

## LETTER I.

Middleton Cottage, 7th October, 1816.

SIR.—These are the questions which the sons and daughters of corruption now put to us. They can no longer deny the existence of the corruption; the declaration of some members, that they thought *no worse* of Castlereagh and Perceval for their conduct in the case of Quintin Dick, and the avowal of others, that the traffic in seats was as notorious as the Sun at noon-day: these declarations have silenced those who had the impudence to contend for the *purity* of the present thing. They, therefore, give that up, and now contend, that if a Reform were to take place, it would *do no good*, and might *throw the country into confusion*. And, proceeding upon these grounds, they ask us the questions, which I have placed at the head of this letter, which questions it shall now be my business to answer, seeing that we now certainly, in *my opinion*, approach the hour of *Reform*, or that of *Confusion*. At such a moment, it is proper that we should be able to shew, not only that Reform would *do good when carried into effect*; but, that, if *now* entered on, it may be carried *into effect without any risk of creating violence and confusion*. This I think myself able to do to the satisfaction of every impartial man in the kingdom.

With regard to the first question ("What *good* would a Reform of Parliament do?"), I ought first to observe on the *impudence* of such a question. When a man comes into a court of justice and sues for anything which he claims as his *right*, the Judge and Jury do not ask him what good the thing will *do him* if he gains his cause. The only question with them, is, whether his claim be just; whether he has a right to the thing for the recovery of which he sues. What should we say to a thief, detected with our plate in his possession, if he were to say, that he would keep it because, in his opinion, it would *do us no good*, if we got it back? But, this is an old trick with wrong-doers, who are always ready to pretend, that the wronged party has not suffered any real injury by the wrong, or, at most, but little injury, or little comparative injury. The man who is robbed upon

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the highway suffers, in general, but a trifling loss; the recovery of a few shillings is not worth the half of his trouble; but, this consideration does not save the robber from the gallows. It being acknowledged, therefore, that representation ought to precede taxation; to be represented by persons chosen by themselves being the *undoubted right* of all the tax-payers in the kingdom; the people may surely be permitted to judge for themselves as to the use they shall make of their right when they shall obtain possession of it; and, thus, we might, if we chose, dismiss this question without another word.

But, Sir, the cause is too good for its advocates to shun discussion upon it, at any time, or under any circumstances. In setting about to state the good things, which would be accomplished by a *Reform*, such is the crowd of objects which present themselves, that the difficulty is to determine where to begin and what order to pursue. But, if the *Reform* did no more than put an end for ever to scenes of notorious bribery and corruption, to all that meanness, lying, drunkenness, violence, fraud and false swearing, which spread themselves over the country at every general election; if the *Reform* did no more than put an end to these, would that be *no good*? Talk of *religion* indeed! Circulate Bibles almost by force! Set up schools and societies to make the people more moral! declare, as the Judges do, that Christianity is a part of the *Law of the Land*! and, at the same time, suffer to exist a system of election, which necessarily produces every species of crime known to the law, and every species of vice which is a mark of human degradation! The existence of this enormous evil is notorious to all the world. There is not a man in the country, who is not well acquainted with the horrid scenes of infamy produced by every general election; and, therefore, that man who pretends to labour for a reformation in the morals of the people, and who does not do his best to procure an abolition of this fruitful cause of all the worst sorts of immorality, must of necessity be a hypocrite, and, accordingly, ought to be held in detestation; for what can be more detestable, what more worthy of our abhorrence, than the conduct of a man, who professes an anxious desire to make the people virtuous, while he is, either actively or passively, giving his support to a system which he knows must, as long as it exists, fill the land with

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deceit, fraud, drunkenness, breaches of the peace, and perjury?

Without going a step further, therefore, here is a good quite sufficient to justify our endeavours. But, great as this good would be, it does not surpass many others which would be the consequence of a Reform of the Parliament. It is now manifest, that the government is embarrassed for the means of paying the interest of its debt; that the agriculture and trade of the country are ruined; that the shipping of the country are rotting. The question of our enemies points, therefore, to this:—"Would a Reform remove the embarrassments of the governments; would it revive agriculture and trade and navigation all of a sudden?" No. But, because I cannot restore to life the valuable horse which my servant has killed, ought I to keep that servant, and give him the care of my less valuable horse which is yet alive? If a gentleman has a steward, who has brought his estate into dilapidation and nearly ruined both landlord and tenants, does that gentleman, when he takes a strict look into his affairs, keep the same steward in his employ merely because no new steward can replace his estate in the situation in which the former steward found it? No. In order to prevent total ruin, ruin to his children as well as to himself, he appoints another steward forthwith, and as soon as he can attend to any thing else, he takes measures to punish the knave, who has brought him to the verge of beggary.

It would be impossible for a Reformed Parliament to restore to affluence or competence the hundreds of thousands of persons who have lately become insolvent. It would be impossible for a reformed parliament to find the means of paying away 60 or 70 millions a year. It would be impossible for a reformed parliament to prevent the mortality from taking place in cases where the mortal stab has been given. It is impossible for the present parliament to pay, much longer, the interest of the debt in full; and, a reformed Parliament certainly would not attempt it. But a reformed parliament would do a great many good things at once; and in the space of a very few years, it would restore the country to ease and happiness.

1. It would do away with the profligacy, bribery, and perjury of elections, and would thereby, in one single act, do more for the morals of the people, than has, since the system

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has existed, been done by all the Bible Societies and all the schools that have ever been set on foot, and all sermons that have ever been preached.

II. A Reformed Parliament would instantly put an end to that accursed thing, called *Parliamentary Interest*. Promotions and rewards and honours in the army, the navy, the church, the law, and in all other departments, would follow merit, and not be bestowed and measured out according to the number of votes that the party, or his friends, were able to bring to the poll in support of this or that set of people in power. Thus would the nation be sure to have the full benefit of all that it needed of the best talents and greatest virtues that it possessed. It was from this cause, Sir, and this cause alone, that America shone so bright in the late contest. The world was surprised to see naval and military commanders spring up as it were spontaneously out of Lakes and Woods; and the people of England were utterly astonished to see their ships and armies either captured by, or fleeing in disgrace before men who had never before been heard of. But, if we had considered, that the President of the United States had, in the choice of his commanders, the whole of the nation lying open before him, and that he had no particular interests to consult in the determination, we should have been less surprised. If he had had borough-mongers or members of corporations to consult in his appointments; if the Lady of this man, or the sister of that man, or the father of another, and so on, had had the dictation of his appointments, the Porters and Decaturs, and Chauncys, and M'Donnoughs, and Jacksons, and Browns, might have remained to till the land, while the proteges of Corruption were letting in the legions of the enemy to devour its produce and enslave its inhabitants. This, Sir, is the people, to whose conduct and institutions we are to look. They are a people like ourselves in all things, except where our institutions have an effect different from theirs. What should make crimes so rare amongst them, and great public virtues and talents so abundant? Why should that soil more than this be fertile in great military and naval skill and courage, caught up, all at once, out of common life? Nothing but this; that there the executive is unbiased in his choice, and has the whole of society to choose from; while here, there is a borough faction, whose

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pretensions and power supersede the legitimate power of the executive, a power which would instantly be restored to it by a Reformed Parliament. It is well known what heartburnings there are in the army and navy on this score. *Parliamentary interest* is well understood amongst the gentlemen of those professions. *Merit* is a thing, therefore, little sought after, because worth very little when acquired. Of all the professions and ranks of society, none ought more anxiously to wish for a reformed parliament than the officers in general, and even the privates of the army and navy; and yet there are men so stupid as to suppose, that these bodies would present a great obstacle in the way of Reform. As Ambassadors, Consuls, &c. the Americans send their most able citizens, while ours consist of persons, chosen from the motives before mentioned. The superior talents of the American Diplomatists is universally acknowledged. Indeed, what Englishman can refrain from blushing at the endless proofs, which the last twenty years have given to the world of this superiority, which is made the more conspicuous by the language of both countries being the same? Yet, is there no scarcity of talent of this sort in England. But, the talent, to be available by our executive must have the borburgh interest at its back; and, as that is seldom the case, we are exposed to all the shame which bungling agents never fail to bring upon a nation; and, notwithstanding that a tribe of underlings of greater talent than the chief are generally selected to accompany him, we have seen many of their public papers so obscure and so ungrammatical as hardly to have a meaning; to say nothing of the want of knowledge, of argument, and of force, which they almost invariably exhibit. All this a Reformed Parliament would put to rights. The best talents would, be called forth into the country's service. There could exist no motives for sending an unfit person on any foreign mission. Every person so sent would know, that reward and honour would follow his merits, and that disgrace and punishment would follow misbehaviour. In the Church, too, the Crown, the Bishops, and even private patronage, would be freed from this source of undue bias. Borough interest would no longer open the paths to rich livings, while it closed them against learning and piety and true charity unsupported by that interest. And thus

would it be in every department. And, Sir, would this not be *a good*? This good would operate instantly. It would be completely in the power of a reformed parliament to effect it; and it is hardly to be believed, that it would be possible to find a king, who would not be glad to be thus restored to the free use of his lawful authority.

III. A Reformed Parliament would, in the space of one single week, carefully examine the long list of Sinecures, Pensions, grants, and other emoluments, of individuals, derived from the Public Purse. They would critically distinguish between those which had been granted for public services, known and acknowledged, or capable of being proved, and those for the granting of which no good reason could be assigned. They would inquire also into the *duration* of these several grants, would ascertain the aggregate sums which the parties had received in this way, would ascertain the means of the present possessors, would trace the public money back to its source, and would then adopt such measures thereon as justice might point out. And, would this be doing *nothing*? Would this be *no good*? Would it be no good to curtail this enormous head of expenditure? Would it be no good to leave a large part of this money in the hands of the farmers and tradesman, in order to assist them in paying the poor-rates and other *necessary taxes*? Do you think, Sir, that it would be an easy matter to persuade a Reformed Parliament, that *George Ross* ought to receive *ten thousand pounds a year*? Or that Canning ought to have received more than that sum per year while he was at Lisbon, whither he went, in part, at least, as it was avowed, for the *recovery of the health of his child*? Very proper, would a Reformed Parliament say, for you to go and endeavour to restore your child to health; but not very proper for you to be maintained there as an *Ambassador*, while the King had no court there, and did not live in that country. And, a Reformed Parliament would tell him, that the people of England had no more reason to care about the health of his son, than about that of any pauper in any of the work-houses, or out, upon an allowance on the Northamptonshire scale. A Reformed Parliament would with great difficulty be able to perceive the propriety of paying the amount of the Sinecures of Lords Camden, Liverpool, Ellenborough, and the rest of that description, and would be inclined to believe, that, to

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put an end to these was a more likely way to keep labourers out of the poor-house than collecting pennies out of the scanty earnings of those labourers to be put into George Rose's Saving Banks. A Reformed Parliament would not forget to inquire *why* Mr. Ponsonby and Lord Erskine receive four thousand pounds a year each, and are to receive it for life; *why* Mr. Huskisson is always to receive twelve hundred pounds a year when he is not in an office, which brings him in more than that sum; *why* his wife is to have a good fat pension after his death if he should outlive him; *why* Mrs. Mallet du Pan and Wm. Giffard are kept by the public; *why* the Seymours receive such immense sums and the Somersets; *why* Lady Louisa Paget and numerous other dames of quality receive incomes out of the public taxes. The *why* and the *wherefore* of all these items and hundreds upon hundreds of others would a Reformed Parliament scrupulously examine, and, having made their examination, they would, I imagine, lay the pruning-hook about them with some effect.

IV. A Reformed Parliament would, without a day's delay, set a Committee to work to inquire into the amount of the salaries of all persons in public employ. They would ascertain, whether the said salaries of such persons had been raised in consequence of the rise in the prices of provisions and labour, which took place some years ago. It would soon be discovered, that the salaries of the Judges, for instance, have been doubled within the last twenty years, and that the grounds, upon which the augmentation took place, was, the rise in the prices of provisions and labour. This being the undeniable fact, and it being also undeniable, that the prices of provisions and labour have come down to their *former amount*, a Reformed Parliament, freely chosen by all the tax-payers, would say, that the Judges' Salaries ought to be reduced to *their former amount*; and, if any one grumbled at this reduction, a Reformed Parliament would call him a most unreasonable and unjust man. The same would be done with regard to the Police Justices, and other persons appointed by the government. Great crowds of people in office would be dismissed wholly, and their salaries saved; but, a Reformed Parliament would not be under the necessity of turning mere clerks out to starve. The fault has not been *theirs*, if they have been unprofitably employed. The ex-

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pence of affording them a decent maintenance, in proportion to their talents and length of service, would be trifling, and they would receive it, except in cases where their introduction or promotion had sprung notoriously from *Borough-interest*; for between men thus fostered, and other men, a distinction would necessarily be made. More than a million a year of expence would thus be lopped off in a week, without any one act of cruelty or injustice. Let the spawn of the Borough-corruption return back to feed on the flesh that its parent had collected; but let the hard-working clerk and his family find food at the hands of national generosity.

V. Precisely the same principle would guide a Reformed Parliament in its reduction of the army, and in its sifting of the navy. In all cases where promotion or rewards could be traced back to the borough-interest the hand of a Reformed Parliament would be unsparing; but, to all meritorious men, of all ranks, it would show how liberal a people fairly represented can be. Be the cause, in which sailors and soldiers have fought, what it may, *they* have incurred no blame. Their wounds ought to be regarded, and so does the length of their service, as proofs only of their valour; and it would be one of the first principles of a reformed parliament to reward and hold in honour valiant men. A reformed parliament would suffer no man to beg in a sailor's or a soldier's coat. If an impostor, they would whip him: if a real soldier or sailor, they would give him ample means to have house and home, and to be well fed and cloathed. But a reformed parliament would see no necessity, I imagine, of a Commander in Chief's Office with an enormously expensive Staff. They would see as little necessity for supporting, at an enormous expence, academies where the sons of borough-voters and other protegees are educated (in some cases under foreign masters) in the art of war, and who are thus, from their earliest youth, separated and kept as a *distinct cast*, from the rest of the nation. A reformed parliament, adopting the maxim of BLACKSTONE, that all such establishments are abhorrent to the principles of the English Constitution, would support no such thing; but would look upon the nation as most secure, when under the protection of the arms of free-men, commanded by their natural leaders, the gentlemen of England, selected for their skill and courage by a king uncontroled and unembarrassed by borough interest and family

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intrigue. If possible still less necessity would a reformed parliament see for Barracks, Fortresses, and Depots in the heart of England. Such a parliament would devote these places to demolition and sale for useful purposes. Rows of officers, joined together by the arm, like chain-shot, lounging up and down the streets of towns, and thrusting the tradesman and farmer from the pavement, would be an object of which a reformed parliament would soon rid the country. Long swords, dragging the ground; lofty caps and brass helmets, tied under the chin; whiskers, muffs, tippets, jackets, bark-boots, false calves, false shoulders, and the whole list of German badges and frippery would fly away before the acts of a reformed parliament as the dust and dead leaves and rotten limbs of trees fly through the air before a thunder storm in Carolina; and we should once more behold the plain and warm English coat envelope the bodies that contain the brave and honest hearts of our countrymen. In examining the *half pay list*, a reformed parliament would proceed, not so much with an eye to *economy*, as with an eye to *impartiality*, for, as to *compassion*, no man who has served as a soldier or a sailor, ought to be exposed to the pain of exciting such a feeling. A reformed parliament would enquire upon what grounds such large incomes are awarded to some officers on the *half pay* and *retired* lists, while so very small a pittance is awarded to others. They would soon discover, whether the same person, in many instances, does not, in fact, receive emoluments under different heads and names of allowance. They would judge whether one man ought to receive for no very distinguished exploits, as much as twenty other men, each of whom has been exposed to as much risk as that one man; and, whatever else a reformed parliament might do in this respect, certain I am that they would never suffer hundreds of midshipmen, who have faced death in a thousand shapes, to starve in our streets or become paupers. As to this matter, a reformed parliament would first take care that an impartial distribution was made; and, having seen that, they would rely upon the justice of the people to afford the means of any necessary augmentation.

VI. A reformed parliament, elected by the people themselves, and having no reason to suspect that any secret enemies of the government could have any power to do mischief,

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would have no occasion to expend money in "secret services." Here would be a saving at once equal to the comfortable support of all the discharged midshipmen. A reformed parliament, chosen by the people, and re-chosen yearly, could have no idea of expending money for any secret purpose. It would openly avow all its objects, and would scorn to owe its safety to the aid of spies and informers. It would need no eves-droppers and pot-house topers to give it information of the people's feelings and complaints. The poll yearly taken would fully instruct it upon these heads. The real agent of the people, it would meet and hear what the people themselves had to say, and it would obey their wishes, which never could be contrary to their interests, unless nature should take the singular frolick of moulding men's minds in such a way as to make them desire that which would do them harm. A reformed parliament would, therefore, want no "secret service money;" it would need no hired scoundrels to inform against this man or that man; to mark out this man as a friend, and that man as an enemy of the government; this man as loyal and that man as disloyal; there would be none of this disgraceful spy-work; none of those devices, by which neighbours, friends, families, are set together by the ears; none of those infamous proceedings, which tyrants adopt upon their favourite maxims of "divide and destroy." Under the guidance of a reformed parliament no man would rise up into riches as a reward for betraying a friend or a client. The word traitor would be used in its proper sense. It would be applied to the miscreant who should pry into the bosom of a man, and then sell the secret; to the Attorney who should undermine the cause, or the Advocate who should aim at the life or reputation of his employer. A reformed parliament would set the example of holding such perfidious and mercenary monsters in abhorrence.

VII. Nothing would be improved by a reformed parliament more than the reputation of the Bar. The government under the influence of, and controuled by, a reformed parliament, would stand in need of no acute men, bred to the law, to lay traps for, and catch, the people. It would have no desire to find out the means of prying into every man's mind and purse. The taxes would be such as were necessary; they would be simple in their nature, obvious in their source, impartial in their distribution amongst the payers, and easy in

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their assessment and collection. It would acquire no law lords at the Boards; it would not require the keen education and inexorable habits of a lawyer to be a collector or supervisor. Acts of Parliament on fiscal affairs would not swell into volumes any more. The people would understand the duties they had to perform towards their government; and the gentlemen of the long robe, rescued from the disgrace of being tax-gatherers and surchargers, would, as they formerly did, raise their heads boldly in courts of law and justice, having their eyes fixed upon fair fame, won in their profession, which, in itself, has always been considered as learned and honourable. As to the tribe of small lawyers, who possess, or are expecting places, they might be told to seek "compensation for loss of profession" by becoming turnkeys or jailors' clerks; but, Sir, as was proved in the case of your old friend "Governor Aris," the office of prison keeper ought never to be entrusted to any man without great caution. This would be making a furious sweep at the Bar; but, lowering the number, would be raising the character of that body, and we should again see study, learning, eloquence, and integrity, the means of raising lawyers to fortune and honours. We should again see the Bar possessed by men, who would scorn to truckle to the underlings of Ministers, and, for the sake of mere bread, become the third or sixth clerks in the offices of government.

VIII. The *Press* would be what it ought to be. Perfectly free to utter the words of any man, who confined himself within the bounds of *truth*, as to public men or public matters. A reformed parliament would want nobody to assist it in blinding the people. It would stand in need of no deception, no fraud, no falsehood. The hireling crew of editors and authors would, indeed, severely suffer. They would be reduced to beggary or exalted to the gallows for robbery or theft; but, what do the people owe them, except it be ill will and curses? They have been among the most efficient instruments in producing our ruin; and they, at this moment, are labouring with a degree of malignity, which while it demonstrates their sense of the desperateness of their cause, must go to the account of their demerits, whenever that account shall be settled. A reformed parliament need care nothing about the press, in any way but for the protection of the freedom of that guardian of public morals. The



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parliament would have to meet their constituents *annually*. Their conduct could never be misrepresented with any degree of effect. There could, therefore, be *no motive* for hiring the press, which would become what the press always ought to be. A reformed parliament would naturally be anxious for the instruction of the people in political matters; but it would effect this desirable object by the frequent discussions which annual elections would give rise to, and by the promulgation of its acts amongst all classes of the people, the acts being written in plain and intelligible language, and stripped of all that uncouth jargon and that cumbrous tautology, by which craft obstructs the pursuit of common sense. All the filthy and base intercourse between the underlings of office and the hirelings of the press would cease. There would be no sinecures given to such men as Canning and Giffara, and all the swarm of reptiles, who now fatten in this way, would die, or be no more heard of.

