, satisfy the people. But, certainly, nothing one inch short of this ever will satisfy them ; and, in this case the ballot appears necessary to preserve the free exercise of this invaluable right ; for, without the ballot, what is to protect the farmer and the householder against their landlord ? In America, where so very small part of the farmers are tenants, and where the labouring classes are so very independent, they have still adhered to the ballot, which, besides the protection it affords to tenants and other de-

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pendent persons, has the excellent effect, in many cases, of preventing strife amongst neighbours and relations. The *Abbé Mazy*, a French writer of great eminence, in his Letters to Mr. JOHN ADAMS on the American Constitution, finds fault with the ballot, as being a provision against an evil that ought not to exist; and he predicts, that it will tend to degrade the people. He wrote in 1786; but, his prediction has not yet been fulfilled. However, I would break with nobody on the subject of the ballot, nor do I believe the petitioners in general would. I have confidence enough in the honesty and spirit of my countrymen to believe that without the ballot, they would act as became freemen.

would act as became freemen. But, after all, let us have the subject fairly discussed; let a Bill be brought in, and let us when we see its provisions, examine whether they be good or bad. Let free discussion take place, and I will engage, that we arrive at the truth. And, what has any one, who means rightly, to fear from such a reform? It contemplates no hostility to any lawful prerogative or privilege; but, on the contrary, it fully contemplates the real enjoyment of both by those who are entitled to them. Are you afraid, that such a Reform would fill the Commons, or People's House, with low and foolish men? If you are, upon what are your fears founded? Has a representative system, from top to toe, produced this effect in America? No: the four persons who have been Presidents, Messrs. Washington, Adams, Jefferson, and Madison, were the four men most distinguished in their country, for political talent and wisdom, equal to any men upon earth as to private character, and all of them possessing estates, to which, unengaged, they retired at the termination of their public duties. The two Houses of Congress are filled, with very few exceptions, by men of some fortune as well as men of distinguished talents. Why, then, should you suppose, that the people of England, if free to choose, would fix their choice on men of no property and no talents?

but, its efforts have been so contemptible in point of effect, that not a single petition contains any such thought. Pitt, in his better days, and before his connection with Dundas, said, that without a Reform of the Parliament, no minister in England could be honest, by which he meant, I suppose, that no minister could act freely and effectually for the good of the country; and this appears to be the opinion of the people.

Now, then, if no other considerations had any weight with you, do you not perceive, that there is danger to yourselves in keeping aloof from so many thousands and hundreds of thousands of sturdy men as are now eagerly seeking for the accomplishment of this great wish of their hearts? You cannot deny, if the question be put home to you, that you lament the events of the last twenty-five years. You cannot say, that you believe the present distress and misery to be temporary. You cannot point to any ground of HOPE of an alteration for the better, if the present system be persevered in. You can hardly endure the idea of seeing your estates wholly pass away

But, are you afraid, that the king would be compelled to put his authority into the hands of men having no noble blood in their veins, and that, thus, the ancient families of the kingdom would have the shame of submitting to the sway of upstarts? Before you express such a fear, you should ask yourselves, who and whence came those who have this sway in their hands now. The Lord Chancellor is the son of a Coal Merchant; Lord Sidmouth the son of a Doctor of Physic; Lord Liverpool the son of a very clever man, who was once a writer in reviews and other such publications; Mr. Vansittart was, not many years ago, a Sessions Lawyer in Berkshire; Mr. Canning's origin I have no certain trace of; Mr. Huskisson is a farmer's son, and has been an Apothecary or Banker's Clerk; and our worthy friend Old George Rose, at whose heels the Baronets and Squires of Hampshire follow like well-trained spaniels, was a Purser in the Navy. Come, come, then! Cheer up! Don't be frightened! What is it that has raised these men, and many others who could be mentioned, to such a height of power? Why, their application to business; their industry; their store of knowledge calculated for the purposes of supporting the system; their superior talents of the sort that are required to carry on that which they are wanted to carry on. If, therefore, the notion of attaching importance to MERE BIRTH were to be admitted to be wise instead of being foolishness itself, what

considering the necessity of a Reform in Parliament to be the only means of redressing the present existing dis-

ress of the country, call upon you to come forward along with your Brother Manufacturers of other Trades, in calling a General Public meeting to express the grievances which the people lie under and the necessity of Redress.—Sir,—It is the full intention of the People to Petition the King, likewise the Legislature—and if you absolutely refuse to act in a public capacity in the business, we shall be under the disagreeable necessity of taking the cause in hand ourselves—But we fondly hope you will accede to our reasonable request and come forward to use every lawful means in your power to redress your own grislances and the grievances of your Servants.

*And Your Petitioners will ever Pray."*

Now, I should be glad to know, what proceeding could be more proper, more sensible than this? What more reasonable, what more fair and honest? And, yet it appears, that the Employers, though not with insult and abuse, declined the invitation upon the vague assertion, that, "no benefit could be expected to result," from such a public meeting. The insult and abuse were left to be supplied by the proprietor of the COURIER, who was once himself a journeymen taylor, and who now, affecting arts of high-blood, treats these sensible, modest and unfortunate persons with contumely.

The heart sinks within one to think of, they have had their meetings to petition for Reform; they have agreed on petitions; hope has been left in their bosoms; they have been inspired with patience and fortitude; and all is tranquil. But, at Dundee, where a partial meeting had been held early in November, and where a gentleman who had moved for a Reform had been borne down, there violence has broken forth, houses have been plundered, and property and life exposed to all sort of perils, and this, too, amongst the sober, the sedate, the reflecting, the prudent, the moral people of Scotland!

ing-blood, treats these sensible, modest and suffering people as if they were so many curs, fit to be fed only on carrion. Do you think, that THIS is the way to conciliate the people, to cheer them with hopes to induce them to exercise fortitude and patience, and to strengthen the natural ties which bind them to their superiors in rank and wealth? No: but it is the way to burst those ties asunder and to destroy them forever. A Reform will take place, or it will not.— If it do not, if it be finally refused, and that, too, as these vile writers would recommend, without a fair and full and candid hearing, what disappointment, what heart-burnings, what hatreds, what resentments, what combustibles are here gathering together! And if it do take place, in the moral people of Scotland!

One would think, that this instance alone would rouse you from your unaccountable state of torpidity. The pensioned Burke insolently said, that the King held his crown in **CONTEMPT** of the Reformers of 1789. You cannot hold your property in **CONTEMPT** of the people; and, if you could do it, what would your property be worth? Yet, every day that passes over your heads, is, by your keeping aloof, separating you more and more widely from the people, the great mass of whom are well convinced, that you have only to place yourselves at their head to obtain for them the full accomplishment of their wishes; and, what is more, they would be satisfied with less if speedily obtained by your assistance.

Thus it appears to me, that every consideration, whether as to self or to country, calls on you to come forth and cordially join in the work of obtaining a Re-form. The approaching Session of Parliament will, if I am not much deceived, be the most important that this country ever saw.—Its measures will finally pronounce on YOUR fate; and, what that sort of fate will be, will wholly depend on yourselves.

## WILLIAM COBBETT.

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*Proc. R. Soc. Lond. A* 182, no. 411

*Price 2d. or 1s. per 100.*

oboff's *Address to the Journeymen and Labourers of England*; his *Letters to the Lord Mayor of London, the Luddites, and H. Hunt, Esq.* price Two-pence each; also, his *Address to Mr. Whittingham, of Lynn*, price Three-half-pence; and the *Political Catechism*, and *Counsellor Phillips's Speech*, price One Penny each, may be had where *his works have been published*.

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# COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

No. 18 of Vol. 31—LONDON, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 1816.

Price Two Pence.

## To the JOURNEYMAN and LABOURERS of ENGLAND, WALES, SCOTLAND, and IRELAND.

*On the Cause of their present Miseries; on the Measures which have produced that Cause; on the Remedies which some foolish and some cruel and insolent Men have proposed; and on the line of Conduct which Journeyman and Labourers ought to pursue in order to obtain effectual Relief, and to assist in promoting the Tranquillity and restoring the Happiness of their Country.*

### FRIENDS AND FELLOW COUNTRYMEN,

Whatever the pride of rank, of riches, or of scholarship may have induced some men to believe, or to affect to believe, the real strength and all the resources of a country, ever have sprung and ever must spring, from the labour of its people; and hence it is, that this nation, which is so small in numbers and so poor in climate and soil compared with many others, has, for many ages, been the most powerful nation in the world; it is the most industrious, the most laborious, and therefore, the most powerful. Elegant dresses, superb furniture, stately buildings, fine roads and canals, fleet horses and carriages, numerous and stout ships, warehouses teeming with goods; all these, and many other objects that fall under our view, are so many marks of national wealth and resources. But all these spring from labour. Without the Journeyman and the labourer none of them could exist; without the assistance of their hands, the country would be a wilderness, hardly worth the notice of an invader.

As it is the labour of those who toil which makes a country abound in resources, so it is the same class of men, who must, by their arms, secure its safety and uphold its fame. Titles and immense sums of money have been bestowed upon numerous Naval and Military Commanders. Without calling the justice of these in question, we may assert that the victories were obtained by you and your fathers and brothers and sons in co-operation with those Commanders, who, with your aid have done great and wonderful things; but, who, without that aid, would have been as impotent as children at the breast.

With this correct idea of your own worth in your minds, with what indignation must you hear yourselves called the Populace, the Rabble, the Mob, the Swinish Multitude; and, with what greater indignation, if possible, must you hear the projects of those cool and cruel and insolent men, who, now that you have been, without any fault of yours, brought into a state of misery, propose to narrow the limits of parish relief, to prevent you from marrying in the days of your youth, or to thrust you out to seek your bread in foreign lands, never more to behold your parents or friends? But suppress your indignation, until we return to this topic, after we have considered the cause of your present misery and the measures which have produced that cause.

The times in which we live are full of peril. The nation, as described by the very creatures of the government, is fast advancing to that period when an important change must take place. It is the lot of mankind, that some shall labour with their limbs and others with their minds; and, on all occasions, more especially on an occasion like the present, it is the duty of the latter to come to the assistance of the former. We are all equally interested in the peace and happiness of our common country. It is of the utmost importance, that in the seeking to obtain those objects, our endeavours should be uniform, and tend all to the same point. Such an uniformity cannot exist without an uniformity of sentiment as to public matters; and, to produce this latter uniformity among you is the object of this address.

As to the cause of our present miseries, it is the enormous amount of the taxes, which the government compels us to pay for the support of its army, its placemen, its pensioners, &c. and for the payment of the interest of its debt. That this is the real cause has been a thousand times proved; and, it is now so acknowledged by the creatures of the government themselves. Two hundred and five of the Correspondents of

pose, for instance, that four years ago, I had 100 pounds to pay in taxes, then 130 bushels of wheat would have paid my share. If I have now seventy-five pounds to pay in taxes, I will require 190 bushels of wheat to pay my share of taxes. Consequently, though my taxes are nominally reduced, they are, in reality, greatly augmented. This has been done by the legerdemain of paper-money. In 1812, the pound note was worth only thirteen shillings in silver. It is now worth twenty shillings. Therefore, when we now pay a pound note to the tax-gatherer, we really pay him twenty shillings where we before paid him thirteen shillings; and the fundholders who left pound notes worth thirteen shillings each, are now paid the interest in pounds worth twenty shillings each. And, this is come to what Sir FRANCIS BURDETT told the Parliament it would come to. He told them, in 1811, that if they ever attempted to pay the interest of their debt in gold and silver, or in paper-money equal in value to gold and silver, the farmers and tradesmen must be ruined, and the journeymen and labourers reduced to the last stage of misery.

Thus, then, it is clear, that it is the weight of the taxes, under which you are sinking, which has already pressed so many of you down into the state of paupers, and which now threatens to deprive many of you of your existence. We next come to consider, what have been the causes of this weight of taxes. Here we must go back a little in our history, and you will soon see, that this intolerable weight has all proceeded from the want of a Parliamentary Reform.

In the year 1764, soon after the present king came to the throne, the annual interest of the debt amounted to about 5 millions, and the whole of the taxes to about nine millions.

But soon after this a war was entered on to compel the Americans to submit to be taxed by the Parliament without being represented in that Parliament. The Americans triumphed, and after the war was over, the annual interest of the Debt amounted to about 9 millions and the whole of the taxes to about 15 millions. This was our situation, when the French people began their Revolution. The French people had so long been the slaves of a despotic government, that the friends of freedom in England rejoiced at their emancipation. The cause of reform, which had never ceased to have supporters in England for a great many years, now acquired new life, and the Reformers urged the Parliament to grant reform, instead of going to war against the people of France. The Reformers said, "Give the nation reform, and you need fear no revolution. The Parliament, instead of listening to the Reformers, crushed them, and went to war against the people of France; and the consequence of these wars is, that the annual interest of the debt now amounts to 45 millions, and the whole of the taxes during each of the last several years, to 70 millions. So that these wars have ADDED 40 millions a year to the interest of the Debt, and 55 millions a year to the amount of the whole of the taxes! This is the price that we have paid for having checked (for it is only checked) the progress of liberty in France; for having forced another branch of that same family to restore the bloody Inquisition which Napoleon had put down.

Since the restoration of the Bourbons and of the old government of France has been, as far as possible, the grand result of the contest; since this has been the end of all our fighting, and all our past sacrifices and present misery and degradation; let us see (for the enquiry is now very full of interest,) what sort of government that was, which the French people had just

sible, rather than not have all its wealth and power to themselves. The ruffian, whom we read of, a little time ago, who stabbed a young woman, because she was breaking from him to take the arm of another man whom she preferred, acted upon the principle of the Ministers, the Noblesse and the Clergy of France. They could no longer unjustly possess, therefore they would destroy. They saw that if a just government were established; that, if the people were fairly represented in a national council; they saw, that if this were to take place, they would no longer be able to wallow in wealth at the expense of the people; and, seeing this, they resolved to throw all into confusion, and, if possible, to make a heap of ruins of that country, which they could no longer oppress, and the substance of which they could no longer devour.

"It is impossible to justify the excesses of the people on their taking up arms; they were certainly guilty of cruelties; it is idle to deny the facts, for they have been proved too clearly to admit of doubt. But is it really THE PEOPLE, to whom we are to impute the whole?—Or to THEIR OPPRESSORS, who had kept them so long in a state of bondage?" He who chooses to be served by slaves, and by ill treated slaves, must know that he holds both his property and his life by a tenure far different from those who prefer the service of well treated freemen; and he who dines to the music of groaning sufferers, must not, in the moment of insurrection, complain that his daughters are ravished, and then destroyed; and "that his sons' throats are cut. When such evils happen, they surely are more imputable to the tyranny of the master, than to the cruelty of the servant. The analogy holds with the French peasants. The murder of a Seigneur, (a Lord,) or a country seat in flames, is recorded in every newspaper; but the rank of the person who suffers, attracts notice; but where do we find the registers of that seigneur's oppressions of his peasantry, and his exactions of feudal services, from those whose children were dying around them for want of bread? Where do we find the minutes that assigned these starving wretches to some vile fogger, to be flogged by impositions, AND MOCKERY OF JUSTICE, in the seigneurial courts (petty courts of justice)? Who gives us the awards of the Intendant (Head Tax-collector) and his sub-delegates, which took off the taxes of a man of fashion, and laid them with accumulated weight, on the poor, who were so unfortunate, as to be his neighbours? Who has dwelt sufficiently upon explaining all the ramifications of despotism, regal, aristocratical, and ecclesiastical, pervading the whole mass of the people; "reaching like a circulating fluid, the most distant capillary tubes of poverty and wretchedness?" In these cases the sufferers are too ignoble to be known; "and the mass too indiscriminate to be pitied." But, should a philosopher feel and reason thus? Should he mistake the cause for the effect? and giving all his pity to the few, feel no compassion for the many, because they suffer in his eyes, not individually, but by millions? The excesses of the people cannot, I repeat, be justified; it would undoubtedly have done them credit, both as men and as Christians, if they had possessed their new acquired power with moderation. But, let it be remembered, that the excess is inherent in their aggregate constitution: and as every government in the world knows, that violence infallibly attends power in such hands, it is doubly bound in common sense, and for common safety, so to conduct itself, that the people may not find an interest in public confusions. They will always suffer much and long, before they are effectively roused; nothing, therefore, can kindle the flame, but such oppression."

Thus, then, we have a view of the former state of that country by wars against the people of which we have been brought into our present state of misery. There are many of the hirelings of corruption, who actually insist on it, that we ought now to go to war again for the restoring of all the cruel despotism which formerly existed in France. This is what cannot be done, however. Our wars have sent back the Bourbons; but the tythes, the Seigneurs (the Lords), and many other curses, have not been restored. The French people still enjoy much of the benefit of the revolution; and great numbers of their ancient petty tyrants have been destroyed. So that, even were things to remain as they are, the French people have gained greatly by their revolution. But things cannot remain as they are. Better days are at hand.

In proceeding now to examine the remedies for your distresses, I shall first notice some of those, which foolish, or cruel and insolent men have proposed. Seeing that the cause of your misery is the weight of taxation, one would expect near of nothing but a reduction of taxation in the way of remedy; but, from the friends of corruption, never do we hear of any such remedy. To hear them, one would think, that you had been the guilty cause of the misery you suffer; and that you, and you alone, ought to be made answerable for what has taken place. The emissaries of corruption are now continually crying out against the weight of the poor-rates, and they seem to regard all that is taken in that way as a dead loss to the Government! Their project is, to deny relief to all

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**the object of this address.**

As to the cause of our present miseries, it is the enormous amount of the taxes, which the government compels us to pay for the support of its army, its placement, its pensioners, &c. and for the payment of the interest of its debt. That this is the real cause has been a thousand times proved; and, it is now so acknowledged by the creatures of the government themselves. Two hundred and five of the Correspondents of the Board of Agriculture ascribe the ruin of the country to taxation. Numerous writers, forming the first class of the Brit-

**taxation.** Numerous writers, formerly the friends of the Pitt System, now declare, that taxation has been the cause of our distress. Indeed, when we compare our present state to the state of the country previous to the wars against France, we must see that our present misery is owing to no other cause. The taxes then annually raised amounted to about 15 millions: they amounted last year to 70 millions. The nation was then happy: it is now miserable.

