

COBBETT'S

POLITICAL REGISTER.

.....

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HANGING OF ENGLISH LABOURERS.

I SHALL, under this head, put upon record the hangings that are now going on. I shall not, except in the way of explanation, make any remark, or state any fact, from myself, and shall not venture on the insertion of any private, or written communication; but shall put on record merely what I find in the public papers. The trials are taking place by SPECIAL COMMISSIONS; and a Proclamation was issued before the trials began, offering a reward of a hundred pounds to any one who should cause any one to be convicted of some of the acts of violence; and FIVE HUNDRED POUNDS in the case of SETTING FIRE. But the best way is to insert the Proclamation itself.

WILLIAM R.—Whereas great multitudes of lawless and disorderly persons have, in some time past, assembled themselves together in a riotous and tumultuous manner, in the Counties of Wilt, Kent, Sussex, Surrey, Hants, and Berks, and for the purposes of compelling their employers to comply with certain regulations prescribed by themselves, with respect to wages, have had recourse to measures of force and violence, and have actually committed various acts of outrage in different parts of the counties above-mentioned, whereby the property of many of our most valuable subjects has, in several instances, been wholly destroyed, and their lives and properties are still greatly endangered.

We, therefore, being duly sensible of the mischievous consequences which must inevitably ensue, as well to the peace of the kingdom as to the lives and properties of our subjects from such wicked and illegal practices, if they go unpunished, and being firmly resolved to cause the laws to be put into execution for the punishment of such offenders, have thought fit by the advice of our Privy Council, to issue this Proclamation, in revery strictly commanding all Justices of the Peace, Sheriffs, Under-Sheriffs, and all other Civil Officers whatsoever, within the said counties of Wilt, Kent, Sussex, Surrey, Hants, and Berks, that they do use their utmost endeavours to discover, apprehend, and bring to justice, the persons concerned in the riotous proceedings above-mentioned.

And as a further inducement to discover the said offenders, we do hereby promise and declare that any person or persons who shall discover and apprehend, or cause to be discovered and apprehended, the authors, abettors, or perpetrators of any of the outrages above-mentioned, so that they, or any of them, may be duly convicted thereof, shall be entitled to the sum of Fifty Pounds for each and every person who shall be convicted, and shall also receive our most gracious pardon for the said offence, in case the person making such discovery as aforesaid shall be liable to be prosecuted for the same.

And whereas certain wicked incendiaries have secretly by fire, in many parts of the said counties, destroyed the corn, hay, buildings, and other property of our subjects, we do hereby promise and declare, that any person or persons who shall discover and apprehend, or cause to be discovered and apprehended, the authors of the said fires, so that they or any one of them may be duly convicted thereof, shall be entitled to the sum of Five Hundred Pounds for each and every person who shall be so convicted, and shall also receive our most gracious pardon, except the actual perpetrator of any of the said

fires, in case the person making such discovery shall be liable to be prosecuted for the same.

And the Lords Commissioners of our Treasury are hereby required to make payment accordingly of the said rewards.

Given at our Court at St. James's, this twenty third day of November, one thousand eight hundred and thirty, in the first year of our reign. God save the King.

Here, in the case of the setting fire, is a freehold estate worth twenty-five pounds a year; or, an annuity for life of about forty-five pounds a-year, though the informer be only twenty-one years of age; and, if he be from forty to fifty years of age, here is the worth of an annuity of a hundred pounds a year for life. The hanging began at Chelmsford, in Essex.

ESSEX.

AT CHELMSFORD, FIDELITY, CHRISTMAS EVE.

JAMES EWEN, a young man, having a wife and two small children.

On Friday James Ewen, convicted of arson, and Thos. Bateman, for highway robbery, accompanied with circumstances of savage barbarity, underwent the extreme penalty of the law in front of Spingfield Gaol. Ewen, it will be recollected, had been found guilty of setting fire to the barn and stack of Mr. Sach, farmer, at Rayleigh. The circumstantial evidence to connect him with the fact was very slight, but the principal witness, a man named Richardson, who had been imprisoned as an accessory to the crime, swore that the prisoner had, unsolicited, told him, after the fire, that he was the perpetrator, and directed him at the same time to join him in buying another stack belonging to Mr. Biewell, the next evening. Richardson was known to be a notoriously bad character, and circumstances subsequently transpiring to cast suspicion upon his evidence, the most strenuous exertions were made, by a number of the most respectable inhabitants, to save Ewen's life, but without success. Ewen protested his innocence, in the most earnest manner, up to the last moment, though he freely confessed that in his life he had been guilty of many offences. His wife and two children took their farewell of the unfortunate man a few days previous, and his brother was admitted to him on the morning of his execution. No commiseration was excited for Bateman, who had robbed and cruelly ill-used an old man, upwards of 70, by stamping his head into a ditch, and crushing his ear off with a found buried six inches in the mud. About nine o'clock, after leaving the chapel, the culprits ascended the platform, Ewen with great firmness, and Bateman appearing much agitation. Upon placing the rope round Ewen's neck, it was found to be too short, upon which he observed, "It's rather a tight fit." The hallet was ordered to be spliced, and while this was accomplishing, Ewen remarked to a person who stood near, "It's rather cold standing up here." The ropes being adjusted, the bolts were slipping up, and the prisoners were launched into eternity. They struggled very much.—The general impression amongst Magistrates was, that Ewen was innocent.—London Morning Advertiser of 27th Dec.

KENT.

AT MASTONS, ON CHRISTMAS EVE.

JOHN DYKE, }
W. PACKMAN, }
HENRY PACKMAN, } Brothers.

EXECUTION OF THREE INDEBTED AT MASTONS.—John Dyke, otherwise Ecal, and William and Henry Packman brothers, were executed on Penenden Heath on Friday. The first had protested his innocence of being concerned in the fires; but the two latter, who are quite boys, confessed their guilt. A troop of Scotch Grens attended, for fear that any disturbance should take place. Henry Packman addressed the crowd, and accused Bishop, who gave evidence against him, of having instigated him to burn the ricks, &c. A disturbance took place.—London Morning Chronicle of 27 Dec.

I shall, by and by, collect all these trials together, with all an account as I can get of all the circumstances relating to each.

WM. COBBETT.



TREATMENT OF THE ENGLISH LABOURERS.

“THAT it has been proved before committees of the House of Commons, that the allowance for the subsistence of a labouring man, including his earnings, has been, as fixed by the magistrates in Wiltshire, no more than one pound and a quarter of bread and one half-penny in money per day for food and clothes, with nothing for drink, fuel, or bedding; that it has been proved before the said committees, that formerly the labourers all brewed their own beer, and that now they never do it; that formerly they ate meat, cheese, butter, and bread, and they now live almost wholly on potatoes, which they carry cold to the fields when at work there; that it has been proved before the said committees, that the honest, hard-working labourer is not allowed more than about half as much food as is allowed the convicted felons in the jails and hulks; that it has been proved before the said committees, that the labourers commit crimes in order to get fed and clothed as well as the convicts are fed and clothed; that the Magistrates of Warwickshire have declared in resolutions at their Quarter Sessions, that the labourers commit crimes in order to get into jail, the jail being a more happy place than their own homes; that it has been proved before the said committees, that the young women are, now-a-days, almost all pregnant before marriage, owing to fathers and themselves being too poor to pay the expenses of the wedding; that it has been proved before the said committees, that the labourers, having an assistant overseer for a driver, are compelled to draw carts and wagons like beasts of burden; and that it has long been a general practice to put them up at auction, and to sell them for certain lengths of time, as is the custom with regard to the negroes in the slave colonies: that all these things have been proved to committees of the House of Commons.”

The above paragraph is an extract

from my petition to the two Houses of Parliament, dated 4th December. The following I take from the *Morning Chronicle* of 29th Dec., and it will show that a change has now taken place in the treatment of the labourers. Pray, reader, attend to the *whole* of it; mark it well; and then I leave you to make your own remarks.

CHELMSFORD PETTY SESSIONS,

FRIDAY, DEC. 21.

LABOURERS' WAGES.—The Surveyor and Overseer of Great Waltham appeared upon a summons to answer the complaint of three labourers, named Tilly, Smith, and Gentry, for not paying them sufficient for their labour in the gravel-pits to procure them the common necessaries of life. The case has been several times before the Bench. On the first occasion a summons was issued against the defendants, who, on its being served upon them, went to Mr. Tufnell, and upon their promising to comply with his directions and reasonably increase the wages, the case was dismissed without a hearing. The Surveyor, however, instead of complying with Mr. Tufnell's order, thinking that as the summons was dismissed he should not be called on to answer for his conduct, refused to give the complainants any more for their labour, and they again coming to complain to the Bench, a second summons was issued; a letter was also written by the Chairman to Mr. Tufnell, informing him of the *reprehensible conduct of the Surveyor*. The complainant stated that they were employed to work in the gravel-pit by the Surveyor, who refused to pay them *more than 4s. 6d. a-week each*. They were all single men, and had to pay 1s. each for lodging and 6d. for washing, after which they had only 3s. left for seven days' subsistence.

Chairman: How could you *manage to keep alive*—did you live upon *sticks and stones*?

The Surveyor, in his defence, said he asked the complainants how much they had from the Surveyor *last year*; they told him 9d. a-day, and he gave them that sum.

Chairman: And so you really and *seriously thought* that sufficient for a poor man to *live upon, did you*?

The Surveyor said that he never served the office before, and did not understand it.

Chairman: *That is no defence at all*; you knew a man *could not live upon 3s. a-week*.

Mr. Tufnell said he felt satisfied that so far as the overseer was concerned, no blame attached to him. He had always fulfilled the duties of his office to the perfect satisfaction of the parishioners; at the same time he did full justice to the poor.

The complainants said, if the Surveyor would give them 1s. a-day for their work, they should be well satisfied.

The Bench said *that was the lowest sum*

which they ought to have. In fact, they did not see how a man could subsist upon less.

The Surveyor was reprimanded for his conduct, and ordered to pay the men in future 1s. a-day, and also for the time they had lost in coming to make the complaint.—*Essex Herald*.

Bravo! good, Mr. Tufnell! What a pity it was that the men did not complain LAST YEAR! Ah! But let us proceed. Now, it was proved by their *published scale*, that the magistrates of Dorsetshire allowed 2s. 7d. a week for a working man when bread was 10d. the *quartern loaf* (as it is now); it was proved before a Committee of the House of Commons, on the evidence of BENETT (now a member for the county), that the magistrates of Wiltshire allowed a gallon loaf and three-pence a week to each member of a labourer's family for food and clothing; that is, at this time, 2s. 1d. for each, and nothing for drink, washing or lodging, or fuel or bedding. If, then, 4s. 6d. a week to these Essex men was cruelty, what was the treatment of the labourers of Dorsetshire and Wiltshire! If 6s. a week is the "*lowest sum that a single man ought to have,*" what was the treatment of the men in these Western counties? If it was cruelty to give them a farthing less than 6s. a week, what was it to give a working man 2s. 7d. when bread was at the same price? It is said that William Packman, who, as we have seen, was hanged on PENNENDEN HEATH, on Christmas Eve, said to one of his old companions, who was crying: "Never mind, Dick, you'll have your belly full now." Though mere boys, these Packmans are said to have died with the greatest composure. This Essex justice is to be applauded for his conduct, and I hope his example will be followed all over the country; for that is the effectual way of putting an end to these horrible scenes, the like of which have not been beheld for ages, and, I trust, never will be beheld again. I trust that all men are now convinced, with this worthy magistrate of Essex, that 6s. a week is the very lowest that a single man ought to have to live upon; and if all the magistrates act on the same rule, there will once more be peace.

BLOODY-MINDED.

THE following letter was published in the *Morning Chronicle* on Christmas Day:—

"Sir,—In *The Times* [the *Bloody Old Times*] newspaper of this morning, I read the following paragraph, which I beg you to insert, along with the comment that I have subjoined to it:—

'CONFESSION OF THOMAS GOODMAN —COBBETT'S LECTURES.

"The unfortunate young man, Thomas Goodman, who was convicted of setting fire to the barn of Mr. Alderton, at Battle, and sentenced to death, has made a full confession of his guilt, and attributes his untimely end to that notorious demagogue, William Cobbett, who, you may remember, delivered a public lecture at Battle some time ago, in which he told his auditors that unless the farmers would consent to pay better wages to their labourers, the fires which were then going on in Kent might also take place in this county, and that the boundary between the counties was but imaginary. It is a singular fact that in less than a fortnight after the delivery of this lecture, the first fire—namely, that which broke out on the night of the 3d of November, took place in the parish of Battle; and it is still more singular, that the property destroyed on that occasion belonged to Mr. Charles Emery, landlord of the George Inn, at Battle, who had refused Cobbett the use of his principal room for the purpose of delivering his lecture. The unfortunate young man, who is only 18 years of age, confesses that he was so stirred up by the words of Cobbett, that his brain was nearly turned; and that he was under the impression that nothing but the destruction of property by fire at night would effect that species of revolution, the necessity of which was so strongly enforced by the arch lecturer. Of the eight fires which took place in the parish of Battle, within one month, the unfortunate convict has confessed that five of them were occasioned by his own hand. The following are the words of the culprit with reference to Cobbett, as taken down this morning, in the presence of the Rev. Henry John Rush, Curate of Cowhurst, Sussex:—

"I, Thomas Goodman, never should of thought of doing any such thing if Mr. Cobbett Cobet had never given any lectures; I believe that they never would bear any fires or mob in Battle nor many others places if he never had given any lectures at all."

Now, Sir, in the first place, the reporter is a RANSON; and that is quite enough with regard to the truth of the report. In the next place, as to the pretended statement of Goodman, please to observe these facts:—1. That the

fires began in *East Kent*, where I have not been for years. 2. They had begun *three whole months* before I went into West Kent; and I did not go into East Kent at all. 3. That I lectured at Deptford, Rochester, Maidstone, Tonbridge, Battle, Eastbourne, and Lewes. 4. The fires began in West Kent before I entered it; and there was the great fire at *Thompson's*, near Tonbridge, the night before my arrival there. 5. I every-where did my best to *put stop not only to the fires, but to all violences whatsoever*, by stating that it was *not the fault of the farmer that the wages were low*; that the cause was *the weight of the taxes and tithes, which disable the farmers from paying due wages*; and I exhorted the farmers to call the people together in their several parishes, to *explain this matter to them*, and to call upon them all to join in a petition to Parliament for a reduction of taxes and tithes; "And then," said I, "they will wait with patience; they will see that your cause is their cause; they will look on you as friends; and your property and your persons will be safe; but if false pride, or any other motive, prevent you from doing this, I beseech you to place no reliance on *threats*, no, nor even on *punishments*." This was my language *every-where*: and, at every place, many farmers cordially shook me by the hand, and *thanked me for my advice*. At three places out of the seven I lodged, by invitation, at private houses; and I never, during my journey, spoke to a working man, otherwise than in public.

I have thought it right to say this, in print, as speedily as possible, in order, not to defend my conduct, but in order to show to the public the nature of the miserable shifts to which the parsons are driven. The story about *the room at the inn* at Battle having been *refused me*, is a *sheer falsehood*. I never applied for it, or for any other place there; the place I had was prepared without my previous knowledge. In fact, Sir, the whole story is an invention from the beginning to the end; and I despise the authors of it from the bottom of my heart; but yet I will, in some

way or other, punish them if I can. But now this story of the confession is *true*, or it is a *lie*; then the poor young man (who is an *orphan*, and who has *no soul who will be permitted to visit him*) has spoken *truth*, or has been prevailed on to speak *falsehood*. If the story be a lie, or the confession be believed to be false, then what a shameful thing here is with regard to *me*! And if the story of the confession be *true*, and the *confession be believed*, will they STILL HANG THIS POOR YOUNG MAN! Let the PARSON answer that!

Permit me to take this opportunity of complaining of the *unfair report* published by you, of the debate in the House of Commons, on the Motion of a Mr. Trevor, which debate took place last night. Mr. Bulwer, whom I have not the honour to know, made, I am well assured, a speech of considerable length, and full of just observation, ably stated; yet, in your report, about an inch in length of column is given to Mr. Bulwer, while a full report is given of the speech of this Mr. Trevor. One would have thought, that when the Press was defended, the advocate might have had fair play, though the defence included that of my conduct! But, alas! the delusion is still to be kept up! It will be to the last moment; but that moment is not now far distant. I wish Lord Grey would now read a letter that I addressed to him in 1822. But no! They will still shut their eyes; they will still cling to their deceivers; still say, "Prophecy to us *smooth things*, prophecy to us lies." And I must say, that, generally speaking, the London Press is amongst the greatest of those deceivers.

With regard to the charge of this Mr. Trevor, all the effect that it has had on me, has been to cause me to publish a new edition of *The Register* of December 11, and it will be, further, to cause me to republish it in a cheaper form. Strange, that I should think of exciting the poor to revolt by making (as I have done), just at this time, the price of my *Register* a shilling instead of sevenpence! Why, *The Register* now costs nearly as much per week as Mr. Bennett's

evidence allowed per week for a labouring man's subsistence!

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

Dec. 24, 1830. W. M. COBBETT.

P. S. It is now 29th Dec., and I see, by the papers, that this poor orphan is "*left for execution!*" And was the pretended confession then *believed to be true?* And is he to be hanged that confession *being believed to be true?* Will they hang him, *if they believe* what is said to have been his confession? And if that confession be a fabrication, is there not a *bit of rope to be found for the fabricators?* Is there no law for villains like these?

small tithes arising upon the several occupations of Messrs. Samuel Barnes, Gibbs Murrell, R. G. Rudd, John Gent, Robert High, John Newmap, sen., John Newman, jun., James Smith, and Thomas Middleton. I was sorry, *for the sake of the poor*, that some of you met at the Ferry-house in an unlawful manner, and there *did hinder the payment of my tithes*; but I have no doubt that you were *mised into that dangerous conduct*, and made *tools of by others* to *serve their own selfish purposes*; for I cannot believe *any of the poor in Surlingham* are my enemies, to whom, whether in sickness or health, I have always tried to be a friend.

"W. COLLETT,

"Rector and Vicar of Surlingham.

"Dec. 11, 1830."

I dare say, that the "*poor inhabitants of Surlingham*" understood all this very well! I dare say that they saw that such a trick was to be despised; that they asked how the parson never came to make such an offer *before*; but, would they not ask also, why he did not give them some of the *calves, lambs, wool, potatoes, turnips and corn*, as well as the *milk, eggs, pigs and fruit*? In short, they would see, because they must see, that this was a work of *spite*, and not of *charity*.

But it is not this pitiful part of the tithes that I want to see taken away from the parsons and bishops: I want to see the whole taken away: the tithes, the church lands and all other property held by the clergy in virtue of their clerical functions and offices. I want to see it *all taken away* by LAW. It was given to them by *law*; it is held by *law*; and it may be *taken away by law*; that which the law has given the law may take away, otherwise we should be living in a strange state of things. Such an important measure is, however, not to be adopted without regard to the *justice and necessity* of it. Such a measure would take property from a great number of persons; it would make many low who are now high; it would compel to labour for their bread many who now do nothing and yet live in luxury, ~~it~~ would compel many,

TO THE

LABOURERS OF ENGLAND;

On the Measures which ought to be adopted with regard to the Tithes, and with regard to the other Property commonly called Church-Property.

Kensington, 25th December, 1830.

MY FRIENDS,

I PERCEIVE that there is a PARSON, at a parish in Norfolk, who has been endeavouring to persuade the labourers that *he is their friend*, and that the *farmers are their enemies*. He has circulated, in a hand-bill, the following statement. Others of the parsons have published hand-bills, calling upon you to believe that the tithes are *good things for you*. But let me desire you to read the hand-bill of the Norfolk parson. It is in the following words: "*To the Poor Inhabitants of Surlingham.*—I have received from some of the farmers in Surlingham, a notice to gather my tithes in kind, or else to agree to take in future *just what they shall please to offer*. I cannot submit to such an unjust demand, and therefore I am compelled, in self-defence, to gather my tithe from this time; and I hereby make it known to you, that on and after Monday, the 29th of December, it is my intention to distribute as a gift, amongst the poor and deserving families, all the *eggs, milk, pigs, poultry and fruit*, which shall in future belong to me as the

who now ride in coaches, not only to walk on foot, but to work in company with those whom they seem to look upon as made for their pleasure and sport. Yet, such a measure ought not to be adopted in a hasty manner; due consideration ought to be had in the case; it ought, before adopted, to be proved to be *just* and *necessary*; and as I am decidedly for the measure, and would cause it to be adopted if I had the power, I look upon myself as bound to show, that it is *just* and *necessary*. Legal I know it must be allowed to be; but that which is *legal* may not always be *just*. Some have denied that it would be legal; and, therefore, the legality shall be proved first.

Now, my friends, I have to show you:—1. That it is legal, that it agreeable with the laws of our country, to take this property from the parsons by act of parliament. 2. I have to show you, that it is *just* to do it. 3. I have to show you that the measure is necessary to the prosperity, peace and safety of the nation. And, my friends, if I *prove* all these to you, it will be your bounden duty to lend your aid in causing this measure to be adopted, and to be active and zealous, too, in lending that aid; for, as you will by-and-by see, it is, after all, the *labouring people* who suffer most from the tithes, and who, in fact, pay the whole of them in the end.

FIRST, then, to show you that it is agreeable to the laws of the country to take away the tithes and other property commonly called Church-property, I have only to state to you what has been done, in this respect, in former times. I shall have, further on, to speak of the *origin* and the *intention* and the *former application* of tithes, when I come to the *justice* of my proposition: at present, I shall speak merely of the *legality* of the thing. We know that when a *law* has been passed by kings and parliament, that which is ordered, or allowed, by such law, is *legal*, in the technical sense of the word; if a nest of villains bloody enough to pass a law to put men to death for refusing to live upon potatoes; or, to cause the

breasts of the young women to be cut off; or to cause them to be disqualified for breeding; or, to have their bodies exposed to public view, to be poked and groped about and chopped to pieces, and then to be flung to the dogs, as the carcase of Jezebel was. If laws like these were to be passed, all the world would say that they were *no laws at all*, and, of course, that they ought not to be regarded as precedents. But, very different is the case here, as I am now about to prove.

The whole of this property, parsons' tithes, lay tithes, college and bishops' estates, originally were held *in trust* by the CATHOLIC CLERGY, for certain *public purposes*, of which I shall speak under the next head. But, in the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., Elizabeth, and James I., all these tithes and other property, both in England and Ireland, were, *by acts of parliament*, taken away from the Catholic clergy, and given, some to *protestant parsons*, and the rest to divers persons of the *aristocracy*, who hold all this property to this day. If, then, this could be legally and constitutionally done, why cannot the property be taken away from the present possessors by act of parliament? The holders contend, however, that all this property, even the *tithes*, belong to the holders, as completely as any man's estate, or goods, belong to him. If this be the case, the tithes (to confine ourselves to them for the present) were *unlawfully* taken from the Catholic clergy; it was an act of *rapine* to take them from that Clergy; and will our parsons allow that their possessions are the *fruits of rapine*?

But let us look at the part of the Catholic Church property that was taken away and given to the *aristocracy*; I mean the *great tithes* of many parts of the kingdom and the abbey lands; and let us take, as specimens, the *Duke of Devonshire's great tithes of twenty parishes in Ireland*, and the *Duke of Bedford's ownership of Covent Garden*, which latter spot belonged to the Abbey of Westminster. If either of these were called upon to prove his *title* to these things (and he may be so called on by

any man if *tithe* be demanded of him for the one, or *toll* for the other), he must go back to the *acts of parliament* (and not *very far back*) in virtue of which he holds his estate. And will either of these Dukes deny, then, that these acts of parliament were *lawful*; will they deny, that they were agreeable to the laws and constitution of the country will they acknowledge that they hold these estates from the effects of an act of *rapine*? Oh, no! They must plead the acts as good, as *agreeable to the law of the land*; and, if they do this they declare, that to take away an part of the property of the church, is a thing that may be done without any violation of the law of the land.

There is a distinction to be made between the property which was given to the *aristocracy* and that which was given to the *Protestant parsons, and bishops and colleges*; and there are persons who contend that the former is now become *private property*; and of course, that the Dukes of Devonshire and Bedford have to the above-mentioned tithes and tolls as perfect a right as any man has to an estate that never belonged to the public, in the name of Church property. BURKE (the great *apostle of the aristocracy*!) says very much the contrary; for he says that the Duke of Bedford had no better claim to Woburn than he (Burke) had to his *pension*? However, this is a point that I leave without discussion, at present; and I sincerely hope that the conduct of the aristocracy towards the people may now be such as to let this matter remain undiscussed for ever.

But, as to the tithes and other property which was handed over from the Catholic clergy to the Protestant clergy, that is held by the latter; that held by the former; namely, in trust by the clergy for *public purposes*; and, of course, as it was before taken by act of parliament from one set of men, and given, in trust, to another set of men, it may now be taken, and disposed of, by act of parliament, for whatever purposes may appear to the parliament to be best. To deny this is really to be

impudent; the thing is as plain as the fact of light or dark.

Lest, however, an objection should be made to the antiquity of those acts of parliament, and lest it should be said, that when the Church became *Protestant*, the tenure of the clergy became *absolute*, and untouchable even by the parliament, let us see what the parliament has done, in this way, in modern times, and even *very recently*. In 1711 and 1712 an act was passed for the sums that the holders of livings should give to their curates; that is to say, to *compel them to give the curates certain salaries, or portions, out of the produce of the livings*. This clearly shows that the livings were deemed *public property*, merely held in trust by *monks and bishops*; for, what has been said, if the parliament had passed a law to compel gentlemen, farmers, tradesmen, and manufacturers, to pay their servants, journeymen, and labourers at a certain rate? This would have been to interfere with the distribution of private property, and would have been an act of tyranny; but, in the other case, it was an act of duty, because the parsons and bishops held the property in trust for *public uses*, and because it was for the benefit of the public, that those who did the *work of the church* should be suitably paid for their work.

Thus, then, the parliament took away, without any consent of the parties, part of the revenues of the incumbents, and, of course, part of what the patron, or owner of the advowson, called his private property. But the act of 1798, only 32 years ago, was still more complete, if possible; for, by that act, part of the *tithe and lands*, belonging to the Church, was taken away for ever; was sold to private persons; and the proceeds paid into the Exchequer amongst the tax-money. This was called an "act for the redemption of the land-tax." It first laid a perpetual tax on all houses and land; it then enabled people to redeem their land-tax; that is to say, to purchase back part of their estates from the Government! Some did it, and some did not. but, the par-

sons and bishops and college people were compelled to do it; and they did do it; and the money went into the treasury, and was spent, by Pitt, in places, pensions, grants, sinecures, subsidies, secret services' money, and other purposes, to carry on the war against Jacobins, Levellers, and Reformers.

So that here was, only 32 years ago, a part of the Church property actually taken away for ever, sold to private persons, and the money taken by the Government and applied to public purposes. If a part could be taken without any violation of the settled laws of the country, the whole may be taken for public purposes, without any such violation. For, surely, it would not be more unlawful to take it to pay off the Debt, for instance, than it was to take it to help to carry on a war, for the support and success of which that Debt was contracted; awar, too, in the urging on of which the Clergy were more forward and more loud than any other body of men in the kingdom.

Thus, then, it is agreeable to the laws and usages of the country to take this property away, and apply it to public purposes: it is so much property belonging to the nation, and the nation can take it, and can do what it likes with it, proceeding, as it doubtless would, by due course of law. If there be any one in the world, any creature now left on earth, so stupid as to believe that the tithes and other Church property have any foundation in the laws of God, and that our parsons are the successors of the Levites, the stupid beast will keep the sabbath, I hope, and not Sunday. I hope he will kill the paschal lamb and eat up burnt-offerings; that he will eat no blood, bacon, or hares or rabbits. The Levites had only the tenth of the increase, and not a tenth of the crop; next, they divided the increase with the "poor, the widow, and the stranger"; and, lastly, they had no worldly inheritance, could own neither house nor land, and indeed could have no property to themselves.

No foundation have tithes or Church property on the Mosaic Law; and as to Christ and his Apostles, not one word do

they say to give countenance to such a claim; while, on the other hand, they say quite enough to satisfy any man that they never intended, never so much as thought of, such a mode of maintaining a Christian teacher. In the first place, our Lord declares the Law of Moses to be abrogated. He sets aside even the Sabbath. And when the Pharisee in the parable vaunted that he paid tithes of all that he possessed, the rebuke he received is quite sufficient to show the degree of merit that Christ allotted to that sort of piety; and, indeed, this parable seems to have been used for the express purpose of exposing the cunning of the then Jewish priests, and the folly of their dupes in relying on the efficacy of paying tithes.

But what do we want more than the silence of our Saviour as to this point? If the tenth of the "increase" (for it was not the crop or gross produce) was intended by him still to be given to the teachers of religion, would he, who was laying down the new law, have never said a single word on so important a matter? Nay, when he is taking leave of his Apostles and sending them forth to preach his word, so far is he from talking about tithes, that he bids them take neither purse nor scrip, but to sit down with those who were willing to receive them, and to eat what people had a mind to give them, adding, that "the labourer was worthy of his hire." That is to say, of food, drink, and lodging, while he was labouring. And is it on this, the only word Jesus Christ ever says about compensation of any sort; is it on this that Christian teachers found their claim to a tenth of the whole of the produce of a country! If this be the way in which they interpret the Scriptures it is time indeed that we read and judge for ourselves! Oh, no! Not a word did our Saviour say about tithes, not a word about rich apostles, but enough and enough about poor ones; not a word about worldly goods, except to say, that those who wished to possess them could not be his disciples: enough about rendering to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, but not a word about rendering to the priests any thing at all.

In short, from one end of the Gospel to the other, he preaches humility, lowliness, an absence of all desire to possess worldly riches, and he expressly enjoins his disciples "*freely to give*, a they had freely received."

And, as to the apostles, what did they do? Did they not act according to the command of Christ? Did they not live *in common* in all cases where that was practicable? Did they not disclaim all worldly possessions? In Corinthians, chap. ix., Saint Paul lays down the rule of compensation; and what is it? Why, that as the "ox was not to be muzzled when he was treading out the corn," the teacher was to have food, if necessary, for his teaching, for that God had "ordained that they which preach the Gospel should *live of the Gospel*." But, is here a word about *tithes*? And would the apostle have omitted a thing of so much importance? In another part of the same chapter, he asks: "Who goeth a warfare at any time *at his own charges*?" Which clearly shows, that all that was meant was *entertainment on the way*, or when the preacher was from home; and, when the preaching was on the spot where the preacher lived, it is clear, from the whole of the Acts of the Apostles and from the whole of the Epistles, that no such thing as compensation, in any shape or of any kind, was thought of. Saint Paul, in writing to the teachers in Thessalonica, says: "Study to be quiet and do your own business, and to work *with your own hands as we command you*." 1 Thess. chap. iv. ver. 11. And again, in 2 Thess. chap. iii. ver. 8, he bids the teacher remember, "Neither did we eat any man's bread for nought; but wrought with labour and travail, night and day, that we might not be chargeable to any."

SECOND: *The justice of the measure*.—It is clear, then, that tithes and clerical revenues rest upon no *Scriptural* authority. What do they rest upon? How came they ever to be? What were they founded for? And, are they now applied to the uses for which they were given *in trust* to the clergy? Do the clergy apply them agreeably to the

intention in which the tithes originated? In answering these questions we shall arrive at a perfect conviction, that it is *just* to adopt the measure in favour of which I am arguing.

When I was a boy, or, before I had read with attention, I often wondered how our forefathers came to be such fools as to give *one tenth part* of all the corn, hay, roots, calves, lambs, wool, pigs, eggs, milk, greens, under-wood, and of the profit on mills, and of the waters, and of the animals at pasture. That they should have been such fools as to give, in every parish, all this to *one man* of the parish, and that man, too, an *unmarried man*. I thought them great fools, and lamented that we had, hitherto, been such fools, such tame and stupid fellows, as to adhere to their laws. But, upon looking into the matter, I found that our old papas had *done no such a thing*. I found that they had given only a *third of the tenth* to the priests; *another third to build and repair the churches*; and the other third *to relieve the poor*, and, indeed, that third which the priest had, was to enable him *to keep hospitality and relieve the stranger*. Oh! said I, this had sense in it: it is *WE*, conceited we, *enlightened we*, who are the fools, who let the parsons *take all*, and who relieve the poor and build and repair the churches by *taxes*, which *we screw from one another*, and who, while we have a mutton-bone on our tables, silently see the parsons wallowing in luxury. *We, enlightened we*, are the real fools.

At a meeting recently held in Kent, Lord WINCHELSEA was asked whether he would vote for the *abolition of tithes*. To this he answered in the negative, observing, that tithes were instituted by our "*pious ancestors*." Our ancestors were *pious*, but they were not tame, "*enlightened*" fools. This is the story the parsons always tell us; but, they do not tell us the *whole* of the story. They leave us to believe, that our "*pious ancestors*" were of this same church that *now exists*; and, with reason; for it would be awkward indeed in them to extol the piety of those *from whom they took*

the tithes away. But I will tell you, my friends, the whole story; it is short, and is as follows:—Christianity was not introduced (into England) until 600 years after the birth of Christ. In the meanwhile it had made its way over the greater part of the continent of Europe, and the Pope of Rome, as the successor of St. Peter, had long been the head of the Church. In the year 600, the then Pope, whose name was Gregory, sent a monk, whose name was Austin, with 40 others under him, from Rome to England, to convert the English. They landed in Kent, and the king of Kent (there were several kingdoms in England then) received them well, became a convert, and built houses for them at Canterbury. The monks went preaching about Kent, as our missionaries do amongst the Indians. They lived in common, and on what people gave them. As the Christian religion extended itself over the country, other such assemblages of priests as that at Canterbury were formed; but these being found insufficient, the lords of great landed estates built churches and parsonage-houses on them, and endowed them with lands and tithes after the mode in fashion on the Continent. The estate, or district, allotted to a church, now became a parish; and in time, dioceses arose, and the division became, as to territory, pretty much what it is now.

Here, then, we learn the *motives* of "our pious ancestors" in making these endowments of tithes. They wished to have a priest always at hand to teach the ignorant, to baptize children, to visit the sick, to administer comfort, to be the peace-maker, the kind friend and the guide of his people. Nor were these tithes to be devoured or squandered by the priests. They were divided thus: "Let the Priests receive the tithes of the people, and keep a written account of all that have paid them; and divide them, in the presence of such as fear God, according to canonical authority. Let them set apart the first share for the building and ornaments of the church; and distribute the second to the poor and

strangers with their own hands, in mercy and humility; and reserve the third part for themselves."

The very motives for building churches and endowing them with tithes prove, that the constant residence of the priest, or parson, in his parish was his first duty; for, what was the endowment for else? And I state, upon authority as good as any that history can present; that for nearly five hundred years after the introduction of Christianity, no such custom prevailed in England as of hiring curates, or other deputies, to supply the place of the parson who had the living. Our "pious ancestors" were, therefore, sensible as well as pious: they required duties in return for what they settled on the parsons. These parsons were, besides, let it be remembered, unmarried men; and if we are to impute (and which in justice we ought) the institution of tithes to the piety of our ancestors, we must also impute to their piety the establishing of a priesthood not permitted to marry! We must impute this to their piety, and, indeed, to their wisdom also; for how obvious are the reasons that the tithes never could be applied according to the intention of the founders, if the priests had wives and families to maintain!

Thus, then, if we be to appeal to our pious ancestors, and pious and praiseworthy we must allow them to have been; if the Lord Winchelsea and the parsons will insist upon referring us to these our ancestors as examples for us to follow as to this great matter of tithes, we have to remind it and the parsons of these eight things:—1. That the doctrines of the Catholic Church, which our pious ancestors endowed with the tithes, are, our present parsons, declared to be idolatrous and damnable.—2. That our parsons call the head of that church Antichrist and the whore of Babylon.—3. That the "Society for Propagation of Christian Knowledge" advertise no less than fourteen separate works written by our bishops and archbishops "against Popery," that is to say against that very faith to support which our

pious ancestors instituted tithes.—4. That we may be allowed to wonder how it can have come to pass, that, as the errors of our *pious* ancestors were found, at the end of eleven hundred years, to be so damnable, the tithes which they granted were not at all erroneous, but, as this parson now tells us, were “dedicated to God!”—5. That our *pious* ancestors gave only a third of the tithes to the parsons.—6. That they required the parson to expend a third on the building and ornaments of the church.—7. That they required him to distribute the other third to the poor and the stranger with his own hands in mercy and humility. And, 8. That they required him to be constantly resident and not to marry, and compelled him to take an oath of celibacy, in order that, divested of the cares and anxieties inseparable from a wife and family, he might wholly devote himself to the service of God, and be in very truth that which the Bible, from one end to the other, requires a priest to be, a faithful and diligent *shepherd* of the religious flock: and for being which merely in *name*, such woes are pronounced against priests both by prophets and apostles.

Of these eight things we have to remind the parsons, when they tell us to look at the conduct of our *pious* ancestors; and especially when they tell us to follow the example of those ancestors with regard to tithes. These were the conditions on which the tithes were given, and this might be truly said to be dedicating them to God. Accordingly we find that, as long as the tithes were applied to these purposes, there were no poor rates; no *vagrant* act was required; no church-rates were demanded of the people; and yet all those magnificent cathedrals and those churches were built, the beauty and solidity of which are now the monuments of their great, and of our little, minds.

But is it not worth our while, even if it were only for the curiosity of the thing, to inquire how the tithes, dedicated to a faith which our parsons hold in abhorrence, came to be possessed by

our parsons? Is it not worth our while to inquire, how it came to pass, that when our parsons found the faith of our ancestors so erroneous as to be called idolatrous and damnable; when they found the faith so bad as to require rooting out even by most cruel penal laws; how it came to pass, that when they found the faith so utterly abominable; how it came to pass, that when they were pulling down images, confessionals and altars, and were sweeping away all the other memorial of the faith of our *pious* ancestors, they should have suffered the parsonage-houses, the glebes, the tithes, and even Easter Offerings, to remain, nay, and have taken these to themselves, and to be enjoyed, too, not in third part, but in whole?

The tithes were, as we have seen, given to, and enjoyed, or, rather, administered by, the Catholic parsons for about *ten* out of the *twelve* hundred years of their existence in England. For the first *five* out of the *ten*, no such thing as non-residence, or stipendiary curating, was known. After the Normans invaded England these things began; and, in time, by one means or another, by kings, nobles and monasteries, the parishes were greatly robbed of their tithes, and miserable vicars and curates were placed in the Churches in numerous cases. At last that event which is called the Reformation took place; and the struggle ended in the overthrow of the Catholic and the establishment of the Protestant Church, that is to say, a Church which protests against the Catholic faith to uphold which the tithes had been instituted.

The new parsons, though they protested against the faith of the Catholic parsons, did by no means protest against the tithes which had been granted to uphold it. They professed to keep all that was good, and to cast off all that was bad, of the old church. What was good and what bad, we laymen may, perhaps, not be competent judges of; but we know that they kept very carefully all the parsonage-houses, all the glebes, all the tithes, all the Easter Offerings, all the surplice fees; and that

they cast off constant residence, division of tithes into thirds, keeping the churches in repair, living unmarried, and relieving the poor and the stranger with their own hands, in mercy and humility. Such, indeed, was their keeping and such their casting off, that the Catholics said, that protestant parson meant a person who protested against anybody having the Church property but himself!

If, indeed, the parsons did the duty, which their vows oblige them to do, it would then be another matter. What is the *contract* which they make with the nation? What is the obligation which they take upon them? What are the duties that they most solemnly engage to perform? At their ordination they solemnly profess, that they "believe that they are moved by the Holy Ghost to take upon them the office, to serve God for the promoting of his glory and the edifying of his people." They declare also, that they are "determined with the Scriptures to instruct the people that shall be committed to their charge; they promise that they will give their faithful diligence always so to minister the doctrine and sacraments and the discipline of Christ, as the Lord hath commanded, and as this realm hath received the same, according to the commandment of God; that they will teach the people committed to their cure and charge with all diligence to keep and observe the same, that they will be ready with all faithful diligence to banish and drive away all erroneous and strange doctrines contrary to God's word; and to use public and private admonitions and exhortations, as well to the sick as to the whole, within their cures, as need shall require and occasion be given; that they will be diligent in the prayers and in the reading of the Holy Scriptures, and in such studies as help to the knowledge of the same, laying aside the study of the world and the flesh; that they will be diligent to frame and fashion themselves and their families according to the doctrine of Christ, that they may be wholesome examples and spectacles

"to the flock of Christ, and that they will maintain and set forwards quietness, peace and love among all Christians, but specially among them that are or shall be committed to their charge." And they most solemnly ratify and confirm these declarations and promises by receiving the holy communion.

Now, how are they to do these things, or, indeed, any part of these things, unless they be at the places where they have so solemnly promised to do them? How are they to promote God's glory and edify his people; how are they to instruct the people committed to their charge; how are they to explain the word to the people of their cure; how are they to be ready with faithful diligence to banish and drive away all erroneous and strange doctrine contrary to God's word, and especially from amongst them that are committed to their charge: how are they to fulfil any of these solemn promises, if they absent themselves from the very spot where the people committed to their charge reside? And if, having already one living, they grasp at another or two, how do they obey the injunction of the Apostle, to avoid filthy lucre; how do they obey Christ, who bids them freely give; how do they fulfil their own promise, made at the altar and with such awful solemnity, to lay aside the study of the world; and how do they show themselves followers of the Apostle, who bids them "be subject one to another, and be clothed with humility, seeing that God resisteth the proud and giveth grace to the humble?"

Is it not notorious, that of the eleven thousand livings, in England and Wales, one half are without resident incumbents; and, is it not equally notorious, that there are thousands of parsons each of whom has more than one living; is it not also notorious, that those who do the work of the church have hardly a bare sufficiency to eat and drink; is it not notorious, that while there are bishopricks worth from ten to forty thousand a year, one million and six hundred thousand pounds have, within the last thirty years, been voted out of

the taxes on our malt, soap, candles, sugar, &c., "for the relief of the poor clergy of this Church"; is it not notorious, that many of the present beneficed clergy received military and naval half-pay, for many years, and the income of their benefices at the same time, and is it not notorious that, in Ireland, the case is still more flagrant than it is here? How, then, do the parsons fulfil the promises made at their ordination? How do they obey the injunctions of the Apostle, "Preach the word; be instant in season, out of season; reprove, rebuke, exhort with all long-suffering and doctrine." The Apostle tells the teachers to teach publicly "from house to house; to show themselves in all things patient of good works; to be examples in word, in conversation, in charity, in faith, in purity; to warn every man, to teach every man in wisdom, that they may present every man perfect in Jesus Christ." The teachers of the Gospel are called ambassadors, stewards, shepherds, watchmen, guides, lights, examples. But how are they to be any of these, if they seldom or never see any of those whom they have pledged themselves to teach?

Jesus Christ says, "Go ye into the world, and preach the Gospel unto every creature, and lo! I am with you always, even unto the end of the world." And the Apostle Paul, amongst his numerous urgent and solemn exhortations, says, "I take you to record this day, that I am pure from the blood of all men; for I have abounded not to declare unto you the counsel of God. Take heed, therefore, unto yourselves, and to all the flock over which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers, to feed the Church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood." And he exhorts, too, that the teachers should do their duty for religion's sake, and not for the sake of gain. A bishop is not to be "greedy of filthy lucre, nor covetous."

The parsons tell you to read the Bible, and there are plenty of Bible-Societies to put the book into your hands. The worst of it is, you do not

read it attentively. But read it now; see what it says about parsons who do not reside on their livings. The Prophet Zechariah says, "Woe to the idle shepherd that leaveth the flock." "Woe" says the prophet Ezekiel, "woe be to the shepherds of Israel that do feed themselves! Should not the shepherds feed the flocks? Ye eat the fat, and ye clothe you with the wool, ye kill them that are fed: but ye feed not the flock. The diseased have ye not strengthened, neither have ye healed that which was sick, neither have ye bound up that which was broken, neither have ye brought again that which was driven away, neither have ye sought that which was lost; but with force and with cruelty have ye ruled them. And they were scattered because there is no shepherd." And is not the flock scattered in England now? Are not the country churches empty, and do not the people wander about after all sorts of sects? There is, in reality, no longer any flock. The prophet, contemplating such a case, adds: "Thus saith the Lord God; behold I am against the shepherds; and I will require my flock at their hand, and cause them to cease feeding the flock; neither shall the shepherds feed themselves any more; for I will deliver my flock from their mouth, that they may not be meat for them."

It is clear, from all that we behold, that the Church, as by law established, has not answered, or, at least, that it does not now answer, the purposes for which it was intended. It does not hold the people in the bond of faith; it does not promote peace and good-will; but, on the contrary, creates internal divisions and feuds, while it consumes uselessly a large part of the produce of the land, and takes from the farmer the means of giving you, the labourers, wages sufficient for you to support your wives and children. Besides this, its establishment is a hot-bed for breeding gentlemen and ladies, who must be kept without work all their lives, somehow or other; and taxes must be raised, and are raised upon you and upon all of us, to pay them salaries, stipends, pensions, or

something or other. This is so now, and it must be so as long as this establishment shall exist. The sons of the parsons are, for the far greater part, kept by the public in some shape or other; the husbands of the daughters are kept in the same way; they engross the offices, the employments, and shut out the sons of farmers and tradesmen. I do not blame the government for this; for in the nature of things it must be so; it is a necessary effect of the establishment. It is the only establishment in the world, or that there ever was in the world, the priests of which are allowed to marry. Wherever there are priests paid by the public, they are not allowed to marry; and it is clear that they ought not to be so allowed; for, otherwise, what is it but to tax the people to keep a race of men and women to breed persons to be maintained by the public, and to take away from all the industrious classes the chance, even the chance, of sharing in the honours and powers of the country? It is, in short, an establishment which makes the people keep fathers and mothers, that they may breed children for them to keep also! And such a thing never was heard of before in the whole world.

My friends, Labourers of England, there is a PARSON, of the name of MALTHUS, who has written a book to show that you breed too fast; and in order to check your breeding he proposes, that if you be married you shall have no relief from the parish, but shall be left to starve. The Scotch and Irish place-hunters, who live or want to live on your labour, applaud this Parson Malthus to the skies, and so do our pensioners and parsons. But neither Malthus nor any of his crew ever propose to check the breeding of the PARSONS and the PENSIONERS! Think of that, grudge YOU, who must all the clothing, houses, and fuel, they give you parish-relief; but they do not grudge to parsons and pensioners pay out of the taxes raised on you! Oh! the insolent ruffians! Is there not a just and merciful God: and is his hand for ever to be stayed! The ruffians have seen, of late years, a million and a half

of guineas, given by the parliament out of the taxes, "for the RELIEF of the POOR CLERGY of the Church of England;" they know that YOU pay a large part of these taxes; and yet they would refuse you relief in cases even of the extremest distress!

But as long as this establishment shall exist, so long must it continue to inflict evils on the country; it must, of necessity, take from the farmer and tradesman and merchant and manufacturer the means of paying just wages to those whom they employ; and there is no man can doubt that it is the want of just wages that is the cause, and the only cause, of the present troubles of the country. Well, then, ought not this cause to be removed? And how is it to be removed, without legally taking away those tithes and other public property, the leaving of which in the hands of the parsons produces this calamitous cause. The establishment does not now answer the purposes for which it was intended; those who receive the revenues are, in great part, absent from the parishes; the churches are empty; the meeting-houses are full; those who do the work of the church are living in penury; and, more than all the rest the present distribution of this property helps to make the working people so poor and miserable, that they must either die with starvation, or resort, for the purpose of obtaining the means of sustaining life, to acts of violence dangerous to the peace of the country. And is it not, therefore, just to take this property away? "THE SAFETY OF THE PEOPLE IS THE SUPREME LAW:" How can they be safe, then, as long as they are constantly exposed either to starvation or to the consequences of unlawful acts? And, if they must (and I have shown that they must) be constantly thus exposed, as long as this establishment shall exist, are the people to perish; are we all to be ruined and destroyed, for the sake of those who profit from this establishment? Is that just? Why, then, it is just to repeal and abolish this establishment.

"THIRD. The measure is necessary. This I have, indeed, just showed; but

there are still further reasons why this measure is necessary. The weight of taxes is one great cause of the distress and the troubles of the country. Your wages go, one half, to pay taxes. More than the half of these taxes is required to pay the interest of what is called the NATIONAL DEBT. It is impossible to collect such heavy taxes without a large army. Therefore, it is in vain to hope for relief as long as this Debt, to its present amount, shall exist. The Debt-people *receive more than they ought to receive*. Every man of sense says this; and the present First Lord of the Admiralty (a very clever man) proposed to take 30 per cent., or nearly a third part, away from the Debt-people. Now, if this Debt were justly reduced, and the tithes and other Church property sold, and the money paid to the Debt-people, the Debt would be nearly paid off, the army might be disbanded, the heavy taxes taken off, and the nation be again great and happy, the working people well fed and clad, as their great grandfathers were, and the employers and their property in a state of safety. And are we to forego all this; are we to give up the hope of ever seeing England happy again, merely for the sake of upholding this establishment of parsons and bishops! It is just that the Debt-people should be paid less than they are now paid, every one must confess, and every one does confess, this; but every one feels and says, that it would be monstrous injustice, injustice to call down the curses of all mankind, to take one single farthing from the Debt-people, so long as the clergy continue to receive their enormous emoluments.

And now, my friends, I have, I think, proved the *legality*, the *justice* and the *necessity* of this measure. I have no dislike to the *religion* of the Church, in which I was born and bred and have always continued. I have great respect for many of the *working clergy*, whom I know to be amongst the most worthy of men, and whose lot would be mended by the measure that I propose, as religion and morality would also be advanced by it. I am actuated by no an-

tipathy or personal ill-will: I wish for the measure for the reasons that I have given; and I exhort you to join cordially with your employers in petitions, and in all other lawful efforts, to cause that measure to be adopted, and that, too, *immediately*, being thoroughly convinced, that, until it be adopted, England will never again know happiness.

I am,

My good and honest friends,

Your faithful servant,

WM. COBBETT.

P. S. What I would wish to have done with regard to the *present parsons* I will clearly state in my next letter to you; but I will say this much now, that I wish them to be treated with *full as much lenity and indulgence as the Catholic clergy were treated with*, when the tithes and other church property were taken from them; and this, I am sure, they cannot complain of with any show of decency.

PRESTON ELECTION.

This affair has ended as I anticipated in my last *Register*. STANLEY gave up the scrutiny at the end of three days; and there can be no doubt that the scrutiny was a mere device for preventing Mr. HUNT from taking his seat before the recess. If he had been present, that recess, for seven weeks, would not have taken place, without his asking how it could be proposed, at a time when the *punishment* of the offending labourers was going on, to put off, for another seven weeks, all inquiry into the grounds of these complaints, on which they had founded their offences? The Parliament will, have been assembled from the 26th of October to the 3d of February, three clear months, without any inquiry into this most important matter; and, if Mr. HUNT had been in the House, I am convinced that there would, at any rate, have been one man to ask whether it would not have been better to make the inquiry precede the punishment, rather than follow it; for the inquiry might have brought out facts calculated to cause mercy to be exercised in cases where, otherwise, it

naturally would not. However, there will be time enough to talk of this hereafter; and, in the meanwhile, before we come to the *prayers* which are now to put up, let us *laugh* at the dismal address in which STANLEY takes his everlasting leave of the town of Preston, which address is in the following blubbering and blundering words:

"TO THE ELECTORS OF PRESTON.

"*Irish Office, London, Dec. 22d, 1830.*

"GENTLEMEN,—1. I have thought it my duty to signify to the returning officers my intention of abandoning the scrutiny, and offering no further opposition to the return of Mr. Hunt.

"2. The delays which have been already interposed would alone render it extremely doubtful whether we could succeed, within the time limited by law, in striking off so large a number of voters as compose the apparent majority of my opponent; and that doubt is much increased by the facilities which the opposite party would have of carrying on the same system of delay to an indefinite extent.

"3. While I saw before me a prospect of successfully vindicating the cause of *what* I then believed, and still believe, to be *the majority* of good and legal votes, I felt it my duty to persevere in my endeavours, at whatever personal inconvenience or expense; but the prospect of ultimate success being now extremely doubtful, the same sense of duty impels me to discontinue a mode of proceeding which must have a tendency to keep up a strong feeling of excitement and agitation in the town of Preston.

"4. I shall therefore offer no further opposition to your new representative taking his seat in Parliament: I repeat to you my declaration, that I *contentedly resign to him the honour of representing you*; and I sincerely *hope* that he may serve you as honestly, as faithfully, and more satisfactorily to you than, it would appear, *that I have done*.

"5. Gentlemen, a parliamentary connexion has for very many years

"subsisted between your borough and *the family* to which I belong, which, *I had hoped*, had not been unproductive of advantage to the town of Preston. The rupture of that connexion has been your act,—I acquiesce in your decision,—and shall *make no attempt, in future, to renew it*. In taking, however, my *final leave of you* as a candidate for the honour of representing the borough, I should be ungrateful to my many friends, were I to omit returning to them my warmest thanks for their uniform kindness and support; and though no longer to be charged with the direct responsibility of representing them in Parliament, I trust that I may still be in situations which may enable me to prove to them that I am neither unmindful of their past kindness nor inattentive to their interests. I have the honour to be,

"Gentlemen,

"Your obedient humble servant,

"E. G. STANLEY."

This is the proudest fellow, the most insolently proud, in the kingdom. No Scotch bailiff or negro-driver was ever more proud than this very STANLEY. How it must have grated his haughty heart to put these words upon paper. Yes, I dare say he "*contentedly*" resigns the honour of representing them. Poor fool! As if that piece of poor, pointless sarcasm would do any thing but discover his aristocratical spite!

But this fellow, in answering the speeches of our friends IRVIN and MITCHELL, talked of GRAMMAR, I think. Reader, look in paragraph 3, at the word "*what*" as a relative, first to the cause and then to the *majority of votes*. Look at the word "*that*" at the close of paragraph 4. "*More satisfactorily to you than that I have done*;" for, as you see, the phrase, "*it would appear*," has no effect in the construction of the sentence. Look at "*I had hoped*," in paragraph 5, and then send the fellow off packing to be baited and jeered by the *Irish*, at whose blundering propensities he had the folly and insolence to laugh in his first speech at Preston. And this is the writing of a

SECRETARY OF STATE, is it, and of a proud aristocrat too! More fit is he to be set to study my *English Grammar*, and particularly the *Six Lessons to Statesmen*, at the end of it. And yet, we are to pry this proud, illiterate fellow two or three thousand pounds year! Look at the whole piece, and then you will wonder, with me, when the fellow found any ministry to give him an office in the discharge of which writing was required.

However, my friends of Preston, he has taken his "final leave of you, very contentedly!" Just as contentedly as the fox did of the grapes. Let what hole will he now creep; and prate him. Pray trace him to and from his next batch of "constituents." And, in the meanwhile, we all thank you, the people of Preston, from the bottom of our souls, for the punishment, the deep humiliation, that you have inflicted on this proudest of the proud, this most insolent of the most insolent, of all the aristocrats that ever trod the earth. This is a "statesman," is it? "I had hoped had not been unproductive!" "Vindicating the cause of what I believe to be the majority of votes." "Vindicating the cause of the votes!" Think of that. "More satisfactorily than that I have done." Why, it is worse than the scrawl of a cast-of-chambermaid, who is just going to tuck herself up on the rafter of a garret, having too much sense of honour to survive her disgrace. "Final leave as a candidate," indeed! Final leave of life would have had sense and spirit in it, but who ever saw either in the race, or indeed, in the order, to which he belongs.

However, let him go to old Sarum, Gatton, Hazlemere, or to the devil, as he choose, and let him come dragging and sneaking out like a rat, that the terriers have driven from a barn into a sink-hole, or some place still more filthy. Thank you, brave and patriotic men of Preston! And whatever I can do, beyond thanks, you shall have at my hands. I am well aware that the poor and virtuous people have made sacrifices indescribable; and that it is the

duty of us all to aid them in the way of compensation. But they and their wives will think of the wives and children of the suffering labourers! Here is personal liberty, here is country for ever, here is life itself at stake! And I know that they will feel, as to this matter, as they ought to feel,

THE BALLOT.

In my plan for Parliamentary Reform, I observed that honest men might differ as to other parts of the plan; but that no one, except a real openly avowed rogue, would be opposed to the ballot; because his motive must of necessity be his desire to preserve bribery, corruption and perjury; and that, therefore, he must be a real, downright, unblushing, hardened rogue. The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY is evidently of my opinion; for, in the Bill, brought in by him, last Session, for facilitating the composition for tithes, he, in the clauses for appointing commissioners in the several districts, has this provision, "that the voting shall be by ballot." That is enough. We have the head of the Church with us; and now we may set the real rogues at defiance. But Dr. BLACK begins to shuffle. He is for the ballot; but he is for raising the qualification; so as to disfranchise the 40s. freeholders, I suppose. Eh, Scotchman? Is that what you mean? So as to disfranchise the people of Preston? Eh, Doctor! Burdett's plan: Eh! Better not try it, Doctor. The ballot without raising the qualification would soon set Scotch *ferriers* to clean the kennels: that is true enough; but, better not try it, *scoundrel*. Much the safer way not to try to raise the qualification at Preston (as you propose), or not, at least, until you have got armour ready for the bodies of the new voters and have made their dwellings proof against *thunder and lightning*. Do that, Doctor, before you try to raise the qualification, notwithstanding that "it must be prepared to protect property." Ah! you straight-backed, Scotch, tax-eating knaves, who calumniate the people of

England, call them "stupid," call them "brutal," only let this people have their rights, and you may dance back again to your own delightful land of burgoe and of banpooks of barley meal. The bund of botheration *reporters* may dance off too; for, down comes the monopolizing fraud on which they fatten, and which drenches them with gin and beer. All these hordes of vile vermin have been fed by the toil of the working people of England; and these people will feed them no longer, for which they would hang them all if they could. So sure as this is paper that I am writing on, so sure are the facts, that it is the taxing system that has brought these lazy locusts into England to devour the produce of the people's labour; and that, if that system be changed, these vermin must go to work or decamp. This is the cause why they are, to a man, the enemies of a real reform of the parliament; all of them, without a single exception. And how they hate the best part of the labourers; and how they hate the *Priestonians!* No accounts did they give of the glorious election. Not a word of the speeches! But the term of the vagabonds draws to a close. *The English labourers will no longer live upon potatoes, and in that resolution the all-devouring vermin hear their doom!*

THE PRAYER.

At the Council chamber, Whitehall, the 24th December, 1830, present the Lords of His Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council,

It is this day ordered by their Lordships, that his Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury do prepare forms of prayers to Almighty God, on account of the troubled state of certain parts of the United Kingdom.

And it is ordered that his Majesty's Printer do forthwith print a competent number of the said Forms of Prayers, that the same may be forthwith sent abroad and read in all the Cathedral, Collegiate and Parochial Churches and Chapels throughout those parts of the United Kingdom, called England and Ireland, as soon as the Ministers thereof may receive the same.

Wm. J. BATHURST.

A Form of Prayer, on account of the troubled state of certain parts of the United Kingdom,

To be used immediately before the Litany; and when the Litany shall not be read, before the prayer for all conditions of men; in all cathedral, collegiate, and parochial churches and chapels in England and Ireland, as soon as the ministers thereof shall receive the same.

"O God, our Heavenly Father, who art rich in mercy and grace towards all who obey thy will, and hast promised forgiveness and remission of sins to them that truly repent, and unfeignedly believe thy holy Gospel, we humbly beseech thee, to look with compassion on thy servants, and relieve their affliction. We have sinned, we have grievously sinned, and transgressed thy holy laws: we confess our iniquity, we lament our unworthiness, and meekly acknowledge, that by our manifold offences, we have justly provoked thy wrath: yet deal not with us, O Lord, according to the multitude of our transgressions, but in judgment remember mercy. For thy dear Son's sake, O Lord, give ear to our prayer, and withdraw thy chastening hand from us. To thee alone we look for deliverance; without thy help and direction the power and wisdom of man are of no avail. Restore, O Lord, to thy people the quiet enjoyment of the many and great blessings which we have received from thy bounty: defend and frustrate the malice of wicked and turbulent men, and turn their hearts: have pity, O Lord, on the simple and ignorant, who have been led astray, and recall them to a sense of their duty: and to persons of all ranks and conditions in this country, vouchsafe such a measure of thy grace, that our hearts being filled with true faith and devotion, and cleansed from all evil affections, we may serve thee with one accord, in duty and loyalty to the king, in obedience to the laws of the land, and in brotherly love towards each

"other; and that, pressing constantly forward towards the high prize of our heavenly calling, under the guidance of thy Holy Spirit, we may finally attain to life everlasting, through the merits and mediation of our only Redeemer and Advocate, Jesus Christ our Lord.—Amen."

"O God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, our only Saviour, the Prince of Peace, give us grace seriously to lay to heart the great dangers we are in by our unhappy divisions. Take away all hatred and prejudice, and whatsoever else may hinder us from golly union and concord: that, as there is but one body, and one spirit, and one hope of our calling, one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of us all, so we may henceforth be all of one heart and of one soul, united in one holy bond of truth and peace, of faith and charity, and may with one mind, and one mouth, glorify thee, through Jesus our Lord.—Amen."

A very proper prayer for those whom it concerns. Now, men may say what they like about evils, but, will any-body call that an evil which has produced piety such as is evinced in this prayer? Amongst the rest of us, the BOROUGH-MONGERS will, I hope, have found their hearts softened; they who, ever since I can recollect, seem not to have been afraid of hell-fire, do, one would hope, begin to tremble now. The ASSUR-BISHOP (to whom, however, I beg leave humbly to present my thanks for what he has done) might aptly enough have introduced the following passage from the Prophet Amos, chap. viii. ver. 4 to 10: "Hear this, O ye that swallow up the needy, even to make the poor of the land to fail: saying, When will the new moon be gone, that we may sell corn? And the sabbath, that we may set forth wheat, making the Ephah small and the Shekel great, and falsifying the balances by deceit; that we may buy the poor for silver, and the needy for a pair of shoes; yea, and sell the refuse of the wheat? Shall not the land tremble for this; and every one mourn that dwelleth

therein? I will turn your feasting into mourning, saith the Lord God, and your songs into lamentations." Here is nothing about potatoes, to be sure, cold or hot. The poor Israelites had not come down to this heel-swellings, paunch-stuffing, soul-degrading root; they thought it bad enough to have been brought to the "refuse of the wheat;" but, if a curse was due (and if not due God would not have inflicted it), if a curse was due for this; if the land was to tremble for this, what must we expect, when not only the poor, but the labourers in a body, are reduced to live on *heavily roots*, in a land abounding with wheat and with meat?

TREVOR AND POTATOES.

TREVOR is reported to have brought forward his motion on Thursday, the 23rd of December, the day on which the great "omnipotent" House adjourned. Owing to the scandalous unfairness of the reporters, or their masters, almost the whole of Mr. BULWER'S speech is omitted in the report. I shall, however, take the whole of the debate as I find it in the newspapers. I look on it as a publication, and as such I shall comment on it: and thus I find it in the *Bloody Old Times* of the 24th of December:

"COBBETT'S REGISTER.

"Mr. Trevor, pursuant to his notice of motion, rose for the purpose of submitting certain passages from a weekly paper, entitled Cobbett's Register, to the consideration of the House, conceiving that in so doing he was only doing his duty to his country, which such a course, in his opinion, was calculated to serve. At the same time he could not help regretting that some older, or more efficient member had not undertaken what he, however sincere in his good intentions, was so inadequate to discharge. The writer to whom he alluded had put forth a series of inflammatory addresses, the purport of which was unquestionable, whether they were defensible in law or liable to punishment. A few extracts from the

" number which he had particularly se-
 " lected would, he trusted, sufficiently
 " satisfy the House of the pernicious
 " tendency of this publication, circulat-
 " ing, as it principally did, amongst the
 " artisans and labouring class of the
 " community. A clergyman in Suf-
 " folk had most judiciously issued a
 " circular amongst his parishioners,
 " setting before the lower orders the
 " inevitable ruin which they were bring-
 " ing upon themselves by their viola-
 " tion of the law, and was therefore
 " vituperated in the most scandalous
 " language by this licentious pasqui-
 " nader, who, in the same paragraph,
 " traced the reduction of tithes to the
 " resistance of the labourers and the in-
 " fluence of the fires. He (Mr. Trevor)
 " ventured to appeal to the good sense
 " of the House whether such arguments
 " could be penned for any purpose but
 " that of exciting the population to
 " disturbance and discontent. In re-
 " ference to Cambridge, this writer
 " had further asserted that the magis-
 " tracy and landed interest had never
 " thought of relieving the poor until the
 " fires were kindled, and the labourers
 " rose. He admitted that the acts in
 " which the labourers were engaged
 " must be considered in themselves un-
 " lawful; but added, that that body
 " were starving, and that it was no
 " crime to take by force wherewithal to
 " support nature, when the labourer
 " and his family were compelled to live
 " on less than was held necessary for
 " the sustenance of a common soldier.
 " In proof of the gentle spirit exhibited
 " by the people in all their distresses, he
 " instanced the case of two overseers in
 " Sussex, whom they contented them-
 " selves with trundling out of the pa-
 " rish, when, had they been sanguinary,
 " they might have murdered them in
 " their beds. He insisted, moreover,
 " that every one, except the infamous
 " rick-jobbers, acknowledged that the
 " perpetrators of the late outrages
 " were doing nothing; but what they
 " ought to have done. The honourable
 " Gentleman read from the Register
 " a series of paragraphs, of which the
 " foregoing sentences are the sub-

" stance, and concluded by asking whe-
 " ther he might not exclaim in the lan-
 " guage of Cicero, *Quousque tandem*
 " *abutere patientiâ nostrâ?* In the opin-
 " ion of the illustrious Edmund Burke,
 " and he might also add Lord Grenville,
 " whose lamented infirmities had so long
 " prevented him from participating in
 " public affairs, it was to such publica-
 " tions that the first French revolution
 " might be mainly attributed. He was no
 " enemy to the liberty of the press, for the
 " press was the most-eligible vehicle of
 " public opinion, and exercised a whole-
 " some control over the actions of men in
 " power; but when unworthily directed,
 " he might too truly say of it, *Corruptio*
 " *omnium pessima est.* To the unfortunate
 " and infatuated violators of the law
 " it was befitting a just minister to ex-
 " tend every possible clemency and in-
 " dulgence, but surely their insidious and
 " designing instigators were far from
 " deserving objects of a similar forbear-
 " ance. As he had shown, there could
 " be no mistake as to the libellous and
 " seditious tendency of the paragraphs
 " to which he had called the attention
 " of the house, and in thus bringing
 " them substantively under its consider-
 " ation, he felt that he had done his
 " duty. It lay with the House to de-
 " termine the future course of proceed-
 " ing, whether it should be referred to
 " the Government, or that the Attorney-
 " General should be ordered to pro-
 " ceed with a prosecution, or any other
 " remedy which in its wisdom it might
 " sanction. The hon. Member concluded
 " with moving a resolution to the effect,
 " that the publication entitled Cox-
 " sart's REGISTER, of the 11th of De-
 " cember, contained a malicious and
 " scandalous libel on the authorities of
 " the state, incompatible with the pro-
 " ceedings of the Government, and a
 " gross and uncarrantable attack on the
 " Members of the church by law esta-
 " blished, the tendency of which was
 " subversive of the laws, and conducive
 " to anarchy and delusion.
 " Mr. G. PAGES was understood to
 " second the resolution.
 " Mr. BULWER was opposed to the
 " hon. Member's motion. He thought

“ there was no need, under the existing
 “ system of libel law to urge the law
 “ officers of the Crown to prosecute for
 “ political offences; and would rather
 “ see Attorney-Generals seeking to as
 “ much as possible avoid such prosecu-
 “ tions than too zealous in instituting
 “ them. Besides, in the present state
 “ of the public mind, such a prosecution
 “ as the hon. Member’s resolution point-
 “ ed at would be as impolitic as ill-
 “ timed, apart from other considerations,
 “ most weighty as they appeared to
 “ him; for unless ministers succeeded
 “ in obtaining a verdict, the mischief
 “ would be aggravated; and it might
 “ not be a very easy matter just now to
 “ obtain a verdict. The proper correc-
 “ tive was an *improved state of the pub-
 “ lic mind*, and that was to be only at-
 “ tained by the diffusion of sound knowl-
 “ edge, which again depended on an
 “ unimpeded circulation of opinion. In
 “ saying this, he was not the apologist
 “ of the abuses of the press; all that he
 “ meant was, that prosecution was not
 “ the most efficient remedy, and that
 “ the dissemination of useful instruc-
 “ tion was.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER
 “ would not detain the House many mi-
 “ nutes on the present occasion. It was
 “ not only his own opinion, but that of
 “ the best judges, that it was more expe-
 “ dient to leave the question of prosecu-
 “ tion in cases similar to that just sub-
 “ mitted to the House by the hon. Mem-
 “ ber for Romney, to the discretion of
 “ the Government, than that they should
 “ be thus entertained by the House.
 “ (Hear.) Undoubtedly occasions might
 “ present themselves in which the
 “ House might inquire into the neces-
 “ sity of a prosecution by the law
 “ officers of the Crown of writings of a
 “ libellous or seditious tendency; but
 “ even then he held that it would be the
 “ better course not to inquire till after
 “ the prosecution had been instituted
 “ or wholly declined by the Govern-
 “ ment. If the House did not place
 “ confidence in the present Government,
 “ and therefore felt that it should take
 “ upon itself the duties which properly
 “ devolved on the executive, it would

“ of course adopt the hon. Member’s
 “ resolution. But if, on the other hand,
 “ it did place confidence in the present
 “ ministry (hear), and he trusted it did
 “ (hear), it would refer the matter to
 “ their discretion, and accordingly with-
 “ hold its assent to the motion. (Hear.)
 “ For himself individually, and for his
 “ colleagues, he hoped they should de-
 “ serve the support and confidence of
 “ Parliament, by not neglecting their
 “ duty, even when it led them to call
 “ upon the law officers of the Crown to
 “ interfere in cases of libel. He hoped
 “ that they would get credit for not
 “ willingly having, as it were, called
 “ upon the Attorney-General to institute
 “ prosecutions for political offences, and
 “ that it would be left to their discretion
 “ to say what offences should, and what
 “ should not, be thus prosecuted. (Hear.)
 “ As to the publication referred to by
 “ the hon. Member for Romney, he
 “ would not then offer an opinion. He
 “ would studiously abstain, and he
 “ thought it the duty of every hon.
 “ Member also to abstain—from pre-
 “ judging the question by an opinion on
 “ its merits. He would, he repeated,
 “ offer no opinion whatever with refer-
 “ ence to the tendency of the publication.
 “ Nor would he say whether it was or
 “ was not one of those offences which
 “ the Attorney-General had been called
 “ upon to prosecute; but he would say,
 “ that to adopt the hon. Member’s mo-
 “ tion would be to prejudice the ques-
 “ tion, and so far impede the adminis-
 “ tration of justice and defeat the end
 “ the hon. Member may have proposed
 “ to himself. (Hear, hear.) Besides, there
 “ was no precedent—at least for the last
 “ 50 years—for such a motion: that is,
 “ for the House’s anticipating, as it
 “ were, the functions of the Attorney-
 “ General unless in cases affecting its own
 “ immediate privileges. In such cases,
 “ but in such cases only, could the
 “ House be justified, on principle and
 “ precedent, to assume its right and
 “ power of interference. But the pre-
 “ sent was no such case, and therefore
 “ should not be entertained by it. (Hear,
 “ hear.) He begged to be understood as
 “ not questioning the abstract right

“ and power of the House's interfering
 “ in cases like that then before it, if so
 “ thought fit and expedient; but as
 “ only deprecating the necessity and
 “ policy of its then exercising that right
 “ and power. (Hear.) If he was right
 “ that, as a general principle, it was
 “ better to leave it to the discretion of
 “ ministers whether prosecutions should
 “ or should not be instituted for political
 “ offences in ordinary times, it was
 “ still more so in the existing state of
 “ the public mind. (Hear, hear.) Let
 “ the House consider how—supposing
 “ that a prosecution should be instituted—the decision might be influenced by the previous discussion of
 “ necessarily popular assembly. (Hear.
 “ Would it not be impossible but that
 “ the opinions which would be elicited
 “ in the course of the discussion in that
 “ House,—on the present publication
 “ for example—would interfere with
 “ the due administration of justice, sup-
 “ posing it was afterwards to be refer-
 “ red to a jury? (Hear, hear.) Would
 “ not, in fact, such prejudging of the
 “ question be productive of the most
 “ mischievous consequences to the ends
 “ of justice? (Hear, hear.) He trusted
 “ then, that the House would not open
 “ the door to such mischievous conse-
 “ quences by laying down the precedent
 “ of the present motion. As, however,
 “ he was not disposed to offer a decided
 “ negative to the hon. Member's propo-
 “ sition, he would adopt the course
 “ usually followed under such circum-
 “ stances, and pass on to the order of
 “ the day, by moving the previous
 “ question. (Hear, hear.)

“ Mr. CROKER begged leave to sug-
 “ gest to his honourable Friend, after
 “ the declarations of the noble Lord
 “ opposite, that the Attorney-General
 “ had been ordered to institute pro-
 “ secutions for some political offences,
 “ and as the interests of justice would
 “ be more promoted by leaving the in-
 “ stitution of such prosecutions to the
 “ discretion of Ministers, the responsi-
 “ ble authorities; and above all, in
 “ the present excited state of the public
 “ mind there might be great danger
 “ from a hostile discussion in that

“ House, to withdraw his motion.
 “ (Hear, hear.)

“ Mr. G. PRICE also would suggest
 “ to his honourable Friend the ex-
 “ pediency of withdrawing his motion,
 “ and leaving the matter in the hands of
 “ the Government.

“ Lord NORREYS said, one of the
 “ most powerful engines by which the
 “ promoters of sedition operated on the
 “ minds and passions of their deluded
 “ victims, was the distressed state of
 “ the country. He did hope his Ma-
 “ jesty's Ministers would during the
 “ recess give the matter their most se-
 “ rious attention, and that they would find
 “ some effectual and adequate measures
 “ for relieving the distressed state of
 “ agriculture, and that by placing some
 “ legislative check against the too free
 “ admission of foreign materials, they
 “ would afford protection to trade and
 “ agriculture. Let the House alleviate
 “ (at least attempt to alleviate) the dis-
 “ tress, so general in its consequences,
 “ and so universal in its extent. Let
 “ them show that they were not un-
 “ mindful of the difficulties of the
 “ country, and the promoters of sedition
 “ would in vain circulate their poison-
 “ ous and inflammatory pamphlets.

Mr. A. TREVOR said, that in
 “ bringing this subject before the House
 “ he had only been actuated by a sense
 “ of duty. Nothing could have been
 “ farther from his intention than to em-
 “ barrass the Government; and he
 “ could, perhaps, give no better proof
 “ of the sincerity with which he said
 “ so, than by withdrawing his motion.
 “ (Hear, hear.)

“ The motion was accordingly with-
 “ drawn.

A GENERAL FAST.

“ Mr. PERCEVAL said—I rise to
 “ give notice, that immediately after
 “ the recess I shall move that an ad-
 “ dress be presented to His Majesty,
 “ praying that His Majesty will be gra-
 “ ciously pleased to appoint a day for a
 “ general fast—

“ Several hon. Members.—A general
 “ what?

“ Mr. PERCEVAL continued.—A
 “ general fast throughout the kingdom.