IX. A Reformed Parliament would not leave the Civil List and the "*Crown Lands*," as they are called, in their present state. In this time of Public distress, a reformed parliament would think it reasonable, and, indeed, necessary, that the Civil List should be greatly reduced. The enormous sums now swallowed up under that name almost surpass belief. We see, that the President of the United States of America, who is the Chief Magistrate of a people equal in number to the people of England and Wales, including Scotland, perhaps, whose country has a quantity of trade and commerce not much less than this country has; and who was able single handed to carry on a successful war against the undivided power of England: That Chief Magistrate, a man chosen for his wisdom, experience, and great talents, has no more allowed him than *six thousand pounds a year!* Yet, America is well governed, and so well governed, and so happy are the people, that there is no misery in the land, and there are not as many crimes committed there in a year as are committed in England and Wales in *one week*; or, perhaps, in *one day!* To what, Sir, are we to ascribe a difference so disgraceful to us? Shall we hear it asserted that we are *naturally a murdering and a robbing race?* If our government were to do this, it would not answer its purpose, for the Americans are of the same race. But, we reject with indignation the unjust idea. We are *naturally as honest*

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and as kiud as the Americans are. It is our misery, and that alone, which produces such a mass of crimes in England, compared to what is committed in America. And this misery arises, as every one now sees, from that pressure of taxation, which forces men into the lists of paupers and beggars. When a man becomes a pauper or a beggar; when want is continually staring him in the face; when hunger gnaws his stomach and cold pinches his limbs; when his present sufferings are merely a foretaste of that which awaits him later in life; when hope has ceased to linger in his bosom, then comes despair, and with the remaining energies of his mind and body, he siezes by force or by fraud on that which he cannot obtain by labour. This is the beginning of crime; and we have here the true and only cause of the difference between us and the Americans in this respect. The President's six thousand pounds a year is an example worthy of imitation in England, especially in this season of horrible distress. The hirelings of the press tell us, that we have secured our constitution by the sacrifices that we have made. You know, and the people now see, what they have secured; but, be this as it may, if it be acknowledged, that we have made sacrifices, let us ask what sacrifices the Royal Family, the Judges, the Placemen, the Sinecure men, the Pensioned Ladies, the Police Justices, and others, have made. Their incomes have been augmenting during the whole of this long season of sacrifices! This is a curious matter. Well might Canning and Gifford, in the Anti-Jacobin news-paper, call upon the people for sacrifices, while they themselves and GILLARY the Caricature man, were obtaining sinecures and pensions! Well might George Rose call upon the people for sacrifices for the preservation of the constitution, while he, from being a Purser in the Navy, was rising to the receipt of ten thousand pounds a year out of those very sacrifices! It is now acknowledged, even by the very hirelings themselves, even by that most corrupt of prints, the Times newspaper, which was conceived in sin and brought forth in iniquity, and which has never belied its origin; even by this vile hireling it is now acknowledged, that great and general distress prevails. Well, then, will none of those who wallow in luxury out of means derived from the public purse, do nothing in the way of making sacrifices? Will Canning and Gifford still cling to their sinecures? Will Rose and all the rest of them do the same? Will they tell us, thht we still ought to

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pay them to the full amount? Will Lord Grenville and Mr. Ponsonby and Lord Erskine and Lord Donoughmore and hundreds of others; will they say, that the people have no right to call upon them for sacrifices? Will the Seymours and the Somersets still hang on? Be it so, but, surely the Civil List, which has had so many hundreds of thousands added to it during the season of the people's sacrifices, ought now to be greatly reduced.

If each of the junior branches of the Royal Family were allowed as much as the President of the United States is allowed, and if the King were allowed *ten times as much*; this, surely, would be enough. It will be time early enough to talk of *splendour* when the nation shall again be relieved from its distresses, and when the number of paupers shall have diminished. It will then be time enough to have *grand dinners* and sumptuous *fêtes*. Besides, the President governs America very well without any *splendour* at all. No country upon earth is so well governed; in no country are there so few breaches of the peace; in no country is the law so implicitly and cheerfully obeyed. Why, then, need our Royal Family be so anxious to secure the means of living in *splendour*? Splendour may serve to dazzle slaves, but it never can be an object of respect with free men. If a reduction such as I have here spoken of were made, a million of pounds a year would thereby be left in the pockets of the people, instead of that sum being annually taken from them by the tax-gatherers. This would be the true way of enabling the farmers and tradesmen to pay wages sufficient to keep labourers out of the poor-house. Mr. VANSITTART's scheme (poor man!) was, to raise taxes first, and to give those taxes to persons who, in consequence of that, would be able to *lend* the amount of the taxes to those who had *first paid* the said taxes! But, this notable scheme is not, I think, half so good as that of *leaving the money in the pockets of the people*, who, by the taxing scheme, are not only compelled to pay the *tax*, but the *tax-gatherer* also. A reformed parliament would, therefore, infallibly reduce the charges of the Civil List in somewhat nearly the amount that I have mentioned, and, in doing this, they would really render a great service to the Royal Family as to the people. A reformed parliament would, too, ascertain the precise amount of the King's private property. This is an odd thing; or at

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least; it sounds oddly to me. Whence comes this property? The fact, however, is, that the King has a mass of private property; that property is in the funds too! And, what is most curious of all, the "Whigs," while in power, passed an act, which exempted this property from paying property tax, while they nearly doubled that tax upon the property of every widow and orphan whn had property of the same sort! So much for Whiggism; but, that there is property of this sort belonging to the King we know from this act of parliament. As to the amount of it there are different assertions. But, it cannot be a mere trifle.

Now, Sir, while this fund exists, I think a reformed parliament would easily convince the Regent, that the people might, during the present distress, be spared the paying of any thing at all for the support of any part of the Royal Family. That the king, whose allowance has been augmented, in the shape of "arrears of Civil List," many times during the last twenty-five years; and which augmentations have taken place on the express ground of the increased expences of the necessaries of life; that the king should, during this time, have had money to lend to the government; that being the case in fact, when money is placed in the funds; that this should have been the case; that the king should have had private property of this sort, under such circumstances, appears wonderful to me. But, such is the fact, and I am very confident, that a reformed parliament would endeavour to prevail on the Regent to consent to a measure for making his money available in the present time of distress. Nor would a reformed parliament overlook the Crown Lands, which, in fact, are now the people's lands.

A reformed parliament would remember, that the crown was formerly supported by its own estates without any charge upon the people, except in particular cases; that wars were sometimes carried on out of the means afforded by these estates; and that, when this Royal Family received a fixed sum per year out of the taxes, the public became proprietors of the crown estates. The sum fixed on was £800,000 a year. This sum has been prodigiously swelled; and, what is very curious, the estates, which maintained the families and courts of former kings, now yield scarcely sufficient to pay half a dozen sinecures!

Mr. Huskisson, who has a contingent pension of £1200 a

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year with a reversion of half the amount to Mrs. Emily Huskisson, his wife, is the chief steward for the management of these estates; and, a reformed parliament, would, I imagine, just take the liberty to ask Mr. Huskisson, the reason of this wonderful non-productiveness. A reformed parliament would go back in their inquiries upon this subject. They would sift out an account of the grants made of parts of this immense estate, within the last 25 years. They would see what sums had been received, and of whom, and by whom, for the renewal of leases, and for alienations, of parts of this public estate. They would inquire into the cause of tracts of land being taken in by individuals in the New Forest and other Forests and Chases; and they would, with very little difficulty, ascertain the amount of the immense quantities of timber, that have been felled, and what has been done with the amount of the trunk, lop, top, and bark. A reformed parliament would have nothing to do but to send one of their own body, with power to take evidence on the spot, to ascertain all these matters to a scruple. This immense estate, or, rather, this long list of immense estates if managed in the way that a reformed parliament would cause them to be managed, would, I am satisfied, go a considerable way in defraying all the expences which would be necessary in the governing of the country.

The *Droits of Admiralty* would also be a subject of strict inquiry with a reformed parliament, who would never sleep till they had before them, in black and white, a full account of all the receipts and all the disbursements upon this ample score. When they had that account before them, they would know what to do; and, there can be no question, that they would do what justice should demand at their hands.

Now, Sir, though a reformed parliament could not, all at once, relieve all the existing distress, I think it is evident, that a reformed parliament would be able to do a great many good things, and to afford the nation a great deal of relief. The question of our enemies is, therefore, already more than answered. They now see "what good" a reform of parliament would do; and, if they should turn round upon us, and say, that all these things can be done without a reform of parliament, we deny the fact upon the best possible ground, namely, that nothing is to be done, till Borough-elections are put an end to. But, besides, if they tell us,

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that all these things can be done by the representatives of Old Sarum, Gatton, Queenborough, Corfe Castle, Winchelsea, &c. &c. why have not these things been done, or attempted? There has been wanting either the *will* or the *power*, and it is, to us, no matter which since the effect has been the same.

X. But, can a reformed parliament make wheat 15s. a bushel with a plentiful crop and fine harvest; can they bring back South Down Ewes to 40s. instead of the 18s. which they now sell at; can they make a cow and a calf, which now sell for £7 to be worth £20 which they were worth four or five years ago, can they, by any means, bring back the paper money, and puff the bubble up to its former size? NO. And, if they could, they would not. "Why, then, a reformed parliament could not continue to pay the interest of the Debt in full?" NO. And, if they could, they would not, except to those individuals who should be found to have a fair claim to such payment; and, to pay them, a reformed parliament would find ample means, without a harassing system of taxation, and without any one act of injustice or of harshness towards any individual or any body of men. There are fundholders of different descriptions. It is certain, that a man who has acquired his property in private life is entitled to that property, fairly estimated; but, the bubble of paper-money has shifted property from one man's pocket to another man's pocket. By this species of legerdemain one man's cow has been changed into five pound's worth from twenty pound's worth, for this is really the proportion as to Jean horned cattle. Upon the whole of that sort of farm produce, which is not affected in its price by the seasons, a fall of much more than one half has taken place. Whatever is fit for the mouth, or for immediate use in any way, sells at some price; but, there are some things, such as colts, weaned calves, store lambs, which really will bring nothing worthy of the name of price.

Many men follow chiefly the rearing of sheep; and they are now selling for 9s. a head what they ought to sell, according to their expences, at 25s. a head. Can it be just, then, that the bubble, which has so lowered their property, should not lower the property of the fundholder? Suppose A and B to have started in 1812, each with a thousand pounds in his pocket. A lent his money to Perceval and the rest of them,



and B went to farming. A was to get five per cent for his money, and B the profit of his money and his labour. A had to receive of B, in taxes, the amount of about 70 bushels of wheat; for 70 bushels of wheat cost them about 50*l*. This was fair as long as the bubble continued; but, the bubble gets a crack; and things are so changed, that A demands and receives of B more than 100 bushels of wheat instead of 70, which it was clearly understood that A was to receive. And, if A be paid in *all sorts* of farm-produce, which is the case, he receives more than the *double* of what he ought to receive, according to the fair interpretation of the implied contract at the out-set. It is, therefore, manifestly unjust, that this rate of paying and receiving should continue. Indeed the thing is *impossible*, but if it were possible, it would be unjust. A Reformed Parliament, therefore, after making every reduction in expences that was practicable would betake themselves to this great task. They would inquire who the fundholders were, when they deposited their money; they would compare prices at the different times; they would hunt out the receivers of public money; they would see the extent of the nation's means, and they would, in a very short time, and with the greatest correctness, allot to every one his real due. Such a parliament would be the best friend of the fundholder, because it would begin by lopping off almost every expence except that of the Debt, and would thereby secure the best and only chance of his being paid. At any rate, the lot of the fundholder could not be worse than it must inevitably become in the present progress. With a Reformed Parliament an accommodation, a composition, would take place; but, if the bubble finally burst to thin air, without a reformed parliament, such a composition may become impracticable. No persons, therefore, ought to wish for a reformed parliament so earnestly as the fundholders, the greater part of whom are now, from ignorance, its decided enemies. They have a sort of vague fear, that a reform of parliament would lead to their utter ruin, and they have still singing in their ears the sounds, created by knavish horror-mongers, about the *French Revolution*. The causes of that Revolution would, however, if they rightly understood them, produce a different effect on the mind. It is notorious to all men who have read upon the subject, that it was the *extravagances*,

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which imposed intolerable burdens upon the people, *were persevered in*, in spite of all the complaints of the people, at a moment when the taxes pressed them to the earth. But, at last, the government could no longer collect the means of paying the interest of the debt. Still it persevered in the extravagance. It could not, however, by all its cruel edicts, wring from the people a sufficiency of money to pay the just demands upon it, and at the same time to support its army and its swarms of lazy dependents. In this dilemma it called the *Notables together*, and they recommended reform! Still there was time for the government to have saved itself from destruction and the country from bloodshed. But the government, urged by the blood-suckers of the country, endeavoured to support the old system; discovered insincerity in all its professions for the public good; allied itself in wishes at least, with those who had gone abroad to invite the aid of hired soldiers; the people became enraged; vengeance thrust calm reason from her seat; and the throne, the noblesse, the church, all were hurled down in an instant. From the government, vengeance marched with fire and sword against all its friends. Property became exposed to the caprice of succeeding men in power; and, in the uproar, the opulent fundholder thought himself happy to escape with his life to some dirty hiding place, there to reflect on the important truth, that **TIMELY REFORM would have secured to him the possession of his fortune.** Happy would it be, if, profiting from this dreadful example, the body of fundholders would now join their efforts to those of the friends of *timely reform*. The hirelings bid us be warned by the French Revolution. Let them take the awful warning to themselves. They are for ever reminding us, that that Revolution has ended in *despotism*. We, therefore, wish for a reform that shall *prevent revolution*. But, Sir, if they will have it, that our government will *never yield* upon this point, and that if we have a reform we shall not have it without a revolution, we will not believe their assertions, but if we were to admit them, for argument's sake, even then we should see no reason to desist from our efforts to obtain reform, being convinced that the *example of France ought not to alarm us*. We have, in this country, a form of government that we like; we have great constitutional principles and laws, to which we are immovably attached, which our brethren in

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America have firmly and most wisely adhered to, and which nothing can improve. These are land-marks for us, and would be our sure and certain guide. Whereas the French had never possessed any fixed principles or laws of this description. They were "*all at sea*;" and no wonder, if, in the midst of their rage and their vengeance and their torments, they committed great errors in the organization of an entirely new sort of government, which the people had never before heard any thing about. Therefore, Sir, we are not to be *cared* by the hirelings who tell us (very falsely I hope,) that the government will *never yield*, and that we shall not have reform *without revolution*. But, we do not, I hope, stop here; for, if we could believe it *possible*, which we cannot, that England would, *in the end*, derive no greater benefit from a change than France has derived from her change, *still we ought to proceed*. For, Sir, in spite of every thing, that the Bourbons, aided by a million of men in arms, have been able to do, still the state of France is a state of *blessedness*, compared to what it was before the revolution. France now possesses the *Code Napoleon*, instead of the cruel feudal system. France, in spite of invading and watching armies, has not been, and will not be, re plunged into the barbarism of the seventeenth century. Religious toleration cannot be gotten rid of, though murders are committed in the name of Jesus Christ. The Priests will never regain their power, and the petty tyrants of the Noblesse are for ever ejected from their power of robbing and insulting the people. To see a foreign army in their country to uphold the Bourbons against the wishes of the people must give the latter pain; but, they are much better off than before the revolution, when they were liable to be robbed and beaten, without daring to resist, by any of the myrmidons of the Crown. And, in truth, it is not more humiliating; it is even less humiliating, to be kept in awe by a foreign army, brought into the country on purpose, than by an army of one's own country, consisting of our own countrymen, paid, fed, and cloathed by ourselves. In the former case, it is an open acknowledged submission to foreign force; to the superior power of a conqueror; but in the latter case, it is a sort of sneaking degradation, which seeks to hide itself even from the eyes of the degraded party himself, who vainly imagines that, in shutting his eyes to his own disgrace he can hide it

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from the rest of the world. Supposing, therefore, that things were to remain in France as they now are, the French have *greatly gained* by their revolution, besides having inflicted just punishment on the greater part of their oppressors, and that is a *clear gain*, an enjoyment possessed and past, which nothing can deprive them of. But, things will *not remain* as they are. The French revolution is not yet *ended*. It cannot stop where it is, and the events of every day tend to impress this truth on our minds. However, even the view that present circumstances produce, induce us to conclude, making the very worst of every thing we see, that the example of France contains no one argument against the most strenuous exertions in favour of reform in England. To return to the fundholders, Sir, the notice of whose false alarms have led me into this digression, I think they ought to see much more cause for alarm in the continuance of the present system, than in a reform that would put an end to it. Several of the Correspondents of the Board of Agriculture, *Magistrates*, and, *of course*, "friends of Government," tell the Board, that, if *something be not done*, they do not believe, that *the peace of the country can be preserved!* By which they must mean, that the people will rise and help themselves. This is *revolution* at once; or, at least, *open rebellion*. So that it is their opinion, that one of these will take place, unless *something be done*.

And, what is to be done other than taking off the taxes in the way that I have proposed? And who will do that but a reformed parliament? Thus, then, the fundholders must, I should think, at last, clearly see, that their only chance of escaping ruin is in a Reform; that while the choice of the country in general lies between *reform* and *confusion*, their only particular choice lies between *reform* with *something*, and *confusion* with not a farthing. A reformed Parliament would "preserve the peace of the country," I'll warrant it. They would hasten with sincerity and energy to remove the pressure which the people feel; they would instantly put an end to that everlasting source of ill-will and bloodshed, the *religious disabilities* of Catholics and Dissenters; they would throw open the doors of promotion and honourable reward to men of all religious denominations; and would thereby put an end to those bitter animosities, which, while they make men persecute each other, renders the whole mass

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*more completely subject to oppression.* A reformed parliament would at once, recall the army from France, and disclaim, in the most distinct terms, all intention, or desire to interfere in the domestic affairs of other nations, expressing at the same time, its anxious wish to see civil and religious liberty flourish in every part of the world. This is the way, that a reformed parliament would proceed, in order to preserve the peace and restore the happiness of the country.

Having now, Sir, shown that a Reformed Parliament would be able to do something that no one will deny to be good, unless he be an eater of taxes, I should next proceed to answer the second question; namely, "*in WHAT MANNER can a Reform take place without creating confusion?*" but, as this is a subject that requires to be treated of somewhat in detail, it must be postponed 'till another week.

In the meanwhile permit me to congratulate you on the noble efforts, which the friends of freedom are making in the *City of London*, and on the triumph of those efforts. The re-election of the Lord Mayor, excellently sound and brave and public-spirited man as he is, is nothing compared to the demonstrations upon this occasion in favour of those principles, which are now prevailing in every quarter, namely, the principles of Reform. There was a time, when a man like the Lord Mayor would not have obtained a hundred votes in the City. Singular that the Pitt crew, by persevering in a poll, should seek to proclaim their own disgrace! But, the truth is, that they can hardly believe that what they now behold is *a reality*. Their insolence cannot yet recede from its former point. I do not so much wonder at this, seeing that I myself, though for 12 or 13 years, occupied in coolly foretelling the blowing up of this system, am actually astounded at what I see around me. The *statue of Pitt* would appear to have been placed in the Guildhall by his corrupt friends and jobbers for the express purpose of now carrying back the recollection of the Livery to his innumerable acts of oppression and insolence. Without this object in their sight, they might be induced to stop short in their reflection; but, with this before them, the trial of Tooke and Hardy, the Transportation of the Scot Patriots, the Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, the Treason and Sedition Bills, the Laws to cramp the Press, the Bastile and Governor Aris, the Loan to Boyd and Benfield, the

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Bank Restriction Act; all these and a thousand other things rush in upon the mind. No wonder that Mr. Thompson was led into vehement language, when with the miseries of his country in his mind, he happened to turn his eyes towards this statue. But, the more *solemn* the proceeding, in the removal of this object, so justly hateful to the eyes of the friends of freedom, the better it will be. It was *voted* into the hall by the enemies of the country; let it be *voted out* of the hall by its friends. It is, indeed, a deep disgrace to the City of London that it should remain there; for, as long as it so remains, will the City be justly accused of entertaining bad principles, or, of want of courage to assert good ones. This was the man who first set that mischief on foot, which has, at last, covered the country with misery, after having enslaved a great part of Europe. He was a cold, a hardened, a merciless man. The cool manner, in which he pursued Messrs. Tooke and Hardy; the evidence he gave on their trial (to say nothing about that of his friend, Wilberforce); his Cold-Bath-Fields proceedings: these ought never to be effaced from the minds of the people of England and Scotland; and the useful sort of *public instruction* would be to give a true account to the people of his acts and those of his underlings and successors. However, we have lists of the *Members of the Pitt Clubs*, which may serve to guide us in the selection of those, who are entitled to the largest share of our resentment. A short time will shew, whether these combinations of men will have the impudence to persevere in insulting the people; but, whatever they may do, the days of their glory are gone, never to return, and the days of their shame are at hand.

I am, with great respect

Your most obedient servant

WM. COBBETT,



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LETTER II. 125

"*In what manner can a Reform of Parliament take place,  
without creating confusion?*"

SIR—Having, in my last letter, shown, that a reform of parliament would do a great deal of good, it shall now be my business to answer the second of the questions, which fear, at the suggestion of craft, is continually putting to us. Before, however, I proceed to shew, that a timely reform might be, and would be, effected without the smallest chance of creating confusion, a preliminary remark or two are called for on the conduct of those crafty and corrupt men, who suggest this question to the ignorant and the timid.

*Why* should any body suppose, that confusion would be created by restoring the people at large to the enjoyment of the most important of their undoubted rights? We know well enough what infamous confusion now reigns at every general election. Why, then, is confusion so much dreaded? It will be shown, by and by, that a reformed parliament would be chosen by means the most simple, the most quiet in their operation, the most fair, and the best calculated to prevent those scenes of tumult and violence and beastly conduct, which now disgrace elections? but, before proceeding to the detail of those means, let us again ask those pretended lovers of peace and harmony, *why* they suppose, that a reform of parliament, above all things in the world, would be likely to create confusion?

The Habeas Corpus Act could be suspended for seven years at one time; new treasons could be invented; addition upon addition to the severity of the penal code; punishment heaped on punishment for the sake of collecting a revenue; fiscal system diving into every man's most private concerns; persons empowered to enter our houses, take account of our windows, horses, dogs, carriages, and servants; numerous acts of parliament, *each exceeding the New Testament in bulk*, to impose taxes and penalties upon the people; a system of watching us so close that no man can be said to have any thing private; ballotting for a militia, for a supplementary

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militia; a volunteer system; a yeomanry cavalry system; an army of reserve system; a levy-in-mass system; a local militia system. All these and a hundred other schemes and measures, adopted, undone, re-adopted, abandoned, exchanged, modified; and, at every step, penalties and forfeitures. All these have taken place, and no confusion seems ever to have been apprehended, though complexity and vexation and pains and penalties made the most conspicuous figure throughout the whole series. But, now, alas; when a reform is talked of, though nothing be in contemplation but a mere restoration of the undeniable rights of the people and the putting an end to corruption, profligacy, and waste, confusion is affected to be apprehended!