The writers and speakers, who labour in the cause of corruption, have taken infinite pains to make the *labouring classes* believe, that they are not taxed; that the taxes which are paid by the landlords, farmers, and tradesmen, do not affect *you*, the journeymen and labourers; and that the tax-makers have been very lenient towards *you*. But, I hope, that you see to the bottom of these things now. You must be sensible, that, if all your employers were totally ruined in one day, you would be wholly without employment and without bread; and, of course, in whatever degree your employers are deprived of their means, they must withhold means from *you*. In America the most awkward common labourer receives five shillings a day, while provisions are cheaper in that country than in this. Here a carter, boarded in the house, receives about seven pounds a year; in America he receives about thirty pounds a year. What is it that makes this difference? Why, in America the whole of the taxes do not amount to more than about ten shillings a head upon the whole of the population; while in England they amount to nearly six pounds a head! There, a journeyman or labourer may support his family well and save from thirty to sixty pounds a year: here, he amongst you is a lucky man, who can provide his family with food and with decent clothes to cover them, without any hope of possessing a penny in the days of sickness, or of old age. There the chief Magistrate receives 6000 pounds a year: here the civil list surpasses a million of pounds in amount, and as much is allowed to each of the *Princesses* in one year, as the chief Magistrate of America receives in two years though that country is nearly equal to this in population.

A Mr. PAESTON, a lawyer of great eminence, and a great praiser of Pitt, has just published a pamphlet, in which is this remark: "It should always be remembered that every eighteen pounds a year paid to any placeman or pensioner, withdraws from the public the means of giving active employment to one individual as the head of a family; thus depriving five persons of the means of sustenance from the fruits of honest industry and active labour, and rendering them paupers." Thus this supporter of Pitt acknowledges the great truth, that the taxes are the cause of a people's poverty and misery and degradation. We did not stand in need of this acknowledgment; the fact has been clearly proved before; but, it is good for us to see the friends and admirers of Pitt brought to make this confession.

It has been attempted to puzzle you with this sort of question: "If taxes be the cause of the people's misery, how comes it that they were not so miserable before the taxes were reduced as they are now?" Here is a fallacy, which you will be careful to detect. I know that the taxes have been reduced; that is to say, nominally reduced, but not so in fact, on the contrary they have, in reality, been greatly augmented. This has been done by the *sight-of-hand* of paper-money. Sup-

Since the restoration of the Bourbons and of the old government of France has been, as far as possible, the grand result of the contest; since this has been the *end* of all our fightings and all our past sacrifices and present misery and degradation; let us see (for the enquiry is now very full of interest,) what sort of government that was, which the French people had just destroyed when our government began its wars against that people.

If, only 28 years ago, any man in England had said, that the government of France was one that ought to be suffered to exist, he would have been hooted out of any company. It is notorious, that that government was a cruel despotism; and that we and our forefathers always called it such. This description of that government is to be found in all our histories, in all our Parliamentary debates, in all our books on government and politics. It is notorious, that the family of Bourbon have produced the most perfidious and bloody monsters that ever disgraced the human form. It is notorious, that millions of Frenchmen have been butchered and burst and driven into exile by their commands. It is recorded even in the history of France, that one of them said, that the putrid carcass of a protestant smelt sweet to him. Even in these latter times, so late as the reign of Louis XIV. it is notorious, that hundreds of thousands of innocent people were put to the most cruel death. In some instances they were burnt in their houses; in others they were shut into lower rooms, while the incessant noise of kettle-drums over their heads, day and night, drove them to raving madness. To enumerate all the infernal means employed by this tyrant to torture and kill the people, would fill a volume. *Exile* was the lot of those who escaped the swords, the wheels, the axes, the gibbets, the torches of his hell-hounds. England was the place of refuge for many of these persecuted people. The grand-father of the present Earl of Radnor, and the father of the venerable Baron Massères, were amongst them; and, it is well known, that England owes an inconsiderable part of her manufacturing skill and industry that atrocious persecution. Enemies of freedom, wherever existed, this family of Bourbon, in the reign of Louis XIV. and XV. fitted out expeditions for the purpose of restoring the Bourbons to the throne of England, and thereby caused great expense and bloodshed to this nation; and, even the Louis, who as beheaded by his subjects, did in the most perfidious manner, make war upon England, during her war with America, no matter what was the nature of the cause, his conduct was perfidious; he *professed peace* while he was preparing for war. His object could not be to assist freedom, because his own subjects were slaves.

Such was the *family* that were ruling in France, when the French Revolution began. After it was resolved to go to war against the people of France, all the hirelings of corruption were set to work to gloss over the character and conduct of the old government, and to paint in the most horrid colours the acts of vengeance which the people were inflicting on the numerous tyrants, civil, and military, and ecclesiastical, whom the change of things had placed at their mercy. The people's turn was now come, and, in the days of their power, they mostly bore in mind the oppressions which they and their forefathers had endured. The taxes, imposed by the government, became, at last, intolerable. It had contracted a great Debt to carry on its wars. In order to be able to pay the interest of its debt and to support an enormous standing army in time of peace, it laid upon the people burdens, which they could no longer endure. It fined and flogged fathers and mothers if their children were detected in smuggling. Its courts of justice were filled with cruel and base judges. The nobility treated the common people like dogs; these latter were compelled to serve as soldiers, but were excluded from all share, or chance, honour and command, which were engrossed by the nobility.

excess is inherent in their aggregate constitution: and as every government in the world knows, that violence infallibly attends power in such hands, it is doubly bound in common sense, and for common safety, so to conduct itself, that the people may not find an interest in public confusions. They will always suffer much and long, before they are effectually roused; nothing, therefore, can kindle the flame, but such oppressions of some classes or order in Society as give able men the opportunity of seconding the general mass; discontent will diffuse itself around; and if the government TAKE NOT WARNING IN TIME; it is ALONE answerable for all the burnings and all the plunderings and all the devastation and all the blood that follow."

of any such remedy. To hear them, one would think, that had been the guilty cause of the misery you suffer; and that you, and you alone, ought to be made answerable for what has taken place. The emissaries of corruption are now continually crying out against the weight of the poor-rates, and they seem to regard all that is taken in that way as a *dead loss to the Government!* Their project is, to deny relief to all who are able to work. But what is the use of your being able to work, if no one will, or can, give you work? To tell you that you must work for your bread, and, at the same time, not to find any work for you, is full as bad as it would be to order you to make bricks without straw. Indeed, it is rather more cruel and insolent; for Pharaoh's task-masters did point out to the Israelites, that they might make the field

"Who can deny the justice of these observations? It was the government ALONE that was justly chargeable with the excesses committed in this early stage, and, in fact, in every other stage, of the revolution of France. If the government had given way IN TIME, none of these excesses would have been committed. If it had listened to the complaints, the prayers, the supplications, the cries, of the cruelly treated and starving people; if it had changed its conduct, reduced its expenses, it might have been safe under the protection of the peace officers, and might have disbanded its standing army. But, it persevered; it relied upon the bayonet, and upon its judges and hangmen. The latter were destroyed, and the former went over to the side of the people. Was it any wonder that the people burnt the houses of their oppressors, and killed the owners and their families?—The country contained thousands upon thousands of men that had been ruined by taxation, and by judgments of infamous courts of justice, "a

" mockery of justice;" and, when these ruined men saw their oppressors at their feet, was it any wonder that they took vengeance upon them? Was it any wonder that the son, who had seen his father and mother flogged, because he when a child, had smuggled a handful of salt, should burn for an occasion to shoot through the head the ruffians who had thus maimed the bodies of his parents? Moses slew the insolent Egyptian who had smitten one of his countrymen in bondage. Yet Moses has never been called either a murderer or a cruel wretch for this act; and the bondage of the Israelites was light as a feather, compared to the tyranny under which the people of France had groaned for ages. Moses resisted oppression in the only way that resistance was within his power. He knew that his countrymen had no chance of justice in any court; he knew that petitions against his oppressions were all in vain; and, "looking upon the burdens" of his countrymen, he resolved to begin the only sort of resistance that

men, he resolved to begin the only sort of resistance that was left him. Yet, it was little more than a mere *insult* that drew forth his anger and resistance; and, if Moses was justified, as clearly was, what needs there any apology for the people of France?

It seems, at first sight, very strange, that the government of France should not have "taken warning in time." But, it had so long been in the habit of *despising* the people, that its mind was incapable of entertaining any notion of danger from the oppressions heaped upon them. It was surrounded before any proposition be made to take the parish allowances from any of you, who are unable to work, or to find work to do. There are several individual placemen, the profits of each of which would maintain *a thousand families*. The names of the *Ladies* upon the pension list would, if printed one under another, fill a sheet of paper like this. And is it not, then, base and cruel at the same time in these Agricultural Correspondents to cry out so loudly against the charge of supporting the unfortunate *Poor*, while they utter not a word of complaint against the *rich*?

from the oppressions heaped upon them. It was surrounded with panders and parasites, who told it nothing but flattering falsehoods; and, it saw itself supported by 250,000 bayonets, which it thought irresistible; though it found in the end, that those, who wielded those bayonets were not long so base as to be induced, either by threats or promises, to butcher their brothers and sisters and parents.—And, if you ask me how the Ministers and the Noblesse and the Priesthood, who generally know pretty well how to take care of themselves; if you ask me, how it came to pass, that they did not “take warning in time,” I answer, that they did take warning, but that, seeing, that the change which was coming would deprive them of a great part of their power and emoluments, they resolved to resist the change, and to destroy the country, if possible.

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others, as the *Scum* of society. They say, that you have no business at public meetings; that you are *rabbles*, and that you pay no taxes. These insolent hirelings, who wallow in wealth, would not be able to put their abuse of you in print were it not for your labour. You create all that is an object of taxation; for even the *land* itself would be good for nothing without your labour. But, are you not taxed? Do you pay no taxes? One of the Correspondents of the Board of Agriculture has said, that care has been taken to lay as little tax as possible on the articles used by you. One would wonder how a man could be found impudent enough to put an assertion like this upon paper. But, the people of this country have so long been insulted by such men, that the insolence of the latter knows no bounds.

The tax-gatherers do not, indeed come to you and demand money of you; but, there are few articles which you use, in the purchase of which you do not pay a tax.

On your shoes,	On your Soap,
Salt,	Paper,
Beer,	Coffee,
Malt,	Spirits,
Hops,	Glass of your windows,
Tea,	Bricks and tiles,
Sugar,	Tobacco.
Candles,	

On all these, and many other articles, you pay a tax, and even on your *loaf* you pay a tax, because every thing is taxed from which the loaf proceeds. In several cases the tax amounts to more than one half of what you pay for the article itself; these taxes go, in part, to support Sincere Placemen and Pensioners; and, the ruffians of the hired press call you the *Scum* of society, and deny that you have any right to show your faces at any public meeting to petition for a reform, or for the removal of any abuse whatever!

Mr. Preston, whom I quoted before, and who is a Member of Parliament and has a large estate, says, upon this subject, "Every family, even of the poorest labourer, consisting of five persons, may be considered as paying, in indirect taxes, at least ten pounds a year, or more than half his wages at seven shillings a week!" And yet the insolent hirelings call you the *mob*, the *rabbles*, the *scum*, the *swinish multitude*, and say that your voice is nothing; that you have no business at public meetings; and that you are, and ought to be, considered as nothing in the body politic!—Shall we never see the day when these men will change their tone! Will they never cease to look upon you as brutes! I trust they will change their tone, and that the day of the change is at no great distance!

The weight of the Poor-rate, which must increase while the present system continues, alarms the Corrupt, who plainly see, that what is paid to relieve you they cannot have. Some of them, therefore, hint at your early marriages as a great evil, and a Clergyman, named MALTHUS, has seriously proposed measures for *checking* you in this respect; while one of the Correspondents of the Board of Agriculture complains of the *increase* of bastards, and proposes severe punishment of the parents! How hard these men are to please! What would they have you do? As some have called you the *swinish multitude*, would it be much wonder if they were to propose to serve you as families of young pigs are served? Or, if they were to bring forward the measure of *Pharaoh*, who ordered the midwives to kill all the male children of the Israelites?

But, if you can restrain your indignation at these insolent notions and schemes, with what feelings must you look upon the condition of your country, where the increase of the people is now looked upon as a curse! Thus, however, has it always been, in all countries, where taxes have produced excessive misery. Our Countryman, Mr. Gibbon, in his history

friends for ever; while he would have the Sincere Placemen and Pensioners remain quietly where they are!

No; you will not leave your country. If you have suffered much and long, you have the greater right to remain in the hope of seeing better days. And I beseech you not to look upon yourselves as the *scum*; but, on the contrary, to be well persuaded, that a great deal will depend upon your exertions; and, therefore, I now proceed to point out to you what appears to me to be the line of conduct which Journeymen and Labourers ought to pursue in order to obtain *effectual* relief, and to assist in promoting tranquillity and restoring the happiness of their country.

We have seen, that the cause of our miseries is the *burden of taxes* occasioned by wars, by standing armies, by sinecures, by pensions, &c. It would be endless and useless to enumerate all the different heads or sums of expenditure. The remedy is what we have now to look to, and that remedy consists wholly and solely of such a *reform* in the Commons, or People's, House of Parliament, as shall give to every payer of direct taxes a vote at elections, and as shall cause the Members to be elected annually.

In a late Register I have pointed out how easily, how peaceably, how fairly, such a parliament might be chosen. I am aware, that it may, and not without justice, be thought wrong to deprive those of the right of voting, who pay indirect taxes. Direct taxes are those which are directly paid by any person into the hands of the taxgatherer, as the assessed taxes and rates. Indirect taxes are those which are paid indirectly through the maker or seller of goods, as the tax on soap or candles or salt or malt. And, as no man ought to be taxed *without his consent*, there has always been a difficulty upon this head. There has been no question about the right of every man, who is free to exercise his will, who has a settled place in society, and who pays a tax of any sort, to vote for Members of Parliament. The difficulty is in taking the votes by any other means than by the *Rule Book*; for, if there be no list of tax-payers in the hands of any person, mere menial servants, vagrants, pick-pockets and scamps of all sorts might not only come to poll, but they might poll in several parishes or places, on one and the same day. A corrupt rich man might employ scores of persons of this description, and in this way would the purpose of reform be completely defeated. In America, where one branch of the Congress is elected for four years and the other for two years, they have still adhered to the principle of *direct taxation*, and, in some of the states, they have made it necessary for a voter to be worth a hundred pounds. Yet they have, in that country, duties on goods, custom duties and excise duties also; and, of course, there are many persons, who really pay taxes, and who, nevertheless, are not permitted to vote. The people do not complain of this. They know, that the number of votes is so great, that no corruption can take place, and they have no desire to see livery servants, vagrants and pick-pockets take part in their elections. Nevertheless, it would be very easy for a reformed parliament, when once it had taken root, to make a just arrangement of this matter. The most likely method would be to take off the indirect taxes, and to put a small direct tax upon every master of a house, however low his situation in life.

But, this and all other good things, must be done by a reformed Parliament.—We must have that first, or we shall have nothing good; and, any man, who would, before hand, take up your time with the detail of what a reformed parliament ought to do in this respect, or with respect to any changes in the form of government, can have no other object than that of defeating the cause of reform, and, indeed, the very act must show, that to raise obstacles is his wish.

Such men, now that they find you justly irritated, would persuade you, that, because things have been perverted from

further than a real and radical reform of the Parliament, be you well assured, that that man would be a second Robespierre if he could, and that he would make use of you, and sacrifice the life of the very last man of you; that he would ride upon the shoulders of some through rivers of the blood of others, for the purpose of gratifying his own selfish and base and insolent ambition.

In order effectually to avoid the rock of confusion, we should keep steadily in our eye, not only what we wish to be done, but what can be done now. We know that such a reform as would send up a Parliament, chosen by all the payers of direct taxes, is not only just and reasonable, but easy of execution. I am, therefore, for accomplishing that object first; and I am not at all afraid, that a set of men, who would really hold the purse of the people, and who had been just chosen freely by the people, would very soon do every thing that the warmest friend of freedom could wish to see done.

While, however, you are upon your guard against false friends, you should neglect no opportunity of doing all that is within your power to give support to the cause of Reform. Petition is the channel for your sentiments, and there is no village so small that its petition would not have some weight. You ought to attend at every public meeting within your reach. You ought to read to, and to assist each other in coming at a competent knowledge of all public matters. Above all things, you ought to be unanimous in your object, and not to suffer yourselves to be divided.

The subject of religion has nothing to do with this great question of reform. A reformed parliament would soon do away all religious distinctions and disabilities. In their eyes, a Catholic and a Protestant would both appear in the same light.

The Courier, the Times, and other emissaries of Corruption, are constantly endeavouring to direct your wrath against Bakers, Brewers, Butchers, and other persons, who deal in the necessities of life. But, I trust, that you are not to be stimulated to such a species of violence. These tradesmen are as much in distress as you. They cannot help their malt and hops and beer and bread and meat being too dear for you to purchase. They all sell as cheap as they can without being absolutely ruined. The beer you drink is more than half tax, and when the tax has been paid by the seller, he must have payment back again from you who drink, or he must be ruined. The Baker has numerous taxes to pay, and so has the Butcher, and so has the Miller, and the Farmer. Besides all men are eager to sell, and, if they could sell cheaper, they certainly would, because that would be the sure way of getting more custom. It is the weight of the taxes, which press us all to the earth, except those who receive their incomes out of those taxes.