"(Cries of 'Oh! oh!' and much laughter.")

Now, I do not ascribe any of this stuff to the persons, whose names are put against it. It is a *publication*, and, the first part of it a *stupid string of lies and calumnies* on me. In my next Register I shall, perhaps, (though it is hardly worth while) find room for a laughing commentary on this bundle of blundering lies. In the meanwhile, I express my hearty contempt of the base publication; and I will make the *casual* author of it, whoever he may be, feel that he will gain nothing by such attacks upon me. These mercenary wretches of the hiring broad-sheet are really *half mad*; they know what immense power I have; and they know that I beat them all; they know well that I labour for the good of my country, but they also know that that good cannot be effected without *their overthrow*. they know, that the restoration of the people to their rights would *drive them to do that which would be to them worse than death*; namely, GO TO WORK. This is what the rascals are afraid of; they would shed the blood of half the people, rather than be compelled to sweat for their bread. They will come to that, however; or, to those *potatoes*, on which they are now striving to make the English labourers continue to live, but in which they will not succeed; and in which, God granting me life, they *shall* not succeed.

The case of the labourers is said to have been *exaggerated* by me; and, at the opening of the Special Commission at Winchester, Baron Vaux said "their distresses had been greatly exaggerated." What did he hear on Tuesday last? Why, this: that at FAWLEY the ASSISTANT (hired under Sturges Bourne's Bill) *overboard* kept A CART, and WOMEN, as well as men and boys, DRAW IT, like cattle. The witness, JOSEPH BURDICK, told the Judge that "many of the men had ONLY A FEW POTATOES IN THEIR BAG WHEN THEY CAME TO WORK; that he had seen OLD MEN and WOMEN draw the cart; particularly JANE STEVENS, an

"IDIOT!" And I have *exaggerated*, have I! And the rascally Scotchmen have the audacity to say, and the rascally loan-mongering and stock-jobbing writers along with them; they have the audacity to say, that THE ENGLISH LABOURERS ARE AS WELL OFF AS THEY EVER WERE! I have *exaggerated*, have I! I never said *old men and women* were made to draw carts, like beasts of burden. I never said this, for I never saw it, and did not dream that cruelty had been carried to this extent. A *female*, and an *idiot* too, made to draw a cart, like a horse or an ass! And this in *England*; and yet rascally Scotch blood-suckers say, that the English labourers are, and have recently been, as well treated as they ever were! They *will be* as well treated, you greedy and lazy vagabonds; they *will be* as well treated as they ever were; and that, too, in spite of all that you can do to the contrary.

One of the great charges that this vagabond author of this stupid and lying publication brings against me is, that I have told the labourers that if they cannot obtain the means of existence in any other way, they have a right to take them where they find them. This is true enough in substance; and so far am I from denying it, that I glory in having maintained the doctrine, if there can be any glory in having *truly stated the law of the land*. But is this a new thing with me? I

maintained the doctrine in a most *orate* manner in my publication called THE POOR MAN'S FRIEND, several editions of which have been published, and there is one new one now, price 8d. This work consisted of four Numbers, which were published monthly, in 1826-7. Three thousand copies of each number (3d each) were sent as a *present* from me to the *electors of Preston*, and distributed to them by Mr. KAMER, at my expense. The Numbers were all published in the Register. It is a regular and sober and learned *legal argument*, which has never been answered, nor attempted to be answered, nor can the conclusion be controverted with any show of fact or reason by any

man living. But what will this base and stupid and rascally author of the publication say when he finds that a barrister has had the spirit to hold this very doctrine before the judges at Winchester, who are now sitting on the SPECIAL COMMISSION there? I read, and with inexpressible delight, that Mr. SEWELL, in defending some of the prisoners, said, that "a man with five or six children, necessitated to support his family on wages of 9s. a week! " Could the Jury for a moment suppose that sum sufficient to supply the common wants of nature? If a man saw his family in distress,—his children starving—the law of nature then became paramount to the laws of man. "Laws were made for the benefit of society; but society never required that one class should starve and others revel in luxury and wealth."

This is the doctrine for which I have always contended, and for it I now contend. The thanks of every just man are due to Mr. SEWELL. He has the spirit of a man in him; and I beg him, in a special manner, to accept of MY THANKS: I have lived to hear an English lawyer boldly state this to the face of the Judges, and that too in times like these. It is stated, too, in support of those who can never reward Mr. SEWELL, even by their thanks. It is a disinterested, a noble act, and marks this gentleman out as a man to be honoured. In the next Register, I will state the whole of this argument, and again challenge, not only the base and stupid author of this publication, but all the time-serving lawyers in England, to controvert any part of it. In the meanwhile any one can get it in the POOR MAN'S FRIEND, which, if it had been attended to by the Government, would have prevented all the scene that we now behold.

In the meanwhile, however, the government may be assured, that SEVERITY IS OF NO USE. The great misfortune is, that the government do not know, and never have known, the true state of the country. They read the London monopoly-newspapers, which are falsehood itself; which are a mass

of deception, fraud and infamy; which cannot exist but by that system which drives the people to madness. They read these infamous vehicles, and thus they are blinded to the true state of the people. As an instance of the infamy of these papers, the Bloody Old Times of the 29th Dec. promulgated, that DYKE (at Maidstone) "had confessed his guilt." This is an atrocious lie. The MAIDSTONE JOURNAL contains a full account of the execution; and he not only did not confess his guilt; but denied it with his last breath, and said, that the witnesses against him "would have their Christmas dinner on his flesh and blood!" Cannot the authors of this bloody Old Newspaper be punished for this infamous lie? I want this Number of the MAIDSTONE JOURNAL. I beg some friend at that place to send it to me by post. I could not get it for a length of time sufficient for the printing from it. The neighbours of DYKE took his body, buried it in the church-yard, and, as he had been a soldier, they fired over his grave in honour to his remains! What effect, then, will this man's death have?

But the grand question is, What is NOW to be done; for, though prayers are good and proper, we never forget Jupiter and the Wagoner. The first step of all is to listen to prayers like the following:

Englishmen, and English ministers particularly, read; read with pride that you can call the petitioners your countrymen; and, let me implore you to FOLLOW their example.—I take the following from the TYNE MERCURY of the 25th of December. "The following petition, which will lie for signature at the places here referred to,* will speak for itself as to the merits of the case. Afford yourselves the gratification of doing right, by signing it; but remember that the case admits of no delay, and sign imme-

*At Mr. Mackenzie's, Pilgrim-street;
At Mr. Turnbull's, grocer, Quayside;
At Mr. Stephenson's, bookseller, Gateshead; and
At the Tyne Mercury Office.

"diately, as the petition must be forwarded to London in a few days.

I have the honour to be,

With respect,

Your devoted, humble servant,

CRAS. ATTWOOD.

"Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy."

Matthew, chap. 5, v. 7.

To the King's Most Excellent Majesty, &c.

"We, your Majesty's sincerely dutiful and loyal subjects, inhabitants of Newcastle upon Tyne and the neighbourhood thereof, approach your Majesty with feelings deeply interested on behalf of certain individuals, fellow-subjects of your Majesty's petitioners, some of whom have unhappily been convicted of, whilst others are about to take their trials for, acts of incendiarism, and of riotous violence and depredation; but acts, may it please your Majesty, committed under the influence of popular excitement, arising out of extreme and long-continued public sufferings, such as it has rarely been the lot of any people to endure, and never before, as in the present case, arising out of erroneous legislation, inefficient and perverted institutions, the virtual subversion of public rights, and the total annihilation of all genuine popular weight and influence in the Commons House of Parliament.

"We know full well, may it please your Majesty, the capital severity denounced by law on such offences, and do not question, in the abstract, the propriety of such severity; but we humbly submit, and beseech your Majesty mercifully to consider, that the moral character of the act in question is greatly modified, and to a profound degree extenuated, by their connexion with the intolerable private sufferings and public wrongs of the class whence they emanate; that even in cases where the distress of the convicted individual may perchance have been comparatively inconsiderable, he may possibly be found in the sight of Heaven less criminal on that account, as acting

"more strictly (though mistakenly) from public motives, and that in the present disturbed, not to call it convulsed, condition of your Majesty's dominion, your humble petitioners do hope that it will appear to your Majesty not less consonant to enlightened policy to dismiss with mitigated and admonitory punishment, than it is, (they are persuaded, at all times native to your royal generosity to pardon. In addition to the considerations which your Majesty's petitioners have already ventured to suggest, they would humbly crave leave to add, that they are anxious that a new administration, pledged, under your Majesty's royal sanction, to redress of grievances, should not commence their rule, with evil auspices, by measures of severity; that whilst conspirators are expected to be spared, even by the violence of revolution, in a neighbouring land, the leniency may still more consistently be extended to the less deeply guilty of our own; and, finally, that your humble petitioners feel they do but echo the feelings of your own royal bosom, in wishing that the sword of your Majesty may never be reddened by one single drop of your people's blood, shed under any form of modification of civil contest. And now that your Majesty, and your royal consort, may long enjoy the happiness of that reflection, along with the devoted and cordial affection of your Majesty's most loyal, though deeply burdened people, your Majesty's most dutiful petitioners, as they are in duty bound, will ever pray, &c.

This is the first step. The next is to repeal the new game laws awarding transportation for night poaching, and also the new trespass law, and, above all things, repeal Sir James Broune's two County Acts. My real opinion is, that these measures, which may be adopted in twice 24 hours, would, and especially if done at the recommendation of the King, do more to quiet the country people than a special commission permanently sitting in every county in the kingdom. There are other measures,

to be sure; but these would produce quiet at once; and that would give time for other measures.

IRELAND.

MR. O'CONNELL, having returned to Ireland, has, very laudably, recommenced his endeavours to unite the people in their legal efforts to obtain a repeal of the Union, a measure which have always maintained would be for the peace and happiness of both countries; and this I am able to prove at any time in consequence of Mr. O'CONNELL's efforts, however, a proclamation, under the new law, has been issued; and Mr. O'Connell has answered it by a published letter. I take the two documents from the *Morning Chronicle*. They will speak for themselves.

By the Lord Lieutenant General and General Governor of Ireland.

A PROCLAMATION.

“ANGLESEA.

“Whereas, by an Act passed in the tenth year of his late Majesty's reign, intituled, ‘An Act for the suppression of dangerous associations or assemblies in Ireland,’ a power is vested in the Lord Lieutenant, or other Chief Governor or Governors of Ireland, by his or their Proclamation or order, to prohibit the meeting of any assembly or body of persons in Ireland, which he or they shall deem to be dangerous to the public peace or safety:

“And whereas it hath been made known to us that a meeting of an assembly or body of persons, under the name of ‘the Tradesmen of Dublin,’ is about to take place on Monday next, the 27th instant, at the hour of eleven o'clock, at Phibsborough, in the county of Dublin, and when there marshalled, to proceed in regular array, and in numbers, through the streets of the city of Dublin:

“And whereas we have received information upon oath, that the said meeting is calculated to lead to a disturbance of the public peace, and hath excited serious apprehensions thereof in the minds of his Majesty's peaceable subjects.

“And whereas we have also received information upon oath, that language of a highly inflammatory nature has been used by some of the persons who have signified their intention of attending the said meeting:

“We, therefore, the Lord Lieutenant General and General Governor of Ireland, deeming the said meeting to be

and being resolved to prohibit the same, do hereby accordingly prohibit the said meeting; and being determined and resolved strictly to enforce the law and the penalties thereof against all persons offending in the premises, do charge and command all Mayors, Sheriffs, Justices of the Peace, and all other Magistrates, Officers, and others whom it may concern, to be aiding and assisting in the execution of the law, in preventing the meeting of the said assembly or body of persons, and in the effectual dispersion and suppression of the same, and in the detection and prosecution of those who, after this notice, shall offend in the respects aforesaid.

“Given at his Majesty's Castle of Dublin, this 25th day of December, 1830.

By his Excellency's command,
W. GREGORY.
God save the King.

TO THE TRADES OF DUBLIN.

Merrion-st., Monday morning, Dec. 27, 1830.

“FELLOW CITIZENS—MY FRIENDS!—He who thinks he is, and calls himself, but alas! is not, the friend of Ireland, has availed himself of the most despotic statute that was ever passed by a ruling State, to extinguish to the very ashes the spark of liberty in a subject realm. Lord with the aid of Mr. William has declared that it would be to the public peace to allow Orangemen and the Catholics to the hitherto adverse colours—to cheer for the memory of King William the Third, and for the Throne of King William the Fourth—to bury, at length, in eternal oblivion, past feuds, and to cement, in adamant, recent, but I trust perpetual friendship—to combine Irish-

men together in the service of their country by the bonds of social charity, and in the presence of their common God.

"Such is the sagacious discovery which the advisers of Lord Anglesea have made, and which he and William Gregory have celebrated by their joint and several proclamation.

"Whilst you were at variance the public peace was secure! Whilst you allowed yourselves to be distracted by dissensions and criminal hatred to each other, there was, forsooth, no danger to the state! The moment you agree to join hand and heart in mutual affection, the exhibition of your combined but peaceable strength is, in sad truth, dangerous to the national peace!!!

"This, alas! is sad mockery. If you had met in countless myriads to pay sycophantic adulation to the mighty and the great of the land, you might assemble in full quietude. When you meet in a peaceable, orderly, and harmless way, to express your sense of the propriety of the repeal of the Union, by paying a compliment to an humble, powerless individual—that moment the Algerine Act is put in force, and you are proclaimed, as if it were a matter of course to use the despotic powers of an Act of Parliament.

"Fellow-countrymen—You will, I am sure, obey this Proclamation; let your obedience be prompt and entire. Give this day entirely and without reserve to the Proclamation; prove how utterly groundless were the timid fears which dictated that Proclamation, by the simple fact, that even the issuing of so insulting a document excites only your tranquil pity and contempt, without provoking you into any tendency to a breach of the peace, riot, or disturbance.

"If I thought it were possible that any one man who seeks honestly for the repeal of the Union could be betrayed into any violation of the law in looking for that measure, I declare solemnly that the moment my apprehensions were realised I would at once abandon the pursuit of that repeal.

"The Union must be repealed if the

people will follow a legal and constitutional course. The only thing that could give the Union continuance would be turbulence, riot, or other violation of the law. It is so clear to every human being that the repeal must be useful to Ireland—it is so manifest, that without a domestic Legislature absenteeism cannot be terminated or native industry fostered—it is so perfectly capable of demonstration that Ireland would receive, instead of paying away, from seven to eight millions sterling every year, if the Union were repealed; all this is so apparent, that every man in Ireland would declare for the repeal of the Union if some were not frightened for the safety of their persons and property, and if others were not terrified by the bugbear fears of revolutionary violence. We have only to show by our peaceable, orderly, and loyal conduct, that we scorn turbulence and detest disaffection, and then indeed the cry for the repeal will become nearly unanimous and altogether irresistible.

"I am quite convinced my advice will be taken—that there will not be any meeting or procession this day, but that the Proclamation, however unjustifiable and ridiculous, will be obeyed, simply because it is law.

"I will not for the present deplore the miserable state of our wretched country, which is liable to be trampled on by every stranger invested with a little brief authority. This state of things cannot last much longer. While the law sanctions it we will obey—but we treasure up in our secret hearts the burning shame and bitter sorrow that Ireland should be the only country on the face of earth having even a shadowy semblance of free institutions, where such fantastic tricks can be played with impunity by persons in authority.

"Let us obey the law, but let us not forget that we owe this further infringement on our liberty to a Whig Administration! Bless the mark! When the Whigs are out of office, they are the most liberal and enlightened of the friends of human freedom; the moment they get into office, that instant they become the readiest champions of de-

spotic authority. It has been often and most truly said of the Whigs, that when in office they always disappoint their friends, delight their enemies, and disgrace themselves. Mark the career of the present Whig Administration.

“They were scarcely an hour in office when they filled the minds of men of all parties in Ireland with ineffable disgust by their fatuitous appointments in the law department. That is their first step. What is their second? Why, this despotic Proclamation.

“What will be their third? I will not venture to conjecture; but should it be any attempt to control public discussion, or to crush the public press—should any such step be in contemplation, and one phrase in the silly Proclamation makes me fear that it may—why, then, the Whigs will have fulfilled their old character; they will once again, and I trust for the last time, disappoint their friends, delight their enemies, and disgrace themselves.

“There is, however, one consolation. They cannot take such steps as these without sending over another Lord-Lieutenant. After the letter of Lord Anglesea to Mr. Kertland, he cannot be a party to any measure which would stain his fair fame with the taint of falsehood. Oh! that at least is utterly impossible; and serving under a Whig Administration (for Lord Anglesea is not himself a Whig) can never so blight the high honour of Lord Anglesea as to expose him to the reproach of saying one thing when out of office, and directly the reverse when in power. That is, of all impossible things, the most impossible.

“To return to the address. The plan for its presentation, suggested by many of the operatives, and finally adopted, and not to be varied from, is this:—The trades have already chosen three persons as leading persons, who, with the mover and seconder of the address, will assemble at Swan’s rooms, Bachelor’s-walk, on Tuesday, at one o’clock, to proceed from thence to Merrion-square, to my residence.

“The entire party will consist of less than one thousand and sixty persons.

They will wear scarfs of orange and green. They will go round the statue of King William, and, in token of amity and kindness, they will all, Catholics as well as Protestants, give three cheers there. After the address is presented, and my answer read, they will take off their scarfs and separate.

“The rest of the tradesmen are to remain at their usual work, or at home, on Tuesday. It is my earnest advice to them to do so, and I am proud to say that my countrymen have the condescension often to obey my advice as if it were a command. Let, therefore, all the other tradesmen stay at their work on Tuesday, or remain at home. If more than the stipulated number attend, or if any unusual crowd takes place, the deputies will take off their scarfs and instantly disperse. I do earnestly entreat all the tradesmen of the city to allow the address to be presented in the manner thus specified. Any person refusing to comply with this entreaty would probably be an enemy in disguise.

“Let us be in no hurry. Events in England and on the Continent of Europe are working for us. Every succeeding day weakens the supporters of despotism in every elime and country. Every succeeding day strengthens the friends of cheap governments and of free institutions. Patience, my dear fellow-citizens, a little more of patience, and Ireland will achieve one more bloodless and stainless change. Since I was born she has achieved two such glorious political Revolutions. The first was in 1782, when she conquered legislative independence; the second was in 1829, when she won for her victory freedom of conscience; the third and best remains behind—the restoration of a domestic and reformed legislature, by the Repeal of the Union.

“This we will also achieve, if we persevere in a legal, constitutional, and peaceable course. The only thing that can preserve the connexion between both countries—a connexion essentially necessary for both—is the Repeal of the Union. Let my advice but be followed, and I will venture to assert that the

Union cannot last two years longer; but, remember, it can be repealed only by the ways of peaceful, legal, and constitutional exertion.

"I have the honour to be, fellow-citizens and dear friends, your ever faithful servant,

"DANIEL O'CONNELL."

FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

FRANCE.

I HAVE NO room for the insertion of my son's letters, or for the stating of the particulars; and must, therefore, content myself with stating the substance of the most important parts of the recent information, which is as follows:—1. That the murdering ministers of Charles X. have been sentenced to *perpetual imprisonment*, instead of being *put to death*, as they ought to have been. 2. That this caused great public discontent. 3. That, however, by great exertions, the town was kept quiet for the time, but that the transaction excited great suspicions of the good intentions of the government. 4. That, after this matter was over, the *Chamber of Deputies* voted *their thanks* to the students at Paris; but that those brave and sensible young men refused to accept of the thanks, BECAUSE THE CHAMBER DID NOT REPRESENT THE PEOPLE OF FRANCE. 5. That the Chamber, which is, in fact, like another body that I could name, the representative of none but the rich, have so acted as to induce LAFAYETTE to give up the command of the *National Guard*. 6. That the National Guard demand a *new law of election*, to enable the *poor man* to vote as well as the *rich man*. 7. That they, and, indeed, the people in general, demand THE ABOLITION OF ALL HEREDITARY TITLES AND PRIVILEGES. 8. The forming of a real *Republican* government, with a CONGRESS, like that of America, is now talked of, and in all probability will soon be demanded by the people, who say that they *want*, and that they are resolved to *have a cheap government*. This is the state of things

in France. A *cheap* government; that is to say, *little taxes*. And that is precisely what we want. The *form*, or the *name*, of the government signifies not a straw: it is a *cheap* government that is wanted; and the French seem resolved to have this in some way or other. Curious it is with what anxiety we look at the *people* of France, and *they at us*. The *two peoples* are wishing success to each other; and the *two governments* are doing the same, each wishing to give way to the people *as little as possible*. Very foolish! Very weak! The wise course for each is to give way at once, and to the full extent, and thereby leave nothing to be taken from them by force, and no ground for ill-blood and for future jealousies. The progress of affairs in France is a *matter of deep interest to us*. The French have got rid of the *tithes* completely; and they will now, I dare say, establish a really *cheap government*, under some name or other.

TITHES AND OTHER CHURCH PROPERTY.

THE Letter to the LABOURERS OF ENGLAND, which is in another part of this Register, will form the matter for the 7th NUMBER of the TWO-PENNY TRASH, which Number is published *this day* (1st January, 1831), price 2d, with the usual allowance to booksellers, and sold at my shop for *ready money*, at 11s a hundred to those who take *three hundred* or more at once. This is hardly paying for the paper and print; but, as they are intended for the *working people*, and as the *parsons* want to enlighten the people, here is the *light* for them. Every landlord, farmer, and shopkeeper, must see how useful this little publication must be, how directly it tends to make the people *abstain from all violence*, by pointing out to them a *legal and just means of relief*; every man of sense must see this; and here he sees that 11s. will enable him to quiet and enlighten a whole district.

No. 4. HISTORY OF GEO. IV.

This Number ought to have been published to-day; but I have determined upon an arrangement that will

bring this work into the Register, as it goes on, as well as the TRASH. These monthly numbers cannot go through the post-office for want of the stamp. They, therefore, *move slowly*; and I want them to go over the country as fast as horses' legs can carry them. I want them to fly to Paris and to New York, as well as to Edinburgh and Dublin; and I cannot make them do this, unless I put them into the Register. I shall, therefore, still publish them in Numbers, to go into a book; but I shall publish them in the Register at the same time; so that the readers of the Register will have them, as well as the matter of the Register, which, for that purpose, I must raise to 1s. 2d., making the price and the deduction to newsmen twice as much as to a rascally and stupid broad sheet. The Trash will be published in the Register on the FIRST of every month, and a Number of the History on the FIFTEENTH of every month, and thus they will all three fly on the wings of the post-office, and produce, at once, their intended, or, at least, their natural impression. I shall be told, that this is putting the Register still further out of the reach of the poor. It has been out of their reach ever since 1817; and what beasts must those be, who ascribe the discontents of the Labourers, to whom Bennett and his comrades allowed a gallon loaf a week and less than a half-penny a day for all their pay, to this publication! The readers of the Register will now have to pay the newsmen 8s. 4d. a year in addition, but, for this they will have (and postage free too) 12 numbers of the History of George IV., and 12 numbers of the Trash. This is my arrangement, and according to this arrangement I shall publish next week. The number 4 of the History will appear in the Register of the 16th instant, and it will relate to the treaty by which Peace was kept out the Whites in 1811. It is at this very moment that the transactions of the Regency and reign of George IV., ought to be brought under the eye of the public.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 24, 1830.

INSOLVENT.

DEC. 24.—RICHARDSON, H., Taunton, Somerset, draper.

BANKRUPTS.

BARBER, B., Chorley, Cheshire, victualler; ILES, F., King-street, Soho, draper. LAMB, G. P., Skinner-street, Somers'-Town, cheesemonger. LYON, A., and N. J. Calisher, Birmingham, and George-street, Jewry-street. MIDDLETON, J. and H., Seven Oaks, Kent, upholsters. MINSHALL, J., Stockport, Cheshire, victualler. NAISH, F., Shepton-Mallet, Somerset, clothier. SOUTHGATE, S., Gate-street, Lincoln's-inn-fields, builder. STEPHENSON, D., jun., Mitchell-Laiths, Yorkshire, dealer. WHITFIELD, R., Acre-lane, Brixton, American merchant. WILMSHURST, T., Oxford-street, artist. WRIGHT, W., Great Suffolk-street, Blackman-street, Southwark, bookseller.

TOESDAY, DECEMBER 28, 1830.

BALDWIN, E., Manningham, Yorkshire, worsted-spinner. CUMING, G., Bedford-place, Commercial-road, timber-merchant. GEAR, S., Nottingham, fishmonger. GRANT, E., jun., Oxford, corn-factor. HALES, W., Wem, Shropshire, cabinet-maker. HARDWICK, J., Cheltenham, carpenter. IRONSIDE, A., Louth, Lincolnshire, nurseryman. ISAAC, Francis, and George Patrick, Brampton-en-le-Morthem, Yorkshire, maltsters. OAKDEN, J., Rodsley, Derbyshire, flax-manufacturer. RICHARDSON, H., Taunton, Somersetshire, haberdasher. ROBERTS, M., Little East-cheap, grocer. ROYSTON, J., Manchester, innkeeper.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN EXCHANGE, DEC. 27.—The price of Wheat is fully as dear as on Monday last, and in some instances ready purchasers have given higher prices, but in consequence of the navigation having been stopped, the business doing is of very little moment. In Barley there is no alteration from the prices of this day week, and the Oat trade is also as on that day. Beans, Peas, and other articles of Grain, are also as before.

Wheat	64s. to 74s.
Rye	30s. to 34s.
Barley	33s. to 38s.
— fine	40s. to 41s.
Peas, White	40s. to 42s.
— Boilers	43s. to 45s.
— Grey	36s. to 40s.

Beans, Small 42s. to 44s.
 ——— Tick 36s. to 38s.
 Oats, Potatoe 28s. to 30s.
 ——— Poland 24s. to 27s.
 Flour, per sack 55s. to 60s.

HOP INTELLIGENCE.

Borough, Monday.—There is a good inquiry for fine old Hops, and the demand for new coloured Pockets has been very great.

The following are this day's quotations:—Kent Pockets 8*l.* 8s. to 9*l.* 10s. Sussex ditto, 7*l.* 15s. to 8*l.* 8s.

• The other prices remain the same as last market day.

SMITHFIELD—Dec. 27.

The best Scots fetch 4s. to 4s. 2*d.* per stone, and good other qualities are 3s. 6*d.* to 4s. Mutton, for the finest Downs, sells at 4s. 2*d.* to 4s. 6*d.* per stone; Veal, for prime young Calves is 5s. to 5s. 4*d.* per stone; and Dairy-fed Porkers are 4s. 8*d.* to 4s. 10*d.* per stone. Beasts, 1,790; Calves, 170; Sheep, 15,220; Pigs, 120.

THURSDAY, DEC. 30.—In this day's market, which exhibited but a moderate supply, the trade was throughout very dull. With Beef in most instances; Veal generally, at a depression of from 2*d.* to 4*d.* per stone; with Mutton and Pork at barely Monday's quotations.—Milk Cows, though not very numerous, were dull of sale at declining prices: A useful short-horns, with her small calf, being worth nothing beyond 18*l.*—Prime Beef, from 3s. to 3s. 10*d.*; middling Beef, 2s. 6*d.* to 2s. 10*d.*; inferior Beef, 2s. 2*d.* to 2s. 4*d.*; prime Mutton, 3s. 8*d.* to 4s. 6*d.*; middling Mutton, 2s. 8*d.* to 3s. 2*d.*; inferior Mutton, 2s. 2*d.* to 2s. 4*d.*; Veal, 3s. to 4s. 10*d.*; Pork, 3s. 2*d.* to 4s. 6*d.*—per stone of 8*l*bs., to sink the offal.—Suckling Calves, from 12s. to 36s.; and quarter-old store Pigs, 12s. to 18s. each. Supply, as per Clerk's statement: Beasts, 482; Sheep, 3,430; Calves, 190; Pigs, 110.

PROVISIONS.

In every article the trade continues extremely dull.

Bacon, Middles, old... 34s. to 36s. per cwt.
 ——— new, 45s. to —s.
 ——— Sides, old... 35s. to 36s.
 ——— new, 45s. to —s.
 Beef, India, new... 115s. to —s. —d. per tr.
 ——— Mess, new ... 60s. to —s. per barrel.
 Pork, India, new... 117s. 6*d.*
 ——— Mess, new... 58s. to 60s. per barrel.
 ——— old... 55s. to 57s. 6*d.*
 ——— India, old... 110s. per tierce.
 Butter, Belfast... 100s. to —s. per cwt.
 ——— Carlow 98s. to 102s.
 ——— Cork..... 100s. to —s.
 ——— Limerick... 100s. to —s.
 ——— Waterford... 98s. to —s.
 ——— Dublin ... 98s.
 ——— Dutch... 106s. to 102s.
 Cheese, Cheshire, new 48s. to 74s.
 ——— old 56s. to 84s.
 ——— Gloucester, Double. 48s. to 56s.

Cheese, Gloucester, Single... 40s. to 50s.,
 ——— Edam 42s. to 44s.
 ——— Gouda..... 42s. to 44s.
 Hams, Irish..... 61s. to —s.
 Lard..... 70s. to —s.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, Dec. 24.

The arrivals are small and the prices full as high as on Monday.

English arrivals.		Foreign.	Irish.
Flour	7,600		
Wheat	2,250	1,150	
Barley	9,350	1,450	150
Oats	7,500	350	1,900

THE FUNDS.

	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thurs.
3 per Cent. } 82½	82½	82½	82½	82½	82½	82½
Cons. Ann. }						

Just published, No. I. of

THE USEFUL FAMILY LIBRARY, which contains the RIGHTS of MAN, complete; with highly-finished Likenesses of Paine and Lafayette. It is got up to correspond, in every respect, with the Family Library. Small 8vo. price 5s.

“The present crisis requires every one to read so valuable a work as ‘The Rights of Man.’”—*Times.*

John Brooks, 421, Oxford-street.

A MIRROR FOR THE BOROUGH-MONGERS!

THE PEOPLE'S BOOK.—The eighth Number of this Work, published this day (price 2*d.*), contains the commencement of “An Analysis of the present House of Commons,” exhibiting the names, residences, public characters, official emoluments, pensions, sinecures, &c. of the sitting Members; and an historical account of the places for which they sit, the nominal and actual number of voters, the direct and indirect influence of the aristocracy exercised in the returns, &c., &c., &c. The whole forming a complete development of the actual and flagrantly corrupt state of the representation in that which should be the People's House of Parliament. By WILLIAM CARPENTER.

Published by W. STRANGE, 21, Paternoster-row, and sold by most Booksellers. Just published, price 3s. 6*d.* bound in cloth,

LESSONS ON ARITHMETIC, in Principle and in Practice, for the Instruction of Youth of both Sexes; and more especially for that of young Merchants, Tradesmen, Seamen, Mechanics, and Farmers. By THOMAS SMITH. London: Sherwood, Gilbert, and Co.; and Longman, Rees, and Co.

THE “AMERICAN STOVES” from Mr. CORBETT'S Model are now ready packed in Baskets, so that no delay in the execution of orders will take place: also, the “LONGITUDINAL CORN-SHELLER” from Mr. CORBETT'S Model, price 3*l.* 10s.

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THE HISTORY OF THE PROTESTANT

"REFORMATION," showing how that event has impoverished and degraded the main body of the people in those countries in a series of letters, addressed to all countries and great Emperors. This is the title of the Work, which consists of Two Volumes; the first containing the Series of Letters above described, and the second containing a List of Abbeys, Priors, Nunneries, and other Religious and charitable Endowments, that were seized on and granted away by the Reformers to one another, and to their minions. The List is arranged according to the Counties, alphabetically; and each piece of property is fully stated, with its then, as well as its actual value; by whom founded and when; by whom granted away, and to whom.—Of this Work there are two Editions, one in Duodecimo, price 4s. 6d. for the first Volume, and 3s. 6d. for the second; and another in Royal Octavo, on handsome paper, with marginal Notes, and a full Index. This latter Edition was printed for Librarians; and there was consequently but a limited number of Copies struck off: the Price 17 1/2s. 6d. in Extra Boards.

A FRENCH GRAMMAR; or, Plain Instructions for the Learning of French. The notoriously great sale of this Book is no bad criterion of its worth. The reason of its popularity is its plainness, its simplicity. I have made it as plain as I possibly could. I have encountered and overcome the difficulty of giving clear definitions; I proceeded in such a way as to make the task of learning as little difficult as possible. The price of this book is 5s. in boards.

ROMAN HISTORY. Of this Work, which is in French and English, and is intended only as a History for Young People, I have written a Book of Exercises to accompany my French Grammar; I am only the translator; but I venture to assert that the French is as pure as any now extant. In Two Volumes. Price 13s. in Boards.

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COTTAGE ECONOMY. I wrote this Work professedly for the use of the Labouring and Middling Classe, of the English Nation; and I knew that the lively and pleasing manner of the writing would cause it to have many readers, and that thus its substance would get hauded to those who could not read. I made myself acquainted with the best and simplest mode of making *Beer* and *Bread*, and these I made it as plain as, I believe, words could make it. It was necessary, further, to treat of the keeping of *Cows*, *Pigs*, *Bees*, and *Poultry*, matters which I understood as well as any body could; and in all their details; and I think it impossible for any one to read the Book without learning something of utility in the management of a Family. It includes my Writings also on the *Straw Plant*. A Duodecimo Volume. Price 2s. 6d.

THE ECONOMY IN AMERICA. This Work, and the English Grammar, were the produce of Long Island, and they are particularly dear to me on that account. I wrote this book after I had been there a year, during which I kept an exact journal of the weather. I wrote it with a view of giving true information to all those who wished to be informed respecting that interesting country. I have given an account of its Agriculture, of the face of the Country, of the State of Society, the Manners of the People, and the Laws and Customs. The paper is fine on which this Book is printed, the print good, and the price moderate, viz. 5s.

THE ENGLISH GRAMMAR; a New Edition. Of this Work, from first to last, Sixty Thousand Copies have been sold; and I verily believe that it has done more to produce real education, as far as correct writing and speaking go, than any book that ever was published. I have received from the year 1820, to the present time, continual thanks, by word of mouth and by letter, from young men, and even from old men, for this work, who have said, that, though many of them had been at the University, they never rightly understood Grammar till they studied this work. I have often given the Reviewers a lash for suffering this Work to pass them unreviewed; but I have recently discovered that the newly-published EDINBURGH ENCYCLOPEDIA says of it, that, "for all common purposes, it is the best Treatise we possess; and that it is entitled to supercede all the popular, and many of the scientific, productions on the subject of our language." The price of this book is 3s. in boards.

Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's-court, and published by him, at 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

Vol. 71.—No. 2]

LONDON, SATURDAY, JANUARY 8TH, 1831.

[Price 1s. 2d.

1. "I said, I will take heed to my ways, that I sin not with my tongue; I will keep my mouth with a bridle.
2. "I was dumb with silence: I held my peace, even from good; and my sorrow was stirred.
3. "My heart was hot within me; while I was musing the fire burned."

PSALM XXXIX.



TO MY READERS,

On the new Plan for publishing the REGISTER, and on the reasons for raising the Price to 1s. 2d.

Bolt-Court, Jan. 4, 1831.

MY FRIENDS,

IT is now *twenty-nine* years since I began the publication of this work, and, with the exception of the *ten weeks* that were required to take me to Long Island, in 1817, and to bring back the first REGISTER from LONG ISLAND, a REGISTER has been published by me every week for those *twenty-nine years*; during one year, when I was in prison, *two a week*; and, in the whole, *one thousand five hundred and forty-eight* REGISTERS; equal, even in quantity of print, to that number of *half-crown pamphlets*; and, during the time, though *two years in prison*, and nearly *three on the seas and in exile*, I have written and published other works consisting of 17 volumes, besides the carrying on of farming, gardening, tree-planting, and the rearing of trees for fruit as well as timber; and, during the same time, have had born to me a numerous family, *seven of whom are still alive*, four sons and three daughters, three of the sons having also each written and published books, and ably and learnedly written too. Of my books I shall say more hereafter. I shall first speak of my *intentions for the future*.

It was my intention to *close* the Register at the end of *thirty years*. I have expressed this intention many times. Then I intended to publish, as the work of *another year*, THE HISTORY OF MY LIFE; and then I

intended to go into Hampshire, there to cultivate a garden and a few fields to the end of my life, the close of which I hoped to pass amongst that class of society that I have always most loved and cherished, the people employed in the cultivation of the land. I have it rooted in me, that *happiness and riches* are seldom companions; I have seen too much of the misery and opprobrium attending the living upon the public money not to have long ago resolved never to pocket a single farthing of it; and as to what are called *honours*, they have always been with me objects of contempt. To *refuse to fill an office and exercise power*, if you be convinced that your doing it is for the *good of your country*, is to refuse to do *your duty*. I have, therefore, always been *ready*, and even anxious, to have power of this sort; and *I am so still*; but my taste lies the other way; and, if I have a wish more ardent than all others, it is this; that I, enjoying my garden and few fields, may see England as great in the world, and her industrious, laborious, kind and virtuous people as happy *as they were when I was born*; and that I may at last have a few *days of calm* at the close of this long life of storms and of tempests.

The intentions, expressed above, are changed only in two particulars; namely, that, instead of closing the Register at the end of THIS YEAR, to close it at the end of NEXT YEAR, and, instead of publishing the *history of my life*, after the Register is closed, to publish it in numbers, and, as I propose, *publish those numbers in the Register itself*; so that this work, which has produced so much effect in the world, which has recorded and treated of so many important events, may close with sending over the world the history of the man from whom a work has proceeded, in which histor

the young men of our day will learn the means which enable men to make great and wonderful exertions. In the meanwhile, and until I begin publishing the history of my life, I shall publish in the *Register*, as fast as they are prepared, all the numbers successively of the *History of the Reign and Regency of George IV.* Every month, also, I publish in the *Register*, the "DEAR LITTLE TWO-PENNY TRASH." I shall publish both in the *book form besides*; but, I want them both to *fly over the world at once*, and produce their effect as *speedily as possible*. Thus will this *Register* contain *all*; yea, all that any man can want to know, relative to public affairs for the *thirty-one years*, beginning with January 1802, and ending with December, 1832. These two last *four volumes* (very thick) will contain a retrospect, and a *résumé* of the whole period; and will contain the *History of the Regency and Reign of George IV.*, all the *Monthly Two-penny Trashes* for the two years, and the *History of the life of the author*, besides the usual matter for the *Register*.

As to the *price*, it is absolutely necessary, in order to prevent me from *throwing away* two years of such enormous labour, which even I have not resolved upon until after long consideration. Here are sixty-four columns of print, containing more than a hundred and fifty pages of common print, and here is the *stamp* to clear the postage. I insert the *first Number of the History of George the Fourth in the present Register*, and I shall proceed with *one Number every week until that work be completed*, except the *Trash-Week*, which will come *once a month*; and, when George the Fourth is completed, I shall begin with *my own life* and go on with it in the same manner, until that be completed also. Such a thing, such labour, never was encountered before by any man; and I desire that it should be hereafter said of me, that the most laborious man that ever lived, was

WM. COBBETT.

N. B. The *History*, of which the following is the *first number*, is also published in *Numbers*, in the *book form*, price 6d. each Number.

No. I.

HISTORY

OF THE

REGENCY AND REIGN OF GEO. IV.

BY WILLIAM COBBETT.

INTRODUCTION.

Sketch of the History of England, from the Protestant Reformation to the Regency of Geo. IV.

1. THAT change in the religion of England, which took place in the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Elizabeth, and which is generally called the REFORMATION, has produced, in process of time, a still greater, and a most fatal, change in the nature of the English Government. Before that event, full one-third part, and indeed more, of the real property of the country belonged to the church; that is to say, it was held *in trust* by the clergy of different denominations, as bishops, priests, monks, nuns, &c., for the maintenance of religion, and for the relief of the poor and the stranger. These trustees were, therefore, in fact, the lords, or owners of something approaching to one-half of the whole of the houses and lands of England.

2. From the very nature of the Catholic institutions this state of things gave the common people great advantages, and in various ways, especially as it prevented them from being *borne down by the aristocracy*. Where there is an aristocracy who are hereditary lawgivers, and are sustained by a law of primogeniture, the commons, if left without some power to protect them against such an aristocracy, must, in the nature of things, be, whatever they may call themselves, the slaves of that aristocracy. This protection, the commons, or people, of England found in the Catholic church, which not only had an interest always opposed to the encroachments of the aristocracy, but which was, from the very nature of its institutions, the cause of a distribution of property favourable to the commons. In the first place it took a tenth part of the whole of the produce of the earth, and out of it relieved the wants of the poor, the aged, the widow, and the orphan: next, the celibacy of the clergy, that is of the great mass of landowners, necessarily took from them all motive for accumulating wealth, and caused them to distribute it, in some way or other, amongst the commons: next, the monastics, whose estates were immense, could possess no private property, and were, of course, easy landlords, let their lands at low rents, and on leases for lives, so that the renters were, in fact, pretty nearly the *proprietors*: one and the same family of farmers held the same farm for ages; and hence arose the term YEOMAN, which is re-

tained in our law-writs, but which has now no application. The nobility were compelled to follow, in this respect, the example of the church; and thus the commons were the *joint-proprietors*, in fact, of the whole country; they acknowledged the owner as *lord of the soil*; but they held the estates for lives; they had rents or fines to pay, at stated times; but with this reservation, the estates were theirs: they could not, like rack-renters, be turned out at the pleasure of the owner; and, of course, they were independent, free, and bold: just the reverse of the rack-renters of the present day. Another great cause of public happiness, arising out of this distribution of property, was, that those great landlords, the clergy, always, from the very nature of the institutions, resided in the midst of their estates, and, of course, expended their revenues there, returning to those who laboured the fair share of the fruits of their labour; and, though the aristocracy had no such positive ties with regard to residence, example must have had, in this respect also, great effect upon them.

3. The Reformation broke up this state of society in England; and it has, at last, produced that state which we now behold; a state of rack-renters, of paupers, and of an aristocracy making the laws and burdening the commons, or people, at their pleasure. The Reformation took from the church, that is, in fact, from the people at large, of whom the clergy were the trustees, all their share of the property of the country. If the makers of this Reformation had *divided this property amongst the people*; if they had sold it and applied the proceeds to the use of the nation at large, as was done by the makers of the *French Revolution of 1789*, there would have been no real injury done to the commons; but this is what the makers of the Reformation did not do; they did precisely the contrary; and this too from a very obvious cause. The French Revolution was made *by the people*; the English Reformation was made *by the aristocracy*, against the wishes of the people. The French revolutionists divided the property amongst the people; the English aristocracy took the property to themselves.

4. But this was not all that they did against the people. Having become the lords of the immense estates of the church, they, as was natural, began to put an end to that *joint-proprietorship* which had before existed, and, the lives dying off, they assumed the absolute possession; the race of *gentlemen* was, little by little, swept away, and the occupants became rack-renters, wholly dependent on the will of the aristocracy. From even the parochial clergy the aristocracy had taken a great part of their revenue, while, at the same time, they allowed them to marry; and thus were the poor left without relief, and the churches without revenues to keep them in repair. Yet it was absolutely necessary that provision should be made for these objects; for, in the reign of Elizabeth, so great and so general was become

the misery of the people, and so manifestly was open rebellion approaching, that it was, after numerous efforts to avoid it, finally resolved on to make *by law* an effectual and permanent provision for the poor, and for the repair of the churches. And how did *reason and justice* say that this ought to be done? By a tax, certainly, exclusively on the property taken from the church and given to the aristocracy. This is what ought to have been done; and even this would have been but a poor compensation for all that the commons had lost; but instead of this a law was made *to tax all the people* for the relief of the poor and for the repairing of the churches; and this tax, for England alone, now amounts to the enormous sum of seven millions and a half of pounds sterling in a year.

5. The Stuarts, who came to the throne immediately after the making of this law, besides being a feeble race of men, had not the protection which Elizabeth had found in the dread which the people had of seeing the crown on the head of a Freuchman. The Stuarts, neither loved nor respected, had not the power to withstand the effects of the old grudge against the aristocracy, combined, as it now was, with the most furious fanaticism, hardly got quietly along through the reign of James I.; and, in that of Charles I., had to undergo all the sufferings of a revolution. The Republicans, amidst all their fury against the remains of the Catholic church, did not forget its estates; and, in spite of the arguments of the *Royalists*, proceeded very coolly, and, as all the world must say, very justly, to take *the estates back again for public use*.

6. The restoration of the Stuarts, which, like that of Louis XVIII., was produced partly by the tyranny of the men at the head of affairs, and partly by treachery, restored these immense estates to the aristocracy; but did not restore to the Crown the estate which the Republicans had taken from it; so that, while the aristocracy retained all their enormous increase of wealth and power, the king, like the poor, became a charge on the public revenue; and thus were king as well as people placed at the mercy of the aristocracy; a state in which they have remained from that day to this.

Next came the "Glorious Revolution of 1688"; and here the reader must have his senses at command to enable him to see the delusion of *names* at defiance. This revolution was made *by the aristocracy*, and for their *sole benefit*; and, like the Reformation, *against the wish of the people*. It was forced upon the nation *by an army brought from abroad*; it was made by laws passed by those who had not been chosen by the people to make laws; and that the revolution was for the benefit of the aristocracy, what need we of more proof than is contained in the following facts, well known to all the world; that James II., who was a Catholic himself, wished to place Catholics upon a level with Protestants as to all civil

rights; that the nation was then but at only about fifty years from the death of many who had witnessed the transfer of the church-estates to the aristocracy, only at about forty years from the time when those estates had been taken from the aristocracy by the republicans, and applied to public uses, and only at about *thirty years* from the time when the estates had been given back to the aristocracy again; that it was evident, that if the king could be a Catholic himself, and were permitted to place Catholics upon a level with Protestants, all men would say, that the Reformation was *unnecessary*, and that the estates had been taken from the Catholic church *unjustly*, from which conclusion there could be but one step to the *resumption of those estates by the nation*.

8. To these facts add the following; that the Prince of Orange was not invited to England by any meeting or assemblage of the people, nor by any person or body of persons chosen by the people for that purpose, or for the making of laws; that he was invited to England by the aristocracy, and through agents sent to Holland by them; that the Dutch army, brought over by William, marched to London with him and displaced the English soldiers stationed there; that the general commanding the English army went over to William; and that laws were immediately passed for *disarming suspected persons*, and for enabling the new government to *put into prison whomsoever it suspected of designs hostile to it*. Add these facts to the former, and then nothing further need be said with regard to the actors in, or the motives to, this "*Glorious Revolution*."

9. But though by these and similar means, and by a pretty free use of the gallows and the scaffold, the aristocracy secured the estates for this time, the thing was by no means *settled* thus. A war with France became necessary "*for the preservation of the Protestant religion*"; that is to say, the quiet possession of the church-estates. To carry on this war, and to bind the mortgaged people to the new government, it was necessary to *borrow money*; and hence arose the *funds*, the *bank*, and the *national debt*. These brought *taxes*, and so heavy as to create great discontent. The people felt themselves loaded with *ten or twelve millions* a year, instead of the *million and a half* which they had had to pay in the reign of James II.; so that, soon after the accession of George I., the first king of the House of Brunswick, he had to encounter an open rebellion; and the aristocracy, though they had so pared down the independence and power and influence of the people, found it necessary to pare it down still more; and this they effected in the year 1715, by an act called the *Riot act*, and by another called the *Septennial bill*.

10. By the first of those laws all assemblages of the people out of doors were, in effect, put down. And why was this? Certainly not

because they were favourable to the government. But the *Septennial bill* can leave no doubt in the mind of any man. One of the charges against the STUARTS was, that they had not called new parliaments *frequently enough*; and that, thus, they had deprived the people of the power of changing their representatives as often as might be necessary. The right of the people was to choose a new parliament every year. But those who introduced William did not restore this right; but enacted that, in future, there should be a new parliament *every three years*. However, in 1715, they found, that the people had still too much power; and in this year they, whom the people had chosen for three years, made a law to authorise themselves to sit for *four years longer*! Aye, and that every future parliament should sit for *seven years* instead of three; though the declaration against the Stuarts stated, that "*new parliaments ought to be frequently called*," and that this was an *unalienable right* of the people of England.

11. But, audacious as this was in itself, it was less audacious than the pretexts set forth for the passing of the law. These were, that such frequent elections were attended with "*grievous expenses*"; that they caused "*violent and lasting heats and animosities*"; and that they might, at this time, favour the views of a "*restless and popish faction*" "*in causing the destruction of the peace and security of the government*." Now, if this had been a *mere faction*, why take away the rights of *all the people*, in order to counteract its restlessness? Why, in order to keep down a mere faction, subvert the fundamental laws and usages of the country, and violate, in this daring manner, the solemn compact so recently entered into between the crown and the people!

12. It was, then, under the auspices of the *Riot act* and of the *Septennial act* that the House of Brunswick began its reign in England; and, though Mr. CANNING will not, by those who knew him, be deemed much of an authority upon the subject, he did say, in the House of Commons, in 1822, that if the people of England could have had their will, the House of Brunswick would never have worn the Crown of this kingdom. The dislike of the people was not, however, to the House of Brunswick, but to the exercise of the power of the aristocracy, who, by this last-mentioned act, left hardly the semblance of power in the hands of the people. The Members of that House have, in general, conducted themselves with great moderation; but, in some the aristocracy has gone on with its encroachments, which, however, seem at last to be destined to counteract themselves.

13. The "*glorious revolution*" brought wars; first for the keeping out of James and his family, and second for the preservation of *Holland* and of *Hanover*. These brought debts; and these brought taxes. The American colonies, now the United States, all of which, observe, had been settled by the Stu-

arts, began, in 1770, to present food for taxation. The parliament (the *Septennial* parliament) passed laws to tax them. The Americans had seen how their brethren in England had, by degrees, lost their property and their liberty. They raised the standard of "NO TAXATION WITHOUT REPRESENTATION;" the septennial parliament raised the standard of "UNCONDITIONAL SUBMISSION;" the battle began; and how it ended all the world knows.

14. It was impossible for these two standards to remain raised for seven years, as they did, without attracting the attention of the world, and particularly of the intelligent and brave people of France, especially as the latter had to take a part in the conflict. The success of the Americans, in conjunction with the armies of France, beckoned to the people of France to follow the bright example. As it was absolutely impossible for Lafayette to imbibe the principles of Washington, so it was impossible that the French should not imbibe the principles of the Americans. And now it was that our aristocracy began to see the effects of their septennial system recoil upon themselves. The French people, who, as FORTESCUE clearly shows, had never derived from the Catholic church the benefits which the English had derived from it; the French people, always borne down by a great standing army, while England had none; the French people, pressed to the earth by taxes, partial as well as cruelly heavy, such as England had, at that time, never heard of; the French people, insulted in their wretchedness by a haughty, a squandering, and most profligate court, and higher clergy; this oppressed and brave people resolved, in 1789, no longer to endure the degrading curse, and, at one single effort, swept away their grinding and insolent aristocracy and clergy, and, in their rage, the throne itself; and, by that act, sent dread into the heart of every aristocrat upon the face of the earth.

15. Our septennial law-makers remained, however, spectators for about two years and a half; but, in the meanwhile, the example was working here. The Septennial bill had produced all its natural consequences, wars, debts, and taxation; and, as the cause of the evils was seen, the people had begun, even during the American war, to demand a REFORM IN THE COMMONS HOUSE OF PARLIAMENT as the only cure for existing evils, and as the only security against their recurrence for the future. When the standard of the right of representation had been raised by thirty millions of people only twenty miles from them, those of England could not be expected to be deaf to the call. They were not; and it required no long time to convince our aristocracy that one of two things must take place; namely, that the French people must be compelled to return under their ancient yoke; or that a change must take place in England, restoring to the people the right of freely choosing their representatives; the consequences of which, to this

aristocracy, were too obvious to need pointing out, even to parties not deeply interested in those consequences. The obstacles to war were very great. There was the DEBT, which, by the unsuccessful American war, had been made to amount to a sum, the annual interest of which demanded six times the amount of the taxes which had existed in the reign of James II. There were, besides, heavy burdens entailed upon the country by that war on account of half-pay and of other things. On the other hand, we had a most advantageous commercial treaty with France, which the Republicans in France were ready to continue in force. The interests of the people of England manifestly pointed to peace: their wishes, too, were in favour of peace; and this latter is proved by their conduct, and still more clearly by the PROCLAMATIONS for checking French principles; by the ARISTOCRATICAL ASSOCIATIONS formed for that purpose; and by the TERRIBLE LAWS passed for the purpose of cutting off all communication between the people of the two countries.

16. But the alternative was, *Parliamentary Reform, or put down the Republic of France*. That really was the alternative, and the only one. The former ought to have been chosen; but the latter was resolved on, and that, too, in spite of the acknowledged risk of failure; for, so much did the aristocracy dread the other alternative, that failure, when compared with that, lost all its terrors. To war then they went; in war they continued for twenty-two years, except the short respite procured by the peace of Amiens, which was, in fact, a truce rather than a peace. At the end of twenty-two years, Louis XVIII. was restored to the throne of France; but of that event, and its causes and consequences, the details will come into the history to which this sketch is an introduction.

17. During the fight every thing but the dread of the effect of the example of the French appears to have been overlooked by our aristocracy; and, of course, they thought nothing of the DEBT which they were contracting, though that was, as the sequel will show, destined to undo all that they were doing against the French, and to render that parliamentary reform, which it had been their great object to root out of the minds of the people, more necessary, and more loudly called for than ever. They had advanced only about six years in war when they found themselves compelled to resort to a *paper-money*, and to make it a *big tender*. This was a very important crisis in the affairs of the septennial parliament and of the aristocracy, and the consequences which have resulted, and will result, from it are to be ranked amongst those which decide the fate of governments. Therefore this matter calls for full explanation.

18. At the time when this war began, 1793, WILLIAM PITT, a son of the late Earl of Chatham, was the Prime Minister. He had established what he called a SINKING FUND, and had adopted other measures for reducing the

amount of the DEBT, which had now reached the fearful amount of *two hundred millions* and upwards. A new war was wholly incompatible with Pitt's schemes of reduction; and he, of course, would be, and he *really was*, opposed to the war of 1793, though he carried it on (with the exception of the truce before-mentioned) until the day of his death, which took place in 1806. And here we behold the direct, open, avowed, and all-ruling power of the aristocracy! This body had, for many years, been divided into two "parties," as they called them, bearing the two nick-names of TORIES and WHIGS, the etymology of which is of no consequence. The TORIES affected very great attachment to the *throne and the church*; the WHIGS affected perfect *loyalty*; indeed, but surprising devotion to the *rights of the people*, though it was *they* who had brought in the Dutch king and his army, and who had made the Riot Act and the Septennial Bill; so that, if they were the friends of the people, what must their enemies have been! The truth is, there was no difference, as far as regarded the people, between these two factions; their real quarrels were solely about the *division of the spoil*; for, whenever any contest arose between the *aristocracy and the people*, the two factions had always united in favour of the former; and thus it was in regard to that all-important question, the war against Republican France.

19. PITT, who was the son of a Whig-Pensioner, and had begun his career not only as a Whig, but as a Parliamentary reformer, was now at the head of the Tories; and CHARLES FOX, who had not only been bred a Tory and begun his career as a Tory, but who had, and who held to the day of his death, *two sinecure offices*, was at the head of the Whigs. These were the two men of the whole collection who could talk loudest, longest, and most fluently, and who were, therefore, picked out by their respective parties to lead in carrying those "debates," as they are called, which have been one of the great means of amusing and deluding and enslaving this nation. Every effort was made by the respective parties to exalt their champions in the public estimation: they were represented as the two most wonderful men that the world had ever seen; as orators, Pitt was compared to Cicero, and Fox to Demosthenes. Pitt, as a lawgiver, was said to be more nearly resemble the people, always credulous and vain enough as to such matters, carried away by the jugglery, ranged themselves under one or the other of these paragons and took their respective names as marks of honourable distinction; and thus, for thirty long years, were the industrious and sincere and public-spirited this country divided into *Fittites and Foxites*; thus were they for those thirty years the sport of the aristocracy who employed these political impostors, while every year of the thirty saw an addition to their burdens and a diminution of their liberties.

20. In this state stood the factions, when,

in 1793, came the question of *war* against the Republic of France. Pitt, for the reasons before stated, *was decidedly opposed to war*. The portion of the aristocracy that supported him were *for war*; but, they were for their leader too, because, if he quitted his post, Fox came in with the tribe of Whigs at his heels. Besides, a *vast majority of the people*, whether Pittites or Foxites, were against the war. So that Pitt had reason to fear that, with a war on his shoulders, he would be unable to retain his power. But the Foxite portion of the aristocracy, seeing the *common danger*, and seeing the grounds of Pitt's opposition to war, *went over and joined the Pittite party*; leaving Fox with a small party about him, to carry on that "*constitutional opposition*" which was necessary to amuse and deceive the people.

21. Thus supported by the two bodies of the aristocracy united, Pitt went into this memorable war, which, though attended with numerous important consequences, was attended with none equal, in point of ultimate effect, to the measures by which *paper-money was made a legal tender* in 1797. The aristocracy, in resorting to this expedient, were not at all aware, that, though it gave them strength for the time, it must, in the end, deprive them of all strength; that it must take from them the means of future wars, or compel them to blow up that system of debts and funds which had been invented by them as a rock of safety, and without the existence of which the whole fabric of their power must go to pieces.

22. In the meanwhile, however, on they went with the war, and with the struggle between them and the people on the score of *Parliamentary Reform*; the people ascribing the war and all its enormous debts and taxes to the want of that reform, and the aristocracy ascribing their complaints to seditions and treasonable designs, and passing laws to silence them, or punish them accordingly. When this year began (1793) the Septennial bill had been in existence *seventy-nine years*, and that it had produced its natural fruits is clearly proved by the following undeniable facts: namely, that at the time of the "*Glorious Revolution*," in 1688, one of the charges against King James was, "that he had *violated the freedom of election of Members to serve in Parliament*"; that one of the standing laws of Parliament is, "that it is a *high crime and misdemeanor in any peer to interfere in the election of Members to serve in the House of Commons*"; that, in 1793, Mr. Grey, now Earl Grey, presented a petition to the House of Commons, signed by himself and others, stating, "that a *decided majority of that House was returned by one hundred and fifty-four men, partly peers and partly great commoners*, and by the ministry of the *day*"; that he offered to prove the allegation by witnesses at the bar of the House, and that he was not permitted to bring his witnesses to the bar; that there was an appendix to this petition, containing a list of the *names*

of all the *peers* and *great commoners*, who thus returned the Members, exhibiting the number of Members returned by each, and that this list is recorded in the Annual Register for the year 1793; that in 1779, the House of Commons had resolved that an attempt to traffic in seats in that House was "highly criminal in a minister of the king; that it was an attack on the dignity and honour of the House, an infringement on the rights and liberties of the people, and an attempt to sap the basis of our free and happy constitution"; that on the 20th of April, 1809, LORD CASTLERAGH, then a minister of the king, having been proved to have thus trafficked, the House resolved, "that it was its bounden duty to maintain, at all times, a jealous guard on its purity, the attempt, in the present instance, not having been carried into effect, the House did not think it necessary to proceed to any censure, resolutions"; that, alas! in only sixteen days after this, MR. MADOCKS, Member for Boston, accused this same Castleragh, together with two other ministers of the king, not only with trafficking in a seat, but of having completed the bargain, and carried it into full effect; that having made this charge, Mr. Madocks moved that the House should inquire into the matter; that the House then debated upon this motion; that there were three hundred and ninety-five Members present; and that (hear it, every honest man on earth!) three hundred and ten voted against all inquiry, and that, too, as the speakers in the debate openly declared, "because this traffic was as notorious as the sun at noon day."

23. Such was the state of things in the year 1809. The next year George III. became, from insanity, incapable of performing the office of king; then, therefore, began the Regency of his eldest son and heir apparent, and it is of this ten years' regency, and of the ten years' reign that followed it, that the following is the history.

CHAPTER I.

From the Birth of the King to his Marriage.

24. This king, who was born on the 12th of August, in the year 1762, was the eldest son of King George III., and of Charlotte, Princess of Mecklenburgh Strelitz. Matters relating to his childhood and his boyish days are as uninteresting to the world as are the matters relating to a blackbird, or linnæus, from the time of its being hatched to that of its flying from the paternal nest. Matters relating to his amours, and other sensual indulgences, at a more advanced period, could, even if we could come at an accurate detail of them, only serve as entertainments to the idle, encouragement to the profligate, and to all the sensible and sober with disgust. To be sure, as a cause of great expense to the nation, he was always, from his very birth, an object of interest; but, unless we knew, or had heard of, something in his juvenile conduct

to hold up as an example to our children, which, as far as my knowledge and hearing have gone, is not the case here, it is best to pass over this comparatively insignificant part of his life, come at once to the period when he came openly in contact with the nation's purse, and, turning a deaf ear to both sycophants and satirists, relate truly what he did, or what was done in his name, leaving the world to judge of his character by his actions.

For these reasons I shall pass over all the previous part of this king's life, and come at once to the time when he entered into that marriage which led to consequences which have engaged the attention, as well as excited some degree of feeling, in every part of the civilized world. The brave and unfortunate Caroline, who was the victim of this matrimonial contract, and of whose persecutions, sufferings, death, and burial, the historian's duty will be to give, in the proper place, a full and faithful account, was the second daughter of Charles William, Duke of Brunswick, and was, at the time of her marriage, twenty-six years of age. The Prince of Wales (since George IV.), her husband, who had then attained the age of thirty-three years, was greatly embarrassed with debts, which, until this marriage was proposed, the nation was by no means disposed to pay. The country was at this time involved in a most expensive and wasteful war against the people of France; a war undertaken to put down principles, and in the opinion of all considerate men, tending to produce, eventually, great suffering to the English nation; and, therefore, the people were not in a very good humour with royal

25. The discussions relative to the American revolution had produced a revolution in France; and it had been found, that, in like manner, this latter event would produce a revolution in England. Various are the words made use of by the parties in the disputes touching these revolutions; but the short and true state of the case is this: the people of all these nations were become sensible that they suffered from the whole of the governing powers being in the hands of the privileged orders. The Americans had successfully resisted the attempts to keep them under the yoke. The French had risen and broken the yoke to pieces. And now the English were making an attempt to regain their rights of choosing their representatives.

In the midst of a general ferment, arising from this cause, war against the French people was commenced. In 1793, which war was going on at this time of the marriage of the Prince of Wales with the Princess of Brunswick. The taxes, on account of the war, pressed heavily upon the nation; the government armed itself at all points. Soldiers of all descriptions; barracks; new laws relative to the press; the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended; every thing, in short, to restrain and compel; but still money was necessary.

and, under such circumstances, an enormous sum, granted to pay the *debts* of a prince who had always received a large annual stipend out of the taxes, was what even PITT, daring as he was, had not the confidence to propose without being furnished with some plausible pretence for the proposition. The marriage, as we shall by-and-by see, furnished this pretence; and every thing that could be thought of was done to make the people part with the money freely.

28. The marriage took place on the 8th of April; and though it was, of course, to be considered as a measure of state-policy, it certainly gave great and universal satisfaction. The Prince, notwithstanding his extravagance, was, at this time, by no means unpopular. He had been studiously shut out from all public authority, was regarded as in opposition to his father's ministers, and, as those were very cordially and justly hated, the Prince, except with regard to his expenses, stood in rather a favourable light. The Princess, who was of a most frank and kind disposition, extremely affable and gracious in her deportment, by no means suffered in a comparison with the Queen; and, upon the whole, the nation seemed delighted with the prospect that their future king and queen held out to them.

29. In a few days after the celebration of the marriage; that is to say, on the 27th of April, the king officially communicated to the parliament his request, that a settlement should be made on the Prince, suitable to the alteration in his situation; and he observed, at the same time, that "the benefit of any settlement that the House might make must fall in its most desirable effect, if means were not provided to extricate his Royal Highness from the incumbrances under which he laboured to a great amount."

30. Upon this message from the king Pitt founded his proposition to the House. Those members who composed what was called the opposition, or *Whigs*, or, at least, the most active of them, such as Fox, Sheridan, the Duke of Bedford and others, were also personal friends of the Prince. They, therefore, were ready to concur with the minister in this particular case. But there were men, on both sides of the House, to oppose any grant of money with a view of paying the *debts* of the Prince. Amongst these was Mr. Grey, now Earl Grey, who actually made a motion to take 20,000*l.* a year from the sum proposed by the minister. This motion was lost; but 99 members voted for it; and the speech of Mr. Grey was well calculated to produce upon the country an impression very little favourable to the Prince, who had had his debts paid by Parliament once before, and who was now pretty loudly reminded of that fact by some members sitting on both sides of the House.

31. This former payment of the Prince's debts took place in 1787. The amount was, at that time, very large; and, certainly, with a clear annual allowance of sixty thousand pounds, money enough to maintain 3,000 la-

bourers' families, the nation had a right to complain, when a new clearing off of debts was called for. Nevertheless the new debt, which had arisen, the reader will perceive, in the space of little more than seven years, amounted to the enormous sum of 639,890*l.* sterling; that is to say, to 80,000*l.* for every year since the last clearing off of his debts; and, as will be perceived, to 20,000*l.* a-year more than the whole of his annual allowance. Thus he had been spending at the rate of 140,000*l.* a-year instead of 60,000*l.*, and had been living on what would have maintained 7,000 labourers' families!

(To be continued.)

BATTLE AFFAIR.

To the Editor of the MORNING CHRONICLE.

Kennington, 4th January, 1831.

SIR,

You will, perhaps, remember that, last week, I troubled you with a letter, which you had the goodness to insert, relative to the confession, or pretended confession, of a poor orphan, named THOMAS GOODMAN, who was, some time before, condemned at Lewes, for setting fire to ricks and buildings. The confession stated, that the poor fellow had been instigated to the act by hearing me say, in a lecture at Battle, that if the wages were not raised, there would be fires in Sussex as well as in Kent. Upon this I observed before, asserted the falsehood of it, and expressed my belief that the story was a lie from the beginning to the end.

We have now, in the OLD TIMES newspaper of to-day, a new edition of this story, with additions and improvements. The only witness to the first edition of the confession was stated to be the REVEREND Henry John Rush, curate of Crowhurst, Sussex. Now we have three names as those of witnesses to the poor lad's writing the confession; and we have, besides, an introductory commentary of the OLD TIMES. These are as follows:—

"The following information, relative to the two convicts, Rushby and Goodman, who were to suffer death this day, at Horsham, has been transmitted to us by our correspondent:—They arrived at Horsham in a filly attended by two guards on Saturday (Christmas-day), from Lewes, both exhibit-

ing deep contrition for their crimes; Bushby tacitly and Goodman positively acknowledged the justness of their sentences. On Sunday the Chaplain of the gaol (the Rev. Mr. Witherby) delivered a very affecting discourse, in the chapel of the gaol. It appeared to make a deep impression on the whole of the prisoners, most of whom shed tears; both the unfortunate malefactors were particularly affected. Goodman had, previously to leaving Lewes, made a full confession of his guilt, and Bushby had done the same since he had been at Horsham, to the Chaplain as well as Mr. Oliver, the prosecutor. On Wednesday Bushby was visited by his five sisters and two brothers: the interview was very distressing. Goodman still adheres to his first voluntary statement, that the writings and lectures of Cobbett were the chief inducement to him to commit the crime for which he is to suffer."

CONFESSIOIN OF THOMAS GOODMAN.

"I Thomas Goodman, once herd of one Mr. Cobbit going a Bout gaweing out lactueers; at length he came to Battel and gave one their, and their was a gret number of Peopel came to hear him and I went; he had A verrey long conversation concerning the states of the country, and telling them that they war verrey mutch impose upon, and he said he would show them the way to gain their rights and liberals, and he said it would be very Proper for every man to keep gun in his house, espesly young men, and that they might prepare themselves in readiness to go with him when he called on them and he would show them wick way to go on, and he said that peopel might expect fir their as well as other places—
"this is the truth and nothing But the truth of A deying man.

"THOMAS GOODMAN.

"Written before us, 30th December, 1830,
"WALTER BURRELL,
"H. TRECKROFT,
"FRANCES SCAWEN BIUNT."

This story about the GUN is a famous improvement: it is a fine instance of the "march of mind," and of the effect of the schoolmaster being abroad! If this poor orphan's life should be spared (as I wish it may), and, if the schoolmaster should continue his kind attentions, he will certainly make a bright ornament of Society, equal, perhaps, to JESSIE BURGESS himself. Now, Sir, hear some truth about this poor lad. My son was present, in the way of his profession; he was one of the counsel in the court, when this orphan was tried. When called upon to say what he had to say in his defence, he put in a written

paper, in which he said he was an orphan without a friend in the world to advise with, but not a word about "one Mr. Cobbit." Then, you, Sir, in your report, take him up thus in your paper of the 24th of December. "The prisoner, on leaving the bar, confessed the justice of his sentence. He said that he set fire to the stack with a pipe and common matches. He also acknowledged to being the incendiary who set fire to some corn stacks a few days before, and for which a reward had been offered for the discovery of the offender. He said he could not account for the feeling which prompted these acts, except that he was goaded to their commission by an irresistible impulse."

Now, these facts are undoubted. So that, if he really did make the first confession, mentioned in my former letter to you, his recollection had come to him when he got before the REVEREND Henry John Rush, Curate of Crowhurst; and even then he forgot all about the GUN! It was not till he got to HORSHAM, it seems, in the neighbourhood of the gallows, that he recollected the GUN. If he should be brought in sight of the gallows, I should not at all wonder if he were to recollect, that "one Mr. Cobbit" gave him the pipe and matches; and if, after all, the rope should be put round his neck, would it be very wonderful if he were to become King's evidence, and swear, that it was I set the fires and not he!

There is, Sir, seldom a really wicked lie without having a peg to hang on; and this is the case with regard to this famous GUN. That I should say openly before four or five hundred persons, all of them strangers to me, that every man of them ought to have a gun in his house, in readiness against the time that I should come to lead them on; that I should be fool enough to say this is what nobody will believe. But, it is very true that I did talk about it being proper for every man to have a gun in his house. And now you shall hear how I came to say it, and how proper it was that I should say it. I was speaking on the subject of Parliamentary

Reform, and in support of the proposition for *universal suffrage*, I said that it ought to be, because every man capable of bearing arms, was liable to be called on to venture his life in defence of the country, and that, of necessity, this, which was the bounden duty of all men, was a duty the great burden of which must fall, and ought to fall, upon the young and single men; and that, therefore, in order to induce them to be always ready to discharge this sacred duty cheerfully, the young men ought to have a vote at elections, which would make them feel that they had a great interest in the safety of their country, and would thereby enable the Government to dispense with a standing army, even in time of war, as the same cause operated in that way in America. Here I took occasion to observe that a country was never so safe as when its defence depended upon the arms of its citizens. Then came the peg on which the lie has been hung. The words were, as nearly as possible, as follows: "I, some years ago, saw a printed paper, sent about by LORD ASHBURNHAM, ordering, of suggesting, that no labourer should have employ who kept a gun in his house. His lordship, in his anxiety for the pheasants, seems to have forgotten the country, and, of course, the land on which the pheasants are bred. For suppose we were to be again at war with France; suppose the French were to land at PEVENSEY LEVEL (only a few miles from Battle), as they once landed, who would there be to drive them into the sea? Why, the men of Sussex and Kent to be sure! And, when called upon by LORD ASHBURNHAM for that purpose, might they not remind him, that he had caused their arms to be taken away, though the law of England positively says, that it is a right belonging to every man to have arms in his house for the defence of that house, which the law calls his castle?"

This was the peg; and it must be confessed, that the lie, "written in the presence" of WALTER BURREL and Co. has been clumsily enough hung on.

But, Sir, the questions, that every one will ask, are these: Was it not at a public lecture that the pretended words were uttered? Were there not there present, to hear the words, a great many persons, none of whom are now condemned to be hanged? Why not get the evidence of some of these? Why prefer the evidence of a poor frightened, weak minded lad, with the halter about his neck? Leaving BURREL and Co. to answer these questions, pray, Sir, give me room to add this remark, that, in Hampshire and Wiltshire, where the thing actually resembles a campaign, I have not been for eight years, except as a mere passenger; and in neither of which I have set my foot for four years. The truth is, that my Lectures have had no effect whatsoever in producing the risings and the consequent acts, which have all arisen from hunger and ill-treatment, and from no other cause. When we see it proved, even upon these trials, that men went to work with nothing but cold potatoes in their satchells, and that young men, boys, old men, women and even an idiot-woman, were compelled, by the hired overseers, to draw carts like beasts of burden, what do we want more; why need the parsons hunt about after lecturers as the cause of the discontents?

I am, Sir,

Your most humble,

And most obedient Servant,

WM. COBBETT.

P. S. I made, at LEWES, just the same remarks about the GUN, gave just the same advice as at Battle; but, none of my Lewes auditors are condemned to be hanged. One of my auditors at Lewes was Mr. JOHN ELLMAN the elder. I did not know him, but found, afterwards, that it was he, upon my inquiring "who that old gentleman was, who sat in the stage-box, and who applauded so much." In short, Sir, all my efforts were calculated to put a stop to violence, and to restore peace. I say none of this to silence the infamous slanderers, but to expose them to public execration. They know that what they say is false: but they know

that *I wrote the History of the Protestant Reformation.*

However, besides the words uttered at the Lecture, I *distributed a hand-bill* amongst those who came to hear me at Battle. Ah! It might be this that made the poor, simple young man so mischievous! The hand-bill was a *printed petition to the king*, a copy of which was given to every person that entered the booth. Let us see, then, what effects it was calculated to produce. It began thus: "Most humbly showeth, That we approach your Majesty, not as blind adorners of royalty, but as faithful and dutiful subjects, whose fidelity and duty are founded in our conviction, that, in highly honouring and cheerfully obeying your Majesty, in upholding, with all our might, your just prerogatives, and evincing our most profound respect for your person, we best consult our own welfare, knowing that you are endowed with those prerogatives for the common good of us all, and not for your own exclusive advantage.— That feeling ourselves thus bound to your Majesty, not by harsh constraint, but by a willing obedience arising from a due estimate of our own interest and honour, regarding your person as sacred, not from servility of mind, but because you are the fountain of justice and of mercy, taught by the laws of our country that kings were made for the people and not the people for kings, regarding your kingly powers as given to you for the purpose of preserving the peace, the rights, and the happiness of the people, and more especially for the defence and protection of the weak against the strong, of the poor against the unjust encroachments of the rich, of the fruits of industry against the wiles and the violence of aristocratical ambition, arrogance and rapacity animated by all these considerations, and beholding in your Majesty's most gracious conduct and demeanour an indubitable proof of your anxious desire to promote our good by a redress of our grievances, we, with the confidence with which suffering children

"appeal to a tender [father, lay those grievances before your Majesty.— That we complain, may it please your Majesty, not of the form of that Government which has endured for so many ages, and under which our fathers were so free, lived in such ease and abundance, and saw their country so great and so much honoured throughout the world; we complain not of the nature of the institutions of our country, which have stood the test of centuries; we complain not of any thing, an attack on which would argue a hankering after innovation, but, on the contrary, it is of innovations, innovations endless in number, cruelly oppressive, and studiously insulting, that we have now to make complaint to your Majesty."