*Confusion in what?* In the mode of the election? There is now a greater bulk of laws and cases and decisions and expositions and reports relative to elections: these now amount in bulk to more than any man could read through in seven years, allowing himself time barely sufficient for eating and sleeping! This, Sir, you know to be a fact. And yet, the "harpies," as the noble old Major calls them, affect to be alarmed at the *confusion* that the putting an end to this shocking system will create! The *confusion*, which exists at elections, as they are now carried on, is notorious. A considerable part of the people come out of the scandalous strife with black eyes, bloody noses, broken limbs, or disordered minds; and, yet the peace-loving "harpies" fear confusion from the opposite of this system! No, Sir, what they really apprehend, is, that confusion amongst the people would cease, and that confusion to *themselves* would begin. This is what they apprehend; and, without my saying another word, *they* are answered.

But, for the satisfaction of persons, who really mean well, and who have been alarmed by the horrors, hatched by these base and crafty deceivers, I will show *in what manner* a parliamentary reform would take place without the smallest chance of creating any confusion other than *confusion to the harpies*, who now prey on the nation's vitals. If a set of magpies or carrion crows, were engaged in tearing out the eyes and pecking away the flesh of a poor unfortunate flock of sheep, to me amongst them with a good charge of shot would certainly "create confusion"; but, not confusion to the sheep, who, on the contrary, would, I imagine, find

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themselves relieved from confusion. In sultry summers the maggots, which are engendered in the fleeces of our flocks, proceed by degrees till they eat into the flesh of the animals, who discover their pain by stopping suddenly, then starting, then running their noses against the ground, then looking round at the part affected, then lying down, then jumping up and running away; the sweat all over; the tears run down their faces; fever leads to madness, and madness to death. But, the faithful shepherd comes in time, and by the application of his *shears* and *wash*, creates confusion amongst the filthy devourers, and restores the flock to ease and happiness. No question, Sir, that the Magpies and Carrion Crows, and that the Maggots too, if they could squall, would cry aloud against the reforming shepherds; but, the flock, I take it, would be very grateful to them, for their exertions, and would entertain no fear of experiencing *confusion* from the change.

When I say, that a reform of parliament might be, and would be, effected without the smallest danger of producing confusion, I must, of course, be understood to make the assertion with this condition, namely, *that the present parliament would agree to the measure in the form that it shall be proposed*; for, if they will not, if they be resolved to persevere in rejecting the prayers of the people for reform, then, of course, a reform cannot possibly be effected *without* confusion. If this be what the sons and daughters of corruption mean as a source of confusion, they are right enough as to the *effect*, but it will then remain for them to find out a *justification for the cause*. But I must pre-suppose the consent of the present parliament to the prayers of the people; and, in that case, I am able to prove, that the reform would take place without any chance of creating confusion amongst the people; and without putting at hazard the lives and properties of any portion of the rightful owners of the country.

Another objection of the harpies, is, that the reformers are divided in opinion amongst themselves as to the precise details of the reform which they pray for. What petty and what base cavilling is this! Do we not know, that no bill of any great importance was ever passed without such division in the opinions of its advocates? Do we not always see, that the principle of the bill is first made matter of discussion, that blanks are left in it to be filled up in a Committee, that

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in their committee, alterations and additions are made; that, after all this, the bill is frequently amended by the Lords? Nay, does not the bill, when it becomes a law, frequently contain a provision for its being further altered during the same session of parliament? Indeed, what proposition, what measure, ever was, amongst any body of men, introduced in any other way? And, what impudence, then, is it in the advocates of bribery and corruption to tell us, that, though these are as "notorious as the Sun at noon day;" they ought to continue to exist, because those who wish to put an end to them have not, every man of them, signed before-hand, an instrument binding himself to the precise regulations to be adopted to prevent their return? At this rate, too, how could any law ever be passed? It is the majority who decide; but the reformers are required to be unanimous. They are so as to the principle of the measure; and they will, as in all other cases, insist, that the detail must and shall be left to a decision by a majority.

However, it is necessary to state somewhat of the outline of a reform that we seek; because, as it is the case in most other good causes, there are sham reformers, who mean any thing but that which the people wish for and want. What the people seek is a real reform; a restoration to the whole of their own rights, without violating the rights of others. The rights of the people, according to Magna Charta; according to the constitution and the ancient laws of the kingdom, are, That they are to be taxed only by their own consent; and that they shall YEARLY choose their representatives. These are the essentials. That every man, who pays a tax, of any sort, into the hands of a taxgatherer, shall, by his representative, give his consent to such a tax, which he cannot do, unless the vote at election for Member of Parliament, who impose the taxes. It is also an essential, that the election should be annual; because the ancient laws say so; and because we know from fatal experience, that a three years' parliament, voted themselves into a seven years' parliament; and that the seven years' parliament have loaded us with a debt; the interest of which is pressing us to the earth, and the principal of which has been employed in supporting French Emigrants, in subsidizing Germans, in restoring the Bourbons, the Pope and the Inquisition, and in other ways equally beneficial to the country.

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It is quite necessary, that the people should be put on their guard against the *Triennial Trick*. It has already been begun to be played off by the hirelings of one of the factions. The object of it is to divide the friends of reform. Mr. Fox played it off Thirty years ago; and he at last played a good pension into the hands of Mrs. Fox and her daughter's, though he never, after he was in place, once, talked even, of a parliamentary reform. It is, therefore quite necessary, that the people should be cautioned against the tricks of these sham reformers, who are only so many enemies' spies in the camp of reform.

This is an old, and has often been a very successful trick of a crafty enemy. "Divide and destroy" is the maxim of tyrants. First they openly suppose; but, when that is like to fail, they seek to undermine by dividing. They, better than any body, know the history of the bundle of sticks; and they seek to separate the bundle, that they may snap them one at a time. As to the detail of reform, it is of little consequence; but the main principles must be adhered to inflexibly; these are, that every man who pays a tax of any sort into the hands of a taxgatherer, should vote for members of the Commons House; and that parliament should be chosen annually. To make the right of voting consist in possession of this or that species of property; to make free-hold or copy-hold or lease-hold or life-hold a title to voting, would be to rob the people of their right; and, to allow a man to be a representative for more than a year without being re-chosen, has in it neither justice nor common sense, to say nothing about its being contrary to the spirit of the constitution and to the very letter of the ancient laws of England.

Upon this subject I beg leave to introduce the opinion of that most learned lawyer and excellent man, Mr. BARON MASERTS, who has for so many years been Cursitor Baron of the Exchequer, and whose exertions in the cause of civil and religious liberty have been exceeded by those of very few men. In 1812 this venerable lawyer and patriot (whom, I suppose, Canning would call a Jacobin) republished the LETTERS OF the famous GENERAL LUDLOW, in which Letters there is the following passage: "What! was it a gracious favour to secure us the sitting of a Parliament once in three years, when the ancient laws gave us a right to annual parliaments?"

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Upon this passage Mr. BARON MASEKES inserts, in a note, the following remarks of his own, which remarks are well worthy of the attention of every real friend to reform.

" The statute of the 4th year of King Edward III. Chapter 14, A. D. 1331, is in these words; 'Ensement est acordé que Parlement soit chacun un une foiz; ou plus, si mestier soit.' That is, 'Item it is accorded, that a Parliament shall be holden every year once; and more often if need be.' And in the 26th year of the same King, Chap. 10, it is enacted as follows. 'Item, pour maintenance des dits articles et Estatutz, et redresser diverses mischies et grevances, qui viennent de jour en autre, soit Parlement tenu chacun au, sicomme autrefois estoit ordeigné par Estatut.' That is, 'Item, for maintenance of the said articles and statutes, and redress of divers mischiefs and grievances which daily happen, a Parliament shall be holden every year, as at another time was ordained by Statute.'

" And this statute was regularly observed to the end of the reign of the great King Edward the 3d, and through the greater part of the following reign of King Richard the 2d; as is clearly shewn by that learned and zealous friend Public Liberty, Mr. Granville Sharp, of the Middle Temple, in pages 159, 160, 161, &c.—170, of a very able tract, entitled, '*A Declaration of the people's Natural Right to a share in the Legislature*'; of which a second edition was printed in the year 1775 for Benjamin White, Bookseller, in Fleet Street. And, amongst the several instances which he has there cited, of successive years, in each of which a new Parliament had been summoned by the King, by a New Writ of Election; he mentions some years in which two, or more, new Parliaments had been summoned, by different Writs of Election, in the space of a single year, or without royal prorogation of the preceding Parliament, to meet again at another day, in the course of the same year, as has been the practice for the last two Centuries. So that it may truly be affirmed, that in those antient times the people enjoyed the privilege of electing new representatives in Parliament, either once in every year, or more than once, if the King found it necessary to have a second Parliament, before the expiration of a year.

" This seems to have been a very useful priviledge, as it tended much to strengthen the connection between the Mem-

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bers of the House of Commons and their Constituents, or Electors, of whom they are Representatives, or, in the language of the Writ of Election sent to the Sheriff, the Attornies, or persons who have received from them, full and sufficient powers to consult with the King and his Council, upon the important matters relating to the state of the Kingdom, that shall be laid before them, and to consent, on the behalf of the Constituents, or Electors, to the resolutions that shall be there taken concerning them. 'Ita quod Milites plenam et sufficientem protestatem pro se et communitate Comitatus predicti, et dicti Cives et Burgenses pro se et communitatibus Civitatum et Burgorum, divisim, ab ipsis habeant ad faciendum et consentiendum iis quatuor de communi consilio (favente Deo) ordinari contigerint super negotiis ante dictis; ita quod, pro defectu hujus modi protestatis, dicta negotia effecta non remanent quovis modo.'—See Elsyng's Method of holding Parliaments in England, pages 68 and 69.—For hence it seems evident, that, according to the Antient and original Constitution of the House of Commons, there ought to be a general agreement, or concurrence of opinion, upon the subjects, for the discussion of which the Parliament was to be assembled, between the Electors of the several Counties, Cities, Boroughs, and the persons they were so to empower to represent them, and act for them: and, surely, that agreement, or concurrence, would be much more likely to take place, if the elections were to occur once, or more than once, in every year, than if they are renewed only once in the course of seven years, as may be the case according to the laws now in being.

" Now, if this good old law were to be revived, would there be any danger of such violent and expensive, and often ruinous, contests at the time of Elections, as are seen in the present mode of proceeding, when the general Elections occur once in about six years? For, as the Representatives would be constantly disposed to cultivate the good opinion of their Constituents, and, by their conduct in Parliament, to promote their interests and wishes, as far as their own consciences and judgments would allow them; in order to be re-elected by them in the next year, it is probable that there would be much fewer contested Elections, and changes of the Representatives, than there are at present. And from the harmony that would generally subsist, between the Members

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of Parliament and their Electors, the Dignity and Respectability of the House of Commons would be increased, and the confidence of the people, in the wisdom and uprightness of their measures, would be restored: and the resolutions that would be taken by them, would be generally allowed to be in reality what they are now often called and pretended to be, the true expressions, or declarations, of *the sense of the people at large*, on subjects to which they relate. It seems probable, therefore, that the revival of this good old law, for choosing new Parliaments every year, would be attended with very happy consequences and give general satisfaction to the nation.

" And if this law for annual new Parliaments were to be revived, it seems reasonable that the day for the said annual election, and likewise the day of the meeting of the Parliament for the dispatch of business, should be certain known days in the year, fixed by the law, just as the first days of Hilary and Michaelmas Terms are in the King's Courts of Justice in Westminster Hall, for the beginning of the Sessions of the King's Judges in these Courts, for the decision of suits at law; to the end that the Right and Duty of the two Houses of Parliament to assist and concur with the King in the important business of making new laws, and repealing, or altering old ones, as occasion should be, and be universally known to be an essential, permanent, and indispensable part of the Constitution of the British Government, as much as much as the administration of justice by the King's Judges in his Courts at Westminster Hall, and not a temporary and occasional instrument of government to be employed only at the King's pleasure, whenever he should think fit to have recourse to it; and that no future King, who should happen to be inflicted with the malady of King Charles the First, ' an inordinate love of arbitrary power, and a strong disposition to make himself an absolute Monarch over his people,' should be tempted to tell his Parliament, as King Charles did his in the year 1627, ' To remember that Parliaments are altogether in his power, and that therefore, as he finds the fruits of them to be good or evil, they are to continue, or not to be: as is shewn above in page 33.'

" And if this salutary old law were to be revived, the first day of the month of October in every year, (if it were not on a Sunday, and in that case the 2d) would probably be

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*found to be a convenient day for the proceeding to a general election; and some day about the middle of the following month of November, as, for example, the 17th (if it were not on a Sunday, and in that case the 18th) to be a convenient time for the meeting of the Parliament for the dispatch of business.* The 17th of November was the birth-day of that great Princess, Queen Elizabeth, who governed the nation forty-three years with great wisdom and justice, and in great harmony with her Parliaments, and, by their advice and assistance, delivered the English nation a second time from the yoke of the Pope's authority, and the cruel persecutions that had been lately practised under it, and established the protestant religion on a solid and lasting foundation; and also caused the laws to be administered, in her Courts at Westminster Hall, in a stable and uniform manner, by learned and upright Judges, well selected: for the purpose, whereby property of every kind became more secure and valuable than it had ever been before; and who likewise greatly encouraged and advanced the trade of the nation, and laid the foundation of its navigation and maritime power. These were great and eminent services to her subjects, which have justly made her memory dear to their posterity; and (to use the words of Mr. Thomas May, in the beginning of his excellent History of the last Parliament of King Charles the First,) *'they were accomplished by the justice and prudence of her government, by making the right use of her subjects' hearts, hands, and purses, in a Parliamentary way.'* It seems, therefore, that it would only be a just tribute to her merits and memory to make a choice of her birth-day, that month that is very convenient for the purpose, for the first day of the meeting of the new Elected Parliament."

Here, Sir, we have not only an account of the law of the case, but we have the opinion of a man of great learning, and talent, and with more than three quarters of a century of experience to guide him. This is no Jacobin, at any rate, though, I dare say, the impudent spawn of the Green Room Jacobinical Reformer. We have here some of the powerful reasons on the side of annual parliaments; and, indeed no further reasons are necessary to be stated, because the thing is so manifestly proper, that the reasons for it cannot fail to

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suggest themselves to every mind. All, therefore, that the reformers have now to do, is to adhere to the above stated main points : *Every man who pays a direct tax to have a vote ; and parliaments to be elected annually.* These being adhered to, the detail cannot do harm ; these given up, no detail can do any good.

Having thus shown what the principle of the reform ought to be, and having supposed, that the present parliament will agree to, and pass a bill, brought in for carrying a reform into execution, I shall now proceed, not to state all the details of such bill, but to show how easily a new and reformed parliament might be chosen and returned.

As every male tax-payer would have a vote, and the number of members for every county in the three kingdoms would, of course, be proportioned to the number of the inhabitants within each county, there would be very little difficulty in apportioning what number of members each county should send. We have the *population book*, recently enough compiled.—Suppose, therefore, the whole number of population to amount to 15,000,000, the whole number of members to 658, as it is now, and Hampshire to contain 300,000 inhabitants ; the question, with regard to Hampshire, would be, if 15,000,000 return 658, how many ought 300,000 to return ? And the answer would be, 13 members. Thus would the proportion be determined with the utmost facility ; or, to prevent fractional parts, it might be settled that every 20 or 30 thousand inhabitants should be a title to a member. These would be matters of minor consequence, however, and would admit of a very easy arrangement.

It may be thought by some persons, that the number of members sent by each county, ought to be in proportion to the number of *tax-payers* in each county, and not in proportion to the *inhabitants*. I am of a different opinion, because, after all, those who pay no direct taxes ought to have some weight ; and they ought, at any rate, to be as nearly represented as possible. But, if it were resolved on to take the number of tax-payers as the criterion, nothing would be more easy than to obtain an account of those numbers. It would be collected in less than a month. And I would engage to make out the scale of proportion, and to settle the whole matter with the greatest accuracy in the space of one week from the time of receiving such account.—Where,

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then, is the difficulty so far ? And, where is the fear of confusion ?

The number of members for each county in England, Ireland and Scotland being fixed on, and it being settled that every payer of a direct tax should have a vote, the next thing to be considered would be, *in what manner the election should take place.* "Aye," say the *harpies*, "now let us see what a pretty bustle you would kick up!" No, Sir, we shall have no bustle at all. We shall have no canvassing attorneys and agents galloping throughout the country ; no lying, fawning members, giving false shakes of the hand to a poor fellow whom they pass by the next month as if he were a dog ; no filthy knaves kissing men's wives and daughters, and *spewing gold* into their mouths, as my father told me he once saw at Haslemere, and as I myself very nearly saw in the Borough of Honiton, where the people openly avowed that the sale of their votes was their "*blessing*." We shall have no ribbons and flags ; no drums and trumpets ; no election balls, at which the higher and lower orders of the sons and daughters of corruption mix in base and filthy familiarity. No rattling of post-chaises to the county towns ; no hogsheads of muddy beer served out in the streets to a deluded and debased populace ; no drunkenness, no riots, no bruises, no murders. But, in lieu of all these, we should have one day in each year, spent by sober and thoughtful citizens, in deliberately exercising the important right, and performing the great duty, of choosing proper persons to speak their wishes in the making of laws, and in guarding the rights, the honour, and the freedom of their country.

You have often said, that you want **NOTHING NEW**, and so we say all. Even in the regulations for the taking of the voice of the people, I, for my part, see no necessity for any one *new office*, or new officer. Our excellent form of government ; our excellent *ancient laws* ; our excellent modes of currying on the business of a nation, leave us *nothing new* to wish for. The election would take place on one and the same day throughout the whole of the United Kingdom ; and, as I shall now proceed to show, might be all completed, the returns made, and the new parliament assembled in the space of one month.

On the day fixed on by the law, of which due notice would be given in every parish by posting at the Church Doors, and

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Also from the Pulpit, if that was thought necessary, the Churchwardens and Overseers would meet at the Church, where there would be a box, into which the Voters would put each his ballot, on which he would have previously written, or caused to be written, the names of those men, whom he wished to be chosen for his county. Let us suppose, then, the Parish of Botley to be the particular scene before us. The county is to give thirteen members, and every voter is, if he chooses, to vote for thirteen men. Nicholas Freeman-tile, for instance, having heard all that has been said for this man and against that man (for he would hear a great deal) writes down thirteen names upon a bit of paper, takes it in his hand, and away he goes to the Church. The Churchwardens, who have charge of the ballot box, ask his name; the Overseers look into their rate-book to see whether he be a tax-payer; finding his name there, they bid him put in his ballot; which done, home he goes to his business. If the Overseers do not find him to be a tax-payer, he, of course, does not vote.

Between nine in the morning and five in the afternoon should be the hours of polling. In large cities, there might be numerous ballot boxes, with additional copies of the rate-book, and deputies to the Churwardens and Overseers. At Botley, and in almost every parish, there would need but one ballot box, and the election would be over and completed without even a bustle, by twelve o'clock in the day.

On the next day, the Churchwardens and Overseers would, being all assembled together, open the ballot-box, and make out their return. They would take out the several ballots, write the names of all the persons voted for upon a piece of paper, and ascertain from the ballots how many votes each had got. They would then, on the same day, transmit by the hands of the senior churchwarden, not only the result of their investigation, but also the whole of the ballots, to the High Sheriff of the County, who should be ordered to be present and in constant attendance at the County town, for the purpose of receiving the parochial returns, and for other purposes, to be mentioned by and by. The Churchwardens and Overseers should make their return in somewhat the following words:—

" Botley, Hants, 2d Oct. 1817." (for such I hope will be  
the date)—" We, the Churchwardens and Overseers of the

Parish of Botley, in the County of Southampton, hereby certify to the High Sheriff of the said County, that, in obedience to the law, we held in the said parish, an election for members of parliament, on the first day of this present month; that, after keeping the poll open during the hours prescribed by the said law, and punctually observing all the provisions thereof relative to the receiving of votes, we have opened the ballot box, and having, with great care examined the several ballots, find that, for A there are 71 votes, for B 54 votes, for C 19 votes, &c.; and that we have put all the said ballots into one parcel, which we have sealed with our seal, and have herewith transmitted the same to the High Sheriff, in order that he may verify, or correct thereby the return which we have above stated."

Now, I will venture to pledge my life, that an election like this would take place, not only without confusion, but without the loss of a single day's work in the parish, except with the parish officers themselves, which could not possibly be a matter of any great moment, especially if they were allowed to charge for their time in their usual annual accounts, and which no human being would grudge.