Therefore I exhort you most earnestly not to be induced to lay violent hands on those, who really suffer as much as yourselves. The object of the efforts of such writers is clearly enough seen. Keep all quiet! Do not shout! Keep still! Keep down! Let those who perish, perish in silence! It will, however, be out of the power of these Quacks, with all their laudanum, to allay the blood which is now boiling in the veins of the people of this kingdom; who, if they are doomed to perish, are, at any rate, resolved not to perish in silence.—The writer, whom I have mentioned above, says, that he, of course, does not count "the lower classes, who, under the pressure of need, or under the influence of ignorant pre-judice, may blindly and weakly rush upon certain and prompt punishment; but that the security of every decent fire-side, every respectable father's best hopes for his children, still connect themselves with the Government." And by Government he clearly means, all the mass as it now stands. There is nobody so callous and so insolent as your sentimental quacks and their patients. How these "decent fire-side" people would stare, if, some morning, they were to come down and find them occupied by uninvited visitors! I hope they never will. I hope that things will never come to this pass: but if one thing, more than any other, tends to produce so sad an effect, it is the cool insolence with which such men as this writer treat the most numerous and most suffering classes of the people.

Long as this Address already is, I cannot conclude without some observations on the "Charity Subscriptions" at the London Tavern. The object of this Subscription professes to be to afford relief to the distressed Labourers, &c. About forty thousand pounds have been subscribed, and there is no probability of its going much further. There is an

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children of the Israelites?

But, if you can restrain your indignation at these insolent notions and schemes, with what feelings must you look upon the condition of your country, where the increase of the people is now looked upon as a curse! Thus, however, has it always been, in all countries, where taxes have produced excessive misery. Our Countryman, Mr. Gibbon, in his history of the *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, has the following passage: "The horrid practice of *murdering their new-born infants* was become every day more frequent in the provinces. It was the effect of distress, and the distress was principally occasioned by the *intolerable burden of taxes*, and by the *valetudinous as well as cruel prosecutions of the officers of the Revenue* against their insolvent debtors. The less opulent or less industrious part of mankind, instead of rejoicing at an increase of family, deemed it an act of paternal tenderness to release the children from the impending miseries of a life which they themselves were unable to support."

But, that which took place under the base Emperor Constantine will not take place in England. You will not murder your new-born infants, nor will you, to please the corrupt and the insolent, debar yourselves from enjoyments to which you are invited by the most strict of natural laws. It is however

are invited by the very first of nature's laws. It is, however, a disgrace to the country, that men should be formed in it capable of putting ideas so insolent upon paper. So then, a young man, arm-in-arm with a rosy-cheeked girl, must be a spectacle of evilomen! What! and do they imagine, that you are thus to be *extinguished*, because some of you are now (without any fault of yours) unable to find work? As far, as you were wanted to labour, to fight, or to pay taxes, you were welcome, and they boasted of your numbers; but, now that the country has been brought into a state of misery, these corrupt and insolent men are busied with schemes for *getting rid of you*. Just as if you had not as good a right to live and to love and to marry as they have! They do not propose, that you should be sent to the colonies, like the slaves of Spain. The

far from it, to check the breeding of Sincere Placemen and Pensioners, who are supported in part by the taxes which you help to pay. They say not a word about the *whole families*, who are upon the pension list. In many cases, there are sums granted in trust for the *children* of such a Lord or such a Lady. And, while labourers and journeymen who have large families too, are actually paying taxes for the support of these Lords' and Ladies' children, these cruel and insolent men propose that they shall have no relief, and that their having children ought to be checked! To such a subject no words can do justice. You will feel as you ought to feel; and to the effect of your feelings I leave these moral and vindictive men.

There is one more scheme to notice, which, though rather

There is one more scheme to notice, which, though rather less against nature is not less hateful and insolent, namely, to encourage you to emigrate to foreign countries. This scheme is distinctly proposed to the government by one of the Correspondents of the Board of Agriculture. What he means by encouragement must be to send away by force, or by paying for the passage; for a man who has money stands in no need of relief. But, I trust, that not a man of you will move, let the encouragement be what it may. It is impossible for many to go, though the prospect may be ever so fair. We must stand by our country, and it is base not to stand by her, as long as there is a chance of seeing her what she ought to be. But, the proposition is, nevertheless, base and insolent. This man did not propose to encourage the Sinecure Place-men and Pensioners to emigrate; yet, surely, you who help to maintain them by the taxes which you pay, have as good a right to remain in the country as they have! You have fathers and mothers and sisters and brothers and children and friends as well as they; but, this base projector recommends, that you may be encouraged to leave your relations and

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any thing good, and, any man who would, before having  
taken up your time with the detail of what a reformed par-  
liament ought to do in this respect, or with respect to any  
changes in the form of government, can have no other object  
than that of defeating the cause of reform, and, indeed, the  
very act must show, that to raise obstacles is his wish.

Such men, now that they find you justly irritated, would persuade you, that, because things have been perverted from their true ends, there is nothing good in our constitution and laws. For what, then, did Hampden die in the field, and Modyne on the scaffold? And, has it been discovered, at last, that England has always been an enslaved country from the top to the bottom? The Americans, who are a very wise people, and who love liberty with all their hearts, and who take care to enjoy it too, took special care not to part with any of the great

principles and laws which they derived from their forefathers. They took special care to speak with reverence of, and to preserve, Magna Charta, the Bill of Rights, the Habeas Corpus; and not only all the body of the Common Law of England, but most of the rules of our courts, and all our form of jurisprudence. Indeed, it is the greatest glory of England that she has thus supplied with sound principles of freedom those immense regions, which will be peopled, perhaps, by hundreds of millions.

I know of no enemy of reform and of the happiness of the country so great as that man, who would persuade you, that we possess *nothing good*, and that *all* must be torn to pieces; there is no principle, no precedent, no regulation (except as a mere matter of detail), favourable to freedom, which is not to be found in the Laws of England or in the example of our Ancestors. Therefore, I say, we may ask for, and we want *nothing new*. We have great constitutional laws and principles, to which we are immovably attached. We want *real alteration*, but we want *nothing new*. Alteration, modification to suit the times and circumstances; but, the great principles ought to be and must be, the same, or else confusion will follow.

It was the misfortune of the French people, that they had no great and settled principles to refer to in their laws or history. They salld forth and inflicted vengeance on their oppressors; but, for want of settled principles, to which to refer, they fell into confusion; they massacred each other; they next flew to a military chief to protect them even against themselves; and the result has been what we too well know. Let us, therefore, congratulate ourselves, that we have great constitutional principles and laws, to which we can refer, and to which we are attached.

That *Reform* will come I know, if the people do their duty; and all that we have to guard against is *confusion*, which cannot come if Reform take place in time. I have before observed to you, that when the friends of corruption in France saw that they could not prevent *change*, they bent their endeavours to produce *confusion*, in which they fully succeeded: they employed numbers of unprincipled men to go about the country proposing all sorts of mad schemes. They produced, first, confusion in men's minds, and next a civil war between provinces, towns, villages, and families. The tyrant RONGIERRE, who was exceeded in cruelty only by some of the Bourbons, was proved to have been in league with the open enemies of France. He butchered all the real friends of freedom whom he could lay his hands on, except PAINE, whom he put up in a dungeon till he was reduced to a skeleton. This monster was, at last, put to death himself; and his horrid end ought to be a warning to any man, who may wish to walk in the same path. But I am, for my part, in little fear of the

influence of such men. They cannot cajole you, as Robespierre cajoled the people of Paris. It is, nevertheless, necessary for you to be on your guard against them; and, when once a man talking big and hecturing about projects which go

much he would have sold the whole. If I grow 10 quarters of wheat, and, if I save it all, and sell it for 2 pounds a quarter, I give as much money as if I sold the one half of it for four pounds a quarter. And, I am better off in the former case, because I want wheat for seed and because I want some to use myself. These matters I recommend to your serious consideration; because, it being unjust to fall upon your employers to force them to give that which they have not given, your conduct in such cases must tend to weaken the cause, in which we ought all now to be engaged; namely, the removal of our burdens through the means of a reformed parliament. It is the interest of vile men of all descriptions to one part of the people against the other part; and, therefore, it becomes you to be constantly on your guard against all allurements.

When journeymen find their wages reduced, they should take time to reflect on the real cause, before they fly upon their employers, who are, in many cases, in as great, or greater, distress than themselves. How many of those employers have, of late, gone to jail for debt, and left helpless families behind them! The employer's trade falls off. His goods are reduced in price. His stock loses the half of its value. He owes money. He is ruined; and how can he continue to pay *high wages*? The cause of his ruin, is the want of *skill*, *industry*, *intelligence*, *ability*, *knowledge*, *character*, *success*, *luck*, *good fortune*, *providence*, *God*.

*ght of the taxes*, which presses so heavily on us all; that we have the power of purchasing goods. But, it is certain, that at many, a very large portion, of the farmers, tradesmen, manufacturers, have, by their supineness and want of patriotic spirit, contributed towards the bringing of this ruin upon themselves and upon you. They have shirked from their civic duty. They have kept aloof from, or opposed, all measures for a redress of grievances; and, indeed, they still shirk, as long as ruin and destruction stare them in the face. Why do you not now come forward and explain to you the real cause of the reduction of your wages? Why do they not put themselves at your head in Petitioning for redress? This would make their property much better than the calling in of troops.

which can never afford them more than a short and precarious  
security. In the days of their prosperity, they were *amply*  
provided of what has now come to pass; and the far greater  
part of them abused and calumniated those who gave them  
warning. Even if they would now act the part of men  
worthy of being relieved, the relief to us all would speedily  
follow. If they will not; if they will still *skulk*, they will  
bear all the miseries which they are destined to suffer.  
Instead of coming forward to apply for a reduction of those  
taxes which are pressing them as well as you to the earth,  
what are they doing? Why, they are applying to the govern-  
ment to add to their receipts by passing *Corn-Bills*, by pre-  
venting *foreign wool* from being imported; and many other  
silly schemes. Instead of asking for a *reduction of taxes*,  
they are asking for the means of *paying taxes!* Instead of  
asking for the abolition of *Sinecure Places* and *Pensions*, they  
try to be enabled to *continue to pay the amount of those*  
*places and pensions!* They know very well, that the salaries  
of the judges and of many other persons were greatly raised,

the judges and other persons were greatly increased ten years ago, on the ground of the rise in the price of labour and provisions; why, then, do they not ask to have these salaries reduced now that labour is reduced? Why do they not apply to the ease of the judges and others, the arguments which they apply to you? They can talk boldly enough to you; but, they are too great cowards to talk to government, even in the way of *Petition*! Far more honourable is it to be a ragged pauper than to be numbered among such men.

These people call themselves the *respectable* part of the nation. They are, as they pretend, the *virtuous* part of the people, because they are *quiet*; as if virtue consisted in *innocuity*! There is a canting Scotchman, in London, who pub-

ing classes of the people.  
I have this Address already in. I cannot conclude with

Long as this Address already is, I cannot conclude without some observations on the "Charity Subscriptions" at the London Tavern. The object of this Subscription professes to afford relief to the distressed Labourers, &c. About *ten thousand pounds* have been subscribed, and there is probability of its going much further. There is an absurdity upon the face of the scheme; for, as all parishes are compelled by law to afford relief to every person in distress, it is very clear, that, as far as money is given by these people to relieve the poor, there will be so much saved in the rates. But, the folly of the thing is not what I wish you most to attend to. Several of the Subscribers to this fund receive each of them more than *ten thousand pounds*, and some more than *thirty thousand pounds* each, out of these taxes, which you help to pay, and which emoluments not one man of them proposes to give up. The Clergy appear very forward in this Subscription. An Archbishop and a Bishop assisted at the forming of the scheme. Now, then, observe, that there has been given *out of the taxes*, for several years past, a *hundred thousand pounds a year*, for what, think you? Why, for the relief of the Poor Clergy! I have no account at hand later than that delivered last year, and there find this sum!—for the Poor Clergy! The rich Clergy do not pay this sum; but, it comes out of those taxes, paid a large part, of which you pay *on your beer, malt, salt,*

ees, &c. I dare say, that the "decent fire-sides" of these Poor Clergy still connect themselves with the government; the decent fire-sides would be great fools if they did not so connect themselves! Amongst all our misery we have had to support the intolerable disgrace of being an object of the vanity of a Bonaparte Prince, while we are paying for supporting that family on the throne of France! Well! But, is this all? We are taxed, at every same moment, for the support of the French Emigrants! And, you will now see to what amount. Nay, not only French, but Dutch and others, appears from the aforementioned account, laid before Parliament last year, the sum, paid out of the taxes, in one year for the RELIEF of Suffering French Clergy and Laity, St. Domingo Sufferers, Dutch Emigrants, Corsican immigrants, was, 187,750*l.*, one hundred and eighty seven thousand, seven hundred and fifty pounds, paid to this set in one year out of these taxes, of which you pay so large a share, while you are insulted with a Subscription to relieve you, and while there are projectors who have the audacity to recommend schemes for preventing you from marrying while young, and to induce you to emigrate from your country! I'll venture my life, that the "decent fire-sides" of all this swarm of French Clergy and Laity and Dutch and Corsicans and St. Domingo sufferers "still connect themselves closely with the government;" and, I will also venture my life, that you not stand in need of one more word to warm every drop of blood remaining in your bodies! As to the money subscribed by Regiments of Soldiers, whose pay arises from taxes, in part paid by you, though it is a most shocking spectacle to behold, I do not think so much of it. The soldiers are your fathers, brothers, and sons. But, if they were all to give their sole pay, and if they amount to one hundred and fifty thousand men, it would not amount to one half of what is now paid in Poor-rates, and, of course would not add half a pound of bread to every pound, which the unhappy paupers now receive. All the expences of the Army and Ordnance amount to an enormous sum—to sixteen or eighteen millions; but the pay of 150,000 men, at two shilling a day each, amounts to no more than two millions, seven hundred and twelve thousand, and five hundred pounds. So that, supposing them all to receive one shilling a day each, the soldiers receive only about a third part the sum now paid annually in Poor-rates.

I have no room, nor have I any desire, to appeal to your passions upon occasion. I have laid before you, with all the clearness I am master of, causes of our misery, the measures which have led to those causes, and I have pointed out what appears to me to be the only remedy—namely, a remodelling of the Commons', or People's, House of Parliament. I exhort you to proceed in a peaceful and lawful manner, but, at the same time, to proceed with zeal and resolution in the attainment of this object. If the *Skaters* will not join you, if the "decent fire-side" gent<sup>y</sup> still keep aloof, proceed yourselves. Any man can draw up a petition, and any man can carry it up to London, with instructions to deliver it into trusty hands, to be presented whenever the House shall meet. Some further information will be given as this matter in a future Number. In the meanwhile, I remain

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# A Letter to the Luddites,

BY MR. WILLIAM COBBETT.

(From the Political Register of November 30, 1816.)

## FRIENDS AND FELLOW COUNTRYMEN,

At this time, when the cause of freedom is making a progress which is as cheering to the hearts of her friends as it is appalling to those of her enemies, and, when it is become evident that nothing can possibly prevent that progress from terminating in the happiness of our country, which has, for so many years, been a scene of human misery and degradation; when it is become evident that so glorious a termination of our struggles can now be prevented only by our giving way to our passions instead of listening to the voice of reason, only by our committing these acts which admit of no justification either in law or in equity; at such a time, can it be otherwise than painful to reflect, that acts of this description are committed in any part of the kingdom, and particularly in the enlightened, the patriotic, the brave town of Nottingham?

The abuse which has been heaped upon you by those base writers whose object it is to inflame one part of the people against the other; the horrid stories which have been retailed about your injustice and cruelty; the murderous punishments which these writers express their wish to see inflicted on you; the delight which they evidently feel when any of you come to an untimely end; that of abhorrence of your calamities; the atrocious wickedness of charging you with the burning Petronio's Castle, in support of which charge there has not been produced the slightest proof, in spite of all their endeavours to do it, and all the anxiety to fix such a crime upon you; this alone ought to satisfy the nation, that it can rely upon nothing which a corrupt press has related relative to your conduct. But, still it is undeniable, that you have committed acts of violence on the property of your neighbours, and have, in some instances, put themselves and their families in bodily fear. This is not to be denied, and it is deeply to be lamented.

However enlarged our views may be; however impartial we may feel towards our countrymen, still there will be some particular part of them whose conduct we view with more than ordinary approbation, and for whom we feel more than ordinary good-will. It is impossible for me, as a native of these Islands, not to feel proud at beholding the attitude which my countrymen are now taking; at hearing the cause of freedom so ably maintained by men who seem to have sprung up, at once, out of the earth, from the North of Scotland to the Banks of the Thames. At Glasgow, at Paisley, at Bridgton, throughout the noble counties of York and Lancaster, and in many other parts besides the Metropolis, we now behold that which to behold almost compels us for a life of persecution and misery. But, still, amidst this crowd of objects of admiration, Nottingham always attracts my particular attention. I have before me the history of the conduct of Nottingham in the worst of times. I have traced its conduct down to the present hour. It has been foremost in all that is public-spirited and brave; and, I shall be very nearly returned to the earth, when my blood ceases to stir more quickly than usual at the bare sound of the name of Nottingham.

Judge you, then, my good friends, what pain it must have given me to hear you accused of acts, which I was not only unable to justify, but, which, in conscience and in honor, I was bound to condemn! I am not one of those, who have the insolence to presume, that men are *too* apt because they are poor. If I myself have more knowledge, and talent, than appears to have fallen to the lot of those who have brought us into our present miserable state, it is, in my opinion, that there are thousands and thousands, now unknown to the public, possessed of greater talent, my education having been that of the common soldier, grafted upon the plough-boy. Therefore, I beg you not to suppose that I address myself to you as one who pretends to any superiority in point of rank, or of natural endowments. I address you as a friend who feels most sincerely for your sufferings; who is convinced that you are in error as to the cause of those sufferings; who wishes to remove that error; and, I do not recollect any occasion of my whole life, when I have had so ardent a desire to prove conviction.

As to the particular ground of quarrel between you and your employers, I do not pretend to understand it very clearly. There must have been faults or follies on their side, at some time or other, and there may still be; but, I think that we shall see, in the sequel, that those circumstances which appear to you to have arisen from their avarice, have, in fact, arisen from their want of the means, more than from their want of inclination, to afford you a competence, in exchange for your labour; and, I think this, because it is their interest, that you should be happy and contented.