No direct incentives to rebellion, at any rate! The petition then went on to state a series of plain facts, the truth of every one of which is not only undeniable, but capable of juridical proof, and the facts stated, too, without any attempt at exaggeration. After this the paper concluded thus: "Thus, may it please your Majesty, we have, in all humility and dutifulness, submitted to your wisdom and justice a statement of a part of our manifold grievances and sufferings: we have, in the sincerity of our hearts, expressed to you our firm conviction, that all these have arisen from our not being represented in parliament; and as the means of restoring us to liberty and happiness, as the means of uniting all hearts in preserving the peace of our country and upholding the dignity and true splendour of your Majesty's crown, we humbly but earnestly pray, that of those great powers with which your Majesty is invested for the good of your faithful people, you will be graciously pleased to make such use as shall produce a reform in the Commons' House, ensuing to all adult males, not insane and not tarnished by indelible crime, a voice, given by ballot, in the choosing of representatives, and as shall shorten the duration of Parliaments." Vastly "inflammatory," to be sure!

Mind, one of these papers was put *into the hand of every person who want to hear me*; so that this orphan had this paper to read after I came away. This paper was the thing most likely to produce impression on his mind; and a strange mind indeed must that have been, if this urged him, to commit a violent act of any description. Never was any thing so foul as *this charge*. All my efforts tended to *put a stop to violence*; for, what was so likely to put a stop to it, as for the farmers, in every parish, to *call all the people together*, to explain to them *the causes of their inability to pay sufficient wages*, to sign a petition *along with them*, and exhort them to *wait patiently till there had been time to consider their petitions*? And this was the advice that *I every-where gave*. If this advice had been followed, there would have been an *instant stop* to all the violences, and the dreadful scenes which we now behold in the West would never have been beheld at all. Aye, aye; the calumniators know this as well as I do! But, I have written the HISTORY OF THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION! I have taught the people *WHAT TITHES WERE GRANTED FOR*; and I have written the POOR MAN'S FRIEND, maintaining the *RIGHTS OF THE POOR*; and I have written the YEAR'S RESIDENCE IN AMERICA, showing how well people are off in a country where there are *no pensions, sinecures, standing armies, nor tithes*; and I have written 12 SERMONS, two of which treat of *cruelty to the poor, and of parsons and tithes*; and I have written the EMIGRANT'S GUIDE, showing how soon a miserable English pauper becomes a man of property, when he has landed in a country where there are *hardly any taxes and no tithes*. These are my *real sins*; and thumping sins they are. They are, however, *past praying for*. They are committed. They have produced, and are producing, their effect; and it is perfectly useless to *abuse* their author. If the parsons would set about answering the HISTORY OF THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION, they would act a more becoming part than they are now acting towards me. However, there is quite

enough for them to do to answer TWO-PENNY TRASH, No. 7. Let them send me an answer to *that*, and that will be occupation for them for some time. And by way of *amusement* let them read the petition now signing in the COUNTY OF SUFFOLK, which concludes with praying, that "the tithes *may again be applied, as originally intended to be*; namely, to the *relief of the poor and the repair of the churches*, instead of the people being *heavily taxed for these purposes*." Let them read *such things* as this; and let them *answer* these petitioners. However, let them do what they like, and say what they like, they never can change men's minds upon this most important subject. On this point the whole nation, the parties interested in upholding tithes excepted, are of one mind; and the prudent course is, to yield to their wish *at once*, and to come to a settlement *justly and peaceably*. As I have said, over and over again, *something must give way*; something, some part or other of this present system, must yield to the mighty pressure. It is the *circumstances*, and not my writings alone, that are at work. But men situated as the parsons now are, *will not see the true cause*; and thus it is that danger becomes destruction.

THE AMERICAN PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

[FROM THE NEW YORK DAILY ADVERTISER, DEC. 9.]

A LITTLE after twelve o'clock last night, we received the President's Message by express. The person engaged to bring it to this city would have reached here at a much earlier hour but for a disappointment in his arrangements in Philadelphia. He, however, by his perseverance, has enabled us to lay it before our readers at an early hour this morning.

The *National Intelligencer* of Tuesday states, that a large proportion of the Members of Congress were present on Monday. In the Senate, General Smith, of Maryland, took the chair. In the House of Representatives, Mr. Speaker Stevenson was absent; but we learn from *The Baltimore Patriot* of Tuesday evening, that the Speaker arrived at Washington on Tuesday morning.

Both Houses met on Tuesday, when the following Message was delivered:—

MESSAGE.

FELLOW-CITIZENS OF THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.—The pleasure I have in congratulating you on your return to your constitutional duties is much heightened by the satisfaction which the condition of our beloved country at this period justly inspires. The beneficent Author of all good has granted to us, during the present year, health, peace, and plenty, and numerous causes for joy in the wonderful success, which attends the progress of our free institutions.

With a population unparalleled in its increase, and possessing a character which combines the hardihood of enterprise with the considerateness of wisdom, we see in every section of our happy country a steady improvement in the means of social intercourse, and correspondent effects upon the genius and laws of our extended Republic.

The apparent exceptions to the harmony of the prospect are to be referred rather to inevitable diversities in the various interests which enter into the composition of so extensive a whole, than to any want of attachment to the Union—interests, whose collision serves, only, in the end, to foster the spirit of conciliation and patriotism, so essential to the preservation of that union, which, I most devoutly hope, is destined to prove imperishable.

In the midst of these blessings, we have recently witnessed changes in the condition of other nations, which may in their consequence, call for the utmost vigilance, wisdom, and unanimity in our Councils, and the exercise of all the moderation and patriotism of our people.

The important modifications of their Government, effected with so much courage and wisdom by the people of France, afford a happy presage of their future course, and have naturally elicited from the kindred feelings of this nation that spontaneous and universal burst of applause in which you have participated. In congratulating you, my fellow-citizens, upon an event so auspicious to the dearest interests of mankind, I do no more than respond to the voice of my country, without transgressing, in the slightest degree, that salutary maxim of the illustrious Washington, which enjoins an abstinence from all interference with the internal affairs of other nations. From a people exercising, in the most unlimited degree, the right of self-government, and enjoying, as derived from this proud characteristic, under the favour of Heaven, much of the happiness with which they are blessed; a people who can point in triumph to their free institutions, and challenge comparison with the fruits they bear, as well as with the moderation, intelligence, and energy, with which they are administered; from such a people, the deepest sympathy was to be expected in a struggle for the sacred principles of liberty, conducted in a spirit every way worthy of the cause, and crowned by an heroic moderation which has disarmed revolution of its terrors. Notwith-

standing the strong assurances which the man whom we so sincerely love and justly admire has given to the world of the high character of the present King of the French, and which, if sustained to the end, will secure to him the proud appellation of the Patriot King, it is not in his success, but in that of the great principle which has borne him to the throne—the paramount authority of the public will—that the American people rejoice.

I am happy to inform you, that the anticipations which were indulged at the date of my last communication on the subject of our foreign affairs, have been fully realised in several important particulars.

All arrangement has been effected with Great Britain, in relation to the trade between the United States and her West India and North American Colonies, which has settled a question that has for years afforded matter for contention and almost uninterrupted discussion, and has been the subject of no less than six negotiations, in a manner which promises results highly favourable to the parties.

The abstract right of Great Britain to monopolise the trade with her Colonies, or to exclude us from a participation therein, has never been denied by the United States. But we have contended, and with reason, that if at any time Great Britain may desire the productions of this country, as necessary to her Colonies, they must be received upon principles of just reciprocity; and further, that it is making an invidious and unfriendly distinction to open her colonial ports to the vessels of other nations and close them against those of the United States.

Antecedently to 1794, a portion of our productions was admitted into the Colonial islands of Great Britain by particular concessions, limited to the term of one year, but renewed from year to year. In the transportation of these productions, however, our vessels were not allowed to engage; this being a privilege reserved to British shipping, by which alone our produce could be taken to the islands, and thence brought to us in return. From Newfoundland and her continental possessions, all her productions, as well as our vessels, were excluded, with occasional relaxations, by which, in seasons of distress, the former were admitted in British bottoms.

By the Treaty of 1794, she offered to concede to us, for a limited time, the right of carrying to her West India possessions, in our vessels not exceeding seventy tons burden, and upon the same terms with British vessels, any productions of the United States which British vessels might import therefrom. But this privilege was coupled with conditions which are supposed to have led to its rejection by the Senate; that is, that American vessels should land their return cargoes in the United States only; and, moreover, that they should, during the continuance of the privilege, be precluded from carrying molasses, sugar, coffee, cocoa, or cotton,

either from those islands or from the United States, to any other part of the world. Great Britain readily consented to expunge this article from the treaty; and subsequent attempts to arrange the terms of the trade, either by treaty, stipulation, or concerted legislation, having failed, it has been successively suspended and allowed, according to the varying legislation of the parties.

The following are the prominent points which have, in late years, separated the two Governments. Besides a restriction, whereby all importations into her Colonies in American vessels are confined to our own products carried hence—a restriction to which it does not appear that we have ever objected—a leading object on the part of Great Britain has been to prevent us from becoming the carriers of British West India commodities to any other country than our own. On the part of the United States, it has been contended; 1st. That the subject should be regulated by treaty stipulations, in preference to separate legislation; 2d. That our productions, when imported into the colonies in question, should not be subject to higher duties than the productions of the mother country, or of her other colonial possessions; and, 3d. That our vessels should be allowed to participate in the circuitous trade between the United States and different parts of the British dominion.

The first point, after having been for a long time strenuously insisted upon by Great Britain, was given up by the Act of Parliament of July, 1825; all vessels suffered to trade with the colonies being permitted to clear from thence with any articles which British vessels might export, and to proceed to any part of the world, Great Britain and her dependencies alone excepted. On our part, each of the above points had, in succession, been explicitly abandoned, in negotiations preceding that of which the result is now announced.

This arrangement secures to the United States every advantage asked by them, and which the state of the negotiation allowed us to insist upon. The trade will be placed upon a footing decidedly more favourable to this country than any on which it ever stood; and our commerce and navigation will enjoy, in the colonial ports of Great Britain, every privilege allowed by other nations.

That the prosperity of the country, so far as it depends on this trade, will be greatly promoted by the new arrangement; there can be no doubt. Independently of the more obvious advantages of an open and direct intercourse, its establishment will be attended with other consequences of a higher value. That which has been carried on since the mutual interdict, under all the expense and inconvenience unavoidably incident to it, would have been insupportably onerous, had it not been, in a great degree, lightened by concerted operations in the mode of making the transshipments at what are called the neutral ports. These directions are inconsistent with the dignity of

nations that have so many motives, not only to cherish feelings of mutual friendship, but to maintain such relations as will stimulate their respective citizens and subjects to efforts on direct, open, and honourable competition only, and preserve them from the influence of seductive and vitiating circumstances.

When your preliminary interposition was asked at the close of the last Session, a copy of the instructions under which Mr. M' Lane has acted, together with the communications which had at that time passed between him and the British Government, was laid before you. Although there has not been anything in the acts of the two Governments which requires secrecy, it was thought most proper, in the then state of the negotiation, to make that communication a confidential one. So soon, however, as the evidence of execution on the part of Great Britain is received, the whole matter shall be laid before you, when it will be seen that the apprehension which appears to have suggested one of the provisions of the Act passed at your last Session, that the restoration of the trade in question might be connected with other subjects, and was sought to be obtained at the sacrifice of the public interest in other particulars, was wholly unfounded; and that the change which has taken place in the views of the British Government has been induced by considerations as honourable to both parties, as, I trust, the result will prove beneficial.

This desirable result was, it will be seen, greatly promoted by the liberal and confiding provisions of the Act of Congress of the last Session, by which our ports were, upon the acceptance and announcement by the President of the required assurance on the part of Great Britain, forthwith opened to her vessels, before the arrangements could be carried into effect on her part; pursuing, in this act of prospective legislation, a similar course to that adopted by Great Britain, in abolishing, by her Act of Parliament, in 1825, a restriction then existing, and permitting our vessels to clear from the colonies, on their return voyages, for any foreign country whatever, before British vessels had been relieved from the restriction imposed by our law, of returning directly from the United States to the colonies—a restriction which she required and expected that we should abolish. Upon each occasion a limited and temporary advantage has been given to the opposite party, but an advantage of no importance in comparison with the restoration of the mutual confidence and good feeling, and the ultimate establishment of the trade upon fair principles.

It was my unfeigned pleasure to assure you that this negotiation has been, throughout, characterised by the most frank and friendly spirit on the part of Great Britain, and concluded in a manner strongly indicative of a sincere desire to cultivate the best relations with the United States. To reciprocate this disposition to the fullest extent of my

ability, is a duty which I shall deem it a privilege to discharge.

Although the result is itself the best commentary on the services rendered to his country by our Minister at the Court of St. James, it would be doing violence to my feelings were I to dismiss the subject without expressing the very high sense I entertain of the talent and exertions which have been displayed by him on the occasion.

The injury to the commerce of the United States resulting from the exclusion of our vessels from the Black Sea, and the previous footing of mere sufferance upon which even the limited trade enjoyed by us with Turkey has hitherto been placed, have, for a long time, been a source of much solicitude to this Government, and several endeavours have been made to obtain a better state of things. Sensible of the importance of the object, I felt it my duty to leave no proper means unemploy- ed to acquire for our flag the same privileges that are enjoyed by the principal Powers of Europe. Commissioners were, consequently, appointed to open a negotiation with the Sublime Porte. Not long after the Member of the Commission, who went directly from the United States, had sailed, the account of the treaty of Adrianople, by which one of the objects in view was supposed to be secured, reached this country. The Black Sea was understood to be opened to us. Under the supposition that this was the case, the additional facilities to be derived from the establishment of commercial regulations with the Porte were deemed of sufficient importance to require a prosecution of the negotiation as originally contemplated. It was, therefore, persevered in, and resulted in a treaty which will forthwith be laid before the Senate.

By its provisions a free passage is secured, without limitation of time, to the vessels of the United States to and from the Black Sea, including the navigation thereof; and our trade with Turkey is placed on the footing of the most favoured nations.—The latter is an arrangement wholly independent of the treaty of Adrianople, and the former derives much value not only from the increased security which, under any circumstances, it would give to the right in question, but from the fact, ascertained in the course of the negotiation, that, by the construction put upon that treaty by Turkey, the article relating to the passage of the Bosphorus is confined to nations having treaties with the Porte. The most friendly feelings appear to be entertained by the Sultan, and an enlightened disposition is evinced by him to foster the intercourse between the two countries by the most liberal arrangements. This disposition it will be our duty and interest to cherish.

Our relations with Russia are the most stable character. Respect for that empire, and confidence in its friendship towards the United States, have been so long entertained on our part, and so carefully cherished by the present Emperor and his illustrious prede-

cessor, as to have become incorporated with the public sentiment of the United States. No means will be left unemployed on my part to promote those salutary feelings, and those improvements of which the commercial intercourse between the two countries is equally susceptible, and which have derived increased importance from our treaty with the Sublime Porte.

I sincerely regret to inform you that our Minister lately commissioned to that Court, on whose distinguished talents and great experience in public affairs I place great reliance, has been compelled, by extreme indisposition, to exercise a privilege, which, in consideration of the extent to which his constitution has been impaired in the public service, was committed to his discretion, of leaving temporarily his post for the advantage of a more genial climate.

If, as it is to be hoped, the improvement of his health will be such as to justify him in doing so, he will repair to St. Petersburg, and resume the discharge of his official duties. I have received the most satisfactory assurance, that in the mean time, the public interests in that quarter will be preserved from prejudice, by the intercourse which he will continue, through the Secretary of Legation, with the Russian Cabinet.

You are apprised, although the fact has not yet been officially announced to the House of Representatives, that a treaty was, in the month of March last, concluded between the United States and Denmark, by which 500,000 dollars are secured to our citizens as an indemnity for spoliation upon their commerce in the years 1808, 1809, 1810, 1811. This treaty was sanctioned by the Senate at the close of its last session, and it now becomes the duty of Congress to pass the necessary laws for the organization of the Board of Commissioners to distribute the indemnity amongst the claimants. It is an agreeable circumstance in this adjustment, that its terms are in conformity with the previously ascertained views of the claimants themselves; thus removing all pretence for a future agitation of the subject in any form.

Of the points not yet adjusted, the most prominent are our claims upon France for spoliation upon our commerce; similar claims upon Spain, together with embarrasments in the commercial intercourse between the two countries, which ought to be removed, the conclusion of the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation with Mexico, which has been so long in suspense, as well as the final settlement of limits between ourselves and that Republic; and finally, the arbitration of the question between the United States and Great Britain in regard to the North eastern boundary.

The negotiation with France has been conducted by our Minister with zeal and ability, and in all respects to my entire satisfaction. Although the prospect of a favourable termination was occasionally dimmed by counter-

pretensions to which the United States could not assent, he yet had strong hopes of being able to arrive at a satisfactory settlement with the late Government. The negotiation has been renewed by the present authorities, and, sensible of the general and lively confidence of our citizens in the justice and magnanimity of regenerated France, I regret the more not to have it in my power yet to announce the result so confidently anticipated. No ground, however, inconsistent with this expectation, has been taken, and I do not allow myself to doubt that justice will soon be done to us. The amount of the claims, the length of time they have remained unsatisfied, and their incontrovertible justice, make an earnest prosecution of them by this Government an urgent duty. The illegality of the seizures and confiscations out of which they have arisen is not disputed, and whatever distinctions may have been heretofore set up with regard to the liability of the existing Government, it is quite clear that such considerations cannot now be interposed.

The commercial intercourse between the two countries is susceptible of highly advantageous improvements, but the sense of this injury has had, and must continue to have, a very unfavourable influence upon them. From its satisfactory adjustment, not only a firm and cordial friendship, but a progressive development of their relations, may be expected. It is, therefore, my earnest hope, that this old and vexatious subject of difference may be speedily removed.

I feel that my confidence in our appeal to the motives which should govern a just and magnanimous nation is alike warranted by the character of the French people, and by the high voucher we possess for the enlarged views and pure integrity of the Monarch who now presides over her councils; and nothing shall be wanting on my part to meet any manifestation of the spirit we anticipate in one of corresponding frankness and liberality.

The subjects of difference with Spain have been brought to the view of that Government, by our Minister there, with much force and propriety; and the strongest assurances have been received of their early and favourable consideration.

The steps which remained to place the matter in controversy between Great Britain and the United States fairly before the arbitrator, have all been taken in the same liberal and friendly spirit which characterised those before announced. Recent events have doubtless served to delay the decision, but our Minister at the Court of the distinguished arbitrator has been assured that it will be made within the time contemplated by the treaty.

I am particularly gratified in being able to state that a decidedly favourable and, as I hope, lasting change, has been effected in our relations with the neighbouring republic of Mexico. The unfortunate and unfounded suspicions in regard to our disposition, which

it became my painful duty to advert to on a former occasion, have been, I believe, entirely removed, and the Government of Mexico has been made to understand the real character of the wishes and views of this in regard to this country. The consequence is, the establishment of friendship and mutual confidence. Such are the assurances which I have received, and I see no cause to doubt their sincerity.

I had reason to expect the conclusion of a commercial treaty with Mexico, in season for communication on the present occasion. Circumstances which are not explained, but which, I am persuaded, are not the result of an indisposition on her part to enter into it, have produced the delay.

There was reason to fear, in the course of the last summer, that the harmony of our relations might be disturbed by the acts of certain claimants, under Mexican grants, of territory which has hitherto been under our jurisdiction.—The co-operation of the representatives of Mexico to this Government was asked on the occasion, and was readily afforded. Instructions and advice have been given to the Governor of Arkansas, and the officers in command in the adjoining Mexican state, by which it is hoped the quiet of that frontier will be preserved, until a final settlement of the dividing line shall have removed all ground of controversy.

The exchange of ratifications of the treaty concluded last year with Austria has not yet taken place. The delay has been occasioned by the non-arrival of the ratification of that Government within the time prescribed by the treaty. Renewed authority has been asked for by the representative of Austria, and in the meantime the rapidly-increasing trade and navigation between the two countries have been placed upon the most liberal footing of our navigation acts.

Several alleged depredations have been recently committed on our commerce by the national vessels of Portugal. They have been made the subject of immediate remonstrance and reclamation. I am not yet possessed of sufficient information to express a definitive opinion of their character, but expect soon to receive it. No proper means shall be omitted to obtain for our citizens all the redress to which they may appear to be entitled.

It gives me pleasure to announce to Congress, that the benevolent policy of the Government, steadily pursued for nearly thirty years, in relation to the removal of the Indians beyond the white settlement, is approaching to a happy consummation. Two important tribes have accepted the provisions made for their removal at the last session of Congress, and it is believed that they example will induce the remaining tribes also to seek the same obvious advantages.

The consequences of a speedy removal will be important to the United States, to individual States, and to the Indians themselves. The pecuniary advantages which it promises

to the Government are the least of its recommendations. It puts an end to all possible danger of collision between the authorities of the General and State Governments, on account of the Indians. It will place a dense and civilized population in large tracts of country now occupied by a few savage hunters. By opening the whole territory between Tennessee on the north, and Louisiana on the south, to the settlement of the whites, it will incalculably strengthen the south-western frontier, and render the adjacent States strong enough to repel future invasion without remote aid. It will relieve the whole State of Mississippi, and the western part of Alabama, of Indian occupancy, and enable those States to advance rapidly in wealth, population, and power. It will separate the Indians from immediate contact with settlements of whites—free them from the power of the States—enable them to pursue happiness in their own way, and under their own rude institutions—will retard the progress of decay, which is lessening their numbers, and, perhaps, cause them gradually, under the protection of the Government, and through the influence of good counsels, to cast off their savage habits, and become an interesting, civilized, and Christian community—consequences, some of them so certain, and the rest so probable, make the complete execution of the plan sanctioned by Congress at their last Session, an object of much solicitude.

Towards the Aborigines of the country no one can indulge a more friendly feeling than myself, or would go further in attempting to reclaim them from their wandering habits, and make them a happy and prosperous people. I have endeavoured to impress upon them my own solemn convictions of the duties and the powers of the general Government in relation to the State Authorities. For the justice of the laws passed by the States within the scope of their reserved powers, they are not responsible to this Government. As individuals, we may entertain and express our opinions of their acts, but as a Government we have as little right to control them as we have to prescribe laws to foreign nations.

With a full understanding of the subject, the Choctaw and Chickasaw tribes have, with great unanimity, determined to avail themselves of the liberal offers presented by the Act of Congress, and have agreed to remove beyond the Mississippi river. Treaties have been made with them, which, in due season, will be submitted for consideration. In negotiating these Treaties, they were made to understand their true condition; and they have preferred maintaining their independence in the Western forests, to submitting to the laws of the States in which they now reside. These Treaties being probably the last which will ever be made with them, are characterized by great liberality on the part of the Government. They give the Indians a liberal sum in consideration of their

removal, and comfortable subsistence on their arrival at their new homes. If it be their real interest to maintain a separate existence, they will then be at liberty to do so without the inconveniences and vexations to which they would unavoidably have been subject in Alabama and Mississippi.

Humanity has often wept over the fate of the Aborigines of this country, and philanthropy has been long busily employed in devising means to avert it. But its progress has never for a moment been arrested; and one by one have many powerful tribes disappeared from the earth. To follow to the tomb the fate of his race, and to tread on the graves of extinct nations, excites melancholy reflections. But true philanthropy reconciles the mind to the vicissitudes, as it does to the extinction of one generation to make room for another. In the monuments and fortresses of an unknown people, spread over the extensive regions of the west, we behold the memorials of a once powerful race, which was exterminated or has disappeared to make room for the existing savage tribes. Nor is there anything in this which, upon a comprehensive view of the general interests of the human race, is to be regretted. Philanthropy could not wish to see this continent restored to the condition in which it was found by our forefathers. What good man would prefer a country covered with forests, and ranged by a few thousand savages, to our extensive Republic, studded with cities, towns, and prosperous farms—embellished with all the improvements which art can devise, or industry execute—occupied by more than twelve millions of happy people—and filled with all the blessings of liberty, civilization, and religion?

The present policy of the Government is but a continuation of the same progressive change, by a milder process. The Tribes which occupied the countries now constituting the Eastern States were annihilated, or have melted away, to make room for the whites. The waves of population and civilization are rolling to the westward; and we now propose to acquire the countries occupied by the red men of the South and West by a fair exchange, and, at the expense of the United States, to send them to a land where their existence may be prolonged, and perhaps made perpetual. Doubtless it will be painful to leave the graves of their fathers, but what do they more than our ancestors did, or than our children are now doing? To better their condition in an unknown land our forefathers left all that was dear to earthly objects. Our children, by thousands, yearly leave the land of their birth, to seek new homes in distant regions. Does humanity weep at these painful separations from everything animate and inanimate, with which the young heart has become entwined? Far from it. It is rather a source of joy that our country affords scope where our young population may range unobscured in body or in mind, developing the power and faculties of man in their highest

perfection. These remove hundreds, and almost thousand, of miles at their own expense. purchase the lands they occupy, and support themselves at the r own home from the moment of their arrival. Can it be cruel in this government, when, by events which it cannot control, the Indian is made discontented in his ancient home, to purchase his lands, to give him a new, and extensive territory, to pay the expenses of his removal, and support him in his new abode? How many thousands of our own people would gladly embrace the opportunity of removing to the West on such conditions? If the offers made to the Indians were extended to them, they would be hailed with gratitude and joy.

And is it supposed that the wandering savage has a stronger attachment to his home than the settled civilized Christian? Is it more afflicting to him to leave the graves of his fathers, than it is to our brothers and children? Rightly considered, the policy of the General Government towards the red man is not only liberal but generous. He is unwilling to submit to the laws of the State, and mingle with their population. To save him from this alternative, or, perhaps, utter annihilation, the General Government kindly offers him a new home, and proposes to pay the whole expense of his removal and settlement.

The object of the tariff is objected to by some as unconstitutional; and it is considered by almost all as defective in many of its parts.

The power to impose duties on imports originally belonged to the several States. The right to adjust those duties with a view to the encouragement of domestic branches of industry, is so completely incidental to that power that it is difficult to suppose the existence of the one without the other. The States have delegated their whole authority over imports to the General Government, without limitation or restriction, saving the very inconsiderable reservation relating to their inspection laws. This authority having thus entirely passed from the States, the right to exercise it for the purpose of protection does not exist in them; and, consequently, if it be not possessed by the General Government, it must be extinct. Our political system would thus present the anomaly of a people stripped of the right to foster their own industry, and to counteract the most selfish and destructive policy which might be adopted by foreign nations. This surely cannot be the case; this inalienable power, thus surrendered by the States, must be within the scope of the authority on the subject expressly delegated to Congress.

In this conclusion I am confirmed, as well by the opinions of Presidents Washington, Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe, who have each repeatedly recommended the exercise of this right under the Constitution, as by the uniform practice of Congress, the continued acquiescence of the States, and the general understanding of the people.

The difficulties of a more expedient adjust-

ment of the present tariff, although great, are far from being insurmountable. Some are unwilling to improve any of its parts, because they would destroy the whole; others fear to touch the objectionable parts, lest those they approve should be jeopardied. I am persuaded that the advocates of these conflicting views do injustice to the American people, and to their representatives. The general interest is the interest of each; and my confidence is entire, that, to ensure the adoption of such modifications of the tariff as the general interest requires, it is only necessary that that interest should be understood.

While the chief object of duties should be revenue, they may be so adjusted as to encourage manufactures. In this adjustment, however, it is the duty of the Government to be guided by the general good. Objects of national importance alone ought to be protected; of these the productions of our soil, our mines, and our workshops, essential to national defence, occupy the first rank. Whatever other species of domestic industry, having the importance to which I have referred, may be expected, after temporary protection, to compete with foreign labour, on equal terms, merit the same attention in a subordinate degree.

The present tariff taxes some of the comforts of life unnecessarily high; it undertakes to protect interests too local and minute to justify a general exaction; and it also attempts to force some kinds of manufactures for which the country is not ripe. Much relief will be derived, in some of these respects, from the measures of your last Session.

The best as well as fairest mode of determining whether, from any just consideration, a particular interest ought to receive protection, would be to submit the question singly for deliberation. If after due examination of its merits, unconnected with extraneous considerations—such as a desire to sustain a general system, or to purchase support for a different interest—it should enlist in its favour a majority of the representatives of the people, there can be little danger of wrong or injury in adjusting the tariff with reference to its protective effect. If this obviously just principle were honestly adhered to, the branches of industry which deserve protection would be saved from the prejudice excited against them, when that protection forms part of a system by which portions of the country feel, or conceive themselves to be oppressed. What is incalculably more important, the vital principle of our system—that principle which requires acquiescence in the will of the majority—would be secure from the discredit and danger to which it is exposed by the acts of minorities, founded, not on identity of conviction, but on combinations of small minorities, entered into for the purpose of mutual assistance in measures which, resting solely on their own merits, could never be carried.

In conclusion, Fellow-Citizens, allow me to

invoke, in behalf of your deliberation, that spirit of conciliation and disinterestedness, which is the gift of patriotism. Under an overruling and merciful Providence, the agency of this spirit has thus far been signalised in the prosperity and glory of our beloved country. May its influence be eternal.

ANDREW JACKSON.

FLOGGING SOLDIERS.

"MARCH OF MIND," AND "IMPROVEMENTS OF THE AGE."

"MILITARY TORTURE.—(From a Correspondent.)—On Friday morning last another of those brutal and disgusting punishments took place at Portman street Barracks, which has been so highly censured by the friends of humanity and the public in general. The first battalion of the Second, or Coldstream, Regiment of Guards, under the command of his Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge, are at present stationed at Portman street Barracks, and at the usual hour the battalion mustered in the barrack-yard where Thomas Richardson and Tennant, privates in the regiment, were brought out from their place of confinement, having suffered 14 days of solitary confinement, to have their Court-Martial read over to them. The prisoners were found guilty of high military offences. Tennant's offence was for being drunk on duty, and he was sentenced to receive three hundred lashes; he was tied up to the gibberds, but before he received 100 he fainted, and was taken down, and consigned to the care of the surgeon. Thomas Richardson, said to be a very bad character, and as far as we could learn, for a similar offence, and abusing his superiors, was sentenced to receive 500 lashes. The man writhed under the torture, bore his punishment with great firmness, and took the whole 500. On being taken down he thanked his officers for what they had given him, adding, 'Thank God you have not killed me yet.' He was also put under the care of the surgeon. There perhaps can be no better proof of the utter inutility of this barbarous and

disgraceful mode of punishment, than the fact that both these men, degraded as they are beneath the brute creation, have been flogged several times before for similar offences. The first battalion, we understand, is under the command of Colonel Sir William Gomm."

Now, reader, I take this from the MORNING HERALD of the 5th instant. It is, however, become quite fashionable writing. Even the OLD TIMES, bloody as it always has been, whelped, as its crew seems to have been, in a slaughter-house, has been crying out against this flogging work! "Vaust improvements, maam," says fat Mrs. Scrip to freakish Mrs. Omnium, whose husbands are gone up to 'Change, leaving them to walk the Steyne with the whiskered captains. Vast improvements, indeed! In 1810, Mr. DRAKARD, of the Stamford News, and I, were both in jail, each of us condemned to pass two years amongst felons, with each a heavy fine in addition, for no other offence than that of writing against military flogging, and that, too, in terms much less censorious, or, at least, harsh, than those here made use of, though I by no means find fault with these terms. I have forgotten the circumstances of Mr. DRAKARD'S case, but I remember that mine was this: not censuring the flogging of regular soldiers, who had voluntarily entered the service (though I did not approve of that), but censuring the flogging of militia-men, who had been compelled to enter the service; but here is my petition to the late King, whose reign, Pratt tells us, was "mild and merciful." Here is the whole story; and it will show how vastly the mind must have "marched" to make the above paragraph of the MORNING HERALD an inoffensive publication.

To His Most Gracious Majesty, GEORGE the Fourth, King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

The Petition of WILLIAM COBBETT, of Kensington, in the County of Middlesex,

Most humbly shews,

1. That there was published in Lon-

don, in the year 1809, a newspaper called the "Courier," which newspaper continues to be there published unto this day; that, in this said newspaper was published, on Saturday, the twenty-fourth day of June, 1809, a piece of news, or intelligence, in the following words; to wit:

"The mutiny amongst the *Local Militia*, which broke out at Ely, was fortunately suppressed, on Wednesday, by the arrival of four squadrons of the German Legion Cavalry from Bury, under the command of General Auckland. Five of the ringleaders were tried by a Court Martial, and sentenced to receive five hundred lashes each, part of which punishment they received on Wednesday, and a part was remitted. A stoppage for their knapsacks was the ground of complaint that excited this mutinous spirit, which occasioned the men to surround their officers, and demand what they deemed their arrears. The first division of the German Legion halted yesterday at Newmarket, on their return to Bury."

2. That your humble petitioner published, at the time here referred to, a work called the "Weekly Political Register;" that, on the first day of July, 1809, he inserted in the said work the above paragraph from the *Courier*, and that he, at the same time, subjoined words of his own, expressive of great indignation at the transaction; but words conveying no sentiment which he did not then think, and which he does not now think, it became an Englishman to entertain and express on such an occasion; and your humble petitioner is fully convinced, that if your Majesty were to be graciously pleased now to read those words, taking all the circumstances into your consideration; who the punished parties were, that they were poor men whom a novel law had forced to quit their homes, and to submit to military service; that the law had awarded a sum of money called the "marching guinea;" but knapsacks had been

given or tendered to them instead of the money; that though, perhaps, this might be for their own ultimate convenience and good; yet that, even if their claim had not been strictly legal, their youth and inexperience ought, your petitioner is sure your Majesty would allow, to have pleaded successfully in excuse for their conduct, and ought (especially as they have been compelled to assume the military garb) to have saved them from suffering punishment, severe in itself, and deemed infamous by the law of the land. Your humble petitioner is fully convinced that, if your Majesty were now to read those words, taking into consideration all these circumstances, your Majesty would see in them nothing that ought not to have proceeded from the heart or the pen of an Englishman; and that your Majesty would be able to discover in these words nothing that ought to be deemed seditious or libellous.

3. That, however, for having written and caused to be published these words, your humble Petitioner was prosecuted by an *ex-officio* information; that he was harassed with this prosecution for nearly a year; that he was then brought to trial; and that he was then sentenced, first, to be imprisoned for two years in the jail of Newgate; second, to pay a thousand pounds sterling at the end of the two years; and, third, to be held in bonds of three thousand pounds himself, with two sureties in a thousand pounds each, to the end of seven years after the expiration of the two years of imprisonment.

4. That, after the verdict had been given against your Petitioner, he had just had time to return to his alarmed family at seventy miles distance from London, when he was brought back by a judge's warrant to give bail for his appearance to receive his sentence; that, having appeared on the first day of term according to the command of the warrant, he was at once committed to jail, and kept there until finally brought to receive his horrible sentence; and that (a thing theretofore wholly unheard of) his then printer, THOMAS HANSARD; his then publisher, RICHARD

BAGSHAW; and even a bookseller named JOHN BUDD, were all, for the self-same cause, prosecuted in like manner, and all punished by imprisonment; so that, all persons pursuing the business of printing, or that of publishing, became terrified at the thought of printing or publishing the writings of your humble Petitioner, who had to endure many and great disadvantages arising from this terror, which caused an augmentation in the expense of putting forth his literary labours, and other grievous injuries, which he will not here enumerate.

5. That your Petitioner, who had long lived in the country at the time, and who had a wife, and a family of six small children, was put into a part of the jail allotted to *felons* and to persons convicted of *unnatural crimes*; that, on the day after the imprisonment of your Petitioner commenced, one of the former was taken out to be transported; and that, in a few days later, several of the latter were taken out to be placed in the pillory, and then brought back again to endure imprisonment in the same place th it had been allotted to your Petitioner, but imprisonment, he beseeches your Majesty to be pleased to observe, of *much shorter duration!*

6. That your humble Petitioner, in order to avoid society like this, and to be able to avail himself of the consolation afforded by occasionally seeing his virtuous family, obtained, through the intercession of Gentlemen belonging to the Corporation of London, leave to reside in the house of the Keeper, to whom he paid, for this indulgence, twelve pounds for every week; amounting, in two years, to *one thousand two hundred and forty-eight pounds.*

7. That, with any detail of the numerous other expenses, losses, injuries, and mischiefs of endless variety, attending those two years of imprisonment, and the other parts of the merciful sentence, your humble Petitioner will not presume to trouble your Majesty; but will conclude with, first, expressing his gratitude to God for having preserved him and his family amidst all these terrible sufferings; and, next, with appealing to the justice

of your Majesty, whom he humbly leave to remind that, at the end of these two years of pain and of ruin, he paid into the hands of an officer of the crown, a *thousand pounds sterling*, for the use of your Majesty, whom he now humbly prays to be graciously pleased to cause the said thousand pounds sterling to be restored to him, your Majesty's humble Petitioner, and faithful and dutiful subject,

W. COBBETT.

Kensington, 25th August, 1828.

PERU, through whom I sent this petition, told me, that the King had not been pleased to *command* any answer to be given to it; that is to say, that the prayer of the petition was *rejected*. I said then, as I say now, that the time will come when it will *not be rejected*; for never will I drop the matter until I obtain compensation for that deep injury. For the present, however, let us congratulate ourselves on this surprising "*march of mind.*" The start forward has been very sudden. Daddy Burdett, in his democratical days, used to talk about the matter now-and-then; but the thing always went off in smoke. It was not till *last August that ever was*, that the "*best possible public instructors*," began to open upon the subject. The coincidence was *curious*, at any rate, but it is a fact, that the broad-sheeted brethren never said a word in disapprobation of soldier-flogging till *after the arrival of the news of the glorious victory of the working people of Paris*; and then they all burst out at once, in full cry, just like a pack of hounds upon the starting of a hare! They were so indignant at the flogging of English soldiers; so horror-stricken at the sight, or, rather, at the thought, of "*our fine fellows*" being tied up by the wrists and ankles, and "*flogged till the blood ran down into their shoes*;" they did so lament and weep, that you would have sworn that the soldiers in the barracks at the Bird-cage Walk were their fathers, or even the *husbands of the shoe-owners of the broad-sheet!* Yes: the coincidence was *curious*. I do not assert positively that the brethren were moved to their

“*humane*” course by the news from Paris; but it is a fact that nobody can deny, that these brethren and sisters never did say one single word against soldier-flogging *until after* the news arrived from Paris, that the troops of the line *had refused to fire upon the people*. This is a fact that *nobody can deny*; and though we cannot be certain that it was this circumstance that awakened, or created, this feeling of *humanity* in the breasts of the *he's* and *she's* of the broad sheet, the *coincidence* was, I repeat, very *curious*, and well worth being remembered.

At any rate, be the motive what it might, here is a “*waust improvement*,” and I am now in hopes that, before the conclusion of my literary labours, I shall have to record that *soldier-flogging*, for my objections to which I and mine suffered so heavily, has been *abolished by act of parliament*. This will be a triumph indeed! And this triumph I shall certainly have.

IRELAND.

REPEAL OF THE UNION.

This is, and, in my opinion, it always was, a most important subject. But, before I proceed to remark on it, it is right to insert the Circular Letter of STANLEY, late member for Preston, and now what is called “*Chief Secretary*” in Ireland. It is a pretty good *beginning*, at any rate.

“*Dublin Castle, December, 1830.*”

“Having received and laid before the Lord Lieutenant letters from Magistrates in several parts of the country, announcing that meetings of *mischievous tendency*, under various pretences of political discussion, or of public amusement, had taken place, or were expected, and requesting to be informed what course the Government wished that the Magistrates should pursue with respect to such meetings; I am directed by his Excellency to communicate to you the view which his Majesty’s Government take of this question, and to lay down a line which it is hoped will be sufficiently distinct for your guidance in the exercise

of the important duties committed to your care.

“It will, I am persuaded, be unnecessary to remind you, that meetings of the inhabitants of any parish, town, or district, legally convened, and conducted in a peaceable and orderly manner, and confined to their avowed and legitimate objects, are not on any account to be molested by the civil force. The Government have no wish to check the fair expression of public opinion, nor to interfere with the right of petitioning Parliament, or of temperately appealing to those with whom the power of redressing the grievances complained of may rest.

“But I am further directed by his Excellency to observe, that while he is most anxious to secure to the people the undisturbed exercise of their constitutional rights, it is no less his determination than his duty, in the exercise of the high office with which he has been entrusted by his Majesty, to guard against any abuse of those rights, leading to the violation of the law or a breach of the public peace.

“The law recognises the *fair and legitimate* exercise of the right of petition; it acknowledges also the right of the people to meet for the purposes of *innocent* recreation, and protects them in the full and free exercise of that right. But the law does not warrant any assemblies having a manifest and direct tendency to a violation of the public peace, under whatsoever name, or for whatsoever professed purpose, they may be convened; and therefore any assemblies of persons, whether collected under the pretence of petitioning, or of public exhibitions of strength or skill, or under any other pretence whatsoever; if, from their numbers, acts, places or times of meeting, or other circumstances preceding or accompanying them, they excite in the minds of his Majesty’s well-disposed and peaceable subjects reasonable fear that the public peace will be thereby violated, and the lives or properties of the King’s subjects thereby endangered, or if they be so constituted or conducted

as to induce reasonable and well-founded apprehensions that the motives and objects of the persons so assembling are not the fair and legal exercise of constitutional rights and privileges, but the accomplishment of alterations in the laws and constitution of the realm, by means of intimidation, and by demonstration of physical force, or by any other than legal and constitutional means; in these and in all such like cases, such assemblies, however composed, or whatsoever professed view collected, are illegal, and are by the law denominated 'unlawful assemblies.'

"And it is the duty of all magistrates, within whose jurisdiction such assemblies are called together (being first duly satisfied of their illegal nature), by all lawful means within their power, to prevent such meetings, and to suppress and disperse the same."

"His Excellency relies with confidence upon the firmness, temper, and discretion, of the magistracy in general; and I am directed to remind you, that it is upon the union of these qualities in the local authorities that the Government must mainly depend, in case the peace of the country should be threatened. His Excellency has remarked, with much satisfaction, the humane and prudent course which the magistrates of some counties have adopted, of warning the population of their respective districts of the penalties to which they may expose themselves, if led unwarily into the commission of illegal acts; and his Excellency would recommend generally the adoption of this salutary measure, wherever the state of the country may appear to the Magistrates to require any precautionary steps.

"I am directed, in conclusion, to assure you, that while his Excellency will not fail to visit with his severest displeasure any Magistrate who may shrink from the due performance of functions so vitally important—so on the other hand, your efforts for the suppression of acts of outrage, or of illegality, will be duly appreciated and acknowledged.

"The Government will perform their part, affording you the fullest protec-

tion in the responsible exercise of your authority, and in supporting the civil force whenever it may be necessary for the preservation of the public peace.

"I have the honour to be,

"Your most obedient humble servant,

"E. G. STANLEY."

I need not remark on this; every one will see what it is intended to effect. But, as to the question of a *dissolution of the Union*, to bring about which Mr. O'CONNELL is labouring, I have a great deal to say, in support of that gentleman's proposition. And, first, as to what is meant by a *dissolution of the Union*. For, in this case, as in all others, where the people call for any change, no matter what, which is to better their lot, they have imputed to their designs that are not only unlawful, but *desperately wicked*, and are represented as being urged on by *instigators and agitators*, who have the gratification of their own *private interests* in view. This was conspicuously the case in 1817, when a million and a half of men prayed for the *abolition of unmerited pensions and sinecures* and for *reform of parliament*, things which are now demanded by every-body, except the tax-eaters themselves. The petitioners were then told that they had *other designs*, those of *anarchy and plunder*; and, upon this assertion, no proof of which was ever produced, their leaders were crammed into dungeons.

It is, thus far, just the same with regard to Mr. O'Connell and the Irish people, who are praying for a *dissolution of the Union*. They are told that that is not what they want; that they want a **SEPARATION OF IRELAND FROM ENGLAND**, in order that Ireland may be, at any time, able to join *France*, or any other power, *against England*. This has been said so often in most of the English newspapers; it has been so often stated as an *admitted fact*, that almost every-body believes it, though the most *barefaced lie* that ever dropped from pen or lips. What is the proposition? Why, to restore to Ireland her own two *Houses of Parliament* as she possessed them until the year 1800. They were then taken away by

Act of Parliament; and the people of Ireland now want *that act repealed*. The King always had his *Lord-Lieutenant there*; and so he would again; the King's authority would still remain as perfect as it is now; Ireland would be his dominion, and the people his subjects, just as they now are: all that is prayed for is, that Ireland may have her own two Houses of Parliament, as *Jamaica and Canada and Nova-Scotia* have; and this is what Corruption's press calls a demand, *to separate Ireland from England!*

The *reasons* in favour of the proposition are numerous and weighty; and it is because they *are* such, that the lie about the design *to cause separation* has been invented. If it were not for the *weight* of these reasons, the foes of the proposition would not be *so furious* as they are. If it were a foolish, a wild, an absurd project, they would laugh at it, and despise Mr. O'CONNELL. They now abuse him; they belie him; they becall him; sure signs that he is right. CORRUPTION, with all her million of mouths, each like the infernal mouth (mentioned by St. John) pouring out blasphemies everlasting, assails him and his proposition; and therefore, without going further, here is strong presumptive proof *that he is right*; better, far better, proof than that upon which many a poor man has been hanged by the neck like a dog. Suppose you were to know that the DEVIL disliked, and was endeavouring to prevent the passing of, a certain bill, would it not be pretty safe for you to conclude that the bill would be *for the good of mankind*? When, therefore; you see all that body of persons, who are, *collectively*, properly called CORRUPTION; when you see them flying tooth and nail at Mr. O'CONNELL, you are to presume that what he is endeavouring to obtain is *for the good of the people*.

But, now, let us see whether there be *not other reasons for this measure*; let us see whether it be a mere *whim* of Mr. O'Connell, a mere means of creating a storm. What is the *great curse* of Ireland? The great curse is *poverty* amongst the industrious classes; pover-

ty, misery, human degradation, beyond what was ever before seen or heard of in the world. It has been proved, in evidence and documents published by the House of Commons, or, at least, printed by its order, that the people, throughout whole parishes, were, at one time, dying from starvation; that they *stole, for food, sea-weed*, which had been laid on the land *for manure*; that, as to clothing, they were in such a state, that even grown-up women *went about naked*, and that this was *so common a thing*, that it did *not shock* the rich people to behold it. This is the *great curse* of Ireland; and if we find, as we shall, that the UNION is one of the great and obvious *causes of this curse*, ought not Mr. O'Connell to be applauded for his endeavours to remove that cause?

The cause of the misery of a people is either the *barrenness of the soil*, the *laziness of the people*, or some means by which the *fruit of their industry is taken away from them*. The soil of Ireland is singularly productive; it produces meat, butter, flour, in greater quantity, in proportion to its extent, than any country in the world; and its people are amongst the most laborious in the world. These are facts wholly undeniable. There must, then, be *some means by which the fruit of the industry of the people are taken away from them*. And this is the case, and this is the cause of that state of the people of Ireland, which is a disgrace to the name of the country and a disgrace to human nature. What, then, *are these means*, by which the fruit of the people's labour is taken from them? *This is the question*; this is the question! This is the question for us to answer; for, in this answer we shall find the good and solid reasons for a *repeat of the Union*.

There are divers means of taking away the fruit of the labour of a people. An invading enemy might come and carry off all the corn and cattle and wool and flax, and leave the people nothing but the roots and the straw and the weeds; and this would certainly produce great misery; but not greater, not more horrible, than that which we now behold in Ireland. The

invading enemy would be living, not only in abundance, but in luxury, while the people of the pillaged country would be in the most miserable state. In the year 1822, when the late King issued a sort of proclamation for causing collections to be made for the relief of the *starving Irish*; at that very time while there were thousands of the people starving, from the ports of Ireland there were daily sailing out ships with *out number, laden with pork, bacon, beef, butter, and flour, bound to England, or to some other country!* Such a sight was never before seen in the whole world. Such a thing was never before heard of, Such a thing was never before dreamed of. A people, from whose toil had come all the food, lying down and dying with hunger, while that food was carried away to be eaten by people in other countries!

And *how came* such a monstrous thing to be? How came it to be? It is always *nearly* thus, however. The country is the most productive in the world of *meat, butter, and flour*, and the people, who raise all these, *never taste of either*, but live on the miserable root along with the *lean hogs*, for to make a fat one there must be *some of the corn!* How comes this to be, then? How comes the food to be *thus carried away?* I will explain this matter. It arises from the *absence of those who receive the rents and tithes of Ireland, and from the taxes.* Suppose, now, that all the landlords of the ISLE OF WIGHT, and all the parsons, were to live out of the island, and to take away and spend the rent and tithes elsewhere, how would the farmers of the island be able to get money to send to them to pay the rent and the tithe? Why, they must *sell* the cattle, and corn, and butter, and wool, in order to get the money to pay with. But to whom could they sell? Not to the people of the island; for they would have no money. They must, therefore, *sell them to people out of the island:* they must send them away to other parts, there to be sold, and the money to be paid to the *landowners and parsons* there, these would, of course, spend the money *there*; and the Isle of Wight

meat and flour and butter and wool would be consumed there; and the people of the island must, of course, for the far greater part, live upon roots, sea-weed, or other substances, such as nature never destined to go into the stomach of human beings.

Very little short of this is the actual fact of the case of Ireland. And now let us see how the Union has added to this evil. But, first, every brazen and greedy Scotch place-hunter will say, as Doctor Black and Peter M'Culloch both said and swore, that this *non-residence* of rent and tithe receivers has no harm in it, because Ireland must import something in exchange for her exported produce. How is this to be, if the money that the produce sells for be handed over to the rent and tithe receivers, to be spent *abroad*, to be spent *out of Ireland?* They tell us of *Jamaica*: Jamaica is prosperous; the negroes do not starve, though all the landowners live and spend their incomes in Europe, and though their estates are managed by agents, just as those in Ireland are. Ah! but the labourers, the working people, of Jamaica have the GOOD LUCK to be the PRIVATE PROPERTY of the rent receivers, who, therefore, take care to feed them well, to keep up their strength, to favour breeding amongst them, and to supply them with the best of medical attendance when they are ill! The unhappy Irish want all these circumstances, which protect the lives of the Jamaica slaves, and ensure them a belly-full of food fit for man. They, accordingly, live on the CORN-MEAL, sometimes on MEAT and FLOUR, sent from unhappy Ireland; and never did it enter into the mind of slave-owner to make his slaves live on the filthy and accursed potatoes.

This is the *great cause* of the sufferings and the everlasting discontents in Ireland; and this cause is, in a great measure, produced by the Union, which has taken away the two Houses of Parliament, and numerous functionaries along with them; which has brought these over to England, and, along with them, all the landowners and a great part of the parsons. So that the pro-

duce of the country is sent away to be sold for money to be given to these and the people are left to eat miserable roots, weeds, or dirt. A repeal of the UNION would, in part at least, remove this great evil, which, observe, is daily increasing; and it is notorious, that from the day of the Union to this day the people have been growing more and more wretched, demanding law still more and more cruel and an army more and more numerous to keep them down. And yet a man is to be called traitor for using lawful means for the purpose of removing this evil!

My readers will bear in mind that always said, that *Catholic Emancipation ALONE* would do nothing for Ireland and that to effect any good purpose the Protestant Church, the Law-church of Ireland must be repealed. This is another mighty reason for a repeal of the Union; for every man of sense must know, that an *Irish Parliament* could not now suffer that church to exist a year. Every man must know that every man does know it, and every man says it. And it is this in which every soul in Ireland is interested. If there be one Churchman to ten Catholics and Dissenters it is as much as there is. What a monstrous thing then, to give three millions a-year to the parsons and bishops, and to make the Catholics and dissenters pay nine-tenths of it! This is a source of heart-burnings not to be described: it fills the people with constant ill-will against all persons in authority; and thus their hatred becomes fixed and immovable. DOCTOR DOYLE (a Catholic bishop), in a late address to his people, who were in a state of agitation, has this passage; pray read it with attention:

You have been driven by a system of cruel and rapacious exaction to assemble in those large musses, in which you are observed to congregate from some of the most distant parts of this county. While your assemblies are conformable to law, and devoid of intemperances to riot or violence, I am far from saying, that they ought to be discouraged. Had the Established Clergy undertaken the reform themselves, which, it would appear they prefer seeing others accomplish for their Church; had the resident gentry of the county, Kilkenny the prudence to represent to the

Government the grievous pressure of the carnal and secular side of the Establishment upon your industry and your subsistence, had even a prospect of redress, open from whatever region of the horizon it might, been presented to console you, then indeed your interference might be construed as ungracious and unnecessary. But, when there is not noticed a stir, in the way of reform, amongst those, on whose side the origin of reform would be policy, it is well to observe the significant symptoms of disquiet and dissatisfaction amongst those who need that reform, both as a necessity and a relief. In point of principle, therefore, you are justified in meeting to express your sense of the evils which impoverish and afflict you. It should be your care, that the expression of that sense be conveyed to those, who have the power of redressing you, not by the show or the act of intimidation, not by the touching the hair of the most obnoxious tithe-proctor, not by menacing the person or the abode of the stoutest churchman in the land, but by an open, peaceable and firm declaration of the several cases of injustice of which you have cause to complain, and that, either by a memorial or deputation to the Clergyman himself, or by numerous and repeated Petitions to Parliament.

This shows the real cause of one great part of the turmoil. In short, the people are going to the parsons, or their proctors, and demanding a reduction of the tithes, very much in the Norfolk style. On last week the people went to a parson on this business; the parson, whose name is Butler, shut himself into his house, and the following altercation took place; the parson had asked "what they wanted?"

It was answered, that they appeared to request he would reduce the amount of tithes which the people felt as an insufferable burden.

MR. BUTLER replied that he asked for no tithes beyond what the law allowed him; that it was not in his power or theirs to alter the law, which both parties were bound to abide by; that he had been for many years minister of the parish; and defied any person to say he had committed an act of oppression during that time, as a tithe owner; and that as he sought nothing beyond his right, so he would continue to require every shilling of it, and ~~was not disposed to any reduction required.~~

MR. KINSILLA said that a process for Mr. Butler's tithes had been left with a man named Whelan, whose wife at the moment had been carrying out to be buried, and whose four children lay ill of fever, while their father had not shilling to provide necessaries for their relief.

MR. BORTON, junior said, Whelan had not paid tithes for two years before, and repeated his father's determination to seek the payment of all tithes allowed by the laws.

One in the crowd asked, was it just to exact sums, even if permitted by law, which the people were *unable to pay*.

Mr. BUTLER said, certainly not, but *let they landlords first reduce their rents*, and—(Mr. Butler was here interrupted.)

The people called out that the rents had been reduced, while the tithes increased, and added, that the landlord *gave some value* for the sums demanded, while the clergyman gave none.

Mr. BUTLER—I can have but one answer to give you. If the clergyman commits any outrage, the law is open for you to seek redress; but while it *gives me a certain property* I cannot be expected to give up my right.

Mr. BUTLER now retired, but was again called for, and upon the distress of the people being represented to him, said, he was sorry for the distress, but that he had always been moderate in regard to enforcing his tithes, except where he had to *deal with rogues*.

A person called out to know would he reduce the 1,100*l.* he received at present to 400*l.* annually.

Mr. BUTLER would make no promise on the subject, because, being compulsory, he would not consider himself bound to keep it.

Mr. BUTLER again retired, and Mr. Blanchfield put the following resolution to the assembly:

“Resolved—That as Mr. Butler refuses to relieve us from any part of the burden which the law allows him to impose on the people; *we pledge ourselves to refuse all payment of tithes hereafter, until compelled to it, by law proceedings.*”

Here is the point, then! To this it always comes at last. So long as this establishment shall exist, so long will Ireland be in a state of commotion; and so long will the industrious classes of the whole kingdom have to be taxed to support a NUMEROUS STANDING ARMY! In the peace before the Union, about four regiments of soldiers were kept up in Ireland. Now it requires thirty regiments, besides an armed police all over the country, a thing never dreamed of in the peace before the Union. Can this system continue? Can it last; and that, too, with that Republic in France, which we shall behold before the month of June? Can it last, with the cheap government of France on one side of us, and the cheap government and prosperous and happy people of America on the other side, and both of them without tithes? Can this system last under such circumstances? If it can, why then, let it; but, if it cannot, is it not wise to give it up at once? Or, is

every thing to be risked for the sake of upholding this church establishment? This last question is one that the Ministers ought to put to each other every time they meet, until they have come to a firm decision; and, if they decide in the affirmative, let them make up their minds to the consequences, which consequences I do not think myself a fit person to describe.

PRESTON ELECTION.

In the report of Mr. Hunt's speech at Bolton, there must have been an error of great importance; for there he is made to say, that he will “*oppose no reform that gives the ballot.*” What! Would he not oppose a reform that should disfranchise all the people of Preston, except men of 500*l.* a year rent! He could not say this, and nobody will believe that he did say it. A man must however leave such matters to be set to rights by time and by his general conduct.

Something of still more importance took place at Manchester, an account of which I take from the MORNING HERALD, as follows: “On New-year's Day, about noon, Mr. Henry Hunt honoured Manchester with his presence. A party of the radicals of the town posted off early in the morning to Oldham, in a barouche, drawn by four horses, with out-riders dressed in scarlet liveries; and between one and two o'clock Mr. Hunt and the party entered the town in this vehicle, amidst the cheers of thousands of wondering spectators. They drove slowly through the streets, and proceeded to St. Peter's-field (the site of the appalling steifes in August, 1819, when Mr. Hunt was taken into custody.) From 10,000 to 12,000 persons, comprising men, women, and children, were attracted to the spot to witness the Hon. Member's display of oratory in the open air. After he obtained silence he addressed the multitude in one of his speeches, in which he adverted to the “*massacre*” of 1819, *pledging himself to bring its promoters to justice*—spoke with great

" severity of the Magistrates who were present on the occasion, whom he pronounced to be 'cruel, inhuman, and unjust,'—and promised that he would restore the people's rights by his exertions in the House of Commons. The mob conducted themselves with perfect order and decorum, and not the slightest disposition to disturb the peace of the town was shown. As the procession marched on the field, deafening cheers made the welkin ring, and shouts of 'What's Wellington's visit to this?' were very general. In the evening Mr. Hunt dined with a numerous party of radical reformers, at the Spread Eagle Inn, Hanging Ditch. Whilst on the field he looked exceedingly well, and quite capable, as far as bodily appearance extends, to 'go through a tough piece of work' (to use his own words) in the House of Commons."

This is something tangible; the path is plain for the fulfilment of this pledge, the law is clear, and the precedents without end, if the charges be true. But no motion for inquiry will be of any avail. It must be something clear, distinct, and specific; or it will produce no effect upon the country. The promoters and the actors in the affair of the 16th August, did something *unlawful*, or they *did not*: if the latter, they ought not to be accused; but if the former, the accusation ought to be *specific*; it ought to be such as all the world can understand clearly; and made in a *form* and *manner* that will enable the accused parties to meet it *point by point, fact by fact, allegation by allegation*. It is a most weighty matter, especially when taken in *conjunction with the affair of 1817*; and the present Ministry could not do a wiser thing, than now to prove that their *professions* and their *protests* of those years were *sincere*. Never was a finer speech than that made by LORD GRAY on the Manchester affair of the 16th of August.

There has been a loud and general rejoicing in all the great towns through which Mr. Hunt has come, on his way to London: and it is notified in the

newspapers, that *the people* mean to meet him, on Monday next, at ten o'clock, to conduct him into London. Dr. Black finds fault of this in his paper of the 5th instant, in the following words:—"At the time of the discussion in the House of Commons on the subject of the legality of the procession of the trades, to present an Address to the KING, we observed that, whether legal or not, all processions in this crowded metropolis were attended with great inconvenience. We are a very different people from our forefathers, to whom pageants and processions, while they afforded a salutary excitement, could be productive of little injury. We appeal to all the inhabitants of the Metropolis, whether the preparations made for the Royal Visit to the City did not for a week or two, subject every person who had business to attend to much trouble and annoyance, to say nothing of loss of time? We are induced to allude to this subject at present by the announcement of a determination of the friends of Mr. HUNT to assemble to the number of 100,000, for the purpose of a triumphal entry into the metropolis. We are sure that we only speak the sentiments of most of our readers when we express a wish that all assemblages of this sort should be discouraged as much as possible. We have no wish to interfere with any man's popularity, or to prevent any description of the people from manifesting their feelings; what we wish is, that some mode of manifestation should be resorted to, attended with less public inconvenience."

This is prett. What mode have the people besides this? No objection was made to the intended Royal and Ducal procession; no fault was ever found with the crowds assembled to do honour to Wellington and the rest of that description; no fault of any of their processions; but, now that THE PEO-

ple have a triumph, there is great "public inconvenience" in processions. praises did we read of the procession and all the shows, got up, the other day, by the tax-eaters of Brighton!

No talk of "*public inconvenience*" then; but, now that the people are about to express their joy by a procession, it is a thing that ought to be *discouraged*. This is the *people's own affair*; it is their pleasure to do this, as a *mark of approbation of the excellent conduct of their brethren of Preston*, and as a *pledge of their resolution to support Mr. Hunt*. It is *proper as well as lawful*; and any attempt to prevent it is an act of insolence. "*Loss of time*," indeed! What will it shorten the year 1831! Or, does Dr. BLACK think that all time is *lost*, during which the people are not at work to *get the means of paying taxes*? Are those, who do the work, never to have a moment's recreation? But this is a *duty*: insensible indeed would they be if they did not discharge *this duty*. Who is to fight their battles, if they will not clap on the back those who are ready to do it? Not only *now*, but, when he *goes to take his seat*, on the 3rd of February, he ought to be accompanied by an *escort of the people*. It is, however, the *people's own affair*; and to them it ought to be left; and, if it be thus left, I engage that they do that which is sensible and just.

If any one could have a right to object to the intended procession of Monday next, it would be Mr. Hunt himself; for, certainly, these demonstrations of joy add, in proportion to their solemnity and magnitude, to the weight of the burden that he is taking upon himself. For, what is the ground of all this joy? Not that he has been *elected*; not that he is a member of the thundering House; not that he can now frank letters and save postage; not that he is now protected against arrests in certain cases; oh, no! but that the people see in his having been elected a ground of confident hope of *great good to themselves*; that they see in parliament a man on whom they rely for the doing of that which no other man now in parliament will do; that, in short, he is now, to use the old saying of bawling PITT, going to obtain for them "*indemnity for the past, and security for the future*." These are the *grounds* on which they rejoice; and, therefore, this

grand demonstration of their joy, if objected to by any-body, ought to be objected to by Mr. Hunt himself. His accepting of it augurs well as to his *intentions and determinations*; for he has too much experience not to know that those demonstrations indicate *proportionate expectations*. His accepting of the demonstration, therefore, tells us that he is prepared for the *satisfying of such expectations*. I view in the same light the RED COCK of Preston. It seems that a *game-cock* is the *Preston Crest*; and that the good fellows there had at the close of the election, a flag representing a RED COCK, *crowing* and clapping his wings, and a YELLOW COCK (dunghill) *running away*. This is a pretty bold type, to be sure, but not too bold, the party being *resolved to act up to it*. To say that you will do that which you *can* do, and are *resolved to do*, ought not to be called *bragging*; it is simply *stating a fact*. For these reasons I approve of and applaud these processions. I recommended to Mr. O'CONNELL to be carried into the House, in 1829, by a hundred thousand men; and if he had been, he would not now have had to resent the gross affront offered to him in withholding from him a silk gown.

POOR MAN'S FRIEND.

Chelsea, Dec. 27th, 1830.

DEAR COBBETT,

I HAVE been reading your great little work, *The Poor Man's Friend*; and I never was more deeply impressed by a statement of facts and arguments bearing on the condition of two-thirds of the population, to which condition two-thirds of the other third are rapidly verging.

I lamented, as I read, that so clear and conclusive a fact has not found its way into every family which has any share of power to redress the evils exposed. It would remove all those mistakes by which selfish and uncharitable feeling sustains so unnatural and cruel a state of Society, and probably prevent that terrible reaction which must otherwise inevitably follow the perseverance in so grinding and oppressive a system.

It seems clear that in comparison with the prices of labour for 700 years, and which prices became therefore a prescriptive right and an inheritance of the useful and producing classes, that for the last 35 years, full three millions of industrious persons have, by an adroit policy, been manœuvred out of full two SHILLINGS per day, or 36l. 10s. per annum; forming a total of 110 millions per annum, and amounting in 35 years to 3,850 millions sterling; being the very amount which the Septennial Parliaments have voted to this time in loans and taxes.

That this fact nothing can be more certain, for during 700 years it appears on indubitable authorities that the daily pay of labourers was the 12th and 15th, and at lowest the 20th, of the price of a quarter of wheat; and that too in times when labourers were little better than serfs on the land, and wheat itself a rarer product than at present. In other articles, as mutton, beef and pork, the ratio was still higher. In short, it appears on the precedent of 700 years' practice, that within the last 35 years, labourers were entitled to 3s. 6d., 4s., 4s. 6d. and 5s. per day, instead of 1s. 6d., 2s., or 2s. 6d. as a crack price.

Persons who prattle about surplus population and competition, ought to know, if they choose to know, that there may be a surplusage of dronés, but that a surplusage of the producing classes is an absurd proposition, and a contradiction in terms; and with respect to excessive competition, let the Legislature so assess large farms as to double or even treble the number of farms, and we shall soon hear of a scarcity instead of a surplusage of labourers. The anti-social system of engrossing and consolidating farms, in order that speculating agriculturists (not farmers) might pay high rents, to enable landlords to pay high taxes, and thereby maintain, and even increase, their incomes, has, in its operation, fallen entirely on the producing classes. Speculators could not pay higher rents than modest working farmers, only by abridging labour of its usual recompense; and hence a deplorable state of

the country, which makes one rather wonder that submission has lasted so long, than that partial insurrections have at length taken place. I was as much gratified by your exposure of that high prerogative lawyer, Blackstone, as by other parts of your pamphlet. To judge him thoroughly you should see his *first* edition. After his promotions, he altered his work, to please Mansfield and the court party. My excellent old friend, GRANVILLE SHARPE, told me that in the case of Somerset, he went to the Mansion-house armed with an extract from his friend Blackstone, against Slavery in England. It was so conclusive that the Lord Mayor turned to the Mansion-house copy, but, to the utter confusion of honest Sharpe, no such passage was to be found. The most he could then effect was to get an adjourned hearing; and Sharpe walked straight to the house of Blackstone, who confessed that that, as well as some other passages on popular rights, had been so much objected to by some of his brother judges and persons in power, that for his own peace he had in the second edition been induced to cancel them. What a commentary on the authority of Blackstone! In fine, I thank you for your correct exposition of the condition of the producing classes, and for your able and logical advocacy of their cause. All benevolent men will thank you also, and the exposure of errors which have prevailed on the subject will inevitably have its effect on our legislators and statesmen, at least on those of them who are capable of reasoning from cause to effect; and in that case, I trust it will occasion relief to be administered, instead of coercion and cruel punishments, for some crimes which, in part and in certain respects, were venial in flesh and blood. I should have failed in duty and character, if I had foreborne, in this way and at this time, to express my sense of the value of your writings on this very interesting subject.

I am, &c. &c.,

R. PHILLIPS.

SPECIAL COMMISSIONS!

Oh, yes! I "beheld what has passed, and is passing, in HAMPSHIRE and WILTSHIRE"! I behold it; I cannot, at present, trust my pen upon the subject; but, when I forget, or neglect, *my duty* with regard to it, may the God that made me instantly reduce me to dust! I am getting together all the facts relating to it; *names, dates and circumstances*; and that is all that I can do at present.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 31, 1830.

BANKRUPTCY ENLARGED.

ADRON, W. and C., New-road, St. Pancras, and Buckingham-street, Fitzroy-square marble-masons.

BANKRUPTS.

BAKER, F., Creekmore, Dorsetshire, iron-founder.

BOTCHERBY, J., Darlington, Durham, linen-manufacturer.

CHARLTON, C. P., Stourton, Wiltshire, dealer.

COCKSHAW, A., Leicester, stationer.

GERARD, W., Frome, Somersetshire, Grocer.

GILL, G., Axbridge, Somersetshire, linen-draper.

JACKSON, A. C., Horse-down, Southwark, coal-merchant.

NEALE, W., Leicester, wool-stapler.

SEAMAN, G., St. John-street, Clerkenwell, livery-stable-keeper.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 4, 1830.

INSOLVENTS.

JAN. 3.—PADDON, F. W., Plymouth, printer.

JAN. 4.—ELLIOT, J., Holloway, carpenter.

BANKRUPTCY ENLARGED.

HUMFREY, J., Manningtree, Essex, wine-merchant.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

COUPLAND, C., jun., Leeds, spirit-merchant.

BANKRUPTS.

BLINMAN, T., Bristol, brazier.

CRISP, J., Colchester, butcher.

HAYLLAR, J., Brighton, horse-dealer.

HOUGHTON, M., Ipsley, Warwickshire, grocer.

JONES, D., Cynwyd, Merionethshire, victualler.

JONES, E., Canterbury, grocer.

KEY, J., Great Prescot-street, Goodman's-fields, oilman.

RETEMEYER, M., Bury-court, St. Mary-Axe, and Park-road, Clapham-road, ship-insurance-broker.

STODDART, W., Freshford, Somersetshire, cloth-manufacturer.

STORRY, F. W., York, dealer.

WILSON, W., Mincing-lane, sugar-broker.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE. CORN EXCHANGE, JAN. 3.—We had a tolerably large supply of Wheat fresh in this morning from Kent, Essex, and Suffolk, when fine samples were taken off readily on the terms we noted last Monday; but all the middling and inferior sorts were rather lower than otherwise, and the stands were not quite cleared. Flour remains at our last quotations. Fine Malting Barley is in demand at an advance of full 1s per quarter since this day se'nnight. Beans of both sorts, and Grey Peas are dull sale, at a reduction in the prices of 1s. per quarter. White Peas are rather dearer than otherwise. In Oats, or other articles, no variation.

Wheat	62s. to 70s.
Rye	28s. to 32s.
Barley	30s. to 37s.
— fine	38s. to 42s.
Peas, White	35s. to 44s.
— Boilers	45s. to 46s.
— Grey	30s. to 37s.
Beans, Small	35s. to 44s.
— Tick	35s. to 42s.
Oats, Potatoes	30s. to 32s.
— Poland	28s. to 29s.
Flour, per sack	63s. to 65s.

HOP INTELLIGENCE.

BOROUGH, Monday, Jan. 3.—There was a pretty good supply at market, and good old Hops met with a ready sale. Prices continue, however, nearly the same as this day week.

New Sussex Pockets 7l. 15s. to 8l. 15s., Kent ditto, 8l. 8s. to 14l. 14s., Essex ditto, 8l. 5s. to 10l. 5s. Bags per cwt, Sussex ditto, 7l. 7s. to 8l., ditto Kent, 3l. 3s. to 10l. 18.—Farnham fine 16l. 16s. to 20l., ditto seconds, 9l. 9s. to 15l.

SMITHFIELD—Jan. 3.

We have to-day a larger supply than on this day se'nnight, and a better trade. Good Beef fetches more money; in a few instances about 1l. in twenty; and the whole is expected to be sold out. Sound Mutton is wanted; and the best of such, whether little or big, make 4s. or nearly, per stone. Good Downs are stated at 4s. 4d.; but a few choice pens have made something more. Beasts, 2,216; Calves, 150; Sheep, 21,176; Pigs, 190.

THURSDAY, JAN. 6.—This day's supply was throughout exceedingly limited, there not having been at any time in the morning 40 good Beasts, and comparatively few good Sheep and fat Calves in the market. The trade with prime Beef, Mutton, and Veal was

tolerably brisk; with the two former at an advance of from 2*d.* to 4*d.*, and the latter generally 6*d.* per stone. In prices of middling and inferior Beef and Mutton, or in those of Pork, no alteration.—Prime Beef, from 3*s.* 4*d.* to 4*s.* 2*d.*; middling Beef, 2*s.* 6*d.* to 2*s.* 10*d.*; inferior Beef, 2*s.* 2*d.* to 2*s.* 4*d.*; prime Mutton, 3*s.* 10*d.* to 4*s.* 8*d.*; middling Mutton, 2*s.* 8*d.* to 3*s.* 2*d.*; inferior Mutton, 2*s.* 2*d.* to 2*s.* 4*d.*; Veal, 3*s.* 8*d.* to 5*s.* 6*d.*; Pork, 3*s.* 2*d.* to 4*s.* 8*d.*—per stone, of 8lbs., to sink the offal.—Sucking Calves, from 12*s.* to 36*s.*; and quarter-old store Pigs, 12*s.* to 18*s.* each. Supply, as per Clerk's statement: Beasts, 135; Sheep, 2,260; Calves, 120; Pigs, 90.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, Dec. 24.

The supplies are still small, the demand moderate, and the prices the same as on Monday.

English arrivals.	Foreign.	Irish.
Flour 5,710		
Wheat 3,615	2,170	
Barley 4,240	420	
Oats 695	185	2,500

THE FUNDS.

	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.
3 per Cent. } Cons. Ann. }	82½	82½	82½	82½	82½	82½

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At the trials before the SPECIAL COMMISSION, at Winchester, it was stated by witnesses, that the labouring men went to work *with nothing but potatoes in their bags*, and that the people, who were compelled from their wants, to go to the parish for relief, were *set to draw carts like cattle*; and that even OLD MEN and WOMEN were thus compelled to work; and, in one case, a woman who was AN IDIOT!

No. II.
HISTORY

OF THE

REGENCY AND REIGN OF GEO. IV.

BY WILLIAM COBBETT.

(Continued from No. 2, col. 90.)

32. THE minister, who liked well enough to make this exhibition of the Prince, proposed, as the amount of his new settlement, 125,000*l.* a year, besides the rents of the Duchy of Cornwall, valued at 13,000*l.* a year more. But out of this 138,000*l.* a year, 73,000*l.* was to go towards the payment of his debts, and was to be placed, for that purpose, in the hands of commissioners! Thus leaving him 65,000*l.* a year to live on, a sum not equal to half of that which he had annually expended for seven years before. At the same time an act of parliament was passed "to prevent future princes of Wales from contracting debts," an act which seemed wholly unnecessary, except for the purpose of conveying, in an indirect way, the censure of the parliament on the conduct of the prince. As to "future princes of Wales," this was, however, an act of flagrant injustice. It was an act to keep them, by law, in a state below that of what the law calls a *femme covert*; and, indeed, to keep them in a state of *infancy*; a state little compatible with the sacredness of the person of the party. But, as we shall all along perceive, it has been the constant policy of the aristocracy to prevent the kingly part of the government from

being over-burdened with popularity or respect.

33. The minister was most vehemently censured for this by the personal friends of the prince, who declared it to be an insult intended and contrived, and this it certainly was. Yet it was not easy to blame Pitt and his party for their conduct upon this occasion; for how was a minister, after the large sum paid for a similar purpose, in 1787, again to call upon the nation for an immense sum to pay off the prince's debts, without doing something that should amount to a censure on him by whom those debts had been contracted? The transactions of 1787 had left the prince no justification and no excuse for this new mass of debts. At that time he had had, from the time of his coming of age in 1783, an allowance from the king, out of the civil list, of 50,000*l.* a year; an allowance enormous, especially if we consider the then low price of all household expenses. Nevertheless, it required but four years to involve the prince in debts; a circumstance that reflected less credit on him than the friends of kingly government could have wished to see belong to so distinguished a branch of the royal family; a circumstance, in fact, which was, in itself, no weak argument in favour of the French, who were contending for a Republican government.