With what facility, with what celerity, would those returns all find their way to the High Sheriff, a copy of each being recorded in a Parish-book, to provide against accidents? Then would come the duty to be performed by the High Sheriff. He, with his deputy and with a sufficient number of clerks (four would be amply sufficient), would first compare each parochial return with the ballots; when all the parochial returns were verified, or corrected, in the presence of the Chairman of the Quarter Sessions and the Clerk of the Peace, the High Sheriff would make out a County Return in somewhat the following manner:

*"Winchester, 10th October, 1817.*

" I, A. B. High Sheriff of the County of Southampton, hereby certify, that I have received the returns from all the parishes in the said County, of the votes taken for Members of Parliament on the first day of this present month; that I have, in the presence of the Chairman of the Quarter Sessions and of the Clerk of the Peace, carefully compared all the said returns with the respective parcels of ballots, transmitted to me; that, after such comparison and verification,

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or correction in case of error, I have found, that this county has given for A. so many votes, for B. so many, &c. and that A. R. T. S. M. N. O. P. Q. W. X. H. and K. are the thirteen persons, who have more votes for each of them than any other person has had in this county at this election; and that I have deposited, under my hand and seal, and also under the hands and seals of the Chairman of the Quarter Sessions, and of the Clerk of the Peace, the said parochial returns and parcels of ballots, together with a copy of this return, in the Office of the High Sheriff of this County.

"A. B. HIGH SHERIFF.

"Signed in the presence of

"C. D. Chairman of the Quarter Session.

"E. F. Clerk of the Peace."

This return might be sent to the Crown Office, and there kept till the Parliament should meet. The Sheriff, on the very day of closing his return, should make proclamation in his county, and which proclamation should contain a copy of the return; so that the people would, at once, be informed on whom the election of their county had fallen.

Now, Sir, can you conceive it possible for any confusion to arise out of a series of proceedings like these? We should have no rioting, because there would be nothing to provoke or irritate; no drunkenness or bribery, because no fortune could drench, and much less bribe, forty or eighty thousand voters; no false-swearers, because we should have no swearing at all, from the first to the last; no ill-blood and spite amongst neighbours, because no man (unless he chose it) would let any other man know whom he voted for. We have a great advantage over our brethren in America as to our instruments in this business. They have no Church-wardens and Overseers, known to the law, and are, therefore, compelled to choose what they call *Judges of Election* in their several townships, which they do, very quietly indeed, at previous meetings. The same might be done in Ireland and Scotland, where the parish officers are not exactly upon the same footing as they are here. But these are mere trifles. A day's thinking amongst any half dozen of men of sense would produce every regulation that would be of any importance in the conducting of the business.

The Churchwardens and Overseers are now elected annu-

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ally by the majority of the tax-payers in the parishes.<sup>131</sup> They are always, and necessarily must be, persons of consideration in the parish; they are entrusted with its real property and its money. There can, therefore, be little danger of their wishing to make a false return, and still less of their daring to do it; and, besides, the penalty, in case of detection, on any one, whether parish officer, sheriff, chairman of the quarter sessions, clerk of the peace, or any other person, concerned in making or conniving at a false return, or in obstructing an election, or retarding the transmission of a return, should be so heavy and so disgraceful as to preclude almost the possibility of the commission of such a crime.

All would, therefore, be regularity, celerity, truth, fairness, instead of the disorder, the tardiness, the falsehood, and foul play that now prevail. Rousseau has observed, "that the English are free only 14 days in 7 years; and that the use which they then make of their freedom proves that they ought to be slaves, for the rest of the period." To be sure, the use that is now made of the 14 days is such as to deserve execration; but it is not "freedom" that exists during the 14 days. There is the mistake of this great writer. We are not now free during the 14 days: these days are only so long a time for the base and corrupt in low life to revel at the expence of those in high life. It is a season resembling nothing that ever was heard of amongst men, except the Saturnalia in Rome, during which the slave-owners let loose their slaves that they might indulge in all sorts of beastly excesses, in order that their own children might, by the odiousness of vice, be terrified into virtuous and decent habits of life. A reform would effectually rid our country of this stain on its character—this deep disgrace—this infamy of infamies.

I have no fondess for any scheme of mine, but I am wonderfully attached to your idea of seeking nothing new, if we can make use of what we possess already. All that we complain of are novelties. We want no new divisions of the country; we want no military and taxing "districts;" we want no "divisions;" we will take the boundaries of ancient standing; we will take the officers of ancient standing; we will take the Churches and the County Halls for the scenes of our operations; we want nothing but the constable's staff and the sheriff's wand in the way of force; we want no discipline

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and no commanders, but those which the laws of peace afford us in abundance.

The voting by *ballot* is, in my opinion, the best; but the other mode would create no difficulty in the execution. *Viva Voce*, if that be thought best; and then the voter has only to read his names, sign his card, and put it in the box. There would arise from this no other difficulty than that which would arise from the possible ill-will, which, in some cases, a man's voting on one side, or the other, might excite against him from his friends, or employers. I am for the ballot; but, it is not a matter of very great consequence; because such ill-will would, if expressed, or acted upon, become extremely odious; and because there would be very little motive for its being entertained.

There is a thought occurs relative to the persons, who are now entitled to vote as *free-men* of cities and boroughs, and who unless they were *tax-payers*, would be cut off from the exercise of this privilege. But, if it were judged reasonable, that the present free-men, though not tax-payers, should continue to vote in their towns and cities, that would be a matter of no moment; but unless resident there, they should not be permitted to vote, because they would if tax-payers have a right to vote in any parish, in which they might reside. In short, this would make part of the detail, and it would be a matter of very little consequence in which way it should be settled. In some cities it might be best to vote by *Wards* instead of *parishes*, as long custom is not easy to overcome. In extra parochial places, the adjoining parish would be the place of voting. But, one year would put all these things to rights.

The exclusions from the right of voting should, it seems to me, be confined to *foreigners* and to persons convicted (by a *common jury*, of course), of *infamous crimes*, and especially of crimes against the right of election, which should be deemed infamous in the highest degree.

As to the qualifications of members, they should consist, not of a pocket full of money, nor of a sham estate, nor of a good thumping notoriously false oath; but of such qualities and endowments as the voters might take a fancy to. Who ought to judge of the qualifications of the person employed besides the person who has to employ him? An estate, whether in money or in land, does not confer wisdom or

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integrity. The people would be the best judges of whom it was their interest to choose. If a whole people were left to choose measures for themselves, is it to be believed, that they would choose measures injurious to their interest especially if free and ample discussion were on foot? Is it to be believed, that the people would choose men whom any one could prove to have been guilty of what was injurious to them; or whom any one could prove to be likely to wish to do them harm? Is it to be believed, that we, in the country, should vote for gypsies or trampers? or that the people in cities would vote for swindlers and pick-pockets? "Demagogues," of whom the sons and daughters of corruption are for ever telling the people to *beware*, would find few to vote for them. To hear *Demagogues* harrangue may possibly amuse a small part of the people; but it is one thing to be amused by a mountebank, and another to entrust him with the making of laws affecting our property and lives. But, the fact is, that the real "Demagogues" are all on the other side; for Demagogues are *deceivers*, and not those who utter truth, in language however violent. Upon this head therefore, there would need no one measure of precaution. The people would, for the far greater part, choose men, of good character and of some ability; and, if any county found itself deceived, the deception could not be very detrimental seeing that, at the end of the year, they would take special care to choose other persons.

To those, who have the insolence to affect to apprehend, that the tax-payers, if left to their own free choice, would choose foolish and wicked men to represent them and to impose taxes upon them, the answer is in America, where the people not only freely choose one house, but the *other house too*, and the *Chief Magistrate* into the bargain. And do they choose penniless Demagogues? Do they choose fools and robbers? It is notorious that they choose, for the far greater part, not only men of distinguished talent, but men of wealth and estate, whose means have enabled them to study, and whose fortunes has kept them out of the reach of temptation to do wrong. Why, then, should we suppose that the people of England or Ireland would fix their liking upon fools or knaves? The truth is, Sir, that this assertion is only another of the instances of the impudence of the *Spawn of the Green Room*, and the like of them.

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There need be none of those odious exclusions of Members of Parliament from being *Ministers* or *Pensioners* or any thing else. These are only so many miserable palliations for a deep rooted and wide spreading disease. If a person was so remarkable for his talent or his wisdom as to be an object of choice both with the king and the people, why should not his talent and his wisdom be used by both? These pitiful exclusions are odious, because they are grounded upon the presumption of *corruption* existing, and, indeed, upon the still more odious presumption, that the king is the enemy of the people. Besides, we know how *nicely* they are got over now; and that they are, in fact, no exclusions at all. The whole of these miserable *precautions* would be rendered unnecessary by the annual recurrence of an election. If the King chose a Member of Parliament to be one of his Ministers, and the Constituents disapproved of their Member being a Minister, why, they would not re-choose him; that would be all. He would soon be before them again. There would be *no time* for heart-burnings upon the subject. The evil, if it were thought one, would be speedily redressed, and that, too, without any clamour or any upbraiding.

The *harpies* appear to be extremely uneasy at all the Meetings in Palace Yard, in the City, at Nottingham, at Bolton, in the Counties. Would they really wish to get *rid* of them for ever? Let them, then, come forward for *reform*; for, most assuredly, there would never be any other Meeting any more, except at the annual election. We should never more hear a word about *public petitions*. The means of redress for every grievance would be *constantly at hand*. There would be no Meetings and no Tumults, because there could not possibly be any ground for any such. The ancient law, above quoted by Mr. BARON MASERES, gives this very reason for annual Parliaments. "Item: for maintenance of the said articles and statutes and the redress of divers mischiefs and grievances, which daily happen, a parliament shall be holden *every year*, as formerly was ordained by statute."—So that this was *no new law* even in 1331; and does not the same reason exist for annual parliaments now? An annual new parliament, too, because in those days, the parliament was always *elected every time that was called*; and not the same set, as now, called together year after year, which has

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no tendency at all to afford the people a chance of any redress, and can have, therefore, no tendency to induce them to be quiet, or to cease to meet and to petition. At this very moment, for instance, the country is all in a commotion of Meetings and Petitions.—Meetings are every where called and about to be called, *to take into consideration the distresses of the country, and the remedies to be adopted*. But if all the tax-payers had just chosen men to represent them in parliament, what need would there be of any such *Meetings*? The people would have no ground for meeting in this partial manner, and with minds so heated with their sufferings. They would know, that they had chosen the best persons they could think of to consult on the state of affairs, and would patiently wait the result of their consultations, and would submit with fortitude to whatever sufferings they had to endure.

Would a reform, then produce *confusion*? No: because it must, produce order, peace, and harmony. This the *harpies* know as well as we do; but it is not order, peace, and harmony that they want. They want confusion amongst every body but themselves. They love to see one part of the people armed against the other part. They want the country to be miserable, that they may wallow in ease and luxury.

But, Sir, it is now time to *talk no longer*. The time of *acting* is now come, and of this I am extremely happy to hear that you are fully sensible. There is *no violence* wanted. The country now understands clearly the cause of its ruin; it knows that the remaining mode of seeking redress, is, by *petition and remonstrance*; it is ready to perform its duty, and there only wants an *uniformity of movement* to send you to the House loaded with the people's prayers. The application for reform in the shape of a *Bill*, ready prepared, is all that will then be wanted, and for the making of this application the nation with confidence looks up to you. Lord MILTON said, that he "*wished to come to close quarters with the reformers*," a wish which will, I trust, very soon be gratified. The House is fond of things "*in a tangible shape*," and I hope their fancy will now be pleased as much as it was in the case of the Duke of York and Mrs. Clarke.

When a *Bill* has been brought in, or even moved for leave to be brought in, every one will see in detail that which is

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#### **NOTES ON VARIANCE**

Without such a notice

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*Journal of Clinical Oncology*

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ESTATE PLANNING

19. *Leucosia* *leucostoma* *leucostoma* *leucostoma*

MANAGEMENT  
WITZ, 1948, INFLUENCE OF THE ENVIRONMENT

СКА-СКА  
ЧЕХОВЪ-ДРЖАНОВЪ-МІЛІТІЛІ-БІЛІБІНОВЪ-ДІЯВ-ЗАМОІІ-У

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THE  
**ADRESSER ADDRESSED,**

OR A  
**REPLY TO THE**  
**TOWNSMAN OF BOLTON.**

SIR,

BETWEEN learned and well informed men, I presume little difference of opinion can exist with respect to the cause of the distressed state of the Country. Their high learning furnishes them with the means of examining things in a right point of view. But with the unlearned, this is not the case. Our ignorance prevents us from forming a right judgment, and therefore a difference of opinion is no more than a natural consequence. Now, Sir, as you profess to be unlearned, but at the same time, plain and candid, I dare say you will allow, that you are, equally with myself, liable to be mistaken. Upon this ground, I have presumed to answer the arguments, which you set forth in your *Address* to your fellow-townsmen.

You endeavour to persuade them, that Taxation, Pensions, and Sinecures, are not the causes of our present sufferings—that no blame whatever can be ascribed to Government, and that a Reform in the Commons' House of Parliament would be of no use. You exclaim against what you call ill-disposed men, who are endeavouring to persuade us that the evils under which we labour, proceed from the extravagance and

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Negligence of Government. You say "we have always had Taxes, Pensions, and Sinecures, and yet we have not always had bad times" Granted—Twenty five Years ago, Taxes amounted to Fifteen Millions of Pounds a Year; at present, they amount to Seventy-five Millions a Year—Does this make no difference?

Have Pensions diminished or augmented during the late War, which has placed England on the highest pinnacle of glory? Bonaparte well knew that British Honour, and British Glory, were supported by British Commerce. He struck therefore at the root and branches of English Commerce, and English Industry. He kept the Continental Powers dancing while John Bull paid the piper. He clearly foresaw that the heavy growing burthens laid upon John's shoulders would finally crush him. His activity was not confined to provoking a Continental War, his exertions in promoting manufactures in France were indefatigable.

During his absence from his armies, he frequently visited those manufactories, conversed with the workmen, encouraged them, and told them, that by establishing machinery, and by prying into the mechanical inventions of the English, they would soon be independent of them, and would also be able to supply the neighbouring nations, at a cheaper rate than they could.

Besides, Sir, your own Countrymen, I believe your own Townsmen lent them assistance, by furnishing them with spun-cotton, which enabled them to rob you of your trade. Your well renowned dimities, quiltings, muslin, and velveteens, are now manufactured at Amiens, Rouen, Ghent, Brussels, St. Quintin, &c. and the weavers of those towns, work for less wages than you possibly can, and therefore they have the preference in the market. Our worthy Rulers were so much taken up, in supporting the Honour

and Glory of Old England, they had no idea that the foundation of both was mouldering away. Alas! our Commerce is fled, and has left us to bewail our mistakes, and misfortune.

You observe, Sir, that during War, ways and means were found out for disposing of our goods, which had never before been thought of. This is quite a riddle to me. Has a change from War to Peace deprived our great folks of their senses, that they cannot find out ways and means in times of Peace? or was it an illicit trade supported by means of War?—Some say there is no money? are people less to be trusted in time of Peace, than in time of War? Where is the money all gone to? Is it buried in the earth, or have they suffered Bonaparte to carry it to St. Helena? If so, they had better make him bring it back again. Now, Sir, my weak opinion leads me to believe, that if that obnoxious Corn Bill were repealed, and our Ports were open for the reception of Foreign Grain, and other commodities—if also the Taxes were reduced to their proper amount, we might have provisions as cheap as in France. I remember before the passing of that Bill, Grain began to arrive in abundance, and I believe the French were inclined to take English goods in exchange. I believe also, that our Merchants might have disposed of considerable quantities of goods towards the north, if they had taken Grain in exchange. Those fertile fields of Poland, so well manured with human blood, would have once more yielded us vast supplies. But alas! our worthy Representatives, in opposition to the national remonstrances, passed the Corn Bill, and gave a mortal stab to trade. And must we say it was that well constituted Parliament, those wise Legislators, which inflicted this fatal wound? And for what? The Farmer said he could not pay his rent—The Landlord said he would not lower his rent;

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Prince, Lords, and Commons assembled, declared, "we will find out some other means"—So they passed the Corn Bill. Why would not the Landlord lower his rent?—He told you, the heavy Taxes he had to pay would not admit of it.—So much for Taxation. But again, you put it to our good sense to say, if our National Debt, and our Taxes can have ruined America, and Continental Europe. I answer, if two Commercial Nations cease to trade together, from some misunderstanding, or what not, the interest of both must suffer. By shutting your ports, you closed their markets, and of course injured their trade. Does it, or does it not apply? You say, no,—I say, it must—but as we are both unlearned, let us leave it to better judges—we may be mistaken.

If the duty on French wine and brandy were moderate, so as the people could partake of them, it would certainly be an inducement to French Merchants, to accept many kinds of goods in exchange. Even the article of beer might be exchanged, and by that means a trade promoted between the French vinters, and English brewers. But you may say, that wine and brandy are not suited to the poor man's palate—that it would encourage drunkenness among the lower orders of the people. But why are the lower orders of the people in France, generally, more sober than in England? It strikes me, that every means should be used to provoke a trade with France; that now we are at Peace, we should become friendly neighbours. Then would the Frenchmen say, "Maintenant nous commengons à nous entendre." Now we begin to understand one another.

Now, Sir, with regard to Parliamentary Reform, I shall only say, that I believe it absolutely necessary, and that it would produce many advantages.—With regard to Reformers, if you means Rioters and

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Levellers, I hate them as bad as can you do, and surely every honest Englishman will reject with indignation, any insinuations that may be made to excite him to disorder and tumult.

But let us not be insulted. Why tell us we are as well governed as we can be? why exclaim against those men who so boldly step forward to declare and reclaim our birthright, to inform us of the legacies left us by our forefathers.

If, Sir, you mean those men, who wish and desire every Englishman to come forward in a lawful way, and demand with firmness those rights, which no power on earth ought to withhold from him, then I must plainly tell you, I believe them to be the truest friends to the Country.

Some of the great folks seem to wonder how the working class of people can talk and reason about Politics; about Parliamentary Reform, Taxes, Pensions, and Sinecures. Pray Sir, for what did the great folks establish Lancasterian and Sunday Schools, Bible Societies, Tract Societies, &c.? was it not to dispel ignorance? They glory in these Institutions, and so do we; but why are they astonished that we are no longer fools? Does not a man who knows how to read the Bible, know how to read a History, a Newspaper, or a Pamphlet? Are not some men, though born in a low state, possessed of strong natural powers? Having learned to read, what is to prevent them from acquiring sufficient knowledge, to enable them to distinguish right from wrong?

Suppose, Sir, a man who was born blind, and had continued so for a number of years, should, by the hand of a skilful Oculist, obtain that blessing which enables us to distinguish objects as they strike our senses; would not such a man have reason to cherish and revere the operator?—and so ought we to revere

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and cherish those who endeavour to strip that bandage from before our eyes, which has so long prevented us from seeing and judging for ourselves. These, Sir, are the sentiments which I have imbibed, and which I submit to your consideration.—I beg leave to subscribe myself,

Your very humble Servant,  
AN INHABITANT OF BIRMINGHAM.

**SUCH** is the opinion of a very plain man, on this notable performance, "the only tendency of which," in the judgment of those in authority here, "was, to preserve Peace and Order in the Kingdom." In addition to these remarks, it may not however, be amiss to shew how the Bolton "Address," and its Publisher, have been treated in other quarters. (The reader will bear in mind, that the Times and the Morning Herald, are highly MINISTERIAL Papers.)

"It endeavours to palliate evils which are too obvious to be denied; and it excuses misconduct which cannot be justified. Besides the author has the folly to re-assert what was asserted with so mischievous an effect, at the first great Meeting in London on the Public Distress—namely, that the cause of that distress "can be nothing else than the change which has taken place from War to Peace."—Times.

The Morning Herald is more diffuse in its sentiments on this intemperate production:—

"The greater portion of its arguments," (says that paper) "has a tendency beyond the advice required by the occasion) and one of its assertions is untrue—that, which says we had, two or three years since, more taxes, and pensions, and sinecures, than we have now. The taxes were indeed more, but not one pension has been suppressed, and not more than one sinecure. It is plainly the object of the writer to render some actual, or expected mis-

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conduct of the populace, an occasion for introducing a formal defence of these good things. He begins with saying, "You have heard a good deal lately about taxation pensions, and sinecures," as if the consideration of such matters were quite a superfluous novelty. He then says, "We have always had places, pensions, and sinecures, and yet we have not always had bad times." Another sentence declares, that taxes, places, and pensions, are not the cause of the present distress. The preservation of the peace is clearly, not dearer to the writer than that of those good things. For his fallacy about the existence of places, pensions, and sinecures, in times which were better than the present, he deserves credit, as a sophist. It could not be detected without somewhat more consideration, than those, to whom it is addressed, were likely to give it. But it is exactly because taxes are old burthens, that we are the less able to bear them in their present amount. We have borne them, till they have enfeebled us and pressed us to the ground. When taxes are new, their exhausting effect is not perceived. Every one hopes, that the course of his advancement will more than keep pace with that of taxation, and he diminishes but little his expenditure amongst his inferiors. It is when taxes are old, that the void they have made is perceived. Let any man reckon what he has paid to the Income Tax, and then say, whether, if he had that sum now in his pocket, his additional expenditure would not give employment to some of the working classes. Thus Taxation is one cause of distress even amongst those, upon whom it does not appear immediately to operate; but the Bolton Address, though it would seem to be directed only to the lower orders, is a letter missive to all classes, in behalf of the three good things upon which it harps so much—taxes, pensions, and sinecures. Mr. Preston, the Member for Ashburton, says, "It is supposed that the present Expenditure is about 70,000,000 a year; a sum exceeding the existing rental of all the land and all the houses in the kingdom. This expenditure requires unfortunately, that all the circulating medium of the country, as it consists of money and of Bank Paper, taken at 17,500,000, should pass four times, and taken at 23,000,000, should pass three time in every year through the hands of Government, in payment for taxes."