But, as to the use of machinery in general, I am quite sure, that there cannot be a solid objection. However, as this is a question of very great importance, let me reason it together. Hear me with patience; and, if you still differ with me in opinion, ascribe my opinion to *error*; for, it is quite impossible for me to have any *interest* in differing with you. But before we proceed any further, it may not be amiss to observe, that the writers on the side of Corruption are very anxious to inculcate notions hostile to machinery as well as notions hostile to Bakers and Butchers. This fact alone ought to put you on your guard. These men first endeavour to set the

many hands have been employed to shell beans in the fields, which has been done so low as 3d. per bushel; a sum under that usually paid for threshing. By this means, the beans are got quick to market, first being dried upon the kiln, with the advantage of not being bruised, as they must otherwise have been, if threshed with a flail."

This is actually a bold step towards the savage state. It is exceedingly foolish, but, as I shall presently show, exceedingly mischievous also; or, at least, it would be so, if the people had not too much sense to be misled by it.

The mind of man has discovered a mode of preparing corn for making food, by the use of brooks, streams, rivers, and the wind.

His mind has subjected the water and wind to his control, and compelled them to serve him in this essential business.—But, these barbarians would fain render his discoveries of no avail. They would deprive us of the use of the Wind and the Water in this respect, and set us to grind our corn by hand.

Still, hand-mills are machines. Come, then, let us resort to Robinson Crusoe's *pestle and mortar*. No: those are machines. Why, then, let us, like cattle, grind the corn with our teeth.

But, what *good* are these hand-mills to *do the poor*? Let us see. There is one mill in Hampshire which is capable of grinding and dressing 200 sacks of wheat in a day. The men employed in and about this mill are, or would be, if in full work, about twelve. Now, there are about 200 parishes in Hampshire. Suppose each has a hand-mill, capable of grinding and dressing a sack in a day, and that is full as much as can be done by two able men. Here are four hundred men, and two hundred machines employed to do that which would be a great deal better done by twelve men and one straw of water. Aye, but this would find *employment* for 400 men! Employment! Why not employ them "to fling stones against the wind?" What use would their labour be to you? May they not as well be doing *nothing* as doing *no good*? In short, if the powerful assistance of the Wind and the Water were thrown aside in this important business, we should find ourselves making a rapid progress towards the feebleness of savage life.

"Bake-houses," parish bake-houses, are recommended; and, for what? People now bake at their own houses, if they choose, and yet they find, in general, there is little economy in so doing. Why, then, this new invention? It is a gross folly. Why not recommend us all to make our own shoes, our own hats, and so throughout all the articles of dress and of furniture? Why is the baker's trade become more unnecessary now than at any former period? But, the folly is here surpassed by the mischievousness; because this recommendation has a tendency to excite popular discontent against the bakers, and to cause such acts of violence as form an excuse for the calling forth of troops. Seeing that this is a matter of great importance, I will lay before you a statement of the baker's profits, by which you will see how unjust are all the attacks which are made upon that description of persons. The best way, however, to satisfy your minds upon this subject, is to suppose the same man to be both Miller and Baker, and to show you how much a Load of Wheat is sold for to the Miller, and how much it brings back from the public when paid for by them in the shape of bread. There is no man in England better able to speak confidently upon this subject than I am, having myself caused corn to be ground into flour by a horse-mill, under my own immediate inspection and superintendence, and having verified all the particulars with the greatest exactness. This very year I have sold wheat at market, and, at the same time, have ground the same sample of wheat into flour for my own use and that of my labourers. Thus I know to a certainty the profits of the Miller and the Baker both put together, and my wonder has been, that they find the means of living upon so small a profit.

Precisely the same must it be with regard to the STOCKING and all other manufactures. But, while the destruction of machinery would produce NO GOOD to you with regard to the manufacture of stockings, it would produce a great DEAL OF HARM to you with regard to *some* trade; because it would make your goods so high in price, that other nations who would very soon have the machinery, would be able to make the same goods at a much lower price.

I think, then, that it is quite clear, that the existence of machinery to its present extent cannot possibly do the journeyman ANY HARM; but, on the contrary, that he must be injured by the destruction of machinery. And it appears to me equally clear, that if machines could be invented so as to make lace, stockings, &c. for half or a quarter the present price, such an improvement could not possibly be injurious to you. Because, as the same sum of money would still, if the country continued in the same state, be laid out in lace, stockings, &c., there would be a greater quantity of those goods sold and used, and the sum total of your wages would be exactly the same as it is now.

But, if machinery were injurious to you now, it must always have been injurious to you, and there have been times, when you had great reason to complain of want of employment at any rate. So that it is evident, that your distress must have arisen from some other cause or causes. Indeed, I know that this is the case; and, as it is very material that you should have a clear view of these causes, I shall enter into a full explanation of them; because, until we come to the root of the disease, it will be impossible for us to form any opinion as to the remedy.

The waste arises partly from what goes off in dust about the mill, but chiefly from the evaporation which takes place when the grain comes to be bruised, because the grain appears quite dry and hard, there is a certain portion of moisture, or else there could be no vegetation in the grain, and it is the small remnant of this vegetative principle, which causes the flour to swell. If dried upon a kiln, wheat will never produce light bread. Now, as to the money part of the concern.

The 1475lb. of flour made 1890lb. of bread, or 458 quarters of aleaves, at 4lb. 5oz. each. The aleaf was worth, at the market price, a penny a pound weight. The Bakers in the village sold bread at the same time, at 1s. 1d. the quartar leaf.

Twenty pounds and put it into a chest and lock it up, but lays it out in his business; and his business is to improve his land and to add to the quantity and amount of his produce. Thus, in time, he is enabled to feed more mouths in consequence of his machine, and to buy, and cause others to buy, mere clothes; than were bought before; and, as in the case of the ten sailors, the skill of the mechanic tends to produce ease and power and happiness.

The threshing machines employ women and children in a dry and comfortable barn, while the men can be spared to go to work in the fields. Thus the weekly income of the labourer who has a large family, is, in many cases, greatly augmented, and his life rendered so much the less miserable. But, this is a trifling compared with the great principles, upon which I am arguing, and which is applicable to all manufacturers as well as to farming; for, indeed, what is a farmer, other than a manufacturer of Corn and Cattle?

That the use of machinery, generally speaking, can do the journeyman manufacturer *no harm*, you will be satisfied in one moment, if you do but reflect, that it is the quantity of the demand for goods that must always regulate the price, and that the price of the goods must regulate the wages for making the goods. I shall show by and by how the demand, or market, may be affected by an alteration in the currency or money of a country.

The quantity of demand for LACE, for instance, must depend upon the quantity of money which the people of the country have to expend. When the means of expending are abundant, then a great quantity of lace will be bought; but, as those means diminish, so will the purchases of lace diminish in amount. But, in every state of a country, in this respect, the effect of machinery must be the same. There will always be a quantity of money to spare to expend in lace. Sometimes, as we have seen, the quantity of this money will be greater, and sometimes it will be less; but, in no case do I see, that machinery can possibly do the journeyman face-maker any harm. Suppose, for instance, that the sum which the whole nation have to expend in lace, be £100,000 a year; that the number of yards of lace be 500,000; and that the making of lace, at 4d. a yard, gives employment to 2,000 families. The lace by the means of machinery can be made, it is supposed, at 4s. a yard—But destroy all machinery, and then the lace cannot be made perhaps under 20s. a yard. What would the effect of this be? No advantage to you, because, as there is only 10% off a year to spare to be expended in lace, there would be a demand for only one hundred thousand yards instead of five hundred thousand yards. There would still be 2,500 families employed in lace-making, at 4d. a yard for each family; but, at any rate, *advantage could possibly arise to you from the change, because the whole quantity of money expended in lace must remain the same*.

Precisely the same must it be with regard to the STOCKING and all other manufactures. But, while the destruction of machinery would produce NO GOOD to you with regard to the manufacture of stockings, it would produce a great DEAL OF HARM to you with regard to *some* trade; because it would make your goods so high in price, that other nations who would very soon have the machinery, would be able to make the same goods at a much lower price.

Thus, then, my fellow-countrymen, it is not machinery; it is not the grinding disposition of your employers; it is not improvements in machinery; it is not extortions on the part of Bakers and Millers and Farmers and Corn Dealers and Cheese and Butter Sellers. It is not to any causes of this kind that you ought to attribute your present great and cruel sufferings; but wholly and solely to the great burden of taxes, co-operating with the bubble of paper-money. And, now, before I proceed any further, let me explain to you how the paper-money, or funding system has worked us all. This a very important matter, and it is easily understood by having effected any one of the objects for which it was professed to have been begun and prosecuted.

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In order that it may not, the people of every class should assemble and petition the Parliament for reform. No matter how many or how few, no matter whether in Counties, Cities, Towns, Villages, or Hamlets. We have all a right to petition; to petition that right is a sacred duty; and to obstruct it is a heinous crime. But, in these petitions, the only essential object should be a Reform; for, though the want of it has produced numerous and great evils, still this is all that need be petitioned for, seeing that a Reform would cure all the evils at once. Trade, commerce, manufactures, agriculture, all would soon revive, and we should again see our country free and happy. But, without a Reform, it is impossible for the nation to revive, and, I believe, it is also impossible to prevent utter confusion.

How vain, how stupid, then, are all the schemes of the writers on the side of Corruption for *making employment* for the poor! And how base all their attempts to persuade the people, that their sufferings can be alleviated by what are called "*charitable subscriptions*," which are, in fact, only so many acts of *insolence* towards the numerous and unhappy sufferers, who are paying, in the shape of taxes, one half of the little that they earn by their labour!

These corrupt writers, in order still to enrage and divide the people, (who, thank God! are no longer to be deceived) recommend to the Landlords and Farmers to *make employment* for the poor by causing connoisseur roads, foot paths, and causeways to be undertaken; by causing shell-fish to be gathered or manure; by causing lime, chalk, marl, &c. to be gotten and prepared; by causing land to be drained and embankments made! What folly, or what an impudent attempt, to deceive! Why, these are some of the very things that the poor would be employed in if the Landlords and Farmers had *money* to give in wages; and, if they have not money to give in wages, how are they to have money to bestow in these works at all!

From this time, there has been little besides paper-money. This became plenty, and, of course, wages and corn and every thing became high in price. But, when the peace came, it was necessary, to reduce the quantity of paper-money; because, when we came to have recourse with foreign nations, it would never do to sell a pound note in China, as was the case, for about thirteen shillings. The Bank and the Government, had it in their power to lessen the quantity of paper; but, they did not do it. Those who are unable to work, or to make work, are *rightly* to be supported out of taxes raised on the rich and on all houses and all lands. Why, then, are they to be held out as beggars? Why are self-erected bodies to insult them with their pretended charity? It is not the poor, who have brought the nation into its present state. It is not they who have ruined so many farmers and tradesmen. The law says that they shall be relieved; and, why are they to look to any other relief than this, until the state of the nation can be amended?

At 15s. a score instead of 8s. I do not gain by the high price; because, I am, from the shortness of my crop of corn and the badness of the corn, not able to fit more than half as many bags as I should have been able to fit, if the crop had been good and the harvest fine. So that, as you will clearly see, as to the present high price of corn and bread, that it cannot be any benefit at all to the farmer, and cannot at all tend to enable him to pay the enormous taxes that now press him out of existence.

Thus have I laid before you the real cause of your sufferings.—You see, that they are deep-rooted, of steady growth, and that they never can end but in consequence of some very material change in the mode of managing the nation's concerns. They have arisen from the *taxes and loans*; these arose out of the wars; the wars arose out of a desire to keep down *Reform*; and a desire to keep down *Reform* arose out of the *Borough System*, which excludes almost the whole of the people from voting at elections. It is a maxim of the English Constitution, that no man shall be taxed without his own consent. Nothing can be more reasonable than this. But, as I have shown, we are all taxed; you pay away half your wages in taxes; but, do you all vote for Members of Parliament? If the Members of Parliament, for the last fifty years, had been chosen by the people at large, and chosen annually, agreeably to the old laws of the nation, do you believe, that we should have expended one thousand millions in taxes raised during the wars, and another thousand millions which is now existing in the shape of *Debt*? This is not to be believed; no man can believe it. And, therefore, as the want of such a Parliament is the root of all our sufferings, the only effectual remedy is to obtain such a parliament. A parliament, annually chosen by all the people, seeing that they all pay taxes.

In 1780, the late Duke of Richmond brought a bill into the House of Lords to restore the people to their right of having such a parliament; Pitt co-operated in this work with the Duke of Richmond; and Pitt expressly declared, in a speech in Parliament, that, until the parliament was reformed, it was "impossible for English Ministers to be honest." Therefore, this is now no new scheme; it is a measure long contended for and well digested; it may be carried into effect with perfect safety in every rank of society; and it is my firm persuasion, that it is the only means of preventing civil war. Indeed, I am of opinion, that it is the hope of seeing this measure adopted, that it is the expectation that it will be adopted, which preserves that tranquility in the country, which is so honorable to the understanding and the hearts of the people. God send that this expectation may not be disappointed!

In order that it may not, the people of every class should assemble and petition the Parliament for reform. No matter how many or how few, no matter whether in Counties, Cities, Towns, Villages, or Hamlets. We have all a right to petition; to petition that right is a sacred duty; and to obstruct it is a heinous crime. But, in these petitions, the only essential object should be a Reform; for, though the want of it has produced numerous and great evils, still this is all that need be petitioned for, seeing that a Reform would cure all the evils at once. Trade, commerce, manufactures, agriculture, all would soon revive, and we should again see our country free and happy. But, without a Reform, it is impossible for the nation to revive, and, I believe, it is also impossible to prevent utter confusion.

How vain, how stupid, then, are all the schemes of the writers on the side of Corruption for *making employment* for the poor! And how base all their attempts to persuade the people, that their sufferings can be alleviated by what are called "*charitable subscriptions*," which are, in fact, only so many acts of *insolence* towards the numerous and unhappy sufferers, who are paying, in the shape of taxes, one half of the little that they earn by their labour!

These corrupt writers, in order still to enrage and divide the people, (who, thank God! are no longer to be deceived) recommend to the Landlords and Farmers to *make employment* for the poor by causing connoisseur roads, foot paths, and causeways to be undertaken; by causing shell-fish to be gathered or manure; by causing lime, chalk, marl, &c. to be gotten and prepared; by causing land to be drained and embankments made! What folly, or what an impudent attempt, to deceive!

As to the "*charity subscriptions*," the people seem to understand the object of them perfectly well. LORD COCHRANE sent them forth to the nation, *stripped of their mask*, for which we are deeply indebted to him, and which debt of gratitude we are not so base as not to pay. The people of GLASGOW led the way in their indignation against the *Soup shop and its Kettle*. At WIGAN, at OLDHAM and several other places, where Meetings of the Subscription Tribe have been held, the people have told them, that they want *No Soup and Old Bones and Bullion's Liver*; but they want *Charity*. Indeed, these attempts to hold pretended charitable meetings are full of insolence. Those who are unable to work, or to make work, are *rightly* to be supported out of taxes raised on the rich and on all houses and all lands. Why, then, are they to be held out as beggars? Why are self-erected bodies to insult them with their pretended charity? It is not the poor, who have brought the nation into its present state. It is not they who have ruined so many farmers and tradesmen. The law says that they shall be relieved; and, why are they to look to any other relief than this, until the state of the nation can be amended?

But, some of the taxes have been taken off. Yes; about seventeen millions out of seventy, or about a fourth part. But the paper-money has been diminished in a greater degree, and, of course, farm-produce in the same degree as paper-money. Bread and Corn sell pretty high, owing to a bad harvest; but we must

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that there cannot be a solid objection. However, as this is a question of very great importance, let us reason it together. Hear me with patience; and, if you still differ with me in opinion, ascribe my opinion to error, for it is quite impossible for me to have any interest in differing with you. But before we proceed any further, it may not be amiss to observe, that the writers on the side of Corruption are very anxious to incite notions hostile to machinery as well as notions hostile to Bakers and Butchers. This fact alone ought to put you on your guard. These men first endeavour to set the labouring class upon their employers; and, then they call aloud for troops to man their ships.

By machines mankind are able to do that which their own bodily powers would never suffice to the same extent. Machines are the produce of the mind of man; and their existence distinguishes the civilized man from the savage. The savage has no machines, or, at least, nothing that we call machines. But, his life is a very miserable life. He is ignorant; his mind has no powers; and, therefore, he is feeble and contemptible. To show that machines are not naturally and necessarily an evil, we have only to suppose the existence of a patriarchal race of a hundred men and their families, all living in common, four men of which are employed in making cloth by hand. Now, suppose some one to discover a machine, by which all the cloth wanted can be made by one man. The consequence would be, that the great clothiers would (having enough of every thing else) use more cloth; or, if any part of the labour of the three cloth-makers were much wanted in any other department, they would be employed in that other department. Thus, would the whole world be benefited by the means of this invention; and the whole world have more clothes amongst them, or more food would be raised, or the same quantity as before would be raised, leaving the community more leisure for study and for recreation.

No ten miserable mariners cast on shore on a desert island

with only a bag of wheat and a little flax seed. The soil is prolific; they have fish and fruits; the branches or bark of trees would make them houses, and the wild animals afford them meat. Yet, what miserable dogs they are! They can neither sow the wheat, make the flour, nor catch the fish of the animals. But, let another wreck toss on the shore a spade, a hand-mill, a trowel, a hatchet, a saw, a pot, and some fish-hooks and knives, and how soon the scene is changed! Yet they want clothes, and in order to make them shirts, for instance, six or seven out of the ten are constantly employed in making the linen. This throws a monstrous burden of labour upon the other three, who have to provide the food. But, send them a loom, and you release six out of the seven from the shirt-making concern; and ease as well as plenty immediately succeed.