34. It was not, therefore, without some severe animadversions on his conduct, that the House of Commons entertained a proposition to pay off the debts of 1787; and they did not pass the grant, until the king had given them the strongest assurances, that a similar application, for a similar purpose, would never again be made. In his message of the 21st of May, 1787, the king, after expressing his great concern at being under the necessity of acquainting the House of the extent of the prince's debts, and after observing how painful it was to him to propose, on this account, an addition to the burdens of his people, proceeds thus: "His majesty could not, however, expect or desire the assistance of this House, but on a well-grounded expectation that the prince will avoid contracting any debts in future. With a view to this object, and not from any anxious desire to remove any possible doubt of the sufficiency of the prince's income to support amply the dignity of his situation, his majesty has directed a sum of 10,000*l.* per annum to be paid out of his civil list, in addition to the allowance which his majesty has hitherto given him; and his majesty has the satisfaction to inform the House, that the Prince of Wales has given his Majesty the fullest assurance of his determination to confine

“his future expenses within his income, and has also settled a plan for arranging those expenses in the several departments; and for fixing an order for payment under such regulations as his majesty trusts will effectually secure the due execution of the prince's intentions.”

35. Upon this message the minister proposed, and the parliament voted, the sum of 161,109*l.* to pay off the debts; a sum perfectly monstrous, if we consider the prices of things at the time, and if we also consider, that it must have been contracted within the short space of about *three years and a half*. The nation, however, always foolishly liberal, seems to have been willing to overlook the past, in consequence of the *solemn assurances* of the prince, conveyed to it under the hand of the king himself, that this should be the *last application of the kind*.

36. When, therefore, another application of precisely the same kind was to be made, how could any minister advise the king to make it, without accompanying that application with a proposal to do a something in the way of *security* for the future, and of *recompense* for the past? Accordingly the king recommended and the parliament adopted, in 1795, the appointment of *commissioners* to superintend the payment of the debts, and the passing of the *act* before-mentioned.

37. It is easy to conceive how disagreeable it must have been to the prince to have every debt, and the *nature* of every debt, canvassed before commissioners! And how very different this was from placing, at once, the 639,290*l.* at his *own disposal*. There was a commission to sit for at least *nine years*, as they were to pay only 73,600*l.* a year. All this time there must necessarily be a great many discontented creditors, who are by no means the most patient or most friendly of mortals. The prince was a *debtor* all the while; and, while the nation thought, and truly thought, his allowance very large, he found that what he was receiving was much too small for those purposes which he deemed his wants.

38. Thus this marriage, instead of affording the prince that *relief from embarrassment*, which his friends said he had been led to expect from it, was, to him, a season of the *deepest humiliation*. Those friends were very loud in their reproaches against the minister; and the prince's brother, the Duke of CLARENCE (now WILLIAM IV.) said, in his place in the House of Lords, that, “when the marriage of the prince was *ordered upon*, there was a stipulation that he was to be *exonerated from his debts*.”

39. The marriage had failed, therefore, of a accomplishing one of its apparent objects. In such cases personal affection is never much to be relied on. The thing is altogether an affair of state policy; and, under circumstances such as have here been stated, it is but too natural to suppose that the other party in the marriage would derive no advantage from the disappointment of the above-mentioned pecu-

niary hopes. There were, indeed, added to the annual sum, 27,000*l.* for expenses of the marriage; 28,000*l.* for jewels and plate; and 26,000*l.* to finish the prince's palace of Carlton House: but, there was a *control* as to the *expenditure* of those sums, which were by no means to be spent by the prince. So that in fact, his pecuniary circumstances, his capacity of spending money, became lowered, and greatly lowered, by his marriage, which of necessity augmented his household expenses.

40. It is very true, that 65,000*l.* a year, clear of all taxes, undeducted from by house-rent, furniture, repairs, and many other of those outgoings which so largely deduct from other men's incomes, was a sum so large, that one can hardly imagine how it was to be disposed of without an absolute throwing of it away. But having seen, that, during the seven years previous to the marriage, the prince had expended 110,000*l.* a year, we are not to be surprised that he experienced deep mortification at being reduced to less than half the sum; and especially when he saw his stipend placed in the hands of *commissioners*, responsible to the law for the distribution of the money.

41. This mortification was strongly expressed by his friends in parliament; and, certainly, any thing more mortifying, more humiliating, cannot well be imagined than the provisions of the act relating to the application of the new settlement of 140,000*l.* a year. The commissioners were to be, the speaker of the House of Commons; the chancellor of the Exchequer; the master of the King's household; the accountant-general of the court of Chancery; and the surveyor-general of the crown-lands. They were to have complete power to examine all creditors *on oath*; to inquire into the *origin* and *nature* of every debt; to watch over the *future expenditure*; and, in short, to be absolute, as to all the pecuniary affairs of the prince, who was placed under a guardianship and control as severe as if he had still been an infant, or something even lower in the scale of intellectual capacity.

42. FRANCIS, DUKE OF BEDFORD, in advertising to these measures, in his place in parliament, vehemently censured the ministers. He said that “a variety of circumstances would occur to candid minds in “extenuation of the errors of the prince, “which were of a *juvenile* description, and “did by no means call for asperity of censure.” The EARL OF LAUDERDALE said, that “it did not become so great and opulent “a people to act with severity towards a “young prince, from whose *virtues, abilities, “and accomplishments*, they might justly expect to derive so much *contentment*.”

43. The nation, however, does not appear to have thought that *thirty-three years* of age was a very “*juvenile*” stage of life. If it were such, however, in this particular case, the nation could see no objection to a guardianship, and control such as are usual in the “*juvenile*” state. And as to those *virtues and abilities* of which the Earl of Lauderdale

spoke, though no one was presumptuous enough to deny, or to express a doubt as to their existence; no one, on the other hand, appeared to be able to deduce a proof of them, from what had happened in 1787, or from the present exhibition of debts which had been contracted notwithstanding the solemn assurances given at the former period.

44. Harsh, severe, humiliating, as the measures of PITT certainly were, they met with the approbation of the nation at large, who, whatever they might think of the prince himself, had a very bad opinion of some, at least, of those who were regarded as being in his confidence and in his favour. Besides the nation looked attentively at the causes of the debts. They looked at the list of *claimants* and of *claims*. They looked at the *items*; and in them they did not discover anything which seemed to form a compensation, either in possession or in hope, for the immense sums which the Prince's indulgences had drained from the fruit of their labour. Indeed, the *princess* seems to have been, in regard to this point, their only source of consolation. Concluding, from the experience of mankind, that matrimony would put an end to those things which had been so costly to them, and had so long filled them with alarm, they looked upon the princess as giving them much better security than they could have in commissionerships and acts of parliament.

45. The marriage had brought the prince *wife*, but it had brought him none of those other things which his friends and partizans, at least, said he expected from it; and it had brought him worse than no fortune at all; for it had, in fact, taken from him, as to the management of his pecuniary concerns, all sort of power, and even of influence. The reader will judge for himself, whether these immediate consequences of the marriage (so different from those that had been anticipated) were likely to operate in the mind of the husband favourably towards the wife. Precisely how they did operate we cannot pretend to know; but certain it is that domestic happiness was *not long* an inmate at Carlton House.

46. The mortification of the Prince seemed to admit of little addition: it seemed to be complete; but it did receive an addition in the conduct of the parliament towards the Princess, on whom, by an act passed on the same day with that which established a *commission* to manage the affairs of the Prince, they settled a jointure of 50,000*l.* a year, *leaving the expenditure entirely under her own control!* Thereby making by *law* a contrast between the husband and wife, to the disgrace of the former. Never did the Prince to the hour of his death forget this! Mr. GREY, who was in fact the beginner of the attack upon him, he never forgave; and this is the real cause of his unconquerable aversion to every arrangement that included the putting of Lord Grey into power. Certainly, the

treatment of the Prince in this case, was, in itself considered, most insulting; but before we say that a man is insulted, we must consider *what the man is*: and not merely what his rank is, but what his *character* is, and what his *conduct has been*; and if we thus consider in this case, we cannot say that there could be an insult indicted; for what, alas! was that character, and what had been that conduct?

CHAPTER II.

From the Marriage of the King, in April, 1795, to the commencement of his Regency, in July, 1811.

47. It was not in reason nor in nature to expect, that a marriage, a marriage of mere state-policy, and attended by circumstances so mortifying to the husband as those detailed in the foregoing chapter, should be *happy*, especially when that husband had at his nod scores of women, equal in point of accomplishments and far surpassing in personal charms, the lady with whom it was his lot to be united; that such a marriage should be *happy* was not to be expected; but, it might have led to a life free from scandal, free from disgrace, free from cruelty to the dishked party, and free from measures throwing enormous burdens on the people; it might have been free from all these; it might not have been made the cause of taking from the labour of the people a million of pounds, or thereabouts, in measures to bring disgrace and infamy on this unfortunate lady; and it might not have been the cause of keeping millions of Catholics out of the enjoyment of their rights for, at least, twenty-four years, and thereby producing troubles, commotions, and bloodshed without end; it might have been free from all these consequences, and, as he sequel will most amply prove, *it was productive of them all.*

48. When we behold such mighty and fatal effects, arising, as we shall see these did, from the mortification, the caprice, or the antipathy, from the mere selfish passions, and, almost, from the animal feelings and propensities, of *one single man*; when we see a whole community thus afflicted, and its peace and even greatness endangered by such a cause, must we not be senseless indeed, must we not be something approaching to brutes, if we do not seek for some means of protecting ourselves against the like in future? This king has, by his parasites (and enough of them he always had) been called the "*first gentleman* in his kingdom." Gentleman is a very equivocal term; but if its meaning is to be interpreted by the *conduct* of GEORGE V., it will hardly be greatly coveted by the majority of mankind. He had, in this case, no duties to fulfil, both of a sacred nature; one towards his wife, and another towards that virtuous, industrious, forgiving, and too generous people, from whose care and toil he had for thirty-three years, derived the means of

living in ease, splendour, and even extravagance.

49. With regard to the first of these duties, though the law restrained him in the choosing of a wife, this restraint was a *condition* upon which he was to enjoy royal magnificence and power; and, though it restrained him in his choice, it did not *compel* him to marry anybody. A good and dutiful son, even in the lowest walks of life, will hesitate long before he marry *against the wish* of his father and family. So that there is no excuse to be built on this ground. He was perfectly free to refuse the hand of the lady that had been chosen for him; to take that hand was his own voluntary act; therefore, he was bound by every tie that ought to bind a *husband*; and, though personal affection was wanting, were there not the dictates of *justice*? Was there not his solemn vow; did he not promise before God, that he would love and cherish and keep constant to this lady? Was there not, supposing a want of every thing else, *common humanity* to tell him, that it was cruel to the last degree even to slight a person situated as the Princess was, in a foreign country, cut off from home, parents, and friends, surrounded with envious rivals and satirists, and placed solely under his protection and at his mercy? Amongst the honours of England, is that it possesses "manly hearts to *guard the fair*." As far as belongs to the people of England, the unfortunate CAROLINE experienced the literal truth of the poetic description; but, we shall presently see how it was exemplified in the conduct of him who was one day to be their king, and the *mildness* of whose reign and *generosity* whose character have been extolled by those who were amongst his intimates and councillors.

50. As to his duty towards the *nation*, it bound him, in the first place, to refrain from any indulgence, from giving way to any passion, from doing any thing which, operating in the way of example, might be injurious to public morals. We are all aware of the powers of *fashion*; we know that in dress, in eating, in drinking, in sports and pastimes of all sorts, the high are followed as nearly as possible by the low. As the servant-maid imitates as nearly as possible the dress of her mistress, and the footman the airs of his master, so will a people imitate, in a greater or less degree, the example of their rulers. If snuff became sought after because it was by a shrewd tobaccoist named "*Prince's mixture*," is it to be believed that ill-treatment of a wife at Carlton House would not have its pernicious influence on every man at all prone to disregard the marriage vow? Besides, for what had the *nation* given to this prince such enormous sums of money? For what had it a second time discharged the long score of his squanderings? For the purpose of seeing him lead a life of sobriety, order, and conjugal fidelity; for the purpose of seeing a family of children about him; for the purpose of seeing

him not only not a bad example to married men, but to set a good example; and finally to render all dispute about succession to the throne next to impossible, and to prevent that which Englishmen have always hated, that succession calling in foreigners to reign. These were the purposes for which the nation had made such great pecuniary sacrifices; and he by his conduct to his wife defeated them all; and by that conduct, and that conduct alone, *laid the foundation* of all those discontents, troubles, commotions, and all that waste of money and that spilling of blood, to which I have alluded in the first paragraph of this present chapter; and of this fact no man, when he is fully informed of all the circumstances, can possibly doubt.

51. The marriage, as we have seen, took place on the 8th of April, 1795. On the 7th of January, 1796, two days only short of nine months, the Princess was delivered of a daughter, who was baptized by the name of CHARLOTTE, and of whose premature death I shall in due time and place have to speak. During these nine months even, the Princess has since complained, not only of neglect the most mortifying, but of indignities the most gross and insupportable. She was a woman of too high a spirit to endure this treatment unresented. Cruelly and cowardice always go together; or the former, at least, is never unaccompanied by the latter. Men are cruel, in many cases, only *because* they are cowardly. The courageous robber even spares the life of his victim; the cowardly one kills him, lest he should bring him to justice. The Princess did not bear her ill-treatment with tameness; she made her husband feel that she was not to be insulted with impunity; but this, of course, only added to his antipathy; which at the end of only one year and five or six days from the day of the marriage, led to a message from him to her proposing a *separation* from bed and board. It was a *lord* who had the *high honour* to deliver this message; it was a *peer*, hereditary law-giver, who was charged with this noble mission, and who actually had the manliness to deliver the delicate message to the wife and mother from his own lips.

52. The Princess, however, very prudently requested to have her husband's wishes stated *in writing*; but she at once told the bearer of the message, that though she must, of course, submit to the arrangement that the Prince might resolve on, she desired it might be clearly understood that any such arrangement, *if once made* should be *final*, and that under no circumstances he should retain the right to *alter it*. This answer produced the *ruten proposal*, which must be preserved here in the Prince's own words. Shameful words to be by *any man* addressed to *any woman*. What must they be then when addressed by a *husband to a wife*, and to a wife, too, with an only child in her arms, and that child only three months old! *The man* overcomes the *historian* here, and makes him, for the honour of his sex and country, recoil at the thought of

putting the words upon record. But not only is this demanded by truth and justice; it is necessary to a clear understanding of the most important transactions of the regency and the reign of this king.

Windsor Castle, April 30, 1796.

MADAM,

As Lord Cholmondeley informs me that you wish I would define, in writing, the terms upon which we are to live, I shall endeavour to explain myself upon that head, with as much clearness and with as much propriety as the nature of the subject will admit. *Our inclinations are not in our power, nor should either of us be held answerable to the other, because nature has not made us suitable to each other.* Tranquil and comfortable society is however in our power; let our intercourse therefore be restricted to that, and I will distinctly subscribe to the condition which you required through Lady Cholmondeley, that even in the event of *any accident happening to my daughter*, which I trust Providence in its mercy will avert, I shall not infringe the terms of the restriction, by proposing at any period a *connection of a more particular nature*. I shall now finally close this disagreeable correspondence, trusting that as we have completely explained ourselves to each other, the rest of our lives will be passed in *uninterrupted tranquillity*.

I am, Madam,

With great truth,

Very sincerely yours,

(Signed) GEORGE P.

53. It is unnecessary to remark on the rudeness and grossness of this letter; they are too obvious not to fill every one with disgust; but taking subsequent events in view, it is curious that the writer, even at so early a period, should have *anticipated the possibility of some accident happening to the infant daughter!* His pious reliance on the *mercy of Providence* to spare the life of his child, while he was casting off the mother to whose breast that child was clinging, does, perhaps, surpass any thing of the kind ever heard of before. To this letter the Princess sent an answer, in French, on the sixth of May, in the following words:

L'AVEU de votre conversation avec Lord Cholmondeley, ne m'étonne, ni ne m'offense. C'étoit me confirmer ce que vous m'avez tacitement insinué depuis une année. Mais il y auroit après cela, un manque de délicatesse ou, pour mieux dire, une bassesse indigne de me plaindre des conditions, que vous imposez à avous même.

Je ne vous aurois point fait de réponse, si votre lettre n'étoit conçue de manière à faire douter, si cet arrangement vient de vous, ou de moi; et vous sçavez que vous m'annoncez l'honneur. La lettre que vous m'annoncez comme la dernière, m'oblige de communiquer au Roy, comme à mon Souverain et à mon Père, votre aveu et ma réponse. Vous trouverez ci incluse la copie de celle que j'écris au Roy. Je vous en prévieni pour ne pas m'attirer

de votre part la moindre reproche de duplicité. Comme je n'ai dans ce moment, d'autre protecteur que Sa Majesté, je me n rapporte uniquement à lui. Et si ma conduite merite son approbation, je serai, du moins en partie, consolée.

Du reste, je conserve toute la reconnaissance possible de ce que je me trouve par votre moyen, comme Princesse de Galles, dans une situation à pouvoir me livrer sans contrainte, à une vertu chère à mon cœur, je veux dire la bienfaisance. Ce sera pour moi un devoir d'agir de plus par un autre motif, sçavoir celui de donner l'exemple de la patience, et de la resignation dans toutes sortes d'épreuves. Rendez-moi la justice de me croire, que je ne cesserai jamais de faire des vœux pour votre bonheur, et d'être votre bien dévoué.

(Signed) CAROLINE.

Ce 6 de Mai, 1796.

TRANSLATION.

THE avowal of your conversation with Lord Cholmondeley neither surprises nor offends me. It merely confirmed *what you have tacitly insinuated for this twelvemonth*. But after this, it would be a want of delicacy, or rather an unworthy meanness in me, were I to complain of those conditions which you impose upon yourself.

I should have returned no answer to your letter, if it had not been conceived in terms to make it doubtful, whether this arrangement proceeds from you or from me, and you are aware that the *credit of it belongs to you alone*.

The letter which you announce to me as the last, obliges me to communicate to the King, as to my Sovereign and my Father, both your avowal and my answer. You will find enclosed the copy of my letter to the King. I apprise you of it, that I may not incur the slightest reproach of duplicity from you. As I have at this moment *no protector but His Majesty*, I refer myself solely to him upon this subject, and if my conduct meets his approbation, I shall be in some degree at least consoled. I retain every sentiment of gratitude for the situation in which I find myself, as Princess of Wales, enabled by your means, to indulge in the free exercise of a virtue dear to my heart, I mean charity.

It will be my duty likewise to act upon another motive, that of giving an example of patience and resignation under every trial.

Do me the justice to believe that I shall never cease to pray for your happiness, and to be,

Your much devoted

CAROLINE.

6th of May, 1796.

54. In these documents we have the real foundation of not only all the inquietudes, the scandal, the shame, the mortification, and the just reproach, which this king had to endure for the rest of his life, and the *la holiday*, in and about London, on the *day of his funeral*; not only of these, fo

would, comparatively, be an insignificant matter; but the foundation also of mischievous appointments and measures innumerable; the foundation, and the sole foundation, of the long-continued and disastrous power of Perceval, Eldon, Liverpool, Sidmouth, Castle-reagh, and Canning; the cause, in short, of the waste of hundreds of millions of money, the cause of national disgrace in war, the cause of laws, the stain of which will never be effaced, and, finally, the *real root* of that mass of suffering on the part of the people of this once happy nation, which suffering, arrived at the utmost verge of endurance, now threatens the very existence of the state, now causes to totter to its base that famous fabric of government, which, for so many ages, was the pride of Englishmen, and the admiration of the world.

55. This is ascribing great effects to an apparently inadequate cause; but the sequel will prove the truth of what is here asserted. The "Wrath of Achilles," sung by Homer and Pope, was not Greece, a more "direful spring of woes" than the conduct of this royal husband was to England. And what was his apology for that conduct? "Our inclinations are not in our power, nor should either of us be answerable to the other, because nature has not made us suitable to each other." Shameful words! Was this the language of the "first gentleman in England?" And was it for this that this generous nation had loaded him with luxuries out of the fruit of its cares and toils! Was it for this that his enormous debts had been twice discharged; that 27,000*l.* had been given to defray the expenses of his marriage, 28,000*l.* for additional jewels and plate, and 26,000*l.* to beautify the matrimonial mansion; and was it for this that, after all his squanderings, the nation still gave him 138,000*l.* a year, and settled on his wife a jointure of 50,000*l.* a year! Was this the return that he made for indulgence, kindness, and generosity, which, all the circumstances considered, never was surpassed by the conduct of any nation in the world. The PRODIGAL SON, as described in that most beautiful of all beautiful writings, the parable in the Gospel of St. Luke, arose and said, "I will go to my father, and say unto him, Father, I have sinned against heaven and before thee, and am no more worthy to be called thy son." But the father, like the English nation, "while he was yet a great way off, saw him, and ran, and fell on his neck, and said unto his servants, Bring forth the best robe and put it on him; and put a ring on his hand; and bring hither the fatted calf, and let us eat and be merry." How like the conduct of this kind and good father to that of the English nation towards this prodigal Prince of Wales! If the parable had gone on to record that the prodigal afterwards became, though with experience to warn him, a greater prodigal than before, would it not also have recorded the punishment due to prodigality so incorrigible?

56. It is impossible to put upon this letter of

the prince any other construction, than that it meant to tell the princess, that he should no longer be bound by his marriage-vow, and that he *absolved her from hers*; in short, that he meant to live with what women he pleased, and that she might live with what men she pleased! Besides the scandal; besides the shame brought upon the nation; for, it must bear the shame of being under rulers thus acting; besides these, here was laid the pretty certain foundation of a *disputed succession*; and even if this were never to take place (and we very narrowly escaped it) what Englishman must not have blushed at the thought of the prospect of being governed by a king who had given to his wife and the mother of his child (who, would naturally succeed him on the throne) a *license* like that expressed in this letter? But, about the character or feelings of the nation, he seems, in this case at any rate, to have cared nothing. His own mere animal pleasures appear to have been his only care. Yet, he was now *thirty-four years of age*, and within one year of that age which the sober, cautious and wise Americans have deemed, by their laws, an age sufficient for the man who is to be the CHIEF MAGISTRATE of their great Republic.

57. For the parties to live under the same roof after this scandalous insult on the wife, was impossible. The Princess soon afterwards went to reside in a house at BLACKHEATH, in the parish of Greenwich, and on the side of the very beautiful park there, which is at a distance of about five miles from St. James's Palace in Westminster. At this place, which has become memorable from the subsequent transactions connected with it, she resided in a sort of "humble retirement," as she afterwards described it, "banished, as it were, from her husband, and almost estranged from the whole of the royal family, having no means of having recourse, either for society or advice." Besides which, she could write and speak English but very imperfectly; and as, from the very first, from the day of her arrival in this country, the QUEEN and the PRINCESSES showed her little or no countenance; the nobility, notwithstanding the character and conduct that that word ought to imply, studiously shunned her the moment she was cast off by her husband. The people, always just when not deceived, felt for her as they ought, and upon all occasions that offered expressed their indignation at the treatment she had received. *Cruel husband* was not and never will be a title to respect in England. In no country is it, indeed, *respected*; but in England it is detested and abhorred. It was soon discovered that this unprotected foreign lady was not visited by the QUEEN; that she came into her presence only on state occasions; and that, in short, she had, of the whole family, *no friend but the old king*, who frequently went alone to visit her.

58. This conduct in the female part of the royal family greatly offended the nation, and

justly offended it. "What! the people exclaimed, do they see their daughter and sister-in-law, and she their niece and cousin too, driven from her husband's roof with a baby three months old in her arms, of which baby they are the grandmother and the aunts; do they see this, and feel no compassion for the sufferer, though a stranger in the land, and though they know that she has thus been punished and degraded for no fault, and in violation of the most solemn vows; do they see this, and by keeping aloof from, not only give her no support or consolation, but tacitly tell the world that there is *some just cause* for her banishment! This conduct gave great offence to the English nation, who, with the exception of the aristocracy, did itself everlasting honour by its conduct towards the persecuted lady; showed a love of "fair play," of that proneness to take part with the weak against the strong, which has ever been amongst its best characteristics. And the royal family have not failed to experience the natural effects of this feeling in the nation whose regard for that family has never been what it was before the period now under consideration.

59. But, alas! the sufferings of the unfortunate Princess were not to end here; here they but made a mere beginning; her banishment was the smallest part of what she was destined to endure. If, indeed, she had been permitted to enjoy that "*tranquil and comfortable society*," which the Prince, in giving her her discharge, said was "within their power," she might, though injured and insulted, have led a life free from anxiety, particularly as she might with justice have discarded from her mind all regard for, and care about, him. But, to suffer her to lead this sort of life appears to have been very far from his thoughts; for, as it was afterwards amply proved, she was no sooner in her state of banishment, than means were set to work to obtain against her such evidence as would, if established, justify the husband in demanding a *divorce*.

60. No steps were, however, openly taken, until the year 1806; though the pretended grounds of those steps had, some of them, *existed five years before*. These steps were: 1. A COMMUNICATION to the King, by the Prince of Wales, of certain *information that he had received* relative to the conduct of his wife; 2. A WARRANT of the King, authorising and commanding the Lord Chancellor, the Secretary of State for the Home Department, the First Lord of the Treasury, and the Lord Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench, *to inquire into the truth of the allegations, and to report the result to the king*. When we have these documents recorded, we shall have before us the true source of more cabal, intrigue, and mischief, than ought to exist in any nation in ten centuries. The steps were the natural off-spring of the cruel and insulting letter from the Prince to his wife, on the 30th of April, 1796. As we shall by-and-by see,

the plot was hatching during the whole of the *ten years*; and *the reasons* why it was attempted to be put in execution *now*, and not *before*, will be stated by-and-by, and will be found to be a matter of great importance, connected as those reasons were with political measures deeply affecting the interests of the country.

THE WARRANT.

GEORGE R.

WHEREAS Our right trusty and well-beloved Councillor Thomas Lord Erskine, Our Chancellor, has this day laid before Us an Abstract of certain written Declarations touching the Conduct of her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales: We do hereby authorise, empower, and direct, the said Thomas Lord Erskine, Our Chancellor; Our right trusty and right well-beloved Cousin and Councillor George John Earl Spencer, one of Our Principal Secretaries of State; Our right trusty and well-beloved Councillor William Wyndham Lord Grenville, First Commissioner of our Treasury; and Our right trusty and well-beloved Councillor Edward Lord Ellenborough, Our Chief Justice, to hold Pleas before Ourselves, to inquire into the truth of the same, and to examine upon oath such Persons as they shall see fit, touching and concerning the same, and to report to Us the result of such Examinations.—Given at Our Castle of Windsor, on the twentieth day of May, in the forty-sixth year of Our Reign. G. R.

THE REPORT.

May it please your Majesty,

Your majesty having been graciously pleased, by an instrument under your majesty's royal sign manual, a copy of which is annexed to this report, to "authorise, empower, and direct us to inquire into the truth of certain written declarations, touching the conduct of her royal highness the Princess of Wales, an abstract of which had been laid before your majesty, and to examine upon oath such persons as we should see fit, touching and concerning the same, and to report to your majesty the result of such examination," we have, in dutiful obedience to your Majesty's commands, proceeded to examine the several witnesses, the copies of whose depositions we have hereunto annexed; and, in further execution of the said commands we now most respectfully submit to your majesty the report of these examinations as it has appeared to us: but we beg leave at the same time humbly to refer your majesty, for more complete information, to the examinations themselves, in order to correct any error of judgment into which we may have unintentionally fallen with respect to any part of this business. On a reference to the above-mentioned declarations, as the necessary foundation of all our proceedings, we found that they con-

sisted in certain statements, which had been laid before his royal highness the Prince of Wales, respecting the conduct of her royal highness the Princess. That these statements not only imputed to her royal highness great impropriety and indecency of behaviour, but expressly asserted, partly on the ground of certain alleged declarations from the princess's own mouth, and partly on the persons observation of the informants, the following most important facts; viz.: That her royal highness had been pregnant in the year 1802 in consequence of an illicit intercourse, and that she had in the same year been secretly delivered of a male child, which child had ever since that period been brought up by her royal highness, in her own house, and under her immediate inspection.

These allegations thus made, had, as we found, been followed by declarations from other persons, who had not indeed spoken to the important facts of the pregnancy or delivery of her royal highness, but had related other particulars, in themselves extremely suspicious, and still more so when connected with the assertions already mentioned.

In the painful situation in which his royal highness was placed by these communications, we learnt that his royal highness had adopted the only course which could, in our judgment, with propriety be followed. When informations such as these had been thus confidently alleged, and particularly detailed, and had been in some degree supported by collateral evidence, applying to other points of the same nature (though going to a far less extent), one line only could be pursued.

Every sentiment of duty to your majesty, and of concern for the public welfare, required that these particulars should not be withheld from your majesty, to whom more particularly belonged the cognizance of a matter of state so nearly touching the honour of your majesty's royal family, and, by possibility, affecting the succession of your majesty's crown.

Your majesty had been pleased, on your part, to view the subject in the same light. Considering it as a matter which, on every account, demanded the most immediate investigation, your majesty had thought fit to commit into our hands the duty of ascertaining, in the first place, what degree of credit was due to the informations, and thereby enabling your majesty to decide what further conduct to adopt concerning them.

On this review, therefore, of the matters thus alleged, and of the course hitherto pursued upon them, we deemed it proper, in the first place, to examine those persons in whose declarations the occasion for this inquiry had originated. Because if they, on being examined upon oath, had retracted or varied their assertions, all necessity for further investigation might possibly have been precluded.

We accordingly first examined on oath the principal informants, Sir John Douglas, and

Charlotte his wife; who both positively swore, the former to his having observed the fact of the pregnancy of her royal highness, and the latter to all the important particulars contained in her former declarations, and above referred to. Their examinations are annexed to this report and are circumstantial and positive.

The most material of those allegations, into the truth of which we had been directed to inquire, being thus far supported by the oaths of the parties from whom they had proceeded, we then felt it our duty to follow up the inquiry by the examination of such other persons as we judged best able to afford us information as to the facts in question.

We thought it beyond all doubt that, in this course of inquiry, many particulars must be learnt which would be necessarily conclusive on the truth or falsehood of these declarations. So many persons must have been witnesses to the appearances of an actually-existing pregnancy; so many circumstances must have been attendant upon a delivery; and difficulties so numerous and insurmountable must have been involved in any attempt to account for the infant in question, as the child of another woman, if it had been in fact the child of the princess; that we entertained a full and confident expectation of arriving at complete proof, either in the affirmative or negative, on this part of the subject.

This expectation was not disappointed. We are happy to declare to your majesty our perfect conviction that there is no foundation whatever for believing that the child now with the princess is the child of her royal highness, or that she was delivered of any child in the year 1802; nor has any thing appeared to us which would warrant the belief that she was pregnant in that year, or at any other period within the compass of our inquiries.

[To be continued.]

THE HAMPSHIRE PARSONS.

1. On the blame ascribed to me with regard to the disturbances.
2. On the Special Works at Winchester.
3. On the effects of the Works at Winchester.
4. On the conduct of the Bishop of Winchester.
5. On the fate of the Tithes.

Kensington, 12th January, 1831.

PARSONS,

Hampshire Parsons! My old acquaintances, *how do you feel now?*

When, in March, 1817, you met at Winchester to congratulate the Prince Regent on his "*narrow escape*" in the Park, and to thank the Parliament for passing the *Power-of-imprisonment Bill*, I told you, in answer to LOCKHART, that, *before ten years were at an end*, you must begin to look about you, if you *meant to keep the tithes*. I was wrong, but only in point of *time*; I was only *two years* in advance of the fact. But this, the most important of the subjects on which I am about to address you, I must reserve for the close of my letter. But, upon the whole, before I go any further, *how do you feel*, parsons? And did you, when you were hunting me about, from the year 1805 to the year 1817, inclusive, *anticipate this state of things?* I often enough told you that it would come; but did you *anticipate it?* And now let me proceed in the order above laid down.

1. *On the blame imputed to me as to the cause of the popular commotions.*—It is very true, parsons, that I have, long and long ago, *foretold* what has now happened. I have been, for about six-and-twenty years, predicting that, if such a change were not made as would better the lot of the labourers, a terrible convulsion would take place. I have always said, that Englishmen would not, like Irishmen, lie down by hundreds and die quietly from starvation. It is very true that I have, for about *ten years*, inveighed as bitterly against making Englishmen draw carts like cattle, full as bitterly as the Duke of Richmond did *last winter*, that being the very *first time* that the matter was ever even alluded to in *Parliament*, though the Parliament had plenty of proofs of the disgraceful fact given in evidence before their Committees. It is very true, that I have, for many years, been complaining that the labourers carried potatoes (accursed hog-food) to field, instead of the bread and meat and cheese that they used to carry thither; but, then, the Parliament had the same thing in evidence before their Committees so long ago as the year 1821. It is very true, that I have long been saying, that the honest

working man was worse fed and worse clad than the felons in the hulks and jails; but, then, the same thing had been told the Parliamentary Committees by witnesses that they themselves had chosen. Nothing can be truer than that I have, over and over again, asserted that the labourers were put up to auction, and their labour sold for certain terms, just as it done with regard to the negroes in Jamaica; but, then, the same thing is stated in evidence taken down by the Parliamentary Committees, and *printed at the people's expense*, while I print at *my own expense*. What *blame* then attaches to me in this case? I confess, "I am *free to confess*," as the sensible collective has it, that I have said, that the misery was the *cause of the crime*, and that the law had no terrors, because the working people were *better off in jail than at their own homes*; but then Sir E. E. somebody, Chairman of the Quarter Sessions of Warwickshire, and all his brother magistrates, have, in formal resolutions, *said the same thing*. Why not fly *at them?* Why not fly at the Parliament, who published all the evidence mentioned above?

Aye, but I not only related the sufferings and described the degradation of the labourers, but I foretold that they would not endure it for ever; and that *they would finally break forth and attack the rich*. It is very true, that my words might amount to this; but then EARL STANHOPE said the *same thing*, in his place in Parliament, last year, only he said it without any reserve. He said, that there was an open breach between the poor and the rich, and that they would *soon come to blows*, if some effectual means of prevention were not adopted! Fly at *him* then, parsons; deal with him first, and then come at me. Ah! but Earl Stanhope did not write the *History of the Protestant Reformation!* He did not tell all the nation what was the *origin*, the *intention*, and the *former application* of tithes and of Cathedral and Bishop's and College revenues! And, therefore, he may take a horse when I do not dare look over the hedge.

But, in defence of his Lordship as well as of myself, let me ask what offence there can be in *foretelling* an evil, even if it be *positive* instead of being *conditional*, which latter has always been the case with me. Suppose I see, in a field which is eaten down as bare as a board, a lot of oxen, which are shut up in it every night after they have done work; suppose I see a fine field of clover over the hedge; suppose I go to the greedy and grinding bull-frog, who is the owner of the fields and who has the oxen on hire; suppose I say to him, "Mr. GRINDUM, you'd better take the oxen out of that bare field, or cut up and carry to them some clover, or else they will be through the hedge, as sure as you are born"; suppose the poor creatures raving with hunger, to get through the fence that night, and to eat, or trample down, his fine field of clover; and suppose him then to swear and curse and stamp like mad, and to *accuse me* of being *the cause* of the violence and mischief committed by the oxen. Suppose such a result, would you not allow that SQUIRE GRINDUM ought to have the soul beaten out of his body with a broomstick or a hedge-stake? Would you not be "free to confess," that, at the very least, he ought to have the two horns of one of the oxen in his too-well-filled paunch? And yet, this is precisely the case of these rich ruffians, who have been endeavouring to fix the cause of the disturbances on me.

If to foresee and *foretell evil*, either to individuals, to bodies of persons, to rulers, to governments, or to whole nations, be *criminal*, what will you, the *parsons*, say to the conduct of the prophets and apostles, and even to Jesus Christ himself? If this were a crime, they were the greatest criminals that ever lived. You will hardly, or at least one would think so, say that EZEKIEL ought to be blamed for the scattering of the infamous Jews; that he ought to have been regarded as *the cause* of it. One would imagine that you would hardly do this; and yet he was *the cause* of that event as much as I have

been *the cause* of the FIRES of 1830 and 1831. Ah! but EZEKIEL did not write the *History of the Protestant Reformation!* And St. JAMES now, that blunt and home-speaking apostle, was he *criminal*, when he foretold thus:—
 "Go to, now, ye RICH MEN, weep
 "and howl for your miseries that *shall*
 "come upon you. Your riches are corrupted and your garments are moth-eaten. Your gold and silver is cankered; and the rust of them shall be a witness against you, and shall eat your flesh as it were fire: ye have heaped treasure together for the last days. Behold, the hire of the labourers who have reaped down your fields, which is of you kept back by fraud, crieth: and the cries of them which have reaped are entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth. Ye have lived in pleasure on the earth, and been wanton; you have nourished your hearts as in a day of slaughter."
 What! will you say that St. JAMES ought to have been *prosecuted* for this? Will you say that he was *the cause* of the miseries of the rich and cruel ruffians that he had in his eye? Those basest of all earthly villains, "who kept back by fraud the hire of the labourers who had reaped down their fields?" Will you say that he, who urged these ruffians to do justice to their labourers, was *the cause* of those miseries which arose from their not having done their labourers justice? And suppose now, that there had been, amongst those to whom St. James addressed his Epistle, some stupid, half-witted creature, who, having committed some unlawful act, had been brought forward, the halter about his neck, by the blasphemous Jews and their priests, to say, that St. James's Epistle was *the cause* of his committing the act, will you say that he ought to have been *believed*, and that St. James ought to have been punished? No; you will hardly say this. Why, then, am I to be called the cause of these disturbances? Ah! but St. James did not write the *History of the Reformation*. He would have done it, however, I dare say, if he had been alive at this day.

2. *On the Special Works at Winchester.* It is a little too soon to give a true history of these accompanied with suitable comments. Indeed, a bare statement of the facts is hardly safe as yet. A little time for breathing is wanted. To collect the facts is my business, in the meanwhile. Whether the following be a fact I do not know. I take it from the Bloody Old Times newspaper; and you will see even that that advocate for slaughter finds it to be its interest to soften a little. "*Winchester, Friday morning, (7th Jan.)* No day has yet been fixed, for the execution of the six unhappy men who were sentenced to die at the conclusion of the special commission which was recently held at this place. The information which reached you in London, that the execution was to take place this morning, is incorrect.—The scenes of distress in and about the jail are most terrible. The number of men who are to be torn from their homes and connexions is so great that there is scarcely a hamlet in the county into which anguish and tribulation have not entered. Wives, sisters, mothers, children, beset the gates daily, and the governor of the jail informs me that the scenes he is obliged to witness at the time of locking up the prison are truly heart-breaking.—You will have heard before this of the petitions which have been presented to the Home Office from Gosport, Portsmouth, Romsey, Whitechurch, and Basingstoke, praying for an extension of mercy to all the men who now lie under sentence of death. A similar petition has been got up in this city. It is signed by the clergy of the low church, some of the bankers, and every tradesman in the town without exception. Application was made to the clergy of the Cathedral for their signatures, but they refused to give them, except conditionally, upon reasons which I cannot comprehend. They told the petitioners, as I am informed, that they would not sign any such petition unless the grand jury and the magistracy of the county previously affixed their names to it. Now such an answer, as it appears to me, is an admission on their part that no mischief would ensue from not carrying into effect the dreadful sentence of the law; for I cannot conceive that if they were of opinion that mischief would ensue from it, they would sign the petition, even though it were recommended by all the talent and respectability of the Court of Quarter Sessions. I can understand the principles on which that man acts, who asserts and laments the necessity of vindicating the majesty of the law by the sacrifice of human life; but I cannot understand the reasons of those who, admitting that there is no necessity for the sword of justice to strike the offender, decline to call upon the executive government to stay its arm, and make their application for its mercy dependent on the judgment, or it may be the caprice of an influential aristocracy. Surely, of all classes of society, the clergy is that which ought not to be backward in the remission of offences. They are daily preaching mercy to their flocks, and it wears but an ill grace when they are seen refusing their consent to a practical application of their own doctrines. Whatever my own opinion may be, as a faithful recorder of the opinions of those around me, I am bound to inform you, that, except among the magistracy of the county, there is a general, I had almost said a universal, opinion among all ranks of society, that no good will be effected by sacrificing human life. It has been remarked by almost every writer upon criminal law, that when punishments are so severe as to arm the sympathies of the public against the law, and in favour of the offender who perishes by it, they ought not to take place; and I repeat it, that if the propriety of these executions were to be tried by that test in this county, they ought on no account to take place."

This last part is dictated by base love of money; for it was this very paper that called for the *Special Com-*

missions, and that has always called for every-thing bloody. The crew that have an interest in the monopoly, which is upheld by the present system, find that *the public* do not relish so much hanging; and, therefore, the crew soften their tone, and are becoming *humane*. I make no remark on what the crew say *about your conduct*. I leave the matter *to them* and *to you* as the fittest persons in the world to settle the matter. For my part, I have refused to put my name to *any petition* on the subject. My heart sinks within me at the thought of the sentences. I sat down to write a petition in my single name; but, upon beginning to put the words *upon paper*, my soul recoiled from the writing of those expressions which are deemed indispensable in such a case. Towards all the sufferers, not actuated by *malice*, I feel as if they were my brothers or my children. It so happens, that, of all the hundreds, I personally know but *one*, and that one is that very JESSE BURGESS, who was made use of by the sons and daughters of corruption, in Hampshire, as the means of *calumniating me*, as a *cruel master*, in the year 1809. Amidst the Hampshire battalion, of which JESSE was one, I do not discover what has been his lot. I hope he is amongst those who are to suffer the least. What I shall be able to do, I do not yet know; but any-thing that I can lawfully do, and that I have the ability to do, for these sufferers, or their relations, particularly their wives and children, I will do; except in cases, if such there be, where they have been actuated by *malice*, and where that malice has been made clearly to appear.

With regard to the persons *constituting the Special Commission*, with regard to the *forming of the juries* with regard to the *charges and other acts of the Judges*, with regard to the *sentences*, with regard to the *treatment of the prisoners and their wives and children*; with regard to all these there will be a more suitable time to talk. Besides, there will *now be a man* to talk of them IN PARLIAMENT. That is the proper place for such subjects;

and in that place we must, for the present, leave them to be discussed. It is not long now before the 3d of February. The season for *rural sports* will then be over; and we shall have nothing but *sober business* to attend to. We shall have a *reform of Parliament* to make and other very important duties to discharge. In the meanwhile, however, we ought to look a little at the state of the country.

3. *On the effects of the works at Winchester.* The *Morning Chronicle* of to-day has the following passage: "We regret to find that the fires of the incendiary are *blazing more fiercely than ever*, in the very districts which are the scene of the labours of the *Special Commission*. We refer our readers to the account of our reporter for details on the subject.—The incendiary is a far *more formidable* enemy than the *rioter*. Assemblages of riotous peasants can be easily put down; and, indeed, in all our communications with gentlemen from the country, we never heard them express any alarm on account of mobbing. A *rural police* of the owners of property can always be easily formed, and against *such a police*, rioters can make *no stand*. It is otherwise, however, with incendiaries; for, from the *exposed nature of the property*, it is almost impossible to *watch it*." This Scotch *feelosofer* is in error here; but that is no matter. It is very true that parcels, *little bands*, of *unarmed men*, are easily beaten by *armed men*. However, this is no matter: the matter is THE FIRES and the MEAT AND BREAD, and the question is, will the fires cease until the labourers have the meat and the bread? This is the question, and the only question worth attending to, as connected with this subject. But, it is a *very important* question. It is pretty evident, that the *Special Commissions* have not done any-thing at all in the way of putting a stop to the fires; for, observe, it is with the *dark nights* that they always come on again. The newspapers were delighted, *a fortnight ago*, with the effect of the "*expositions of the law*,"

as SCOTT ELDON called it; and the Bloody Old *Times* newspaper *chuckled* that the *hangings* had produced a suitable effect. Alas! it ascribed to the HALTER that which it ought to have ascribed to the MOON! For, the moment the latter withheld *her* light, "those other wandering fires began to blaze." The Special Commissions have done this: they have taught the people, that that which they looked upon as *sturdy begging*, is felony and hanging matter; and that, to *break a machine* which was formerly a *trespass*, is now, in these days of *negro humanity* and a "*softening the criminal code*," an offence to be expiated on the gallows. These "*expositions of the law*" will therefore, make the labourers, however pinched in their bellies, take care, for the future, not to go in bands of *sturdy beggars*, and not to *break machines*; but this is *all* that the Special Commission will do in the way of preventing mischief. It is to extinguish the FIRES that was, and is, the great and desirable object: these it is that cause all the *real alarm*; and well they may; for, as the Scotch *feelosofer* observes, "the property is so much *exposed*, that it is next to "*impossible to watch it*"

Aye, to be sure it is: and *who are to be the watchmen?* Why, the *labourers to be sure*. Bon! a Frenchman would exclaim. Good! the labourers, *who are living on potatoes*, watch the *wheat-stacks* and the *ox-stalls*! Oh, no they must have something better than potatoes and water, while they are watching. According to the above account from the Bloody Old *Times* newspaper, there is scarcely a village, or even a hamlet, in all Hampshire, which has not had some one man or more taken away from it by these awful proceedings. In short, there can scarcely be a *family* in the county unaffected *personally*, either by relationship or close friendship, by the fate of the sufferers. Can there be, for instance, one single soul, man, woman, boy or girl, in the parish of BULLINGTON, and in all the adjoining parishes, unaffected by the proceedings against,

and by the punishment of, the two MASONS of that parish, who were a pattern of industry and moral conduct, to be held up to all the labourers of England? Is there a labouring man or woman who will not tell their tale to the children that are coming up? Does not their *widowed mother*, whom they so carefully maintained by their labour, now live to remind all the people round about of the loss of her dutiful and affectionate sons, and of all the circumstances attending their separation from her? And yet it is amongst people thus feeling and remembering that the *watchmen* are now to be found!

But suppose the watching to be *effectual* in the preventing of fires. This is supposing an absurdity; for to watch a large homestead twenty men are not sufficient, supposing them all to be faithful and vigilant. But suppose it to be *effectual*, who is to *pay for it*? The watchmen will *not eat potatoes and drink water*; mind that! In short, to pay for effectual watching would amount to *more than the rent of the farm*. And when is this expense to end? The property is *always* exposed, summer as well as winter; and the deed is so *easily* and so *safely* executed, that safety to the property must depend, as it always did depend, upon the *indisposition of the working people to destroy* and but in very rare instances, on the *danger of detection* and the dread of *punishment*. For it is not in this case, as in that of murder, burglary, treason, &c. There are no traces of blood, no noise, no personal rencounter, no associates, nothing to carry away, nothing to be found on the offender. So that here is no protection for *farm-property* against fire, except in the moral feeling of those at whose mercy, whose absolute mercy, it is *always* placed by necessity. The true way and the only way, therefore, of preventing the destruction of such property, by such means, is to take away the *motive* from his the most numerous class of the people, who actually live in the midst of the property, and who are as well acquainted with every barn and every tack as they are with the different parts

of their own bodies, and who have always the power to destroy it, if they have the will. A writer in the *Morning Chronicle* observes, that "every friend of humanity must regard the incendiary with *abhorrence*; that he is *more cowardly than the Italian assassin*, for he perpetrates his crime in *fancied security*, and *merely to gratify a fiend-like malignity*." It is hard to discover how it can be *more cowardly* to set fire to a farmer's stack in the dark, than to shoot a farmer or cotton-spinner from *behind a hedge*; and I cannot see how assassinations in Italy differ from the like horrid acts in England. But, as to the *horrid nature* of the crime of the incendiary, if he commit the deed "*merely to gratify a fiend-like malignity*," and not to effect any good end, real or believed in; if from this hellish motive he do the deed, *death is his due*, notwithstanding all the prating of the "*softeners of the criminal code*." But then the *motive* may not be "*merely to gratify a fiend-like malignity*." When the Governor of Moscow set fire to and burnt down that immense city, burning sick, lame, bed-ridden, and women in child-birth, by thousands upon thousands, *his conduct was applauded to the skies by every newspaper in England*. What for? Not because he had burnt so many human beings, and reduced so many families to misery, but because he had, by that same deed, caused the foundation of *the overthrow of Napoleon*, which was deemed, by our Broad Sheet, *a good sufficiently great to sanctify the horrible means employed to effect it*. And has not this same *Morning Chronicle* told us, over and over again, that the labourers owe the rise in their wages to the fires? This is not justifying arson; it is merely stating a fact. And have we not here pointed out the sure means of putting an end to these disgraceful and horrible scenes? What the sensible people of the great town of Birmingham think of this matter, the following petition speaks: it speaks, too, the voice of every good and just man in the kingdom; it reflects the highest honour on the town whence it came, and

particularly on the two gentlemen whose names are attached to it.

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY

The humble Petition of the Council of the Birmingham Political Union.

SIRE,—We, your Majesty's sincerely dutiful and loyal subjects, the Council of the Birmingham Political Union, beg leave humbly to approach your Majesty with our earnest prayers and humble representations on behalf of those unfortunate men, our fellow-subjects, who have lately been convicted, under Special Commissions, of *acts of incendiarism, and of riotous and illegal proceedings*, and also on behalf of those other unfortunate men who are about to take their trials for similar offences.

It is unquestionable, that those unhappy individuals have been goaded into such desperate proceedings under the excitement and phrenzy produced by a long course of unparalleled sufferings and privations, arising out of cruel and oppressive laws, some of which have been expressly intended to enhance the price of bread, and others of which have been equally calculated to beat down the price of labour.

Under the pressure of these laws, and of others equally unwise and disastrous, the unhappy subjects of your Majesty have for years scarcely been able to endure their unexampled sufferings. Great numbers of them have been tossed from difficulty to difficulty, and from a state of precarious and ill-rewarded employment to a state of utter destitution. They have struggled on for year after year under the influence of hope, constantly disappointed, and constantly diminishing, until at last the reiterated declarations of your Majesty's late Ministers—first, that no distress existed, and then that no relief could be afforded—have positively driven them to despair.

We respectfully submit to your Majesty, that your Majesty's present Ministers have publicly acknowledged that the wrongs, difficulties, and distresses of your Majesty's faithful and loyal people have been occasioned by the mal-administration of public affairs; and that such distresses have tended much to produce guilt and misconduct; and we cannot but lament that the great truths have not been sufficiently borne in mind by your Majesty's Ministers in adopting the course which they have thought fit to pursue towards the unhappy men in question. We are of opinion that the extreme penalty of the law ought not to be inflicted upon men convicted under such circumstances. We think also, that in administering any punishment whatever, due regard should be had to the dubitable character of evidence produced by the powerful influence of large pecuniary rewards, which may tempt one man to commit perjury, and another to seduce his neighbours into crime, for, without this precaution, it is certain that, under such circumstances, no man's life can be secure.

We therefore humbly hope, and most ear-

nestly pray, that your Majesty will be graciously pleased to take these representations into your Royal consideration; and, following the dictates of your own merciful and benevolent heart, to extend the Royal Clemency to all the unfortunate men who have been, or who may be, convicted under the aforesaid Special Commissions.

And we, as in duty bound, shall ever pray, &c
In the name, and on the behalf, of the
Council of the Birmingham Political
Union,

THOMAS ATWOOD, Chairman
CHARLES JONES, Sec. *pro temp.*

Birmingham, Jan. 6, 1831.

This is the language of the whole nation, those whom I need not describe excepted. And if the *nation think thus* on the subject, will the hangings and transportings *extinguish the fires*? Yet this is the thing to be desired; and the way, the *only way*, to do it, is to take away the motive; in other words, to make the state of the labourers *what it was in the days of their grandfathers*; to cause them to have meat and bread to eat, instead of the miserable potatoe, and to prevent their being ill-treated by persons having authority. In 1803, I wrote a paper to rouse the people to defend the country against Napoleon, who then was making preparations for the invasion of England, and who, I was then fool enough to believe, had the power to do it, I being then a suckling politician, not having been in England more than two years and a half, after an absence from it from the time that I was about sixteen years old. *The Government printed a million copies of this paper*; which it sent through the post-office to every parish in the kingdom; and it was, besides the distribution in the churches, stuck on all the church-doors, and read from *most of the pulpits*. I was perfectly sincere in what I wrote, though very foolish; and ADDINGTON (Sidmouth) and CHARLES YORKE knew, that I refused compensation of every sort. The paper had prodigious effect: the invasion did not take place; but, if it had taken place, the nation was roused even to the obscurest hamlet. There

is in these fires something infinitely more terrific than in a *real invasion* on the part of the French. Now, therefore, I hereby proclaim, that in the NEXT TWO-PENNY TRASH, which will be published on Saturday, the 29th of this month, I will, in a paper addressed to the Ministers, show them how these fires may be EXTINGUISHED AT ONCE, and that, too, without any "revolutionary" measure, but with the greatest ease, and without any-thing new. I will show them how this may be accomplished in ONE WEEK, if they will only circulate the paper in the same manner and to the same extent as my invasion-paper was circulated in 1803. In this case, however, I must be bookseller; because I already publish the TRASH monthly, price 2d. If any one buy 300, or more, I sell them at 11s. the hundred; and I would sell a very large lot at 10s., though I do think that I should then lose by the transaction.

Come now, parsons, *Hampshire* parsons; do read one more of my papers from your pulpits! At any rate, *I will publish the paper*: if the Ministers reject my advice, they must: I shall have done *my duty*, and shall view the consequences with less concern. I will recommend to them nothing that may not be done at once; done, too, without an invasion of the property of *any body*; done with the greatest ease, and, to say all in one word, done without affording *even you* ground for grumbling. This, mind, parsons, is a most important matter: nothing is effected *until the fires be put out*: while they go on, there is nothing else to be thought of: if they go on, at their present rate, much longer, they must lead to a state of anarchy; and I have to beseech the Ministers to reflect besides on *what would NOW be the result of ten days of anarchy in England!*

4. ON THE CONDUCT OF THE BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.—I have, at last, found a Bishop of the *Luz-Church to praise*. The facts are these; the Bishop, in coming from Winchester to his palace at *Farnham*, was met a-

bout a mile before he got to the latter place, by a band of sturdy beggars, whom some call robbers. They stopped his carriage, and asked for some money, which he gave them. But he did not *prosecute* them; he had not a man of them called to account for his conduct; but, the next day, set *twenty-four labourers to constant work*; opened his castle to the distressed of all ages, and supplied all with food and other necessaries who stood in need of them. This was becoming a Christian teacher. This is rather different from *selling small-beer out of that same palace*; as is, in the history of the Protestant Reformation, truly recorded of BISHOP NORTH, which anecdote has made the monks and friars laugh all over Christendom. But besides this really Bishop-like conduct at Farnham, the Bishop has done another act, even more laudable than his charitable deeds at Farnham. It has been stated, in all the London newspapers, that he has ordered *pieces of land*, in WALTHAM CHASE, to be allotted to the labouring people round about. The case is this: this Chase, or Forest, lies partly in the parish and manor of Bishop's Waltham and partly in the parish and manor of Droxford, both in Hampshire. The Bishop is the lord of the two manors, as he is of thirty or forty more, I believe. But he is only lord of the *soul*; the *herbage* belonging to the copyhold tenants, of whom there are many in each of these manors. So that he cannot make the grants of his own accord *without the consent* of all the tenants, which, however, they will, seeing his example, and considering how full their barns are and how big their ricks, hardly refuse, *just at this time*.

But, parsons, what will the Bloody Old Times, who *praises* the Bishop for his benevolence in this instance; what will this base and Bloody Old sheet say, when it is informed that I AM THE REAL AUTHOR OF THIS BENEVOLENT INTENTION! In 1816, I think it was, when the labouring people of our neighbourhood were suffering very much from want of employment,

I proposed to the parish of Bishop's Waltham, that we should petition the Bishop, who was lord of the manor, to grant an acre of waste land to any married labourer who would enclose and cultivate and live on it. I called a vestry of the parish, and to the farmers and land-owners made this proposition. We put the matter to the vote, and every man voted against me, with the single exception of Mr. JENNINGS, the schoolmaster! The three orators against me were, BUDD, of Stakes; CHIDDLE, then with three farms in his hands; and STEEL, of Ashton. Budd said, that to give the labourers a bit of land would make them "*sazy*;" Chiddle said, that it would only make them "*breed more children*;" and STEEL said, that it would make them demand "*higher wages*." What is the present state of Budd I do not know; Chiddle has *now not so much land*, I hear, as one of the labourers would have had; and, as to Steel, he, who used so to swagger, has since *blown his brains out with a pistol*! When I heard of the awful end of this man, and of the great change in the affairs of Chiddle, I could not help calling to mind their conduct on the above occasion, and to call to mind also the denunciations of God against the oppressors of the poor: "Hear this," said I, when I heard of the death of STEEL. "Hear this, O ye that swallow up the needy, even to make the poor of the land to fail! I will turn your *feasting* into *mourning*, saith the Lord God "and your *songs* into *lamentations*."

The vestry-book of the parish of Bishop's Waltham contains a record of this my earnest endeavour to protect and cherish the labourers. This has, indeed, been upwardest in my mind all my life long, or at least ever since I was able duly to estimate their toils and their hardships; and if I had had *power*, instead of being *persecuted*, England would never have beheld the scenes which now disgrace her. But, besides the efforts of mine in 1816, the Bishop owes to me, in part, that he *has this Chase*; for it is very likely, that if it had not been for me it would have been

enclosed by Act of Parliament, in 1827, in the time of PRETTYMAN, who had given his consent; and the Bill had even passed the House of Commons, in spite of the laudable and able endeavours of Mr. RICHARD HOUSEMAN and Mr. OVERINGTON; but it was flung out by the Committee of the Lords, and, I believe, in consequence of a memorial written by me, handed to Mr. HOLMES, and given by him to Lord SHAFTESBURY. I describe this beautiful Chase, with its scores of cottages, and its cows and pigs, in my WOODLANDS, an extract of which I sent to Lord Shaftesbury, along with my memorial. If that enclosure had taken place, not only would the present Bishop have had no Chase to give to the labourers, but a thousand of these (children and all-together) would have been deprived of all the outlet which now enables them to live so much better than they otherwise would. So that, parsons, while we do justice to the Bishop, let a little be done to me. The Bishop goes the right way to work to put out the fires: his is a more effectual way than that adopted by the Ministers. He will, however, find some pretty hard flints in the copyhold tenants. The way to soften them is to have their names printed in a hand-bill, with the word dissent or assent against each. Only just print these; and let them see them, and their hearts will soften.

And now, parsons, let me ask you this question: Whether these acts of the Bishop be not a great good? And then this question: Whether they would have taken place if it had not been for the fires? I have no desire to detract, in the smallest degree, from the Bishop's merit; his conduct proves him to be a truly benevolent man; but, as these acts did not take place before the fires, I must presume, that, while he as well as most of us, must have condemned those acts in themselves, they roused his attention to the cause of acts so outrageous, so alarming, and so new to the country; and that, thus roused, he was stimulated to those really good works. It is this unavoidable conclusion that makes men look at

those acts with less horror than they have been accustomed to look at acts of arson; and, while a wise government would not fail to see this, it would hasten to take away the possibility of good being ascribed to deeds which, in themselves, are so decidedly wicked; and if the Government follow the advice I shall tender to them in the next Number of the Two-Penny Trash, they will take away this possibility, and will leave the incendiary to suffer under the execration, instead of the deep compassion, of the just part of the nation.

5. ON THE FATE OF THE TITHES.—Parsons, for many years you have accused me of disaffection, disloyalty, infidelity, and all sorts of crimes, for no other cause than that I proposed to take away the tithes from the clergy. Look, now, at another part of this Register, under the head of TITHES; and you will find, that, from PENZANCE to DOVER, from PEVENSEY LEVEL to the Tweed, from the West of Wales to the East of Norfolk, the same sentiment prevails. "A strong feeling," says the *Falmouth Packet*, "of resistance to the tithe-system has displayed itself in the western part of this county. Some days ago, a solicitor of St. Ives was so roughly treated by the people of Mousehole, from whom he was collecting the tithes for fish, that he was glad to escape without loss of life or limb. Both at Newlyn and Mousehole, boards are fixed against the corners of the streets, with "No Tithes paid here," painted on them; and the St. Just men, it is said, have offered to march in a formidable body to their aid, if necessary."—Now, these men are not rabble; these men are not Jacobins; these are people of property and of weight in the community. They do not, I dare say, read my writings. Yet, they are all of a mind. They all seem to think that tithes ought not to be. Why blame me, then? I have only gone a little before other people.

It is very strange, but it is true, that you are beaten without an attempt to defend yourselves. You seem sulky. But that will avail you nothing. You

might ask, why tithes, which have existed a thousand years, should be found so oppressive *now*, for the *first time*? You have plenty of arguments; but they are all answered in a moment, and in this one remark; that the Church Property is *public property*, and that is wanted to be applied to the *diminution of the taxes*. This is the answer to every-thing that you can say. As long as the taxes were bearable, your affair was left unmeddled with; but, as I have said for years, *something must give way at last*; and the nation, with voice unanimous, have pitched upon the Church as the JONAH. Your ship-mates, the fundholders, the pensioners, the patentees, the dead-wight, and the staff, all agree that *you are wanted the least*. The fundholders are your most formidable foes; but they are sure to stand *longer* than you. Sir JAMES GRAM, the present First Lord of the Admiralty, wrote a pamphlet, three years ago, proposing to take 30 per cent. from the fundholders; and saying not a word about taking any-thing from you! I let loose upon him instantly, and was joined by the whole country. "Oh, no! pay the debt honestly; pay it in full tale; pay it in gold; let the gold be of full weight and fineness. But this cannot be done and *you keep the tithes at the same time*, and the labourers get paid sufficient wages to keep them quiet. And here, here is the true and only source of all the difficulties of the Government, and of all the dangers that menace the country; and, be you well assured, that you, or the fundholders, must give way. You might have so managed the matter as to make the fundholders the JONAH; but you have not, and must, without a most wonderful miracle, be the Jonah yourselves.

One PRETTYMAN, in preaching before the Judges at Winchester, ascribed the acts of violence to the *cheap pamphlets*! A fellow of the name of FÆRK, the other day, at Cambridge ascribed them to the *lectures*, when the very greatest fire of all was close by Cambridge, where *he would not let me lecture*! But

all this is really brutal nonsense. Just as if I could persuade men to feel what they do not feel! Just as if it required *inflammatory pamphlets and speeches* to convince them, that they, who create all the food fit for man, ought not to live on food fit only for *poor hogs*! Just as if it required any-thing but their own hearts to tell them, that, when they fall into poverty, they ought not to be made to draw carts like beasts of burden! And, if I had the *power*, why should I have the *will*, to cause society to be dislocated, and all property to be cast up to the winds? In the insolence of your hearts, you and the like of you, represent me as one who has *nothing at stake*, who can lose nothing by a scramble. Who has more at stake than I have? He who has more than four sons, men of talent and learning and of sobriety and industry never surpassed: he who has more than three sensible and virtuous daughters: he who has more than nearly a score of copy-rights of books of his own writing, the income from each of which surpasses your allowance to a curate, and the value of which to me depends on law as much as does the value of any man's estate to him. You, you, talk about *stake and property*! what are the bits of *public property*, held by you at last for your *lives*, and liable every hour to be legally taken from you; what are these, compared with the fruits of my talents and industry? The subjoined is a roll of my farms and orchards and gardens. Look at it; see it the work of the *over-hours of eleven years*; master up an account of the labours *any fifty of you*, in the same space of time; and then, if you have any sense of shame left, blush for your abuse of me. In my strenuous and incessant efforts to defend and aid the labouring people, what motive but a good one could I have had, or can I have? They have no means of *rewarding* me, even with the intimation of their gratitude. They cannot know me personally, nor I them. But, besides my natural disposition, that Book, which I have, I believe, read with more profit than you have, told me, when a boy,

that "blessed is he that considereth the poor the Lord will deliver him in the time of trouble. The Lord will preserve him and keep him alive: and he shall be blessed upon the earth: and thou wilt not deliver him unto the will of his enemies. The Lord will strengthen him upon the bed of languishing: thou wilt make all his bed in his sickness."

And now, Hampshire parsons, leaving you to ask yourselves whether you have acted with these promises in your minds. I close my letter with once more bidding you look at the documents, which you will find under the head of TITHES.

WM. COBBETT.

THE COBBETT-LIBRARY.

WHEN I am asked what books a young man or young woman ought to read, I always answer: Let him or her read *all the books that have written*. This does, it will doubtless be said, *smell of the shop*. No matter. It is what I recommended and experience has taught me that it is my *duty* to give the recommendation. I am speaking here of books other than THE REGISTER; and even these, that I call my LIBRARY, consist of *twenty-six* distinct books; two of them being TRANSLATIONS; *six* of them being written by my sons; *one* (TULL'S HUSBANDRY) revised and edited, and one published by me, and written by the Rev. Mr. O'CALLAGHAN, a most virtuous Catholic Priest. I divide these books into classes, as follows: 1. Books for TEACHING LANGUAGE; 2. On DOMESTIC MANAGEMENT AND DUTIES; 3. On RURAL AFFAIRS; 4. On THE MANAGEMENT OF NATIONAL AFFAIRS; 5. HISTORY; 6. TRAVELS; 7. LAWS; 8. MISCELLANEOUS POLITICS. Here is a great variety of subjects; and all of them very *dry*; nevertheless the manner of treating them is, in general, such as to induce the reader to go *through the book*, when he has once begun it. I will now speak of the book separately under the several

heads above-mentioned. N. B. All the books are *bound in boards*, which will be borne in mind when the price is looked at.

BOOKS ON RURAL AFFAIRS.

COBBETT'S YEAR'S RESIDENCE IN AMERICA; WITH A MAP (*Price 5s.*): treating of the Face of the Country, the Climate, the Soil, the Products, the Mode of Cultivating the Land, the Prices of Land, of Labour, of Food, of Raiment; of the expenses of House-keeping, and of the usual Manner of Living; of the Manners and Customs of the People; and of the Institutions of the Country, Civil, Political, and Religious; in three Parts.—The map is a map of the United States. The book contains a *Journal of the weather for one whole year*; and it has an account of my *farming* in that country; and also an account of the causes of poor *Birkbeck's failure* in his undertaking. A book very necessary to all men of property who emigrate to the United States.

COBBETT'S ENGLISH GARDENER (*Price 6s.*); or, A TREATISE on the Situation, Soil, Enclosing and Laying-out of Kitchen-Gardens; on the Making and Managing of Hot-Beds and Green-Houses; and on the Propagation and Cultivation of all sorts of Kitchen-Garden Plants, and of Fruit-Trees whether of the Garden or the Orchard. And also on the Formation of Shrubberies and Flower-Gardens; and on the Propagation and Cultivation of the several sorts of Shrubs and Flowers; concluding with a KALENDAR, giving Instructions relative to the Sowings, Plantings, Prunings, and other labours, to be performed in the Gardens, in each Month of the Year.—A *complete book* of the kind. A *plan of a kitchen-garden*, and little plates to explain the works of pruning, grafting, and budding. But it is here, as in all my books, the *principles* that are valuable: it is a knowledge of these that fills the reader with delight in the pursuit. I wrote a *Gardener* for America, and the vile wretch who pirated it there had the baseness to leave out the *dedication*. No pursuit is so rational as this, as an amusement or relaxation, and none so innocent and so useful. It naturally leads to *early rising*; to sober contemplation; and is conducive to health. Every young man should be a gardener, if possible, whatever else may be his pursuits.

COBBETT'S WOODLANDS (*Price 14s.*); or, A TREATISE on the Preparing of Ground for Planting; on the Planting; on the Cultivating; on the Pruning; and on the Cutting down of Forest Trees and Underwoods; describing the usual Growth and Size and the Uses of each sort of Tree, the Seed of each, the Season and Manner of collecting the Seed, the Manner of Preserving and of Sowing it, and also the Manner of Manag-

ing the Young Plants until fit to plant out; the TREES being arranged in Alphabetical Order, and the List of them, including those of America as well as those of England, and the English, French, and Latin name being prefixed to the Directions relative to each Tree respectively.—This work takes every tree at ITS SEED, and carries an account of it to the cutting down and converting to its uses.

COBBETT'S CORN-BOOK (*Price 2s. 6d.*); or, A TREATISE ON COBBETT'S CORN: containing Instructions for Propagating and Cultivating the Plant, and for Harvesting and Preserving the Crop; and also an Account of the several Uses to which the Produce is applied, with Minute Directions relative to each Mode of Application.—This edition I sell at 2s. 6d. that it may get into *numerous hands*. I have had, even *this year*, a noble crop of this corn; and I undertake to pledge myself, that this corn will be in general cultivation in England, in *two or three years* from this time, in spite of all that fools and malignant asses can say against it. When I get time to go out into the country, amongst the labourers in KENT, SUSSEX, HANTS, WILTS, and BERKS, who are now *more worthy* of encouragement and good living than they ever were, though they were always excellent; I promise myself the pleasure of seeing this beautiful crop growing in all their gardens, and to see every man of them once more with a bit of meat on his table and in his satchell, instead of the *infamous potatoes*.

MANAGEMENT OF NATIONAL AFFAIRS.

COBBETT'S PAPER AGAINST GOLD (*Price 5s.*); or, the History and Mystery of the Bank of England, of the Debt, of the Stocks, of the Sinking Fund, and of all the other tricks and contrivances, carried on by the means of Paper Money.—This is the *tenth edition* of this work, which will, I trust, be admired long after the final destruction of the horrible system which it exposes. It is the A, B, C, of paper-money learning. Every young man should read it with attention.

COBBETT'S RURAL RIDES. (*Price 5s.*)

RURAL RIDES in the Counties of Surrey, Kent, Sussex, Hampshire, Wiltshire, Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, Worcestershire, Somersetshire, Oxfordshire, Berkshire, Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk, and Hertfordshire: with Economical and Political Observations relative to Matters applicable to, and illustrated by, the State of those Counties respectively.—These rides were performed on *horseback*. If the members of the Government had *read* them, only just *read* them, last year, when they were collected and printed in a volume, they *could not have helped* foreseeing all the violences that have now taken place, and especially in *these very counties*; and foreseeing them, they

must have been devils in reality if they had not done something to prevent them. This is such a book as *statesmen* ought to read.

COBBETT'S POOR MAN'S FRIEND (*Price 9d.*); or, a Defence of the Rights of those who do the Work and fight the Battles—This is my *favourite* work. I bestowed more labour upon it than upon any large volume that I ever wrote. Here it is proved, that, according to all laws, divine as well as human, no one is to die with hunger amidst an abundance of food.

COBBETT'S EMIGRANT'S GUIDE (*Price 2s. 6d.*); in TEN LETTERS addressed to the TAX-PAYERS OF ENGLAND; containing information of every kind, necessary to persons who are about to emigrate; including several authentic and most interesting letters from English Emigrants, now in America, to their relations in England; and an account of the prices of House and Land, recently obtained from America by Mr. Cobbett. A New Edition.—Here all the information is contained that any one going to the United States of America can want, down to the most minute particulars; and here it is shown, that a man, who does not wish to be starved, or to be a slave, ought not to emigrate to any other country.

USURY LAWS (*Price 2s. 6d.*); or LENDING AT INTEREST; also, the Exaction and Payment of certain Church fees, such as Pew-rents, Burial-fees, and the like, together with forestalling Traffick; all proved to be repugnant to the Divine and Ecclesiastical Law, and destructive to Civil Society. To which is prefixed a Narrative of the Controversy between the Author and Bishop Copinger, and of the Sufferings of the former in consequence of his Adherence to the Truth. By the REV. JEREMIAH O'CALLAGHAN, Rom. Cath. Priest. With a DEDICATION to the "SOCIETY OF FRIENDS." By WILLIAM COBBETT.—Every young man should read this book, the *history* of which, besides the learned matter, is very curious. The "JESUITS," as they call them, in France, ought to read this book; and then tell the world how they can find the *impudence* to preach the *Catholic Religion* and to uphold the *funding system* at the same time.

HISTORY..

COBBETT'S HISTORY OF THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION IN ENGLAND and IRELAND (*Price 4s. 6d.*); showing how that Event has impoverished and degraded the main Body of the People in those Countries; in a Series of Letters, addressed to all sensible and just Englishmen; also, PART II. (*Price 3s. 6d.*); containing a List of the Abbeys, Priories, Nunneries, Hospitals, and other Religious Foundations, in England and Wales, and in Ireland, confiscated, seized on, or alienated, by the Protestant "Reformation" Sovereigns and Parliaments.—There are *two Editions*, one in *Duodecimo* and one in *Royal Octavo*,

two volumes. The last was printed on the notion, that the *rich* Catholics would like to have the work in a finer form. It was an error; and as it is better to sell books than to keep them, this fine edition is sold for *ten shillings*; the small edition for *8s.* This is the book that has done the *business of the Established Church!* This book has been translated into all the living languages, and there are two Stereotype Editions of it in the United States of America. This is the *source* whence are now pouring in the petitions for the *abolition of tithes!*

COBBETT'S ROMAN HISTORY (*Price 6s.*); VOL. I. in ENGLISH and FRENCH, from the Foundation of Rome to the Battle of Actium; selected from the best Authors, ancient and modern, with a series of Questions at the end of each chapter; for the Use of Schools and young persons in general. VOL. II. AN ABRIDGED HISTORY OF THE EMPERORS, IN FRENCH and ENGLISH: being a continuation of the HISTORY OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC, Published by the same Authors, on the same plan, for the use of Schools and Young Persons in general.—This work is in *French and English.* It is intended as an *Exercise-book*, to be used with my *French Grammar*; and it is sold at a *very low price*, to place it within the reach of young men in general. As a *history* it is edifying. It is necessary for every man who has any pretensions to book-knowledge, to know something of the history of that famous people; and I think this is the best abridgment that ever was published. As an *Exercise-book* it is complete, the translation being as literal and simple as possible. It consists of *two thick duodecimo volumes*, and is, therefore, as *cheap as possible* to avoid loss upon mere paper and print; but I wish it to be within the reach of great numbers of young men.

COBBETT'S HISTORY OF THE RE-

—This work is published in Nos. at *6d.* each. There are *three Numbers out*: the rest will follow in due course; and when concluded, they shall do *justice* to the late "*mild and merciful*" king.

LAFAYETTE'S LIFE. (*Price 1s.*) A brief Account of the Life of that brave and honest man, translated from the French, by MR. JAMES COBBETT.

TRAVELS.

MR. JOHN COBBETT'S LETTERS FROM FRANCE (*Price 4s. 6d.*); containing Observations on that Country during a Journey from Calais to the South, as far as Limoges; then back to Paris; and then, after a Residence, from the Eastern parts of France, and through part of the Netherlands; commencing in April, and ending in December 1824.

MR. JAMES COBBETT'S RIDE OF EIGHT HUNDRED MILES IN FRANCE (the

Third Edition, *Price 2s. 6d.*); containing a Sketch of the Face of the Country, of its Rural Economy, of the Towns and Villages, of Manufactures and Trade, and of such of the Manners and Customs as materially differ from those of England; also, an Account of the Prices of Land, House, Fuel, Food, Raiment, Labour, and other Things, in different parts of the Country; the design being to exhibit a true Picture of the present State of the People of France; to which is added, a General View of the Finances of the Kingdom.