"You," says MR. COBBETT, addressing the Birmingham Printer, "have made the thing your own, and, therefore, to you we must look. \* \* \* \* \* To your Townsmen, some apology may be necessary for my having made you of so much consequence. But, in fact, it is not you. You are merely the tool of others, who push you for-

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ward, while they are hidden behind the screen. I make no account of words attributed to you. I endeavour to add nothing to your publication. That is what I dwell on. You have published, and I have answered. I disapprove of all violences on your person or property. The cause of Reform stands in need of no such proceedings. That cause is built on the everlasting foundations of truth and justice; and, it will finally prevail. But because I disapprove of a violent attack on you, I do not disapprove of the expression of indignation against you verbally, or thro ugh the means of the Press; and, I trust, that you will find, that your falsehoods are not in future to go unanswered and unexposed. Even now, after the event, you persevere in your calumnies. You accuse the Reformers of having caused the riot by their *inflammatory publications*! How false, how impudent, is this! Did the Reformers call upon the people to riot? Did their Address direct the people to your house? No: it was *your own Publication* which incensed the people, and which, at last, produced the violence. Yours was, indeed, an "*inflammatory*" publication; it was abusive, false, and insolent. But, when it had excited violences against you, you ascribed the violence to *other publications*, though, as appears from the account published in the COURIER, you might, after all, have prevented the violence by taking down the false and insolent Publication. It is, therefore, an act of consummate baseness to endeavour to ascribe to the Reformers, acts of violence, which were clearly produced by yourself. I have proved your publication to be *false* in every one of its assertions; it was also *insulting*, and this I have proved. And, was it not also *malicious*? Did it not endeavour to *excuse* public hatred every man who was taking a leading part in the work of petitioning now going on? Did it not describe those men as hypocrites, as deceivers of the people, as *putting the lives of the people in danger* for their OWN ADVANCEMENT? What could be more malicious than this? And yet, when this vile attempt has excited popular violence against yourself, you complain of *instigators*!

*Weekly Register*, Nov. 9, 1816.

(The whole of Mr. COBBETT's answer to the "Patriotic Address," is admirably clear and forcible, and is deserving of the closest attention from every liberal mind. It will probably be given to the public in a cheap form by the present publisher.)

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### COMMERCIAL DISTRESSES.

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*(The following Letter is extracted from the News of Sunday, October 27, 1816; it is adopted as giving a true exposition of the present state of Birmingham, in regard to the public expression of Political Sentiments.)*

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEWS.

Birmingham, Oct. —, 1816.

SIR,

You will excuse my directing a letter to you from this town; but as the present state of our suffering country absorbs all our consideration, an exposition of its error is the first step to all effectual remedy. Ever since the memorable riots of this place, the Magistrates of the district, and the Police, have exercised a sway in the neighbourhood which almost borders on the despotism of Spain. They take cognizance of, and controul, every thing. We have about 30,000 various artizans, which, in America, or in France, would be a mine of wealth, and national power,—contributing equally to the fame, the glory, and the defence of the country. When England was arming the east, the west, the north and the south, against France, an immense and inconceivable supply of warlike stores, was poured at her disposal from this town, with a rapidity which met every demand; and by exertions which no other part of the kingdom could have put forth within the same portion of time. The raw material and the artizan were produced on the same spot, as it were; and forests of various arms grew out of the earth. As a greatful return for this service in the hour of need; the necessity had no sooner gone by than Ministers meditated a monopoly of the trade, and took measures for originating the manufacture of arms, as a large Government concern, with a famous string of good things in Governorships, Clerks, &c. &c. at Ministerial disposal. A strong statement, however, of the meanness, futility and ingratititude of such a measure being entered into. Ministers were shamed out of the further prosecution of such an object.—Our ingenuous mechanics, during so many years of the fluctuations of commerce, and caprice of fashions, have studied and practised every variety of handicraft, with a skill and success which can only be estimated by those who are familiar with their history. There is not a mo-

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choly omen of the times than the present picture of this town. A stipend of one shilling per diem is allowed to needy artizans, wholly out of employ, on the roads and streets,—men who formerly got their guinea per day—what time the immortal PITT first undertook to "save England by our firmness, (folly,) and Europe by our example." It is a dark picture of a great state to see so many thousands of its idiots and coxcombs revelling in the wages of tyranny and corruption, while the first artists in the world—its painters, modellers, mechanists,—combining the best part of the genius, art and industry of the country, are sweeping the streets and mending the highways, as PAUPERS!!!—These men were the means by which Birmingham rose into being, wealth and consequence; they were the star of its fortune, and the authority of its name.—What a horrible reverse of the picture! and how heavy the responsibility on those who have wrought such a change! There is a cloud hangs over the wicked councils of such misrule, which may burst in sudden thunder over the heads of Ministers, unless a speedy reversion to better principles, and purer purposes, avert and dissipate the gathering tempest.

But a leading object of this letter was to notice the state of moral destitution in which this large town is placed. Recently, an infant *Hampden Club*, has been instituted here;—but

"Tell it not in Gath—preach it not in the streets of Askelon."

There is not a single Inn in the place which DARE receive such a Community within its walls! I confess that I was much inclined to doubt this degrading circumstance, till it was confirmed beyond the suspicion of doubt. One public house was in danger of losing its licence for having only debated the matter for a moment, whether it should venture on the reception of the Society or not! The head man of the Police rules the publicans with a rod of iron. Every rumour of political heresy reaches his ears by a thousand channels; and he does not scruple to menace the aspect of any opinion which would impugn the wisdom and integrity of Ministers. So much for this mere Servant of the Magistracy, but what shall we say of those "brief authorities," which exercise so despotic a dominion, where the LAW prescribes them but a narrow boundary, and leaves the further province of their actions to the presumed liberal and honest feelings of Englishmen? Why is the Magistracy of Birmingham a century behind the spirit which governs all the other principal towns of the empire? Manchester, Liverpool, Leeds, Bristol, Sheffield, &c. &c. would blush to have it said of them, that a rational society, for constitutional objects, could find no public Inn which dare afford them accommodation; and that they were obliged to shroud and smother a particular circle of opinion and intelli-

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gence, within the privacy of domestic life; as though all public contact with it were pestilence and death! The custom of many years of privation of this nature, has, by long usage, subjected the public mind of the town to a species of acquiescence in such subserviency, as an inevitable fate. No party has ever stepped forward to dispute the political arena with the parties in power; and hence an unfair and unjust conclusion is drawn, that the PEOPLE of Birmingham are in the rear of the national mind at large. I know this to be untrue; and might readily state a number of facts in confirmation of a different estimate of the intelligence of Birmingham, if such a measure were essentially connected with my object. It is now, however, rather my view to state the commercial and moral position of this populous town, in relation to the various causes producing that position. It cannot be uninteresting to the friends of Liberty, and of a better and purer spirit of government, to learn how 80,000 of their fellow subjects are situated, in respect to their liberty of mind and conscience. The spirit of animadversion is pretty liberally afloat among us; and will of necessity lead to great changes. Let the good people of Birmingham associate as they can—taking care of the purity of Constitutional objects—and the oppression and vengeance of the tools of Government, can only call down odium on those who merit it. Let the country be more acquainted with the pranks of the "Jacks of Office," in their loyal JUROR; and the public indignation will hoot them with shame from their posts. Let the Magistrates of the interior beware how they stake themselves on solitary instances of oppression, on account of the *impunity of the past*. There is an eye of circumspection about them; and a faithful record of their actions is carefully preserved. That which is *Law* in London, Liverpool, Bristol, Leeds, Manchester, &c. is likewise *Law* all over the kingdom. There must not be a species of *Ultra Royalists* in the centre, while the spirit of such intolerance is spurned in every other part of the empire. The country is gradually assembling its moral forces; and it is only by the unanimous character of opposition, taking its stand upon the *necessity* of referring to the first, pure principles of the Constitution, that the present nest of weak and wicked Ministers can be driven from their throne of power. For the public to make *one step*, in this way, were a pledge of certain progress towards that Reform in the Representation of the People which can alone retrieve the falling fortunes of the Nation. The country does not want *more*, and *less* will not suffice it.

I am, Sir, &c. &c.

AN ARTIZAN.

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**EXTRACTS,**  
**ILLUSTRATIVE OF**  
**THE RIGHT OF PETITIONING,**  
**AND THE CONSEQUENCES OF**  
**OBSTRUCTING IT.**  
**FROM THE**  
**PROCEEDINGS OF THE COMMITTEE**  
**OF THE LONDON HAMPDEN CLUB,**  
**JUNE, 1816.**

**Resolved.** THAT to obstruct the exercise of the sacred right of Petitioning was, by the Convention of Parliament which declared, claimed, demanded and insisted upon the undoubted rights and liberties of the People of England, pronounced illegal.

**Resolved.** That on the 27th October, 1680, the then House of Commons, as appeared by the Journals,—

"**Resolved, nemine contradicente.** That it is and ever has been, the undoubted right of the subjects of England to petition for the redress of grievances;" and "that to traduce such Petitioning is a violation of duty; and to represent it as tumultuous and seditions, is to betray the liberty of the subject; and contributes to the design of subverting the ancient legal Constitution of this Kingdom; and introducing arbitrary power."

**Resolved,** That the first man in those days who for "having offended against the rights of the subject," appears to have been personally accused, was

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the afterwards notorious Judge Jeffreys, who at that time was only Recorder of London and *Chief Justice of Chester*, for whose removal "out of all Public Offices," for having "betrayed the rights of the subject, by traducing and obstructing petitioning," the House presented an Address to King Charles II.

**Resolved.** That it appears that Sir Thomas Holt, Serjeant at Law, received "the censure of the House upon his knees, at the Bar," for having, "betrayed the rights of the subject, by obstructing petitioning, and declaring his dislike and abhorrence of such petitioning."

**Resolved,** That on the 29th of October, 1680 it was also "**Resolved.** That Sir Francis Wylkins, by expressing an abhorrence to Petition, hath betrayed the undoubted right of the subject."

**Ordered,** That Sir Francis Wylkins be expelled the House for this high crime."

**Ordered,** That Sir Francis Wylkins do receive his sentence at the Bar of this House upon his knees, by Mr. Speaker, which was accordingly done."

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ON PARLIAMENTARY REFORM,  
AND THE  
**DUTY OF THE PEOPLE.**  
TO PROMOTE IT

"Who would drain all the resources of the Country, by supporting Sinecure Placemen and Pensioners?"  
 "Who would monopolize Votes by Bribery, and thereby support Corruption and Perjury?"  
 "Who would sell the Constitution for a few hogsheads of Ale?"  
 THESE are selected from "Ten pithy Questions," which lately issued from a respectable reformist press in this Town, and were addressed to the Gloucester Electors. The Answers are not here quoted, because it matters little, by what party the offences come; the conscientious opponent of abuses, the genuine Reformist, knows not the meaning of the term. Party is necessarily hostile to Reform; it is "the madness of many for the gain of a few;" and the few are always willing to reprobate the approaches of a Reform, by which their craft is endangered.--We will, therefore, proceed to enquire--

Do such things exist?  
 Are they evils, and which is the greatest?  
 Is there a remedy?  
 May it be safely applied?  
 By whom must this be done, and how?

Are there, then, any persons, who willingly burthen their country with unmerited Pensions and Sinecures?--Who would support Corruption?--Who would sell the Constitution, for a trifling selfish consideration?

To reply to these questions, we must continue to ask others--How are Places and Sinecures bestowed?--Answer, by majorities of the House of Commons. Who openly support and defend corruption, and refuse to hear evidence against it, on the ground of its *poticity*? Majorities of the House of Commons. It is too absurd to ask if the Constitution enjoins or authorizes these offences against its purity; but, if not, what is the motive for violating the Constitution?--Self-interest--"a dangerous dependence," of the legislature, not on "the people, but somewhere else." Who then sells the boasted Constitution of Great Britain, for paltry selfish considerations? Majorities of the House of Commons. Whom do these Majorities represent? "A decided Majority is returned by 154 persons, chiefly Peers of the Realm."\*

The British Constitution is praised, sincerely, or hypocritically, on all hands; therefore these practices must be allowed on all hands to be evils; and the source of all the rest, is thus clearly traced to the corrupt state of Parliamentary Representation.

The remedy for these crying evils is obviously *Parliamentary Reform*--and of this, the confession--slow and reluctant, although in many cases it be--the confession may be wrung from the lips of all. It cannot be evaded.

The British Constitution is *good*--to violate it is consequently *evil*.--Corruption in the House of Commons, is a violation,--therefore Corruption is *evil*, and Reform is *good*.

A little attention easily traces the sinuous course of this baleful poison, as affecting every channel of Government, and forming the *radical cause* of the mass

\* Resolutions of the Birmingham Hampden Club.

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of miseries under which the Country groans: to assist the progress of Reform, therefore, is the duty of every firm lover of his Country. For the furtherance of this great purpose, the London Hampden Club has been organized, which presents a brilliant constellation of Rank, Talent, and Respectability: to this end point all the Addresses and Petitions, which are, at this eventful period, crowding up to the Throne from all quarters of the kingdom.

Wherefore, then, should the inhabitants of this populous town and neighbourhood remain inactive, while such a spirit, so free, so ardent, so laudable, emanates from every popular assembly?

Let us blush for ourselves. Fear—yes, fear has hitherto checked, or rather prevented the efforts of those who profess themselves, *in the abstract*, friendly to the cause of Reform. “It is a time of War, and we must not shake the unanimity of the Country.”—“War is ceasing, and it is unfit, at such a period, to agitate a question of such magnitude.”—“It is a time of Peace, and why disturb the public tranquillity?”—“My friends; to the pusillanimous never arrives the proper time for exertion. “A lion is ever in the way.”—“But,” says the minion of Government, (and the sentiment is echoed by his underlings, to the last petty contractor,) “the Country has gone on and prospered; it is even now placed as on the very pinnacle of Glory, —surely all will go well, *for the present*,”—he adds, while he gathers up his unearned gains, wrung from an oppressed population.—“It will do for the present” says the quietist, whose profits are as yet unimpaired, whose domestic comforts are undiminished.—“It will do for the present” says the timid politician, whose head is filled with dreams of guillotines and lamp-posts; to whose infirm comprehension **Reform** and **Revolution** are synonymous.

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This “do for the present” observes a shrewd American writer, a reformist in his way,\* “produces as much mischief as rum, or a pestilence;” but, “it will not do” cries the *truly loyal*, and *constitutional* Englishman, when he sees his Country loaded with Taxes, and the people borne to the earth, by all sorts of grinding oppressions; when he sees the duration of Parliament, extended unconstitutionally to Seven Years, and the National Debt accumulated to a sum inconceivable, and still increasing; when he hears a despotic faction unblushingly avow and insolently defend, the corruptions which produce their Majorities;—“It will not do”—and feels himself imperiously called upon “to employ his most vigorous energies, by every legal and Constitutional means, for the attainment of that vital object, **Parliamentary Reform.**”†—“It will not do” exclaims every honest and fearless spirit, and looks around for the means of opposing the pampered Hydra.

Impressed by this conviction of the importance of the question, an *Auxiliary Hampden Club* has been formed in this Town, whose Resolutions, firm, clear, decided—but temperate and dispassionate, are already decided before the public. That Public is now called upon to expect the speedy convocation of a *Town's Meeting*, to consider on the propriety of presenting an Address, Remonstrance, or Petition to the Prince Regent. Such a Meeting will doubtless be hailed with joy, by the *truly loyal*, the *sincerely constitutional*, the firmest supporters of the illustrious House of Brunswick.

Reformists have too long been branded as Jacobins, and Reform confounded with Revolution, by those who well knew the falsehood of the application, but who

\* Noah Webster.  
† Resolutions of the Birmingham Hampden Club.

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have cunning enough to know the force of a name, and whose mystifications have so often made "the worse appear the better reason." My friends, listen not to such men, be not alarmed by the sound of their once potent rant, it is fast losing its effect. Believe, that those are the best subjects of a liberal Government, who would, at every risk, preserve unimpaired the Laws and Constitution, on whose basis the Government is erected. Those are the truest lovers of their King, who adore the free and independent principles which placed his family on the Throne.—Attend not to the suggestions of timidity and servility, which would urge, that it is not for you to be interested in such lofty questions; that Ministers and Members of Parliament are the best judges of the degree of freedom, proper for the People,—that you will incur the charges of singularity and forwardness. Tell these objectors, that the British Constitution is eminent in beautiful simplicity; that "he who runs may read" its admirable characteristics; that the violations of it, are too glaring to be left unobserved,—too profitable to the violators, to allow of a hope of Reform, originating with them; and for singularity and forwardness, tell them that you have heard of Meetings in London, Nottingham, Norwich, Manchester, Glasgow, Paisley, Cornwall, &c &c and that your only apology for your supineness has been your hope, now nearly extinct, that they would themselves, have been the movers of a similar Assembly here.

To close the whole by a very brief recapitulation;

Gross violations of the British Constitution, it appears do exist.

They are evils of alarming magnitude, but the root and parent of all, is the corrupt state of Parliamentary Representation.

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The remedy is *Parliamentary Reform*.

Exertions in the Cause of this Reform are not only safe, but every true Patriot is powerfully excited to make such exertions.

The work of Reform must be effected by the People themselves; by those who are suffering under the distresses produced by the present System of Corruptions; and the best manner appears to be, the holding of popular Assemblies in every part of the Kingdom, for the purpose of *Petition and Remonstrance*.

#### TO THE FRIENDS OF REFORM.

THE HAMPDEN CLUB  
The principles and views of the Birmingham Hampden Club, being completely before the Public, it remains now to state, that expences in Printing, Hire of Rooms, &c. have been unavoidably incurred to an extent, greater than the funds of the Society can continue to support. The Hampden Club, therefore, invite the contributions of those, who, though unwilling at present to give their names, as Members of the Club, are desirous of promoting its object.

The Chairman, the Members of the Committee, and other respectable individuals, are provided with books for the purpose, and will gladly receive the donations of the Friends to Reform, in Birmingham.

42 L

22

As early as the necessary Arrangements can be  
made, will be published,

NUMBER I.

OF THE

**BIRMINGHAM INSPECTOR,**

TO BE

CONTINUED EVERY FORTNIGHT,

And regularly delivered to Subscribers:

PRICE FOUR PENCE.

**PROSPECTUS.**

IN this large and populous Town, so highly interesting to the moralist and politician,—the centre of one of the most important manufacturing districts, abounding in active and inventive genius, whose conceptions, full of taste and utility, are carried into effect by industrious and skilful Artizans—themselves rapidly advancing in intellect and general improvement;—in such a place it may perhaps be matter of surprise, that no publication has hitherto appeared, devoted to the discussion of literary, scientific, and political subjects.

To supply this deficiency, which has been observed and lamented by many persons of sound judgment and enlightened views, the BIRMINGHAM INSPECTOR offers itself to the Public. Excluding Advertisements, it will be entirely open for the insertion of Articles of original composition, interesting extracts, and local intelligence, to an extent not generally admitted in Country Prints, which may indeed, with few exceptions, be characterized as *London Newspapers*, printed in their respective Towns.

The grand feature of the BIRMINGHAM INSPECTOR will be *Freedom of Discussion*, and the *Right of Private Judgment*,

23

145

144

The general outline of the labours of the Editor and his Co-adjudicators, will include a series of Articles on prominent political subjects—a regular succession of moral or economic Essays, addressed to those who, it is hoped, will form no inconsiderable portion of the Readers of the Inspector—the respectable and valuable Artizans of Birmingham;—brief disquisitions on Subjects connected with Art, Science, and Literature;—strictures on Public Characters—critiques on Public Exhibitions, the Drama, &c.—Examinations before the Magistrates;—a constant historical record of the Proceedings of popular Assemblies; and a general abstract of local information.

In the Political Department, it is almost needless to state the general tendency of the discussions.—Advocates of the *Rights of Private Judgment* will scarcely be found among those who invariably support all measures which receive the sanction of the ruling Powers. The principles of the BIRMINGHAM INSPECTOR will ever be of the most independent cast. Deprecating the departures from the original and wise provisions of the Constitution, (while other important questions are not lost sight of), it will be, in a peculiar manner consecrated to the cause of Parliamentary Reform—a cause, involving the fate, not of the present generation only, but of posterity to the latest ages.

For the other subjects, the Editor promises his own best efforts, assisted by several literary friends. He also respectfully solicits the Contributions of all, and hopes, by the careful selection of a pleasing variety, to render the BIRMINGHAM INSPECTOR a valuable addition to the rational Pleasures of his Readers.

**BIRMINGHAM:**

PRINTED BY W. H. SMITH, EASY ROW,  
Where the Names of Subscribers to the *Birmingham Inspector*  
will be received.

42 M

146  
145

THE  
**BIRMINGHAM**  
**Hampden**  
**CLUB.**

DEEPLY regretting the Occurrences of this Evening, and having received Information, that Copies of their Resolutions were exhibited at the Time of the Outrage, and referred to, as if calculated to countenance those disgraceful Violations of Public Order,—ask, by what gross Misconception, the Sentiments there delivered, could be supposed to sanction Riot and Tumult? The *Hampden Club* would impress upon the Minds of their Fellow Townsmen, that every Englishman has an undoubted Right *freely to express his Opinions*.—That no Benefit ever has arisen, nor ever can arise, from such wanton Violations of the Laws,—That a *good Cause* is never so ill served, as when supported by *Force* in place of *Argument*, *above all*, That for the redress of Grievances, the Constitution has provided a *legitimate Mode of Complaint*—**PETITION**.—For the Efficacy of such Appeal, the *Hampden Club*, with high Satisfaction, refer their Fellow Townsmen, to the almost universal Success, which has attended Public Petitions from the *Town of Birmingham*.

Signed,

By Order of the Committee;

G. EDMONDS,

Chairman.