In these simple cases the question is decided at once in favor of machines. With regard to their effects, in a great community like ours, that question is necessarily more complicated; but, at any rate, enough has been said to show that men cannot live in a civilized state without machines; for, every implement used by man is a machine, machine merely meaning *thing as contradistinguished from the hand of man*. Besides, if we indulge ourselves in a cry against machines, where are we to stop? Some misguided, poor, suffering men in the county of Suffolk, have destroyed *threshing machines*. Why not spades, which are only *digging machines*? Why not axes, and thus come to our bare hands at once? But, why threshing machines? Is not the fall a machine? The corn could be rubbed out in the hand, and winnowed by the breath; but, then, nine hundred and ninety-nine out of every thousand of us must starve, and the few that remained must become savages.

I will not insult that good sense, of which the men of Nottingham have given so many striking proofs, by pushing further my illustrations of the position, that *machinery in general is not an evil*. But, the great question to be decided is, whether machinery, as it *at present exists, does not operate to the disadvantage of journeymen and labourers, and is not one cause of the misery they now experience?* This is the great question to be decided. But, before I enter on it, give me leave to shew you, that the corrupt press, by which you are so much abused, is actually engaged in the work of sending us back by degrees into the savage state just described.

There is a paper in London, called the COURIER, which is always praising the acts of the government and always abusing the Reformers in the most gross and outrageous manner. The Morning Chronicle asserts that the proprietor of this paper has regular communications with the offices of government. I do not know how this may be; but, certain it is, that, through thick and thin, it praises the acts of the government. This paper, on the twenty-first instant, contained the following paragraph:—“Amongst other employments for the poor, it is recommended, that parishes should furnish them with hand corn-mills; that parish bake offices should be established; and that the women and girls should be employed in spinning and carding of wool. In Essex

recently quite dry and hard, there is a certain portion of moisture, or else there could be no vegetation in the grain, and it is the small remnant of this vegetative principle, which causes the flour to swell. If dried upon a kiln, wheat will never produce light bread. Now, as to the money part of the concern.

The 1475lb. of flour made £900lb. of bread, or 458 quarters of oats, at 4lb. 5oz. each. The offal was worth, at the market price, a penny, pound weight. The Baker in the village sold bread at the same time, at 1s. 1d. the quarter loaf.

433 loaves amounted to - - - - £28 14 0  
807lb. of offal - - - - - 3 17 0

Market price of the wheat - - - 207 11 0

Balance - - - 8 11 0

Here, then, is £8. 11s. 0d. more than the wheat cost. But only think of what is to be done for this sum! The wheat to be put into the mill; beer for the carters; the grinding and dressing of the wheat; the sacks to put the flour and the offal into; the carrying out of the flour and the offal; a delay in the sale; interest of the £19, and of all those other outgoings; trust and bad debts; the taxes of the Miller's horses, on all he uses and consumes. Then comes the Baker. Five for his oven; yeast; labour in making the bread; labour in sending great part of it out; rent of his house; all his numerous taxes; trust and bad debts; and payment for his time. Is it not wonderful, that a load of wheat can be manufactured into bread and distributed at so cheap a rate? But, in order to shew you what could be the consequence of destroying the trade of a Baker, let us suppose the flour of his load of wheat bought by 25 good large families, who are about a bushel of flour each a week. Here would be 15 ovens to heat and 25 women employed during the better part of a day. This would be a cost double in amount to the Baker's profit; and, what then would be the case, if there were 50 or 70 ovens to heat? My good friends, I know it from very careful observation, that no family can afford to take their own bread, even where they have ovens, unless they have their fuel for nothing; and I know, too, that labourers, who live in cottages of my own, who have nice little ovens and fuel for nothing, who yet purchase their bread of the Bakers in the village, if their wives have any sort of employment in the fields; and, then, they have convinced me, that, if the wife lose a day's work in a week for the sake of baking, they lose by baking their own bread.

What, then, can be more foolish, more unjust, and more lastingly, than to fall with fury upon this useful, this necessary class of men? And what can be more base and wicked than the efforts of the corrupt press is making, to cause you to believe that a part, at least, of your suffering arises from what they villainously call the extortions of bakers and butchers? There is no trade which yields so little profits as that of the baker. The butcher comes next; and, must it not be clear to every one, that if these trades make large profits, many more persons would go into these trades? Every man wants to get money, and, if money was to be gotten in so simple a way, would there not be plenty of people to come forward to get it.

The story of women and children shelling beans in the field at threepence a bushel MUST BE FALSE. But, if true, is it possible for any human being to shell in that way a bushel a day, while it is well known that a man with a flail, will thresh more than twenty bushels of beans in a day, and be in the dry, and be clean and warm all the while! But this is such an miserable nonsense, that I will not any longer detain you with further notice of it. Satisfied, that you will be convinced, from what has been said and from the operation of your own good sense, that there is no just ground for anger against bakers and butchers, and that the cause of your suffering must be very different from that of any extortions on the part of such tradesmen. I shall now return to the subject of the machines, and beg your patient attention, while I discuss another interesting question before stated: that is to say, *Whether machinery as it at present exists, does, or does not, operate to the disadvantage of journeymen and labourers?*

The notion of our labourers in Agriculture is, that Threshing Machines, for instance, injure them, because, they say, if it were not for these machines, we should have more work to do. This is a great error. For, if, in consequence of using a machine to beat out his corn, the farmer does not spend so much money on that sort of labour, he has so much more money to expend on some other sort of labour. If he saves twenty pounds a year in the article of threshing, he has that twenty pounds a year to expend in draining, fencing, or some other kind of work; for, you will observe, that he does not take the

sufficient for your support, and want of such employment has arisen from the want of a sufficient demand for the goods you make, has arisen from the want of means in the nation at large to purchase your goods. This want of means to purchase your goods is arisen from the weight of the taxes co-operating with the bubble of paper-money. The enormous burden of taxes and the bubble of paper-money have arisen from the war, the singularities of the standing army, the loans and the stoppage of cash-payments at the Bank; and, it appears very clearly to me, that there never would have existed, if the Members of the House of Commons had been chosen annually by the people at large.

Now, in order to shew that taxes produce poverty and misery generally, let me suppose again the case of a great Patriarchal Family. This family we suppose consists of many men and their wives and children; we suppose them all to labour in their different branches; and to enjoy each of them the same degree of wealth and comfort and ease. But, all at once, by some means or other, nine or ten of the most artful men make shift to impose a tax upon the rest; and to get from them by this enough to support themselves and their wives and children *without any work at all*. Is it not clear that the part of the community must work harder and fare worse in consequence of this change? Suppose this taxing work to go on, and the receipt of taxes to increase, till *one half* of the whole of the produce of all the labour be taken in taxes. What misery must the payers of taxes begin to endure! It is certain that they must be done in two ways; first by an addition to the hardness of their work, and next by a reduction of their former food and clothing. They must, under such circumstances, necessarily become skinny, sick, ragged and dirty. For, you will observe, that those who would live upon the taxes, would each of them eat and drink and wear ten times as much as one of the poor mortals who were left to labour and to pay taxes. As these poor creatures would be unable to lay up any thing against a day of sickness or old age, a poor-home must be built to prevent them from actually dying by the roadside, and a part of the taxes must be laid out to support them in some way or other till they expired, or if children, till they should be able to work.

There can be no doubt, that such would be the effect of heavy taxation in this case; and the same reasoning applies, to millions of families, only the causes and effects are a little more difficult to trace. Now, you will observe, that I do not say, that *no taxes ought to be collected*. Our vile enemies impute this to me; but, my friends, I HAVE NEVER SAID IT OR THOUGHT IT. In a large community of men, there must be laws to protect the weak against the strong; there must be administrators of the laws; there must be persons to hold communications with foreign powers; there must be in case of necessity, a public force to carry on such wars. All these require taxes of some sort; but, when the load of taxes becomes so great as to produce *general misery* amongst all those who pay and who do not receive taxes, then it is that taxes become an enormous evil.

This is our state at present. It is the sum taken from those who labour to be given to those who do not labour, which has produced all our present misery. It has been proved by me, but which is better for us, it has been expressly acknowledged by Mr. PRASTON, who is a lawyer of great eminence, the owner of a large estate in Devonshire, and a Member of Parliament for a Borough, (not the Atherstone, who earns eighteen pounds a year, pays ten pounds of it in taxes. I have before observed, but I cannot repeat it too often, that you pay a tax on your soap, sponges, salt, sugar, coffee, malt, beer, bricks, tiles, tobacco, drugs, spirits, and so forth, on almost every thing you use in any way whatever. And, it is a monstrous cheat in the corrupt writers to attempt to persuade you that you pay no taxes, and not that ground to pretend, that you have no right to vote for Members of Parliament. In the singular article of salt, it is very clear to me, that every one of our labourers who has a family, pays more than a pound every year. This salt is sold in London, at 20s. a bushel wholesale; but, if there was no tax, it would not sell, perhaps, 3s. a bushel. Every labourer with a family must consume more than a bushel, a pint a day; and, you will bear in mind, that there is salt in the bacon, the butter, and the bread, besides what is in the shape of salt.

Now, is it not clear, then, that you do pay taxes? And, it is not also clear, that the sum, which you pay in taxes, is just so much taken from your means of purchasing food and clothes? This brings us back to the cause of your want of employment with sufficient wages. For, while you pay heavy taxes, the Landlord, the Farmer, the Tradesman, the Merchant, are not exempt. They pay taxes upon all the articles which they use and consume, and they pay great taxes besides, on their houses, lands, horses, servants, &c. Now, if they had not to pay these taxes, it is not clear, that they would have more money to expend on labour of various kinds; and, of course, that they would purchase more stockings and more Laces than they now purchase. A farmer's wife and daughters, who would lay out ten pounds in these articles, cannot afford to lay it out. It is taken away by the tax-gatherer; and so it is in the case of the Landlord and the Tradesman

to lessen the quantity of paper. Down came prices in a little while; and if the Dues and Taxes had come down in the same degree, there would have been no material injury; but they did not. Taxes have continued the same. Hence our ruin; and the complete ruin of the great mass of farmers and tradesmen and small landlords; and hence the MISERY OF THE PEOPLE.

But, some of the taxes have been taken off. Yes; about seventeen millions out of seventy, or about a fourth part. But the paper-money has been diminished in a greater degree, and, of course, farm-produce in the same degree as paper-money. Bread and Corn sell pretty high, owing to a bad harvest; but we must take ALL the produce of the farm, and you will soon see how the farmer has been ruined.

Before. £. s. d.  
A load of Wheat - - - - - 33 0 0  
A Cart Colt, two years old - - - - - 38 0 0  
A Cow - - - - - 22 0 0  
A Southdown Ewe - - - - - 1 18 0  
A Steer for fattening - - - - - 15 0 0  
£109 18 0

NOW.  
A load of Wheat - - - - - 10 0 0  
A Cart Colt two years old - - - - - 8 0 0  
A Cow - - - - - 7 0 0 0  
A Southdown Ewe - - - - - 0 18 0  
A Steer for fattening - - - - - 6 0 0  
£ 10 18 0

Thus, our produce has fallen off £89 out of £109 18s. and our taxes have been reduced only £17 in every £70. This has been the effect of the paper-money bubble. I speak this with a certain knowledge of the facts. I myself have eight beautiful Alderney Heifers, with calf, for which I cannot obtain 4s. each. Four years ago I could have sold just such for £16 each. I have twelve Scotch Steers, for which I cannot obtain £5 each. Just such ones, at Barnet fair, only in 1813, I saw sold for £3L each. This has been the effect of paper-money; and by this cause have thousands upon thousands of farmers been already wholly ruined, while thousands upon thousands more are upon the threshold of the jail.

Here, then, we have the real causes of your sufferings, of the sufferings of all the labourers, all the farmers, all the tradesmen, and, in short, of every class, except those who live upon taxes.

If, as I observed before, the taxes had been lowered in the same degree as the farm produce, the distress would not have been much greater than before; that is to say, if the sum total of the year's taxes had been reduced from 70 millions to about 20 millions. But this could not be done, while the interest of the DEBT was paid in full at 5 per cent, while an army of 150 thousand men was kept up; and while all the pensions and sinecures and the Civil List were kept up to their former amount; and, besides these, all the pay of the Naval and Military People and all others, living in any way, upon the taxes.

And why should such an army be kept up? There was a time, when a man would have been looked upon as mad, if he had proposed to keep up any standing soldier at all in time of peace—but, why not reduce pay and salaries? The JUDGES, for instance, had their salaries doubled during the war, and so had the Police Justices and many others. When the WHIGS (the famous WING) were in office, they augmented the allowances of the junior branches of the Royal Family from twelve thousand pounds each to eighteen thousand pounds each per year. The allowance to the King, Queen, &c. called the Civil List, was augmented enormously. Now, you will observe, that all these augmentations were made upon the express ground, that the price of Provisions had risen. Well, provisions fall, and down come the wages of journey men and labourers; and why, in the name of reason and of justice, should not the salaries of the Judges, and the pay and allowances of all others in public employ come down too? What reason can there be for keeping all these up, while your wages have come down?

Then, as to the DEBT, why should those who have lent their money to the government to carry on the wars; why should they continue to be paid in full at 5 per cent, interest, in the present money? It is the bubble of paper-money; it is the public debt which they have helped to make, which has reduced my Alderney Heifers from 10s. value to 4s. and why am I and you and all the rest of us to pay them as much as we used to pay them? The greater part of them lent their money to the government, and the price of the DEBT was not worth more than half what it is worth now, if we take all circumstances into view; and, what right, have they to be paid in full in the money of the present day? Yet, they are paid in full, and I am compelled to give them an extra tax out of the price of a Heifer worth 4s. as I used to give them out of the price of the Heifer worth 10s. You will see, and you will feel most severely, that ours is now dear. But, this is owing to the short crop and bad harvest. This high price is no good to the farmer; but, a most terrible evil. If he should get 15s. a bushel for his wheat instead of 7 or 8s., he will receive no more money; because he will not have more than half the quantity to sell. If I sell a

ton of wheat, and you buy it at 15s. a bushel, you will get 15s. a bushel, and I will get 7 or 8s. a bushel. This is a robbery. And, with these wishes, I hope I shall always remain,

Your friend,  
WILLIAM COBBETT.

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No. 1, Bridgeman-gate; price Two-pence, or 12s. per Hundred.

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# COBBETT'S LETTER TO THE Lord Mayor of London, 1810



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equally well satisfied, that the tendency of such measures is to give a wrong bias to the public mind, and to retard those great and general measures, which can alone restore the nation to tranquillity, and which, in my opinion, can alone prevent calamities such as I shudder but to think of."

Before, however, I say more on the subject of giving relief in the shape of alms, give me leave to notice a few of the schemes which have been proposed to you FOR FINDING OF EMPLOYMENT FOR THE POOR.

The want of employment has arisen from the want of WORKERS IN THE FORM OF CONSUMERS AND EMPLOYERS, and therefore, unless those former means can be restored, it is a pursuit wiser than the vanity of vainglory to attempt to discover employment. The corrupt part of the Press, either from ignorance or from a desire to deceive, has called upon the gentlemen and farmers in the country, to employ the poor in making new and better roads, foot-paths, embankments, clearing out of water-courses, and enclosing waste lands. Now, all these things were going on a few years ago, till the cracking of the bubble of paper-money snuffed them like a burst from a shell. If you were going to ride from Whitechapel to Winchester, a distance of only about thirteen miles, you would see more than two thousand acres of land, which was enclosed a few years back, flung up again, and, not to bear GRASS, as it did before, but all kinds of worthless weeds. The same dismal change is taking place every part of the kingdom. And, while this is going on, at the very moment when WANT OF MEANS is throwing immense tracts of land out of cultivation, the Press of Corruption is calling upon us, to find employment for the poor in the enclosing of waste lands!

The same may be said as to new or repaired highways, foot-paths, embankments, and water-courses. These are all IMPROVEMENTS, and improvements must come out of a reduction of means. There is no parish in Monmouthshire, I am told, where every pence of King's taxes, except one, was actually under distress for those taxes, a little while ago; and we know, that the Magistrates of that county have declared the impossibility for the People to pay the taxes, then due and coming due. Now, my Lord Mayor, is it not madness or fraud unparalleled for any one to hold out the hope of People being able to find employment for the poor on works of ornament, or on works of instant utility?

It is the turning of men off from the works of profit that has produced the misery amongst the labouring classes. How, then, can it be expected, that those who are unable to employ them on works of PROFIT, will be able to employ them in any other works? The farmers of a particular parish, suppose them to be ten in number, have, we will suppose, turned off twenty of the men they formerly employed. Why have they done this? Because the weight of taxes, co-operating with the bubble of paper-money, have rendered each of them unable to pay so many men as they did before by two each.—They used to employ these two men each in the works of draining, breaking, grubbing, hedge-rows, chalking, liming, marling, and in other works of improvement; but, they now cannot afford to employ them in this way. What, then, must we think of the proposition to call upon these same farmers to employ the same men in works of ornament, or in the making of public roads, or the cleansing of brooks and rivers? What must we think of the proposal to induce a farmer to find five pounds to lay out upon public works, when he cannot get five pounds to expend upon his own works? The idea is so absurd, that it can have originated only in a disordered mind, or in a desire to deceive the People, and to hide from them the real causes of the want of employment and of the consequent distress and beggary that now prevail.