MR. JAMES COBBETT'S TOUR IN ITALY, and also in Part of FRANCE and SWITZERLAND (*Price 4s. 6d.*); the Route being from Paris through Lyons, to Marseilles, and thence to Nice, Genoa, Pisa, Florence, Rome, Naples, and Mount Vesuvius; and by Rome, Terni, Perugia, Arezzo, Florence, Bologna, Ferrara, Padua, Venice, Verona, Milan, over the Alps by Mount St. Bernard, Geneva, and the Jura, back into France. The space of time being from October, 1828, to September, 1829; containing a Description of the Country, of the principal Cities and their most striking Curiosities; of the Climate, Soil, Agriculture, Horticulture, and Products; of the Prices of Provisions and of Labour; and of the Dresses and Conditions of the People. And also some Account of the Laws and Customs, Civil and Religious, and of the Morals and Demourour of the Inhabitants in the several States.

I, of course, see these works with my partial eyes; yet, divesting myself as much as I am able of the feelings of the father, I regard them as excellent books of TRAVELS; because I find them full of *useful information*: they give an account of the *state of the people*, of the *relative prices of food and labour*, of *rents*, and of all these things that enable us to judge of the effects of the governments and laws; and, which is very instructive, they abound in *comparisons* between our own institutions and manners and those of foreign countries.

LAW.

COBBETT'S TRANSLATION OF MARTENS'S LAW OF NATIONS (*Price 17s.*); being the Science of National Law, Covenants, Power, &c. Founded upon the Treaties and Customs of Modern Nations in Europe. By G. F. VON MARTENS, Professor of Public Law in the University of Göttingen. Translated from the French, by WM. COBBETT. To which is added, a List of the Principal Treaties, Declarations, and other Public Papers, from the Year 1731 to 1738, by the Author; and continued by the Translator down to November, 1815. (The Fourth Edition).—This is a large

Octavo. It was one of my first literary labours. An excellent Common-Place Book to the Law of Nations.

MR. WM. COBBETT'S LAW OF TURNPIKES (*Price 3s. 6d.*); or, An Analytical Arrangement of, and Illustrative Comments on, all the General Acts relative to the Turnpike Roads of England: the whole being in Answer to the following Questions:—1st. What are the General Acts now in Force? 2d. What is the Extent of them? 3d. How do they affect every Turnpike Road? By WM. COBBETT, Junior, Student of Lincoln's Inn.—Never was any thing more neatly arranged, or more clearly explained in few words. I every Magistrate had it, what blundering decisions it would prevent!

BOOKS FOR TEACHING LANGUAGE.

COBBETT'S ENGLISH GRAMMAR.—

Price 3s. This work is in a series of letters addressed to my son James, when he was 14 years old. I made him *copy the whole of it* before it went to press; and that made him a *grammarian at once*; and how able an one it made him will be seen by his own Grammar of the ITALIAN LANGUAGE, his *RIDE IN FRANCE*, and his *TOUR IN ITALY*. There are at the end of this Grammar "Six Lessons intended to prevent *Statesmen* "from using false grammar;" and I really wish that *our statesmen* would attend to the instructions of the whole book. Thousands upon thousands of young men have been made correct writers by it; and, indeed, it is next to impossible that they should have read it with attention without its producing such effect. It is a book of *principles*, clearly laid down; and when once these are got into the mind they never quit it.

COBBETT'S FRENCH GRAMMAR (*Price 5s.*); or, *Plain Instructions for the Learning of French*.—

This book has had, and has, a very great effect in the producing of its object. More young men have, I dare say, learned French from it, than from all the other books that have been published in English for the last fifty years. It is, like the former, a book of *principles*, clearly laid down. I had this great advantage, too, that I had learnt French *without a master*. I had grubbed it out, bit by bit, and knew well how to *remove all the difficulties*; I remembered what it was that had puzzled and retarded me; and I have taken care, in this my Grammar, to prevent the reader from experiencing that which, in this respect, I experienced myself. This Grammar, as well as the former, is kept out of schools, owing to the fear that the masters and mistresses have of being looked upon as COBBETTITES! So much the worse for the children of the stupid brutes who are the cause of this fear, which *sensible* people laugh at, and avail themselves of the advantages tendered to them in the books.

Teaching French in English schools is, generally, a mere delusion; and as to teaching the *pronunciation by rules*, it is the grossest of all human absurdities. My knowledge of French was so complete *thirty-seven years ago*, that the very first thing in the shape of a book, that I wrote for the press, was a *Grammar to teach Frenchmen English*; and of course it was *written in French*. I must know all about these two languages; and must be able to give advice to young people on the subject: their *time is precious*; and I advise them not to waste it upon what are called *lessons* from masters and mistresses. To learn the pronunciation, there is no way but that of *hearing* those, and *speaking* with those, who speak the language well. My Grammar will do the rest.

Mr. JAMES COBBETT'S ITALIAN GRAMMAR (*Price 6s.*); or a *Plain and Compendious introduction to the Study of Italian*.—

This was the boy who, at fourteen, began his book-learning by copying my English Grammar for the press. It not only taught him grammar, but gave him a *taste for study*, which, indeed, is the tendency of all my books; because the *vivacity* which they always exhibit, however dry the subject, not only entices the reader along, but animates him with the desire to be able to imitate that which he cannot help being pleased with. I do not understand *Italian*; but, I understand the English, in which the principles, rules and definitions are expressed; and I am proud, beyond measure, of being the father of the able and persevering author. Let any scholar compare this book with the other heaps of confused stuff called Italian Grammars, that is all that is necessary. If I had nothing else to do, I would pledge myself to take this book, and to learn Italian from it in *three months*. Then, the author made the *whole tour of Italy*, was in the country nearly a year, can speak the language as well as write it; and has had, in the performance of his task, industry and perseverance quite astonishing.

COBBETT'S FRENCH AND ENGLISH

DICTIONARY.—This book is *now printing*, and will be finished by the *last day of March*. It will be *one volume in octavo*, and at as *low a price as I can possibly make it*, for the sake of young men and women, who have sense and industry, but who have no money to throw away.

BOOKS ON DOMESTIC MANAGEMENT AND DUTIES.

COBBETT'S COTTAGE-ECONOMY (*Price 2s. 6d.*) containing information relative to the brewing of Beer, making of Bread, keeping of Cows, Pigs, Bees, Ewes, Goats, Poultry and Rabbits, and relative to other matters deemed useful in the conducting of the Affairs of a Labourer's Family; to which are added, Instructions relative to

the selecting, the cutting and the bleaching of the Plants of English Grass and Grain, for the purpose of making Hats and Bonnets; and also Instructions for erecting and using Ice-houses, after the Virginian manner.—In my *own estimation*, the book that stands first is *POOR MAN'S FRIEND*; and the one that stands next is this *COTAGE-ECONOMY*; and beyond all description is the pleasure I derive from reflecting on the number of *happy families* that this little book must have made. I dined in company with a lady in Worcestershire, who desired to see me on account of this book; and she told me, that until she read it, she knew nothing at all about those two great matters, the making of bread and of beer; but that from the moment she read the book, she began to teach her servants, and that the benefits were very great. But, to the *labouring people*, there are the arguments in favour of good conduct, sobriety, frugality, industry, all the domestic virtues; here are the reasons for all these; and it must be a real devil in human shape, who does not applaud the man, who could sit down to write this book, a copy of which every *parson* ought, upon pain of loss of ears, to present to every girl that he marries, rich or poor.

COBBETT'S ADVICE TO YOUNG MEN, and (incidentally) to *Young Women*, in the middle and higher Ranks of Life. (Price 5s.) It was published in 14 numbers, and is now in one volume complete.

COBBETT'S SERMONS. (Price 3s. 6d.)

There are 13 of them on the following subjects: 1. Hypocrisy and Cruelty; 2. Drunkenness; 3. Bribery; 4. The Rights of the Poor; 5. Unjust Judges; 6. The Sluggard; 7. Murder; 8. Gaming; 9. Public Robbery; 10. The Unnatural Mother; 11. Forbidding Marriage; 12. Parsons and Tithes; 13. Good Friday: or, *God's Judgment on the Jews*.—More of these Sermons have been sold than of the Sermons of all the Church-parsons put together since mine were published. There are some parsons, who have the good sense and the virtue to preach them from the pulpit.

COBBETT'S EDITION OF TULL'S HUSBANDRY (Price 15s.); **THE HORSE-HOING HUSBANDRY** or; **A TREATISE on the Principles of TILLAGE and VEGETATION**, wherein is taught a Method of introducing a sort of **VINEYARD CULTURE** into the **CORN-FIELDS**, in order to increase their Product and diminish the common Expense. By **JERHO TULL**, of Shalborne, in the county of Berks. To which is prefixed, **AN INTRODUCTION**, explanatory of some Circumstances connected with the History and Division of the Work; and containing an Account of certain Experiments of recent date, by **WILLIAM COBBETT**.—From this famous book I learned all my principles relative to farming, gardening, and planting. It really, without a pun, goes to the root of

the subject. Before I read this book I had seen enough of effects, but really knew nothing about the causes. It contains the foundation of all knowledge in the cultivation of the earth.

MISCELLANEOUS POLITICS.

THE REGISTER, published W e. Price 1s 2d. Sixty-four pages.

TWO-PENNY TRASH, published Monthly. Price 2d., 12s. 3d. for a hundred, and 11s. a hundred if 300 or upward.

This is the Library that I have created. It really makes a tolerable shelf of books; a man who understands the contents of which may be deemed a man of great information. In about every one of these works I have pleaded the cause of the *working people*; and I shall now see that cause triumph, in spite of all that can be done to prevent it.

N. B. A whole set of these books, at the above prices, amount to 7l. 0s. 2d.; but, if a whole set be taken together, the price is 6l. And here is a stock of knowledge sufficient for any young man in the world.

TITHES.

THE whole country appears to be up relative to this subject. The following documents will prove this fact to be true.—Ah! Parsons! *Protestant Reformation* and *Cobbett's Tenth Sermon* and *Poor Man's Friend* were not written in vain. But, *Two-Penny Trash*, No. 7 contains the whole argument, and people read it accordingly.—These are sold at 12s. 6d. the hundred, and at 11s if three hundred be taken at once. Rub this out, parsons, if you can! Rub out *Two-penny Trash*, No. 7, or give the thing up! Read the following documents, and you will see that it is time for you to bestir yourselves.

“At a Meeting of the Freeholders, Yeomen, and Inhabitants of the Parish of Almondsbury, in the county of Gloucester, held the 15th day of Dec., 1830, for the purpose of considering the expediency of Petitioning Parliament on the subject of Tithes, Mr. John Hill, in the Chair, the following Petition was approved, and ordered to be transmitted to Sir B. W. Guise, for presentation:—

“To the Honourable the Commons of the Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled:

"The humble Petition of the undersigned Freeholders, Yeomen, and Inhabitants of Almondsbury, in the county of Gloucester,

"**SHOWETH**—That your Petitioners humbly approach your Honourable House, to invoke its attention to a subject of deep eventual importance—the present System of Tithes.

"That your Petitioners conceive that the vast changes made in the numerical state of the population and agricultural produce, since this impost was laid on, 1,000 years ago, render the wages and work of the clergy inordinately disproportionate, and that the decimation now exacted contributes in a great degree to the unparalleled distress which prevails in the agricultural districts.

"That the present mode of exaction is a fertile and detestable source of wrangling and litigation, ruinously opposed to the hallowed spirit and interests of religion, and deplorably injurious to the character and influence of its Ministers; and therefore an adequate provision should be made from some less oppressive and oppressive source.

"That the land; being now burdened with Church and Poor-rates, for the object of which tithes were originally appropriated, their uses are now nearly subverted; and, therefore, that this gross and growing evil should no longer be perpetuated.

"That your petitioners consider the time is fully come for rescinding Statutes extorted from superstition by Popish ecclesiastics, and earnestly implore your honourable House promptly to adopt such measures as may best remove the intolerable burden under which your petitioners, in common with others, have two long been groaning."

This petition positively expresses the feeling of the great body of agriculturists *all over the kingdom*; who are now experiencing that severe pressure on the land which cannot be borne much longer; and, therefore, they seem determined to *throw the tithes overboard*, to the very great dismay of the Reverends throughout the country, who (by the way) were, during the whole of the sanguinary war of the French Revolution, which entailed this "pressure," the loudest and bitterest supporters of every outrage against the people, albeit at the same time professing themselves Ministers of Peace. "Verily, they shall have their reward."—*Leeds Patriot*.

ANOTHER!

Parish of Winterbourne, County of Gloucester.—At a General Vestry Meeting, held at the Workhouse, on the 22nd of December, 1830, called by the Churchwarden, by a notice read in the Parish Church, on Sunday, the 19th of December, to consider the propriety of petitioning Parliament to *abolish or alter the tithe-laws*, the following Resolutions were unanimously agreed to; Mr. Thomas Lawrence, Churchwarden, in the Chair; Present forty persons, comprising all the largest farmers of the parish, and

(except the tenants of the clergyman) almost all other considerable occupiers of land.

"1st.—It being the judgment of the Meeting, that tithe is not property, but merely a tax upon property; and believing that the objects for which this tax was originally instituted, viz.—religious instruction and the relief of the poor—are not only not now promoted by it, but, on the contrary, injured; they consider that to enforce its payment is oppressive, unjust, and essentially opposed to that civil and religious liberty, to which every man is entitled under the Christian dispensation.

"Resolved, That petitions in accordance with the foregoing sentiments be addressed, by this Parish, to both Houses of Parliament, praying them to repeal the tithe-laws.

"2dly.—Resolved, That Mr. Thomas Lawrence and Mr. Phillip Debell Tuckett be appointed to prepare the petition; for signature, in accordance with the foregoing Resolution; and that they request Lord King to present and support the petition to the House of Lords, and Joseph Hume, Esq. that to the House of Commons.

"3dly.—Resolved, that the proceedings of this meeting be advertised once in *The Farmer's Journal*, and once in each of the Bristol, Bath, and Gloucester Newspapers; and that the Parish Officers be directed to pay the cost of the same, on account of the Parish, as also that of the petitions.

"4thly.—Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be presented to Mr. Thomas Lawrence, for his able conduct in the Chair.

"(Signed, in and on behalf of the Meeting, by)

"THOMAS LAWRENCE."

ANOTHER!

In the parish of Iron-Acton, containing a population of 1,200, almost exclusively agricultural, Christmas Eve was ushered in with the following unanimous expression of the parish opinion:—

"At a numerous and highly respectable Meeting of the inhabitants of the parish of Iron-Acton, in the county of Gloucester, convened by the churchwardens, for the purpose of petitioning parliament relative to the subject of Tithes, and held at the White Hart Inn, on the 22d Dec., 1830, the following resolutions were passed unanimously, and a petition, of which the following is a copy, was signed by every person present:—

"1st. It is the opinion of this Meeting that tithes are a direct and most oppressive tax on the community, and especially on the agricultural interest, and the cause of much of the distress now so severely felt. It is also the opinion that the cause of religion, instead of being promoted, is thereby much injured, through the endless animosity inseparable from the collision of the interests of the Ministers and parishioners. We therefore agree that a petition, embodying these senti-

ments, be prepared for presentation to both Houses of parliament.

" 2d. That the following petition having been the agreed upon, George Gibbs, Alfred Tuckett, and Thomas Williams, are requested to give every facility for procuring signatures to the same.

" 3d. That Lord King be requested to present the petition to the House of Lords, and Joseph Hume, Esq., to the House of Commons.

" 4th. That the proceedings of this Meeting, with a copy of the petition, be published in two of the Bristol papers, *The Gloucester Journal* and *The Bath and Cheltenham Gazette*.

" To the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in parliament assembled.

" The humble petition of the undersigned inhabitants of the parish of Iron-Acton in the county of Gloucester, agreed upon at a Meeting convened by the churchwardens, and held there on the 22d December, 1830,

" **SHOWETH**—That reason convinces you petitioners, that to give a tenth of the product of a parish, containing, perhaps, several square miles, to one man, though he have a family, and to leave but the remaining nine tenths for the support of all the rest of the population, though consisting of many thousands, is to make an unfair and unreasonable distribution of the fruits of the earth. That your petitioners find, from undoubted history, that such a distribution was not intended in the first institution of tithes; but on the contrary, that they were given in this country to the clergy, in trust, for the support of the poor, and for the building and repairing places of worship, and on conditions, that they should instruct the people in the Catholic religion, perform masses, and say prayers for the souls of the donors and their ancestors, and hospitably entertain strangers and travellers; and that for the performance of these trusts and conditions, they were allowed out of the tithes a maintenance, food, and raiment, but were not allowed to marry, or to bequeath or accumulate private property. Your petitioners also find, that in process of time another set of men gained possession of the tithes, who performed none of the trusts and conditions for the performance of which they were originally given, but who, on the contrary, married wives, begot children, accumulated private property, bequeathed it to whom they would, ceased to use hospitality, and left the poor destitute. In consequence of this, the poor have been, since that time, maintained by a tax levied for the purpose, on houses and lands, the churches repaired by another tax, and new ones built by grants out of the taxes raised by the Government, to the great impoverishment of your petitioners and their fellow-countrymen. That experience has fully established your petitioners in the belief that tithes are injurious to agriculture, and prejudicial to the reputation, zeal, and

efficiency of the church that receives them. Your petitioners, therefore, humbly pray your Lordships to take the tithe-system into your serious consideration, with the hope, that as the poor are now otherwise provided for, and the clergy may be so by their respective congregations, your Lordships may, in your wisdom, devise a method for its total abolition. And your petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray."

ANOTHER!

Welshmen are not behind their English neighbours in sensitiveness to this biting evil. The annual value of the real property of land in the county of Glamorgan, in 1815, was 334,102*l.* The total annual charge of Highway, County, Church, and Poor Rates, in 1827, was 49,810*l.*; or *Three Shillings in the Pound*, exclusive of Tithe! The hundred of Cowbridge, in that county, contains a population, by the last census, of 5,894 persons. Of this gross number, 619 families were employed in agriculture; 220 in trade, manufactures, and other handicraft. Can it be a matter of surprise that *The Cambrian* newspaper of New-year's day thus reports a Public Meeting in *this tax and tithe-ridden hundred?*—

" **COWBRIDGE**, Dec. 24, 1830.—At a Meeting of the Land-owners, Farmers, and Tithe-payers of the Hundred of Cowbridge, convened by public advertisement, held at the Mason's Arms this day, Mr. WILLIAM SPENCER in the Chair, the following Petition and Resolutions were unanimously agreed to:—

" To the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled,

" The humble Petition of the Land-owners, Farmers, and Tithe payers of the Hundred of Cowbridge, in the County of Glamorgan,

" **SHOWETH**—That your Petitioners view, with deep concern, the unhappy and alarming state of the Country, and lament that, after the continuance of peace for fifteen years, instead of that prosperity which should accompany it, every interest in the community is suffering great distress;—that your Petitioners consider the enormous and unequal proportion of the wealth of the country engrossed by the Church Establishment to be the chief cause of such distress; and that while this burden oppresses most grievously the Agriculturist, it also seriously affects the Manufacturing interest;—that your Petitioners conscientiously believe, that the Tithe System is as prejudicial to the best interest of the Church of England, as a Christian Church, as to the temporal well-being of the community, as it tends to produce dissent, and promote uncharitable and unchristian feelings between the Ministers of religion and the souls committed to their care.

" That your Petitioners are utterly at a loss to comprehend why this burden should fall almost exclusively on them, when the many more wealthy interests of the country comparatively pay nothing towards the support of Ministry for religious instruction, and from which they derive equal advantage.

"That your petitioners are prepared to prove to your honourable House that, in consequence of the vast increase of capital and land engaged in tillage within the last forty years, the value of tithe property has increased in a fourfold degree, while the employment of capital in agricultural pursuits was never more precarious and unproductive to the farmer than at the present time.

"That your petitioners humbly submit to your honourable House, that they believe the only effectual way of removing this unequal and oppressive burden on the capital, the exertions, and the industry of the agriculturist, and the doing away with the many other evil effects of the tithe laws, would be to impose, instead of the present grinding, afflicting, and distressing mode, a rate, or tithe-tax of two shillings in the pound, on the rent paid by the farmers; which your petitioners humbly presume to suggest would be found not only a competent, but a respectable provision, for the support of the Ministers, thereby, as they firmly believe, furnishing the best way, in their opinion the only means, by which the present frightfully alarming state of society can be allayed; and the terrific consequences (not to be contemplated without horror) averted.

"Your petitioners, therefore, humbly pray that your honourable House will adopt this, or such other means as your honourable House may approve of, for the relief of the country and your petitioners will ever pray, &c.

"First resolution. Proposed and carried unanimously.

"That the petition now read be presented to both Houses of Parliament.

"Second Resolution. Proposed and carried

"That the Chairman be requested to forward the petition to the House of Lords, to Lord King.

"Third resolution. Proposed and carried unanimously—

"That a deputation do wait on the Member for the county, to request he will present and support the prayer of the petition in the House of Commons, composed of the following persons:—Mr. John Spencer, Mr. Christopher Wilkins, Mr. Samuel Howells, Mr. W. Spencer, Mr. David Richards, and Mr. Richard Richards.

"Fourth Resolution—

"That a person be appointed to take the petition to the several parishes in the Hundred, for signatures.

"Fifth resolution—

"That the proceedings of this Meeting be advertised in *The Cambrian* newspaper.

"Wm. SPENCER, St Mary Church."

which gives an account of the close of the day.

The crowd then moved forward. Mr. Hunt appeared in a barouche, drawn by four handsome greys; the postillions were in dresses of crimson silk, with banners preceding him. Mr. Hunt and Mr. Mitchell were in the carriage. On their arrival in Stamford-street, Mr. Hunt then alighted, amidst the shouts of the crowd, and took his station at the dining-room window of his house.

Mr. HUNT then again addressed the assembled multitude, thanking them most warmly for having accompanied him through the cities of London and Westminster. The result of that day's procession was, that at least one fact would go forth to the world—that though the Duke of Wellington was afraid to enter the city, he was not. Though the King and his Grace had proposed to unite with the Corporation in spending 10,000*l.* of the poor citizens' money, in order to give them a guzzle, he (Mr. Hunt) was no party to such a proceeding, and therefore feared not to face his fellow-citizens. He was no party to a project which, with its paraphernalia and other expenses, would have cost the people 10,000*l.*, and therefore he was free from the apprehensions that deterred the Duke of Wellington from entering the city. [At this moment an active pick-pocket was seized by some person in the crowd; there was a general cry of "Hold him, hold him."] "Yes," said Mr. Hunt, "hold him by all means; he is one of the Government." He advised them to take care of the smaller pick-pockets, and he would undertake to maul the greater ones. The Duke, forsooth, was afraid of some disturbance if he came into the city; but occasions differed, and their effects were as different. That was the third time on which they had acceded to him the honours of a triumphal entry, and yet on no one of those occasions had any accident taken place. Mr. H. then repeated the greater portion of what he had in the early part of the day addressed to his assembled friends in Islington-green, dwelling upon the insidious character of the suggestions of those corrupt knaves who sought to keep him out of parliament, by saying that one man could do nothing, when so many were interested in picking pockets, and enriching themselves with the plunder of the people; but the men of Preston had determined to try that question, and see what one man could do; and were that man only backed by the voice of the people, he could assure them that the attempt would be made to break up the strongholds of corruption. He would attempt that which had never been attempted before; and if he had the support of the people, his efforts would not fall powerless upon the floor of the House of Commons—efforts which should be directed to the repeal of laws, almost all of which were framed for the express purpose of drawing money from the poor for the advantage

MR. HUNT'S

Public entry into London, on Monday, the 10th of Jan. 1830.

HAVE ROOM for that part only

of the rich. One of his first objects would be to move for a repeal of that villainous Corn Law, which was enacted solely for the purpose of impoverishing the poor to enrich the aristocracy. It was one of the most atrocious laws that ever was inflicted upon any people by any Government, however tyrannical; he, therefore, should at once demand their total repeal; and if he found any one to second him in the House, they might rely upon his pushing the motion to a division. [A voice in the crowd, "O'Connell will second you."] He did not expect that any Englishman would be found to support him. O'Connell, he did hope, would second him; but he did not look for support elsewhere. He next called their attention to the conduct of the newspapers during the past week. They had been quite mute about the Preston election; not a word in them respecting the great struggle that was going on in the North, though the Preston papers were publishing second and third editions. What was the London press afraid of? They could not, it would seem, take a single portion of the intelligence from any of the Preston papers; they must, forsooth, travel over to Leeds for the fat lie that Baiues published there in his lying paper. It was called *The Leeds Mercury*—it would be equally well to call it the *The Lying Mercury*. From that source did the London journals take their intelligence; that was the way in which the people of England were humbugged; that was the way in which the worthy proprietor of *The Observer* thought proper to describe public proceedings. Yes; Mr. William Clement, as well of *The Observer* as of *The Morning Chronicle*, thought proper to adopt—to prefer *The Lying Mercury* of Leeds to the respectable papers of Preston, though he would not raise his voice against the expenditure of eight or ten thousand pounds of the money of the poor to be spent in the city for the purpose of giving the king and the Duke of Wellington a gorge. These immaculate papers said there was at least one good that would result from his election for Preston. What did they think that was? It was this—that as he was now a Member of Parliament, there would, it was to be hoped, be no more chalking of the walls. That was, in one of Mr. Clement's papers; in the true spirit of trade, he wished him (Mr. Hunt) to advertise no more by means of the walls, but, instead, of paying him (Mr. C.) 30l. a year for advertisements, to pay him 60l. "Ah! Billy Clement, you are a trader, and you want me to pay you a larger annual sum for advertisements than I do, and to leave off chalking the walls." They talked (he continued) of his chalking the walls—why Warren chalked twice as much as he did. He then proceeded to censure paragraphs in *The Age* newspaper and in *The Standard*, upon the same subject, saying, that *The Standard* had expressed a hope that the people would not lose their time by forming a procession that day in honour of Mr.

Hunt, for the purpose of escorting him through the town; they advised all rational people to stay at home, and recommended all timid people not to run the risk of being crushed to death. It recommended all careful shopkeepers to close their shops to protect their property from Hunt's blackguards. It assumed that all decent people would stay at home, and no persons of sense or character would join; "Hunt's blackguards." Now if they should catch the editor of *The Standard*, and be disposed to drag him along the kennel, they would show him some mercy for his (Mr. H.'s) sake. It would, perhaps, be said, that he was attacking the press, and that it was most imprudent in him to do so at present—he was merely stating the attacks made by the press upon him. He then went over the principal topics of which his speech at Islington was composed (for which see former part of the report), and went on to speak of the recent proceedings under the Special Commissions, when so many of the poor working classes were sentenced to be hanged and transported. There was one gentleman, Mr. Bennett, of Wiltshire, one of the great instigators of the Corn Laws, who had signalled himself upon the occasion in question—a man who had screwed up the rents of his estate to the highest possible pitch of elevation, and the wages of the labourer to the lowest possible point of depression; and that man stood upon these trials as the committing magistrate—as the Foreman of the Grand Jury, before whom the bills were preferred. He was a witness against the prisoners, and he was a prosecutor himself in those very cases. (Shame!) He concluded by thanking the sawyers for their attendance on the occasion.

Thanks were voted to the men of Preston, and, after nine cheers for them and three for Mr. Hunt, the assemblage broke up at about a quarter to five.

MISERY AND THE FIRES.

DERBYSHIRE.—The distress which prevails amongst the miners and weavers of this mountainous and cold district is almost beyond description. We were present at a numerous and respectable Meeting of the inhabitants of the village of Bradwell, held on Wednesday last, for the purpose of considering the best means of administering relief to the suffering families in the neighbourhood, especially those who are in indigent circumstances, in consequence of the very low rates of wages afforded to those employed in the above trades, who it is well known, cannot, by the most diligent exertion, earn more than from three to four shillings per week! It is impossible to conceive the vast depth of misery which exists. It appeared from the statements of some of the speakers, that many of these poor sufferers had their children in bed when visited, whose bed-clothes had not a vestige of either linen or

flannel about them, but was composed of wraps and old clothes—others had not a tittle of fire!—*Herald, 7th Jan.*

FIRE OF A FARM.—On Monday night last, about half-past seven o'clock, the extensive barn, cow-hovels, outhouses, &c., forming one range of building, in the occupation of Mr. Mason, of Broad Holme, near Belper, on the Matlock road, Derbyshire, was discovered to be on fire in several different places. The alarm soon spread, and hundreds of individuals rushed to the spot, anxious to arrest the progress of the devouring element, if possible; such, however, was the fury of the flames, that although Mr. Strutt's engine, of Belper, was actively used and supplied with water, in addition to every other means, all efforts to save the barn and out-buildings proved abortive; and it is with pain we add, that five fine cows, in calves, the property of Mr. Masou, were burnt to death, without the chance of rescue. A bull, fastened up in the hovel, was more resolute and fortunate; he tore up the stake to which he was affixed, and ran out, bellowing most hideously, whilst the moaning sounds which proceeded from the cows were truly piteous. In addition to this heavy loss, the barn contained the produce of one stack of wheat, which was entirely consumed, together with the whole range of building. Seven or eight other stacks of wheat and oats shared a similar fate; and trifling indeed is the portion of farming stock saved. The wind fortunately blew the contrary way, or the dwelling-house must have fallen a sacrifice. A stack of oats, and two or three of hay, are all considered saved. There is not the slightest doubt in the mind of any one, but that this diabolical act has been the work of some fiendish incendiary or incendiaries, as the buildings, as before stated, were on fire in several places at one and the same time.

LANCASHIRE.—On Monday night last, as Mr. Thomas Ashton, son of Mr. Samuel Ashton, of Gee-cross, near Ashton-under-Lyne—where the recent alarming turn-out of the cotton-spinners has taken place, was returning to the Apethorpe factory, he was shot at by some base assassin, and killed on the spot. The deadly weapon was loaded with slugs—one of which, it appears, pierced his heart, and the other went through the back bone. He was just returning from taking his tea, to the factory, and had to pass through a dark narrow lane, where the dreadful crime was committed. The report brought several people to the spot, and the unfortunate young man was conveyed back to his own house a corpse in ten minutes after he had left it. The sensations of the family, which is very numerous, hereabouts, may be better felt than described. They are the largest spinners in this part of the country, and bear an excellent and honourable character. The deceased was only twenty-two years of age, and was beloved by all the working classes. No cause can possibly be assigned for this inhuman transaction, unless

that he was mistaken for some other person, as the mills of all the Ashtons are in full employ, and at the regular prices.

SUSSEX.—**MORE INCENDIARISM.**—It is with sincere regret that we publish the following letter from Eastbourne:—"Another fire has taken place in this parish. On Sunday evening, between nine and ten o'clock, the stacks of Mr. J. Fielder, of Susans-farm, situate close to the road leading to the sea-side, were discovered to be on fire; two of them, a tare and bean stack, were totally consumed, and another bean stack was much injured. Fortunately, the great exertions made by the inhabitants saved the fourth, a large barley stack. That this fire was not accidental, but the work of a diabolical incendiary, no one can for a moment doubt; and up to the present hour, no sufficient suspicion exists to justify the apprehension of any parties. We are at a loss to conceive why Mr. Fielder should have been selected as a victim. Among all classes of the poor he is spoken well of for his humanity. It is within our own knowledge that he has recently given beef, &c., to many aged and infirm persons."—*Brighton Gazette.*

KENT.—Between twelve and one o'clock yesterday morning, the town of Greenwich and neighbourhood was thrown into alarm, in consequence of the Theatre, which is situate in London-street, having taken fire in the centre of the building, and the flames spreading with much fury. The policeman who discovered the fire instantly gave the alarm. The engine from Greenwich Hospital, and also the parish one, were shortly on the spot; but no water could be obtained for nearly an hour. A large party of marines from the dockyard at Deptford, upon the fire-bell tolling, hastened to the scene, and exerted themselves in assisting the police in keeping order, and rescuing a great number of horses, and removing many coaches and other property on the extensive premises of Messrs. Wheatley's adjoining, as also the property of the surrounding inhabitants. The flames shortly extended throughout the whole of the theatre, and engulfed the scenery, dresses, and every other description of property, in one common ruin. A plentiful supply of water having been obtained and several engines from town arriving, the adjoining premises were preserved from destruction, but the theatre was totally destroyed. There had been a performance in the evening, and the house closed at a quarter to eleven. It has been ascertained that the fire originated in the ladies' dressing rooms, under the stage, but from what cause is not known. Mr. Savile Faucit, the lessee, is insured in the Phoenix for 600l.; and it will be remembered that the Ramsgate Theatre, of which he was also the proprietor, was destroyed by fire about three years since.

On the morning of the fire Mr. Wheatley, jun., who is one of the Overseers of the Poor, attended a meeting at the church, when he

received a letter, bearing the Greenwich post mark, and addressed as follows:—

“Mr. Wheatley, coach-master, Greenwich, Overseer.

January 10, 1830.

“ and Thomas Wheatley,

“ I will inform you that three men are coming from Berkshire to destroy all your machines and stables. I am your well wisher: here is three of their names—William Jones, George Millwood, and John Strong; but I shall not tell my name, but I would have you be upon the Look Out. I am a native of Greenwich myself: if you don't employ me again I will set a light to all the straw that is in your Big Loft. There is one thing you cannot swear to the Writing, there is one thing more, I myself will Poison all your horses for you. I will have my revenge on you, if I don't may I be d— (Here there is a drawing of a knife and a heart; the point of the former has pierced the latter.) You shall have that in you afore long, you rouse you shall, I will send you two more letters after this, then I will execute.”

This epistle excites much conversation, and a meeting is to take place on the subject.

BURWARDSLEY.—Another incendiary fire broke out in this neighbourhood on Tuesday night, which destroyed the barn and hay-stack of a farmer named William Gresty. From all the circumstances, there can be no doubt but that it was the act of an incendiary.—There is now little doubt entertained but that the destruction of Lewisham church was the work of incendiarism. From what has transpired on investigation, it would seem that the perpetrator had effected his purpose by applying the destructive means at three different parts of the church.—*Kentish Gazette.*

ESSEX.—Sunday morning, about two o'clock, a fire, supposed to be the work of an incendiary, broke out in the farm of Mr. J. Raynam, of the Moated-house, Basselden, which destroyed stock and property to the value of nearly 2,000*l.* The equitable fire-engine, from Billericay, succeeded in saving five stacks of hay, and three of corn. The labourers from the adjoining farms were all on the spot, and rendered every assistance in their power towards checking the progress of the flames. They afterwards ate the pigs, which were made into excellent crackling, with the owner's permission.—Another fire, destructive of agricultural produce, has taken place at Ulceby, near Alford, on a farm in the occupation of Mr. James Atkinson. We understand that a straw-stack was set on fire, and that it and two stacks of oats, containing eighty quarters, were consumed. The fire occurred on Wednesday night last, and was doubtless the work of an incendiary.

WILTSHIRE.—On Tuesday night a barn filled with fire-wood, belonging to — Edmondstone, Esq., a Magistrate of the county, who has taken a very active part in the apprehension of the rioters, situated about two miles and a half from Devizes, was set fire to, and,

before any assistance could be procured, was levelled with the ground.

Another fire took place on Wednesday night, about one mile nearer to Salisbury, the back part of the Black Dog public-house having been set on fire by some incendiary; a rick which belonged to the landlord was also consumed.—*Morn. Chron. 8th Jan.*

LINCOLNSHIRE.—**LOUTH, JAN. 5.**—A fire took place on the premises of Mr. Samuel Bowling, of Louth Grange, yesterday morning, at four o'clock, which, but for the timely assistance of the fire-engines, would in all probability have destroyed the whole of the corn ricks and building; however, by the prompt assistance which was rendered, the fire was subdued with the loss of a large rick of straw and about half of a hay-rick. The Magistrates sat at Bowling House yesterday until twelve at night, and committed the waggoner for further examination. There appears strong reason to fear that he is the incendiary.

This morning, also, a fire of much greater magnitude has taken place on the premises of Mr. Upton, of Raithly; it is not yet subdued. Two of the Louth engines are there, and from the opportunity I have had for investigation, I am of opinion his own servants are implicated. Both the above farms were insured in the county within these few weeks.

HOBBLING, LINCOLNSHIRE, JAN. 3.—We had a large bean-stack fired yesterday evening, and at Neethope, about two miles off, on Friday night last, there were a straw and a hay-stack both consumed.

On Monday a large stack of beans, belonging to Mr. Westmoreland, of Billingboro', in the parish of Sempringham, was set fire to, and consumed before any assistance could arrive. Thursday evening, the 30th ult. about six o'clock, some person set fire to a stack of straw belonging to Mr. Briggs, stirgeon, of Heckington; it was soon consumed, but not being near any other stack, no further damage was done.—*Stamford Mercury.*

SUFFOLK.—**HUNTINGFIELD, JAN. 9**—(Extract from a private letter.)—Soon after six o'clock on Saturday morning, a fire was discovered in the tithe-stack-yard of the Rev. Henry Uthoff, attached to the Huntingfield Rectory, and which is about half a mile from Heavingham Hall, the seat of Lord Huntingfield. The fire was discovered by one of Mr. Uthoff's men, as he was going out to his work. He instantly alarmed his master and the family, as well as several cottagers in the neighbourhood, who promptly afforded all possible assistance to extinguish the flames by means of pails of water, wet blankets, &c., but more particularly to preserve the adjoining stacks, which chiefly consisted of tithe hay. By half-past seven o'clock, Lord Huntingfield, the Rev. Anthony Collet, and other influential characters, attended by the Heavingham Hall engine, were upon the premises. By this timely arrival of such prompt aid as the engine afforded, and by the exemplary and astonishing efforts made by all present, I am

happy to be able to state that the progress of the flames was arrested, but not till the fire had destroyed a straw stack, and part of two clover stacks. The Rev. Mr Uthoff, who is between 70 and 80 years of age, was greatly agitated. *He held out a five pound note to the persons assembled, as an inducement to increased exertions, to subdue the fire as speedily as possible, the note was accepted, and afterwards distributed amongst the labourers present, who amounted to about 150. They had also had a barrel of beer from the Huntingfield Arms public-house.*

LEICESTERSHIRE.—Sunday night a fire was discovered on the premises of Mr. Cartwright, near Leicester, which are at present occupied by a worsted-spinner. The machinery was worked by steam. The whole building was destroyed.

DEVONSHIRE.—A fire broke out on Saturday morning at the brewhouse of Messrs. Hare, at Stouehouse, near Plymouth. It was discovered in time to confine its ravages to a hayloft, where it commenced. Mr. Hare had lately received a threatening letter with the name "Swing."—Several farms have also been fired.

YORKSHIRE.—Sunday morning the extensive woollen mills of Messrs. Whitacre, of Woodhouse, near Huddersfield, were discovered to be on fire, and so destructive was the fire, that the principal range of buildings was completely gutted, and all the machinery destroyed. It is feared that this is the result of malice, which is the more to be regretted, as it will throw a considerable number of men out of employment.

On Tuesday night last, about twelve o'clock, four stacks of corn belonging to Mr. Thorpe, of Glenthain, near Spittal, were discovered to be on fire. Assistance was promptly rendered, but the stacks were destroyed. The estimated loss is 300*l.*

NORFOLK.—On Monday, a barley-stack belonging to Mr. Chapman, of Gatesend, near Rudham, was burnt down, evidently the work of an incendiary, but no clue has as yet been found to lead to a discovery of the miscreant.

On Monday evening, a straw-stack belonging to a small farmer at Tilney was set fire to, but being early discovered, and prompt assistance afforded by the active exertions of labourers and others in the parish, with abundance of water at hand, the conflagration was prevented extending, or a barn, several cottages, and other buildings, would in all probability have become a prey to the flames.

CAMBRIDGESHIRE.—On Tuesday night a stack of haulm, the produce of about 50 acres of land, at Dunton, near Potten, was burnt down. It was unquestionably the act of an incendiary. On Sunday evening last, the town of March was thrown into great alarm, by the ringing of the fire-bells, in consequence of a fire being observed on the farm occupied by Mr. T. Golden, on Burrowmoor, near that place. Fortunately, however, by great exertions the flames were confined to some oats,

which were entirely consumed, although the extensive premises were not more than twelve yards distant. The property was insured. The fire was evidently occasioned by an incendiary.—*Cambridge Chronicle.*

DORSETSHIRE.—INCENDIARISM. — We regret that we have this week to record another of those calamitous fires which have so recently spread alarm and devastation throughout the agricultural districts. On Tuesday night last a wheat-rick on Druce farm, near Piddletou, the property of Mr. George Jesty, was discovered to be on fire, and it was totally consumed. Fortunately the fire was discovered in time to prevent the flames extending to any other property. The fire is supposed to have been caused by some labourers of the neighbourhood, in consequence of Mr. George Jesty having recently put his thrashing-machine into re-action.—*Dorset County Chronicle.*

BLANDFORD, Tuesday Morning, 2 o'clock.—On our way hither from Salisbury, about an hour since, we saw two apparently extensive fires. One of them, we are told, was at Compton, near Shaftesbury, at which place there is an immense number of barley, hay, wheat, and bean ricks. The whole of which, I should say, from the great range of the light, was in all probability fired. The other is at a place near Ringwood, and though not so large an extent, as we are informed here, yet the consequences are expected to be very serious. So great was the consternation at Blandford, that a large party, which had assembled at an early hour in the evening, was broken up immediately on hearing of the fires, and the male portion proceeded in utmost consternation to scenes of devastation. I have forgotten to mention, that on Sunday evening, five fires were observed to be raging between Exeter and Salisbury, some of them appearing to be of considerable importance.

WALES.—TURN-OUT OF THE WELSH COLLIERIES.—Wrexham, Monday.—We have been very much alarmed in this part of the country during the past week, in consequence of a turn-out amongst the colliers. It commenced near Hawarden, where the men turned out for, and after a few days' delay generally obtained, higher wages. On Tuesday Sir Watkin Wynn, colonel of the Denbighshire yeomanry cavalry, accompanied by that corps, fell in with a body of the colliers, of whom they took three into custody, but these were again rescued from a cottage in which they were confined.

NEED WE WONDER !

NEED we wonder at the number of persons who are abusing Cobbett for endeavouring to cause *this system to be changed!* Need we wonder at this, when we look at the following, which I take from the *Morning Herald*? If it be a lie,

it is no lie of mine, at any rate; and, if it be true, what liars are those who have accused me of exaggeration upon this subject. I, in the petition that I tendered to the county of Kent, at Penenden Heath, said, that we had **THREE GENERALS to every regiment**. How far I was under the mark, the reader will now see. Here are of *regiments* only about 120, so that here are more than *four generals* to every regiment! and only think of 8,777 commissioned officers on full pay to command about 100,000 men! That is to say, one commissioned officer to about 12 men, including sergeants, corporals, drummers, musicians and servants! What a fine affair it is! And then the *Half pay*! But, O Lord! There is no doing justice to it.—The Navy is much about such another affair, I dare say. We shall have that come out one of these days. It is somewhere now, perhaps; but the things are so numerous, that it requires half a life to look at them.

Military Force of Great Britain for 1831.

STAFF OFFICERS.

- 7 Field Marshals.*
 - 110 Generals.
 - 215 Lieutenant Generals.
 - 236 Major Generals.
 - 295 Colonels.
 - 775 Lieutenant Colonels.
 - 869 Majors.
 - 1,796 Captains.
 - 2,485 Lieutenants (1st and 2d).
 - 1,989 Ensigns and Cornets.
- 8,777 Total of Officers on Full Pay.

CAVALRY.

- 2 Regiments of Life Guards, } Cuirassiers forming the Cavalry of the Household Brigade.
- (1st and 2d)
- 1 Regiment of Horse Gds., } Blue
- 3 Regiments of Dragoon Guards.
- 7 Regiments of heavy Dragoons (1st, 2d, and 6th).
- 5 Regiments of Light Dragoons (3d, 4th, 11th, 13th, and 14th).
- 4 Regiments of Hussars (7th, 8th 10th, and 15).
- 4 Regiments of Lancers (9th, 12th, 16th, and 17th).

- 26 Regiments of Cavalry †.
- Royal Horse Artillery.
- Royal Waggon Train.

INFANTRY.

- 3 Regiments of Guards—1st, or Grenadiers; 2d, or Coldstream; and 3 Foot Guards, forming the infantry the Household Brigade.
- 1 Regiment of Royal Artillery.
- 1 Regiment of Royal Engineers.
- 1 Regiment of Royal Staff Corps.
- 99 Regiments of the Line. †
- 1 Rifle Brigade.
- 2 West India Regiments.
- 1 Ceylon Rifle, ditto.
- 1 Cape, ditto, ditto.
- 1 Royal African Colonial Corps.
- 1 Royal Malta Fencible Regiment.
- 5 Royal Veteran Companies for service in New South Wales and Newfoundland.

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MILITARY DEPARTMENTS.

Ordnance, Commissariat, Assistant Quartermaster-Generals, Medical, Paymaster-Generals, and Chaplains' Department.

* FIELD MARCHALS—His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge, K.G.G.C.B., &c.; H. R. H. the Duke of Cumberland, K.G.K.S.P., &c.; H. R. H. the Duke of Gloucester, K.G.G.C.B., &c.; H. R. H. Prince Leopold, K.G.G.C.B., &c.; his Grace the Duke of Wellington, K.G.G.C.B.G.C.H.; Sir A. Clarke, G.C.B.; and Right Hon. Sir S. Hulse, G.C.H.

† In the 26 regiments of Cavalry three are Scotch and three Irish; and in the 99 regiments of Infantry five are Scotch Lowland Regiments, eight are Highland, six Irish, and one Welsh (Royal Fusiliers). The Royal Malta Fencible Regiment is a Maltese Regiment, all composed of natives, and in the Ceylon Rifle Regiment the men only are Ceylonese, but officered partly by English and natives. These are the only two foreign regiments at present in the British service. The whole forming an effective military force of 9,735 Cavalry, 5,104 Foot Guards, 89,399 Infantry of the Line, with Artillery, making a total of about 135,000 men, including the present levy.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, JANUARY 7, 1831.

BANKRUPTS.

- BEET, C. G., Stamford-street, Blackfriars, bill-broker.
- BLOOM, A., Basinghall-street, toy-dealer.
- HEMSTED, W. and J., Bury and Sudbury, Suffolk, linen-drappers.
- HOOK, J., Nicholas-lane, general merchant.
- MOTIRAM, W., St. John's-street, West Smithfield, victualler.
- NYREN, J. W. and A. Wilson, Battersea, colour manufacturers.
- PERKINS, H. T., Angel-court, Throgmorton-street, scrivener.

PRITCHARD, C., Bath, upholsterer.
 WARING, J., Charles-street, Commercial-road East, ship-owner.
 YOUNG, W., Rochester, coach-master.

INSOLVENTS.

JAN. 6.—DELACOUR, T. C., London, diamond-merchant.
 JAN. 6.—SHAVE, J., Ipswich, innkeeper.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 11, 1831.

BANKRUPTS.

BOTCHERBY, J., Holly-bush-place, Bethnall-green, dyer.
 BURT, W. A., Christ Church, Surrey, coal-merchant.
 COHEN, G. A., Wentworth-place, Mile-end-road, general merchant.
 CUE, C., Gloucester, hatter.
 EVANS, G., Ketley, Shropshire, grocer.
 HARLAND, H., Fell-street, Cripplegate, livery-stable-keeper.
 MEYER, H. L., Three King court, Clement's-lane, merchant.
 PARKIN, J., Hoylehouse-clough, Yorkshire, clothier.
 SWIFT, T., Pine-apple-place, Edgeware-road, coach proprietor.
 TEALE, J., Quadrant, Regent-street, hardwareman.
 THOROGOOD, W., Chipping Ongar, Essex, victualler.
 WHARTON, T., Bidston, Cheshire, farmer.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN EXCHANGE, JAN. 10.—
 Prime picked samples of English Wheat are a shade higher this morning, but the general qualities remain as on this day week. In foreign there is likewise no variation. The supply of English grain is rather more, but still continues moderate. Flour may now be quoted at from 60s. to 63s. per sack, but the foremost quality is still quoted at 65s. but not given. Barley is in good demand, and may be quoted full 1s. per quarter dearer. Oats are also rather on the advance, and may be quoted at 6d. to 1s. per quarter above last Monday's price. White Peas are in some request, and bring rather more money, but Grey Peas are as we quoted on Monday last. Beans also are looking up, and the holders ask a trifle higher for this grain. In other articles there is no variation.

Wheat	68s. to 76s.
Rye	30s. to 34s.
Barley	34s. to 41s.
— fine	40s. to 44s.
Peas, White	40s. to 43s.
— Boilers	43s. to 46s.
— Grey	36s. to 40s.
Beans, Small	42s. to 44s.
— Tick	36s. to 38s.
Oats, Potatoe	28s. to 31s.
— Poland	25s. to 27s.
— Feed	20s. to 24s.
Flour, per sack	60s. to 63s.

HOP INTELLIGENCE.

BOROUGH, Monday, Jan. 10.—Fine new Hops meet with a ready sale, and the supply this morning was rather abundant. Prices remain the same as this day week.

SMITHFIELD—Jan. 10.

Beef for the best young meat sells at 4s. 2d. to 4s. 6d. per stone, and the coarser meat is 3s. to 3s. 10d. per stone. Mutton, for prime young downs, is at 4s. 2d. to 4s. 6d. per stone, and Veal, for prime calves, goes off at 5s. to 5s. 8d. per stone. In the Pork trade dairy-fed porkers sell at 4s. 6d. to 5s. per stone, and large Hogs at 3s. 4d. to 3s. 10d.

THURSDAY, Jan. 13.—This day's supply was a most miserable one, both as to quality and numbers. The few beasts that were exhibited consisted of poor and quarter-fat town's-end Cows, half fat and fleshy steers, and about half a score of primish Scots; whilst the small stock was, for the most part, of inferior quality. This is the first day on which a cattle market will be held on a Thursday. The ex-Friday market will resume its full functions next week. There were no Milch Cows, or Sucking Calves present.—Prime Beef, from 4s. 2d. to 4s. 6d.; middling Beef, 2s. 8d. to 3s. 2d.; inferior Beef, 2s. 4d. to 2s. 6d.; prime Mutton, 3s. 8d. to 3s. 2d.; middling Mutton, 2s. 8d. to 3s. 2d.; inferior Mutton, 2s. 2d. to 2s. 4d.; Veal, 3s. 10d. to 5s. 8d.; Pork, 3s. 2d. to 4s. 8d.—per stone of 8lbs, to sink the offal.—Supply, as per Clerk's statement: Beasts 102; Sheep, 820; Calves, 90; and Pigs, 120. Prices as on Monday.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, Jan. 14.

The supplies are still small, the demand moderate, and the prices the same as on Monday.

English arrivals.	Foreign.	Insh.
Flour	5,710	
Wheat	3,615	2,170
Barley	4,240	420
Oats	695	185
		2,500

THE FUNDS.

	Fr.	Sat.	Mon	Tues	Wed	Thur
3 per Cent. } Cons. Ann. }		82½	81½	81½	81½	81½

PRESTON ELECTION.

A PUBLIC MEETING will be held at the LONDON TAVERN, on MONDAY EVENING the 17th instant, at Seven o'clock precisely, to express admiration of the noble Conduct of the People of Preston in electing Mr. HUNT; to hear Mr. Mitchell on that subject and on the Expenses of the Election, and the objects of his Mission to the Metropolis.—THOMAS WARLEY, Esq. is invited to take the Chair.



THE KING'S MINISTERS.

On the easy, the speedy, the quiet, and the ONLY EFFECTUAL, Means of putting a stop to THE FIRES, which now terrify and disgrace the Country.

Kensington, 17th January, 1831.

KING'S MINISTERS,

BEFORE I proceed to point out to you the *means* alluded to in the title of this paper, I shall endeavour to convince you of these three things: 1. That the fires have been set by *the labourers without instigation* from any-body; 2. That the means of *terror*, or of *punishment*, are not calculated to put an end to the fires; 3. That the fires, unless effectually put a stop to, *may* become far more extensive than they have hitherto been. It is necessary, first of all, that I make good these three propositions; because, unless you be convinced, and heartily convinced, of the truth of them, you will not listen, and it is not reasonable that you should listen, to that which I have to offer with regard to the measures which I think ought *now* to be adopted; and, therefore, the best possible proof that I can give of my sincere and anxious desire to cause to be effected the great object stated in the title of this my address to you, is, to endeavour to implant this conviction firmly in your minds.

FIRST, then, that the fires have been *set by the labourers and without instigation*. You must be convinced of this, or, you will not listen for a moment to

the remedies which I have to propose. At first thought on the matter, it will appear to be absurd to state such a proposition as this, especially after the numerous trials that have taken place without there having appeared, throughout the whole country, one single particle of evidence to give countenance to the notion that any one fire in any place had been set by any person but a farm labourer, or that any person whatsoever, except a farm labourer or farm labourers had instigated the perpetrator to the act. SCOTT ELDON (I will always when speaking of this person retain the word SCOTT) is reported to have said distinctly, that one of the county jails was full of *foreigners* who had been committed for these crimes. PEELE, KNATCHBULL, and divers others, stated, as a *matter of course*, that the fires had been instigated by persons going about in *gigs, curricles, post chaises, landaus!* There was a woman in Philadelphia, who, as a Quaker neighbour told me, imagined herself to be a *tea-pot*, stretched out one arm in the shape of a spout, put the other a *kimbo* to represent the handle, and cried out to every-body who came near her, "Pray don't break me"! "What," said my neighbour, "would thee have done in that case, friend Cobbett"? "Why," said I, "being a *tea-pot* I could have taken care that nothing but water "should have gone into her in the shape "of liquid, and that no solids should "have gone into her till she had washed "all the dirty linen and had scrubbed "every floor in the house;" a remedy, by-the-by, which I beg leave to recommend to my readers in general, if they happen to be troubled with wives with imaginations so extraordinarily strong.

Strong, however, as the indulgence of the husband had rendered the imagination of this lazy she-devil, it certainly did not surpass in point of force that

of those persons who have ascribed these fires, or any part of them, to the instrumentality or instigation of anybody but the labourers themselves; and the wonder is, how any one ever can have entertained such an idea. For a good while I believed that no one was sincere in his professions upon this subject; but at last I met a gentleman, a country gentleman, a considerable landowner and land cultivator, a magistrate of long standing and great experience, a public-spirited man, not only a liberal but a generous man, a man singularly good, not only to his own labourers but to all round about him; a considerate, a mild, and indulgent man; a man of sincerity and veracity as perfect as I have ever known to exist in man; and this gentleman, while he was ready to make every apology for the other violences, ascribing them to the real sufferings of the people, told me this, that, "as to the fires, the people have certainly been instigated to those by a SET OF CONSPIRATORS IN LONDON."

I was astounded to hear him utter these words. I could account for Scott Eldon's *foreigners*; for when he talked of the intelligence coming in a letter, one could see that it was a hoax. I could account without much racking of my brains for the strong imaginations of Peel and Knatchbull and the rest; but I really was frightened when I heard this gentleman talking of a *conspiracy in London* instigating the fires; and, in his case, I can account for the monstrous absurdity only by reflecting on the effect of the stories which the people in the country are continually hearing of the surprising dexterity and cleverness, and the profound wickedness, that exists amongst the discontented spirits in London! If this gentleman were to dwell a little while in the vicinage of these surprisingly clever and discontented spirits, his alarm would pretty quickly cease: he would soon find that if he could keep his wine-decanter and brandy-bottle from them, that need be his only care; and that if he would let them have their run at them, he would find them some

of the best-tempered fellows in the world. Men that talk very much are apt to do very little; and I, if I had ricks and barns at stake, should be more afraid of the vengeful feelings of one single labourer, whose son or brother I had caused to be imprisoned, or severely dealt with, for poaching, than I should be of the speeches, the writings, and the machinations of all the discontented spirits of London, who, besides all the rest, hardly know wheat from peas when they see them growing, hardly know a rick from a barn, and certainly do not know a barn from a stable; are totally ignorant of the state of the homesteads, and of the means of assailing them; would be frightened out of their wits at the idea of going along a dark lane, or over a down, by themselves; and, in short, are as incompetent to give instructions or suggestions in such matters as the labourers would be to give instructions with regard to getting up plays and farces at Covent-Garden.

Yet, so loth are you to acknowledge; so loth are the landowners, the parsons, the bull-frog farmers, aye, and the debt-owners too; so loth are you all to acknowledge that these fires have proceeded purely from the minds of the labourers, that you all still cling to this monstrous idea of extraneous instigation. The cause of this clinging is this; that you cannot acknowledge that the fires have proceeded purely from the minds of the labourers, without tacitly acknowledging one of two things; namely, that they must have had some deep and irresistible provocation, or that Englishmen are become a totally altered people. There is not much to choose between these two; either of them looks pretty angrily at the Government which has existed for some years past. The fact is, that these dreadful acts, if ascribed to the mere movements of the labourers, imply that they have been rendered desperate by hunger. This implies that they ought to have had higher wages; this implies, that, to put a stop to the fires, they must have higher wages; and this implies that many millions

a-year must now be taken from the aristocracy and the church, or that those many millions must be taken from the debt-owners. Therefore it is that every effort is made to ascribe the fires first to foreigners, next to people travelling in landaus and post-chaises, next to conspirators in London, and lastly to writings of various descriptions, particularly "*cheap publications*." Why, there are no cheap publications that I know of, except my poor TWO-PENNY TRASH (of which this paper is to form the eighth number, on the 1st of next month), and this I am allowed to publish only once in a month. As to the *Register*, a single number of it now amounts to nearly as much as the Wiltshire allowance for a week's food and clothing for a constantly hard-working man. I know of no cheap publication but this that goes regularly forth, while the "*Society for promoting Useful Knowledge*;" while the church parsons, with their pamphlet societies; and while the nasty, canting, lousy Methodists, who inveigle the pennies even from the servant-girls; while all these are pouring out their pamphlets by millions, and all of them preaching up the doctrine that bacon, bread and beer corrupt the soul of man, and that potatoes, salt and water are sure to lead to eternal salvation.

How, then, can the fires have been produced by speakings and writings! and how is a man of sense to believe that from Dover to Penzance, from Pevensy to Carlisle, the fires have been produced by instigation from my speeches and writings. Yet I have been told, and I believe the fact, that the POST-OFFICES, particularly in Sussex, Hampshire, and Wiltshire, have been narrowly watched, in order to discover some correspondence between me and the rioters and burners. If these watchers will but stick to their several posts, till they find a letter *written by me*, or by any one by my authority, not only about rioting and burning, but *about any-thing else*, they will be amply punished for their curiosity. No, no, I have too much to write for the printers, to amuse myself in this sort of way.

To be sure, I cannot help what people write to me; but if the Secretary of State will send a clerk to read all my letters over for me, they will stand a great deal better chance than they now stand. All that come with the postage not paid I send back unopened, for the amusement of the Duke of Richmond; and if he read them all with attention, he will have quite enough to do. About one half of them are threatening letters; some threatening to burn my house; some my barn; some to shoot me; some to take me off by other means. These frequently come postage paid, and then they immediately go into a basket for the maid to light the fire with. Till I began to receive these burning letters, I used to insure; but I have never done it since, except in the case of my house at Kensington, which my lease compels me to insure for a certain sum of money. I discovered, too, that, in the case of every insurance that I had made, I had paid nearly twice as much to the Government in tax as to the insurance-office for insurance. This deemed a payment to protect me against the dispensations of Providence and the ill-will of my neighbours. To the former, it was my duty to submit; of the latter I was not afraid; and, therefore, why should I give up my earnings for this purpose? Threatening letters, indeed! I have received a hundred that I could have traced home to the parties with no very extraordinary pains; and I never made the attempt in my life. The post-office may be watched long enough before any letter is met with from me; and, whenever there be one, it is as likely to be found without a seal as with it; and I hereby authorise and legally empower the post-office people to open all letters going from me to any-body; if they afford them any amusement, I shall be very glad; but I beg them not to retard them on their way. Monstrous idea, that I should be writing instigations to labouring men to urge them to commit felony! Monstrous, however, as the idea is, it certainly has been entertained.

To conclude under this head. You

have now had trials in Kent, Sussex, Surrey, Hampshire, Berkshire, Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, and Buckinghamshire, before some one or other of the Judges. In other counties, and in these counties too, you have had trials for these offences, and plenty of transportings and imprisonings at the Quarter Sessions. More than fifteen hundred persons, I believe, have been arraigned and tried; and, amidst the cries of parents, wives, and children, under all the terrors of separation or almost instant death, not one single fact has come out, in spite of rewards which are perfectly terrific; not one single fact has transpired to countenance the idea of foreign actors or instigators, of instigation on the part of conspirators in London, or of extraneous instrumentality of any sort, and therefore I hope that you are now satisfied that the acts have proceeded purely from the minds of the labourers themselves.

SECOND. *That the means of terror or of punishment are not calculated to put an end to the fires.*—It is an old saying that, *if you kill a fly, twenty flies come to his burying.* The newspapers tell us, and indeed we know the fact must be so, that there is scarcely a village in the counties before mentioned, and particularly in Hampshire and Wiltshire, which has not been, in a greater or less degree, plunged into a state of mourning in consequence of the late trials and their result. But, is mourning *all*? When men suffer for well-known and long-understood crimes, then there is no apology to be offered for them. Their memory is grieved, their banishment or death lamented; but the relations and friends acquiesce: the law takes its course, and no vengeful feelings are excited in the survivors. You have read the Birmingham petition for the sparing of the lives of the men at Winchester; if you have not, I beg you to read it. The question, however, is not what sort of feelings the surviving labourers *ought* to entertain upon the subject; but what feelings they are likely to entertain; and now, then, consider the effect of screaming mothers and wives and children; think of the

feelings of fathers for sons, brothers for brothers, friends for friends; and consider that there can be scarcely one single man, amongst the labourers of Hampshire and Wiltshire especially, unaffected in his mind and heart by these transactions. *The Morning Chronicle*, in giving an account of the hanging of Cooper and Cooke, at Winchester, last Saturday, concludes the account thus:—"There was not a crowd of more than 300 persons, and those chiefly boys. Some of the crowd we heard say they would willingly give a sovereign for a reprieve. The moment the drop fell most of them went away. The special constables were in attendance at seven o'clock, and, in fact, composed the greater part of the crowd. Close under the scaffold, on some doors, was written in chalk—'MURDER FOR MURDER! BLOOD FOR BLOOD!'"

Now, this is what we never see and never hear of when malefactors are executed at other times. Cooper's offence was riding at the head of a mob, who extorted money, or broke machines, or something of that sort. Cooke's offence was, striking BINGHAM BARING with a sledge hammer. But Baring was well enough to appear and give evidence against him; and it appears was seen immediately after the affair walking in the streets of Winchester; so that this was very far from being MURDER; and, before the passing of *Ellenborough's Act* it would have been an ASSAULT, punishable not even with transportation, but with fine or imprisonment, or both. Now mind, the labourers are not lawyers, they know nothing of *Ellenborough's Act*; their estimate of crimes is traditional; and it will take a great deal indeed to convince them and to produce perfect acquiescence in their mind upon the subject of this punishment. "Kill one fly, and twenty come to his burying;" Accordingly the very next sentence in *The Chronicle* newspaper is in these words: "There have been *eight fires* in the neighbourhood of Blandford since Saturday last. This circumstance will almost preclude the hope of mercy being ex-

"tended to the unhappy men now under sentence of death!" The same newspaper contains an account of *five fresh fires* in the neighbourhood of Norwich; and *The Times* newspaper of Saturday gives an account of several fires in Wiltshire, two of which it speaks of as follows. "The first fire, which I described as illuminating the country for miles around, was, I understand, on the premises of Mr. Rexworthy, near Wilton. His dwelling-house, out-houses, and corn-ricks were all burnt to the ground. *I had not time in my way through here to-day to get the particulars farther than that *Mr. Rexworthy had been active in bringing some of the late rioters to justice.* The second fire, which I said was in the neighbourhood of Wimborne, was of corn-ricks only. These also were the *property of a person connected with the late prosecutions.*" This fire was not near *Wilton* but near *Heytesbury*, and it was so great that it lighted the street at *Fisherton*, though at *fifteen miles* distance from it.—I pray you to look at these words from *The Times* newspaper! I pray you to look well at the cause there stated for this tremendous fire. Pray read these words with attention. Look also in the papers of to-day at a great fire near *Dover*. Remember the fire in *Essex* the other day, in the very village from which poor *Ewan* had been taken to be hanged! From the single village of *Pewsey* there are, I am told, *eleven persons* taken and condemned to be transported; and when the carrier, from whom the story came to me, came away, mothers were crying for their sons, wives for their husbands, children for their fathers, sisters for their brothers, and, in short, all was frantic lamentation. Of this village one of *Lord Radnor's* brothers is the Rector, and he is also a prebend of *Salisbury*, where his elder brother has been sitting on the bench with the Special Commissioners.

Without stopping to comment on these facts, and without directing your eyes towards *Lincolnshire*, where the fires appear to be blazing more furiously than ever, let me ask you, now,

whether here be not enough to convince you, that the means of terror or of punishment are not calculated to put an end to the fires? This is a most important question for you to consider; for, if *these means fail*, then there is no hope without the adoption of some other. Beseeching you to reflect most seriously upon this point, I now proceed to the next proposition, which is, if possible, of still more importance.

THIRD, that the fires, unless effectually put a stop to, may become far more extensive than they hitherto have been.—King's Ministers, you know very little about the habits or the means of the labouring people. I do not impute this to you as a fault: your way of life, your own habits and pursuits and associations, have precluded you from possessing this knowledge; and, as to obtaining it from others, few persons approach you who do possess it, and very rarely indeed will it happen that one of these will be found honest enough to tell you that you have not the power to do that which you wish to do. Power to induce it to listen to objections to its own effectiveness, must be in the hands of those who are endowed with all those rare qualities which induce wise and just judges to listen to arguments against the competence of their own jurisdiction. Hence it is that you do know and that you can know very little about the real character, the disposition, the propensities and the habits of the labourers; and especially about the means which they possess of gratifying their vengeful feelings where, unhappily, they entertain them. There was very little danger, comparatively, in the machine-breaking and the sturdy begging or rioting and robbery, if it must be so called. These would be effectually put a stop to by the transportings and the hangings; but as to the fires, it was quite another matter, as *REXWORTHY* has found to his cost. Of all acts in this world of a criminal nature, the most easy to perpetrate, the least liable to detection, the least inconvenient to the perpetrator, is that of

setting fire to out-buildings and ricks. To convince you of the truth of this, what can you need more than perhaps the *two thousand fires* that have taken place, and the four or five convictions; with regard to two of which the parties convicted declared their innocence with their dying breath? As to the immediate means, I know nothing; but I believe all the stories about fire-balls and air-guns to be merely ridiculous nonsense. A pipe and a match, or a bit of linen rag, as in the case of the poor orphan Goodman, in Sussex, are, I dare say, the means generally used; for, how are labouring men in general, or any of them indeed, to obtain any other means, and to keep those means by them too, without the knowledge of others?

Do, I pray you, look at the situation of this species of property; consider the utter impossibility of watching it effectually. In the case of houses, factories, or buildings of any sort, which are usually inhabited, the case is wholly different. Here the parties must either be inmates or must commit the act by open violence. It is difficult for a man even to set fire to his own house without detection. Not so in the case of farm produce and buildings; where there is no trace, no clue, nothing to lead to detection, if the perpetrator be alone and hold his tongue; and that perpetrator may be your own servant! And who are to be your servants! Why, in Hampshire and Wiltshire particularly, the father, the son, the brother, the uncle, the nephew, the cousin or the friend of some one who has been hanged, transported, or manacled, by you or by some one connected with you. The loan-monger or Jew or Scotch feelosopher brute may call the labourers of England peasantry; the insolent vagabonds who live on their labour may call them *ignorant*; calumniate while they starve them; talk of their want of education. They want no education; they understand their business well; *they* are not ignorant, they know their rights, and the wrongs that are done them; they are tender parents and dutiful loving children; they are obedient and faithful servants, and kind

and good neighbours; they are unassuming, modest, content in their state of life; but they will not, and I thank God that they will not, live on damned potatoes while the barns are full of corn, the downs covered with sheep, and the yards full of hogs created by their labours. Above all things they are affectionate; the parents love their children, and the children the parents, with more ardour than is to be met with among the richer tribes: the constant participation in each other's hardships and toils tends to bind them more firmly to one another: if you commit an act of injustice towards one, the whole village feels it individually and collectively. Even the villages themselves are connected with one another; and thus a whole county or district is imbued with one and the same vengeful feeling. Is any man so stupid as to imagine that there is a single soul in all Pewsey, man, woman or child, who will not remember the transportation of eleven men of that village?

It is a great mistake to suppose that the farming stock is all collected in the homesteads; if it were, it would not, that I know of, add to the security. I have a barn, for instance, now, at Barn Elm, one of the largest that I ever saw in my life. It was crammed full of corn in the summer, trodden down in the mows by oxen. Four men have been thrashing there constantly from that day to this, and they will be at it some time longer. There is no soul living in the farm-house, and there is no house within more than a quarter of a mile; the barn is at all times assailable from the bank of the Thames, which is very close, and the whole has been uninsured all the time. Now what protection had I for this between three and four hundred pounds' worth of corn, and, at one time, seven hundred pounds worth of seeds into the bargain? Why, I had the protection of the good-will of the working people, my neighbours, who never were wronged or oppressed by me, and on whose good-will therefore I had reason to rely. To numbers of them I

have occasionally given pretty good scoldings and angry words; but I never did them injury, gave them no ground for revenge, and I can truly say that I never had a moment of inquietude with regard to the safety of my property. Yet there has not been one single night during the last three months and a half when the whole of this property might not have been destroyed, barn and house and all, without a possibility of detecting the offender, if he had gone alone and held his tongue; and if he had been generally hated in the neighbourhood, where was I to have found watchmen, and how was I to have prevented the watchman from setting fire himself?

I pray you to observe, that *to go into* a rick-yard or homestead is no crime at all! It is only a trespass at the utmost, punishable to be sure without trial by jury. Suppose a man to be found in a rick-yard, or in a barn, without breaking in, with a pipe in his mouth, and matches in his pocket, he is merely a trespasser. He must actually set the fire before he incurs the guilt of committing the crime; and, in all human probability, this species of reconnoitring always takes place. Besides, every labourer in the neighbourhood knows every one who lives in the house; and the labourers having been driven from the farm-houses, there is seldom any male in the farm-house except the master and his sons, if he have any, and a sort of a groom. These are all away from home together very frequently; so that, in fact, there is no protection at all other than the goodwill of the neighbourhood.

But how many hundreds of thousands of wheat-ricks, and oat-ricks, and barley-ricks, are not only built out in the fields, but at a distance from all dwelling-houses whatsoever! How many thousands upon thousands of ricks of clover, upland grass, and saintfoin, are built out in the middle of immense fields, to be given to the sheep while they are eating off the turnips in winter. These can have no earthly protection but that of the general goodwill and common consent of the labouring

people. I have seen thousands of stacks (in one single ride of mine) of wheat and barley, as well as of hay, standing out at from a quarter of a mile to a mile distant from any house, tree, or hedge. What in all the world is there but a sense of moral right and wrong, to prevent the destruction of property thus situated? If, upon coming up to a rick thus situated, a man finds it guarded, he turns about and goes away, that's all. In short, to shut out the rooks from a pea-field of a hundred acres is just as easy as to preserve this species of property without the good-will of the labourers, or, at least, in defiance of their vengeful feelings. The exposition of the law, as Scott Eldon called it, has taught them the danger of Ellenborough's Act, and of the softened code of George the Fourth; but it has not taught them to be content with potatoes and water.

Besides these dangers to barns and stacks, are there no dangers to *fields of corn*? A gentleman mentioned this to me the other day as the greatest danger of all. A piece of wheat, barley, rye, or oats, fit for the sickle or the scythe, set fire to on the windward side, would be demolished in a twinkling; and here the facility of execution, and the safety of the perpetrator are so complete! Almost every-where there are foot-paths or roads of some sort; and if there be not, and if the perpetrator be found out off the road, a trespass is his offence at the most. Here detection, except by a man's own confession, seems to be absolutely impossible. And you, the King's Ministers, should be informed that farmers are talking of this everywhere. I know nothing of the immediate means of setting fire in this way. A man did it by tying brands of fire to the tails of young foxes. Our fellows would, most likely, not do the thing in so open a manner, though as yet there is, I believe, no law making it felony. I think it is only a trespass, subjecting the party to action of damages. It is a deed which, if done *maliciously*, and without monstrous provocation, ought to be punished with death; but the law is, that until the hellish workings

of loan-mongers came into the world, law-givers never imagined the existence of a state of society in which such laws would be necessary: they never imagined the existence of a state of society when the whole body of the labourers would be the deadly enemies of the occupiers of the land; a state of society which it is impossible should exist for any length of time without producing something very like the dissolution of that society.

Now, King's Ministers, if you be convinced, as I hope you are, that the fires have been set by the labourers without instigation from any-body; that the means of terror or of punishment are not calculated to put an end to the fires; and that the fires, unless effectually put a stop to, may become far more extensive than they hitherto have been; if you be convinced of these truths, as I hope you are, it only remains for me to point out to you what I deem the proper and effectual means of putting a stop to these fires; and these means are as follows:—

1. To issue a proclamation pardoning all the offenders of every description, whether tried or not, upon their entering into sureties to keep the peace for a year, and bringing back those who have already been sent away, and including them in the pardon on the like terms. Oh! Gentlemen, think of the joy, think of the happiness, with which you would thus fill all the bosoms in all the villages in these beautiful counties! And think of the gratitude with which you would fill those bosoms towards yourselves; and, above all things, think of the blessings which, coming from the hearts of fathers and mothers and children and brothers and sisters, you would bring down upon the head of your royal master.

2. To repeal Sturges Bourne's two bills, and thereby restore to the re-appealers their rights, restore the power of the native overseers, and restore to the justices of the peace their former power of ordering relief, without which the indigent poor can have no sure protection.

3. To pass an act, making it a mis-

demeanour punishable with heavy fine and imprisonment for any overseer or other person in parochial authority to subject the indigent poor to work like beasts of burden, to put them up at auction, or otherwise wantonly to degrade them, taking as the preamble of the bill that text of holy writ which says, "Oppress not the poor because he is poor!"

4. To repeal all the acts which have been passed relative to the game since the late King George the Third mounted the throne, and particularly that act which punishes poaching with transportation, which act has filled the county jails with prisoners, which has trebled the county rates, which has thrown a burden on all the people in order to preserve the sports of the rich, which has filled the breasts of all the villagers of England with vindictive feelings, which has been the cause of endless affrays between poachers and keepers, and which in conjunction with Ellenborough's act has brought scores of men to the gallows.

5. To pass an act to repeal and utterly abolish Ellenborough's act, which, by making it a capital felony to strike a man with a heavy instrument without killing him, or to use deadly weapons in your own defence against a game-keeper, though without killing him, puts the striker in the one case, and the defender in the other, upon a level with the wilful, premeditating, cool, and cruel murderer, tends to confound all notions of discrimination in crime; tends to harden men's hearts, and weaken in them every sense of justice and humanity.

Now, Gentlemen, these are, in my firm conviction, the only effectual means of putting a stop to the fires which now errify and disgrace this once great and happy England. That they are easy of execution and speedy and quiet you know well; for you know that they may be accomplished in about forty-eight hours after the meeting of parliament; and you know that the proclamation may be issued to-morrow, and that is the great thing of all. The four Acts of Parliament would be

passed amidst the shouts of the whole kingdom. I propose to you *nothing new*, be it observed; not only nothing revolutionary but nothing new do I propose; nothing but a return, in four apparently unimportant particulars, to the long-established laws of the land; nothing do I propose touching the property of any body of persons; nothing to meddle with any institution of the country, even so far as to correct its acknowledged abuses; but I simply propose an act of graciousness and goodness which would reflect eternal honour on yourselves and on the King, the love of whose people to him it is your first duty to preserve; and I propose to you the repeal of four Acts which you yourselves, upon reflection, must lament to see in the statute-book.