[SMITH, TYP.]

Caroline-st. Monday Evening, Oct. 28, 1816.

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Just published, price Sixpence,  
THE  
**PEOPLE'S  
Friend;**

Or, CORRUPTION and TAXATION  
Unmasked;

Shewing the Manner in which the

*Public Money is Expended*  
In Pensions, Places, Sinecures,

&c. &c. &c.

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# In Pensions, Places, Sinecures, &c.

&c. &c. &c.

**By various Lists of Salaries held by Members of the House of Commons, Ministers, Bishops, &c.**

CLEARLY ACCOUNTING FOR THE USUAL MAJORITIES OBTAINED BY MINISTERS.

Containing also a Correct List of the Members of the House of Commons, with the Names of the Counties, Cities and Towns from whence returned; the Number of Voters in each Place, and by whom influenced: pointing out also those Members who voted for a continuance of **THE INCOME TAX.**

**To which is added, as Illustrative of the 'BRITISH CONSTITUTION,**

# Magna Charta,

# **BILL of RIGHTS,**

# **ACT of SETTLEMENT, HABEAS CORPUS, &c.**

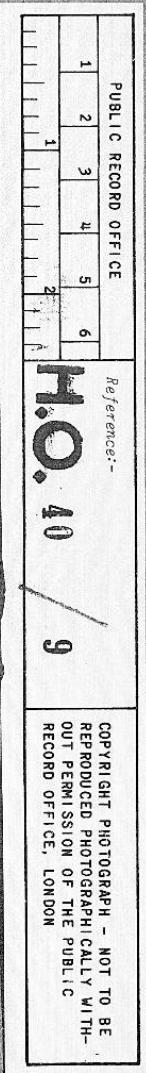
*“The permanent Welfare and Happiness of Great Britain can only be Established and Secured by an effectual Reform in Parliament—a considerable Reduction of our National Expenditure—and a strict adherence to the most excellent Principles of our Glorious Constitution.”—Vide Preface.*

**Manchester:** Printed for, and Sold by R. and H. WILSON, 66, Thomas-street. Sold also by all Booksellers.

**PRICE only SIXPENCE.**

R. TOMLINSON, Printer, 38, Kennedy-street.

CC44



# SIR RICHARD PHILLIPS'S Golden Rules for Jurymen.

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**I.**  
The worst of social miseries being oppression under the sanction, colour, and form of law, the reliance of the country, and the sole hope of persons under accusation and of suitors in appeals to the law, are on the good sense, integrity, and firmness, of grand and petit juries.

**II.**  
An honest jurymen should die rather than consent to a decision which he feels to be unjust; or which, in his own private judgment, is not warranted by clear and uncontrollable evidence.

**III.**  
The attendance of jurymen might be dispensed with, if any other opinion than that of the jury were allowed to make the decision; and their office would be a mockery on themselves, on the parties, and on their country, if their decisions were not the result of their own unbiased, unshackled, and independent convictions.

**IV.**  
In deliberating on their verdict, every jurymen is bound to exercise his own judgment; to give his individual opinion freely and boldly; and to bear in mind that it is the sole and entire object of the institution of juries, that every jurymen should decide according to his own conviction on the points at issue.

**V.**  
The jury are bound to decide fully and finally by a general verdict of *guilty* or *not guilty*; or for the plaintiff or for the defendant; unless, at the request of the judge, they reserve some point of law; but such special verdict should be explicit, final, and conclusive, with respect to the facts of the case.

**VI.**  
Every man is presumed to be innocent till he has clearly

**XI.**  
Every jurymen should be specially cautious, even as he values his peace of mind through life, of convicting persons of any species of offence on evidence merely presumptive and circumstantial—the conviction and the legal punishment are positive, and so, as far as possible, ought to be the proofs—and jurymen should, in such cases, bear in mind that no reasoning, however ingenious, and no circumstances, however corresponding, are equivalent to one positive proof whenever law, justice, or truth, require that proofs should be positive.

**XII.**  
The jury should carefully consider how far the evidence sustains the charge of a criminal design, no act whatever, which has not been committed with a criminal mind or intention, involving guilt and penal responsibility.

**XIII.**  
A careful jurymen will commit the material points to writing, and compare from his notes the evidence on both sides, deciding on his intuitive perceptions of right and wrong, and maintaining a vigilant caution against the prejudices or misconceptions of witnesses and prosecutors.

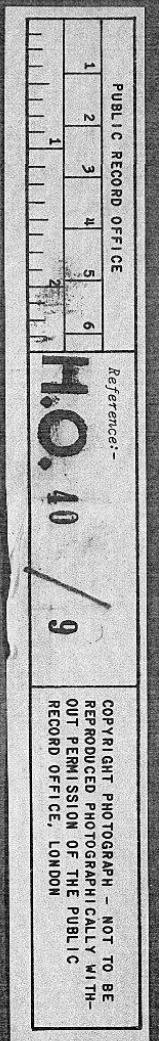
**XIV.**  
As grand juries examine witnesses only against the accused, every case, so unopposed by any defence, ought to be completely and unequivocally made out as to the facts, the evil intention, and the application of the law; and the exercise of a scrupulous and jealous caution against unfounded, malicious, and irrelevant charges, can be attended with little danger to the public, compared with the irreparable injury which an erroneous decision may inflict on innocent

**XIX.**  
In trying charges of libel, sedition, or treason, the jury should be jealously on their guard against prejudices raised by the influence of the administration for the time being; and they should bear in mind, that it is in such cases that juries are so eminently the barriers of public liberty, and the guardians of their fellow-citizens against abuses of power.

**XX.**  
In trying libel causes, juries ought never to loose sight of the important services rendered to mankind, by the sacred rights appertaining to freemen, of discussing public topics and the public conduct of public men; and of examining, asserting, and printing the truth on all subjects of general interest; and as the law of libel has expressly empowered them on negativing the charge of evil intention, to find a general verdict of *not guilty*, so the preservation of the liberty of the press depends entirely on the public spirit and careful discrimination.

**XXI.**  
The foreman should ascertain and equally respect every opinion in the jury; and the verdict, after it has been unanimously settled, should be solemnly delivered, no variation being permitted, unless the jury, before their decision is recorded, choose to retire again, and formally sanction it by a new verdict.

**XXII.**  
Previous to declaring their verdict, the jury should give the accused the fair benefit of those distinctions in the time, quantity, and quality of offences, which have been explained by the judge or council; and they should anxiously consider, whether the fact charged be the crime alledged within the meaning and cognizance of the law, founding their verdict on their combined view of fact and law.



plicit, final, and conclusive, with respect to the facts of the case.

#### VI.

Every man is presumed to be innocent till he has clearly been proved to be guilty; the onus of the proof of guilt lies therefore on the accuser; and no man is bound, required, or expected, to prove his own innocence.

#### VII.

The accused ought to enjoy the benefit of all doubts, and of all uncertainty in the evidence; because it is better that a hundred guilty persons should escape punishment, than one innocent man be unjustly convicted; and because the issue of a criminal trial involves every thing dear to the accused, if he be found guilty; but his acquittal, though perchance he might be guilty, is comparatively unimportant to the public.

#### VIII.

Every juryman should perform his duty in regard to the accused, or decide between plaintiff and defendant, as he would desire those parties to act in regard to himself, were their situations changed.

#### IX.

It is necessary to guard against popular prejudices and undue influence, in whatever quarter they may arise, and to decide on a consideration of the facts only, and on the valid evidence of credible witnesses.

#### X.

Unanimity is required in every verdict of a Jury, because universal concurrence is the only test of truth, and a true verdict must necessarily produce universal concurrence; such required unanimity serving at the same time to render every one of the jury responsible to his own conscience, to the public, and to the parties, for the integrity of his conduct.

founded, malicious, and irrelevant charges, can be attended with little danger to the public, compared with the irreparable injury which an erroneous decision may inflict on innocent persons.

#### XV.

No man being responsible for the crime or act of another, no prejudice should lie against an accused person, because some one has committed a crime, unless it shall be brought home to the accused by distinct and satisfactory testimony, as well in regard to the fact as the criminal intention.

#### XVI.

Warning to others being the sole design of legal punishment, all decisions of juries should be made dispassionately, and should not be influenced by collateral circumstances, or, by any sinister or artful appeals made to the feelings of the jury.

#### XVII.

The punishment being generally founded on the abstract fact of the jury's conviction; and the laws being made for extreme cases of turpitude, the jury ought to recommend the convicted to mercy as often as they feel a justifiable reason.

#### XVIII.

Jurymen should protect the rights and liberties of their fellow citizens, and view with jealousy charges against accused persons who appear to be deprived of the privileges to which they are entitled by the constitution, and a due respect to the ends of justice; thus no accused person ought to be committed for trial except on the oath of at least one credible witness; or called on to plead unless on the indictment of twelve of a Grand Jury; or arraigned on trial unless he has been supplied with a copy of the same, in time sufficient to summon witnesses, and has enjoyed the free access of his friends to concert measures for his justification.

by the judge or council; and they should anxiously consider, whether the fact charged be the crime alledged within the meaning and cognizance of the law, founding their verdict on their combined view of fact and law.

#### XXIII.

The sole object of the proceedings in every trial being to acquire a correct view of the facts which bear on the questions at issue, and to enable the jury, according to their oath, to frame a true verdict, it is the duty of every jurymen to possess himself of the entire case; he ought therefore to protect timid, inexperienced, and embarrassed witnesses; to receive with caution the testimony of others, who are under the influence of fear, hatred, or expected reward; and to require the production of any evidence which is tendered or attainable, and which appears to him to be necessary.

#### XXIV.

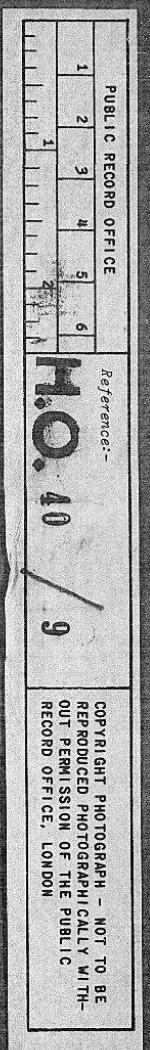
Above all things, it is the delicate but sacred duty of jurymen to guard against the undue interference or mistaken views of judges, who, in bad times, have not only misled and dictated to juries, but have sometimes presumed to reprimand them. The judge is authorized to expound the law, but not to direct and over-rule the decision: he is to be respected by the jury, but by no means to be implicitly obeyed.

#### XXV.

Every juryman should recollect, that he is acting for his country; that, for the time being, he is the uncontested arbiter of justice; that he is the constitutional protector of suitors and accused persons, against legal quibbles and oppressions; that he is the living guardian for his posterity of those sacred powers of jurymen, transmitted to him by his forefathers; and that the preservation of JUSTICE and LIBERTY depends on one firm and upright man doing his duty in every jury.

*London:---Printed by W. MOLINEUX, Bream's Buildings, Chancery Lane; sold by J. SOUTER, 1, Paternoster Row, and by all Booksellers.  
PRICE SIXPENCE.*

0045



## Town's Meeting. 149

THE Inhabitants of Manchester are respectfully informed, that a Requisition for a public Meeting, respecting the general Distress, and its Remedy, will lie for signatures, on Monday next, at Mr. Hibbert's Warehouse, the corner of Marsden-square, from ten to one on that day.

¶¶ Those Householders who please to sign are requested to lose no Time in doing so.

Manchester, 28th September, 1816.

W. Cgden, Printer, Woodstreet.

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# COMMUNIST

As a Full Member of the Association from their own  
age of 25 years to 35 years of age of Young Men  
and women of both sexes to 18 years of age of  
either sex between the ages of 18 and 25 years  
and between the ages of 25 and 35 years of  
age of both sexes and young men and women  
of 35 years of age and upwards.



### ANSWER TO THE QUESTION

### **etiological factors**

receive upon place best offer

Nearly nine o'clock  
Dr. M. Jackson's 20 Sept.

СЕРГЕЙ ЕИЧАЕВ  
Бывший волынщик  
Москва 20 ле.

No 79

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# Address to the People,

On the Distresses of the Nation; stating the Causes, Effects, and proposed Remedy; also an Examination of the Letters of the Rt. Hon. G. Rose, and the Rt. Hon. G. Canning, in Answer to the 19,000 Memorialists of Bolton.

PUBLISHED BY JOSEPH MITCHELL, 76, RICHMOND-ROW, LIVERPOOL.

Price 3d, or £1 per 100.—Orders and Communications to be post paid.

**A**T a time when the drunken fumes of an age of the most sanguinary war has left us reeling, languid and weak; when expecting to remove the heavings,—keep off sickness, and dispel the most maddening of pains, we find our cupboards void, our ceilings, that once bowed to the well fed beef, the broad hams and the plump ham, now adorned with dried herbs, and with the ragged remnants of famished spiders; and in our well-stored pantries, we now find the scanty fragments of ravenous poverty. When, on raising our eyes to view our fellow beings, we find, inheriting the abodes of the once nobles of the land, a race of bespangled creatures, fluttering amid gew-gaw grandeur and eastern equipages; adorned with stars, garters and ribbons, and enjoying nothing but routs, fêtes, fashionable spas, balls, assemblies, operas, &c. &c. &c.; while our merchants, tradesmen and manufacturers, are bedizening the gazette; flying to the continent, as outlaws; skulking under fictitious names in obscure retreats, as uncertified tradesmen, terror-smitten at every strange face they see; or, dragged by a bailiff, to a *spunging-house*, and from thence, perhaps, to linger within the iron gratings of a filthy prison, to swell and boast of their families being in the poor-house) while perusing their galling books by the side of some petty-fogging attorney, who, like the bailiff, battens on the miseries of the poor, making out his schedules for the almost diurnal insolvent debtor's court.—When, in the place of the people's representatives, there are found a tribe of factious tools, adorned with offices, salaries, pensions, and sinecures; while in the land where a healthy, well-clothed, well-informed and brave people once flourished, amidst the most sumptuous plenty; is supplanted a starved, skeleton, scarecrow-ragged, ignorant, enslaved, pusillanimous race of crawling things; when, while the pretended guardian representatives, magistrates, parish-officers, &c. &c. are at ease, and rolling amidst the abundant sweets of the earth, the poor wretched labourer is struggling with all his industry and all the produce of his

labour, to suppress the cries of his famishing family and the calls of hunger, with bare bread, or scanty meal and water! till repugnant nature prompts him to acts of violence, for which he sinks, never to rise again! When this is the case, and while that man, who, twenty years ago spoke of politics, and was stared at with so much astonishment, is now sought for in vain; when that never-failing maxim, "We have nothing to do with politics but to pay the taxes," is broken, by the power to obey being entirely destroyed; when all markets are closed against us, and the inhabitants of every nation are not only manufacturing for themselves, but also with a view to follow the export trade. While for these thirty years back, through the medium of our various businesses, we have pursued the *phantom* fortune, with as much eagerness as a surgeon ought to save the life of an expiring patriot—At a period like this, when we are gazing on each other like disappointed dupes, who have strayed miles out of their road to see gladiators bruise that frame they ought to preserve for acts of peace, it would be matter of enterprising speculation to make a deliberate pause; and rather, than like terror-stricken offenders, who steal into a corner of some obscure retreat, thinking to stifle the torture of burning guilt,—dispel with the innate blood of our fore-fathers, the torpescient apathy that has so long benumbed our political reason; and, with the open-hearted candour of honest Britons, enquire; why in the midst of luxuriant nature as on a steril rock, are we left to famish on the heath of poverty—Why this hunger in the midst of so much plenty?—what means all this sedate and gloomy emptiness?—why, ye cloth-makers, this niggardly economy, after the many army and continental orders during the extravagantly furious "*Tom Pain trade*,"—why this complaint of extreme want; this need of the Thread-needle-street ghosts of our raggedness?—when, only as yesterday, such a plenty of barrels of ale, of bags of meal and flour; the no want of guineas, nor want of cows, with land to keep



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## ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE.

them on; why, with all your "divels" and "gig-mills," do you hang your heads in stupid melancholy! And you, manufacturers, of the mad and unboundedly profitable cotton trade; why, after having been mounted in gilded chariots, &c., are you now biting your nails in loathsome goals? or, why are your workmen, who, but a few short years ago, were (from the Saturday to the Wednesday, of every week, night and day, with their dear wives by their sides,) sunk beneath the stupefying fumes of pernicious liquors, singing "Britons never shall be slaves!" below any brute in the creation, and now with their meagre faces, are complaining of the most "dire distress?"—Why, amidst all that softish plenty, have they suffered grim poverty, to seize upon their abused abodes? Or you, reputable murderous gun, sword, bayonet, be-nighted rocket, fabricated assignat and base coin makers; you, in Birmingham, whose whole lives have been devoted to making spurious trinkets and destructive weapons, and not content with the profitable fraud such deceptive traffic affords;—but by your nefarious arts, you have plundered the father's MEAVEN from his family; and the child's REPOSE from his beloved parents. With glittering gilt, have you allured their innocence: But, with stubborn iron, you have riveted to the spicy-cane, the sable-sons of that "unfavoured" land! and though you mingle the tears of their sorrows in the sweets of your cup, you unrelentingly grieve that you have not another AFRICA to enslave with your bauble trash! But now there is no longer a call for your iniquitous arts, and you pine in want!—say—has FATE inflicted you with her scourge of penurious wretchedness, for the devastating sorrows you have occasioned? Are you still idolizing the bloody-fiends of war? dare any man amongst you, now speak of the corrupt measures of administration—the profligate waste of the public money, or the want of a REFORM in the representative system? Are you yet, with your monk-like bigotry, worshipping your chimney-piece tools, PITT, &c.? Ah! ye loyal brood—I shall not soon forget the "BADGER" baiting I got (even since many of your boards with the written inscription, "No Jacobins admitted here," were taken down from your parlour doors) when, as a stranger, I unfortunately strayed into, and got entangled in the breath of the nest of "BADGERS" that used to sit brooding in Temple-street,—I think I now feel the strange shock I received, when ALL the loyal tribe, with the old "CARRIER" at their head, "threatened," (and four of them rose) to "stop me, heels foremost, up the chimney; and after my poor pate had been properly

But, beware, I beseech you, of false pro-

FRIZZLED, then hurl me headlong through the window!" Oh! mercy, my flesh creeps on my bones, when I think on the many OPPROARIOUS epithets and Billingsgate-like names, this loyal clan heaped upon my "d—d empty" (as they were pleased to call it) "jacobinical head!"—But to be serious—When, added to the foregoing picture of wretchedness, the Farmer can no longer sell his produce for an equivalent of rent, taxes and labour, it behoves us to reflect, with attention, on our past folly, in order to find the cause, that by such, we may be the better enabled to provide a remedy. To this end, I know not of a more effectual way than that of meeting together in public assemblies; for there, one speaker may be heard by many—there, secrets need not "Pine in thought." Again; if the natural body is diseased, our first thought is for a skilful physician.—The remedy for the political disease you complain of, is a RADICAL REFORM IN THE REPRESENTATION OF THIS COUNTRY; an UNITY of OPINION amongst the PEOPLE, is the political physician. What raised Athens, Rome, and Sparta to the highest eminence of political fame? Their assemblies for public discussion. And what (pray fellow-men) has reduced England, with entailed distracted Ireland, to the lowest abyss of imbecility, and plunged her people into the gulf of human wretchedness? A want of those assemblies, where public grievances could be openly and freely discussed amongst the people.

Did ignorance ever cure disease? then is it enough, you say, that pain distracts you, and not say how or where? But, you argue, there will be expence attending the cure wrought by public meetings; and is there no expence incurred in exposing yourselves to the ale-house distemper?—But what are the different ends of the two expences?—The one is to free you from oppression,—the other, to tax you for the support of your oppressors, destroy your health, degrade your persons, and banish the peace of your families by drinking poisonous liquors. And again, through the medium of a chapel, many of you seek peace hereafter. Why not, then, through public assemblies, seek "Peace on earth, happiness and good-will amongst men," that by your Samaritan-like acts through this life, you may ensure a crown of immortal glory in an eternity of repose.—United, ye are the salt of the earth—divided, the mere chaff of worthless poverty. Remember, that a penny-a-week subscription, with trifling donations, built the first methodist chapel; what, then, in so good a cause, cannot you do by like efforts?

## ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE.

phets, who, with "Full crops," will carve out for your gnawing appetites,—"Patience in long-sufferings" such men, "Inwardly are ravaging wolves."—I ask you, do all the sable tribe preach for the salvation of man, or for tithes? Do the thirty thousand pounds a year men, of Canterbury, Durham, Winchester, York, &c. "Go forth to heal the sick, cleanse the lepers, raise those that are dead in misery, cast out devils, and provide neither gold, nor silver, nor brass in their purse, nor scrip for their journey, without two coats, neither shoes, nor yet staves;" when they preach the Kingdom of heaven is at hand; to the lost sheep of the house of Israel? If they do not, what answer will you make, when I tell you, that I know men who will go forth on true christian principles, "Knowing they go as sheep among wolves," and preach unto the lost men of England, saying,—"Repent, O ye tax-eaters, for the Kingdom of Reform is at hand!"—"O, ye men of little faith," "Ye are the light of the world," therefore, proclaim your sufferings from the house tops; let your brilliancy so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and call down the fulgence of heaven to dazzle and confound the dirty owls that turn industry into corruption, and fatten on the spoil. Poor are your circumstances, and scanty is your pitance; but still, the dying man will make many efforts to stay his fleeting breath; then, unitedly, come forward with your mites—collected, they will be a mountain, and will save you from political destruction.