You are not wholly unacquainted with country affairs yourself, and you have the advantage to know and hear persons of great experience and knowledge in such affairs; and, I am very certain, that their accounts of our situation will substantially accord with mine. They will also inform you, that the monstrous depreciation in the value of lean animals upon a farm, has produced a corresponding want of employment. A great multitude of labourers were employed in the works connected with the rearing of stock. One half of this multitude are now unemployed, because the rearing of stock is now what farmers in general cannot afford to lay out money in. Their capitals are called away for the payment of taxes. To keep a heifer, a steer, a lamb, or a colt, until fit for use, is out of the power of great numbers. And, thus, that vast source of individual and national wealth is undergoing a most alarming diminution. The amount of this diminution will, in a few years, if the present system continue, be discoverable in symptoms the most humiliating to us, and, indeed, the most degrading to our character in the world. Instead of the farm-yard and its surrounding closes, teeming with animal life; filled with pigs, lambs, calves, and colts, with dams and young ones of all sorts and sizes, we shall see, and we already begin to see, docks and thistles and uncovered sleds. All seems to be going to waste, and speedily converting itself into sterility. There is no species of wealth or power which does not spring from Agriculture; and, if that decline, all must decline; if that perish, all must perish. The persons employed in trade,

of the importation of which the shallow, though probably humane, Mr. Salisbury complained, but goods, made by the hands of our ingenious manufacturers, and made for the greater part, out of the ingenuity and labour of our soil. Mr. Salisbury could, apparently, raise back a little towards the rudeness of savage life, the covering of twigs and flag-rushes into utensils of the description of those manufactures carried on by the Indians of North America. We hanker with those rude people our products for them; but a knife or a pair of scissars will purchase the fruit of half a year of their labours; and, probably, a few ounces of some of our works in steel are equal in value to, and will exchange for, a wagon load of basket-work come from Holland or from France. What folly, then, to imagine, that any relief to our manufacturers can arise from our seeing none but English goods? Whatever is imported is exchanged for exported goods of some sort or other; and, therefore, in whatever degree we discourage the import of the goods of other nations, we discourage and prevent our own. Foreign nations will naturally imitate our apparently selfish regulations; but whether they imitate the regulations or not, the EFFECT will, in the long run, be the same; and it is truly pitiful to see a Court Order for the wearing of English manufactures of two Birth-day hats, and to see the Prince's Birth-day changed from August to March, with a view of relieving the suffering of the nation! Good God! how much more likely to answer that persons would be great diminishers of that Civil List, and of all those Salaries, Sinecures, Allowances, and Grants, which are paid out of the taxes, and which are received by those very persons who are Court-dressed!

But, more upon this subject by and by. Your Lordship is reported, in the Newspapers, to have brought forward, or patronised, a plan for furnishing the poor with FUEL made of a composition, consisting of CLAY and cinders, or small coal. This plan was to have a most bad effect: the employing of thousands of poor, and the economising of fuel. Now, my Lord Mayor, if you could be such a scheme reduce the quantity of coal used to one-half of the present quantity, what havoc would you make amongst the coal-miners and the seamens, which last are the most miserable class of this MOST MISERABLE NATION? In whatever degree this new manufacture of fuel found employment for the poor of London, it would destroy the employment of those employed in digging and conveying coal. "Rob Peter to pay Paul." That is the maxim of all those who project any other means of relief than THE REDUCTION OF TAXES.

But, is cheapness of fuel the object?—My Lord Mayor, it is impossible to discover anything so cheap as coal, when with all the taxes with which they are loaded. Whatever of the BURNING quality the new manufacture may contain, must come from the coal pit after all. Clay may make the combustible matter more slow in its evaporation, but clay, thus used, will never add one particle of HEAT. Farther still would it be to bring turf or peat from Bassetot Heath, where clay digging, grubbing, hedge-rows, chalking, liming, marling, and in other works of improvement; but, they now cannot afford to employ them in this way. What, then, must we think of the proposition to call upon these same farmers to employ the same men in works of ornament, or in the making of public roads, or the cleansing of brooks and rivers? What must we think of the proposal to induce a farmer to find five pounds to lay out upon public works, when he cannot get five pounds to expend upon his own works? The idea is so absurd, that it can have originated only in a disordered mind, or in a desire to deceive the People, and to hide from them the real causes of the want of employment and of the consequent distress and beggary that now prevail.

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though in our wretched country, is an expensive luxury. In better times I used to burn MY OWN WOOD, the hardness of wood, though you have it GIVEN TO YOU. I purchase coal for the use of a large farm-house, here a great deal of steaming is carried on. I burn these coals more than two miles by land, and this I do, while I can have coal for the mere carrying, and while I have thousands and hundreds of thousands of loads of peat at two hundred yards from the spot. The coals are cheaper. A wood fire, though in our wretched country, is an expensive luxury. In better times I used to burn MY OWN WOOD, the hardness of wood, though you have it GIVEN TO YOU. I purchase coal for the use of a large farm-house, here a great deal of steaming is carried on. I burn these coals more than two miles by land, and this I do, while I can have coal for the mere carrying, and while I have thousands and hundreds of thousands of loads of peat at two hundred yards from the spot. The coals are cheaper. A wood fire,

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## Extracted from the SALOPIAN JOURNAL of November 27, and December 4, 1810.

**M**OST of our readers have doubtless heard of that noted political writer WILLIAM COBBETT. For abuse he has a natural talent, by the exertion of which he has realised a considerable property in Hampshire, notwithstanding the multifarious grievances he has been repeatedly declaiming about. He began his political career, as a public writer, in America, under the signature of *Peter Porcupine*; and there he shot his quills so freely in all directions, that at last he was glad to escape from the *mob-law* of that country to his native land. On his return to England he took the violent anti-jacobin line, but is now on the opposite tack; having, in the course of a very few years, made the circuit of the political compass, and so scattered his abuse from every point, that his writings possess the singular advantage of containing within themselves complete answers to every part: for, if you want a diatribe against Bonaparte or the Bourbons—against Pitt or Fox—the Whigs or the Tories—the Prince Regent or Sir Francis Burdett—you have them of all sorts and sizes, and you have also the antidote complete, so that you may answer any chapter in the "*Political Register*," without putting pen to paper, or even being at the trouble of using your scissors and paste to put the scraps together. Mr. Cobbett sold his weekly modicum of scandal at one shilling when most newspapers were but sixpence, and the high price, perhaps, in some degree, prevented the mischief; but his inflammatory declamations are now reprinted, for distribution to the lower class, at 2d. each, and are circulated in various parts of the country by disaffected persons. To counteract in some measure the mischievous tendency of his poisonous trash, *The Times*, itself an opposition journal, has been at the trouble of looking a little way back, and contrasting Cobbett with himself, in an essay styled COBBETT against COBBETT. The article might, with little trouble, have been rendered more complete: but as it is, it will be found to contain abundant proof of the total want of principle in this political quack; we have, therefore, at the request of a Correspondent, inserted it in our publication."

**COBBETT against COBBETT.**

## [FROM THE TIMES.]

We believe it is now some five or six years ago since *The Times* journal put down the work entitled *Cobbett's Weekly Register*, and sunk its author into obscurity and contempt. The occasion of this event we shall briefly relate:—Mr. COBBETT had been sentenced to two years' imprisonment for a libel: and during the time that he was in Newgate, it was discovered that he had secretly been in treaty with Government to avoid the sentence passed upon him; and that he had proposed to certain of the agents of Ministers, that if they would let him off, they might make what future use they pleased of him: he would entirely betray the cause of the people; he would either write or not write, or write against them, as he had once done before, just as Ministers thought proper. To this, however, it was replied, that "COBBETT had written on too many sides already to be worth a great sum for the service of Government;" and he accordingly suffered his confinement. By the time when he came out of prison, *The Times* was ready to publish the whole of this base transaction, on unquestionable evidence, and did so publish it, in the form of two letters; the consequence of which was, that Mr. COBBETT was all but hooted, and in fact was hooted from a party of his own friends met to celebrate his liberation. Since that time we had thought that his journal had wholly dropped to the ground; some other writers, such as those of the *Independent Whig* and *Examiner*, who were more virulent and impudent than himself, having sprung up. We learned, however, lately, that *Cobbett's Register* was still in existence, having crept on in obscurity for a series of years: till that, recently, as public distress thickened, it had seemed to revive a little, and might, probably, by his arts, if he were not again exposed, be foisted into some degree of circulation among the thoughtless. We have accordingly found, that in order to put it into notice, he has lately re-published one of its articles in a cheap form, for two-pence, addressed to the journeymen and labourers of the kingdom, carefully telling them that he will deal out some "further information to them in a future number;" we do not know whether at the same price of twopence, or at the more exorbitant one of twelvepence-halfpenny, which his Register costs.

Mr. COBBETT appears to be a great friend of the labouring poor (the Lord have mercy, by the way, upon those poor that labour for him); and of the people of England in general, we shall—not examine ourselves, but—let him prove his own claim to that title, in his own words generally. In his twopenny address he calls the journeymen and labourers "FRIENDS AND FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN;" tells them (as is true) "that the real strength and all the resources of a country ever sprung and ever must spring from the labour of its people;" elegant dresses, superb furniture, stately build-

on nothing but our riches and our ease; our spirit must rise, or our country must fall for ever. In less than six years we must again be at war, or we shall quietly pass under the yoke. The French are at this moment preparing the means of our destruction. While we are lying down to enjoy a long and quiet repose, they are busily employed in planning the operations of another war, and in preparing the means of execution. We have now upon the table before us a book, just published at Paris, indicating the method of totally destroying, during another war, the naval power of 'the tyrants of the seas.' The malignity of our enemies has no bounds but those of their power. Their hatred of us is inextinguishable—nothing can abate it; not even the wretched state of debasement into which we have fallen. It is not our humiliation, nor our ruin, that will content them: they aim at our extermination as an independent power; and to frustrate their views will require a spirit very different indeed from that which at present prevails."

"Various reports have been circulated as to the time of the arrival of the French Ambassador. Some expect him next week, and some even to-day; but we do not think it is likely that he will arrive before the month of August at soonest; and Lord Whitworth certainly will not set out till very near the time of M. ANDROSSI's arrival. We, for our parts have no desire to see him. We have lately beheld humiliating scenes enough. The cup of disgrace must, indeed, be drunk to the dregs; but who does not seek to put off the evil hour?

"The scarcity in France is very great. Bread is sold at 8 sous per pound. The publishers of newspapers dare not mention the price of bread, or of provisions of any kind in their publications. One of them was lately threatened with deportation for an offence of this sort! Well done, Corsican! Mixte et yoke them, ring them, tether them, cloq them, whip them, and good then! Lay on and spare not. You and you alone, are capable of inflicting on them the punishment due to the murderers of a King."—*Ann. Reg.*, vol. 1, p. 705 (June 1802.)

This was Mr. COBBETT's view, at the commencement of what may be called the consular war, of the tyrannical power and inundating barbarism which we, in conformity with his recommendation, undertook to combat; he told us, that if we did not destroy BONAPARTE, he would destroy us; and now when we have succeeded, and have actually beaten him down, the same Mr. COBBETT turns round and tells us, that we are all wrong, and have done a great deal of mischief; and that we should have done much better to let him stay in France, and so, as he calls it, "exterminate us." Why, what can such a man mean, or has he any meaning at all, but to make money of a parcel of dupes and fools?

We cannot, however, present Mr. COBBETT's quotations of BONAPARTE, without adding those avowed by him also respecting the BOURBONS, and the lawful Government of France.

In March, 1802, Mr. COBBETT, in a critical notice of a work, entitled "*A Word to the Alarmists on the Peace*," by a Graduate of the University of Cambridge, says,

"When the fountain is impregnated with poison, who can hope to drink living waters from the stream? We do not ascribe to the whole University of Cambridge a concurrence

at first sight, what he is not—a creature so brutally ignorant, as not to be able to count his own eight fingers and two thumbs: venality and profligacy are therefore the only causes of his writing in one way at one time, and in a different one at another; and that without any sense of shame, or any regard to consistency.

But now

"friends and fellow-countrymen" of Mr. COBBETT, we shall show you more fully how he treated you and his friend Sir FRANCIS BURDETT some time ago, before we enter upon the question of Parliamentary Reform.

In his summary of politics for June, 1802, he observes, on occasion of a recent dissolution of Parliament, that "the people had been told, in two factious addresses, that they are not represented in the House of Commons; that that assembly is no longer what it used to be; and that, until it be reformed, it is in vain for them to hope for any good from that quarter."

He then goes on to state, that "the words representation and elective franchise have done much towards confusing the brains and corrupting the hearts of His Majesty's subjects; and though he has not the power of dissipating the fatal delusion, it is yet his duty to contribute his mite to the attempt."

Mr. COBBETT then presents his readers with a picture of the miserable state of the representation in one of the states of America, "where the elective franchise was as universal even as Sir F. B. could have wished it;" and assures them, that the choice frequently fell upon bankrupts, swindlers, quacks, Atheists, &c. "The cause of their preposterous choice is this:—The mass of the people of all nations are so fond of nothing as of power. Men of sense know that the people can in reality exercise no power which will not tend to their own injury. Hence it is, that in states where the popular voice is unchecked by a royal or some other hereditary influence, that voice is, nine times out of ten, given in favour of those fawning parasites who, in order to gratify their own interest and ambition, profess to acknowledge no sovereignty but that of the people; and who, when they once get into power, rule the poor sovereign with a rod of scorpions," &c.

He then quotes an American pamphleteer, in proof of the shocking state of the legislatures in that republic; and concludes, "Such, Englishmen, is the description of a legislative assembly, where 'equal representation' prevails; where almost every man has a vote at elections; and where these elections do annually occur. The ambitious knaves, who flatter you with high notions of your rights and privileges—who are everlasting dunning in your ears the blessings of what they call the elective franchise, wish to add to the number of electors, because they well know that they would thereby gain an accession of strength," &c.—(Vol. 1, p. 785.)

Now, Englishmen!—for, indeed, in heart and principles you are not the friends, or even fellow countrymen of Mr. COBBETT, though he calls you so—perhaps you may be curious to know what are the real opinions of that your self-elected leader on the subject of Parliamentary reform. We will tell you then, HIS LATEST; because by his latest opinions he hopes to make money:

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incurring poor (and of the people of England in general, we shall—not examining ourselves, but—let him prove his own claim to that title, in his own words generally. In his twopenny address he calls the journeymen and labourers "FRIENDS AND FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN"; tells them (as is true) "that the real strength and all the resources of a country ever sprung and ever must spring from the labour of its people;" elegant dresses, superb furniture, stately buildings, fine roads, nay even "fleet horses," he says, "all spring from labour." With this correct idea (he says to the journeymen and labourers) of your own worth in your minds, with what indignation must you hear yourselves called, the populace, the rabble, the mob, &c.? So reasons Mr. COBBETT of yesterday. But we ask him, and you, the people of England, if it is infamous, at it certainly is, to give you opprobrious names now, whether it was not equally so fourteen years ago? And yet you will find by the following extracts from Cobett's *Register*, that he was the very first and bitterest to apply these terms of reproach to you, which he now so reprobates. In his summary of politics for July, 1802, when he is abusing peace with BONAPARTE, he says, "If we were ready to lend the Americans aid, then indeed the cession of Louisiana would have been a happy circumstance; but we want peace (note—this is spoken in derision); 'peace and a large loaf,' as the base rabble of Norwich replied to the arguments of Mr. WINDHIAN." (P. Reg. vol. 2, p. 59.) But more of this hereafter, when we come to his no-notions about parliamentary reform. Yet you may some of you be surprised to find him, above, vilifying both you and peace with his friend BONAPARTE. So it was, however, at the time when the above extract was written: he was constantly engaged in calling both you and him, and your friends and his friends, all the villains, and brutes, and wretches he could lay his pen and his tongue to. And we will tell you further,—what his heart we know tells him,—that in half a moment he would turn round and begin calling you all wretches and rabble again, if he could get any thing by it. We know that he now pretends to have been ignorant of many things when he wrote against the cause of reform; but surely, if he was either born or bred an Englishman, he could at no time be ignorant that the people of his country were not, as he defines those of Norwich, "A BASE RABBLE;" or if they were so, why is it more scandalous in other people so to call them than it is in him?

But apropos of BONAPARTE and peace with him, He now tells you that that person is the kindest-hearted gentleman possible; that he never meant any ill to England, only to tickle us a little or so; and that it is a great pity we ever conquered him; we have thereby riveted the chains of Europe. Gentlemen, hear what he said of the Corsican a few years ago, when we had (perhaps foolishly) endeavoured to patch up a peace with him:—

"The French official paper of the 14th inst. contains a most bitter philippic on those persons in England who have had the audacity to doubt the moderation and sincerity of BONAPARTE! We, for our parts, have never entertained the smallest doubt on the subject: we shall as soon doubt of his humanity and his piety, of which he gave such striking proofs during his Egyptian expedition; we should as soon doubt of his being beaten by Sir SIRSEY SMITH, or of his deserting his arms!" (Cobett's *Annual Reg.* vol. 1, page 286. (March 1802.)

"The whole world lies open before him (BONAPARTE). All nations are tributary to him. There is every where a disposition to hate, but no where the courage to resist him. If he lives 20 years, France will be the mistress of the civilized world, and England the basest of her vassals—that is, if we continue in our present temper; if we continue to set a value

avowed by him also respecting the BOURBONS, and the lawful Government of France.

In March, 1802, Mr. COBBETT, in a critical notice of a work, entitled "*A Word to the Alarmists on the Peace*," by a Graduate of the University of Cambridge, says,

"When the fountain is impregnated with poison, who can hope to drink living water from the stream? We do not ascribe to the whole University of Cambridge a concurrence in the principles promulgated from their press of BENJAMIN FLAWN (Mr. HUXLEY and our old friend BENJAMIN), whence it comes this pamphlet has issued; but we do think, that it is highly disgraceful to the University and the city of Cambridge, that that press finds countenance and support. The object of the pamphlet before us is to persuade its readers, that there is no danger to be apprehended from the intercourse which the peace will throw open between England and France; and that, of course, all alarm on that head is perfectly groundless. We think very differently; for though we are convinced that the *uniality* of the republican French is so gross, and that their *irreligion* is so horribly blasphemous, as at first to disgust rather than allure our countrymen; yet is there great, very great, danger, to be apprehended from a familiarity with their vices, especially when viewed in conjunction with that administration which *successful* villainy has never yet failed to excite, in the unthinking beings who make the *great mass of a nation*!" [Observe this, Mr. COBBETT's friends and fellow countrymen.]

"We, for our parts (continues Mr. COBBETT), must confess, that *we always thought differently*; and we are well convinced, that if the *Restoration of the House of Bourbon* had been openly and decidedly declared to be the object of the war, and if that declaration had been faithfully adhered to, the war would have ended long ago, and in a manner that would have spared us all the anxiety and alarm which the Graduate of Cambridge is so kindly endeavouring to remove!" (Cobett's *Ann. Reg.* vol. 1, p. 302-3.)