And, Gentlemen, if you believe that these measures would extinguish the fires, you will not, I am sure, suffer false pride to restrain you from the performance of a duty so sacred. There is no remedy but that which goes to the root of the evil. That root is in the hearts of the people: you must extract the root or tear out the heart, or the evil must remain. I meddle not in this case with the rate of wages, or with any other detail: *restore the law*; restore protection to the labourer, and he and his employer will speedily come to an equitable adjustment of their respective claims. If you have even a misgiving upon your minds upon the subject, disdain me, I pray you, as much as you please, but do not disdain the advice which I have respectfully tendered you, and which I press upon you with all the earnestness and anxiety that the heart of man is capable of entertaining. Thus, at any rate, I have done what I deemed to be my duty: to you I must now leave the matter; with this assurance, however, that if you follow this advice, amongst all the millions in whose hearts you will create feelings of gratitude, in no one will you create more than in that of

Wm. COBBETT.

IRELAND.

REPEAL OF THE UNION.

My readers remember that, when the Catholic Emancipation Bill was passed, I distinctly said, over and over again, that it would not at all tend to better the lot of the people, or to tranquillize that part of the kingdom. I said that the measure was of no use unless it were followed, and that too right speedily, by a repeal of the *Protestant Established Church in Ireland*. This has been the canker-worm in the heart, the blister plaster on the back, the goad in the side, the every-thing that is evil to that Island, which, if man did not appear to be resolved to counteract and defeat the intentions of God, might be one of the happiest on the whole globe. The injuries of Ireland began with the creation of this Protestant hierarchy, which was forced upon the people by every one of those means, which are known of in the catalogue of oppressions. From that day to this day wrong and insult seem to have contended with each other for pre-eminence in the treatment of the Irish people, who have never been disloyal to the King any more than Cornwall or Devonshire has.

It is a false and villanous assertion that they want or have ever wanted to be separated from England, except as far as relates to this church. This is well known to every man who understands any-thing of the real state of Ireland. There is something so unnatural; something so monstrous; something so insulting to the common understanding of all mankind, in compelling the people of a country to maintain, at prodigious expense, an establishment called religious, and which that people in all sincerity and from the bottom of their souls regard as a damnable heresy, the sure leader to everlasting perdition; there is something so insulting to human nature in this, that the wonder is how one single man upon the face of the earth is to be found, not ashamed to utter a single breath in defence of upholding such an establishment under such circumstances! Emancipation, indeed! How can men be said

to be emancipated, if still living in subjection to this establishment? So convinced was I that the thing called emancipation would only give rise to a new struggle to get rid of this monstrous evil, that I petitioned the Parliament the moment the bill was passed, in language that must have convinced the two Houses, that I was ready to go upon my bare knees to prevail upon them to save England as well as Ireland from the perils that must attend an attempt to perpetuate this establishment. Unhappily my supplications were unavailing; and now the perils really seem to be at hand. The Irish people of whom Mr. O'Connell is no more than the faithful organ, *now demand a repeal of the union*, as the sure and certain means of getting rid of this enormous establishment. The Government are endeavouring to stifle the voice of the people. They have issued proclamation after proclamation having this object in view; and at last they have proceeded to the use of force in order to disperse persons assembled to discuss the subject. I know perfectly well how greatly England as well as Ireland would be benefited by a repeal of the union. I shall now insert first one of the proclamations recently issued in Dublin, signed by that sensible, unassuming and high-blooded Statesman, E. G. Stanley, who had the refined taste, when he went to what he expected to be his re-election at Preston, to make a display of his wit in a *ban-mot* relative to Irish bulls, which he has found to be provided with horns as well as with tongues. The next document is a speech of Mr. O'Connell's upon the subject of that proclamation; and it is one of the best that even he ever delivered.

Next comes another proclamation from E. G. Stanley, acting under the authority of the profound Lord Lieutenant, and this is followed by two proclamations from Mr. O'Connell, but then follows an account of the forcible dispersion of the people; and last comes a short extract or two from the Irish papers, which will prove to every reader that all Ireland except those who profit from the tithes and the taxes are

in favour of the measure of repeal. When I have inserted these documents, I shall have some further remarks to tender to my readers, whom, however, I beg to read these documents with the greatest possible attention, they will then understand the nature of the quarrel, and will easily be able to determine which of the two parties are in the wrong.

“By the Lord-Lieutenant-General and General-Governor of Ireland,

“A PROCLAMATION.

“ANGLESEY—Whereas, by an Act passed in the 10th year of his late Majesty's reign, entitled ‘An Act for the Suppression of Dangerous Associations or Assemblies in Ireland,’ a power is vested in the Lord-Lieutenant, or other Chief Governor or Governors of Ireland, by his or their proclamation or order, to prohibit or suppress the meeting of any association, assembly, or body of persons, in Ireland, which he or they shall deem to be dangerous to the public peace or safety, or inconsistent with the due administration of the law, or any adjourned, renewed, or otherwise continued meeting of the same, or of any part thereof, under any name, pretext, or device whatsoever.

“And whereas it hath been made known to us that an assembly or body of persons has been in the habit of meeting, weekly, at a place in the city of Dublin, called Holme's Hotel, Usher's-quay, and that the said assembly has been designed, and the meetings thereof held, for the purpose of disseminating seditious sentiments, and of exciting amongst his Majesty's subjects disaffection against the administration of the law, and the constituted authorities of the realm:

“And whereas we deem the existence of the said assembly or body of persons, and the meetings thereof, to be dangerous to the public safety, and inconsistent with the due administration of the law.

“We, therefore, the Lord Lieutenant-General and General Governor of Ireland, being resolved to suppress the same, do hereby prohibit the meeting of the said assembly or body of persons, and all adjourned, renewed, or otherwise continued meetings of the same, or of any part thereof, under any name, pretext, or device whatsoever; and being determined and resolved strictly to enforce the law and penalties thereof against all persons offending in the premises, do charge and command all Mayors, Sheriffs, Justices of the Peace, and all other Magistrates, officers, and others whom it may concern, to be aiding and assisting in the execution of the law in preventing the meeting of said assembly or body of persons, and all adjourned, renewed, or otherwise continued meetings of the same, or any part thereof, and in the effectual dispersion and suppression thereof, and in the detec-

tion and prosecution of those who, after this notice, shall offend in the respects aforesaid.

“Given at his Majesty’s Castle of Dublin, this 10th day of January, 1831.

“By his Excellency’s command,
E. G. STANLEY.
“God save the King.”

REPEAL OF THE UNION—ANTI-PROCLAMATION DINNER.

YESTERDAY evening, in consequence of an advertisement from Mr. O’Connell, calling upon his friends to meet him, at six o’clock, in Hayes’s Tavern, Dawson-street, there were, long before six o’clock, upwards of three hundred applicants for tickets; but the rooms not being capable of accommodating more than half that number, one hundred and fifty sat down to dinner. A good substantial repast was provided for the company; as usual, the Government reporters were in attendance.

Mr. O’CONNELL, immediately upon the cloth being removed, rose to address the assembly, amid the most enthusiastic cheers. As we have, said he, met for business, and not for the mere purpose of amusement, the sooner, I think, we proceed with the business, the better. You all know that we are assembled here in consequence of another exceedingly foolish exhibition of power. It idle to suppose that the exercise of that power can be injurious to the popular cause, much less is it probable that such proceedings can convince the people that it is best for Ireland to have a government uncontrolled by an Irish Parliament—that they should be at the mercy of a British Minister, and without the shield of an Irish Parliament to protect their rights and guard their liberties. (Hear, hear.) Every additional Proclamation can have but this effect—to increase our exertions, to redouble our energies, and to add to our desire to attain that which can alone be the salvation of Ireland—the Repeal of the Union. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) In point of fact, can anything be more foolish than these proclamations? Do they imagine, that by preventing us from assembling at one place they can hinder us from meeting somewhere else? All they can do by their last proclamation is to prevent us from breakfasting at Home’s. We may, for instance, meet here to-morrow and breakfast; if they proclaim us down here, we can go to another tavern; then we have all the public-houses to go to, and, after that, we can have the private houses. (Cheers and laughter.) My two drawing-rooms are as large as these rooms. Some of my independent and particular friends can meet me there; and I shall be extremely happy that my friends, the reporters, will also come there to breakfast with me. (Cheers and laughter.) If they should issue a proclamation against my house, then we have five thousand other houses in Dublin, which will do equally well. (Hear, and cheers.) In my opinion, then, the proclamation is as foolish as it is absurd.

Instead of doing us mischief, it has only served to stimulate men to double energy, and it has roused to exertion those who before were apathetic. I have met, in the course of this day, twenty individuals who before had not taken part in politics, and have declared themselves decided friends to a repeal of the Union. I also see in this room, at this very moment, men whom I never knew before to take a part in agitation. (Hear.) I perceive, too, that in Orangemen and Protestants, their blood boils with still greater indignation than even mine does, at the issuing of this proclamation. They detest, even still more than I do, any attempt at gagging the public voice and popular sentiment. (Hear.) I received this day, what I should never like to get, an anonymous letter, advising that Mr. Home should petition Parliament. I do not advise him to do so; though I think he should try an action with E. G. Stanley, for depriving him of 10*l.* a week, which he had clear out of the breakfast. (Cheers and laughter.) I propose, gentlemen, to give three toasts, and I think we should confine ourselves to three:—the first, “The People;” the second, “The King;” and the third, “The Repeal of the Union.” (Cheers.) After that, any gentleman in whose face I see a speech, I will call upon him to make one by drinking his health. (Cheers and laughter.) The first toast, gentlemen, then, that I propose to you is, “The People”—it is with a proud and bounding heart I propose it to you, because the rights and the cause of the people have been triumphant over the world. (Cheers.) In America they have succeeded in establishing free institutions and cheap governments—Heaven bless them for it! In South America and on the continent, liberty has been triumphant over bigotry and despotism. In Ireland, we are still struggling to obtain liberty and constitutional independence for the people—to see our Parliament restored to us, and our country enjoying all those blessings which nature and nature’s God intended for her. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) It is melancholy now for me to look upon the wreck of the Marquess of Anglesey’s character. I cannot look upon the prostration of that character without some feelings of affectionate solicitude for one who, I had hoped, would never have thus lowered himself. There is but one bright spot about him as a politician—he has been lucky once, by accident; and having then acted well, I should wish him never to act ill. Up to that period, however, he was not a very consistent politician. I recollect, in 1825, his “sword speech,” upon which I was then obliged to comment at some length. That speech, however, was an exceedingly awkward one at the time. Why did he then speak of the sword? But he had the good fortune to come to Ireland at a lucky period, and he had common sense enough to bend to the circumstances by which he was surrounded. Swift, in his Instructions to Servants, says to them, “If you could once be so lucky

as to be right, and your master in the wrong, you would make out a pretty livelihood on it for the remainder of your existence. Whenever you committed a second error, you could say to him, "Oh, Sir, do you recollect how wrong you were at one time?" (Laughter.) Thus it is with Lord Anglesey. He is like the truant servant, and being once right, he has, he thinks, a privilege to be for ever wrong. Now I will allow for his being once right the commission of two errors, and will have a balance-sheet of Proclamations against him (Cheers and laughter.) He has, I think, taken an exceedingly wrong course. What right, I would ask, has he to vituperate and abuse us, or why should he travel beyond the matter of his Proclamation to heap censure upon us? It is too bad that he should be abusing us, and praising himself for nothing. (Cheers and laughter.) When the weavers thought of presenting him an address, some of them asked me my opinion about the propriety of doing so; I told them that I thought they would obtain but little from it, except hearing some of their best friends abused! However, said I to them, take care that there be nothing reprobatory of the repeal of the Union introduced into your address. "Never fear, Sir," said one of them to me, "we understand the thing well, and will attend to it." (Cheers.) But, said I to them, throw in as much fulsome flattery as your conscience will allow you, and your stomachs can bear. (Laughter.) When you set about it, praise him as much as you like, and, depend upon it, you cannot praise him as much as he wishes; and whatever you be deficient in, you may depend on it he will make it up in praising himself. (Cheers and laughter.) I was right in my estimate of the gallant Marquess; and now mark what he says of himself and his government—"While," he says, "a fostering government is anxious for its (Ireland's) prosperity, is incessantly occupied with the care of correcting abuses, of amending laws, and devising means for general improvement, other parties, as if to counteract those salutary measures, are perseveringly and mischievously putting forward fresh pretexts for agitation." What is the first thing he says of his government? That it is a fostering Government." A fostering Government! What does it foster, barring Jack Dogherly, whom it has fostered until he is a fine, fat, plump chap enough. (Laughter.) "A fostering Government!" If he had said a proclamation Government—if he had said a scolding Government—if he had said an abusive Government, then I could easily understand him. (Laughter and cheers.) I wish there was some one amongst us who had a talent for caricaturing, and would draw a likeness of the Marquess of Anglesey as "a fostering government," with Paddy Mahony pulling out of one dug, and Paddy Murphy dragging away at the other. (Loud laughter.) What does it foster? If it does not give us

pap, it should not give us bad words, and this is a fostering Government. (Cheers.) But this fostering Government is anxious for our prosperity. They may pray for it, and I therefore will not dispute with them about their anxiety. I dare say they are anxious. (Hear!) He then says his Government "is incessantly occupied with the care of correcting abuses." What abuses? (Hear!) If they have been incessantly engaged in correcting them, I should be glad to know what is the single abuse they have corrected, touched upon, or even pointed out? What have they even said they are going to do with the repeal of the Subletting Act—that act which the last Government was going to amend by making it worse! What have they done with the Vestry Bill? What with the abuses of the Grand Jury Laws? What have they said about opening the Corporations, and destroying the monopoly that now exists in them? But are they, above all things, assailing that master abuse—the enormous temporalities of the Established Church? (Hear, hear.) Are they going to put a tax of 75 per cent. upon absentees? or have they even promised to revive the statute that was formerly passed against them? (Hear.) What are they going to do with the police? Where have they spoken even of a reform of the Law Courts? (Hear, hear.) No—he does not say one word of correcting one of those abuses; but he praises himself, and issues his proclamations, while the letter to Mr. Kerland is still fresh before him, in which he declared that he would allow fair and full discussion. (Hear, and cheers.) If this be a fostering Government, and incessantly engaged in correcting abuses, I ask what is the abuse they have corrected—what is it, where is it, when have they corrected it? (Hear, and cheers.) He then says his fostering Government is amending the laws—what laws have they amended? No—I can only find him issuing proclamations, and assailing us in language which should not have been put into any public document that comes from the Representative of Majesty—listen to his address—"other parties as if to counteract these salutary measures"—what measures?—"are perseveringly and mischievously putting forward fresh pretexts for agitation." Fresh pretexts for agitation! Oh! then the old agitation was a pretext also. (Hear.) I understand you, Marquess of Anglesey; it was Emancipation that filled the sails of your political character with the favouring winds of popular applause; but that now has become stale. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) I have always told the Marquess of Anglesey, both in public and in private, that I looked for Emancipation, not because it would be a triumph over Orangemen or Protestants, but that I and my Catholic countrymen might grasp the right hand of friendship with them. (Cheers.) It was, that by being on terms of equality with each other we might combine and struggle for the happiness and independence of our common country. (Hear,

and cheers.) He then continues by saying,

"This suffering country, with the fairest prospect of rapid improvement, it allowed to repose, may, if the present exhausting excitement be permitted to continue, be soon disabled from reaping the benefits projected by a patriot King and an honest Government." Where, I ask, is its prosperity and its rapid improvement? Is it to be found in Mr. Spring Rice's reports, the juggle and delusion of which I have already exposed? What, I then ask, would be the advantage of repose to Ireland? If the people of Ireland want to sleep, what would they be the better of it? (Hear, hear.) Repose can only be the result of the most desperate tyranny, or it must be the result of great prosperity in a country, and which must set at defiance the attempt of every demagogue to disturb its peace. (Hear, hear.) It is not my individual character—it is not the long series of years I have devoted to your use—it is not my services to Ireland—and, if I may so call them, it is not the conviction of any honesty which you believe me to possess—it is not my devotion (for my vanity suggests to me that you know it) to see my country what she ought to be, great and happy—it is not all these that have brought you here to-day; but that which has made you assemble together is the last proclamation of the Marquess of Anglesey. (Hear, and cheers.) And yet they speak to me of repose. What is the repose they want? Surely it is not that unnatural repose which the Roman historian has long since described, "*Ubique solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant.*" (Hear.) Or is it that repose of which the Poet thus speaks:—

"Here pale Melancholy sits, and round her throws

A death-like silence and a drear repose."

Repose! it cannot be good for a country which is suffering under so many evils. By repose, have waters become stagnant; they fill with poisonous matter, and throw forth a mephitic vapour fatal to those who come within its influence; while, in the moral as in the political world, if there exist requisite and salutary agitation, that agitation serves to free the waters of every impure ingredient. They burst in bubbling and gay fountains, and diffuse health, pleasure, happiness, and comfort in every country through which they flow. (Cheers.) Repose! repose beneath Proclamations—repose with 100 men to send to Parliament, where we should have 300, and this 100 men to oppose 532 in England—repose while there are twenty-two rotten boroughs in Ireland for Englishmen to buy, and baser Irishmen to sell them. Repose! while we are ground down by tolls and customs of petty, paltry, pettyfogging Corporations, who insolently trample upon us. (Hear, hear, hear.) No, Ireland never can repose while she has these and so many other grievances to complain of. (Hear.) It is evident that an attempt will be made here to put down the press. (Hear.) Ireland owes a deep debt of gratitude

to her free, honest, and independent press; and deeply and bitterly do those who are on the other side hate that press for the services it has done, and the good that it is rendering to the Irish people. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) They may punish, they may incarcerate the persons belonging to that press, but they cannot, shall not, ruin them—they may exercise their vengeance upon the press, but it will scorn their puny efforts, and it will survive to be hailed by the praises, and receive the benediction of an emancipated people. (Cheers.) I have already observed that it is melancholy to look upon the wreck of public and political character; but upon how many shores do we find the characters of the Whigs scattered. (Hear.) While thinking upon the contradictory terms of the Marquess of Anglesey's Proclamation, and his letter to Mr. Kerland, I wished to see what was the excuse given by the Whigs for passing this Algerine act. I accordingly turned to the *Mirror of Parliament*. In that work I read the discussion on that Bill, which authorises the Marquess of Anglesey to issue his Proclamations. The discussion took place in the month of February, 1829, and I would be glad to know who was the first man who condemned this Bill in the House of Commons—who, think you, was it did so? It was E. G. Stanley. (Hear, hear; groans and laughter.) Here is E. G. Stanley, our new Secretary! here he is making a speech against the new bill, which gives him the power of putting his name to a Proclamation. (Hear.) Here he is, making a speech against it on the 10th of February, 1829. (Laughter.) Lord Althorp, who is now Chancellor of the Exchequer, also spoke against this bill. I was then in London. I spoke to several of the Whigs. I certainly did not speak to Mr. Stanley, and I pressed them to oppose it, even though it was made a condition of Emancipation. (Hear.) Hear what Lord Althorp says respecting it.—"It may appear like a paradox; but the very extraordinary powers granted by this proposed measure make it, in my opinion, less dangerous, because it is impossible that any House of Commons, or any Parliament, can wish to draw such a measure into a precedent." Lord Althorp is now one of the Cabinet. I ask him will he draw this measure into a precedent. (Hear.) Listen now to the Whig speech of Mr. Stanley:—"Sir: If this measure were to be considered as a substantive and distinct measure, standing by itself, not even the details which the right hon. Gentleman has entered into, nor the arguments he has used, would have induced me, for one, or any Gentleman on this side of the House, to accede even to this preliminary step—the motion for leave to bring in the Bill. I, therefore, wish it to be distinctly understood, that, if to this measure we accede, we do so not as to a measure standing by itself, but as part of the great question it is intended to bring under the consideration of the House." (Hear, hear, hear.) I say now to Mr. Stanley that emancipation has been

carried; the Act is now "a substantive and distinct measure"—it is no longer "a preliminary step." Why, then, will he act upon it? (Hear, hear.) Mr. Stanley, however, continues by saying, "I consider the proposed measure of coercion as being ultimately blended with the promised one of conciliation; and unless I did so consider it, I never could give any consent to it, as it would, in my opinion, not only be nugatory, but worse than nugatory—destructive to the tranquillity of the empire." (Hear and cheers.) Destructive to the tranquillity of the empire! Read that to-morrow, Marquess of Anglesey, and then tell Ireland that she is in want of repose. There is what your Secretary says of the Algerine Act; but he continues—"If the right hon. Gentleman had asked for permanent power, I would have been the first to oppose the granting it. But a measure not of permanent infringement on the constitution, but as a temporary deviation therefrom, giving those powers necessary at the present moment, I assent to, with the strict understanding that the measure of conciliation will follow close upon the heels of the measure of coercion." (Hear, hear, hear.) Infringement on the Constitution! And here is a Secretary acting on what he himself terms "an infringement on the Constitution." (Cheers and laughter.) In the same debate Mr. Robert Grant took a part, and here are his words respecting the Algerine Act—"I am almost afraid of this bill, as it looks like that kind of legislation which has been so often tried for Ireland, which always failed to produce the intended tranquillity." (Hear, and cheers.) That Mr. Robert Grant now belongs to the Government. Will he now try one of those measures which he himself allows never "produced the intended tranquillity in Ireland?" (Hear.) I shall now read you a passage from Mr. Huskisson's speech, in which he thus speaks of the Algerine Act: "If it (says Mr. Huskisson) had been proposed by itself, I should have been bound to consider it as a total suspension of the Constitution in Ireland." (Hear, hear.) Such is the opinion of the Whigs of this Act. Now, mark what Lord Palmerston, one of the present Government, says of this Act:—"My first objection to the present measure is, that it is unnecessary, considering the course which we are now going to pursue; and my next objection is, that if we do not follow that course, it is perfectly infelicitous, for there is not an Act of Parliament, consistent with the spirit of the English Constitution, which can put down the Catholic Association, except emancipation. Put down the Catholic Association! you may as well talk of putting down the winds of heaven, or chaining the ceaseless tides of the ocean. The Catholic Association has been spoken of to-night as if it were a corporeal being, capable of being grasped by the arm of the law. This is folly; for the Catholic Association is the people of Ireland. Its spirit is caused by the grievance of the nation,

and its seat is the bosom of 7,000,000 of its population. It is therefore idle to talk of putting down the Catholic Association, except by removing the causes to which the Catholic Association owes its existence." (Hear.) So I say of our meetings. Putting down Home's breakfast cannot put down the question of the repeal of the Union; it is not a corporeal being; its spirit is to be found in the grievances of the people; in the sufferings which Orangemen, Protestants, and Catholics are equally obliged to endure. (Cheers.) I wish now to read to you the observations of Mr. Henry Brougham upon this Bill:—"I feel it my duty, Sir, to say a few words to the House on the second reading of this Bill; from which, though I cannot give it my support, I am willing to withdraw my opposition. I will at once declare that I cannot vote for it on any other ground than my conviction that it is to be followed up by a measure of emancipation for the Catholics. If it were not for that consideration, I would not allow it to go through a single stage without meeting it with the most strenuous opposition. I object to this Bill in the first place, because it is to put down the Catholic Association. I object to this Bill, in the next place, because it makes the suppression of that Association perpetual. I object to this Bill again, because it arms the Lord Lieutenant with what I must ever consider unconstitutional power; and I object to this Bill still more, because it arms the Local Magistracy with authority, which I dread much more than the power that it vests in the hands of so responsible a magistrate as the Lord Lieutenant." (Hear, hear.) The man who delivered this speech is now Lord Chancellor. I call upon him from this place, either to resign his office, or whistle back Lord Anglesey. (Hear.) Let him have Lord Anglesey, the Lord Lieutenant who would use the power he has thus described, immediately recalled. (Hear, hear, and loud cheers.) If he will not do so, then, Henry Brougham, Europe shall be filled with my voice—as I exclaim against you, it shall echo with the cry, that a man now keeps his place in preference to his principles, and that he prefers office to consistency. But I wish now to refer you to the speeches in the House of Lords on the bill. I shall first refer you to the speech of Lord Clanricarde, and I do so, because he and his party are now in power. These are his words on the bill, in the House of Lords, on the 19th of February, 1829:—"Were I to confine my observation to it exclusively, I would say that it is not a bill of which I approve, because it is unconstitutional in its principle; for if the root of the evil were not to be removed, and this bill became permanent, it would put an end to the British Constitution in that part of his Majesty's dominions in Ireland." (Hear, hear, and cheers.) If the Irish people take my advice—if they be peaceable, if they keep themselves within the law, they cannot be deprived of the benefits of the constitution. (Hear,

hear.) But there was one man in Parliament, who refused to vote for the Algerine Act. There was one man, who would not consent to its becoming the law of the land. (Hear.) Sacred Heaven! You, Marquess of Anglesey, were that man. (Hear, and cheers.) Every body else consented—even Brougham gave his assent to it; but the only man who would not compromise his principles in opposition to this bill for any price, was the Marquess of Anglesey. (Hear, hear; groans, and cries of "shame.") Yes, Ireland—my country! the hand of God has long been upon you. Many have been the woes and the sorrows that you have endured—but God has blessings in store for you yet—your enemies are confounded. (Hear.) Here are his words:—"My Lords, you are about to confer a great boon; I wish it to be unincumbered by conditions, and without a drawback. You are about to perform an act of grace; let me implore your Lordships not to allow this act of grace to be accompanied, or, I should rather say, preceded, by an ungracious act. It appears to be nothing else than *agratutiousnull*. My Lords, it is *useless and nugatory*--It is a work of pure supererogation—it is an enactment against a thing which has no existence. The Catholic Association is defunct, it dissolved itself upon the prospect of brighter days." (Hear, hear, and loud cheering.) I have now shown you what have been the opinions of the Members of the Whig Government upon this bill—this Proclamation bill, which has assembled us all here to-night. I have shown you how the Marquess of Anglesey, above all others, spoke, and acted upon it. (Hear.) It is not upon Whigs, nor upon Tories, that the people can rely for a repeal of the Union. We can only accomplish it by legal and peaceable means—we can only succeed by making the law not only the shield to defend us, but also to turn it into a weapon of offence against our enemies.

"A PROCLAMATION.

"ANGLESEY.

"Whereas, By an Act passed in the 10th year of his late Majesty's reign, entitled 'An Act for the suppression of dangerous associations or assemblies in Ireland,' a power is vested in the Lord Lieutenant, or other Chief Governor or Governors of Ireland, by his or their proclamation or order, to prohibit or suppress the meeting of any association, assembly, or body of persons in Ireland, which he or they shall deem to be dangerous to the public peace or safety, or inconsistent with the due administration of the law, or any adjourned, renewed, or otherwise continued meeting of the same, or of any part thereof, under any name, pretext, or device whatsoever.

"And whereas an association, assembly, or body of persons, assuming the following denominations, or some of them, that is to say, 'The Society of the Friends of Ireland of all Religions Persuasions;' 'The Irish Society

for Legal and Legislative Relief, or the Anti-Union Association;' 'The Association of Irish Volunteers for the Repeal of the Union;' 'The General Association of Ireland for the Prevention of Unlawful Meetings, and for the Protection and Exercise of the Sacred Right of Petitioning for the Redress of Grievances;' 'The Subscribers to the Parliamentary Intelligence-Office, Stephen-Street;' and other designations, have from time to time held meetings at different places in the city of Dublin, for the purpose of promulgating and circulating seditious doctrines and sentiments, and have endeavoured, by means of inflammatory harangues and publications, to excite and keep alive in the minds of his Majesty's subjects in Ireland a spirit of disaffection and hostility to the existing laws and Government:

"And whereas, it hath been made known to us, that other meetings of the said association, assembly, or a body of persons for such purposes, under the aforesaid designations, or some of them, or some other name or names, and under various pretexts and devices, are intended to be held:

"And whereas, we deem the said association, assembly, or body of persons, and the meetings thereof, to be dangerous to the public peace and safety, and inconsistent with the due administration of the law:

"We, therefore, the Lord Lieutenant-General and General Governor of Ireland, being resolved to suppress the same, do hereby prohibit the meeting of the said association, assembly, or body of persons, and every adjourned, renewed, or otherwise continued meeting of the same, or of any part thereof, under any name, pretext, or device whatsoever.

"Given at his Majesty's Castle of Dublin, the 13th day of January, 1831.

"By his Excellency's Command,

"E. G. SANGLEY.

"God save the King!"

The publication of the above Proclamation drew from Mr. O'Connell two Letters addressed to the people of Ireland. They are to the following effect:—

"TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

"Merrion-square, Jan. 14, 1831.

"And thrice he slew the slain."

"FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN,—Lord Anglesey is what they call a Great Captain, and a renowned military man, but he carries on the political warfare more in the fashion of the savages of New Zealand than in the modes adopted by civilized nations. Not content with having found amongst the almost forgotten dead two of the intended societies strangled in their birth by the Duke of Northumberland—and which societies Lord Anglesey, who is a man of honour, declared, in his letter to Mr. Kerland, he would not touch—but having found them dead, and having himself, contrary to that declaration, slaughtered two or three more, like a Zealander over the

foes who have been slain, comes with his Proclamation club, and breaks the limbs and bat- ters the faces of those already deprived of life.

"This new Proclamation is, therefore, in its nature, silly and absurd. It is, in one view of it, the most foolish Proclamation that ever issued, merely showing a childish and peevish disposition, without the power to be mis- chivous.

"Before I proceed, let me once again con- jure every man, woman, aye and child, in Ire- land, to recollect that we are bussed in a struggle for national independence by the restoration of a domestic legislature. Let every human being recollect that year after year, since the Union, Ireland has become more and more exhausted. The drain of ab- senteism—the drain of eight millions of pounds sterling every year, has had its nat- ural effect, aggravated almost to madness as the misery of Ireland is by the heartless Sub- letting Act. Famine succeeds famine in a country which exports more of the prime nec- essaries of life, in provisions of all kinds, than any other country on the face of the earth. Every succeeding famine becomes more and more desolating, and the famine which threatens us in the year 1831 promises to be more horribly afflicting than any that went before it. Remember that we, the anti- Unionists, are struggling to apply the only efficacious remedy to all these evils; and then, my friends, do recollect, let it never be forgotten, that the only mode to obtain redress or relief for Ireland is by a peaceable, legal, and constitutional course. He who violates the law is a vile enemy of the free- dom and happiness of Ireland. Let there be no irritation, no outrage, no violence. Above all things, avoid the least approach to that which the basest of the English enemies of Irish liberty do in their publications call for—a crisis. Let the law be observed in every thing.

"Having told you that this proclamation is, in one view of it, most miserably silly and foolish, there is another in which it is most reprehensible; it is the false accusations it contains of sedition and disaffection. There never was anything more atrociously false than the accusations of those crimes contained in this Proclamation.

"There is another falsehood suggested. It is, that the societies mentioned in the Pro- clamations were identical. That is totally and ludicrously untrue.

"But there is another point of view in which the present Proclamation must be con- sidered as a wicked attempt to extend the provisions of a most despotic statute beyond its words, and far beyond its meaning. In that respect I fearlessly state, that this Pro- clamations is grossly and palpably illegal. It is an attempt to fix on individuals a species of outlawry. It is an attempt to extend a law, intended only for an assembly or body of persons, acting in a species of corporate or general capacity, to private individuals,

acting as individuals, and wholly unconnected with any previous body or assembly. It is, in short, an attempt to violate law, by per- verting grammar, and to make men who have constituted a body still continue to con- stitute that body, although that body has been totally and for ever dissolved.

"It is, in other words, saying, that because a man once belonged to a body, or assembly, he must always belong to it. ~~But the reply~~ is, that body, or assembly, is extinct. No matter, says this proclamation, it must con- tinue for the purposes of proscription, out- lawry, despotism, and punishment, although, in truth and in fact, it has no longer any real existence. Such is this attempt to extend a despotic statute.

"It is easy to see through this machinery. This is an effort to extend, by equitable con- struction, a most penal, unconstitutional, and despotic statute, beyond the letter and even the spirit of the Act. Bad as that letter and spirit are in themselves, they are not suffi- ciently destructive to freedom for some of the advisers of Lord Anglesey.

"The former Proclamation I declared to be consistent with law. This I affirm to go beyond the law, and to be an attempt to make a despotic authority which the law has not vested in any person. For the abuse of the legal power in the former Proclamation, the advisers of them might, if the Parliament thought fit, be impeached. I have no hesita- tion in saying that this Proclamation is in itself an impeachable offence; and the mo- ment I see a popular House of Commons, I pledge myself to bring it before that House, with a view to salutary punishment.

"Let me, however, inform the public, that this Proclamation does not affect any meeting for petition—at least that every peaceable meeting for the purpose of petitioning, the Parliament may be held, notwithstanding this Proclamation. Let there be meetings of every trade, occupation, and district in Ireland, to petition for the Repeal of the Union. Let there be a petition voted and transmitted by every parish in Ireland—let the parishes in Dublin meet—let those who have already petitioned for the Repeal of the Union, meet again; to petition for the removal of the Al- gerine advisers of these despotic Proclama- tions. In short, this is the time to meet again and again, to petition, and to show thereby that we are not willing slaves.

"Every part of Europe, and of the civilised world, is in a progress to freedom. In Ire- land alone is it deemed wise to exercise des- potic power. People of Ireland, patience—obey the law—resort to no violence, to no secret societies—patience! obey the law—and, believe me, that those who now insult a loyal and a peaceable nation will fail in their endeavours to obstruct us in our determina- tion to obtain legislative independence.

"I am, fellow-countrymen,

"Your devoted servant,

"DANIEL O'CONNELL."

TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

“ Merrion-square, 14th Jan., 1831.

“ FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN,—One word more on the fourth Proclamation; one word more of caution. The object of these Proclamations is to gag the Irish people. We are not deemed worthy of liberty of speech, and you will find, ah! told, sa, political hypocrites, and some more base and time-serving Catholics, to applaud the Algerian measures which would silence the voice of Ireland.

“ It is said that one of the principal managers of the Provincial Bank in this country has, in conjunction with a slavish Catholic of the Bank of Ireland, stipulated to support the despotic Proclamations, and to applaud to the very echo the despotic acts of unlimited power.

“ Perhaps I am unnecessarily alarmed, but I can scarce believe that the underlings of Government would put these money-dealers into motion, unless there was a determination to assail the last refuge of freedom in Ireland—the liberty of the press.

“ It must be some very important measure of this description that would bring forth the powerful engines of our two paper banks. The soldiery and the police may answer to crush other political nuisances; but when the liberty of the press is assailed, it is necessary to bring forth the great moneyed interests, the men whose opinions would be likely to influence special juries. There is an appearance of this description in the Chamber of Commerce; and any man who possesses sagacity may safely conjecture the motives of the movement.

“ There is also a phrase in the last Proclamation—I mean the fourth, because I do not know whether or not it be the last—which seems to countenance the suspicion, that when despotic power may have silenced the human voice, it will proceed to silence the press; that is, to attempt to silence the press.

“ Mark me well, my countrymen! I some time since advised every body to exchange his notes for gold. I am convinced that it is essentially necessary for the permanent good of Ireland that the present anomalous state of the currency should be corrected, and that England should not have the advantage over Ireland of a gold circulation, whilst Ireland had only paper.

“ There is turbulence and disaffection in England to an extent that may produce an insurrectionary movement in that country. In that case bank-paper would become worthless; England would have the advantage of possessing gold, whilst the hands of the Irish would be left quite empty.

“ I have, however, heretofore done my duty; I have last year suggested to the people of Ireland to call for gold; it is quite true that I did not follow up that suggestion by repeating my advice. The truth is, I have been deterred by a fear of lessening the resources of private individuals in trade, and I

cannot, without an overpowering motive, consent to risk any private or individual inconvenience, even for the greatest public advantage.

“ Let the people of Ireland, therefore, pause for the present. Let them watch the motives of the vile underlings of despotic authority. Let them wait patiently until they see whether the Press is to be assailed. Until then I am neutral.

“ But if the Press be assailed—if the persecution extends to the last hope of freedom, the Press—that instant I will use all the energies of my mind, and whatever influence I possess, to counteract the power of the paper-makers, and produce a general gold currency.

“ I do hope that, if my fears are realised, and that the Press shall be assailed, there will not be in one week after a single bank-note in circulation.

“ I cannot conclude even this letter without cautioning the people against secret societies—against illegal oaths—and against every species of violence, tumult, or outrage. The repeal of the Union cannot be long delayed by their enemies; but it may be fatally retarded by the misconduct of the people themselves.

“ I am, fellow-countrymen,

“ Your devoted servant,

“ DANIEL O'CONNELL.”

DISPERSION OF AN ANTI-UNION COMMITTEE BY THE POLICE MAGISTRATES.

(From the Second Edition of the Weekly Register.)

DUBLIN, JAN. 15.—MR O'Connell published the following Notice in the Morning Papers:—

“ COMMITTEE OF THIRTY-ONE.

“ Mr. O'Connell requests that the Committee appointed to make regulations for the Meeting to Petition for the Repeal of the Union will be pleased to breakfast together at Hayes's Long Room, Dawson street, on this day, Saturday, the 15th inst., at ten o'clock. Such other gentlemen as take an interest in the proposed Meeting are at liberty to attend.—Tickets may be had at the bar, at 1s. 6d.”

At ten o'clock this morning the Committee of Thirty-one accordingly assembled at Hayes's Tavern, in Dawson-street, to breakfast. There were, in addition to the Committee, several other gentlemen in attendance, who were admitted upon paying for their breakfast-tickets. The number in the room was between seventy and eighty.

Mr. O'Connell sat at the head of the room. A few minutes before eleven o'clock he rose to address the Meeting, and to confer with the various gentlemen present upon the most proper time, the most fitting place, and the price which persons should be obliged to pay for admission to the Meeting. These points having been settled, Mr. O'Connell then said he should wish to explain to those present the powers which were given by the Act of Par-

liament authorising the Lord Lieutenant to put down a Society by Proclamation. He told them that no Society could be made (unless it was so at common law) illegal until it was proclaimed—and that even such a Society so proclaimed was not illegal until two Magistrates had read a certain form prescribed by the Act, or any person at their discretion, and that even when that form read, the Society did not come under the Act of Parliament until fifteen minutes had elapsed from the time of the reading of the form prescribed in the Act of Parliament. Mr. O'Connell was, after this explanation, proceeding to comment upon the conduct of the Marquess of Anglesey, when

Alderman Darley, Mr. J. C. Graves (two of the Magistrates of the head police-office), accompanied by Mr. Farrell (chief constable), entered the room.

ALDERMAN DARLEY said, I hope I do not disturb you, Mr. O'Connell.

MR. O'CONNELL: Not at all, Alderman Darley; I was only explaining the Act of Parliament.

MR. GRAVES: We do not come here to discuss it.

MR. O'CONNELL: I was not addressing myself to you Sir, but to Alderman Darley, who always conducts himself like a gentleman.

ALDERMAN DARLEY: Mr. O'Connell, you must be aware that I came here in consequence of the Proclamation, and, as a Magistrate, to direct that the present meeting shall disperse.

MR. O'CONNELL: You must know, Alderman Darley, that there is a certain form prescribed in the Act of Parliament. We require now that that form shall be adhered to. We refuse to disperse under that Act, till the Act itself has been followed by the Magistrates: If you do not choose to adhere to that form, and lay your hand upon any man here, he shall immediately leave the room; but you must prepare for the consequences.

ALDERMAN DARLEY: Very well, Mr. O'Connell, I shall read the form prescribed by the Act of Parliament. (The Alderman here pulled out a piece of paper, which he was about reading.)

MR. O'CONNELL: Alderman Darley, before you read that paper, requiring the present Meeting to disperse, I beg to tell you, and I think it my duty to apprise you, that this meeting is not connected, nor does any one in it belong to any association, assembly, or society, nor is it connected with any-body whatever, mentioned in the Proclamation. These things I feel it necessary to inform you, and you will now proceed at your peril. I say this with every personal respect for you, who, I know, are performing that which you consider your duty, as being ordered to perform it by the present Administration. I feel it to be my duty to tell you this. I do this as a free-born British subject, availing myself of all the privileges of a free man, having every respect for the law, but at the same time

determined to avail myself of, and take every advantage of it. Again, then, I tell you, Alderman Darley, and caution you, that the present assembly does not belong, nor is it connected with any society mentioned in the Proclamation.

Alderman Darley: I shall now read for you the form required by the Act, and do that which I am directed under the Proclamation—(The Alderman here read the prescribed form.)

MR. O'CONNELL pulled out his watch, and said, It is now ten minutes after 11.

MR. GRAVES.—By my watch it is eight minutes.

MR. O'CONNELL here addressed himself to the Meeting, and said—Gentlemen, the proceeding is totally illegal; but the gentlemen who are here, and who have dispersed this Meeting, are acting as Stipendiary Magistrates—are acting under the order of their superiors. The proceeding is at variance with British liberty; but it has the appearance of the law, and I now call upon you to obey even that which has the appearance of law; and I trust that a reformed Parliament will yet punish those who have thus caused the dispersion of a Meeting, assembled to do that which is most constitutional, and best becomes British subjects to perform—forwarding Petitions to Parliament. (Cheers.) Now, Gentlemen, we will all disperse.

The Meeting then dispersed, giving three cheers for a repeal of the Union.

(From the Dublin Morning Register.)

ARREST OF MR. STEELE.—Yesterday morning Mr. Steele was taken into custody, under a warrant from the Castle, for his speech which had been printed by himself. He was accompanied, when he entered the Magistrate's room, by Mr. Maurice O'Connell. Mr. John Reynolds and Mr. Dollard were his securities in 100*l.* each, and he himself was bound to appear in the King's Bench in the penalty of 200*l.* When he was about to retire from the office he addressed the Magistrates, and said he did not consider that an appropriate occasion to express his opinions on the conduct of the Marquess of Anglesey's government, but he could leave the office without expressing his sense of the very courteous and gentlemanly manner in which the Sitting Magistrates had acted towards him during the time he was in custody. He and these gentlemen, Alderman Darley, Mr. Tudor, and Mr. Graves, then bowed to each other, and Mr. Steele retired with his friends.

“To the Editor of the Morning Register.

“Friday Evening, Jan. 14, 1831.

“MY DEAR SIR—The statement in the *Evening Mail*, of O'Connell's having shown me any want of regard, when under arrest this day, is totally false, and originated probably in the mistake, whether wilful or other-

wise, of the policeman who went to his house with my letter.

"I wrote to O'Connell, that his personally coming to me might create excitement through the city, and draw a crowd to the office, and he, acting upon my suggestion, directed his servant to say that my letter should be immediately attended to; and he accordingly sent down his eldest son, my friend Mr. Maurice O'Connell, as speedily as it was possible, and he immediately went to get the sureties.

"The friendship O'Connell has for me is too sincere, and I know too affectionate, to admit the possibility of his treating me with any unkindness; he has never done so, but directly the reverse.

"I have the honour to be, my dear Sir, yours most truly and sincerely,

"THOMAS STEELE."

(From the Dublin Evening Post.)

THEATRE ROYAL.—Last night the house was crowded to the top—and notwithstanding all the preliminary efforts which were made to produce a contrary effect, the Marquess of Anglesey was welcomed on his entrance with an enthusiasm and vehemence which we never saw equalled since the visit of the late King to the Theatre. In the drinking scene of the opera (*Der Freischütz*), where a health is proposed "for the lovely *Agnès*," the applause was deafening, followed by clapping of hands, waving of handkerchiefs, &c. His Excellency stood up and bowed most graciously and cordially to the audience. This was only a signal for renewed cheers, and other demonstrations of applause. His reception altogether must be highly gratifying to the lovers of peace and good order, and even the party who were most vociferous in shouting out for the repeal of the Union seemed to act from a generous impulse of gratitude to the Nobleman, who so anxiously wished to benefit in every possible manner this distracted and agitated country. There were groans for "Doherty," "Stanley," "The Lord Mayor," &c. We were delighted to recognise Mr. Sheil and other gentlemen conspicuous in applauding the patriotic and loyal feelings evinced by the great majority to the Lord Lieutenant. In one scene, where Johnson says, "Why shut the door against your friends?" a voice from the gallery cried out, "Because the Proclamation is abroad!" This created a groan for the "Proclamation," which was accompanied with some clapping of hands from the Unionists. The Marquess did not retire until the entertainments had concluded, and on his rising to depart there was a general shout of applause, both warm and enthusiastic, from every part of the house.

MILITARY GUARDS ON THE PAPER MILLS.

—The Government have issued orders for a military guard to be supplied from the Royal Hospital, for the protection of each of the paper mills in the vicinity of Dublin, in which the new machinery has been introduced. The

guards are to be permanently stationed at each mill.—*Dublin Morning Register.*

REPEAL OF THE UNION.

(From the Limerick Evening Post.)

The following letter has been received by Mr. Terence Kennedy, of John-street, from our city representative, acknowledging the receipt of a petition from the cordwainers of Limerick, in favour of a repeal of the Union:—

"London, Jan. 10, 1831.

"Sir,—I have this moment received your Petition, and the letter which accompanied it. The former I shall take an early opportunity of presenting, explaining your opinions to the House.

"It is with regret that I differ at any time from my constituents, or a portion of them. I value those constituents highly—and it is because I respect their independence, and their exercise of the right of free judgment, that I claim an equal freedom for myself. If I could believe that the repeal of the Union would advance the interests of Ireland, no one should exceed me in zeal as an advocate for such a measure. But I conscientiously believe that such a repeal would ruin all the best prospects of our country. I do not believe it would bring back absentees. I do not believe it would add to our capital. I do not believe that it would improve the condition of our people.

"If I am asked to compare the proceedings of Parliament before and after the Union, I can do so easily and conclusively. Before the Union your trade was fettered—our agriculture was depressed—and we were excluded from the British market. Since the Union, a freedom of intercourse has opened to our industry the whole of England. The Irish Parliament, by the vote of egestment, threw the burden of tithe almost exclusively on the poor man. The Imperial Parliament, by the Composition Act, has removed many of the abuses and inequalities of the system. The Irish Parliament passed the detestable Penal Code. The Imperial Parliament has established perfect liberty of conscience.

"I am, Sir,

"Your very obedient, humble servant,
"T. SPRING RICE."

For a few weeks past several shop-windows in Waterford have been placarded by a Mr. George Russell, a manufacturer and repairer of time-pieces, &c. The gentleman got a great deal of business in his costly line; all varieties of watches, time-pieces, musical boxes, &c., were poured in. But on last Saturday evening enquiries were made at Mr. Russell's lodgings, which induced a pursuit to be commenced towards Duimore East, where Mr. R. was found preparing in a great hurry for his passage by the *Millford* packet to the sister island. He was most inconveniently interrupted in his route, and brought up to Waterford on Sunday morning. He remains in custody.

(From the Dublin Morning Post.)

FRIDAY, TEN O'CLOCK.—We give, in a second edition, a Proclamation which was posted throughout the city at an early hour this morning. It will be seen that it contains restrictions on a much more extended scale than any that has heretofore been published. Whether or not it will have the effect of altogether suppressing political meetings in this country remains yet to be proved. It has, however, caused great excitation in the city, and various are the speculations to which it has given rise as to its probable result.

The excitement created by yesterday's Proclamation has been greater than we have witnessed on any of the preceding occasions. We must confess that the effects were really astounding. It appears, now, that a complete trial of skill is at issue between the Government and Mr. O'Connell. Whatever skill the Government may use, they have in addition, the balance of power in their favour; whilst, on the other side, Mr. O'Connell announces his determination to use no weapon but the law—no support but public opinion. But Mr. O'Connell has another task to encounter: he has at once to combat the Government by legal means, and to control the feelings of his friends by means of his extensive influence; to check the progress of public opinion from advancing to public exasperation, and yet to keep up the public opinion at the point which is deemed requisite to give it due weight. We have already given our opinion on the "Proclamation" system; and the last Proclamation, though different in degree of force, is precisely the same in principle as the others on the subject. The question of Repeal or no Repeal will be lost or carried by the public opinion; if that he firmly for it, the Repeal will take place—if not, there is an end to the possibility of its accomplishment.—*Dublin Morning Post of Saturday.*

THE CATHOLIC BISHOP OF KERRY AND THE O'CONNELL TRIBUTE.

The paragraph which appeared in *The Western Herald* regarding the Catholic Bishop of Kerry, we have authority to say is false in all its parts. It is false that he refused the use of the chapel. It is false that he controlled any of his clergymen. It is false that he disapproved of the collection. Indeed, his own munificent donation to the O'Connell Fund, which exceeds that of any other Ecclesiastical Dignitary in Ireland, ought to be sufficient to stamp the paragraph with falsehood, and should have made our enlightened contemporary hesitate ere he opened his columns for a bundle of falsehoods regarding our truly estimable Prelate.—*Tralee Mercury.*

THE O'CONNELL TRIBUTE.—THE ARMY.—We understand that the Officer commanding the depot of the 10th Regiment, now stationed in our Barracks, received an order on Saturday last, by express, to prevent the Catholics from attending Mass at the parish chapel on the

next day, the O'Connell Tribute Sunday.—*Tralee Mercury.*

TO THE TAX-PAYING PEOPLE OF ENGLAND.

Bolt-court, 19th January, 1831.

BROTHER SUFFERERS,

You have now read the whole of the foregoing documents; you must clearly see that it is the *people of Ireland*, and not any *demagogue*, or association of demagogues, as the impudent vagabonds of loan-jobbers and tax-eaters call all those who have an objection to be robbed of the last penny of their earnings. It is the constant practice of these impudent vagabonds to represent all those who have the spirit to oppose the measures by which they fatten; it is their constant practice to represent all such men, as men *destitute of fortune and of character*. What, then, is it that can give these men such enormous power over the minds of the people? Their arguments must be powerful indeed, if the organs be so very contemptible. But, Corruption lies in her heart; the organs are destitute of neither property nor character; but still the weight of these, in addition to all the talent that they possess, and all the just confidence that the people place in their judgment, would be nothing at all, were there not good grounds for the proposition that they advocate; in short, if the people of Ireland were not cordially for the repeal of the Union, could the Paget-Stanley-Proclamations have been necessary? Could it have been necessary to prevent, by force, people from dining or breaking together?

It is clear, then, brother tax-payers, that it is the Irish people who call for a repeal of the Union; and supposing them to understand their interests, let us now see whether our interests would not be advanced by the same measure. I have always been for a dissolution of this Union, because I thought that such dissolution would be for the benefit of England as well as Ireland. In the *Register* before the last, I gave what I

deemed some very cogent reasons in favour of this dissolution. I showed clearly how the union robbed Ireland of the main part of its resources, and how it made the people the most wretched upon the face of the earth; I showed how it reduced to hog-food, and hog-food alone, the people whose labour sent forth bacon, pork, beef, mutton, and butter, in hundreds of ship-loads, to feed other nations. In the space of one month (last spring), more than nine thousand Irish hogs, fit for the knife, passed through one single turnpike-gate, at Speen Hill, near Newbury, in Berkshire. When I was at Bristol, last spring, I every day saw droves of fat hogs and fat sheep landed at that town from Cork. Nearly the whole of Lancashire, and a great part of Yorkshire, are fed by Ireland, down to the very eggs themselves. I have heard of a man at Manchester who imports Irish eggs to the amount of forty thousand pounds a-year. In short, with the exception of the soldiers, the tax-eaters of various descriptions, and comparatively a few persons in trade, with the exception of these the laborious people of this productive country never taste flour in any shape; never taste meat of any sort; never taste even a miserable egg. Their only food is that damned root which it has been sought to render the food of the working people of England; but to which food they have, I thank God, shown that they will not submit.

Now, is there any man who will look me in the face and say that the people of Ireland ought to be made to live thus? Is there any Englishman who will say that he would assist to kill the Irish unless they will consent to live thus? A tax-eater base enough to say this may be found; but to be found no such man is, who lives upon the fruit of his own labour. For my part, my astonishment is that any Englishman can be found, who does not live upon the taxes, who is not for a repeal of the union with Ireland. It is very well known that, in many instances, violences in Kent, and other counties, and that even fires have taken place, as a punish-

ment inflicted on farmers and gentlemen for employing Irish labourers; and, observe, our labourers have countenanced in the commission of these violences on this account by the members of parliament themselves, who, in their speeches in Parliament have, a hundred times over, represented this inundation of Irish labourers as a great evil, and especially as one cause of the sufferings of the people of England. They, the English landowners, and Burdett particularly, have represented these Irish labourers as interlopers who come and take away all the advantage of the harvest from the English labourers. This has been repeatedly the talk in the House of Commons for years past. Is it any wonder, then, that the English labourers should have risen upon the Irish labourers and their employers? Here, then, is clearly one cause of the union of the two countries. The taxes, tithes, and rents are brought hither; the bacon, the pork, the flour, the butter, the poultry, the eggs, come hither, and the sturdiest of the Irish labourers come hither in order to get their teeth stuck into some portion of them. Now, a repeal of the union would, to a certainty, produce a repeal of the Church establishment there; and thus all the tithes would be left in the country. The Irish tax-eaters would live in Ireland, for the greater part, at any rate; and the Parliament being restored to Ireland would keep a large part of the land-owners constantly there.

But, now, will not some narrow-minded short-sighted Englishman say: "This would be bad for England; for she would not then, have expended in her so large a part of the rents, tithes, and taxes of Ireland." This, even if there were nothing more; even if we were to acquiesce in this opinion, is an opinion to be urged, in opposition to the repeal, by no man who does not deserve to be hanged upon a limb of the tree nearest to the spot where he utters the sentiment; for, what argument is this but that of the robber and the murderer? He robs because he wants to take away the property of the person

that he robs; and he murders his victim for fear of detection; and, brother tax-payers, the Englishman who can wish the power of England to be employed to compel the Irish to live upon the accursed potatoes, and to be clad worse than the savages in the woods of America; the Englishman who can wish the Irish people to be compelled to submit to this, in order that England may thereby profit, is, disguise the matter howsoever he may to his own heart, a robber and a murderer. So that, if it were true that *England gained* by this treatment of Ireland; if this were true, the proposition in favour of it would be rejected with scorn by every Englishman who deserved not to be hanged.

But the proposition is not true: it is not true that England has gained, or can gain, by the sufferings of Ireland proceeding from this source. That measure which is called the union; that unnatural alliance; that dog and cat marriage; that unholy junction, which was effected by means never to be thought of without feelings of horror; this measure took place just about thirty-one years ago; and from that day to this day, England has been becoming weaker and weaker with regard to foreign powers; and more contemptible in the eyes of the world; her burdens more and more oppressive, and her people more and more miserable and discontented. I do not pretend to say that all, or any-thing like all, the sufferings of the people of England, and the loss of character to the country, have arisen from the union; there are numerous causes of these lamentable and disgraceful consequences; but there can be no doubt in the mind of any man that the union with Ireland has been one of those causes. Without that union there must long ago have been a *repeal of the Protestant Church Establishment*, which is the great curse of Ireland. Without that union there never could have been the necessity for the terribly coercive measures which have been adopted and enforced in that country. There is not one Englishman out of fifty thousand, or out of a hun-

dred thousand, who is at all aware of the manner in which the Irish people have been treated since the union. Those who were the advocates of the union told us that it would produce tranquillity; that it would place the people of Ireland under the protection of an enlightened, impartial, and paternal legislature. From the date of the union to this very hour that legislature has been passing acts as occasion demanded for abridging the liberties of the people of Ireland. This *conciliating, consolidating; this tranquillising* measure, had been adopted only six years, when the *sun-set and sun-rise bill* was passed by the united Parliament, but to operate in Ireland only. Now, let me put it to any English farmer, for instance, how he would like to be treated in the manner that Irish farmers have been treated. Men should do by others as they would be done unto; and if they fail to do this, very frequently, they are sure to get punished first or last. Let us see, then, how the English farmer would relish the sun-set and sun-rise bill; suppose a law were passed to authorise the King, or rather, his Ministers, to issue at their discretion a Proclamation, forbidding all the people of any county, or of all the counties, of England, to *quit their houses* for more than fifteen minutes at any one time, between sun-set and sun-rise, and to keep this prohibition in force for any length of time that they pleased; suppose that, during this prohibition, men or women might be brought before two justices of the peace, conjointly with a barrister appointed by the Government, and be by them imprisoned at discretion, or **TRANSPORTED FOR SEVEN YEARS**; and this, too, observe, **WITHOUT TRIAL BY JURY**. Yes, English farmer, suppose yourself and every member of your family, liable to be transported for seven years, for being out of your house for fifteen minutes together between sun-set and sun-rise! Suppose this; say that you *would like it*; and then join the Bloody Old Times newspaper in vilifying Mr. O'Connell, and in calling upon the Government to send an additional army

to make the Irish content without a repeal of the union.

I shall be told that this terrible power, that this horrible discretion, was intended as a *temporary* measure: I know it, or, at least, I believe it; but I know that it has lasted twenty-four years. I shall be told that it was intended just to keep the country quiet till the all-conciliating measure of Catholic Emancipation should be adopted; but that measure has been adopted, and the terrible sunset and sunrise law has not been repealed. I shall be told that this terrible law was a law of necessity in order to prevent the greater evil of open rebellion. I may well admit that to be true; for what can you want more as a proof of the mischiefs attending this union? The union has lasted thirty-one years; and, if, at the end of the thirty-one years such a law BE NECESSARY in order to preserve the country from open rebellion, have we not here a complete proof that that union has tended to disturb Ireland and to injure and weaken the whole kingdom? And, on the other hand, if the *Bloody Old Times* assert that the existence of this terrible law be NOT NECESSARY, then let it employ its elegant pen in eulogizing the character and disposition of those by whom Ireland has been governed for the last thirty-one years.

But to judge of the effects of the Union, what need have we of more than the Paget-Stanley-Proclamations, which we have now read. The justification of these proclamations, and of the measures adopted in consequence of them; the plea of the Government, is the old standing plea for all such acts; namely, NECESSITY. In the famously-fine speech of Mr. O'Connell you find the speech of Stanley, the speech of the Marquess of Anglessey, the speech of Lord Brougham, and the speeches of several others condemning the law under which these proclamations have been made, and consenting to it only as a temporary measure to afford security while the Emancipation bill was passing and being carried into effect. The Emancipation bill has been carried into effect;

and now it is found necessary to perpetuate this terrible law, in order to prevent a repeal of the union, which, as I said before, means, in other words, a *total abolition of tithes and a repeal of the church establishment in Ireland*. And, to effect this purpose, the law is necessary: there can be no doubt of that; and something besides the enforcement of this law will be necessary; there can be no doubt of this; but the question for us Englishmen to decide is, *whether it be for our advantage*, that Mr. O'Connell and the Irish people, should finally succeed or be finally subdued; and for my own part, I have no hesitation in saying that I do most earnestly pray for the former, and that I do most anxiously hope, that the Government and the parliament will give way, and will adopt a series of such measures as shall tranquillise Ireland in reality, and unite it *in heart*, instead of name, with this kingdom.

There are, however, writers enough, and there will be, I dare say, talkers enough, to urge them to follow a directly contrary course. These thoughtless and mercenary and barbarous scribes are crying out for *force*. Their phrase is, "If we must *fight for it* we must." They are for war against Ireland; they are for sending over Englishmen to cut the throats of the Irish; they are for uniting the two nations by making their blood run in one common stream. "Fight for it"! my friends? Fight for what? Why, fight for the church establishment of Ireland; for that is the real bone of contention. Fight for the *religion* of the church of England! Oh! no! for not one man out of ten belongs to that religion in Ireland. All the rest disown it. All the rest deem it a thing erroneous, when they give it the very mildest epithet. All the rest fly from it, as from something to which they have a horrible dislike. It is not, therefore, for this that these bloody-minded men would have us *fight*. It is to uphold and enforce the laws relating to tithes and to ecclesiastical property. It is to compel the Irish to pay those tithes against which we in England are petitioning from one end of the country

to the other; to compel them to submit to those tithes and church rates, which we, though under circumstances not a thousandth part so irritating and so galling, find to be absolutely insupportable. This is what these men would have us fight for; for as to separating England from Ireland, the charge against Mr. O'Connell and the people in this respect is as false and foul as any that ever issued from the lungs of corruption.

that it is proposed to commence this famous *fight* for tithes and church land: to be kept in the hands of a few families: that now possess and have so long possessed them? In what a state of things is it that this fight is to be commenced and to be carried on? England herself is in a charming situation for making war upon Ireland, for upholding tithes, or for any other purpose. France is marching on through the bankruptcies of loan-mongering Ministers to a republic, taking the successful revolters of Belgium under her wing; and this too amidst the shouts of a thousand to one of the English nation. The English labourers have issued their proclamation against the infernal potatoes and salt; and, these stupid and bloody men imagine, that they will go and compel the Irish to live upon potatoes!

But "*fight for it!*" Suppose we were to fight, and were to triumph; and suppose this triumph to be as complete as these bloody men could wish it to be. The Bloody Old *Times* suggests that an absolute power of dungeoning bill should be passed for Ireland, and that *Members of Parliament should be as liable to be shut up as other men:* that is to say, the bloody thing proposes that Mr. O'Connell should be seized at once, and shut up in a dungeon. Well, now, suppose the Whigs to do this first, and then suppose an English and a Scotch army to go over, kill two or three hundred thousand Irish with as much facility as Bobadil obtained his victories, and make the rest of the people live in slavery and misery as complete as ever; suppose all this to be accomplished, and that is supposing a prodigious deal;

this would cost something, I take it; and that cost would assuredly fall upon us. The cost of only one campaign would be, first and last, not less than about fifty millions of pounds sterling! There would be spies and informers by whole bands to pay; there would be remuneration for losses sustained; rewards for loyalty innumerable, and in amount prodigious; pensions for wounded,

for widows and orphans, short, a new national debt created and all for the sake of upholding tithes; all for the sake of upholding that by which millions are made miserable for the sake of supporting the splendour of a few families.

The *end*, however, does not come, notwithstanding all this. The country must be laid desolate; it must be made unproductive and worth nothing; or there must be a force maintained to keep the people in subjection. If it require thirty thousand soldiers now, it will require sixty thousand after this fight, to keep the people in a state of obedience. So that the fight is not all: there are taxes and debt that hang to the tail of the fight, as we now find them hanging to the tail of the glorious victory of Waterloo.

Such would be the consequences of victory; those of *defeat* I must leave others to describe. But have I described *all* the consequences? Have I, above all other men living, forgotten that there is paper-money in Ireland? aye, and in England too! Oh, no! And who is there that does not know that a fighting for it would reduce this paper, in an instant, to a state inferior to that of its parent, rags? In short, it is impossible for the paper-money to circulate in Ireland for one moment after men begin soberly to anticipate a fight. You have seen that Mr. O'Connell, at the close of his second letter, inserted in this REGISTER, notifies, that if the Government proceed to a suppression of the Press, he shall recommend a universal rejection of the rags! That would be effectual for the putting a stop to their circulation. The contagion would reach England immediately, and put a complete stop

to the circulation of Walter Scott's favourite money in Scotland. It is much more easy to conceive than it would be safe to describe all the consequences near and remote of the blowing up of this paper system. That state of barter to within forty-eight hours of which Liverpool's ministry had brought us, would certainly arrive; and the sort of barter which would be carried on between the labourers, on the one side, and the parsons, farmers, land-owners, and land-jobbers, on the other side, it is quite amusing to contemplate. Barter means giving one thing for another; and, as the labourers would want victuals, drink, firing, clothing, and bedding, and would have nothing to give in return, they would do, doubtless, as their "betters" have done; that is to say, pay in promises; but, in the mean time they must take the commodities! Thus reverting to the pristine law; the law of nature, which, as diplomatists term it, is the *droit du plus fort*, or, in plain English, the right of might; which, indeed, is the very law to which the Bloody Old *Times* newspaper is now appealing against Mr. O'Connell and the Irish people.

Thus, then, this fighting for it is a matter worth thinking about twice before it be once attempted; the fight is not all. The victory, if one, does not end; and it may, as we have seen, produce a complete revolution in property. It may cause food, raiment, houses, and even land to exchange masters; and all this risk is to be run merely for the sake of compelling people to pay tithes; for, I repeat it over and over again, this is the great, and the only great, ground of the quarrel. I trust that the Ministers will reject with scorn the advice of these mercenary and sanguinary men; that they will speedily check the violent torrent of the Paget and Stanley eloquence; that they will let people breakfast and dine where they please, and eat and drink and say what they please; that they will make as many appeals as they like to reason; that they will, in short, if they find the people bent upon a repeal of the union, reply to them, successfully if they can, by fact and by argument; and if they

find themselves defeated here, silence them by granting their prayer. For my own part, being perfectly convinced that Ireland never can know tranquillity as long as the Established Church shall exist there; being also convinced that a repeal of the union would also produce a repeal of that establishment: to the prayers of the oppressed people of Ireland and their faithful and truly pious priests, will always, with regard to this matter, be added the humble and earnest prayer of
Their faithful friend

and most obedient Servant,

WM. COBBETT.

P.S. Since writing the above, the news has arrived, that Mr. O'Connell has been ARRESTED, on a charge of conspiracy to resist the Paget-Stanley proclamation; that he had been compelled to *give bail*, or go to jail; and that BARON TUYL, as Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, was, when the bail was given, acting in a post of *public trust*. Mr. O'CONNELL said: "Oh! I am glad of that! Take a note of that! I suppose, that this man is a *foreigner*."—Mr. O'CONNELL went off to a *Parish-meeting for repeal of the union*, as soon as he had given bail.—My God! when are we to see an end of the troubles created by this Church Establishment!

"PARLIAMENTARY OFFICE."

THE reader will, doubtless, wonder what this appellation can mean. The affair is this: on the 17th instant there was a meeting at the London Tavern, "for the purpose of expressing admiration of the conduct of the electors of Preston in returning Mr. Hunt as their member, and to hear a statement relative to the election, from Mr. MITCHELL, a person from Preston, now in town." Mr. WAKLEY was called to the Chair. After the opening of the business by the CHAIRMAN, with that great ability which he always discovers, Mr. MITCHELL made his statement relative to the expenses of the Preston Election, from which it appeared that the total amount of subscriptions received was 421l. 3s. 5d.

The probable expense he gave as follows, with the subjoined observation :—

Secretaries' account of expenses when I left Liverpool . . .	£259	1	½
Expenses up the country, from Preston to London, with Mr. Hunt	23	7	0
One-third of the expense of the hustings of the July election	57	0	0
Printing bills, suppose about			
Bills yet unpaid, for allowance to the numerous assistants, as per orders to small public houses			
Expenses of chairing Mr. Hunt			
Half expense of ten Poll Clerks for seven days, at one guinea per day	36	15	
Charge for copies of ten poll books, on account of scrutiny	10	0	
Half of expense of hustings for the present election	40	0	
3730 Silver Medals, at 2s. 6d. each	451	15	0

Mr. Mitchell begs leave to state that the subscriptions at Manchester, Bolton, Blackburn, Oldham, Stockport, Wolverhampton, and Birmingham, were going on well when he and Mr. Hunt passed through these places; and by his orders the sums in various towns already in hand, and also what might further come in, was requested to be held until after his return, as the money would not be wanted until the medal was completed. He further takes the liberty to say, that he ordered the medal of Charles Jones, Esq., one of the members of the Birmingham Council, before he left Birmingham for London, which medal was to be executed for the price of silver and workmanship, and will be finished by the end of this present month.

Mr. MITCHELL expressed his confident expectation that 1,000*l.* would cover the whole of the expenses! But now something a great deal more important occurred, and of a nature that makes me wish that my duty would suffer me to pass it over in silence. I shall first insert the report as I find it in *The Morning Chronicle* of the 18th instant, and then add, perhaps, a word or two in the way of remark.

Mr. MITCHELL, before he sat down, wished to make to them a very important communication, namely, that it was intended to establish in the Metropolis a *Parliamentary Office*, for the purpose of supplying to their tried and honest representatives the information from the country, and that assistance generally which would enable those gentlemen to devote their energies exclusively to what might be required of them within the walls of the House. (Cheers.)

Mr. GRADY then addressed himself chiefly to the last topic mentioned by the Speaker

who immediately preceded him, describing the intended office as a receptacle for the complaint of every man in the community, where also all *Parliamentary Papers* would be regularly filed and arranged. Another important use of the office would be to forward the great cause of *Radical Reform*, so that every man who paid taxes should be assured of representation. The office would also form a bond of union amongst Reformers. It would afford the means of calling public meetings all over England. The petitions from various parts of the country would there be collected and analysed; and on show nights, as they were called, honest Members of Parliament would be furnished with the means of making a powerful impression in the House. The office would likewise afford protection to many oppressed individuals in remote parts of the country, against the established village tyrants whose power was now, he hoped, fast drawing to a close. He entreated them to look at what had been accomplished by the *Parliamentary Office in Dublin*. Would they allow it to be said that the most intellectual nation in the world should remain so long behind the Irish as to permit more time to elapse without adopting that most wise and efficient measure. (Applause) He next proceeded to express his joy at Mr. Attwood's accession to the cause of Radical Reform, and dwelling upon the importance of his testimony in favour of the establishment of a *Parliamentary Office*. He then concluded by moving the following Resolution:—“That, for the purpose of supplying and disseminating all useful, political, and, more especially, *Parliamentary information* to the Country at large, for consolidating and directing the energies of the whole people, for the recovery and protection of the people's rights—and for aiding and assisting the efforts of Mr. Hunt and such other Members of Parliament as are really chosen by the People, and truly represent them in the Common House—an Office be established in London to be called the *Parliamentary Reform Office*.”

Originally, in Mr. Grady's Resolution, it was proposed to entrust the management and formation of the proposed Office to Messrs. Hunt, O'Connell, Attwood, Mitchell, Warkley, and others; but this part of the Resolution was subsequently modified, and it was agreed to as given above. Previous to such alteration, however,

Mr. MITCHELL hoped that any-thing he had said would not be understood as asking them for money. He merely submitted his statement, in the hope of obtaining their sanction and approbation. He was anxious to say this much, lest he should be supposed to interfere with their support of the *Parliamentary Office*.

Mr. LYNE seconded the Resolution, stating, that within a few days he had paid a visit to Mr. Hunt, when his table was piled with papers, and when he showed, in the most satisfactory manner, that no one man could get through one-fifth of the business which de-

volved upon an independent Member of Parliament. From this and other instances of a like nature he inferred the *absolute necessity of a Parliamentary office*, and the obligation under which all friends of freedom and of Reform lay, to aid in *promoting that important object*.

The Resolution was then put by the CHAIRMAN, who observed, in reference to his name having been originally amongst those by whom the intended measure was to be carried into effect—that he did not desire to withdraw his name from indifference to the *good cause*—he earnestly wished to promote any-thing calculated to advance Parliamentary Reform; but he scarcely hoped that even by that establishment any-thing *very considerable* could be effected. The people of England were almost in arms for their rights, and he feared that if the Government did not propose some most important change, peace would be at an end in England. He thought that matters were approaching to such a crisis, that an establishment of that nature could not be matured before its services would be unavailing. In the course of these remarks he complained of the *neglect of the public press manifested towards Mr. O'Connell, Mr. Hume, and those other Members of the House of Commons who spoke the sentiments of the people*.

Mr. MITCHELL by no means concurred in the opinion of the Chairman as to the efficiency of such an office.

Mr. BENLOW thought that *Members of Parliament ought not to be employed in establishing such an office*.

In that suggestion the Chairman fully concurred, and the names were omitted accordingly as above stated.

The question was then put and agreed to.

Mr. CLEAVE, in moving another Resolution, which is given underneath, stated that the Parliamentary Office in Ireland was suppressed, and, therefore, the greater was the *necessity for some bond of union in England*, for the declaration of public opinion, before an Algerine Act should be passed in this country. He then moved that "This Meeting is of opinion that the friends of Radical Reform should make every possible exertion to promote subscriptions, to cover the expenses incurred at the recent election at Preston, in order that the honest electors of that town may be hereafter free to act with independence and success at future elections."

Mr. LYNE seconded the above.

Mr. MITCHELL rose for the purpose of contradicting a *misrepresentation* which had gone abroad in the newspapers, respecting a passage in a speech of Mr. Hunt's at Preston. It had been attributed to Mr. Hunt that he would support the *rights of the Aristocracy with his best blood*. He said no such thing: what he did say was, that as a *Member of Parliament, he was bound to support the rights of all—even the just rights of the Aristocracy—but in maintaining the rights of the people, he was prepared to shed his best blood, and to*

devote his best energies to strip the Aristocracy of that which they wrung from the toil and sweat of the labouring classes.

Thanks were then voted to the Chairman, for which he made suitable acknowledgments, and the Meeting broke up at a quarter past eleven.

Upon reading this, the first thing suggested by one's hopes is, that the whole is a *hoax* on the part of some place-hunting reporter, who sees that a Radical Reform would speedily snatch from him all chance of going to the colonies to swagger about (half his time drunk) at the expense of the industrious people of England. This is what hope would fain suggest to us; but upon inquiry, I grieve to find, that it is, alas! no *hoax*, but a melancholy reality. To be sure, that which is here related by Mr. LYNE is quite astounding. That Mr. HUNT "showed him, in the most satisfactory manner," that he could not get through "one-fifth of the business," and that a PARLIAMENTARY Office was "*absolutely necessary*" to him; and that there lay an obligation on all the friends of freedom to AID in promoting this object! Let us still hope that Mr. LYNE has been misrepresented by the reporter: let us hope, at any rate, that the poor and public-spirited men and women of Preston will not have the mortification to hear those sounds of sad foreboding; these faltering accents of anticipated failure; these sighs heaved up by conscious want of ability, or want of something else which it would, after all that has been promised to us and hoped by us, break one's heart to name: let us hope, that at any rate, these dismal tidings are not destined to reach the ears of our spirited friends at Preston (especially the women); and, if they must reach them at last, let us, oh! let us hope and pray, that it will not be at the moment when they are hanging about their necks the "*image and superscription*" of him to whom a "Parliamentary Office" is "*absolutely necessary!*" As to other matters, they must take the lot of human kind; but I pray God to spare those excellent people this murderous mortification!—I need not add how happy I should be, after all, to find this whole thing to be a *hoax*.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

To the Editor of THE REGISTER.

SIR,

Paris, 18th Jan., 1831.

Nothing is now talked of but the necessity of going to war for the national honour, and the hopes of the people have never been so buoyant as at this moment, since the formation of the "Republic." Until now, every thing has been retrograding and conforming into the worst possible state, in the name of "order"; this watch-word of the funding-interest, who call themselves the industrious and respectable part of society, is forced to give way to that of the *national honour*, though it might make head against that of *glory*. And, now, after the exposures which have taken place of the tame sentiments of the government, the fear for this most essential point of all has fairly roused the whole nation. The Press being first suppressed to such an extent as it is, the Chambers are working away in weeding out liberty from all the institutions, with pretty much of security, and would inevitably persevere if they were not thwarted by the consequences of the favourite disposition of the nation being rallied by the alarm I have mentioned.

All last week the diplomatic conferences which had come to light with regard to Belgium were exciting all parties in various ways. The people felt indignant in common with the people of Belgium, at the answers given to M. Rogier, the Belgian Envoy, who has been here begging for a king, no matter whether young or old. And the Government have been splitting with rage that the communications held with him should be made public, and that all the bartering, haggling, hesitating, and gossiping about the various little Princes and Princesses to be Kings and Queens of Belgium, should be laid before the people, however "sovereign" they may be. Not being able to punish the Congress at Brussels for looking into these matters, some parties blame the diplomatic committee for laying the documents before them; but the parties most interested blame the poor Envoy for his indiscretion in writing all he knew. It has been denied

that he confined himself to the truth; however, this is not believed, of course; and the people are extremely glad to find that they can debate upon the reasons of state in the selection of their kings: they like the "indiscretion" of M. Rogier, and it is by no means likely that he will be replaced by one who would prevent them from peeping behind the curtain.