Once more, do I conjure you to be aware of false prophets; strange (no doubt) will be the motley of opinion, and numerous the group of quacks who officially will serve; but, if you steer clear of the rock of mad infatuation, which has so shamefully wrecked your prosperity, and keep their prescriptions to the test of that disinterested and dispassionate public opinion, who, individually, are to pay alike for all, you will seldom err. Into that test do I cheerfully throw my services, and the following address:

## TO HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE REGENT, &amp;c.

Sir.—The period is arrived, when, for the happiness of your house, and the general safety of our state, a credulous, open-hearted, generous and brave people, can no longer be deceived; when the parasitical tribe that gnaws the clinging cement from the centre of that ark; the convulsions of the continent, and the billows of external war, effectless as the slimy waves against the flinty rocks,

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\* ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE.

But, Sir, what must be your feelings, and our sufferings, when in the face of these express laws, a corrupt borough oligarchy, in union with a profigate tribe of crouching lawyers, "prejudging," by bargaining for Seats in the House of our Representatives, by pledging, and being pledged, to support certain measures of taxation for the increase of salaries, pensions, places, &c., our "free customs" are destroyed—our "liberties" are annihilated—our "sacred freeholds" are seized upon and taken from us—our bodies are "imprisoned"—our families, for want of that bread, heaven hath so bountifully given to man—in vain, implore a frowning parish—an unfeeling magistracy, or the haughty rich!

When the abundant harvest can no longer administer consolation to our famished spirits; when the griping hand of poverty, at the same time, wounds our reason, and spurs us to theft; when hoping to find relief, we "beg for transportation, or, despairing, seek the welcome Hulks, or the friendly Drop; and when all this misery is the effect of "taxation without representation"—where, Sir, must we seek for justice?—Is she "sold to no man?"—hath no man usurped her power?—Is justice or right not denied, or, in part, deferred to many men?

Can the poor weavers, or the thousands of other poor labouring men, who, from the shameful pittance of from five to seven shillings a week, have in food to keep the souls of their distressed families in bondage; and who, by their scanty purchases, and the assistance their useful industry affords to others, have entirely to uphold the splendour of the avaricious monopolizing landholder. Can he, who out of every pound of salt pays seven times more than its value for taxes—who, out of every pound of soap, sugar, candles, tea, coffee, rice, currants, &c. &c. pay about one half of the money for taxes—who, out of every glass of gin, rum, brandy, ale, &c. pay about three parts out of four of the money for taxes—If, per accident, we break a pane of glass, a goblet, &c. and have to replace it with any other kind of white glass, out of every shilling we pay for the same, about ten-pence goes for taxes; besides the enormous imposts we pay for the light of heaven being suffered to approach us through such "taxed glass." Should we pay or receive any money, (which is not very common in these times)—such money is, in what is called a "bill," a written slip of paper, with an imposing stamp on it, besides paying for which, we are obliged to take or give a "receipt," which must also be on stamped paper, for which we pay a tax, or the sum may be re-recovered in a court of jus-

## ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE.

tice. If we have to give or take a receipt, in full of all demands, be these demands less than one shilling; or be they more, we must pay ten shillings taxes for the paper we write such receipt on, or the justices say, "it is not worth one farthing." If we write an agreement on paper, it will not stand good in law, where justice is administered, unless it be upon paper for which we pay a tax of from 16 to 38s. In fact, we cannot write or print on white paper, but we must pay about 3d. taxes for every pound weight we use; we cannot buy a newspaper, but, besides the 3d. per pound taxes on the paper, we must pay 4d. taxes, for it having an imposing red stamp upon it; we cannot put an advertisement in the same paper, if it does not contain more than ten words, but we must pay a tax of 3s. 6d. for it. We cannot print a pamphlet, or book, under eight sheets, but we must pay 3s. for every sheet that such pamphlet or book contains. We cannot sell goods by auction, but we must first have a licence for so doing for which we pay (stamp-duty, for hounds included) three pounds sixteen shillings, every year; besides this tax for licence, for all goods we so sell, by auction, except plate and jewels, (which are 7d. in the pound) we must pay 1s. out of every 20, as a tax. If we sell a wedding-ring, or silver spoon, we must have an additional licence, for which we pay a tax of four pounds twelve shillings, every year; besides this, these wedding rings pay about seventeen shillings and sixpence, per ounce, for being stamped; silver spoons, one shilling and three-pence, per ounce for the same. If we travel through England, to buy and to sell goods, though they do not amount to more than fifty shillings, and we, like asses, carry them upon our backs, we must pay a tax of four pounds; and if we travel with a cart, gig, &c. we pay a double tax, for what they are pleased to call a licence; and also to have wrote, in strong characters, on all our carts, gigs, and packages, "Licensed Hawker," or be liable to a fine of ten pounds. Besides this, every piece of printed goods, whether silks, stuffs, cottons, waistcoating, or what not, pay three-pence taxes, for every square yard so printed; and should such a "hawker and pedlar" sell a single wedding ring, in order to be guarded against informers, he must pay four pounds twelve shillings for an additional licence. Besides these taxes, there are thousands of others, for instance:—tax on shop-men, servants, cotton wool, sheep's wool, cloths, pitch, tar, dye-woods, deals, leather, iron, copper, tin, starch, pepper, ginger, in tobacco and snuff, about nine-pence out of the shilling.

## ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE.

In fact, the more taxes I enumerate, the thicker they come upon me; therefore, I am obliged to stop, for I am confident, if I were to write on taxation till next year at this time, I could not enumerate the taxable commodities. But, sir, when this is the case, will any man say that we, the "Swinish Multitude," have the same access to "Justice and Right," as those men who make the taxing laws; and who, while we become impoverished and get lean by paying, they grow rich and fatten by "Gathering them."

When, by the payment of the above-mentioned imposts, and frequently by malicious charges and wicked instances of evil persecution, the honest, industrious, sober man, is forced to suffer himself to be dragged like a thief, (by a bum-bailiff) to an unwholesome gaol—I say obliged, for it is fresh in my memory; and, as if I saw the man falling when dragging the fatal rod from his vitals, when a reputably honest, but basely persecuted young man, was, by a bum-bailiff's assistant, at the command of the bum-bailiff, murderously shot!! Yes, he had even a ramrod shot through his body! when attempting to fly these worse than fiend-talonized brutes. But not alone is the debtor so punished; but the creditor has, besides the loss of his account, frequently to pay for a pretended attempt made to recover (as the tribe are pleased to call it) "His just debt;" for which attempt, in many instances, he has to pay more than the original debt.—In the following, which is but a simple plain case, the charge made for such an attempt, is an arrestable sum.

Mr. Twitter, Cotton Spinner,  
To the Assignees of — Latitat,  
In the Exchequer Dr.  
Yourself agst. John B—, Cotton Piece Maker,  
Michaelmas Term, 1814.

To costs of writ herein, and taking £ s. d.  
defendant to Warwick Gaol, 21 miles, and correspondence 7 7 0  
Letter to you, for instructions to proceed 0 3 6  
Hilary Term, 1815.  
Instructions for declaration 0 6 8  
Drawing same, folio 20 1 0 0  
Ingrossing bill, parchment and duty 0 12 4  
Paid entering 0 6 8  
Two copies on duty 0 15 0  
Letters to correspondent therewith 0 3 6  
Paid his charges 0 15 6  
Copy sent 0 6 8  
Filing affidavit of service 0 1 0

Carried forward £11 17 10

152

154

Brought forward £11 17 10  
Rule to appear & plead & warrant 0 3 10  
Searching for appearance 0 3 4  
Copy bail piece, with notice of bail and justification 0 2 0  
Attending enquiry into the circumstances of bail 0 13 4  
Brief to counsel to oppose bail 0 2 6  
Fee him 0 10 6  
Attending him 0 3 4  
Attending court, bail justified 0 6 8  
Copy rule for allowance of bail 0 1 0  
Demanding plea 0 2 0  
Attending summons, for time to plead 0 4 4  
Copy or orders 0 1 0  
Copy general issue 0 1 0  
Term fee, and letters 0 18 0

£15 9 8

7th March, 1816.  
This is our bill,  
Cornelius Latitat.

In another case, and where the party arrested could not pay twenty shillings in the pound, but was obliged to assign over his effects for the joint benefit of his creditors. In order to do this, not being much in love with the apartments of a gaol, he, after having been spunged out of considerable sums of money while in the infernal inquisitorial, "spunging house," waiting the "fitness" of his friends at length gave what is termed common bail—but let me not forget to state, that this individual, when in this "spunging-house," had not even one friend whom he personally knew; all his pretended friends then deserted him, and he must have lain in a gaol, had it not been for a vilely abused man—a man loaded with all the opprobrious epithets calumny can invent—who humanely came forward to set him at large. This done, and also paid for, which was more than a "few shillings," he proceeded to get what is called "special bail." But having been frequently robbed, plundered, and deceived by the latitat tribe, he determined to employ an honest man—if he could find one. After much inquiry, he was directed to an "Old-standing patriotic lawyer." This, certainly, was something new—but as he bore the name of one who had "repeatedly dressed the villains of his profession," in fact, he said himself, that "he was the only one in the town who had dared to take the fraudulent of his tribe in hand," he began to think he had got into safe hands; but, in order to be sure, having been so repeatedly deceived, he asked the probable expense of special bail? was, after much shuffling, and "let me see," told "about three or

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## ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE.

ners and wines, and French brandies, for the use of the SICK PAUPERS; and for ringing the church bells, on the news of "great and glorious battles," and royal birth-days, &c &c.—making an aggregate of about ninety-one pounds of yearly taxes, to be paid by every useful labouring family—besides all the greedy and devouring lawyers' six shillings and eight-pence, and thirteen shillings and four-pence; also the gnawing *fanatic tribe*, who, in the midst of plenty, are daily preaching to the famished poor, "*patience in long*"—starvation; and awing the minds of their hungry congregations, with the "*murdered protestants in the south of France*" (*to themselves be much credit due for the cause*) and exhorting them to return thanks to the "*FATHER OF MERCIFUL GOODNESS*," that they have not a "*Louis the Desired*," or a besotted Ferdinand, upon their backs, like the toads in autumn, riding them into the horrid pit of bigotry. When these well-fed beasts of corruption, in this way, hang on the necks of our once athletic frame, like caterpillars on the boughs of leaf-devoured tree—have we not much reason for asking, Sir,—Is "*justice and right*" fairly distributed to all men?

Methinks, Sir, I hear some of your ministers whisper in your ear "*the useful labouring community do not pay all the taxes*"; for there are the landholders, the lawyers, the shopkeepers, the lottery contractors, agents and bill distributors, the under and over-writers, the regiments of threadneedle-street clerks, the funded figure brokers, the pawnbrokers, the periwig-makers, the perfumers, the gunpowder, ball, cannon, mortars, bomb-shell, sword, bayonet, dirk, dagger, man-trap and spring gun, wooden and cork leg, glass eye makers; then there are the lords of the bed-chamber, the wardrobe, lords in waiting, lord stewards, lords of the stole, and the Lord knows what—besides the royal dress, royal breeches, royal sword, royal hat, royal boot and shoe, royal bed, royal chair, royal table, royal garter makers; royal jeweller, royal cook, royal confectioner, royal coach and harness maker, royal whisker makers, and a thousand other royal things.

Again, there are the impress-gang, the thief-catchers, bum-bailiffs, the nosers, the gaol and prison and convict keepers, the lockers-up, the hangsmen, the informers, the powdered-headed and white-stockinged and delicate-fingered excise and custom-house officers, the judges, the cryers of the court, the gown and wig-men, who contend as earnestly for the life of a man, as a hawk does for the life of a sparrow—yes, and then there are the men called tax-gatherers, parish officers, tythemen, &c.

place-men and pensioners and sinecurists; the hireling party of loyal song-writers, reviewers, contractors, the Jew, navy and army agents, &c. &c. and even yet, there are your royal highnesses obsequious ministers, who also pay a full share to the taxes."

That these persons pay taxes, I need not tell you, is no argument, for the continuance of ours—they can afford to pay; therefore, in the name of justice, suffer them to continue; *our situations are different; we cannot afford to pay*; and this ought to be for us a reason sufficiently weighty. But, however, with your permission, we will just examine, how a few of the above figures get their money, and by them draw an inference.

First, we will instance the *landholder*; he, Sir, in a generality of cases, obtains his lands somewhat as the Duke of Wellington, and many other great fighting men have got theirs. Some, indeed, there are, whose ancestors got their title deeds from William Duke of Normandy, an illegitimate son of Robert Duke of Normandy, and Arlette, a furrier's daughter, who came over to his land, and through British blood waded to the crown; hence we generously stile him the *conqueror*, &c.—Well, the land, got no matter how, whether by fighting or over-reaching, or by law, or by purchase, &c. the first object of such *landholders* is to parcel it out to the farmers, at as high rent as they can get; even not excepting the late Whitbread; though I will allow, there are some honourable exceptions of our day. The farmer has no sooner brushed himself out of the weeds, and began to thrive, by his useful labour, than smack comes upon him a thundering lot of taxes, parish rates, &c. &c. followed up with a twenty-five per centum increase of rent. Should he appear astonished at such proceedings, the hireling newspaper tribe of scribblers compose him to acquiescence, by ringing the alarm of *scarcity* throughout the land.—This hint is enough; the farmer waits not for explanation, but with a long face, fearing lest we should be all "*clammed to death*," levies a *whopping* advanced price on all kinds of landed produce, viz. sheep, kine, milk, butter, corn, hay, flax, vegetables, &c. all to the market, with the burthened scarcity of a higher price upon them, &c.—Scarce arrived at home again, and before he has finished the alarming tale of "hair-breadth 'scapes" from the "*sousings*" and "*dousings*" and "*petlings*" of the "*rebel manufacturers*," (just as if the *poor farmer* had been the *ORIGINAL cause* of all this scarcity!) is he visited by an increased cloud of enormous prices for *food*, to the cruel adul-

Followed up by his landlord, with a doubling or trebling of rent—a herd of devourers comes upon him sufficiently numerous to cause a famine in the land—the poor farmer has no time left him to *manufacture long faces* in the glass—Dobbin is saddled, and away goes he to market with tears in his eyes, at the devastation these locusts have caused. It is to no avail, that the manufacturers complain of *bad trade*; the workmen of the *prosecutions* entered into against them for *combinations* to increase their wages, that they may be enabled to buy this advanced provision—for, says the farmer, "*here is a famine, occasioned by a cloud of scabs*—and nothing short of advanced prices, can save us all from destruction."

"Tell us not that *ye manufacturers*, labourers, &c., work night and day; or that, at the risque of your lives, you have crossed the ocean in search of money; and not only made use of "*billets, devils and gig-mills*," in the place of human hands; but out of the *raw fleece* and *cotton wool*, manufactured *GARMENTS* nearly ready to go to church in, by *steam engines* alone, to get money to enable us farmers to pay our *lazy land-tax-inventor*, and *heavy rack-rent scourger*—for (cries the farmer) "*here is a famine, and money must be had, come from where it will*," or, "*by —, you must have no bread*." Year after year has this: not a combination to raise the price of provision, ah, no! (though there was something said, somewhere about the *House of Commons*, of grinding *STRAW* for the *POOR* to make bread of!!!—that they might by the *WISE PLAN of raising prices*, keep off a *FAMINE*—you remember how *potatoes* were recommended in the place of *BREAD*—perhaps you may also recollect, that at that time *hunting and coach horses*, were fed with good corn) but the wise measures of those useful men, that *Whitbread* in his speech on the *Corn Bill*, called *monopolizers, forestallers, and regraters*, and who, as he said, rendered service to the people, by "*buying up the corn in time of cheapness, and selling it out in time of dearness*."—(*Whitbread on Corn Bill!*) I say, year after year have these practices been carried on, and like as if they thought we should never see, that the *taxing bills* were brought into the House by some of the *law tools* of, or by the landed interest. The *House of Lords* is constituted of landed interest-men, great lawyers, and bishops; the farmer's rents are raised by the landed interest-men. The farmers are forced to raise the produce, because their rents are raised. The poor journeymen manufacturers, &c. are obliged to work late and early, to get money to pay

into the stock, to be so *gambled* for; but, instead of putting this money into the stock, to be so *gambled* for, I put a part of

## ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE.

raters of our *bread*, who are at this *melancholy* moment poisoning us with their *villainy*, under the pretence of enabling the farmers to pay their enormous rents, and of course, keep up the *splendour of the landholder*; also that *Messrs. Lawyers and Co.* may be enabled to keep their minds composed and unruffled, and fit to manage the *STATE (TAXING)* affairs of this *unweedly nation*.

After stating so much about the *landholder*, &c. I need scarce say, having given you a *sample* of the lawyer's dirty work, in a former part of this address—that it is not the *poisonous* and *distracting venom*, that springs from his *mortal sting*, that either *weaves the fine black cloth he wears*, or *cultivates the snow-white bread*, or feeds the *fine-flavoured venison* he devours—like the taxgatherer, it scarce need be said;—when the *work is bad*—*the dirty workers of it, must be worse*—therefore, I am of an opinion, it would be better to keep every one of both the tribes, at ease in an *armed chair*; but when I recollect myself, sitting in an *armed chair*, is the most fatiguing business the *powdered-headed collector*, and the *big-bellied lawyers* have to do: well—let us keep them any where rather than tax-gathering, "*whereas*," "*my client*," or "*deponent*."

As to the shopkeeper, the publican, and the lottery contractor, &c. why, the two first are now a kind of *go-between*, which, in very few instances, are found to do good to any party; always striving to *buy low, and sell high*; to persuade the manufacturer, his goods are *bad*; and with the next breath, strive to convince his customer, "*they are the best he ever had*"; they *scarce* ever can be *SAFELY trusted*.—Then there is the *hulking landlord*, *lolting* in the corner to take money, too *lazy* to serve his customers, and, therefore, he must have servants to deal out his *perniciously adulterated liquors*. Besides, further, both the shopkeeper and the publican, are, by their expensive establishments, as well as by the many licenses, they have to pay, *supporting*, in fact, *nursing*, the very system, that is depriving us of health, happiness, liberty, and even life.

As to the lottery contractors, office-keepers, &c. I would ask any man, or even any government, who sanction these lotteries, what he, or they, would think of me—were I to advertise, the sale of certain tickets, purporting to be lottery tickets, for which I charge a certain price, and which *ought* (or at least with in a very trifle,) to go into the "*stock*" to be *gambled* for—but, instead of putting this money into the stock, to be so *gambled* for, I put a part of

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## ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE.

ADDRESS TO

it, but not so much as 10 shillings in the pound, and give another part to my patronizers; the rest, (about seven shillings in the pound,) I put into my own pocket, to get red lion bills, and bills with black men, painted in scarlet dresses, blowing the trumpet of imposition; and richly printed circulars, to the "Inhabitant of this house, &c."—would any man, or would our government, think me any thing better than a swindler? but so it is with the lottery people! that out of every pound note paid for "shares" as they are called, not so much as ten shillings go into the fortunate wheel.

and as to all the lords in waiting, lords of the bed-chamber, the stole, the ministers, &c. it is well known to you, that if they had not the large salaries, and the immense estates, which have been procured by large salaries, or by some kind of royal favours, which are now cultivated by the poor labourers.—If they had not these estates, nor you any longer to pay them their salaries—but had to weave for their taxes, as many of us have to do, they would not long boast of paying taxes. It would be degrading your understanding, to say that, if you no longer were to give these pensioners or sinecurists their monies, (as they call them) nor to allow the thirteen ministers, any part of the £124,000 per year, they are now receiving, they would not have such money to pay with; and as to their saying they pay taxes, it is evident that such money, and more than what they pay, comes from you, i. e. the civil establishment, and is but too plain to every capacity, that the civil establishment is supported by taxes, drawn from our manufactures; as in case of sugar, salt, soap, &c. &c.—Again, as to the royal wig makers, whisker makers, dress makers, jewellers, &c. &c. since it is plain that royalty is supported by taxation; it must also be evident, that not one of these royal things could carry on a royal business, for one week, if our taxing system became defunct.

the state—or with having grossly libelled the sacred majesty of the taxing tribe—and, immediately take, or threaten our lives; or immerse, for years, our bodies, in a felon's prison.—Oh! Sir, in this state of our sufferings, can you say we have either “**JUSTICE OR RIGHT?**”

When a *common* thief, who robs our persons, or breaks our houses, and takes therefrom our property, is punishable with transportation for life, or even with death; while the bespangled thief who crawls about the sacred majesty of state; and who robs the *common* thief of his rights, liberties, and even food—who, by repeated depredations, reduces him and family, to the lowest state of misery and wretchedness—is not amenable to any power (save that of heaven) is it not our duty to ask—if justice is not bought and sold? or is she not denied, or deferred to all *useful* labouring men?

Again, Sir, do I think I hear your ministers say, that “we ought to have first made them acquainted with our sufferings, before we had ventured to approach the throne.” To this, I answer—we have had men amongst that corrupt assembly, (but *very few*) who meet within those walls; that were consecrated by the blood of our forefathers; who, in defiance of repugnant nature—have repeatedly stood up, buffetting the *scoffs*, the *groans*, the shuffling signs of disapprobation; and in contempt of all their villainous clamour—as if in

came derunct.  
Then, Sir, what of all their tax-paying? is it not notorious to the most uninformed mind, that all the taxes come from the *useful labourers*? then, in such a state of things as this, when we are daily robbed of our rights, privileges, and even of the food and clothing which we have laboured to procure; when if we dared to take, by force, the smallest property, even from our oppressors, we are punished with imprisonment, transportation, or loss of life; when tax after tax is levied on our industry, by a race of borough-mongers and crouching lawyers, who have (as I before have shewn) usurped the seats of our *real* representatives;

" We might as well go stand upon the beach  
And bid the main flood hate its usual height ;  
We might as well use question with the wolf,  
Why he hath made the ewe bleat for the lamb.