In the *P. Reg.* (vol. 2, p. 442), Mr. COBBETT says

— "With respect to the right which one nation has, in

certain cases, and under certain restrictions, to interfere in the domestic concerns of another, we hold it to be undoubtedly, The Allies saw in France a people in open rebellion against their lawful sovereign, whom they had first deprived of his authority, then imprisoned, and afterwards murdered. The Allies might have interfered to re-establish the ancient and lawful government of France. How often have those who wished to prosecute the war for the sake of the BOURBONS been accused of injustice, in wishing to 'impose a government upon France?' How often have the Jacobin Senators chuckled at the effect which this sophism produced on the *selfish and factious herd!* But the friends of the BOURBONS, and of monarchy in general, wished to 'impose' no government on France; they only wished to *restore* to that kingdom her *lawful* government."

We know, "Friends and Fellow-countrymen," (to use his own caressing terms,) that Mr. COBBETT pretends ignorance of public affairs, when he wrote the above articles; but if that plea were a just one, how are you and he to be sure that he understands public affairs better now than he did then? Ignorance, to say the least of it, is a strange stock in trade, for a man to set up as a public writer upon; but when you add to this the violence also with which he habitually wrote, upon subjects of which he now declares himself to have been ignorant, you will undoubtedly give him credit for a tolerable portion of another quality, generally called impudence. But we will tell you what, after reading the above, you will have no difficulty in believing—that ignorance is no excuse whatever; and that if Mr. COBBETT were to be allowed to plead ignorance of every topic upon which he has once written with great assurance, and afterwards contradicted himself with equal fury, he would appear, even

which he describes was before his eyes: and if you were, what does he mean by flattering and praising you now? What reason have you to suppose that he loves you better at the present time than in times past? But pray, mark farther, the atrocity of the above passages. It is your blood he seeks to shed in them. And if he could have excited the Ministers of the day to yield to his incitement, whom would he have had now to cajole and deceive? You will perceive that he describes you, not as a mere mob or rabble simply, (which, by the way, were, and which in truth is no great harm,) but as THIEVES, opposed to the legal magistrate; he designates you, men who "hate the gallows," as their fate; and, not to multiply quotations, he again and again urges Ministers to the judicial murder of HORNE TOKE; he accuses him of high treason, and he vilifies the jury who acquitted him of that crime. If he had effected the death of HORNE TOKE, as he then strove, where would have been the use of the posthumous praise which he has since lavished on him? But we observe, that in order to flatter you, he has even come round to praise HAMPDEN and SYDNEY; asking for what it was that "those patriots died—one in the field, and the other on the scaffold?" Why, this is incredible: he cannot plead ignorance of the merits of those heroes who opposed the tyranny of the STUARTS. Their characters were at least as well established in 1802 as in 1816: and yet in vol. 2, p. 719, he, in his way, vilifies Mr. FOX for his "leathesome calumnies" on the House of STUART, and his "miserable attempts to defend the characters of RUSSELL and SYDNEY;" and concludes with asking, "Where, Sir, shall I find, in all the cumbersome volumes of harangues which you have uttered during the last ten years, of *treasons and conspiracies* against the throne and the life of your Sovereign, one single sentence or phrase expressive of your abhorrence of those diabolical machinations?" (P. 719.)

We now come (for we must, in this summary, pass over a great deal) to Mr. COBBETT's existing notions of Parliamentary Reform. (They won't last long if he can get any thing by the change.) In his twopenny Address he says, with much other matter of the same kind, that "The only remedy for all our evils is a reform of the Commons or people's House of Parliament." What did he say thirteen years ago, when the House of Commons was constituted pretty much as it is now—and we know of no new light that has descended, except, perhaps, that of the comet which shone within this last four or five years; but, jesting apart, does not the following attack upon Mr. WILBERFORCE, on the subject of Parliamentary Reform, point out its author as a hideous wretch? (P. 8.)

In a letter to Mr. WILBERFORCE in January, 1803, the leading accusation against that Gentleman is, that he had once patronized this *detestable cause*. "Of the clamours for Parliamentary Reform, first begun by those who suffered them were ALONE (he puts the word in capitals) to blame; and that, therefore, you may of course do the same, without guilt or criminality. He hints, also, that you might take possession of other people's firesides: but then he says (now, mark the cutting of the knife), "He hopes it will never come to pass; but that if one thing more than another could tend to produce," &c., &c. This is the hole he'll creep out at! If he succeeds in exciting you to the "plunderings and murderings, and devastation," he talks of; why then you'll have him, and other worthies like him, as your leaders, for he tells you plainly, in the first column of his address, that "you are to labour with your limbs, and that he is to labour with his mind; and that on all occasions, but more especially on occasions like the present, it is the duty of those who labour with their limbs to come to the assistance of those who labour with their minds!" But should the laws be too strong for you, then will he desert you—swear he advised you (as he has) to "proceed in a peaceable and legal manner;" and—you have seen above how he once urged Ministers to the murder of those whom he has since praised; be assured that that is a crime of no blacker dye, than now praising and flattering those whom he may hereafter recommend to be murdered.

We recommend these remarks to the consideration of the labourers and journeymen of England;—it is their good we chiefly seek;—but we are not without the hope that the view of his own crimes, and the injurious course which he is now endeavouring to pursue, may affect even the obdurate heart of Mr. COBBETT with something like shame and contrition.

[Eddowes, Printer, Salopian Journal Office.]

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## Extracted from the SALOPIAN JOURNAL of November 27, and December 4, 1810. 0633

"**M**OST of our readers have doubtless heard of that noted political writer WILLIAM COBBETT. For abuse he has a natural talent, by the exertion of which he has realised a considerable property in Hampshire, notwithstanding the multifarious grievances he has been repeatedly declaiming about. He began his political career, as a public writer, in America, under the signature of *Peter Porcupine*; and there he shot his quills so freely in all directions, that at last he was glad to escape from the *mob-law* of that country to his native land. On his return to England he took the violent anti-jacobin line, but is now on the opposite tack; having, in the course of a very few years, made the circuit of the political compass, and so scattered his abuse from every point, that his writings possess the singular advantage of containing within themselves complete answers to every part: for, if you want a diatribe against Bonaparte or the Bourbons—against Pitt or Fox—the Whigs or the Tories—the Prince Regent or Sir Francis Burdett—you have them of all sorts and sizes, and you have also the antidote complete, so that you may answer any chapter in the "*Political Register*," without putting pen to paper, or even being at the trouble of using your scissors and paste to put the scraps together. Mr. Cobbett sold his weekly modicum of scandal at one shilling when most newspapers were but sixpence, and the high price, perhaps, in some degree, prevented the mischief; but his inflammatory declamations are now reprinted, for distribution to the lower class, at 2d. each, and are circulated in various parts of the country by disaffected persons. To counteract in some measure the mischievous tendency of his poisonous trash, *The Times*, itself an opposition journal, has been at the trouble of looking a little way back, and contrasting Cobbett with himself, in an essay styled *COBBETT against COBBETT*. The article might, with little trouble, have been rendered more complete: but as it is, it will be found to contain abundant proof of the total want of principle in this political quack; we have, therefore, at the request of a Correspondent, inserted it in our publication."

## COBBETT against COBBETT.

[FROM THE TIMES.]

We believe it is now some five or six years ago since *The Times* journal put down the work entitled *Cobbett's Weekly Register*, and sunk its author into obscurity and contempt. The occasion of this event we shall briefly relate.—Mr. COBBETT had been sentenced to two years' imprisonment for a libel: and during the time that he was in Newgate, it was discovered that he had secretly been in treaty with Government to avoid the sentence passed upon him; and that he had proposed to certain of the agents of Ministers, that if they would let him off, they might make what future use they pleased of him: he would entirely betray the cause of the people; he would either write or not write, or write against them, as he had once done before, just as Ministers thought proper. To this, however, it was replied, that "Cobbett had written on too many sides already to be worth a groat for the service of Government;" and he accordingly suffered his confinement. By the time when he came out of prison, *The Times* was ready to publish the whole of this base transaction, on unquestionable evidence, and did so publish it, in the form of two letters; the consequence of which was, that Mr. COBBETT was all but hooted, and in fact was hooted from a party of his own friends met to celebrate his liberation. Since that time we had thought that his journal had wholly dropped to the ground; some other writers, such as those of the *Independent Whig* and *Examiner*, who were more virulent and impudent than himself, having sprung up. We learned, however, lately, that *Cobbett's Register* was still in existence, having crept on in obscurity for a series of years; till that, recently, as public distress thickened, it had seemed to revive a little, and might, probably, by his arts, if he were not again exposed, be foisted into some degree of circulation among the thoughtless. We have accordingly found, in order to puff it into notice, he has lately re-published one of its articles in a cheap form, for two-pence, addressed to the journeymen and labourers of the kingdom; and carefully telling them that he will deal out some "further information to them in a future number;" we do not know whether at the same price of twopence, or at the more exorbitant one of twelvepence-halfpenny, which the Register costs.

Mr. COBBETT appears to be a great friend of the labouring poor (the Lord have mercy, by the way, upon those poor that labour for him), and of the people of England in general, we shall—not examine ourselves, but—let him prove his own claim to that title, in his own words generally. In his twopenny address he calls the journeymen and labourers "FRIENDS AND FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN;" tells them (as is true) "that the real strength and all the resources of a country ever sprung and ever must spring from the labour of its people;" elegant dresses, superb furniture, stately buildings, fine roads, nay even "fleet horses," he says, "all spring from labour." "With this correct idea (he says

on nothing but our riches and our ease; our spirit must rise, or our country must fall for ever. In less than six years we must again be at war, or we shall quietly pass under the yoke. The French are at this moment preparing the means of our destruction. While we are lying down to enjoy a long and quiet repose, they are busily employed in planning the operations of another war, and in preparing the means of execution. We have now upon the table before us a book, just published at Paris, indicating the method of totally destroying, during another war, the naval power of 'the tyrants of the seas.' The malice of our enemies has no bounds but those of their power. Their hatred of us is inextinguishable—nothing can abate it; no, not even the wretched state of delusion into which we have fallen. It is not our baseness, nor our ruin, that will content them: they aim at our extermination as an independent power; and to frustrate their views will require a spirit very different indeed from that which at present prevails."

"Various reports have been circulated as to the time of arrival of the French Ambassador. Some expect him next week, and some even to-day; but we do not think it is likely that he will arrive before the month of August at soonest; and Lord Warrington certainly will not set out till very near the time of M. Andross's arrival. We, for our parts have no desire to see him. We have lately beheld humiliating scenes enough. The cup of disgrace must, indeed, be drunk to the dregs; but who does not seek to put off the evil hour?

"The scarcity in France is very great. Bread is sold at

8 sous per pound. The publishers of newspapers dare not mention the price of bread, or of provisions of any kind in their publications.

One of them was lately threatened with deportation for an offence of this sort! Well done, *Corsican!* Muzzle

them, yoke them, ring them, tether them, clog them, whip them, and goad them! Lay on and spare not. You, and you alone,

are capable of inflicting on them the punishment due to the

murders of a King!"—*Ann. Reg.*, vol. 1, p. 765 (June 1802.)

This was Mr. COBBETT's view, at the commencement of what may be called the consular war, of the tyrannic power and inundating barbarism which we, in conformity with his recommendation, undertook to combat; he told us, that if we did not destroy BONAPARTE, he would destroy us; and now when we have succeeded, and have actually beaten him down, the same Mr. COBBETT turns round and tells us, that we are all wrong, and have done a great deal of mischief; and that we should have done much better to let him stay in France, and so, as he calls it, "exterminate us;" Why, what can such a man mean, or has he any meaning at all, but to make money of a parcel of dupes and fools?

We cannot, however, present Mr. COBBETT's quondam opinions of BONAPARTE, without adding those avowed by him also respecting the Bourbons, and the lawful Government of France.

In March, 1802, Mr. COBBETT, in a critical notice of a work, entitled "*A Word to the Alarmists and Friends of Peace*," by a Graduate of the University of Cambridge, says,

"When the fountain is impregnated with poison, who can hope to drink living water from the stream? We do not ascribe to the whole University of Cambridge a negligence in the principles promulgated from the press of BENJAMIN FLOWER (Mr. HUNTER's and our old friend BENJAMIN),

at first sight, what he is not—a creature so *brutally ignorant*, as not to be able to count his own eight fingers and two thumbs: *venduity and profligacy are therefore the only causes of his writing in one way at one time, and in a different one at another;* and that without any sense of shame, or any regard to consistency.

But now "friends and fellow-countrymen" of Mr. COBBETT, we shall show you more fully how he treated you and his friend Sir FRANCIS BURDETT some time ago, before we enter upon the question of Parliamentary Reform.

In the *Register* for July, 1802, (vol. 2, p. 51,) speaking of the Brentford election, Mr. COBBETT says,

"To read the bills and advertisements which have been published in the county of Middlesex, one would believe that the contest was not between two gentlemen, but between the magistrates and *the thieves*; and that the great body of those who have espoused the cause of Sir F. BURDETT, have done so, with a hope that, if he were successful, there would be an end to all legal punishment; and that *crimes of every sort might be committed in perfect security*."

"The road to Brentford is lined with ragged wretches from St. Giles's, bawling out Sir FRANCIS BURDETT, and at the Bastle: and at the hustings, there are daily some half dozen convicts, who have served out their time in the House of Correction, abusing the rabble with execrations on the head of Mr. MAINWARING," &c. (Same vol. p. 50.)

In the same spirit Sir FRANCIS is repeatedly branded as the friend of the convicted traitor O'Connor, and the acquitted traitor Horne Tooke, and held up to detestation "as *the demagogue with his crew*," or "his gallows-hating citizens."

"To reason with such a man (as Sir F. B.) would be absurd. He must be treated with *silent contempt*, or be combated with weapons very different from a pen. While, however, we declare our abhorrence of the principles and conduct of the man who, in alluding to the British Government, speaks of 'hired Magistrates, Parliaments, and Kings';—while we *detest and loathe Sir Francis Burdett*;—while we could *trample upon him for the false, base, and insolent insinuations respecting his and our Sovereign*," &c.—(Vol. 2, p. 151.)

Now, observe, either you who are the friends of Sir FRANCIS BURDETT were the wretches which COBBETT here characterizes, or you were not? If you were not, what an infamous harlot he must be, because the thing which he describes was before *his eyes*; and if you were, what does he mean by flattering and praising you now? What reason have you to suppose that he loves you better at the present time than in times past? But pray, mark farther, the atrocity of the above passages.

It is your blood he seeks to shed in them. And if he could have excited the Ministers of the day to yield to his incitement, whom would he have had now to cajole and deceive? You will perceive that he describes you, not as a mere mob or rabble simply, (which, by the way, were, and which is *now* not), but as

as led to the *commission of high treason*, the most heinous of all earthly offences—the compassing and infringing the death of the King."—(Vol. 3, p. 35.)

In other passages, the rebellions in Ireland, and the revolution in France, are referred to the pernicious example of those among us who first set on foot "those wild and presumptuous projects" for Parliamentary Reform.

In his summary of politics for June, 1802, he observes, on occasion of a recent dissolution of Parliament, that "the people had been told, in two *factious addresses*, that they are not represented in the House of Commons; that that assembly is no longer what it used to be; and that, until it be reformed, it is in vain for them to hope for any good from that quarter." He then goes on to state, that "the words *representation* and *elective franchise* have done much towards confusing the brains and corrupting the hearts of his Majesty's subjects; and though he has not the power of dissipating the *fatal delusion*, it is yet his duty to contribute his mite to the attempt."

Mr. COBBETT then presents his readers with a picture of the miserable state of the representation in one of the states of America, "where the elective franchise was universal even as Sir F. B. could have wished it;" and assures them, that the choice frequently fell upon bankrupts, swindlers, quacks, Atheists, &c. "The cause of their preposterous choice is this:—The mass of the people of all nations are so fond of nothing as of power. Men of sense know that the people can in reality exercise no power which will not tend to their own injury. Hence it is, that in states where the popular voice is unchecked by a royal or some other hereditary influence, that voice is nine times out of ten, given in favour of those fawning parasites who, in order to gratify their own interest and ambition, profess to acknowledge no sovereignty but that of the people; and who, when they once get into power, rule the poor sovereign with a rod of scorpions," &c.

He then quotes an American pamphleteer, in proof of the shocking state of the legislatures in that republic; and concludes, "Such Englishmen, is the description of a legislative assembly, where '*equal representation*' prevails; where almost every man has a vote at elections; and where these elections do annually occur. The ambitious knaves, who flatter you with high notions of your rights and privileges—who are everlasting dunning in your ears the blessings of what they call the *elective franchise*, wish to add to the number of electors, because they well know that they would thereby gain an accession of strength," &c.—(Vol. 1, p. 795.)