These exposures have been brought forth by the Government itself, who have shown their courtesy to the English Government, and their unwillingness to offend that which is the most fateful thing existing in the eyes of the people of these countries, namely, the English *aristocracy*. For it does not appear that there was any disposition to pry into the negotiations by the Congress of Brussels, until the coldness was discovered on the part of this Government, which it manifested towards the wishes of the Congress after their rejection of the plan for settling SAXE-COBURG upon them. The refusal of the second son of the King, which appeared to them so palpably leaguings with the English Government, and so unreasonable, and at the same time so cowardly, appears to have provoked the provisional government and the Congress to appeal to the people of both nations, and to rouse all their passions, by exposing, with the refusal, the willingness to see them have a German Prince, to whom would be sent in three or four years' time, if he behaved well, a French Princess, both Prince and Princess not old enough even to be married. The suggestion of the Duke de Leuchtenberg seems to have been made as a hint, and the uncharitable sentence pronounced upon it by the King has served to thicken the mess.

So that, some parties now urge the Belgians to declare the Duke de Leuchtenberg, if not the Duke de Reichstadt; others, to declare a republic. The Buonapartists and Republicans both cheer them on, in order to stimulate this government to become independent and discontented with the English, which they know it must if Belgium would prove independent of the French.

On Saturday last a debate arose upon this subject, and upon the foreign policy

of the government generally, upon the presentation of a petition from an advocate at Mons, which was for the union of Belgium to France. Upon this occasion two speeches were made, by General Lamarque and M. Maugin, which have produced a great stir, and are admired by every-body. In these speeches the foreign minister was invited to deny some of the sentiments attributed to him by M. Rogier, especially those which show deference to the principles of the English Government; but the minister did not give the negative in satisfactory terms. These opinions, you should understand, of the distrust which should be entertained towards the English, were expressly confined to the government, and not extended at all to the people.

The recognition received from Russia was also dwelt upon, as a thing which the government ought to be ashamed of, because it was not received, nor sent, till after the news had reached the autocrat of the revolution in Poland. It was maintained, therefore, that a base desertion of Poland was to be the price of this recognition, and the cause of the Poles was held up to the sympathy of this nation. Upon this subject, however, the orators did not go the length of the opinions which are generally entertained by the people, and which are, that the government *have* some ground for congratulating themselves on the recognition, and that it was not entirely owing to the affairs in Poland. The people ask whether, *if Polignac had been executed*, that recognition would have been made, revolution in Poland or no revolution; and whether it would not have been, at all events, after the news of the sentences had reached St. Petersburg? But, for the government to reap satisfaction from the recognition, they must ascribe it to their management in the affair of Polignac; and for them to receive it so soon after the "happy" termination of that affair, it must have been known at St. Petersburg that the affair would so terminate. And the precautions which were taken here, and which were probably known better at a distance than on the spot, could not have failed to

convey the necessary assurances, and to be perfectly well understood. In Paris, these precautions were said to be taken against the "Carlists," the "Austrians," the "Jesuits," and God knows what besides; now, I leave you to guess against whom they were taken, when you know that the *National Guard were not supplied with cartouches!* I was surprised, in walking along, to see these pitch their muskets close to the fires which they had on the places where they bivouacked; but I found there was no danger, and that they were armed with bayonets only.

The manifesto of the Emperor of Russia, so taunting, not only to the Poles, but to the principles entertained by this country, that it can hardly be associated with the recognition, and would rather show that the Autocrat had not sense to make it on the ground of danger; on the contrary, every thing confirms the supposition that there was an understanding upon the affair of Polignac, that the termination of that was to regulate the conduct of the Russian government.

Général Lafayette concluded the debate, by comparing Russia and Poland to England and Hanover, and supposed that English troops would never be sent to maintain that kingdom. The governments, however, are as much to be compared as the nations, for Lord Grenville formerly declared *Hanover as precious as Hampshire*.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT, JUN.

THE PRESS AND THE FIRES.

I TAKE the following excellent article from that most widely spread of all newspapers, BELL'S LIFE IN LONDON. It is clever, acute, true, and public-spirited. GOODMAN, the poor rick-firing orphan, in Sussex, has, it is stated, now been respited *during the King's pleasure*. So that here is a real incendiary, who, I believe, acknowledged having set *five fires*, who is *not to die*, while COOKE, who *knocked down Bingham Baring*, has been *hanged!* I am glad however, that this poor, friendless or-

phan is to be spared, and exceedingly glad that *I have been the cause of it*. From the moment that his ACCUSATION OF ME, certified by the REVEREND Henry John Rush, CURATE of Crowhurst, came forth, I saw that the poor lad *was safe*; for, to believe the accusation, and still to hang the accuser, would have been horrible indeed; so that, to hang the fire-setter, would have been to give the lie to his accusation against me; and yet, how to save him! How to spare the setter of five fires, while a man is hanged for knocking down BINGHAM BAKING! The REVEREND Crowhurst curate was, I dare say, very little aware of the dilemma that his certificate would create. But in this story every man of sense saw the ground-work for an attack upon the freedom of the press generally; and this is what is ably shown in the following article:—

About a fortnight or three weeks ago, lad of the name of *Goodman* was found guilty at the Sussex Assizes of setting fire to some stacks near Battle. After he was sentenced to death, he made a confession, though how it was procured is not known, that he had been instigated to the atrocious act by a lecture of Mr. Cobbett's. He subsequently made a second confession, varying from the first, but still connecting the lecture with the conception of the crime of arson. Mr. Cobbett triumphantly related this confession, and showed that it was false and absurd; that he had never recommended the people to commit any such monstrous crime, nor any crime of the sort, and that the whole was a fiction got up for the purpose of throwing dirt upon him, and through him upon the Press. That confession was, in fact, eagerly laid hold of to abuse the Press, and all the commotions in the country were unhesitatingly attributed to the writings of Mr. Cobbett, and of all those who honestly endeavour to expose abuses. In a similar manner, and in a similar spirit, the Recorder said to Mr. Carlile, "If men such as you are not checked in time, it is utterly impossible to say where the tumults, disorders, and burnings will have an end." He added: "Lives have been sacrificed to the laws of the country, owing to those excitements used by wicked and designing persons to stir up the people to revolt and rebellion." There can be no doubt, from the language generally held by Judges and by men in power, that all the evils, all the riot and disturbance, which have lately rendered our country less conspicuous for internal tranquillity than for many years past, are ascribed by the upper classes to the influence of the Press; and there can be no doubt that the Recorder meant the language

employed by the Press when he spoke of excitements used by wicked and designing men. We know, and we never wish to conceal it either from ourselves or others, that the Press, particularly the liberal and enlightened part of the Press, which is the servant of the tone and temper of men's minds, which is on a level with the knowledge of the day, and which moves with the progress of society, is in a state of open and avowed hostility to all stationary, unimproved, and unimprovable institutions; and we know that the Press is made continually to feel in its turn the anger and the vengeance of all the patrons and organs of those institutions, such as Judges and hereditary legislators. We believe, therefore, that these remarks of the Judge were intended to vituperate the liberal Press—to hold it up to obloquy in the minds of the public—and to bring reading newspapers into discredit, as a source of turbulence and disorder. We mean, therefore, to say a few words in vindication of the Press from the charge of having been instrumental in producing the late outrageous proceedings of the ignorant unreading peasantry.

We are far from wishing to shield the Press from the imputation of having carried into every corner of the country the exposures that have recently been made of the extravagance of our Government; we acknowledge the charge, that it has nourished a growing dislike to that dear law with which the public is mocked, under the name of the Administration of Justice, reminding us of the disappointment described by Milton, when what seemed grapes turned to cinders in the mouth—to sinecures, pensions to Court Ladies and retired Ambassadors—to that sham system of representation which enables a few Peers and the Government to nominate a majority of the so called representatives of the people: to this, and many more similar accusations, we readily plead guilty, knowing that such conduct will be reckoned to us as a merit by our countrymen; but we deny that the Press has in any manner encouraged or stimulated the ignorant peasantry to burn the barns and stacks of their masters. We have never seen, in any one periodical, except in a few lines for which Mr. Carlile is to be punished, the least mark of approbation of arson. Never did we see a hint that the condition of the labourer could be improved by destroying the food and capital of the country. The Press, we admit, has, on many occasions, shown the inconsistency of the language held, and the cruelty of the sentences passed by the Recorder; but, far from having any influence on the people in exciting them to outrage against the Judge, he walks the streets by night and by day unharmed and unmolested. The Press has frequently exposed the monstrous evils which the legislature has brought on all the industrious classes by tampering with the currency, altering every contract and every bargain in the kingdom, but its remarks never induce the suffering people to lay violent hands

on Sir Robert Peel. That ignorant author of untold mischief to the people is as secure in the midst of them as the Editor of *Bell's Life*, who is only known by contributing to their weekly amusement. For months did the Duke of Wellington stand in the way of Reform—for months was his conduct condemned by the Press; but never was an insult offered to him till he had repeatedly outraged the people by denying their great suffering, and at length crushing, by a too notorious declaration, their hopes that he would at length relent and listen to their prayers. Repeatedly of late has the Press exposed the profligacy of Court Ladies—the mothers and daughters of Nobility living on pensions wrung from the marrow of the people. Even this day our paper contains an example of Crown jewels abstracted, and of a father giving his daughter's brilliants to his mistress; enough, in all conscience, to rouse the indignation of a long-suffering people; but we have never heard that an attempt has been made to give any of these profligate courtizans a good ducking under the pump. Of late too, the liberal Press has been unsparing in holding up to public opprobrium the pluralities of the Bishops, their enormous wealth, extorted from the people under false pretences, and their gross neglect of duties, for performing which they claim our reverence and our tribute. We remember that one of these Bishops, a man in the full enjoyment of all the good things of life, about six months ago, denounced all the amusements, and even the healthful recreations of the people. For this he was most meritedly, but unmercifully censured by the Press. If the Press wished to excite the people to violence, it might probably have induced them to make a Dutch roast of the Bishop, or dress him in his own fat; but he yet lives, as sleek and comfortable as if he had never censured taking the air on Sunday, and never written a pamphlet abusing all other Sunday amusements but listening to the preacher. In fact, the Press is a generous opponent. It seems its enemies of their danger. It makes all its attacks in front. It never stabs its opponent in secret. It is opposed to violence of all kinds, under whatever pretext it may be used. Its arms are exclusively those of reason, and it leaves force to the judge, to the executioner, and to the war office. The only example we know, in which the popular opinions espoused by the Press have been connected with outrage, was the late attack on the Duke of Newcastle, at Newark. But, if there ever was a case in which a long-suffering and ill-treated race of men, described as the property of this weak-minded Duke, could find an apology for indignation, it was this. They, however, revenged private injuries, not public wrongs. We affirm, then, and we appeal to our readers for the correctness of our assertion, that the Press has never recommended violence or defended outrage, and that the opinions it has of late most warmly advocated have not in any manner been connected with violence.—

Can those who vituperate the Press say so much? Has not the Legislature rung Session after Session with the complaints against the farmers for paying wages out of the poor-rates? Did not an Ex Judge, three weeks ago, condemn the farmers for this practice, in the House of Lords? Did not the Duke of Wellington, in the teeth of all the Press condemn the use of machinery last session of Parliament? All these things happened: the sentiments of our Ministers and law-makers were wasted to every corner of the country, and now we have the peasantry breaking the machinery of the farmers and setting fire to the property of those who pay wages out of Poor Rates. One man, who was particularly obnoxious on account of his petty oppression, was shot at. Is not this connection more intimate than that between the observations of the Press concerning Parliamentary Reform and the acts of the peasantry? Again, last session of Parliament, Mr. Littleton, and several other Members of Parliament, drew a frightful picture of the exactions of certain master manufacturers. He conjured up all the horrors practised in all Staffordshire; and his speech, faithfully reported, is said to have been widely circulated in the manufacturing districts. This session he has renewed the same species of warfare, and his tirades have been spread far and wide in the manufacturing districts. There, too, we have the men quarrelling with their masters, and there we find the hand of an assassin taking the life of a master. Let our legislators and judges say that their abundant vituperation of oppressive masters is perfectly innocent of the murder of Mr. Ashton; can confidently exonerate the Press from having, in any manner, excited the people to commit that atrocious crime. We will say further, that the law-maker and the judge know no other means of obtaining their ends than violence and terror, and we would fain learn from Mr Recorder Kuowlys, or that wise man Mr. Trevor, whether the peasantry have acted on their principles, and imitated their examples, or have been led by the Press, which uses only soft words, and appeals only to reason? We deplore, as much as the Recorder or Lord Wynford, the present state of the country; but we affirm, let who will be the author of it, that the Press has been in no wise instrumental in bringing it about. We trust mankind, therefore, will not be scared by the censure of judges or the vituperation of parsons from the confidence which they now repose in their daily and weekly instructions, and which we honestly believe they well de-

From the LONDON GAZETTE,
FRIDAY, JANUARY 14, 1831.

INSOLVENT.

JAN. 13.—VOULES, J., New Windsor, corn-merchant.

BANKRUPTCIES SUPERSEDED.

HARROLD, E., Wolverhampton, Staffordshire, cotton-spinner.

LEESON, W., jun., Nottingham, hosier.
 TAYLOR, J., Carlisle, wine-merchant.
BANKRUPTS.
 CHANDLER, T., Bow-lane, Cheapside, carpenter.
 CHAPMAN, J., Wisbeach, Cambridgeshire, Ironmonger.
 EARLE, G. and C., Great St. Thomas Apostle, wine-merchants.
 ELLIOTT, J., Holloway, carpenter.
 EVENNETT, R., South-bank, St John's-wood, Regent's-park, dealer in hats.
 FIELD, W., Brighton, carpenter.
 HARRIS, W., Bristol, silk-mercier.
 HARNETT, E., Wapping-wall, coal-merchant.
 LEE, T., Liverpool, cotton-dealer.
 MILLS, W., Nelson-street, Greenwich linen-draper.
 SIMKIN, G. R., Red Cross-street, and High bury, grocer.
 SMITH, G., jun., North Shields, master mariner.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 18, 1831.
INSOLVENT.

JAN. 18.—BLAKE, T., Brighthelmstone, builder.

BANKRUPTS.

BEDWELL, J., London-road, Surrey, bed and headstead-maker.
 BEYNON, J., Scarborough, draper.
 BUCKLAND, J. and J., High-street, Deptford, and Deptford-green, linen-drappers.
 CHERRY, J., Coventry, painter.
 CLEAVER, H., Market Lavington, Wiltshire, linen-draper.
 DOUBLEDAY, W., Manchester, tea-dealer.
 HILL, G. J., Camberwell, oil and colourman.
 MARSHALL, E., Liverpool, grocer.
 MAY, J. and P. Brodie, Fenchurch-street, tavern-keepers.
 NATHAN, N. and W., Mansell-street, Goodman's-fields, quill-merchants.
 PEARSON, J., Loug Eaton, Derbyshire, grocer.
 SHEARS, A., Friday-street, Cheapside, silk-warehouseman.
 SKIPP, M., Commercial-road, iron-merchant
 SKINNER, G., Avely, Essex, grocer.
 SMITH, W., Brick-lane, Spitalfields, baker.
 WILD, J., and G. Shaw, Oldham, Lancashire, cotton-spinners.
 WILLIAMS, J. E., Norwich, grocer.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, JAN. 17.—We had not a very large supply of English Wheat at market this morning, consequently a few early sales were made in fine quality at an advance of full 1s. per quarter in the prices since this day se'nnight; the middling and inferior sorts were also taken off upon rather better terms, but the sales were by no means brisk, and Flour remains at last week's price. Fine Malting Barley was taken off very freely to-day at an advance of 3s. per quarter, and completely dry was left unsold. Beans of both red and Grey Peas, are likewise about 1s. quarter dearer, and Oats nearly as much, though not much briskness in sale. White

Peas barely maintain last week's prices. For other articles we beg to refer to the annexed currency.

SMITHFIELD—Jan. 17.

There is to-day a pretty full market, with a tolerable briskness in the trade. Prime Scots obtain our top currency and good Beef generally finds purchasers at 3s. 10d. to 4s. 2d.; but for ordinary meat there is not so ready a demand. Mr. Mellish attended on Friday, to the no small gratification of the sellers of Lincolns. The price of Mutton is about the same as this day se'nnight; but handsome big sheep, in consequence of their scarcity, make nearly as much as the light weights. The best Downs are quoted at 4s. 6d. There is a further advance in choice veal. The supply will be sold out. Beasts 2,607, Calves 100, Sheep 23,040, Pigs 160.

THURSDAY, Jan. 20.—The spirit of the late Thursday's cattle market, which was declared by its clerk to have become defunct on this day se'nnight, made its appearance in Smithfield this morning, in the shape of about 60 Beasts, 200 Sheep, 20 calves, and a few Pigs, most of which had disappeared by about 11 o'clock. That which the City Senate are said to have re-declared as the legitimate market, will be held to-morrow.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, Jan. 21.

The supplies are still small, the demand moderate, and the prices the same as on Monday.

	English arrivals	Foreign.	Irish.
Flour	5,710		
Wheat	3,615	2,170	
Barley	4,240	420	
Oats	695	165	2,500

THE FUNDS.

	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.
3 per Cent.	82½	82½	82½	82½	82½	82½
Cous. Ann.						

On the 1st of Feb. will be published, No. 1, of THE TIMES MAGAZINE, or CHURCH REFORMER—Title; Twenty-six Objections against the New Church Property; New Plan to be brought forward by Parliament; Amiable Conduct of the Bishop Wilson, Bishop of Derry 24 years, Non-resident, with 15,000l. a year; Bishop of Peterborough; Bishop Newton; Baron Brougham.

Sold by Mr. Steel, 20 Paternoster Row, and all respectable Booksellers in the Empire.

This day is published, in 12mo. price 5s. 6ds., **EMIGRATION or NO EMIGRATION;** being the Narrative of the Author (an English Farmer) from the year 1824 to 1830; during which time he traversed the United States of America, and the British province of Canada, with a View to settle as an Emigrant. By JOSEPH PICKERING, Late of Fenny-Stratford, Buckinghamshire.

Published by Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green.



THE
CAUSE OF REFORM.

[To be read three times over, especially by the Prime Minister]

A MEETING on the subject of *Parliamentary Reform*, and to present a petition on the part of the inhabitants of this city, was held in St. Andrew's Hall, in the City of Norwich, on the nineteenth instant, not less than three thousand persons being present, Mr. WISEMAN, the Sheriff, being in the chair. SIR THOMAS BLYEON, Bart, whose speech I shall insert presently, moved the resolutions, which were eight in number, and in words as we shall presently read them. This was a most important meeting. My Register would not be sufficient, if it were devoted to nothing else, to contain an account of the proceedings of one tenth nor one twentieth part of the meetings, which have been held, within this month, of *towns, cities and counties*, for the purpose of petitioning for Parliamentary Reform. In 1817, MAJOR CARTWRIGHT and I were the only resolution and petition writers in the whole kingdom, in favour of Parliamentary Reform. A great many people were in motion, but they were all set in motion by us two; and that worthy old veteran in the cause thought he had carried a monstrous point, when he had obtained the consent of the shilly-shally BUREAU to suffer him to put a fac-simile of his name to a parcel of circulars, calling on the people to rouse in the cause of reform, with which circulars, and with a sort of general recommendatory letter (from Mr. ALGERMAN WOOD, I believe it was) he dispatched off a little Irish

man of the name of BLAINE, and a sort of TRAVELLER in the name of God! How we have got on since those improvements, inasmuch as the Omnium says to shindy Mrs. STONE, when they meet upon a hay road across the common, of which the labouring people have just been robbed by the Grass-Act, in virtue of one of those "proofs of national prosperity," called enclosures bills! Talk of "march of mind," indeed! Look at insignificant BUREAU now! What would now the fac-simile of his wretched name be worth! Oh, that the honest old major were but alive this day!

When one looks at the crowds of opulent merchants and manufacturers, of old yeomanry cavalry masters, of land-owners; and when we hear an *orator*, who is by no means unskilful of number one, actually calling for annual Parliaments, universal suffrage, and voting by ballot; when we behold these crowds, and contemplate their proceedings; and then, for a moment, look back at little Cleary and his hack horse and gig, and his bundle of fac-simile-circulars; when we think of the meeting of deputy operations in London, of the poor gun-maker number two; of the poor blanket-makers, shuddled into Manchester jail-yard; and of the power-of-imprisonment bill, which drove me across the seas and dragged scores of victims to dungeons; when we thus view the present, and glance back at the past, the bare contemplation of such a "march of mind" really seems to threaten to unsettle our senses. *What crime had we committed, then, when green bags were brought down to prove (as a secret committee that it was necessary to place the person of every man in the kingdom at the mercy of the Secretary of State? What crime had we committed when Lord BURYING voted for both general and dugeoning us, and Lord BURYING the latter; and when Mr. BURYING, Lord BURYING, thought it was*

have understood, a harsh or ill-natured man, voted for the measure, for the sake of the safety of the people themselves? What crime had we committed, when from the Mansion-House of London, from the public-office at Manchester, and from every hell-hole of selfishness, cowardice, and cruelty; from the parsons all over the kingdom; from the Universities; and, in short, from every resort of wealth and of the influence of property, came up addresses to the Prince Regent, calling for measures of severity against us, designating us, who were the leaders, as designing and wicked men, aiming at the overthrow of all property and all rank, being, as the calumniating addresses described us, destitute ourselves of all property and all character? What crime had we committed; what had we done to deserve these calumnies and this savage treatment? Why we had been guilty of no crime at all; there had been no breach of the peace throughout the whole country; no violence, and no attempt at violence of any description. The contents of the green bags were never published. The atrocious falsehoods alleged against us were never attempted to be supported by proof: all that was said against us was a lie from the beginning to the end: all that we had really done was, to petition for a reform of the people's, or Commons', House of Parliament; all that we had done was to pray; and to pray, too, for not a tenth part of what is prayed for now by all the towns and cities and counties in the kingdom. We prayed for a reform of the Parliament; for an abolition of sinecures and of unmerited pensions; we prayed for an adjustment of salaries, and of interest of debt to the altered value of the money; we prayed for a reduction of the standing army; all these we prayed for in order that the distresses of the country might be relieved in time, and that irony and confusion might thereby be prevented. For this sensible and humble prayer it was that I was left to choose exile and a dungeon; for this humble prayer it was that OGDEN was chained into a dungeon with his bowels

protruding from his bursting body; for this prayer it was that groans were heard in the dungeons of all the jails, that parents had to mourn their sons, wives their husbands, and children their fathers, some of whom were driven to insanity, and others to suicide, by their sufferings, while not one man of the survivors was ever attempted to be brought to trial, and while those who procure these laws to be passed, and to be exceeded in their execution, the precious Parliament covered by a bill of indemnity.

Well, but *what are the prayers now?* What are the prayers that the traders, the farmers, the manufacturers, the merchants, the land-owners, are now sending to parliament? They pray for all that we prayed for in the first place, and in language ten times as bold; they pray that the aristocracy may no longer be suffered to take away the incomes of the middle class, and to rob the labourer of the fruit of his toil. But, which is a thing that we never attempted to allude to, not even to allude to, they pray for an abolition of the tithes, or, for applying them to the relief of the poor and repairing of the churches; or, as in the instance immediately before us, for taking away the whole of the church property altogether, and applying it to the liquidation of the debt. The resolutions agreed to at this fine meeting at Norwich are a fair specimen of what the borough-mongers have to digest; and therefore I will insert them before I proceed further.

First—That in all cases of aggravated distress there is a point at which human nature becomes incapable of further endurance, and where this distress is of a public nature, and can be traced to legislative causes, men begin to lose their respect for the laws, and are ready to encounter dangers the most appalling in opposition to them.

Secondly—That the events which have lately taken place in the majority of the counties of England, clearly prove that at this point we have already arrived.

Thirdly—That this distress has

“ been caused by an overwhelming weight of taxation; imposed partly for the payment of the interest of an enormous public debt, principally incurred in carrying on an unjust and unnecessary war, for the purpose of crushing the rising liberties of a neighbouring nation, and preventing salutary reforms at home; and partly for the maintenance of innumerable pensions and sinecure offices, and inordinately overpaid, and, in many instances, unnecessary establishments, both civil and military, for the benefit of the Aristocracy and their dependants.

“ *Fourth*—That not only is a considerable portion of the taxes shared amongst the members of this Aristocracy, but the taxes themselves are imposed in such a manner as to bear least heavily upon them, and whilst notwithstanding the repeal of some duties and the reduction of others, the actual weight of taxation has been increased by the change which has been made in the value of the circulating medium, a tax upon bread has been imposed for the purpose of protecting them from the consequences of that change.

“ *Fifthly*—That it is highly desirable, nay, necessary to our prosperity and safety as a nation, that these burdens should be reduced, and this debt got rid of; and in order to effect these objects, that the most rigid economy be enforced in every department, and that all that public property commonly called Church Property and Crown Lands be appropriated to the public service.

“ *Sixthly*—That measures so important, so extensive, and involving the happiness or misery of millions, can only be safely carried into effect by a Parliament enjoying the full confidence of the people; and that, in order to insure that confidence, it is necessary that the House of Commons should be in reality, as it is in the theory of the Constitution, elected by the whole body of the people; and to render members responsible to those by whom they are elected,

“ that the duration of Parliament be materially shortened.

“ *Seventhly*—That it is not only a fraud but a cruel mockery to grant to any man, nominally, rights, when the free exercise of which he is in effect debarred, and that this takes place to a considerable extent even in the present limited state of the right of suffrage; and therefore that, in order to guarantee to every individual the free exercise of his rights, as well as to secure to the State the conscientious discharge of a trust, the most important to society, without having recourse to the monstrous injustice of making amount of property the test of fitness for the enjoyment of the elective franchise, it is of the highest importance that in all future elections for Members of Parliament the votes be taken by Ballot.

“ *Eighthly*—That a Petition founded on the foregoing Resolutions be presented to both Houses of Parliament; that Lord King be requested to present it to the House of Lords, and the Members for the City to the House of Commons.”

Can the boroughmongers look at the above, and not begin to think that it would have been better for them if they had given way in 1817, instead of stirring up bands of wretches to calumniate the reformers through the channel of addresses? Let them look at the resolution, Number 5. Let them cogitate upon that. Let them now say whether it would not have been well for them, if they had yielded in 1817; long before any man had ever even whispered a proposition such as that contained in No. 5. Nay, would they not now gladly submit to what was demanded in 1817? Yes, they would; but now they see that the thing could not stop even there. In that very year, or the year after, I forget which, I addressed a letter to them from my place of exile, in which I told them that a few years would make them repent of not having yielded to our just demands then; and I tell them now, that if the present demands be rejected, the next will be still higher; for if the Government and the

Parliament should shut their eyes to the danger; if they should not see the perils that surround them, the people see them. If they cannot see the effect of the establishment of a real republican government in France; if they cannot see the charm of the example of *cheap government*, the reformers can see it. And, great as appear to be the demands in this set of Norfolk resolutions, I warn the Ministers and the Parliament that they will find them to be a trifle after the establishment of a CONGRESS, consisting of a President, a Senate, a House of Representatives, cheap government, no aristocracy, and no paid clergy in France. For my own part, I have always rejected the idea of a new form of Government in England. I have always wished, and I still wish, the same form of Government to remain, though I would have it as *cheap* even as the American government, and can see no reason why it should not be still cheaper, without impairing any one of the King's prerogatives; without taking from the peers any one of their just privileges; and not only without diminishing the real dignity of the throne, but with making it greater than it now is; but far is it from the fact that all men are of my opinion in this respect. Many, and multitudes too, are disposed to think that cheapness never can be connected with this form of Government; and all men who do not live upon tithes or upon taxes, are bent upon having cheap government. The example of France will be prodigious in its effect; and to prevent this effect, the only effectual way is to yield now.

There is a notion afloat, that the long adjournment of the parliament, and the issuing of the special commissions were intended to *make the people cool and quiet upon the subject of reform*; that it was expected that the number of the terrific sentences would fill the people with fear and alarm, just as the beholding of a dead corpse makes people forget, for the time, all matters not immediately affecting their lives; that it was hoped that the display of so much power, and of such prompt vigour would subdue the minds of the

tax-paying community, and make us, while the unhappy sufferer was dangling from the gallows, or was being hurried away for ever, from the place of his birth and from all those he held dear, and that while the shrieks of mothers, wives and children pierced our hearts, we, casting aside all thoughts, of resisting aristocratical encroachments, should shrink within ourselves, think of nothing but our safety from hanging or transportation, and, so far from still persevering in demanding reform, should think ourselves lucky if our former demands were overlooked and pardoned! Now, I do not impute to the ministers' designs, hopes and expectations so unworthy, and base as these, but, I do know that there were ruffians base enough to entertain these hopes and expectations; ruffians who would see the blood of half the people shed, if they were convinced that it was necessary to their own unjustly received emoluments.

At any rate, the hopes and expectations of the ruffians are blasted. The grand array of death; the shedding of blood; the cries of mothers, wives, and children; the lamentations, the echoes of which have filled every hamlet and village of Hampshire and Wiltshire; these, while they have filled the hearts of the people with grief for the sufferers, have not subdued their minds; have not made them cowards; but, on the contrary, every man in the kingdom has now learned, from the evidence given at these very trials, the real cause of scenes so heart-rending and so disgraceful to the name of England. And, as this cause is at once traced back to enormous taxation and enormous tithe, and these again traced to a want of reform in the parliament, the pain arising from the sufferings of these victims of want has increased the national resolution to obtain and secure a radical remedy; and, accordingly, hundreds of thousands of men in the middle, and approaching towards the upper ranks of life, who were lukewarm in the cause of reform before these special commissions were issued, are now amongst the most resolute and

impatient to obtain it. The resolutions at Norwich were carried without one single dissenting voice out of three thousand persons, which would not have been the case only one month ago. The scenes in Hampshire and Wiltshire have not frightened the nation; but they have roused it; for every man says to himself and says to his neighbour: Where are these scenes to end if a radical remedy be not applied?

Divers are the rumours with regard to the sort of reform which the ministers mean to propose; but the general opinion is that they mean to propose nothing which shall, in reality, diminish in any sensible degree the power of the aristocracy in the filling of the seats in the lower House of parliament. For my own part, being acquainted with no one man who ever sets his foot in a government office; knowing no person that is at all acquainted with any man in power, I know nothing but from rumour, such as people hear as they go along the streets. If I were to judge from what I see in the *Morning Chronicle* and other papers, my judgment would have no foundation, except by mere accident; I therefore regard myself as knowing nothing at all of their intentions; and the opinions which I am about to express upon the subject, I wish to be looked upon merely as opinions which I think it necessary to state by way of caution to the ministry as well as to my readers.

Since writing the above (it is now Tuesday morning, and that was written last night), I perceive, in the bloody old *Times* newspaper, a string of paragraphs, or set of observations, which I am much surer were written in some one or other of the Government offices, than the Jury were sure that farmer Looker wrote the letter for the writing of which they convicted him. In fact, I am as sure of this as any man can be sure of any thing upon presumptive or circumstantial proof. This bloody old paper; this paper, always the advocate of tyranny, cruelty, and blood; this hellish paper, the organ of the Christ-killing Jews, and of the stock-jobbing villains who call themselves

Christians; this miscreant paper, which must see its own fall in the restoration of a just state of things; this diabolical vehicle; this infamy of all literary infamies, the present ministry have the misfortune to have on their side. It announced, yesterday, that no more blood was to be shed; and this it did with seeming approbation, when it has been howling for blood for more than two months past. But of this I shall have more to say by-and-by: at present let me come to the string of demi-official observations just mentioned, which I will first insert, and then remark upon, numbering the paragraphs for the convenience of reference, if necessary.

“ 1. It would now be silly to assert that the cause of reform is merely “ *making progress*,” through this “ country. The country, from end to “ end, is already occupied and engross- “ ed by that great question, and the “ mind of the whole community is made “ up upon it, as if the people of Eng- “ land were but *an individual man*. Bristol and Norwich must be added to the other important cities and towns which have declared their sentiments in favour of *an immediate purification of that body*, which is not constituted so as to represent with truth the opinions, the intelligence, or feelings of the nation, and which therefore cannot be expected, “ as indeed it has not been found, to “ consult their interests with the re- “ quisite integrity or wisdom.

2. “ *Entire confidence* may, we apprehend, be reposed in the *sincerity* “ with which the *present Ministers* “ have undertaken to realize the public “ anxiety for reform.

3. “ The grounds on which the former “ Government was overturned were “ such that no Ministry appointed to “ succeed it could have entertained the “ hope of standing for four-and-twenty “ hours, except on the strength, and by “ virtue, of a *solemn renunciation* before “ King and country of the *unconstitu- “ tional heresy of the Duke of Wellington*, who, in declaring that Parliament “ as already framed was all-perfect, had “ shocked the understanding of most

“Englishmen, no less than their love of freedom.”

4. “That Ministers must, in admitting the necessity of the measure, have anticipated likewise the practical difficulties of carrying any extensive plan of reform into execution, is manifest from the language of Lord GREY, who avowed that *their best reliance was on the support of the people themselves.*”

“5. That proprietors of close boroughs under the existing system, or men of overpowering influence in open ones, should, *unless acted upon by extraneous urgent and paramount motives*, accede at once to a change in the constitution of Parliament, whereby their own peculiar advantages over others of their fellow-subjects with equal pretensions on the score of property must be thenceforth demolished, supposes an amount of political heroism in the English aristocracy of the present day, which assuredly the most virtuous of their ancestors, could never have been vain enough to boast of. The Ministers, we have no doubt, *do look for an obstinate and bitter struggle on the part of the old borough interest*, to retain the worst features of their system,—that is to say, those of its characteristics which favour most the monopoly of borough-patronage. As few, moreover, of the county members are destitute of borough interest, or unconnected with those who have it, there is *some reason to dread that the spirit of caste, or clanship, may serve to reinforce the cause of corruption*, by procuring for it advocates among Members of Parliament, whose honourable station as representatives for counties or great towns, would help to divert suspicion from their *less ostensible objects*, and enable them, under the respected robe of county-members, to indulge, while they concealed, their *contraband propensity to the traffic in rotten boroughs*. We have little doubt that the *war-whoop will be yelled in many quarters against the spirit of revolution* with which this country has been infected

by the Continent, and that *a long and strong pull will be risked by the borough oligarchy*, as their last stake in the fruitful misgovernment of England.

“6. Now there is but one effectual expedient for defeating this policy of the dealers in old abuses: it is to show them, from the outset, *that their cause is desperate*,—that *the nation are universally leagued with the Government* in defence of a measure by which the Crown itself must be strengthened, all temptation to corrupt the legislative body be annihilated, and the burdens of the people be *essentially and permanently reduced*.”

“7. What are the details of the measure to be proposed by Ministers, we do not undertake to specify. *Universal suffrage*, however, will undoubtedly have no share in it. Ballot, it is said, will not form part of the plan as introduced to Parliament, although it would be affectation to deny that the feeling in favour of that important novelty gains ground among most classes of our countrymen, and that if not checked by further inquiry into its merits, *the result may be its adoption*, ere long, into the frame of our Parliamentary constitution.

“8. But again, and earnestly, we pray our countrymen to meet in every part of Great Britain, and *honestly to stand by a reforming Administration*. It is a rare phenomenon, and let it not be undervalued; for its pledge is one which deserves the public reverence, and the perilous difficulty of fulfilling it demands the support of men in whose eyes freedom is something better than a shadow.

“9. The pretence that meetings in favour of reform would but *embarrass* the King’s Ministers, has been made use of, invariably, *by those whose wish is to embarrass them, by leaving them at the mercy of the borough-traffickers in Parliament*. The Minister himself has called upon the nation to support him,—that is the true reply to all such *sham objections*.”

“10. Lastly, let the people accept

" whatever reform may be offered and carried through Parliament, *be it ever so narrow and minute.* We ought to remember at once the difficulty and the value of a first step towards amendment. It must inevitably lead to more; and, *as the harbinger of more, be it welcomed.*"

I repeat that this is a writing put forth by the ministers. I state this in the most positive manner; and I defy contradiction. It is too well written, too sensible, too pregnant with important matter, to have proceeded from the pen of any of the unprincipled and bloody crew who generally write for this paper. It is the *MANIFESTO* of the ministers against the boroughmongers. It is a call upon the nation to support the former against the latter. About six days ago I was told that which now seems to have been very likely to be true; namely, that the boroughmongers had had a grand meeting, and had intimated to Lord GREY that they were resolved to oust him from his power, if he attempted to use it for what they called the destruction of their property. I was further told that he had given way, and that he proposed to do nothing more than throw open to the hundred such boroughs as contained less than two hundred and fifty voters each, and to give two members to each of the towns, Birmingham, Manchester, Sheffield, and Leeds. This story, which represented Lord Grey as contemplating, not a fraud upon the people, for it was too barefaced to be called a fraud, but an insult to them, so gross, so offensive, as to be sure to lead to his speedy expulsion from office; this story was not to be believed; and I rejected the whole of it as romance. But I am now of opinion that the combination against him here mentioned has taken place; that he is convinced that the threat will be acted upon; and that he now, in reality, finds himself compelled to place a *bona fide* reliance upon the people for support against this combination, which support he certainly will receive, if he do enough to satisfy reasonable men; but

which support he will not receive if he stop short of this mark.

In paragraph No. 5, the difficulties of the ministers are stated; the nature of the struggle is described; and those difficulties and that struggle are fully described. It is truly observed in paragraph No. 6, that the oligarchy are to be defeated, only by their being convinced, *that their cause is desperate,* and that the nation, *is universally leagued with the government.* This is, indeed, the only way to reduce the oligarchs to reason and to subdue them; but next comes, the way for the ministers to secure this *universal support of the nation*; and this way is, by the minister proposing that which will satisfy all reasonable men; not all men; not even me, though I deem my plan perfectly just and proper, and though I am convinced that it will, in the end, be adopted. I have proposed annual parliaments, not only in conformity with the ancient laws and customs of the country, but as a thing which I am convinced is expedient. I have proposed universal suffrage, and have given reasons perfectly unanswerable with regard to the justice and also with regard to the tranquillizing tendency of the measure. Now I believe that the nation might be satisfied; I do not say that it ought to be satisfied, but, from the love that men have for peace, from their anxious desire to prevent confusion and anarchy, from their natural horror of civil strife and inevitable bloodshed, I think that the nation might be satisfied with parliaments of two, or even three years duration; that it might be satisfied with the extension of the suffrage to all householders paying scot and lot. For the reasons before mentioned, I think that the nation *might* be satisfied with these; but satisfied **WITHOUT THE VOTING BY BALLOT**, I am sure that the nation would not; and I am sure that an attempt on the part of the ministers to exclude it, would raise against them a cry, such as never before reached the ears of a frighted public offenders. Even those who are for the most limited reform, insist upon the

necessity of the ballot. The moment the subject is mentioned in any public assembly, every voice bursts forth in its favour. In my plan of parliamentary reform; or, rather, in my description of the plan, I observed, that as to other parts of it, men might honestly differ in opinion; but that with regard to the ballot, the man who opposed it must, of necessity, mean dishonestly; he must, of necessity, to repeat my own phrase, be a "real rogue." An honest man may oppose it thoughtlessly; may oppose it for want of knowledge on the subject; may abuse it, as the thoughtless readers of the bloody old *Times* newspaper abuse me, without any inquiry into my character or conduct; but the man who clearly understands the effects of voting by ballot, and still opposes it must, of necessity, be animated by a wicked motive; and must be essentially a rogue.

For, what are the effects of the ballot? 1. To render bribery and corruption impossible. 2. To prevent all canvassing and all expense to both electors and elected. 3. To put an end to all undue bias of every kind, and to leave every man to act according to his own conscience. 4. To put an end to all drunkenness, all rioting, all breaches of the peace, all destruction to property and life, which now are almost constantly attendant upon elections. 5. To put it out of the power of a returning officer to act a partial or unfair part. 6. To prevent those endless heart-burnings, and law-suits, and quarrels, that arise between neighbours, friends, parents and children, brethren and relations of all degrees, as the natural fruit of contested elections. 7. To prevent the time of the House being occupied by the trial of election petitions, and to sweep away that mass of election laws, which form a code, the very existence of which stamps unspeakable disgrace on the character of the country.

Such being the natural, nay, the inevitable, effects of a system of voting by ballot, must not the man who cannot but see those effects, and who still opposes the measure, be, in very great

sence, a rogue? For, can a man who wishes for the continuance of bribery, corruption, false-swearing, lying, drunkenness, breaches of the peace, destruction of person and of property, everlasting feuds and spite amongst friends and relations and neighbours: can a man who wishes for a continuance of all these not have it in view to profit by them; and can he have it in view to profit by such means, without being essentially a rogue.

There have been men audaciously unprincipled enough to stand up, aye, in a public assembly too, and assert that the ballot has been tried in America and has failed. We have a very recent proof that it has not failed in France, at any rate. But France would be nothing with me if it really had failed in America; for there is another English people; there is the same language and men of just the same habits and character. What, then, are the proofs that these desperate tax-eating impostors produce of the ballot having been tried and found to fail in America? Oh, one of these impostors has been to'd this by an "American gentleman!" Perhaps the American gentleman told him that America did not lie across the Atlantic, but on the north side of the Chinese Wall! Another of these impostors has received a letter from a friend in America, assuring him of the trial and of the failure! Why, SCOTT ELDON had received a letter assuring him that one of our county jails was full of foreigners, who had been concerned in setting the fires; and upon his belief in that letter he stated this in the House of Lords. Impostors; impudent, sharp-set, greedy, unprincipled impostors; ignorant, ignorant to a beastly degree, also, you do not know, then, that the ballot is the law in America; that it is the law enacted by the Congress and the State Legislatures; that this law has existed from the moment that the Government itself existed; that that excellent and cheap and wise Government was formed by votes given by ballot; and that from the first formation of the Government to the present hour, no change has ever been made in

the law ; no motion has ever been made for any such change ; and yet you have the audacity to assert that the ballot has been *tried* and has failed in America.

Failed! How has it failed, impostors ? Greedy, tax-eating impostors, how has it failed ? Has it failed to cause elections to be carried on for the President, the Senate, the House of Representatives of the United States, and of the Governors and Houses of Assembly of twenty States besides. Has it failed, you brazen blood-suckers ? Do the American gentlemen, and you letters from friends in America, tell you that it has caused all these hundred upon hundreds of elections to take place without producing one single riot within forty years, and WITHOUT PRODUCING ONE SINGLE DISPUTED RETURN OF A MEMBER ? Yes, you cormorant impostors, you real rogues, you rogues in very essence, without producing one single election petition in the course of the whole forty years !

Failed! Has it failed to cause a government to be carried on, under which the population has increased from three millions to twelve ; under which cities have sprung up to surpass almost the whole of those in the old world ; under which a commercial, marine, aye, and a naval force, rivalling those of England herself, have grown up ; under which such abundance, such happiness, are enjoyed by the people as to induce Englishmen to fly to the country with their capital, their skill, and their families ; under which ten such Ambassadors are sent to Europe as Europe never saw before ; and, oh, your audacious public-robbing vagabonds, you real rogues, has the ballot failed to cause this excellent government, the whole of the civil establishment of this great and happy country, to be carried on for a less sum annually than the *twentieth part* of what Sir JAMES GRAMHAM proved a Parliament, *not chosen by ballot*, made the English people pay to one hundred and thirteen privy-councillors ?

In short, to refuse the ballot is to refuse EVERY-THING. There is no middle course here : there must be

ballot or nothing . as to the other parts of the measure, we may be satisfied that the motive of the ministers is good, and that whatever they obtain may "*lead to more*," as is expressed by this writer ; but, if the ballot be refused, whatever confidence may now be reposed in the sincerity of the ministers, will vanish at once ; will yield its place, not to suspicion, but to an assurance that their professions have been hypocritical, and that their design is that the cormorants of the system shall still go on devouring the vitals of the people.

The closing two paragraphs, 9 and 10, are worthy of some particular observation. Paragraph 9, which speaks of the pretence of those who deprecate meetings for reform, as tending to *embarrass* the ministers, forcibly brings to our recollection the conduct of BURDETT at the Middlesex Meeting. This famous old agitator, who made the chains of the Bastile rattle on the tops of five hundred coaches from London to Brentford, and back again, and of whom I remember that Mr. WINDHAM said, upon seeing fifty thousand of the people drag him in triumph along Pall-Mall, " One cannot help admiring the zeal and sincerity of those good fellows, though one knows, and (turning to me) you will live to see, that not one particle of that sincerity exists in the breast of the man on whom they are bestowing all this applause." How often have I thought of this within the last fourteen years ! And here let me stop to observe, that the ministers do not seem to be aware of one description of opponents which they will have to overcome on this subject of reform. I have said a hundred times over, and I here repeat, that I do not believe that real reform has a more bitter enemy than this very BURDETT, who has always been wanting a *want of reform*, and has always done everything in his power to keep himself supplied with the commodity. The different bands into which the House will be divided will present a curious spectacle. In the first place, there will be the pocket-borough people. These will indeed require to be "acted upon by

extraneous, urgent and paramount motives." It will require little short of a personage, now very famous about the country, whose mere name produced such wonderfully complaisant conduct in the rich ruffians at Preston. It will require little short of the interference of this "*extraneous*" personage to produce a relaxing in this set and in all those who are connected with them. Next will come a set or band not much less in danger, but to whom the ballot especially would be fatal. Then comes the band of BURNETT, not numerous but excessively bitter; with mouth full of reform. Oh, they love reform—passing the love of man for woman—but they will not have it of an "*un-English character*;" they will have "*purity of election*," or none: they will have "*men come boldly up to the poll*," while the steward's or the tax-gatherer's look sends a notice of ruin to their hearts. This band, some of whom will be for the ballot too, anticipate real reform with apprehensions natural to the frogs when the beams of heaven threaten to suck up the water from the pools. They are conscious of their utter inability, their complete destitution of the sort required, of their want of industry and of pluck into the bargain. As long as reform is refused, they have something to talk about; they have all the changes to ring over and over again; but, grant the reform, and they are like Locke's young man that was learning to dance, when the trunk was taken out of the room, in the presence of which he learned to cut his capers. Take away this subject of complaint from them, and their "*occupation is gone*;" farewell to Old Sarum, Gatton, and Callington; farewell, O Malmshury, to thy delightfully dilapidated abbey, and thy still more dilapidated consciences! Farewell, O Cornwall, and to all thy perjuries! While these remain, they can bellow like dragging Bobadil: "Twenty more! Kill 'em! Twenty more! Kill them; too!" But, take away this everlasting ground of their parrot-like eloquence, and they are like the same Bobadil, who, when the stick comes rattling

across his back, wonders what ails him, but he is sure that his disgrace is owing to the planets. The uneasiness of this band, if the ministers propose a reasonable extension of the suffrage, and of voting by ballot, will be highly amusing. They have sense enough to see, in spite of their monstrous presumption and vanity; or rather they have instinct enough to feel, that they have *nothing in them*. They well know that any-thing like an honest reform will make complaints and revilings give way very speedily to earnest and harmonious efforts to discover and adopt measures for the restoration of the country to happiness, tranquillity, and greatness. In discussions and deliberations relating to such measures, they can take no part, their knowledge extending not beyond the bow-windows of a shawl-shop, or something of a similar or inferior description. *The people*, who will of course esteem men according to their capacity of rendering them service, will turn with contempt from these kettle-drums; and, in a short time, the whole band will be swept into oblivion. The band know all this; and, therefore, their alarm and tribulation will be inexpressible; this will be one of the great advantages of parliamentary reform, that it will brush aside all *empty pretenders*. There are none of these in the Congress of America: the reason is, that the people are fairly dealt by; that they have no reason to choose a man merely because he has a rough tongue; for they have nobody that they want to have reviled. The questions, therefore, which they put, when a candidate is proposed to them, are: Is he a man of sense? Does he possess the necessary knowledge? Is he industrious? And, Will he attend to the performance of those things necessary to our interests? Such also are the questions that we shall put, to be sure, when this monstrous abuse shall be removed; and it is, as I said before, one of the great advantages of reform, that noise and nonsense will get brushed aside.

Now, however, with regard to paragraph 9, it is very true that the minister

himself has "called upon the nation to support him," and that Burdett's objection made at the Middlesex Meeting was a "sham objection." It is true also, that the nation ought to answer the call; but it is further true, that the nation is answering the call, and that, too, in the most proper and most resolute manner, but the call is answered upon the clearly understood ground that the suffrage is to be greatly extended; that the monstrous iniquity of rotten boroughs is to be completely broken up; and that the voting is to be by ballot. I appeal to every man of candour whether this be not the clearly understood condition upon which even the most staid part of the people are answering the call of Lord GREY. I do not, therefore, like paragraph 10 of this set of observations, for, though I know that narrow and minute reform must be "accepted," if it be carried through Parliament; and though I know that it would naturally "lead to more," yet I could not follow the advice of this writer, and welcome it as the harbinger of that more. It is a right that is demanded; or it is a gift that is prayed for. In either case, to dole out something far short of the expectations of the party demanding or praying, is equally unwise. If it be a right, then to withhold is a wrong; if it be a gift, then to give grudgingly, to give reluctantly, is really not to give at all. This is so manifest, it is a truth which all experience so firmly ratifies, that I deem it impossible that it should not be attended to by men who have their own all as well as the all of their master and their country at stake. Were there no other objection to the "narrow and minute" reform here hinted at, this one objection would be quite enough, that it would still keep the subject open; that it would still make it the complaint in every man's mouth; that it would still make the aristocracy and their encroachments the burden of every complaining pen and tongue; that it would still, in short, expose them to all the accusations to which they are now exposed. Oh! no: the true way is to do that that will satisfy all just and

reasonable men; and then we have peace; and then we may begin marching back, till we get into our old paths of plenty for those who labour, of respect and reverence for the laws, and of ungrudging obedience and honour to those who administer those laws.

And, surely, if ever there were a moment at which a restoration to these inestimable blessings were doubly desirable, this is that moment. It is impossible to look at the state of this kingdom, shaken to its very centre, in spite of all its immense resources; it is impossible to look at the state of France and of the far greater part of Europe; it is impossible to open one's eyes without imbibing the conviction, that some very great changes must take place in the mode of managing the resources and conducting the affairs of this most important country of all; and, O God! how often have I said, that these changes never can be made, in a peaceable manner, without councillors who have the people at their back! Have the people at their back this ministry cannot, without a reform of the Parliament which would be satisfactory to that people. In short, nobody can do the thing *but the people themselves*. Fully and fairly represented *they would do it*: they would carry the Minister though every measure necessary to the safety and honour of the country; but, *without that*, they will leave him to shift for himself. LORD GREY should have impressed fully upon his mind, that he can preserve his power by no means other than that of the support of the people. It is right indeed that it always ought to have been thus; but many centuries have passed since it was thus before. Out of the excess of evil comes good; and at last, the monstrous burdens that the people have had to bear have actually given them the mastery. Even their defeats and the punishments inflicted upon them have added to their power; for they have only produced a smothering of the struggle for a moment; and this, which is manifest to every one, the Minister himself cannot but perceive. Every-body felt that the Duke of Wellington could not have

remained in power after his declaration at the opening of the Parliament. The people, generally speaking, had no objection to him before this; till a very short time before the Parliament opened he certainly contemplated the making of a Parliamentary Reform; or, at least, he was balancing on the point. Two days before the Parliament opened, or about two days, the bloody old *Times* newspaper announced that he meant to make no reform. The speech was therefore waited for with angry anticipation; and when the speech came out accompanied with his declaration, the expressions of the people were such as I wish Lord Grey could have heard. The *ninth of November* only brought into the glare of open day, and proclaimed to all Europe, that which the people of England well knew before. After that he could not remain in power. No doubt he had the votes and might have kept them; but the "extraneous" storm, the peltings and hootings and revilings, were such that it was impossible for him to preserve his place without a destruction of respect for all rank and dignity; indeed, without exposing the King himself, so popular but a few weeks before, to something very nearly approaching to popular insult. Therefore, even those who approved of his conduct were compelled, even for their own sakes, to wish for his removal, which necessarily included the removal of all that had co-operated with him. Lord Grey's accession to power gave great and general satisfaction, because the people understood it to say this: The Duke is driven out for having declared against reform, and Lord Grey therefore comes in to make a reform. No minister could ever stand fairer than Lord Grey did until the announcement of an addition to the standing army was made, and until the special commissions began their works. These works, and especially those at Winchester, all particulars of which I refrain from detailing at present, produced a most disadvantageous effect with regard to the new ministry. As long as the hanging was confined to the crime of arson, the people pitied and mourned, considering the cruel lives which the

sufferers had led. They mourned however in silence. The considerate deeply regretted, while the selfish timid acquiesced in the necessity; but when the commissioners came to Hampshire, where no man was even *tried for arson*, and where a whole half dozen were left to be hanged under acts of parliament neither of which was more than about twenty years old, every mouth was opened with expressions of dismay and horror; and when the bloody *Times* newspaper communicated the intelligence of a hanging of COOPER and of COOK, never shall I forget the exclamations of the people.

In ordinary times, here would have been enough to shake a ministry to pieces; but the ministers have had the good sense to listen to the cries of the people as far as life is immediately at stake. Let us hope that the same feeling will further prompt them to spare the bleeding hearts of parents, wives, children, and brethren, by following the advice which I most respectfully tendered them in my last Register.

The feelings stirred up by these dreadful scenes, having now somewhat subsided, they are looking with more earnestness than ever for that great measure which they hope will prevent such scenes from ever again lacerating their hearts. That the sun gives light is not a truth more indubitable than that the want of a reform of the parliament, and that *that alone*, has been the cause of all these calamities: the one of these truths is just as clear as the other in the mind of every man in the kingdom. Therefore every additional calamity, every additional disgrace, adds to the conviction of the necessity for a parliamentary reform: any man that will make it may remain minister, and no man that will not make it can remain minister for any length of time. Lord Grey need not call upon the nation to support him; they are quite ready enough to support him; indeed he sees that they are all quite ready. It depends on himself, and on himself alone, whether he will continue to be minister, and save the country from convulsion, or whether he will not. "*Extraneous*"

support, indeed! The difficulty would be for him to find any half-dozen people, men or women, not ready to give him that support; unless it were those who live upon tithes and taxes. But, if he were to refuse to propose a reform of the parliament; or if he were to adopt that very "narrow and minute measure" which this writer hints at, he would be precisely in the situation that the Duke was in on the ninth of November; for the people are far more alive to the subject now than they were then. The augmentation of the army and the special commissions have certainly given a shake to their confidence; and they are looking forward to the 3rd of February with earnestness and anxiety perfectly indescribable. To me it is the most wonderful thing in the world, that the aristocracy, above all men living, should not see that their own security, and their only security now rests upon their *taking the people by the hand*. Never was there a body of persons of equal number, who had so much at stake as the nobility of this kingdom now have; nobody grudges them their titles, at least nobody but empty-skulled fools, who are not as a thimble-full of water compared with the Thames, when viewed in conjunction with the nation. Nobody grudges them their immense estates; nobody grudges them the respect and deference due to their rank: it is in the very nature of the people, and of all people of all countries, to pay respect to antiquity of family, whether accompanied with intrinsic merit or not; and yet, while they have this natural respect, this cheerful obedience, this ungrudged reverence, tendered them; while they have here more real power and domination voluntarily offered them than ought to be enough to satisfy the most haughty and overbearing of mortals, they cast all this aside as nothing worth, and hold, with the grasp of grim death, that ill-gotten power which they cannot keep without a new code of laws, the most harsh and sanguinary that the world ever beheld. In speaking as I have done above of the feelings and disposition of the people of England, I know that I speak the truth: I know that

even yet the aristocracy may take them by the hand, and that all this terrible turmoil may be made to end in peace. But, if they be still so blind and so obstinate as to refuse to do this, *the Minister may do it at any rate*; and it is his duty to do it; because the safety of the people depends upon his so doing. Let him try them however: let him say, *If you turn me out, you turn me out hand in hand with the people*. His power would be as durable as his life or his health, if he chose it to be so, and his name would live in the grateful recollection of the children of the children who have yet to be born. No man ever stood in such an important situation as Lord Grey stands at this very moment. A week or two will probably decide whether he be to be huddled away into everlasting obscurity along with the Addingtons, the Percivals, the Jenkinsons, and the Wellingtons, or whether he be to be revered in life and remembered after death as the restorer of the freedom, the happiness, and the honour of England. *The nation will not sink*: let him remember that. Confusion and anarchy would lacerate it; would make it tear itself about for a while; but out of that confusion it would rise, having broken all its shackles, and cast all its leibts to the winds, greater, higher in spirit, more prosperous, and more powerful than ever. Here are all the elements of greatness. God has done every-thing for us, and our forefathers have handed down God's gifts unimpaired: our own industry and energy are too great to suffer us to become a little nation; but the desirable thing is, and the thing for which I have pleaded, ever since I had the power of pleading for any-thing, is, that the restoration should be accomplished in a peaceable manner; that we should regain all that our forefathers bequeathed us, and that, too, without the spilling of one drop of English blood. That this may be done, if Lord Grey will say the word, I am certain; and that he will say that word, is my most anxious wish. Before I shall be able to put pen to paper again, the question will probably have been

decided; but, come what will, I shall be satisfied of having done my duty.

WM. COBBETT.

P. S. It was my intention to insert here the speech of Sir THOMAS BEEVOR's and those of the other speakers at the Norwich Meeting; but I have not room. Some of these speeches would make the ears of the boroughmongers tremble. I cannot refrain, however, from inserting that of Sir THOMAS BEEVOR.

SIR THOMAS BEEVOR then came forward, and said—In rising to propose to you a series of resolutions, I cannot help recurring to the progress which Reform has made in men's minds within a short period. Not many years ago those who advocated Reform were a few despised calumniated individuals, and only 12 years has passed since the thousands who met to petition for Reform at Manchester were attacked by the yeomanry, cut down and trampled upon, and for this act of tyranny and oppression the thanks of the country were voted to the magistracy, upon the motion of your noble fellow citizen, Lord Sidmouth. (Laughter and hooting.) Now how different is the case—the schoolmaster is abroad, men better know their rights, and even our wise rulers feel that men have rights as well as duties; but the present time is more peculiarly adapted for the discussion of the question, because the noble Lord at the head of the Government, and those united with him in the Administration, are not only favourable to Reform, but stand pledged, and indeed have come into power, for the express purpose of carrying it into effect. This however is no reason why we should relax our efforts; let us remember that in the present Administration there are some of the friends of Mr. Canning, the implacable enemy of Reform. Another party who came into office about three years ago, and gave the question the go-by on the pretext that the people were indifferent to it. Let it be recollected by every man that when the Duke of Wellington brought in his great measure of Emancipation, it was suffered to pass, clogged with a clause by which 300,000 Irishmen were disfranchised. With respect to the present distracted state of the country, it was to have been hoped from the present Ministry that something might have been done. Something has been done—an increase of the army has been ordered, and several Commissioners have been sent round the country to expound the law to deluded men, that is, to hang, transport, and imprison the suffering population by wholesale. It is necessary to show Ministers that we shall not be content with the shadow of Reform. It is not disfranchisement but extension we want; it is an alteration of the system which will go largely to increase the elective franchise. If that

be done, whatever my own private opinions may be upon the question of universal suffrage, I shall not quarrel with the measure, though it goes not the length I wish it to go. Good policy demands unity of sentiment, if we wish to obtain any part of what we agree as necessary; at the same time honesty demands that we should avow our opinions, and though some men will not go the length I go, yet I can act with those whose views upon the question are not so extended as my own. I will endeavour to state to you my feeling on the subject, and I pledge myself never to let the question rest till the whole is obtained. It is not necessary that I should enter at great length into the general question, but in stating my views, I will lay before you some arguments which, to my mind, have appeared conclusive. First, I am an advocate for universal suffrage, without any qualification, mental reservation, or restriction whatsoever. If an extension of suffrages be granted, there is no point at which it can stop. The argument which applies to some applies with equal force to all. Some say, Let property be the qualification; (cries of "no,") but what man is there who is possessed of no property? Numbers of you possess no property but the labour of your right hands, but you may be called on to serve in the militia; your life and service may be devoted to your country; on an invasion you may be called on to sacrifice all your property, while the wealthy man can for a few pounds purchase a substitute. Others say that the qualification should be to those who pay direct taxation; but why should it be in favour of direct taxation? The amount of the former is about one-eighth, of the latter seven eighths. Why should the one eighth be represented, and the seven eighths not? Others say, Intelligence should be the qualification. It would be a somewhat difficult matter to decide what amount of intelligence should be necessary, certainly, if no more intelligence was required to become an elector than is necessary to become an hereditary legislator, the suffrages would not be very limited. With respect to the duration of Parliaments, I consider it a matter of very secondary interest; it would be better that they should be annual, or rather sessional, than triennial; it would be much more reasonable that when the Parliament has met together to transact the business of the country, that they should go through that business and dissolve as a matter of course, till a similar body should be required for the administration of affairs. The arguments which are urged in favour of triennial parliaments apply equally to parliaments of seven or of seventy times seven years. I am not at all disposed on the present occasion to quibble or to split upon details: I make only one exception in favour of the ballot. (Loud cheers.) One of the arguments used by writers was that the mass of the people were supposed to use their suffrages independently: if they cannot show any better arguments

against the adoption than this, their assertions must fall to the ground. Another objection to the ballot is, that it would make the people too independent—that the servant would vote against the master, and tenant against the landlord, and so on. This was only a proof that independence among the body of the people did not exist. I have now laid before you my scheme of Reform: never will I cease to advocate it till it is gained. The resolutions I have to read, though they do not meet my views exactly in words, yet they do in principle. But on the first and last points I feel it right to say they go to the full extent of my opinions both in words and principle. (Loud cheers.) Sir Thomas then read the resolutions.

TO THE
LABOURERS OF ENGLAND,
ON THEIR DUTIES AND THEIR RIGHTS.

Kensington, 24th January, 1831

DEAR FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN,

YOU have always been dear to me, whose greatest pride it is that I was born and bred amongst you; who has, in his travels about the world, never seen any people so industrious, so sincere, so virtuous, parents so tender, children so affectionate, servants so willingly obedient, friends so steady and so true. Your character and your conduct have always made you dear to me; no time, no distance, has weakened my regard for, or my anxiety for, your welfare; from across the seas I addressed you; through the walls of a prison you heard my voice; my heart has always been gladdened by your happiness, and saddened by your calamities; but, if you have always been dear to me, you are *doubly dear to me now*, when your afflictions are so great and so various, and when I am cheered with the hope of seeing you once more the happy people that our grandfathers and grandmothers were.

In this important crisis, *pray hear me patiently*, while I speak to you of your *duties* as well as of your *rights*: for, in demanding the latter, you ought not to forget the former; duties and rights go together; and he who refuses to perform the first, tacitly abandons his right to the last. Good food, raiment, and all the necessaries of life, the labourer has

a right to; but that right is founded on his performing *the duty* of labouring; or on his being *willing to perform it*. It is of great importance that you understand this matter *clearly*; and I will now endeavour to enable you to do it.

There was a time when, in every country in the world, there were no laws, and no such thing as property. The people used the earth and all its produce as they pleased; and that is to say, each man took whatever he wanted, if his strength or cunning would allow him to do it. No one acknowledged the superiority of any other: might gave right: strength and wisdom were superior to weakness and folly: and there was no other superiority or inferiority acknowledged amongst men. This was called living under the law of nature. When God put it into the hearts of men to change this state of things, and to make rules and laws for the observance of the whole, they agreed that the whole of the community or body of people should enforce these laws, against any one or more that broke them. The great law of all was this; that, in future, every man should keep to himself; should call *his own*: should be able to apply to his own use solely; that which he had got by his labour. For instance, John Stiles, who living under the law of nature, might take a piece of land, and cultivate it, and have a crop of wheat growing on it; but, when fit for the sickle Tom Nokes, a great deal stronger man than Stiles, might come and cut the wheat and carry it away and let Stiles have none of it. It is not likely that men would be so villainously unjust as this, or that the rest of the people would be so base as to stand by and to see Stiles thus bereft of his wheat, and have nothing left to exist upon, perhaps, but a few wheel-barrow's full of damned potatoes; this is not likely; but it might happen, and sometimes did happen, perhaps, and therefore all the people agreed to enter into a society, to make rules that should give Stiles an exclusive right to his crop, and that should punish such a fellow as Nokes as a robber, if he came to take the crop away.

Here, my friends, you see the origin of *property*, which word means a thing which belongs to a person's self, and a thing that nobody else has any right to. But, observe, Stiles had no property in the crop till he created it by his *labour*; and that, therefore, labour, and labour only, is the sole foundation of any property whatsoever. Man's first duty, then, is to labour in some way or other in order to raise his means of living. If his father, for instance, have laboured before him, and has given or left him the fruit of his labour, he has as good a right to that as if it were the fruit of his own labour; a man's next duty is, to refrain from taking by force or by fraud the property of another man; for, to protect men in the enjoyment of their property was the great end in forming civil society. Perhaps it would not be difficult to prove, that men who are compelled to work for their bread, are, provided they earn a sufficiency of food and of raiment and other necessities of life, as happy and even happier than those who are not compelled to work for their bread; but at any rate such is the nature of things, such is the order of the world, that there always have been and always must be some very rich and some very poor, and great multitudes not rich; but in a just state of things, there never will be great multitudes steeped in poverty. The order of the world demands that some shall think, while others work; that some shall make and execute the laws to which all are to yield obedience. Poverty, therefore, even in its extreme state, gives no man a right to view his rich neighbour with an evil eye, much less to do him mischief on account of his riches. If the laws be impartial in themselves, and be executed with impartiality, every man's conscience will tell him, that it is his bounden duty to yield them a cheerful obedience, and further, to yield respect and honour to those who are charged with the execution of the laws.

Such are the great duties of all men in civil society; and God forbid that these principles should ever be rooted

out of the hearts of the very best and most virtuous of all mankind, the agricultural labourers of this land, so favoured by God Almighty, and for so many ages the freest and happiest country in the world! But, my friends, men did not enter into civil society for the purpose of bringing upon themselves *duties only*: they had another object; namely, that of creating and enjoying *rights*. Just, indeed, as we have seen in the case of John Stiles, who had his crop of wheat taken away by the stronger man, Nokes, who left him nothing but a few wheel-barrow full of accursed potatoes, and all their natural consequences, poverty of blood, leprosy, scrofula, pottle-belly, and swelled heels! Now, whenever civil society produces such a state of things, when a laborious man like John Stiles is treated in the same way that Nokes treated him, that civil society has not answered its purpose. Labour, as we have seen, was the foundation of all property, and must always be the foundation of property. The labourer, therefore, has a property in his labour; and, as St. James says in his Epistle, and as Moses and Jesus Christ himself say, to rob the labourer of his hire, that is to say, to take from him or to withhold from him the due reward of his labour, is the greatest crime that man can commit against God.

The *rights* of the labourer are, first, to have food, raiment, fuel lodging, medical and spiritual comfort, in return for his labour, and all these, too, in quantity and quality sufficient for the preservation of his life, health, and vigour. Next, if he be unable to work, unable to earn a sufficiency for his family, or unable to obtain work so as to obtain that sufficiency; in either of these cases, he and his family have a right to have a sufficiency supplied out of the superfluities of those to whom the law of civil society has secured more than they want. This claim of the poor man is, as Judge Blackstone states, founded in the very first principle of civil society; for it cannot be believed that men can have assented to enter civil society for

any purpose other than that of the benefit of the whole; it cannot be believed that a million of men, for instance, entered into civil society in order that a couple of thousand should have all the meat and all the bread and all the good clothing, and that all the rest should live upon potatoes and go covered with miserable rags. No man upon earth, unless he be one who lives upon the labour of others, will pretend to believe that men entered into civil society, in order that those who did no work; that led idle lives, that created nothing, should have bread and flour and beer and clothing and all sorts of good things, a hundred times more than they wanted; while those that laboured and made all these things, were compelled to live upon a miserable watery root, or die with starvation.

Such are the *duties* and such the *rights* of labouring men. Our forefathers, who well understood those duties and those rights, cheerfully performed the one and amply enjoyed the other. They had an abundance of meat, of bread, and of all the fruits of the earth; they were clothed throughout in good woollen and linen; they had great store of household goods and of every thing to make life easy and pleasant; and when old age or widowhood, or the orphan state, or accident, or any circumstance producing indigence, befel them, the priest of the parish maintained them out of the tithes, administering to their wants as the law enjoined, "with his own hands in charity, humility, and mercy." And this, observe, was a RIGHT which they enjoyed, and that, too, a right as perfect as that of any man to his house or his land. When our country was bereft, by means which I have not now the room to describe, of that species of protection for the poor, the poor-law was passed to supply the place of that protection; to parochial relief, therefore, the aged, the widow, the orphan, the infirm, amongst the labouring people, have just the same right as their forefathers had to that which was administered to them in so just and kind and Christian-like a manner.

That the ministers and the Parlia-

ment may be pleased to listen to the advice which I have so respectfully tendered to them in the forgoing letter; that you may live as happy lives as our forefathers lived, and that we may all see harmony once more restored in England, is the sincere prayer of

Your faithful Friend,

WM. LOBBETT.

TO
THE LABOURING PEOPLE
OF BOTLEY.

Kennington, 21th January, 1831.

IN No. IV. of this work, I addressed you on the subject of FLEMING'S (Willis) speech, made against me, at a dinner at Botley, where one of the keen WARNERS was in the chair at one end of the table. They EXULTED at the circumstances that drove me from Botley. In a few weeks afterwards we read of an attack on the homestead of Willis (Fleming); and now, in the weekly paper ("THE BALLOR") of yesterday, we read the following:—"A most alarming fire broke out last night at the seat of J. Fleming, Esq. (one of the members for this county), at Stoneham Park, four miles from this place, which threatened destruction to the mansion, but by the wind changing, this disastrous fire was confined to the two wings which were completely gutted. No lives were lost, and the property, we believe, was insured. It has been ascertained beyond doubt, that the fire originated in the apartments appropriated to the servants, therefore it is not to be considered as the work of an incendiary, but the pure result of accident." What! the two wings take fire by accident at one and the same time! This paragraph is, apparently, taken from the paper of the very villain, at Southampton, who published the attack on me by WILLIS and the GRASPALLS and their crew. They have, seemingly, something else to do now than to utter slanders on me. It will be curious to hear what they will have to say, when Fleming gives the GRASPALLS the next guttle

and guzzle. In the meanwhile I have the pleasure to tell you, that I sleep as soundly as you do.

WM. COBBETT.

FALL
OF
SIGNOR WAITHMAN.

THE efforts of this noisy "City Cock" to get into a fat birth for life, that of CITY CHAMBERLAIN, have been defeated in a most signal manner, the poll being 3405 for Sir James Shaw, and 1966 for him, when, on Wednesday night, he gave up the contest. I am aware of the natural dislike of my readers to have their valuable time wasted on remarks on the conduct of such a man; but, there are circumstances, connected with this election, which will, I hope, be my apology for the remarks that I am about to offer. On the 26th instant, I sent the following letter to the Editor of the *Morning Chronicle*.

To the Editor of the Morning Chronicle.

Kensington, 26th January, 1831.

SIR,—I went, on Friday last, with the intention of being the very first Liveryman of London to vote for Sir James Shaw in preference to Mr. Alderman Waithman. I was prevented from so doing by the speech of the Alderman, which, in point of length, exceeded that of the time that I had to spare. To-day I have voted in accordance with my first intention; and, if you will be so kind as to give me the room, I will state to you, and through you to my brother Liverymen, *my reasons* for giving this vote, which reasons are as follows:

I have known Sir James Shaw rather more than *thirty years*; and I never have known a man of more uprightness and more benevolence, completely severed from all ostentation. I have known several of his acts, either of which add lustre to the brightest cha-

I have never been what can be called *intimate* with him; our acquaintanceship arose from his visiting an American gentleman, a common friend,

at my house, in the year 1800; we soon became opposed to each other in politics; but, though we had not spoken to each other for some years, he came to see me when I was in prison, and, upon leaving that prison, I found that though Messrs. Alderman Wood and GOODBENNER had greatly interested themselves for me, it was to him that I owed a great part of the indulgent treatment that I experienced, to which there belonged this additional merit, that he does not, *even to this hour*, know that I ever was apprised of his benevolent interference.

Still, Sir, notwithstanding these considerations, which by most men will be considered sufficient to determine my choice, in a case where the office to be obtained has no apparent connexion with political principles or consequences, if I had seen in his opponent a man *unexceptionable in other respects*, and of *my own political principles*, I should have deemed it my duty to vote for that opponent; because the happiness and honour of our country ought, in my opinion, to be preferred before every good of a nature more confined.

But, Sir, do I see in Mr. Waithman a man of my political principles? The great principle is, and has been, in this country, for years, *the absolute necessity of a radical reform of the Parliament*. To that principle Mr. Waithman is a *greater enemy* than Sir James Shaw, in just that degree that *open* is less injurious than *disguised* enmity. When Mr. Waithman was Sheriff, he refused to call a meeting for reform in the county of Middlesex, though the requisition, most numerous and respectably signed, was carried him by Major Cartwright. In the perilous year 1817, when thousands of petitions were presented for reform, he got up a meeting at the Freemasons' Tavern, to pray for a reform *more moderate* than the petitions prayed for; and his language upon that occasion was such as to encourage the Sidmouths and Castlereaghs to pass the horrible laws by which they crushed the press and crammed the dungeons. If he, or his sons, had not placed under the Whigs, in 1806, it was not for want of asking

for. And have we forgotten his "retiring from public life," with all the lugubrious solemnity with which a Nun takes the veil, carrying with him, however, into his retirement, a service of plate, instead of a crucifix? Have we forgotten this, and his throwing off the veil (perhaps it was a shawl), and coming out again with more front than ever, as soon as he had compounded for his sins? And have we forgotten his refusal to listen to the Butchers in the case of the grand contemplated job for slaughtering cattle by strain; and have we so soon forgotten the figure his name makes in the Appendix to the Parliamentary Report on that curious matter? And can we have forgotten his conduct with respect to the City Meeting for the purpose of applauding the French for their last glorious achievement? And, looking at these things, or at any one of a score others that I might mention, are men to be accused of "political apostacy," because they prefer the consistent, the sincere, the modest, the upright, the benevolent, though politically erroneous, Sir James Shaw to a man like this?

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient

And most humble servant,

WM. COBBETT.

The letter arrived too late, I suppose, for insertion in the *Chronicle* of the 27th. At the close of the poll, on Wednesday, just after I came away, the speech-making began, and WAITMAN again accused his opponents, and me amongst the rest, of *political apostacy*, and even of "*rank conspiracy*." One of his partizans, a Mr. DILTON, who, it seems, came from a *Committee in Westminster*, produced a letter from *Burdett* to the chairman of this committee, in the following words:

"Brighton, Jan. 25, 1831.