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## ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE

We might as well forbid the mountain pines  
To wag their high tops, and to make no noise  
When they are fretted with the gusts of heaven ;  
We might as well do any thing most hard,  
As seek to obtain that, than (which what's harder.)

find peaceable relief in any other source than you.—For, when of late, NINETEEN THOUSAND suffering but brave men, of Bolton, "many of whom had fought and bled under the banners of your royal house," and all of whom had ever struggled to support your true dignity, sent to you through the medium of your ministers, "their humble memorial," they received for answer, from two of the most notorious tax-eaters,—from two persons who have drawn more money from the labouring poor within the last few years, than would support the whole NINETEEN THOUSAND petitioners and their families, through this approaching dark and dismal-looking winter.—Yes, from G. Rose they were told, after a preamble, of how "natural it was for such persons *so suffering*, to petition; their prayer could not fail to be listened to with the *most anxious* attention, and with the *most earnest* desire to give assistance;" but what then?—Why, he says "the means of affording that, may, however, be absolutely IMPRACTICABLE!" "I fear" (then says he) "it MUST BE SO!" May it please your Royal Highness, these are the words that were said to MANY THOUSANDS of STARVING families; and by a person who is receiving nearly 20 THOUSAND pounds a year from their hard earnings! and as it doth appear to me, still further to aggravate our wretchedness, G. Canning, says, that the "cause of our distress, proceeds from a change, that of a state of peace!"

dead *corsets* that bestrewed the North plains, are now incorporated with the earth; when these ever to be remembered blood-Plains of Waterloo, are now loaded with mortality, and the thousands of slain, the remembrance of whose being is only to be found in the widows' tears, the orphans' cries, or moans of the dying parents, are mingled with that earth, and only serve to make the big (like some voluptuous epicure over his delicious venison) boast a more sumptuous feast when war, famine and pestilence, are destroyed and peace, with its plenty and happiness, turned;—are we to be told that a change from a state of war to that of a state of plenty, peace, has been the cause of our families wanting bread? Oh! shame! shame!! Bold man prove to us that the earth has become more barren; that the fields which were laid waste with murderous war, are now (as a scourge) become as sterl rocks; prove to us that there is not a sufficiency of food in the land; or that there is a want of either food, or raiment; show us, working men, one single corner of the earth, that is not completely glutted with the produce of our hands, (*savages* of our naked homes) and then, show us you, G. Canning, and you, G. Rose, are suffering with us; and that your wives, like ours, are begging for bread; and also, your children, like unto ours, are, as vagrants, wandering the streets, naked and without food; prove this, and then we will indeed believe "that our distresses have been caused by a change from a state of war, to that of a state of peace;" but till this is proved, we cannot believe it.

from state of war, to that of a state of peace!?" Were ever mortal ears so offended before?—That when the ravishing hand of war, is calmed by smiling peace,—when the fields that have been laid waste—the harvests, that have been

Then, Sir, let me ask, Was it not full to approach that throne, these persons having separated us from?

long separated us from ? But G. Canning still further tells us,

But G. Canning still further tells us, "that he fears there is truly grieved to state, that he fears there is no immediate remedy for our distress, inasmuch as the power of the executive government, however deeply every member must be affected by the same. Now, Sir, what we have uniformly understood to be the principal of the executive government, are the ministers and the king; and you, exclusive of yourself, who is virtually ('acting in the name and on behalf of your majesty') on reference to the RED BOOK, know that 13 ministers ALONE, have the power to remit from our distressed taxes, 124 thousand pounds."

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## ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE.

*every year!* Now, having the power to take it, surely they possess the power to give it up; and, did they WILL so to do, and divide this 124 thousand pounds amongst the 19 thousand petitioners, each petitioner's share would amount to about £6 10s.; WHETHER this £6 10s. would be of service to any of these petitioners—I will leave you to say, after I have told you, that many families are now living on about six-pence a day!! Considerable as this £6 10s. appears to the person who is striving to exist on a penny per day; I make no doubt, if you cast your eye over the civil list expenditure, you will see, from the useless THOUSANDS OF POUNDS, that have been squandered, in what some persons call FOOLERY—viz. 39 thousand pounds, in snuff-boxes, &c. for foreign kings, &c.—Clock, £785; two pair of candelabra (candlesticks) £1575; two Gothic lanterns, £1396 10s.; plateau and ornament, £2468 11s.; two pictures of the Prince Regent, (*suppose your royal self*) set in diamonds, £1435 14s.; a brilliant star, £3155; a brilliant badge, £3353; a brilliant GEORGE, £1517 13s.; in presents to STUART, WELLINGTON, HILL CANNING, and A'COURT, £18,093 6s. Id. &c. &c. &c.—that from your next year's expenditure, you can spare, for these, or to each of some other 19 thousand petitioners, more than £6 10s. out of your own establishments, at Carlton-house, Brighton; the Thatched Cottage, &c.

But, Sir, these are as miles, when compared with what your executive government might do for us, and not even one of you would be left wanting bread; but in possession of large landed estates. Bearing in mind, then, that the ministers, *whoever they be*, have, at command, a majority in that house, called the "Commons House," on ALL laws which are to tax the people, (and no one will be bold enough to say, that the abolition of the "Income Tax" forms an exception;) we have a right to suppose, that they might also command a majority on an UNTAXING LAW.

As a proof of their power, "the PEERS return 300 members" to sit and snore in the House, where our representatives ought to stand—that by other borough patronage, are returned "173 members to the same house"—and by the "treasury are returned 16," making a total of 479!! more than two-thirds of the whole house!—Further, it is well known to most persons about government, that these PEERS, and BOROUGH PATRONS, always go hand in hand with the ministers, who form thirteen out of fourteen parts of the executive government; and which thirteen parts are chosen for the express purpose

of advising, directing, &c. &c. you, as the fourteenth part. Now in the face of this statement, will any dunce of a tory; even he who has to drudge in the most filthy corner about the building of corruption—say, that these executive ministers, with you at their head, willing to take their wise counsel, and sign their bills, as I have ever seen you, since you "acted in the name and on behalf of his Majesty"—they could not, (if they were to strip their coats, and bend their backs, and set to it, as they have about putting the loaves and fishes from bellowing John Bull,) carry a bill through this ministerial house, which would say—"not one of us, or our friends, who do no more than sign his name for the money, (or what, in some cases, is worse than doing nothing—cutting men's throats) shall any longer hold a place, a pension, or a sinecure, for which he is paid out of those taxes which are drawn from the labouring poor!"

Fond as some of us are of brandy, and other good things, still—is it not your opinion, that, were we convinced of the impossibility of any longer getting this brandy, &c. that we could come to an agreement amongst ourselves, to do without it; then, if so, cannot this executive government, these PEERS, and borough patrons, and their friends, pass a law amongst themselves, that (*now the people can no longer pay the taxes*) they will do without these superfluous salaries; this done, I should not be astonished, if I heard of that branch of the tax department, which Mr. Vansittart wants 27 millions for, being reduced full 20 millions a year!!—This would be no trifling lopping off poor clerks, &c. AND, large as it appears, there would be 5 millions more left, to pay deserving pensioners, &c. and support the peace establishment, than the whole government cost to this country, when George I. came to the throne.

Tax-gatherers, &c. may say, that money will not go so far at this time, as it did in the time of George I.—But I say, take of this 20 millions, and reduce rents, provisions, &c. in like ratio to their advance, and not only will this 20 millions return to the useful labouring people, which, reckoning as before, will be about £20 a year to each family; (a pretty sum to those who are *now living on grains*!) but money will ere long after this is done, say, when the mangled victims of war, &c. are gone to that "undiscovered country from whose bourne no traveller returns" (though, I know not, why this care, after those mad creatures, who have so wantonly had their arms and legs shot and cut off, and their bodies stuffed, with lead—while we have such number of decrepit friends starving, who have lost their legs and

## ADDRESS TO THE PUBLIC.

arms by machinery, when labouring for taxes—but, no matter—our wish is to be more feeling to them, than they have been to us,) then, I say, money would go as far it did, at the time alluded to; for at that time the expenditure was twenty times larger, than it was in the time of EDWARD IV.

But, Sir, this is not all the executive government might do for us, were they "really" bent on doing us all the good in their power—for, there is what is commonly called the "NATIONAL DEBT."

Pardon me, Sir, for my wild ideas as to this point; for while I admit, that, were this debt, ALL in silver, (which is a moral impossibility,) and to be removed by the power of horses, &c. it would require more horses and vehicles, to remove it, than would reach from LONDON to EDINBURGH; still, like Archimedes, by lifting the earth, I have always thought, that could we rest our REFORM screw on the united basis of a whole people, we could *some how* other, liquidate, or remove, this BABYLON of FIGURES.

What is there *miraculous* in nature, or even dangerously *pernicious* in arts, but we endeavour to explode, or remove it? Are we impeded in our progress to the most remote corner of the earth; whether it be by the arts of man, or the phenomenon of nature;—or are we infected with the *plague* at home; Do we not, sparing neither expence of treasure, or precious lives, fit out expeditions, to BOMBARD and blow up foreign forts; to explode the watery deep; or, do we not even employ our most skilful physicians to discover the secret emporium of filth, that infecting the air, poisons the health of man?

Then, I ask, why should we not, with scrutinizing truth, BOMBARD this domestic fort of DEBT, whose pirating salary crew, have so long plundered our industrious poor, galled our merchants and tradesmen, in filthy gaols, and forced to acts of violence, our mechanics, artists, and labourers; for which they are doomed to dungeons, pillory, transportation, and even death?

Is there no diving-bell that we can send into the hidden recesses of this gulf of debt; and discover, why a useful people, are daily wrecked and left to perish in the bog of poverty? Is there no physician, that will venture to explode this focus of stagnant corruption, that with its pestilence of taxation, is showering penury, disease, and untimely death, on millions of your best subjects?

What!—when there are no less than 6 physicians labouring to remove the much-lamented malady of your royal Father; is there not one man to be found, bold enough to venture an

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effectual antidote, for the starvation that is sweeping away the very supporters of your family.

Oh! Sir, then condescend to listen to the rustic jargon of one, who never would have ventured to remind you of the powers, the executive government possess, had they not, in addition to the *wreck of our homes*, insulted our understandings, and mocked our sufferings, by their answers to our memorial.

I say, the executive government, which have so insultingly told us, they have no power to relieve our distress; could—did they truly "feel a desire to do us good," take a peep into that curious book, called the "Funded, &c. Debt Book," and where they saw their names stand opposed to a number of figures, they might ask themselves, "how many of these figures were in that, or any other book of the kind, 50 years ago?" If the answer was "NONE," then, I say, they could, without burthening conscience, take their pen, and run it gently through such FIGURES, as so stood opposed to their names.

Should this manner of proceeding, lead to any qualms of conscience, about their estates, &c. they then could also reflect on their size, 50 years ago; if they find them much increased, and cannot account for such increase, in any other way, than by having received such increase from the taxes; why, rather than be burthened and tormented, as many are, with such overplus, return it back to those persons, who have been obliged to sell their "bits" of land, to pay the taxes, &c.

In this manner, were the executive government to set the example, I doubt not but their friends, who have followed them so long, would cling to their bewitching councils; and coming spontaneously forward with each a good penful of ink, or a brush, somewhat like those used in marking bales of goods, dab it thick on all the figures opposed to their names.

Also, I say, they have the power, each and every one of these executive governors, PEERS, and borough patrons, &c. to return such parts of their estates, as *closeted* conscience tells them have been got by the taxes; this done, I doubt not, but every person who has been obliged to sell his land, to pay taxes, during these last wars, would get a bit of it back again; further, such persons as these, who have nothing to depend upon but the interest, or capital of the hard-earned money they have lent to the funds, would also be fully re-paid.—Then, what follows for the poor? A small deduction of about 45 millions of taxes a year; which is now wanted for interest of debt;—reckoning the

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## ADDRESS TO THE PUBLIC.

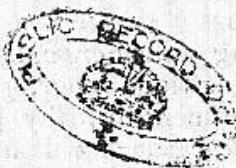
useful labouring community, as before, this deduction will amount, for each *useful* labouring family, to about £45 a year; adding this to the above £20 a year, and counting on the death of pauperism, and the *cut-purse lawyers*, &c. all the deductions together, will not be less than £80 a year, to each *useful* labouring family.

If, Sir, the executive government, and the troop at their command, will but use that power they possess, *to this end*, then, indeed, shall we think, that they do more than *pray*, that our sufferings may be of "*temporary duration*." But if they do not use their powers, as here *loyally* described above, I, joined by thousands, do most earnestly pray, that you will be pleased to *discharge these executive ministers*; listen to the voice of your *tax-paying subjects*, who are the only loyal and sound props of your House, and chuse such men to guide your councils, as the people have confidence in. Then, Sir, take their council on the propriety of extending the elective rights to every inhabitant householder; if they agree to this—which I doubt not they will, *Dissolve the Parliament*; then extend the elective franchise; and, after some little internal regulations, *issue your writs of election*; and call a parliament from the *unbiased voices* of the people, and, on constitutional duration.

If you should, *in the least*, hesitate about the *rights of the freeholders, and free burgesses*; I say, such men as these, who have for years, made use of their boasted *freedom*, &c. to enslave themselves, their posterity, and fellow-

men; deserve to be bound to a life of taxation. But, considering that there are not more than 17 thousand of such men, while there are about 12 million, who have no voice in the choosing of representatives; i. e. only about one, *called free*, to 700, that are not so; and also, how they are manacled to the borough faction, they are too insignificant to be noticed; therefore, Sir, I trust, that in your royal wisdom, you will set them also at *liberty*.—And, as in Duty bound, will ever pray, &c. F W

Now, Reader, If you think to gain a Reform, and nothing short of that will give relief to this distressed country, I beg that you will for a moment, (though I know it is a very unnatural supposition) suppose yourself holding a Seat in Parliament, under corrupt influence; that, on reference to *Magna Charta*, you find that this is a breach of our Constitution; and, on consulting *Lord Chancellor Summers*, you also find, that the "first and highest treason is that which is committed against the Constitution, and they are the traitors, who design or pursue the subversion of it;" and also, you find 50 other authorities equally strong as the above; I ask, would you, when requested to grant a Parliamentary Reform, give up your seat, acknowledge yourself a violater of the Constitution, and receive the merited reward of a traitor.—If you would not do this, how can you expect other men to do so?—Then I say further, you have nothing to do, but to apply firmly—but respectfully, to the King—request him to use his prerogatives—and if he should happen to doze a little, as the best of princes may sometimes sleep—you must take care not to forget him, when awake.



THE END.

## ADDRESS TO THE PUBLIC.

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THE END.



## **TAXES AT THE WILL OF THE BOROUGH FACTION,**

OR,  
**TAXES ACCORDING TO THE CONSTITUTION.**

Choose you this Day which you prefer: As for me and my House, we prefer the Constitution!

## HAMPDEN.

**A REFORM** in the **REPRESENTATION** of the **PEOPLE** in the **COMMONS HOUSE** of Parliament, is the only measure which affords any hope of seeing **UNNECESSARY WAR**, with its ruinous Expence, avoided; **USELESS OFFICES**, **SINE-CURE PLACES**, and **UNMERITED PENSIONS** abolished; the **POOR RATES** considerably reduced; and such **ECONOMY** in every department of the State introduced, as to enable a virtuous Parliament materially to lessen those **TAXES** which bear the most heavily on the **GROWERS OF CORN**, or on the **LABOURING CLASSES OF THE COMMUNITY**; namely, the **TAXES** on **CANDLES, SOAP, SALT, SUGAR, and LEATHER.**

**A PETITION FOR SUCH REFORM lies for Signatures**

At Mr. Butcher near Tunney's Bank  
At Mr. Colley near St. Andrews Hall  
At Mr. Edwards St. Clement  
At Mr. Sailor Wool Hall St. George's Eliz.  
At Mr. Roe - Four St. Andrews  
And at Lam & Walker Bridewell Alley

**LANE AND WALKER, PAINTERS, NORWICH.**



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1994 VPD AWARDS: EXEMPLARS' WORKSHOP

RECORDED AND INDEXED BY VELVET MINGE JOL 21 SEPTEMBER 1962

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PROGRESSIVE INVESTIGATION OF THE GROWTH CYCLE

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**LEADER VACCINATING THE WORLD AGAINST POLIO**

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# ВОНОВИЧІ АУДИТОРЫ

**WYKE'S VILLAGE LIFE ON THE**

In Norwich Deputy 16 Oct<sup>r</sup> 1916

In Vermisch. Begehrts 16 Oct.  
1816

No 81

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## FELLOW TOWNSMEN,

YOU have lately heard a great deal about Taxation, Pensions, and Sinecures; and ill-disposed men are endeavouring to persuade you, that all the evils you are now suffering, proceed from the extravagance and neglect of the Government under which you live. Before you suffer yourselves to entertain so unfounded and dangerous an opinion, listen with calmness to a few arguments as they strike the mind of a plain unlearned man, who grieves to see you imposed upon by misrepresentations, and in danger of being rendered discontented and unhappy, and perhaps turbulent and riotous, by the arts of others.

We have always had Taxes, Pensions, and Sinecures, and yet we have not always had bad times: nay, it is a fact, that two or three years ago we had *more* Taxes, and Pensions, and Sinecures too, than we have now; and yet Wages, especially Weavers' Wages, were *considerably higher* than they are at present. Therefore it is evident, that Taxes, Pensions, and Sinecures, are *not* the cause of the present distress.

All other countries also are in the same state as our own. In every part of the Continent of Europe, and in America also, there is the same stagnation of commerce, as great a decay of trade, and as little employment for the labouring poor, as there is here with us. I put it to your own good sense to say, whether our National Debt, and our Taxes, can have

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ruined the trade of *America* and of *Continental Europe*.

And this also proves that it is not owing to any neglect of our Government that we are now suffering so much. For if an advantageous Trade could have been secured by the care and efforts of those who manage the affairs of nations, surely *some* of the Governments would have found out the means to make *their own* country prosperous and flourishing: but we see that the same distress prevails everywhere.

Therefore it must be something which affects *all countries* alike that is the cause of this general distress. And that can be nothing else than the change which has taken place from *War to Peace*. All the nations, with which we have any concern, have been, like ourselves, so long in a state of war, that commerce had become, as it were, habituated to it. A great expenditure caused a great circulation of money: large armies created a great demand both for food and clothing: methods of disposing of goods were discovered which had never before been thought of: and so, as a sudden transition from Peace to War used always to give a temporary check to Commercial Profits and Industry, the change which has lately taken place from a state of War, in which we have all lived so long, to a state of general Peace, has had a similar effect.

Yet we may be sure that eventually *Peace is better than War*. Things will come round again. Trade will resume its accustomed channels. Profits will become moderate, but regular to the Master; and Wages will be better and less fluctuating to the Weaver. The industry of British Workmen, and the

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skill and capital of British Merchants, will finally prevail, so as to obtain for this country a fair proportion of the trade of the world.

Matters would not be any better at all, if the Plan was to be adopted which is called *Parliamentary Reform*. To all practical purposes Parliament is as well constituted as it can be. Opportunities are now afforded to *men of all parties* to obtain a seat in the House of Commons, and to express their opinions with vigour and boldness. Every question of consequence is fairly debated amongst them, some being on one side and some on another, and all is published and made known to the people at large. And what more can we desire?

How much money think you, do these *Sinecure Places*, against which so much has been said, take out of *your pockets*? I am not afraid to say, and many of those, who declaim against them so violently, know as well as I do, that they do not take from the *labouring Classes* so much as a *penny a head* in a *whole year*. Most of them have been given to the possessors as rewards for valuable services rendered to the country by themselves or their ancestors: and every good government will, and *ought to take care to reward the deserving*, as well as to *punish the wicked*.

Surely you must yourselves feel that railing against government, and taxes, and pensions, only makes your sufferings greater, and adds the *worst plague* of all--I mean that of an impatient, discontented, angry temper. Your minds are inflamed, and your passions are excited to wrath and fury. Thus you torment yourselves and your families. And in this way, your *vexing yourselves with politics*, and giving heed to those who would falsely persuade you that

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you are oppressed by the rich, and neglected by the Government, is a greater misery to your minds, and in your homes, than all your other distresses.

And what would be the case, if unhappily any of you should be stirred up by these angry feelings which boil in your breasts, and by the inflammatory speeches of these designing men, to acts of violence and riot? Your lives would be forfeited. You would suffer a disgraceful death, or be banished from a country, whose laws you had broken, and whose peace you had disturbed. And then what would become of your families? What would be the sufferings of your wives and children? What the distress of your parents and kindred? What the sorrow and remorse of your own hearts? Listen to your best friends, who advise you to be peaceable and patient; who endeavour to relieve your distresses, and study to make you contented and happy. Tell the men, who would agitate and inflame you, that you will not have your minds disturbed by their fury, nor your lives brought into danger for their advancement;---that, till they are foremost in all charitable and benevolent undertakings, you shall distrust their professions of feeling for your distresses;---and finally, that you will quietly and peaceably wait till Providence shall please to restore to you prosperity, satisfied that you shall much sooner attain to it by obeying the *Laws of God and of Man*, than by acting in defiance of both.

#### AN OLD TOWNSMAN.

Bolton: Printed and sold by J. GARDNER; sold also by all the Booksellers in Bolton.

(Price One Penny, or Four Shillings a Hundred.)

*See 81*

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