Now, Englishmen!—for, indeed, in heart and principles you are not the friends, or even fellow countrymen of Mr. COBBETT, though he calls you so—perhaps you may be curious to know what are the real opinions of that your self-elected leader on the subject of Parliamentary reform. We will tell you then, *his latest*; because by his latest opinions he hopes to make money: by his old ones he *has* made money, and therefore the old are no longer of use, the new ones may be, but

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people of England in general, we shall—not examine ourselves, but—let him prove his own claim to that title, in his own words generally. In his twopenny address he calls the journeymen and labourers "FRIENDS AND FELLOW COUNTRYMEN"; tells them (as is true) "that the real strength and all the resources of a country ever sprung and ever must spring from the labour of its people;" elegant dresses, superb furniture, stately buildings, fine roads, nay even "fleet horses," he says, "all spring from labour." With this exact idea (he says, to the journeymen and labourers) of your own worth in your minds, with what indignation must you hear yourselves called, the populace, the rabble, the mob, &c.? So reasons Mr. COBBETT of yesterday. But we ask him, and you, the people of England, if it is infamous, as it certainly is, to give you opprobrious names now, whether it was not equally so fourteen years ago? And yet you will find by the following extracts from Cobett's *Register*, that he was the very first and bitterest to apply these terms of reproach to you, which he now so reprobates. In his summer of politics for July, 1802, when he is abusing peace with BONAPARTE, he says, "If we were ready to lend the Americans aid, then indeed the cession of Louisiana would have been a happy circumstance; but we want peace (note—this is spoken in derision); 'peace and a large loaf,' as this base rabbler of Norwich replied to the arguments of MR. WINDHAM."—(Pol. Reg. vol. 2, p. 59). But more of this hereafter, when we come to his no-notions about parliamentary reform. Yet you may some of you be surprised to find him, as above, vilifying both you and peace with his friend BONAPARTE. So it was, however, at the time when the above extract was written: he was constantly engaged in calling both you and him, and your friends and his friends, all the villains, and brutes, and wretches he could lay his pen and his tongue to. And we will tell you further,—what his heart we know tells him,—that in half a moment he would turn round and begin calling you all wretches and rabble again, if he could get any thing by it. We know that he now pretends to have been ignorant of many things when he wrote against the cause of reform; but surely, if he was either born or bred an Englishman, he could not at no time be ignorant that the people of his country were not, as he defines those of Norwich, "A BASE RABBLE;" or if they were so, why is it more scandalous in other people to call them than it is in him?

But apropos of BONAPARTE and peace with him. He now tells you that that person is the kindest-hearted gentleman possible; that he never meant any ill to England, only to tickle us a little or so; and that it is a great pity we ever conquered him: we have thereby riveted the chains of Europe. Gentlemen, hear what he said of the Corsican a few years ago, when we had (perhaps foolishly) endeavoured to patch up a peace with him:—

"The French official paper of the 14th inst. contains a most bitter philippic on those persons in England who have had the audacity to doubt the moderation and sincerity of BONAPARTE! We, for our parts, have never entertained the smallest doubt on the subject: we shall as soon doubt of his humanity and his piety, of which he gave such striking proofs during his Egyptian expedition: we should as soon doubt of his being beaten by Sir SIDNEY SMITH, or of his deserting his army."—Cobett's *Annual Reg.* vol. 1, page 296. (March, 1802.)

"The whole world lies open before him (BONAPARTE). All nations are tributary to him. There is every where a disposition to hate, but no where the courage to resist him. If he lives 20 years, France will be the mistress of the civilized world, and England the basest of her vassals—that is, if we continue in our present temper; if we continue to set a value

lawful Government of France.

In March, 1802, Mr. COBBETT, in a critical notice of a work, entitled "*A Word to the Alarmists on the Peace*," by a Graduate of the University of Cambridge, says,

"When the fountain is impregnated with poison, who can hope to drink living waters from the stream? We do not ascribe to the whole University of Cambridge a concurrence in the principles promulgated from the press of BONAPARTE. (Mr. HUXLEY and our old friend BAXTER,) whence it seems this pamphlet has issued; but we do think, that it is highly disgraceful to the University and the city of Cambridge, that this press finds countenance and support. The object of the pamphlet before us is to persuade its readers, that there is no danger to be apprehended from the intercourse which the peace will throw open between England and France; and that, of course, all alarm on that head is perfectly groundless. We think very differently: for though we are convinced that the sensuality of the republican French is so gross, and that their religion is so horribly blasphemous, as at first to disgust rather than allure our countrymen; yet there is great, very great, danger, to be apprehended from a familiarity with their vices, especially when viewed in conjunction with that admiration which successful villainy has never yet failed to excite, in the unthinking beings who make the great mass of a nation." [Observe this, Mr. COBBETT's friends and fellow countrymen.]

"We, for our parts (continues Mr. COBBETT), must confess, that we always thought differently; and we are well convinced, that if the Restoration of the House of Bourbon had been openly and decidedly declared to be the object of the war, and if that declaration had been faithfully adhered to, the war would have ended long ago, and in a manner that would have spared us all the anxiety and alarm which the Graduate of Cambridge is so kindly endeavouring to remove."—Cobett's *Ans.* Reg. vol. 1, p. 302-3.

In the *Pol. Reg.* (vol. 2, p. 442), Mr. COBBETT says,—

"With respect to the right which one nation has,

in certain cases, and under certain restrictions, to interfere

in the domestic concerns of another, we hold it to be

undoubted. The Allies say in France a people in open

rebellion against their lawful sovereign, whom they had

first deprived of his authority, then imprisoned, and

afterwards murdered. The Allies might have interfered

to re-establish the ancient and lawful government of

France. How often have those who wished to prosecu-

te the war for the sake of the BOURBONS been

accused of injustice, in wishing to "impose a govern-

ment upon France?" How often have the Jacobin

Senators chucked at the effect which this sophism

produced on the selfish and factious herd! But the

friends of the BOURBONS, and of monarchy in general,

wished to "impose" no government on France; they

only wished to restore to that kingdom her *lawful*

government."

We know, "Friends and Fellow-countrymen," (to use his own caressing terms,) that Mr. COBBETT pretends ignorance of public affairs, when he wrote the above articles: but if that plea were a just one, how are you and he to be sure that he understands public affairs better now than he did then? Ignorance, to say the least of it, is a strange stock in trade, for a man to set up as a public writer upon; but when you add to this the violence also with which he habitually wrote, upon subjects of which he now declares himself to have been ignorant, you will undoubtedly give him credit for a tolerable portion of another quality, generally called impudence. But we will tell you what, after reading the above, you will have no difficulty in believing—that ignorance is no excuse whatever; and that if Mr. COBBETT were to be allowed to plead ignorance of every topic upon which he has once written with great assurance, and afterwards contradicted himself with equal fury, he would appear, even

when the power was before his eyes: and if you were, what does he mean by flattering and praising you now? What reason have you to suppose that he loves you better at the present time than in times past? But pray, mark farther, the atrocity of the above passages. It is your blood he seeks to shed in them. And if he could have excited the Ministers of the day to yield to his incitement, whom would he have had now to cajole and deceive?

You will perceive that he describes you, not as a mere mob or rabble simply, (which, by the way, you were,) and which in truth is no great harm, but as THIEVES, opposed to the legal magistracy; he designates you, men who "hate the gallows," as their fate; and, not to multiply quotations, he again and again urges Ministers to the judicial murder of HORNE TOKE; because by his latest opinions he hopes to make money by his old ones he *has* made money, and therefore the old are no longer of use, the new ones may be; but if ever the old ones should come in fashion again, be assured he'll turn 'em, and put 'em on anew; and though some other men would scorn 'em as dirty and filthy by his use, they'll be good enough for him: and then where will you be? Dreadfully out of fashion, indeed; and he will be the first to turn upon you, and call you, as he has done, "Thieves and convicts who have served out their time at the House of Correction." Mr. COBBETT's opinions are like a spavined horse, which the worthless owner who possesses him swears loudly is the best, and soundest, and handsomest creature breathing, till he has accommodated some "friend and fellow-countryman" with the rip, when he immediately looks about for another animal, uses this second as long as suits his own convenience, or till he has worn him out; parts with him also, under the same warranty of his being sound and good; and takes a third; and so on to a fourth and a fifth, or one of the old ones back again, no matter which. He may at last, indeed, meet with a wretched that will tumble him down and break his neck: only don't let him puff him off upon any of you, and so break your necks instead of his own, which he would do for a farthing gain.

You will observe in his late twopenny Address, that he excites you to "burnings, and plunderings, and devastation, and shedding of blood;" telling you, on the authority of a very foolish man, ARTHUR YOUNG, that not the people who *did* these things in France, but those who *suffered* them were ALONE (he puts the word in capitals) to blame; and that, therefore, you may of course do the same, without guilt or criminality. He hints, also, that you might take possession of other people's firesides: but then he says (now, mark the cunning of the knave), "He hopes it will never come to pass; but that if one thing more than another could tend to produce," &c. &c. This is the hole hell creep out at! If he succeeds in exciting you to the "plunderings, and murderings, and devastation," he talks of; why then you'll have him, and other worthies like him, as your leaders, for he tells you plainly, in the first column of his address, that "you are to labour with your limbs, and that he is to labour with his mind; and that on all occasions, but more especially on occasions like the present, it is the duty of those who labour with their limbs to come to the assistance of those who labour with their minds!" But should the laws be too strong for you, then will he desert you—swear he advised you (as he has) to "proceed in a peaceable and legal manner;" and—you have seen above how he once urged Ministers to the murder of those whom he has since praised; be assured that that is a crime of no blacker dye, than now praising and flattering those whom he may hereafter recommend to be murdered.

We recommend these remarks to the consideration of the labourers and journeymen of England;—is their good we chiefly seek:—but we are not without the hope that the view of his own crimes, and the injurious course which he is now endeavouring to pursue, may affect even the obdurate heart of Mr. COBBETT with something like shame and contrition.

*Eddowes, Printer, Salopian Journal Office.*

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## Extracted from the SALOPIAN JOURNAL of November 27, and December 4, 1810.

**M**OST of our readers have doubtless heard of that noted political writer WILLIAM COBBETT. For abuse he has a natural talent, by the exertion of which he has realised a considerable property in Hampshire, notwithstanding the multifarious grievances he has been repeatedly declaiming about. He began his political career, as a public writer, in America, under the signature of *Peter Porcupine*; and there he shot his quills so freely in all directions, that at last he was glad to escape from the *mob-law* of that country to his native land. On his return to England he took the violent anti-jacobin line, but is now on the opposite tack; having, in the course of a very few years, made the circuit of the political compass, and so scattered his abuse from every point, that his writings possess the singular advantage of containing within themselves complete answers to every part: for, if you want a diatribe against Bonaparte or the Bourbons—against Pitt or Fox—the Whigs or the Tories—the Prince Regent or Sir Francis Burdett—you have them of all sorts and sizes, and you have also the antidote complete, so that you may answer any chapter in the "*Political Register*," without putting pen to paper, or even being at the trouble of using your scissors and paste to put the scraps together. Mr. Cobbett sold his weekly modicum of scandal at one shilling when most newspapers were but sixpence, and the high price, perhaps, in some degree, prevented the mischief; but his inflammatory declamations are now reprinted, for distribution to the lower class, at 2d. each, and are circulated in various parts of the country by disaffected persons. To counteract in some measure the mischievous tendency of his poisonous trash, *The Times*, itself an opposition journal, has been at the trouble of looking a little way back, and contrasting Cobbett with himself, in an essay styled *COBBETT against COBBETT*. The article might, with little trouble, have been rendered more complete: but as it is, it will be found to contain abundant proof of the total want of principle in this political quack; we have, therefore, at the request of a Correspondent, inserted it in our publication."

**COBBETT against COBBETT.**

[FROM THE TIMES.]

We believe it is now some five or six years ago since *The Times* put down the work entitled *Cobbett's Weekly Register*, and sunk its author into obscurity and contempt. The occasion of this event we shall briefly relate:—Mr. COBBETT had been sentenced to two years' imprisonment for a libel: and during the time that he was in Newgate, it was discovered that he had secretly been in treaty with Government to avoid the sentence passed upon him; and that he had proposed to certain of the agents of Ministers, that if they would let him off, they might make what future use they pleased of him: he would entirely betray the cause of the people; he would either write or not write, or write against them, as he had done once before, just as Ministers thought proper. To this, however, it was replied, that "COBBETT had written on too many sides already to be worth a great service to the service of Government;" and he accordingly suffered his confinement. By the time when he came out of prison, *The Times* was ready to publish the whole of this base transaction, on unquestionable evidence, and did so publish it, in the form of two letters; the consequence of which was, that Mr. COBBETT was all but hooted, and in fact was hooted from a party of his own friends met to celebrate his liberation. Since that time we had thought that his journal had wholly dropped off the ground; some other writers, such as those of the *Independent Whig* and *Examiner*, who were more virulent and impudent than himself, having sprung up. We learned, however, lately, that *Cobbett's Register* was still in existence, having crept on in obscurity for a series of years; till that, recently, as public distress thickened, it had seemed to revive a little, and might, probably, by his arts, if he were not again exposed, be foisted into some degree of circulation among the thoughtless. We have accordingly found, that in order to puff it into notice, he has lately re-published one of its articles in a cheap form, for two-pence, addressed to the journeymen and labourers of the kingdom, carefully telling them that he will deal out some "further information to them in a future number"; we do not know whether at the same price of twopence, or at the more exorbitant one of twelvepence-halfpenny, which his Register costs.

Mr. COBBETT appears to be a great friend of the labouring poor (the Lord have mercy, by the way, upon those poor that labour for him), and of the people of England in general, we shall—not examine ourselves, but—let him prove his own claim to that title, in his own words generally. In his twopenny address he calls the journeymen and labourers "FRIENDS AND FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN;" tells them (as is true) "that the real strength and all the resources of a country ever sprung and ever must spring from the labour of its people;" elegant dresses, superb furniture, stately build-

on nothing but our riches and our ease;*our spirit must rise, or our country must fall for ever.* In less than six years we must again be at war, or we shall quietly pass under the yoke. The French are at this moment preparing the means of our destruction. While we are lying down to enjoy a long and quiet repose, they are busily employed in planning the operations of another war, and in preparing the means of execution. We have now upon the table before us a book, just published at Paris, indicating the method of totally destroying, during another war, the naval power of "the tyrants of the seas." *The malignity of our enemies has no bounds but those of their power.* Their hatred of us is inextinguishable—nothing can abate it; no, not even the wretched state of debasement into which we have fallen. *It is not our humiliation, nor our ruin, that will content them: they aim at our extermination as an independent power; and to frustrate their views will require a spirit very different indeed from that which at present prevails.*

"Various reports have been circulated as to the time of the arrival of the French Ambassador. Some expect him next week, and some even to-day; but we do not think it is likely that he will arrive before the month of August at soonest; and Lord Warrington certainly will not set out till very near the time of M. Aranzio's arrival. *We, for our parts have no desire to see him.* We have lately beheld humiliating scenes enough. The cup of disgrace must, indeed, be drank to the dregs; but who does not seek to put off the evil hour?

"The scarcity in France is very great. Bread is sold at 8 sous per pound. *The publishers of newspapers dare not mention the price of bread, or of provisions of any kind in their publications.* One of them was lately threatened with deportation for an offence of this sort! Well done, *Corsican!* Muzzle them, yoke them, ring them, tether them, clog them, whip them, and goad them! Lay on and spare not. You, and you alone, are capable of inflicting on them the punishment due to the murderers of a King!"—*Ann. Reg.*, vol. 1, p. 765 (June 1802.)

This was Mr. COBBETT's view, at the commencement of what may be called the consular war, of the tyrannic power and inundating barbarism which we, in conformity with his recommendation, undertook to combat; he told us, that if we did not destroy BONAPARTE, he would destroy us; and now when we have succeeded, and have actually beaten him down, the same Mr. COBBETT turns round and tells us, that we are all wrong, and have done a great deal of mischief; and that we should have done much better to let him stay in France, and so, as he calls it, "exterminate us."

Why, what can such a man mean, or has he any meaning at all, but to make money of a parcel of dupes and fools?

We cannot, however, present Mr. COBBETT's quadrant opinions of BONAPARTE, without adding those avowed by him also respecting the BOURBONS, and the lawful Government of France.

In March, 1802, Mr. COBBETT, in a critical notice of a work, entitled "*A Word to the Alarmists on the Peace*," by a Graduate of the University of Cambridge, says,

"When the fountain is impregnated with poison, who can hope to drink living waters from the stream? We do not ascribe to the whole University of Cambridge a concurrence in the principles promulgated from the press of BENEDICT."

at first sight, what he is not—a creature so brutally ignorant, as not to be able to count his own eight fingers and two thumbs: venality and profligacy are therefore the only causes of his writing in one way at one time, and in a different one at another; and that without any sense of shame, or any regard to consistency.

But now "friends and fellow-countrymen" of Mr. COBBETT, we shall show you more fully how he treated you and his friend SIR FRANCIS BURDETT some time ago, before we enter upon the question of Parliamentary Reform.

In his summary of politics for June, 1802, he observes, on occasion of a recent dissolution of Parliament, that "the people had been told, in two *factionary* addresses, that they are not represented in the House of Commons; that that assembly is no longer what it used to be; and that, until it be reformed, it is in vain for them to hope for any good from that quarter." He then goes on to state, that "the words representation and *elective franchise* have done much towards confusing the brains and corrupting the hearts of his Majesty's subjects; and though he has not the power of dissipating the fatal delusion, it is yet his duty to contribute his mite to the attempt!"

Mr. COBBETT then presents his readers with a picture of the miserable state of the representation in one of the states of America, "where the elective franchise was as universal even as Sir F. B. could have wished it;" and assures them, that the choice frequently fell upon bankrupts, swindlers, quacks, Atheists, &c. "The cause of their profligate choice is this.—The mass of the people of all nations are so fond of nothing as of power. Men of sense know that the people can in reality exercise no power which will not tend to their own injury. Hence it is, that in states where the popular voice is unchecked by a royal or some other hereditary influence, that voice is, nine times out of ten, given in favour of those fawning parasites who, in order to gratify their own interest and ambition, profess to acknowledge no sovereignty but that of the people; and who, when they once get into power, rule the poor sovereign with a rod of scorpions!" &c.

He then quotes an American pamphleteer, in proof of the shocking state of the legislatures in that republic; and concludes, "Such, Englishmen, is the description of a legislative assembly, where *equal representation* prevails; where almost every man has a vote at elections; and where these elections do annually occur. The ambitious knaves, who flatter you with high notions of your rights and privileges—who are everlasting dunning in your ears the blessings of what they call the elective franchise, wish to add to the number of electors, because they well know that they would thereby gain an accession of strength!" &c.—(Vol. 1, p. 795.)

Now, Englishmen!—for, indeed, in heart and principles you are not the friends, or even fellow countrymen of Mr. COBBETT, though he calls you so—perhaps you may be curious to know what are the real opinions of that your self-elected leader on the subject of Parliamentary reform. We will tell you then, HIS LATEST; because by his latest opinions he hopes to make money:

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