"DEAR SIR,—I am sorry I was not earlier aware that I had any power of serving Mr Waitman in his election for the Chamberlainship of the city of London, or of marking, with propriety, my sense of the invariable conduct of Mr. Alderman Shaw, as a public man, and particularly of his conduct as Sheriff towards the electors of Middlesex, during the great contest with Mr. Maiawaring, the pre-

siding Magistrate, and Aris, the gaoler of the Coldbath-fields prison; and which, finally and fortunately, established the independence of the great metropolitan county. Upon that occasion Mr. Alderman Waitman's exertions were not wanting on one side, any more than Mr. Alderman Shaw's on the other. Both laboured, as they always have laboured, in their vocation, and both are larly and equally entitled to the support of all those who maintain the same principles with themselves; but that Mr. Hume should withhold his support from Mr. Waitman, and give it to Mr. Alderman Shaw, is news indeed—it both grieves and surprises me. He cannot surely know the history of the times in which we lived previous to his entrance upon his public career, or have a notion of the dangers and difficulties and disadvantages Mr. Waitman exposed himself to, in maintaining a cause few men ventured to own, though now become fashionable; nor, on the other hand, of the obvious line of safe and selfish policy his antagonist, with all the self-seekers of the day, then followed. Venly, he hath had his reward; and if it depended on the electors of Middlesex, I am satisfied Mr. Waitman would now, though late, reap his: I sincerely hope he may, not so much on his own account—although I am anxious on that also, for I think he deserves it—as on account of the public, to which nothing is more prejudicial than the constant example of unrequited efforts in its behalf, accompanied with surtifying neglect. I am glad to hear that Mr. Lubbock *pro duis at the meeting to-day*, it must be pleasing to the electors of Westminster, so many of them being electors of Middlesex. Had I known in time, and that I could have been of any use, I would, notwithstanding my old enemy the gout has hold of me by the heel, have put myself into a coach and come up. It is troublesome to write, so I must end; have the goodness to give this letter to Mr. Waitman's Chairman, with 50l. contribution towards his expenses.

"I remain, dear Sir,

"Yours very sincerely,

"F. BURDEIN."

The reader will laugh at these sly hints about *Middlesex*, particularly at the idea of a poor good-for-nothing thing like this, thinking that he could set people against Mr. Hume, who, be it remembered, did NOT "*stick his knees in Canning's back*!" This is a pretty fellow to talk about *consistency*, and to rip up the anti-reforming principles of Sir James Shaw! This is a pretty fellow to "*grieve*" at Mr. Hume's supporting for a civil office, a man who, 25 years ago, opposed him in politics! and *Honour*, too! fed with *pay purchased with public money*, and married to a wife who had, all her

life, been *tax-fed*! This is another honourable proof of the goodness of Waithman's pretensions. But, do we not judge of this man's cause at once, when we see amongst his supporters BORDERT and HONOURSE, who were, only a few months ago, actually *pelled off the hustings at Covent Garden* by the people, of whom they have the brass still to call themselves the representatives? But (I had like to have forgotten him) WAITHMAN had another supporter, Mr. WOOLER, who speechified and accused me of having *deserted the country in 1817*, when I went to America! This miserable declaimer, whose writings could not live a day in any-thing higher than a *Two-penny scale*! This battered sot, whose brains, when not animated by gin, are as vapid as the contents of a mug filled from the tap-tub; this scribe, who was silenced at once by an act that put his productions at a price but one degree higher than waste paper! This is a pretty specimen of the supporters of Waithman; a fine and triumphant contrast with the "*Slades and the Rouths*," who were "*apostates*" and "*conspirators*" because they differed in opinion from a man like this!

Waithman makes it a *crime* in the "*Slades and the Rouths*," that they proposed to raise a sum of money "to put *Mr. Cobbett in Parliament*." Why, they *did subscribe*; and, the only difference between them and his worthy friend, Burdett, in this respect is, they *did it without promising to do it*; and that he "*most solemnly promised to do it, and did not do it!*" This is the difference between WAITHMAN'S supporter and those who "*conspired*" against him. His friend, Mr. DILLON, when he was pointing to the *statue of Pitt*, as that of the man who had done so much mischief to the country, was not aware, perhaps, that Waithman himself *voted for the putting up of that very statue*, or, at least, did not oppose it; and that his apology for so doing was, that his friend CUNTRY, who was to make the statue, who was to have our money for doing the job, was "*a true friend of liberty!*"

The hand-bill, circulated in 1817, entitled "*SIGNOR WAITHMAN*," representing him as a *POLITICAL QUACK*, was written by Major Cartwright, and I have it now, *in the Major's own handwriting*! The Major read it to Burdett and me, at the house of the former, in James Street. The Major had no thought of having it printed; but Burdett insisted that it was too good a thing to be kept out of print. So that Waithman did not know that it was to this *consistent and serious friend of his*, that he owed the roar of laughter raised against him by that humorous squib. But, "*conspiracy!*" What share have I, at any rate, had in such conspiracy; I, who have been speaking contemptuously of him for *fourteen years* at the least. And as to the other conspirators, to not one man of them did I ever speak on the subject, in my life. Nay, until *about a month ago*, I have not, I am pretty certain, spoken to Sir James Shaw for these ten years last past. Then, he being walking up Fleet Street, and I being in my chaise, going home, I got as near to him as I could, and, as soon as I caught his eye, said: "*Ah! we Jacobins shall beat you now!*" And, laughing, shook his umbrella at me, and said something that I could not hear for the noise of the wheels. In short, my vote was given, when I knew that it was *not wanted*, merely as a mark of my great respect for his excellent private character, and as a mark of my detestation of the public character of his opponent.

As if we still wanted some additional proof of the silliness, the low-mindedness, the want of decent pride, the want of common spirit in this blustering and brazen bawler. I hate to fill up my paper with this rubbish; but as it is likely to be amongst the last that is to come from him, let us have it.

Mr. Alderman WAITHMAN again came forward. He hoped they would do him the justice to believe that he would not shrink back from any contest of that sort so long as there was the slightest chance that its continuance would be attended with the slightest benefit to the public. Notwithstanding the dangerous illness of his son, and notwithstanding the *shameful desertion of his political friends*, he

had still borne up, determined to give the Livery an opportunity of recording their votes. Could he do more—could they require more at his hands? He felt perfectly satisfied, that if the Livery, at the commencement of the Election, had been made sensible of the *deep conspiracy* which was formed to def^{eat} his just claims—how^{ever} he felt that he was his duty, and that the time had now arrived when he ought to follow the advice of those friends who recommended him no longer to continue so exhausting a contest. (Applause.) He then proceeded to defend the attacks he had made upon the characters of his opponents, saying that they were public men, open to animadversion, and men whose conduct would hereafter be marked with the detestation and the abhorrence which it deserved. He next adverted to his conduct respecting the late Queen, and the sacrifices to which that led. His enemies might rejoice that his pocket had been picked of the expenses of the present contest; but he should still persevere in the same steady and undeviating course. If he could not afford to keep a two-pair front room, he would keep a two-pair back room, and go on still, and, like Andrew Marvel, dine off his bone of cold mutton: his health might fail, and so might his talent; but he would support the great cause with his dying breath. He felt bound to do the Bank of England the justice of saying, that he met with no opposition from that quarter; but he had been defeated, and the corrupt influence excited against him only the more convinced him of the necessity of the Ballot. (Great applause.) He feared that the Government was not about to proceed in a right course—he feared that they would at last sting the people into violent courses. He believed that with such a government the people could not long be prevented from taking affairs into their own hands. He might be asked why he had not sooner exposed the hollowiness of the men with whom he dealt? He confessed, he was, like Fulstaff, ashamed of his recruits, and he did not like to expose them; but they had now exposed themselves. He thanked his many friends for their kindness, saying that the poll-books would of necessity be opened on the following morning, but neither he, nor any of his Committee would attend.

"Andrew Marvel" indeed! Did Andrew Marvel ever beg for a place? As to his "sacrifices for the Queen," I could, if I would, tell a story that would make the town laugh for a month! His "pocket picked!" The low, the vulgar man, does he accuse the Livery of picking his pocket, merely because they would not vote for him! They seem, at any rate, to have been resolved, not to lend him into a temptation of the sort. What was his conduct as Alderman of our

Ward, at the St. Thomas's Day before the last? Did any man ever witness partiality so gross and so foul? Did he not then defend every abuse, every waste of the city's money; nay, did he not tell the Livery to take care how they countenanced such rummaging into their accounts, lest they should be deprived of their funds altogether! Here, too, as in all other respects, the two candidates present a most striking contrast. At that very election Mr. Soazza, though opposed in politics to Sir James Shaw, applauded his impartiality, and either proposed or seconded a vote of thanks to him on that score. In short, whatever Liveryman reflected, in this case, had no choice: the one candidate was so fit, and the other so unfit, that, to the man who thought, there was no room for choice. Each candidate has got his just allotment: the one, the means of extending the sphere of his benevolence; and the other, a pretty good punishment for his conceit, his insolence, and his greediness.

WM. COBBETT.

TO THE
MARQUIS OF BLANDFORD.

Bolt-Court, Jan. 27th, 1831.

MY LORD,

I HAVE been informed, that a few weeks ago, your Lordship, by letter, told a Clergy man of the Church of England, that the *guilt of setting some of the fires had been brought home to me*, and that, in consequence, I had absconded. The object of this present letter is, to request your Lordship to have the goodness to inform me whether you ever did communicate, in the manner above-mentioned, such information; and to apprise you, at the same time, that this letter will be published in the next Register, and also any answer that your Lordship may be pleased to give thereto.

I am, your Lordship's most humble
and most obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.

No 8 of TWO-PENNY TRASH will be published on the 1st of February.—A gentleman has written to me for leave to translate No. 7 INTO WELSH, to which I have assented.

I shall make a *grand show-up* of "Spiritual Persons" next week. They have outwitted themselves this time! The whole country rings with *Cobbett's Sermons!* *Cobbett's Protestant Reformation!* But, what more is wanted than "TWO-PENNY TRASH, No. 7?"

This little work is 11s. a hundred, if more than 300 copies are taken. "*Cheap Government*" this, at any rate.

To the Editor of THE REGISTER.

January 27, 1831.

SIR,—I shall feel greatly obliged by your telling me, through the medium of your paper, how it is that, although meetings are taking place all over the Kingdom, on the subject of Reform, and the necessity of the *Ballot*, almost unanimously acknowledged, there has been no meeting for Reform in South-wark. Surely it is not because Sir Robert Wilson waxed wroth on the subject of the *Ballot*, in the House of Commons, some time since.

And perhaps you can explain how it is that there has been no meeting of the City of Westminster. It cannot be from the fear of cabbage-stalks and turnips; because if that were the case it could be held in Palace-yard, or some other place remote from the danger arising from a shower of these obnoxious missiles.

We are, doubtless, likely to have a grand meeting of the Corporation of the City of London on the subject very shortly, and seeing that our great Champion of Reform was, on the very anniversary of the conversion of Saint Paul, converted to the *Ballot*, I have no doubt but even that will be agreed to unanimously.

I am, Sir,
Your constant reader,
S.

Bridge-street, Blackfriars.

IRELAND.

THE run upon the Banks, though not to any extent worth speaking of, has commenced even in Dublin, and every-where directions have been issued by the Bank of Ireland to limit the discounts, and to suspend as much as possible the issue of paper, and this at the approach of a famine in the West of Ireland, and a frightful scarcity in every other part of the kingdom. But it is all for a repent of the Union—all the consequent suffering must be incurred for the good cause, and to please the great agitator! Fools! you are preparing a whip of scorpions for yourselves!

You will not injure the Banks—that we know is not in your power; but you are preparing insolvency for yourselves!

ALARM IN THE MONEY-MARKET.—Since the preceding lines were written, we have received several communications from the country and from our mercantile friends in town, which tell us, we confess, with deep alarm. Mr. O'Connell may be much nearer in bringing confusion on the country than ever, in his most sanguine moments, he could have imagined. Circulars, we know, have been sent by one great house, and perhaps by others, in the corn-trade, to their factors and correspondents in the country, intimating that for the present they must suspend all business—that they will not accept any bills—in consequence of the panic created by Mr. O'Connell. The Bank in Dublin, including the Bank of Ireland, have declined the most solvent bills—and there is a great gloom this day spread over the city. "The arrests," says *The Morning Register*, "for the conspiracy to evade or defeat the Lord Lieutenant's Proclamation, caused Bank Stock to fall 3 per cent. yesterday. So much for the wisdom of the arrests!"

We are surprised that *The Register*, which, at least, knows something of the operations of trade, and the delicacy of public credit, and the causes which have produced the present alarm, should have let out such a paragraph as this. Every-thing has fallen, as well as Bank Stock, in consequence of the apprehended scarcity of money from Mr. O'Connell's threat.

The Banks have almost declined discounting. Government stock has fallen less in proportion than other securities, because the *English* market is open; but the merchant who is forced to sell his *Bank* Stock, which cannot be sent to England, was obliged to submit to a reduction of three per cent.; for the same reason, Government *Debentures* have fallen much more than *Stock*. The best informed persons consider, that but for the London market being open, Government Securities would be from five to ten per cent. lower than in England.

ARREST OF THOMAS CLONEY, ESQ., OF GRAIGUE, COUNTY KILKENNY.—Friday morning, about nine o'clock, two officers from the Head Police-office applied at Mr. Cloney's

hotel, and inquired for him; receiving for answer that he had not as yet left his chamber, owing to his being somewhat indisposed, they politely desired that he should not be disturbed until his usual hour of rising, and said they would wait on him about twelve o'clock, by which hour a number of gentlemen, having heard of the circumstance, called on Mr. Cloney, and tendered their services on the occasion. They all proceeded to the Head Police-office, accompanied by the two officers, where Mr. Edward Murphy, the eldest son of the late Bryan Murphy, Esq., of Kennedy's-lane, in conjunction with Mr. Andrew Tierney of the house of Tierney, Brothers, and Co., druggists, Skinner-row, entered into the requisite securities for Mr. Cloney's due appearance in the Court of King's Bench on the first day of Term.—*Dublin Morning Register.*

The following Order was posted last night (Friday) on the board in the Chamber of Commerce:—

“ TO THE COUNCIL OF THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

“ We, the undersigned, members of the Chamber of Commerce, request that you will convene a general Meeting of the Members of the Body as early as possible, for the purpose of considering the propriety of presenting an Address to the Marquess of Anglesey, expressive of their confidence in his Administration, and his exertions to preserve public peace, and to promote the commercial and general prosperity of Ireland.

“ The foregoing requisition, signed by one hundred and ninety-six highly respectable members of the Chamber, having been laid before the Council, and considered, it was

“ Resolved.—That the Requisitionists be respectfully informed that although the Council cordially approve of the object of the above Requisition, they regret that, in consequence of the existing state of public excitement, they deem it inexpedient to call any special general assembly of the Chamber.

“ By order,

“ THOMAS JAMESON, Register.”

Mr. COSTELLOE.—Yesterday two warrants for the apprehension of Mr. Costelloe arrived in town, one directly from Dublin, and the other by the way of Dunganon; but he had gone off in the morning coach before their arrival.—We expected something of this kind.—*Belfast News Letter.*

ORANGEMEN.—We understand that this body has lately been greatly augmented in the north, and a new lodge of highly respectable members is about to be formed in Belfast; and this is the consequence of Mr. O'Connell's agitation—many public-spirited persons, who, in ordinary cases, would condemn such associations, being now of opinion that they are at this time called on to counteract the agitator's insidious efforts to produce revolution in this country.—*Belfast Chronicle.*

DUBLIN, Jan. 20.—In our little Stock-market, which may be regarded as a representation of our limited capital, there is now a sort

of panic. Consols and other Government Securities are regulated by the prices at the London Stock Exchange; but Bank Stock is a local security, and capable of being peculiarly influenced by domestic alarms. The run upon the Bank for gold, which has been made to a considerable extent, produced a fall in Bank Stock yesterday of nearly three per cent.; and up to the moment at which I write the decline continues, but it will not last long. The Bank, with some inconvenience, perhaps, will meet any demand that can be made upon it, and the agitation in our stock Market, which compared with the occasional convulsions in your's, may be likened to a storm in a tea-pot, will very speedily subside. About a sixth part of the holders of Bank Stock are Englishmen.

Meetings of the peasantry in the North, respecting tithes and rents, continue. All accounts agree in representing the distress amongst the poor as most appalling; and in anticipating a famine in the approaching summer, potatoes are already becoming very scarce, and oatmeal has reached a very high price. I allude particularly to the North and West—but in the South, although the potatoe crop has been deficient in some districts, yet the supply in the chief markets continues abundant, and the price is moderate. In the Clonmel market, for instance, potatoes sell at from 2½d. to 3d. per stone.

In the South of Ireland several Reform Meetings have recently taken place, and others have been convened.

TO MY CONSTITUENTS.

“ Within that land was many a malcontent,
Who cursed the tyranny to which he bent;—
That soil full many a wringing despot saw,
Who worked his wantonness in form of law.”

Merrion-square, Jan. 21, 1831.

MY BELOVED AND RESPECTED FRIENDS.—I am your servant. My duty is to do your business and to obey your commands. I entirely disclaim the doctrine that a representative of the people can, without being dishonest, disobey his constituents. If he differs conscientiously from his constituents, there is but one course for him to pursue, and that is to resign. In fact, the contest between a representative and his constituents, is almost always a controversy between selfish interest and sacred duty.

When I solicited your votes, I pledged myself to constant attendance in the House. I have hitherto kept that pledge unbroken. It was and is my fixed determination to be in London the day Parliament meets, unless I am prevented by the paltry prosecution which has been instituted against me.

I am bound to say that I am perfectly convinced that the principal motive of the most active advisers of this miserable prosecution is to prevent me from attending in my place to describe and denounce the despotic, arbitrary, and most unnecessary measures that have been resorted to in Ireland.

It would not be convenient for some arch-

jobbers in Ireland, who contrive to stick their families, like leeches, to suck the heart's blood of Ireland, to have me expose all the details of that species of peculation which enriches one family at the expense of an impoverished and exhausted country.

But there is one prime grievance which, above all things, it is my duty to expose—the vestry cesses and the tithe system. In all my addresses to you before my election, I ventured to prophesy that the time was fast approaching when the people of England would join with us in a loud and irresistible demand for the total abolition of the tithe system.

That salutary cry has commenced in England. It is beginning to be re-echoed in a proper and legal manner in Ireland. The accomplishment of my prophecy is fast approaching. If I shall be permitted to do my duty in Parliament this Session, I hope that this most important result will be advanced; but, after all, it is only by the repeal of the Union that we can look with certainty for the total abolition of tithes.

This is one of the great reasons why I insist upon that repeal. Indeed, the Repeal of the Union is the great and really healing measure which alone is calculated to form the basis, and raise the superstructure of prosperity in Ireland. Without it, distress must accumulate; poverty must increase; famine and pestilence, which are yearly taking a wider range, must become almost universal; and Ireland must become a solitude or a slaughter-house. I say this advisedly.

But the Repeal of the Union terrifies the sordid aristocratic absentees, and especially the bloated pluralists of the Established Church, who shudder lest we Radical Reformers and anti-Unionists should realize our plan, of the payment by the State of all such of the Protestant Clergy as really perform spiritual functions, in an ample proportion to their real labours, and not paying at all those who do no work.

It is, however, thought wise and prudent to keep me out of the House of Commons this Session, and, accordingly, this strange prosecution has been got up against me.

I feel it my duty to give you this outline of the motives that have, I am convinced, instigated the advisers of this prosecution. Let me remind you that it requires not only a Reformer but a Lawyer, to speak in the House with effect on the subject of the late Proclamations, and, in particular, to expose the illegal and mischievous tendency of the famous Stanley circular. It would not be disagreeable to that young gentleman not to have to encounter me on a subject so vitally important to the first principles of constitutional liberty.

The late administration declared that they would not introduce any coercive measures during the Session. When the Tories made thus a solemn declaration, they were entitled to be believed. It would be impossible to give the same credit to the Whigs. Accord-

ingly I do anticipate, that in my absence from the House there will be some new, and probably more severe Algerine acts (as they have been called) introduced by the Whigs. Mark me well, recollect my prophecy—you will have the Whigs introduce some delusive measure—some nibbling at the Sable-tig act—it will, probably, be some aggravation to be styled an amendment. There will be an alteration in the Vestry Bill; that probably will make it worse than it now is. There will be some little peddling about corporation monopolies, and a grand inquiry, to last three years longer, into tolls and customs—and these mighty boons will be consummated by some law creating a Dictatorship, or something of that kind, in Ireland. Believe me I shall prove a true prophet.

Preserve this prophecy—and you will find that my words will prove true, or, if not quite accurate, it is only because I probably underestimate the baseness of some of the Whigs.

If I am prevented from attending in my place in parliament—if the voice of almost universal Ireland be, in my person, suppressed—do not, indeed you cannot, blame me.

But I should be to blame if I in anywise transgressed the law. I am a lawyer of great experience in the Criminal Law, and never was there a man more determined not to transgress that law than I was and am. My constant advice to the people for the last twenty-five years always was, as it still is, not to violate the law in any one particular. I should, therefore, be both absurd and criminal if I violated it myself intentionally; and if it be said that I have violated it unintentionally, then, indeed, there is a demonstration of the enormous absurdity of our Penal Code—of its unintelligibility, of its capriciousness, when a lawyer of 30 years' standing, determined not to violate the law, and knowing his every action to be watched, has yet, in presence of his enemies, put himself into their power.

What a happy elucidation it would be, of that which I have so often complained of and exposed—under the title given to it by the illustrious and immortal Bentham—of Judge-made Law.

But, my friends, I can assure you, that, without the most violent contortion of everything that has hitherto been considered as fixed law, and stated to be such by the most venerable authorities amongst the English Judges, it is utterly impossible to sustain this prosecution.

There must be, I assure you, the most audacious perversion of fact, and a still more flagrant violation of law—things, the happening of which I certainly do not at all anticipate—if this prosecution does not totally and ludicrously fail. I tell you as a lawyer and as a man, that I am entitled to an acquittal, even on the showing of my enemies themselves.

I owe it to you, my constituents, to show you that I have not in any one respect violated the law; nay, that, in fact, I am not even

accused of any thing which can justly be called a violation of the law.

The charge against me on the silly warrant is split into two parts. They are, as usual with absurd charges, contradictory of each other. The first is for having disobeyed the Proclamations!! There is a charge for you on which to arrest the man who has the high honour of being the chosen Representative of your county. The second is for having evaded the same Proclamations. Now, if I disobeyed the Proclamations, it is clear that I did not evade them; and if I only evaded the Proclamations, it is equally clear I did not disobey them.

This contradiction is, to be sure, rather a glaring one; but so matter. The entire may serve the purpose of keeping me from exposing, in my place in Parliament, the fatal and foolish proceedings of some of our rulers.

But I proceed to show you the futility of those charges:—

The first is, that I disobeyed a Proclamation. I have two answers to this charge.

The first is, that it is quite untrue. It is quite false that I disobeyed all, or any of them. There is not the least foundation of fact in this charge.

The second answer is, that even if I had disobeyed any or all of the Proclamations, I should not have been guilty of any offence, unless I came within the terms of the act, called the Algerine Act—which, observe, it is not pretended or alleged that I have done.

Thus, my friends, I tell you, that this prosecution is unfounded in two respects—first, in point of fact; and, secondly, in point of law.

The fact is for a Jury—all I could desire, if it were to go to a Jury, would be a fair and impartial Jury—that is, I should desire—and wish such a Jury—

The law, however, is so plainly with me, that it will be intelligible to everybody.

I utterly deny that it is any crime or offence to oppose or disobey even a lawful Proclamation.

I know that the reverse was once decided—but it was decided—where, think you? In the Star-Chamber.

That decision has, until a very modern time, and, indeed, with the single exception of one brilliant English Barrister, been held in utter contempt. I would wager any man a thousand pounds to a shilling, that one of the legal advisers of the Crown ferretted out a passage in the work of a modern Barrister—and without examining its slender foundation, nor the palpable manner in which this Barrister contradicts himself—they have instituted the present prosecution upon no better authority, with the hope of reviving NOTHING LESS THAN THE STAR CHAMBER LAW.

I think I know the calibre of some that underhand advised this proceeding, and I cannot conceive any thing more likely to

fascinate such persons as even a chance of reviving an obsolete despotism.

It is indeed part of history, and a remarkable fact, that Lord Coke, when Chief Justice, was earnestly urged by the Crown to give an opinion in favour of the validity of the Proclamations. The conduct, on that occasion, of the then Solicitor General, the celebrated Lord Bacon—

“ ————— Who shined,
The wisest, brightest, meanest, of mankind ”—
is well known for his servility and audacity. He endeavoured to cajole, bribe, or terrify Lord Coke into a declaration that the law justified the infliction of punishment for violating a Proclamation; but, although the Judges were then removable at pleasure, Lord Coke, to his eternal honour, resisted.

This is not the place to quote passages of law, but I cannot resist quoting here the abstract of Lord Coke's opinion, as given in a work of the highest authority, called *Comyn's Digest*. Here is the passage:—

“ The King cannot create an offence by a Proclamation; and, therefore, nothing will be punishable after a Proclamation which was not so before.”

I need not say any more to show that it cannot be punishable as an offence to disobey a Proclamation. I therefore laugh to scorn the charge against me of “disobeying a Proclamation;” and I could defy the powers of human ingenuity to create a scrap of “JUDGE-MADE LAW” to suit this occasion.

But really this is not all. The act which enables a Lord Lieutenant to use arbitrary, and, indeed, despotic power over all meetings, is in its nature sufficiently severe and sufficiently unconstitutional not to have it extended one iota by construction. It is really most monstrous to talk of extending its effects by any construction; and I trust that the day will shortly arrive when the real advisers of his prosecution, and of the Proclamations, will meet the punishment they so justly merit.

In the quaint language and latinity of Lord Coke, it is said “that all indictments conclude *contra legem et consuetudinem, or contra leges et statuta*. But never was seen any indictment to conclude—*contra regiam proclamationem*.”

We are, I suppose, soon to see such an indictment—another bad precedent to be added to those already furnished by the Whigs when in office.

Leaving this first charge to shift for itself amidst the monstrous novelties of Whig liberality—a liberal, wide, and universal extension of a most peual and restrictive statute—a species of Whig anomaly in our law—Leaving it to shift for itself, I come to the second charge.

It is no less than this—“of a conspiracy to evade the Proclamation!!” There is a criminal charge in a country calling itself free—evading a Proclamation!!

I did think badly of the Whigs, but really this exceeds all their former outdoings—con-

spiracy to evade a Proclamation. Why, if I disobeyed it, surely I did not evade it—and then comes this admirable legal dilemma. The “*argumentum crucis*” is nothing to it. It is this—

A Proclamation issues—I disobey it—punishment for that. Well, I do not disobey it. Why, then, I evade it—punishment for that again. Thus, whether it be disobeyed or not, the only thing certain is the punishment.

For committing what is called a crime—punishment—for not committing that crime—punishment again. Really, really, this is a little too bad.

I will put this matter for one moment in another point of view. To evade a Proclamation is to avoid obeying it; but for avoiding to disobey it there is to be an indictment—that is, for not perpetrating what is called a crime. Who ever yet heard of an indictment for evading to steal a horse? But this is a ludicrous mockery.

There is, however, one curious coincidence between the charge of a conspiracy to evade the Proclamation and the accusation brought in Belgium against the celebrated De Potter.

De Potter is well known to have been an ardent enemy to the oppressions which his country suffered from the nefarious union with Holland, and from the grinding and insulting nature of the Dutch superiority. He struggled strongly and perseveringly against the grievances which his native country sustained from the insolent domination of strangers. He was closely watched. The law of libel, the sedition law, were both excessively severe—as severe as with us—but De Potter, who sought ameliorations only by peaceable means, took care not to violate the law. Yet it was determined to annihilate him one way or the other.

Whenever power is determined to crush a man “at all hazards,” it never wants a pretext. They could not, it is true, indict De Potter upon any known law. What did the lawyerlings of the Dutch King do? Will you believe it, reader? They actually indicted him for a conspiracy to evade the laws of libel and sedition, or to that effect. The Bench was packed; he was tried and sentenced to banishment.

The coincidence is only in the charge. I have not the talents nor the useful patriotism of De Potter, but I rival him in three things. First, in the enthusiastic love I bear to my unhappy native land; secondly, in the ever-living detestation I bear to the oppressions and grievances under which she labours; and thirdly, in the rancorous and malignant hatred borne towards me by the enemies of my native country.

There the comparison ends. De Potter was not long in banishment. The men who afflicted his country became too outrageously tyrannical, and were expelled. He returned; but, to his immortal honour be it spoken, he forgot the injury done him, and forgave all his enemies.

This trumping up of a ridiculous charge of conspiracy is therefore not new. The case of De Potter is, as we lawyers say, quite in point; but its results are widely different.

I cannot, my friends, conjecture why this De Potter charge should be brought against me. I will not do the legal advisers of Lord Anglesey the gross injustice to suppose that they speculated either on the Court or the Jury. That would be an injustice of which I would not directly or indirectly accuse them; but, if they had so speculated, they would speculate badly,

It is quite true that a former Court of King's Bench decided that the word “preference” in a criminal statute was perfectly synonymous with “purpose.” That certainly was a wrong measure, but one which took place in angry times, and will never be quoted as a precedent for imitation.

I have now, my friends, exposed to you the nature of the charges against me—their contradiction, and their total absurdity.

I am not accused of any immoral offence, of seditious speech or libellous language—still less am I accused of provoking to outrage or breach of the peace. The fact simply is, that Lord Anglesey does not like discussion, and having made up his mind that there shall not be any, in any shape, that he dislikes—on he goes—that is all.

But this would be cruel, if it were not laughable. Here I am striving for three things.—First, to abolish Tithes. Second, to destroy Corporate Monopolies. Third, to repeal the Union.

And endeavouring to do these things by peaceable, legal, and constitutional means, and none other, I am set on and assailed as if it were a crime to love one's country, and to struggle honestly, faithfully, and disinterestedly to serve her, and to seek peace, comfort, prosperity, and liberty for her inhabitants.

My constituents—my friends—be not discouraged. Patience—obedience to the laws—no illegal oaths—no secret societies—no turbulence—no violence—but at the same time peaceable, legal, and constitutional agitation. Let every parish, nay let every village meet. Let there be a petition from every village, parish, town, and district. Let those petitions firmly, boldly, but respectfully, demand the total abolition of Tithe and Vestry Cesses. Let them state that Ireland is an agricultural country, in a most depressed state, and, therefore, requires that the agricultural produce should be relieved from all ecclesiastical burdens.

Let your petitions state these three facts:—

First, That Ireland is the most fertile country in the world—the most productive for her extent—the best situated for industry and commerce, and yet that she is the country in the world deriving least benefit from these advantages.

Secondly, That Ireland produces more of all the primary necessities of life than any other country under the sun, and that there is no

other country in which the people receive so little of the necessaries of life for their use as Ireland.

Thirdly, That Ireland has, at one and the same time, the richest Established Church in the world, and the poorest population, with the smallest number of votaries of the religion of the State.

Do not ask why all this is so. We do not govern ourselves. We are governed and managed by others. We are a province, when we ought to be a nation.

Do not, therefore, ask why there is so much misery and woe in Ireland, but seek for amelioration through the only channel by which it can be obtained—that of the Law and Constitution; and if I have any influence with you, now, at my instance, and for my sake, redouble your exertions, multiply your petitions, and determine never to relax until Ireland regain her Legislative independence.

I am, my friends,

Your devoted and most faithful servant,
DANIEL O'CONNELL.

PARLIAMENT.

I left off my extracts from the Parliamentary proceedings with those of the 14th of December, and these will be found in the Register, No. 25, Vol. 70. I must now, before the "Collective" meet again, bring up the arrear, which I can do in this and the next Register; and then we shall start again.

Thursday, Dec. 16th, 1830.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

REPEAL OF THE UNION; and, IRISH TITHES.—Every word that is said upon these two important subjects becomes every day of more and more importance; and, therefore, men should read attentively all that they can spare time to read on both.

Lord KING had a Petition to present to their Lordships, on a very important subject, respecting which his opinions were quite at variance with those of the Petitioners. When the measure of which they complained—the Union of Great Britain and Ireland, was under the consideration of the British Legislature—he was opposed to it; because he did not wish the corruptions of England to be increased by those of Ireland. But he now feared that it would be a mischievous experiment to repeal that measure after such a lapse of time. He believed that Ireland would suffer greatly from the separation of the two countries, the more so as they could be separated only by means of war, and to that a repeal of the Union would certainly lead. If he were an Irishman, he might perhaps be induced to

consult his national feeling, in opposition to his judgment. But, although he knew little of Ireland himself, and from what he did know, he believed its condition to be very wretched; yet he had heard that there had recently appeared there some signs of improvement, to which the Repeal, desired by petitioners, would put a stop, by immediately checking the introduction of English capital. His Lordship concluded by presenting Petitions from the Paper-stainers, Carpet-weavers, and other Trades of the City of Kilkenny, praying for the Repeal of the Union.

Earl DARNLEY concurred fully in the opinions expressed by the noble Lord who had just addressed their Lordships; but he had differed from that noble Lord when the Act of Union was passed, for he (Earl Darnley) had advocated that measure, in the expectation that benefits to Ireland would result from it, which he had not yet had the happiness to witness. However, he believed that the good effects would now be soon observed, as the healing measure which the Legislature had most wisely adopted in the last Session had removed the chief obstacles to the improvement of that country. He was convinced that the repeal of the Union would annihilate the incipient prosperity of Ireland. The individual who at present agitated that question had derived his importance from the injudicious attempt which had been made to exclude him from the other House of Parliament. No calamity could be more destructive to the country, of that individual than his efforts, should they be successful in repealing the Union.

TITHES.—Lord FARNHAM moved for Returns respecting the Composition of Tithes in Ireland, under the late Act of Parliament on that subject. He explained that the operation of that Act was greatly impeded by the manner in which the Select Vestries for settling the composition of tithes were constituted. The land of many parishes in Ireland was occupied principally in pasture, and in the cultivation of potatoes. Upon the latter the whole burden of the tithes was thrown; so that the very poorest parishioners, to whom the potatoe land chiefly belonged, paid the most part of the tithes, from which the pasture lands, always in the hands of the richest parishioners, were wholly exempt. Hence it became the interest of the Select Vestries, which consisted of only twenty-five persons (they being of course the richest inhabitants), to oppose the composition; because that would equalize the burden between them and their fellow-inhabitants. To enable the poor of Ireland, whose advantage the Act was chiefly calculated to promote, to benefit by its provisions, it was necessary to enlarge the Vestries. He would introduce a Bill to increase them to fifty parishioners, in the course of the Session; unless the Government, in whose hands he would prefer to leave the matter, should themselves introduce the amendment. He would take that opportunity of stating that, in those cases where the operation of the Act was prevented by the tithes-

owners, the opposition was more frequently on the part of lay impropriators than of the clergy.

Lord KING had no doubt, that if tithe-composition were carried into effect in Ireland upon fair terms, it would operate greatly to the advantage of the poorer classes in Ireland, who would get rid of tithe-gathering and proctors, and the whole harassing and expensive machinery for the recovery of those vexatious claims. He held in his hands documents respecting the tithes in six parishes of the county of Wicklow; of which the names were to him unpronounceable, occupying a surface of upwards of 40,000 acres. In those parishes a meeting of 4,000 farmers was assembled to make a composition with Archdeacon Magee. The venerable Archdeacon not agreeing with the parishioners, resorted not to the Consistory Court, but to the Court of Exchequer, as affording the most expensive process for the recovery of his tithes. His Lordship then read the following account furnished by the Archdeacon to one of those farmers:—

Varney Cooney, to Archdeacon Magee,		
debtor.		
Out of the Lauds of Grange,		
To tithe of 47 tons of Hay,		
at 30s.	£7	1 0
Ditto of 197 brls. of Barley,		
at 16s.	15	15 2
Ditto of 80 brls. of Wheat,		
at 30s.	13	4 0
Ditto of 193 brls. of Oats,		
at 15s.	13	10 2
	£49	10 4
- This land contains 12 acres of wheat, 12½ of barley, 11 of oats, and 20 of meadowing.		

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

SELECT VESTRIES.—When I was in America, the infamous select Vestry-bill was passed. I instantly wrote a Register, dated from Long Island, in which I proved its wickedness and its evil tendency. I was not listened to. And now I am to be quiet, am I, and hear it said in that same House of Commons that passed it, that it is “unconstitutional,” “preposterous,” and repugnant to “common sense!” Why was this not known *then*? Why was this not said *then*? The same man who writes and calls it by these names now was in the House when it was passed, and why did not he say these things of it *then*?

Mr. HONOURS presented a petition, which he had to state was most numerous and respectably signed—it was from the Freeholders of the parish of St. James, in the city of Westminster. It complained of a great

grievance—it complained of the deprivation of an important national right—the loss of which had occasioned much and serious discontent throughout many parishes of the Metropolis, and in various parts of the country. The grievance of which the petitioners complained was the existence in their parish of a self-elected Vestry. He was anxious to take the earliest opportunity of stating, that on the very first day after the recess he meant to bring in a bill, the object of which would be to remedy the evils which formed the subject of the present complaint. The bill he intended to bring in would be modelled upon the former bill, or rather would be an exact counterpart of it, in the form it had been presented before it underwent the amendments of a committee. He wished in an especial manner to call the attention of the House to the prayer of the present petition, for such was the indignation which Select Vestries had excited, that he could not answer for the tranquillity of parishes, if something speedy and decisive were not done with a view to the modification of the present system. He was informed that many of the parishioners of St. James's had expressed their determination not to pay rates unless the Select Vestry were abolished.

Sir F. BURDETT said that Select Vestries were one of the practical grievances of the present day, constituting not only a gross violation of every constitutional principle, but of every principle of common sense. There was something in them so preposterous, that an English House of Commons was called upon to get rid of them at once, and the mode of doing so was perfectly simple: it was by a recurrence to the ancient constitutional principle, that no man was to be taxed without his own consent.

The petition was then ordered to be printed

BOROUGH OF EYESHAM.—I notice this in order to put sham-reformers upon record. Corruption is clearly proved; but precedents prevent Reform. What can we expect from Reformers like Lord John Russell.

The Marquess of CHANDOS, in rising to make a motion on this subject, said, that the Committee appointed by the House had unseated the Members that were returned, on the ground of bribery; and with this charge before the House, he certainly thought that they were bound to consider whether a new election should be allowed to take place. The evidence before the Committee had not yet been printed; but, at all events, it was known that the Committee had decided against the two Members, on the ground of corruption; and this, he contended, was enough to call for the interference of the House, when it was proposed to entrust the borough again with the right of returning members. All that he at present asked was, that a short time should be allowed for the printing of the evidence, in order that the House might judge for itself;

and he should therefore move, that the Speaker do issue his warrant to the Clerk of the Crown, to make out a *supersedeas* to the writ that had been issued for the election of two Members for the Borough of Evesham.

LORD GEORGE LENNOX seconded the motion, and called the attention of the House to a paper, signed Edward Protheroe, Jun., in which that gentleman made the following statement:—"I plainly acknowledge my desire to renew our connexion. There is no inconsistency in this. With you, Gentlemen, I never had the slightest cause of dissatisfaction: it is with the old system of your borough, with that unjust system which, after faithful and diligent services, accompanied by manly independence and disinterestedness in every speech and every vote, left me no hope of being re-elected, unless I condescended to traffic for my seat with those who bartered your privileges."—When such a declaration as this was made by a gentleman who was well acquainted with the transactions of the borough, he thought that the House had pretty good evidence before it of what was the real state of the case; and he therefore trusted that Evesham would be disfranchised, and the representation given to some more worthy place. He begged, however, to say, that he himself personally knew nothing of Evesham, nor had he any acquaintance with the two gentlemen against whom the Committee had decided.

Mr. ROSS said, that the sitting of particular Members, and ulterior proceedings against a borough for bribery, were two questions of a totally distinct character. The honourable Member referred to the cases of Penrhyn and Camelford, as precisely similar cases. In them bribery was proved, and the House was called on not only to suspend the writs, but to disfranchise the boroughs. In Evesham there was 426 voters, and of course they did not all vote for the sitting members; but it had been proved that every one of the non-resident voters who did vote were bribed. Every one of them actually received a bribe. On these grounds he would support the motion of his noble Friend for superseding the writ, which would give the House an opportunity to inquire.

LORD JOHN RUSSELL meant, in the few words he should address to the House, to confine himself to the narrowest limits. He should not enter into the general question of Reform, nor assert that it would be improper to assent to the motion, because the House had already ordered the writ to issue. There were many rights to be considered before the House resolved to suspend the writ. An inquiry should be instituted, and evidence received, to ascertain if the Borough of Evesham were as corrupt as it was represented to be. There were many points which the House ought to investigate; for he had always been of opinion that the Greville Act, by the inquiries it instituted through Committees, frequently screened cases of bribery, and prevented them from

being so frequently brought before the House, as they were before that Act was passed. The opinions of Election Committees were often, he thought, an obstacle to those inquiries which the House was bound to make in cases of corruption. The question, however, before the House was not whether an inquiry should now take place into the corruption of the Borough of Evesham, but whether the issuing of the writ should be suspended or not? The circumstances of the case were these:—That after an inquiry by a Committee, that Committee had not given the Chairman instructions to propose that no new writ should issue. The first thing the House had to look at must be its own precedents. He had looked at the precedents quoted by the Honourable Member opposite (Mr. ROSS), and that Honourable Gentleman could not deny that there were numerous precedents of the allegation of bribery made against Members, and yet the writs for those places had issued. There was no instance of a Committee reporting merely against the Sitting Members, and on that report the House suspending the writ. To justify that, there must be some special report against the electors. It was only said by some of the Members who composed the Election Committee that the case implied further corruption; but that should be made a matter of special report before the House could be able to act upon it. The precedents, then, were many in favour of issuing the writ.

LORD ALTHORP agreed with his noble Friend and the right hon. Gentleman, that this question was to be decided on the narrow ground of precedent; but that precedents were not to be slavishly followed. The House must decide if precedents authorised the suspension of the writ, and it was a matter of some importance that the House should not make a new precedent without due consideration. He did not think that the precedents quoted by the right hon. Gentleman justified the suspension of the writ. He differed from him, because, in the two precedents he had quoted, both the Committees had reported against the election. In the present case, the Report of the Committee was confined to censuring the Members. The right hon. Gentleman said, that Members of the Committee complained of the corruption being extended to the Electors, but that was only the opinion of individual Members, as the Committee decided against a special Report. In the other cases quoted by the right hon. Gentleman, the Committees had made Special Reports; but in those cases where Special Reports were not made, and only the sitting Members were unseated, the House had never thought to suspend the writ. It was not necessary for him to quote precedents of the kind from the Journals; they were so numerous, that every Member must know it was continually customary for sitting Members to be unseated by the Report of the Committee, without the writ being suspended.

He did not consider it of any consequence whether the writ were suspended or not; and if it were the opinion of the House that it should be suspended, he for one should not oppose the suspension. In doing this, certainly it was his opinion that they would act against precedents, and it was neither desirable nor necessary that the House should make any new precedents.

LAW.—Two rather long discussions came after this upon alterations in the law.

Friday, Dec. 17.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Nothing of consequence. Lord King presented petitions from several parts of the country, and he gave the House a summary of their prayers: "Cheap Government, Cheap Law, Cheap Corn, Reform, and Free Trade."

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

THE LABOURERS.—Mr. CURTEIS, in presenting a petition from SUSSEX, took occasion to make some observations on the state of the labouring poor, and declared he had conversed with many farmers, who one and all asserted that they never paid less than twelve shillings a week to any description of labourers, whether married or single. For his part, although it had been stated that he paid to his own labourers 1s. 9d. a day, he invariably paid 2s., with the option of their taking piece work if they pleased. The agricultural interests were, however, in such a state of destitution, that they must, would, and should be protected. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. BRISCOE, in alluding to the condition of the labourers, said he was satisfied the only remedy for their distress would be found in the extension of the system of spade labour in the cultivation of ground allotted to them for that purpose.

Mr. LONG WELLESLEY bore testimony to the efficacy of this system. In a part of the county of Essex, near Tibury Fort, six or seven hundred of the labourers who had been in a state of insurrection were reduced to quietude and comparative comfort, by the immediate adoption of the system of spade labour. He deprecated, however, the discussion of these and other vitally important subjects on the mere presentation of a petition, and in the presence of so small a number of Members.

Sir JOHN SPARRIGOT said he had devoted a good deal of his attention to the subject of spade labour, and actually allotted gardens to persons in his own parish, who were by no means connected with his property. He said, however, that all projects of that kind failed; and he was convinced, from his own experience, and from conversation with some of the most experienced of the class of labourers, that if they possessed as much land

as they could cultivate, by spade labour they could not earn sixpence a day. He should be very happy himself to give land to the labourers of his own parish without the payment of rent, if there was a hope of their being able to subsist upon it; for he would gain much more from the relief afforded to the rates, than from the rent of the land.

Mr. Alderman WAITMAN observed, that it was not merely the agricultural interest that was distressed; all the interests in the country were in the same condition; leasehold property, especially in London, was utterly destroyed. No partial measure would be sufficient to meet the necessities of the time. Either taxation must be greatly brought down, or prices must be raised. He begged to give notice that on the 15th of February he would submit to the House a string of Resolutions, showing the destructive tendency of the present general depreciation of property.

Mr. Hume, after this, objected to the "must, would, and should be protected" of Mr. Curteis; because he thought that the honourable Member wished to protect the agricultural interest at the expense of other interests. How jealous! Mr. Hume will be convinced that they will be protected, and we shall not quarrel about *must* and *shall*.

Monday, Dec. 20.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

EMIGRATION.—LORD TEYNHAM brought forward the subject of the new settlement in the Swan River, a settlement of which we have heard so much. I shall insert a statement that he read to the House, as coming from the Settlement, and then I shall insert his subsequent observations. I have often raised my voice against these cruel delusions on emigration. I know myself what new settlements are, I know what the men are who project them, and I know the greedy and cruel knaves who carry the projects into execution. I therefore feel for every creature who is induced to submit himself and his family to the sore vexation, the certain ruin, and the probable consequent death, provided for them by the greedy and heartless men who thrive by schemes of emigration. I never knew one scheme which, if it succeeded at all, did not first produce misery and death to an amount that would rend any heart but that of a speculator; and I insert this instance of

failure in the hope that it may warn the industrious and frank, and therefore credulous, people of England, against listening to men whose selfishness makes them false, and whose habits of life have prepared them for practising cruelty without feeling compunction.

An extract of a letter on the condition of the Settlement had appeared in the *Morning Chronicle*, which, both on account of the high character of the Paper, and the importance of the subject, was well worthy of attention. He would read to their Lordships the notices in the *Morning Chronicle*, which was in these terms:—

“ Distress in the Swan River Settlement.— The following is an extract from a letter just received from one of the most extensive of the settlers in Van Dieman’s Land:—‘The Swan River settlement is with us, just now, a constant subject of discourse. Messrs Bryan made a good speculation in the William there. Flour sold for 60l. per ton, potatoes for 15l. and salt provisions for 8d. per pound; the whole of which was taken off their hands by the Governor. The live stock was unsaleable, till the Governor (Stirling) gave them a grant of 350,000 acres to put it on.

[To be continued.]

From the LONDON GAZETTE,
FRIDAY, JANUARY 21, 1831.

INSOLVENTS.

JAN. 21.—BURT, T., Holborn-hill, manufacturer.

JAN. 18.—COATES, W., Leeds, grocer.

JAN. 21.—LANE, T., Gloucester, corn-factor.

BANKRUPTCIES SUPERSEDED.

OLDLAND, J., Wootton-under-Edge, clothier.
PEIRSE, T., Belle Isle, Yorkshire, training-room.

BANKRUPTS.

BROUGH, P., Boston, Lincolnshire, scrivener.
COATES, W., Leeds, grocer.

EARLE, W. F. B., Regent-street, Piccadilly, and Bedford-place, Kensington, auctioneer.

GOODWIN, J., Congleton, Cheshire, grocer.
HARRINGTON, J., Stanway, Essex, victualler.

HEHIR, J., jun., Leigh, Worcestershire, baker.

HOOPER, R., St. Philip and Jacob, Gloucestershire, malster.

IZON, T., Handsworth, Staffordshire, merchant.

PLUCKWELL, H., Old-street-road, potatoe-dealer.

RIDOUT, W., Ringwood, Hampshire, linen-draper.

ROBERTSON, J., Berkhamstead, Hertfordshire, surgeon.

VINE, T., Brighton, taylor.

WILLIAMS, G., St. Paul’s Church-yard, warehouseman.

WALTON, D., Oldham, Lancashire, cotton-spinner.

WARD, G., Leeds, inn-keeper.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 25, 1831.
INSOLVENTS.

JAN. 21.—RUSSELL, G., Brownlow-street, Drury-lane, coach-smith.

JAN. 22.—Woolbridge, J. and J., Hingham, brass-founders.

JAN. 24.—COUSINS, C., Drummond-crescent, Somers-town, carman.

JAN. 25.—LARTER, D., High-street, Shore-ditch, victualler.

JAN. 25.—DESORMEAUX, D., Cole’s-terrace, White Conduit-fields, chymist.

BANKRUPTS.

BAUGH, J., Middle Wallop, Hampshire, victualler.

COZENS, J. L., Bedminster, Somersetshire, victualler.

FOX, W., Great Driffell, Yorkshire, tanner.

GRAY, W., Giltspur-street, victualler.

JACKSON, T., Laverick-hall, Cumberland, miller.

LAMB, J. and J., Liverpool, saddlers.

NICHOLSON, T., Burstwick, Yorkshire, horse dealer.

RICHARDSON, J., Regency-place, Great Surrey-street, currier.

RODWELL, G. B., James-street, Covent-garden, linen-draper.

WEBB, T., Seymour-street, Euston-square, boot and shoe-maker.

WILSON, J. and W., Whitehaven, Cumberland, plasterers.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, JAN. 21.—
In consequence of another very short supply, of English Wheat at market this morning, our millers were free in their purchases of fine quality, at an advance in the prices since this day se’nnight of about 2s. per quarter: the middling and inferior sorts were also taken off upon somewhat better terms, and at the close the stauds were entirely cleared. Flour continues at last week’s prices. Barley is very heavy sale, at a reduction in the value of 2s. per quarter. Beans of both sorts are about 1s. per quarter higher. Oat are also rather dearer than otherwise. In White and Grey Peas, or other articles, no variation.

Wheat	63s. to 72s.
Rye	28s. to 42s.
Barley	30s. to 40s.
— fine	41s. to 44s.
Peas, White	35s. to 44s.
— Boilers	45s. to 48s.
— Grey	30s. to 39s.
Beans, Small	35s. to 46s.
— Tick	35s. to 44s.
Oats, Potatoe	20s. to 26s.
— Poland	29s. to 30s.
— Feed	20s. to 24s.
Flour, per sack	63s. to 65s.

HOP INTELLIGENCE.

Benouff, Monday, Jan. 21.—There was a good supply at market, but the quantity and Size New Hops met with a ready sale. Prices remain the same as this day.

PROVISIONS.

- Bacon, Middle, New, 42s. to 45s. per cwt.
- Side, 42s. to 44s.
- Pork, India, 112s. 6d.
- Mess., new, 57s. 6d. to —s. per barrel.
- Butter, Danish, 100s. to —s. per cwt.
- Capon, 100s. to 102s.
- Corn, 100s. to —s.
- Linseed, 100s. to —s.
- Waterford, 96s. to —s.
- Hublin, 96s.
- Cheese, Cheshire, 40s. to 70s.
- Gloucester, Double, 48s. to 56s.
- Gloucester, Single, 44s. to 50s.
- Edam, 40s. to 46s.
- Gouda, 42s. to 46s.
- Hams, Irish, 45s. to 56s.

SMITHFIELD—Jan. 24.

The supply to-day is very short, as compared with late markets; and the morning being fair and cool, there is an improvement in most things, and a tolerable free trade. For Beef we cannot go higher in our general currency than 4s. 4d.; but a few complete Scots may have made 4s. 6d. The best selling Lincolns fetch 6d. a pound.

The prices for Mutton are supported; and some think with a small improvement. There is scarcely any difference per stone between little and big, the soundness being the chief consideration. Lincolns are sold at over 4s. 2d., but hardly reaching 4s. 4d. The top price for Downs continues at 4s. 6d.; choice Veal readily obtains 6s.—Beasts, 2,298; Calves, 110; Sheep, 19,620; Pigs, 160.

Thursday, Jan. 22.—The spirit of the deceased Thursday's Cattle Market, to-day revived its apparently devoted spot, in the shape of about a dozen useful steers, about as many lean and lusty townsend cows; a score of sheep, about as many calves, and a few pigs, for none of which there appeared to be any buyers. It, however, had not quite vanished at eleven a. m.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, Jan. 23.

The supplies are still small, the demand moderate, and the prices the same as on Monday.

English Arrivals.	Foreign.	Irish.
Flour 5,710		
Wheat 3,615	2,170	
Barley 4,240	420	
Oats 695	185	2,500

THE FUNDS.

	1st.	2nd.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.
3 per Cent. Cons. Ann.	81½	81½	81½	81½	80½	80½

CHEAP CLOTHING, 93, Fleet-street, near St. Bride's Church.—SWAIN and Co., Glosters, Tailors, and Drapers, gratefully acknowledge the almost unprecedented support with which they have been honoured by the public; and beg to say that nothing shall induce them in any way to relax in their exertions to retain that patronage with which they have been so kindly favoured.

As Swain and Co. manufacture their own Woollen Goods they are able to supply Gentlemen's Clothing at a much lower price than they can be procured elsewhere in the trade. The following is a list of those Prices, for Cash: Superior Suits, of fashionable colours, from pattern finished cloths, 24/5s. to 31; ditto, blue or black, 21/10s. to 31/5s.; Extra Saxony Wool, blue or black, 31/10s. and upwards; Superfine Frock, with Silk Facings, 21/18s. to 41; ditto Trousers, 18s. to 17/10s.; Cassimere Waistcoats, 10s. to 14s.; Marseilles ditto, 7s. to 10s.; Valencia ditto, 6s. to 12s.; Silk ditto, 14s. to 18s.; a Suit of Livery, 41. to 41/4s. Ladies' Habits and Pelisses, Children's Dresses, Shooting Jackets, and Hunting Coats, Camblet and Plaid Cloaks; Witney Wrappers, and every other garment equally cheap. A large assortment kept ready made. Export Orders executed with punctuality.

I recommend Messrs. Swain and Co. as very good and punctual tradesman, whom I have long employed with great satisfaction. **WM. COBBETT.**

MR. O'CONNELL.—A splendid quarto Engraving of the Liberator of Ireland, executed on steel, will be presented, gratuitously, to the purchasers of CARPENTER'S POLITICAL LETTER, to be published on the 4th of February. Size of the Examiner; price, 4d.—The orders of Newsmen and Booksellers will be received from the 1st of February, and the deliveries will be made in the order in which the names stand on the list. Specimens at the Office, No. 21, Paternoster-row, and sold by all Newsmen.

LESSONS ON ARITHMETIC, in Principle and in Practice, for the Instruction of Youth of both Sexes; and more especially for that of young Merchants, Tradesmen, Seamen, Mechanics, and Farmers. By THOMAS SMITH.

London: Sherwood, Gilbert, and Co.; and Longman, Rees, and Co.

THE "AMERICAN STOVES" from Mr. Coberr's Model are now ready packed in Baskets, so that no delay in the execution of orders will take place; also, the "LONGITUDINAL CORN-SHELLER" from Mr. Coberr's Model, price 31/10s.

J. S. W. Juppson, Ironmonger, Kensington, the only Manufacturer.

Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's-court, and published by him, at 11, Bell-court, Fleet-street.

ANN, COUNTESS DOWAGER OF MORNINGTON, mother of Marquis Wellesley, of the Prince of Waterloo, of Lord Maryborough, of Lord Cowley; (late Ambassador at Vienna), and of another Wellesley, who has two or three great livings in the church; this Countess Dowager, the mother of all them, has a pension of 600*l.* a year, paid out of the taxes raised on the people.—From the Black Book, just published by Mr. E. WILSON, Royal Exchange, p. 467.

The Poor Laws provide, that the children of every poor, old, blind, lame, or impotent person, not able to work, shall (if they have the means) relieve and maintain such poor parent, according to the rate at which they shall be assessed by the Justices of the county where the parties live, in order to prevent parishes being burdened with unnecessary charges.

"A petition," says the *Morning Chronicle* of the 31st Jan., "is in preparation, in the neighbourhood of BALLYDUFF, county of Waterford, Ireland, which will be intrusted to Mr. Hume, praying that the invidious distinctions which at present exist between *Parish* and *State Paupers* may be abolished; and that it may in future be a general rule, that all persons who depend on the public bounty for subsistence shall be distinguished by a peculiar dress."



COMBINATION .

AGAINST

THE MINISTERS AND THE PEOPLE.

Kensington, Feb. 2, 1831

In my last I remarked on the probability of the seat-people making a grand push against reform; and I also remarked on the inevitable consequences, if the Ministers held firm, and resolved to take the people by the hand. According to the rumours that are afloat, the combination against them and the people is proceeding with great obstinacy. The case is pretty plainly stated in the *Morning Chronicle*, of the 31st January, in the following words, which embrace, however, two distinct subjects, and these I must treat of separately when I have inserted the article:—

"Rumour speaks every day more loudly of the efforts that are making

"on the part of the aristocratic borough-holders to resist reform, and, by combining to withhold their support when that great question comes on, to force Ministers to resign, by driving them into a minority. Such a combination, for such a purpose, we conceive to be the greatest calamity that could befall the nation. Its success would be equivalent to a declaration of hostilities, and dreadful will be their responsibility who hazard the result. If a war of vengeance is once provoked, no human foresight can predict the calamities that may—that must follow in the train of it. It is madness to hope that the cause of corruption can be brought to prevail against the cause of the people. Nothing can endanger the latter but the apathy of the people themselves. If the reforming spirit of the Government is backed by the united energy and active zeal of the great body of the nation, there is no counteraction that can defeat it. A Ministry strong in the strength of the people is irresistible. If the many are content to sow and reap for the few; if they are content to dig and sweat, that the

“rich borough-owners may riot in the harvest, leaving to them the gleanings of the field, as matter of grace and favour: were it so, our opponents would have every-thing to hope, for their confidence would be well justified. The powerful support of Lord BROUGHAM would be paralysed, and the efforts of Lord ALTHORP be brought to nought. But happily the case is far otherwise, and the opening of the campaign against reform will only manifest the insane calculations of the Council of War by which it is planned. The policy of our aristocratic rulers has ever been to guard against admitting any one to office who had not previously given good proof of his devotion to their views, and to their will. The instant anything like a sense of duty was seen to oppose itself to intrigue and jobbing, and to side with the public, the offender becomes a marked man. The case of Mr. Sedgwick, the chairman of the late Stamp Board, whose letters to Lord WALLACE appeared in our paper, is a case in point. To act uprightly, was to act against all the received notions of official subordination. Individuals, whose integrity and talents would be duly valued by an administration like the present, would, under its predecessors, have ensured annoyance of every kind, and ultimate dismissal. Government is happily composed at present of men who give an example of integrity in their own persons, instead of visiting it on others with odium and resentment; and no better pledge than this can or need be given of their determination to act up to the principles they have so nobly proclaimed.”

In the same paper there is the following paragraph:—“The Duke of WELLINGTON is at present entertaining a large party of the Ex-Ministers and their political associates at Strathfield-say. Sir Robert Peel, from Drayton Park, arrived there on Saturday, and Mr. Croker has been the Duke’s guest for some days.” Whether this assemblage be immediately connected with the COMBINATION I know not;

but, at any rate, it must necessarily have a LEADER in view, and that leader must be the Duke of Wellington. Now, then, let that subject rest for a minute, till I have observed on the latter part of the extract from the *Morning Chronicle*, which relates to Mr. SEDGWICK, the late president, or head commissioner, of the *Board of Stamps*.

Mr. SEDGWICK was dismissed from his office; the Board was broken up to get rid of him; a large sum in retired allowances was thrown as a charge upon the people, only because Mr. SEDGWICK did his duty towards that people. He was a most clever, a most industrious, a most intelligent public officer; he was civil and conciliating, and made it a pleasure to have to transact business with him. No charge could be brought against him; but he was known to be a man who detested abuses; and he made strenuous efforts to put a stop to those abuses. These were his crimes; and for these crimes every effort was made to inflict on him degradation and pecuniary ruin. A government would deserve overthrow for nothing else than tolerating the abominable proceedings against this gentleman. Mr. SEDGWICK is now in the hands of Lord GREY and Lord ALTHORP; and if they do not do him justice, it will, to me, be surprising indeed.

Now, as to the combination, it is said that the associators have got two hundred and sixty votes to oppose the ministers, if they propose to make a real reform of the Commons’ House, and that they are resolved to vote them into a minority. I can hardly believe this. To be sure, a combination with the Duke of WELLINGTON at its head may very well be supposed to be extremely bitter against the reformers, and not to be, by any means, overburdened with wisdom. Such a combination one may easily conceive to be so blinded by their resentment against the people; by their habitual contempt of the people, and by the flattering falsehoods to which they incessantly listen: they have seen the nation so long submit to such

monstrous abuses; they have heard it grumble so long, and still submit so docilely, that one can conceive it possible for them to believe that they can now, in opposition to both ministry and people; a ministry full of talent, and an intelligent people, perfectly unanimous; that they can, in spite of both these, carry on the same system that has at last plunged the country into utter confusion, and made it an object of contempt throughout the world.

I do not, therefore look upon it as at all incredible that such an opposition is to be attempted. Nay, I think it likely that it will be attempted. If it be, and if there be any-thing like a formidable opposition, one of two things will take place; the parliament will be dissolved, or the King will refuse to do that, and then the ministers will go out, and have the people at their back. The King will hardly want to get back into the hands of those who had to advise him not to fulfil his promise of dining at the Guild-Hall with the Queen. We can hardly contemplate the possibility of the King's listening to the advice of those who would throw him back into these hands; and, therefore, we are to proceed upon the supposition, that, if the ministers meet with a formidable opposition, they will dissolve the parliament. The consequence of that would be that not a man who had voted against them would dare to show his face in any part of the country. A hundred of them would be chased out of counties and of boroughs that are half rotten; and then the ministers might do the thing that the people want done. But, for the ministers to dissolve the parliament, with such prospect before them, they must first propose, and distinctly propose, to make such a reform as will satisfy the people; and, nothing short of an extension of the suffrage to all householders paying scot and lot, and of voting by ballot, will satisfy the people. I shall always contend, that every man liable to be called on to serve in the militia has a right to vote, and that a man's poverty ought to be no bar to the exercise of this right, however ex-

treme that poverty may be; but, as the other might, and I believe it would, satisfy the nation, that might be enough for the ministers to propose along with the ballot. If they propose any-thing short of these, to dissolve the parliament would be of no use; of no use at all; the people would say that one set was as good as another set, and that no reform would be better than a sham reform. But if they distinctly propose to do these, the whole country would be in commotion on their side; and the new parliament would enable them to make the reform, without any opposition at all.

If his Majesty were, unfortunately, to listen to advisers of another description, and to resolve not to dissolve the parliament, the present ministers would, of course, quit their places, and be succeeded by their predecessors with the Duke at their head; but how long could this last? Back would come all the scenes and all the angry passions of the month of November; but these latter with tenfold force: and as to the former, they would appear with great improvements and additions. The rage against the ministers would then be extended to other quarters; and the man must be blind who does not foresee terrible convulsion as the result. The bare circumstance of the Duke of Wellington coming back again into power would throw the whole kingdom into a paroxysm of rage: despair of any good from gentle means would seize upon the public, and all men would make up their minds to a resort to the last desperate means.

For, with regard to the Prince of Waterloo, how stands the case? He made a declaration against parliamentary reform: he made it one week, and the next week the King had to submit to the humiliation of withdrawing his promise to dine with his people in Guild-Hall; because he could not fulfil the promise without being accompanied by his prime-minister, or without openly pronouncing disgrace on his prime-minister, and because he could not be accompanied by that prime-minister, without endangering the peace of the City.

and the lives of his people. After this it is notorious that that minister could neither ride nor walk the streets without insult, not to say personal danger. The question is not, whether these popular violences were right or wrong in themselves: if that were the question we should decide for the latter; but the question is, whether it must not be dangerous to the whole community for a government to have at its head a man standing in such a light in the eyes of the people? The PRINCE OF WATERLOO was, in fact, turned out of office by the people; and that too because he had so audaciously declared against a reform in Parliament. His successors came into power on the express condition of making that reform against which the Prince had issued his declaration; and the great fault which they immediately committed was, to *suffer it to appear as if they were not in their hearts hostile to him and his politics!* They were so friendly with him; they expressed so little disapprobation of what he had done and said; they so carefully avoided all censure on him and his measures; they appeared to intend to do *so little* in the way of change; they removed from their places so few of his underlings; his appeared to be so much like an *abdication à la Charles dix*; Theirs seemed to be so much like an *accession à la Louis-Philippe*; the Houses, in one case, seemed, in their anxiety to prevent any material change, so much like that of the Chambers in the other case, that the new ministry became shaken in the public opinion. In short, men still looked upon the Prince as being one of the principal advisors, and they became hesitating and suspicious accordingly. They thought that they saw his counsel in the augmentation of the army; they thought they traced him in the special commissions; and, when they saw him, whom LORD RADNOR had so distinctly accused, in his place in parliament, only a few days before; when they saw him *appointed to be one of the Special Commissioners*, actually sitting upon the bench in Hampshire; when they saw him, who wrote the let-

ter, inserted in the *BLACK BOOK*, page 360; when they saw him, and recollected numerous things which I shall not mention here; when they saw him sitting in the judgment-seat, with life and death on his lips; when they saw these things, what were they to think other than that his successors had retained his principles though they had supplanted him in point of form?

This has been the great cause, and, indeed, the only cause, of the suspicions with regard to the views of the present Ministers. They have lost character solely by their complaisance towards him. They have suffered in precisely the same way, and from precisely a similar cause, with the renowned fundholder, Louis-Philippe. The accusations against him are, that he had discovered no sincere hostility to Charles dix and his crew; that he has endeavoured to screen the prime agents of his predecessor; that he has done as little as possible in the way of making changes in the men in power; that he and his ministers have kept in force all the laws of Charles against the liberty of the press and of speech; that he has, in fact, taken off no taxes; that he is talking about an enlargement of the right of voting at elections, but that he proposes to do very little in this way; and that what he does comes from him like drops of blood from the heart; that, in short, the abdication of Charles, the accession of Philippe, his calling himself a citizen-king; that the whole has been contrived to cajole and heat the people by a mere change of names and symbols, but that it is really intended to tax them and oppress them just as much as they were taxed and oppressed before.

The English nation have thought that they discovered a wonderful similarity between the conduct of the new ministry and that of Louis-Philippe. The French sum up the charges against him in saying that he *prevents the Revolution from marching*; and the charge against our new ministry is summed up in this, that they do *not seem to be resolved on giving us a real reform*; and this has been inferred, not from any

declaration of theirs, nor from any of their acts, except from those which have led the people to suspect that they were acting in conjunction privately with the Prince of Waterloo.

Now, if they be sincerely disposed to give us a real reform, the open hostility of Waterloo would be the greatest advantage they could possibly possess. The public will immediately say, that, now, all is clear and consistent; and as to any chance that he will have of succeeding against them, the absurdity is too gross to be entertained by any sensible man for a moment; the public now know him; the pension list itself would have settled him in the minds of the people for ever, had there been nothing else. The one single item stated in the motto of this *Register* would have been quite sufficient. The present generation; the young men from twenty to thirty, are not the poor noodled creatures that shouted and bragged in the days of Waterloo; they have looked into facts; they know that a hundred and fifty millions of the debt were brought upon us by what were called his victories; they know that while this debt has been creating, while this industrious people have been becoming miserable, while this great nation has been sinking into insignificance in the eyes of foreign states, the pensioner Lady MORNINGTON's four sons have been puffed up into *peers*, loaded with pensions, sinecures, and grants. They know that this man himself has received far more than a million of the public money; and they know, too, that the pretended victories for which he received it, have only tended to excite implacable enmity against us in foreign breasts, at the same time that the debts arising from the purchase of those victories have bereft us of the means of protection against that hostility.

It is impossible to look at the Continent of Europe without feeling shame that we have heaped millions upon this man and his family. I do not feel shame for myself, indeed; for, none of the presumptuous tribe ever had the grant of a penny which I did not oppose to the utmost of my power; and

I would, if I were in a situation to do it, move, before I slept, for a resumption of every one of the grants. Seven hundred millions of money were given him for what were called the victory of Waterloo and the conquest of France. It was he that severed Belgium; it was *he*, great and glorious HE, who wrenched from France that treble chain of impregnable fortresses; it is he who says, in his Peerage, printed in London and circulated throughout the world, that his *own* services such as the nation could not repay; but that *it did its best!* And, while this monstrous instance of presumption is staring us in the face, we see that very Belgium *just upon the eve* of being united to France, while another column of the same newspaper tells us that he is assembling, in the very house and on the very land given him by the people and paid for by the taxes, a knot of adherents intended to contrive the means of preventing this very people from obtaining a parliamentary reform. The very same newspaper that gives an account of the holding of this caucus, gives us the speech of M. MANGUIN, in the French Chamber of Deputies, who says:

We do not fear war, and if Belgium should offer herself, I would say, even at the risk of war—'Accept her.' It would be a deadly war, I know; but it would be to the honour and glory of France. And, besides, who would dare to attack us? Would it be in Russia? She has Poland and Turkey to contend with. Would it be Austria? She knows that with 50,000 men we should give her occupation in Italy. *Would it be England!* With *steamboats we could carry arms and battalions into Ireland* [strong sensation]. I here speak upon the supposition of war; but I speak only to induce Ministers to collect all their forces for the moment of danger. Nations have their treacherous sleep; this sleep is death; and death is foreign invasion and partition."

The sun at noon-day is not clearer than that Belgium will be reunited to France in a very short space of time. We have been intriguing to pre-

vent it; we have been endeavouring, by all the means that conscious impotence resorts to, to obviate this dreadful humiliation; the stock-jobbers of Paris have been co-operating for the purpose with the stock-jobbers of London; every effort has been tried to cajole the French people on the one side and the Belgians on the other side; but all in vain; the citizen-king and the citizen-Lafitte, and the citizen-bishop-prince Talleyrand, all have failed to prevent the consummation of this great event: the two nations will rush together over the violets and the primroses, and leave the despots, the borough-mongers and the loan-mongers, to gnaw their flesh with rage.

Yet, when this event shall take place, will not every English eye be turned with indignation towards the great brazen Achilles and Strathfieldsay? But, in the meanwhile, what brass must the man have, if, in this state of things even, when the disgrace brought on us by his pretended victories stares us in the face; what brass must he have, if, even at such a time, he entertain the idea that he is able to turn out a ministry and to take their places, too, because they propose to restore the people to the enjoyment of their rights! I think, after all, that he is not fool enough to imagine that he can do this. I think that the opposition which is intended is not to go beyond this: We will let you remain in power, provided you do but very little in the way of reform. We will support you against the people, if they demand much. Thus to prevent a real reform, to keep all the bands of underlings still in office, and to prevent a dissolution at the same time. If the ministers fall into this trap, they will soon become as odious as any set of ministers ever were; they will be at once hated and despised; the country will be kept in a state of constant commotion; all men will soon feel that no good has been done; their party foes may combine and turn them out at any time; the two parties will be confounded in the eyes of the public; Ireland will continue agitated to a height approaching rebellion;

France will march on, consolidating her power with one hand, while with the other she points at us the finger of scorn; the army cannot be reduced; the debt cannot be diminished; the distress of the middle class must go on increasing; the misery of the lower class must engender strife and violence; the fabric of paper-money will, in its totterings backward and forward, continue to swell the magnitude of the troubles of the country; and, in verification of my old prophecy, published upon leaving England in 1817, "in all human probability, the whole of the interest of the debt, and all the sinecures and pensions and salaries, and also the expenses of a thundering standing army, will continue to be made up by taxes, by loans from the Bank, by Exchequer Bills, by every species of contrivance, to the latest possible moment, and until the whole of the paper system, amidst the war of opinions, of projects, of interests, and of passions, shall go to pieces like a ship upon the rocks."

This fatal result, this tragical end of the system, may be prevented, if Lord GREY choose to prevent it; but he has but one way of preventing it, and that is by proposing at once, and explicitly, an effectual reform of the Parliament; and if he find a formidable opposition to his measure, by dissolving that Parliament, which he will do, in such case, amidst the universal acclamations of the people. If the King were to be advised not to follow the counsels of his ministers, and were to follow that advice, a few weeks would produce anarchy, or a recall of Lord GREY. So that, if he stand firm, he is sure to succeed in the end. One county, or only one considerable town or city, refusing to pay the assessed taxes, for instance; offering no resistance, but suffering the law to take its course against the parties; this, which implies no violence, no disobedience of the law, would bring the thing up to its bearings at once. And this was just upon the eve of taking place in London, when the last change of ministry took place and prevented it. Men then said, Let

us see; let us wait: but if Waterloo's Prince had continued in power, he would soon have received this convincing species of admonition.

After all, I am inclined to think that this threatened opposition will vanish into air. No doubt that their hearts are good; no doubt that they would prevent reform if they could, but the danger of opposition is too great, and the chance of escaping that danger too small for them to venture on the enterprise... Many of them will see, in a reform of the parliament, their everlasting exclusion from power and emolument: they will see the bread going away from their mouths and those of their families; they will see whole tribes of tax-fed gentlemen and ladies condemned to labour for their food and raiment; they will feel their hearts sinking in their bodies; they will fancy themselves transmuted into another state of being. All this they will fore-see and they will feel, but they will be afraid to resist. Between their teeth they will cause the ministers and the people; but they will give way. Like all unjust and insolent and overbearing men, they will be as mean as they have been haughty; and as they have disdainfully cast their orts to others, of others they will gladly devour the orts.

One thing should be clearly understood by the present ministers; and that is, that *they cannot prevent reform if it would*. God forbid that I should impute to them the desire to do it! but it is satisfactory to me to know that they cannot prevent it if they would. They might cause it to be postponed; and that is the utmost that they could do, and the postponement could not last long. They have, therefore, no motive, consistent with common sense, to make them halt or boggle. The country never can know peace again; there can never again be safety to property till this monstrous heap of taxes be greatly reduced; and this, as I have said a thousand times over, will never be accomplished without a new sort of parliament. All the efforts of Mr. Hume are of no avail without this new sort of parliament. It is only a few

millions at the most of which such efforts can effect the reduction. We want a reduction of more than one-half a great deal; and such reduction is not to be accomplished without a minister that has the millions at his back. This is what I have been contending for during the last twenty-five years of my life. My propositions have been these: That the nation must finally become despicable abroad and miserable at home; and must at last be plunged into a convulsive revolution, unless there be a very great reduction of the interest of the Debt, accompanied by other measures that shall render such reduction equitable: That this reduction never can be effected without a ministry having all the industrious classes of the country cordially at its back: That no ministry can have these classes cordially at its back without a real reform of the parliament. In support of these three propositions I addressed a letter to this very Lord Grey, which was published in the Register of the 12th of January, 1822. I said, some weeks back, that I would now republish this letter, which is as apt to the present circumstances as if it were written at this very hour. I now insert it; and I beseech him to pay attention to it. Every line of it is worthy of his strict attention at this moment. As the reader proceeds, he will stop at times and express his astonishment at the clearness with which I foresaw that which was to come. LORD GREY was at that time out of office; but most people thought that he was the fit man to have our affairs in his hands, as well on account of his talents as his honesty: I thought so too, and, therefore, I addressed to him this letter, which I here again respectfully submit to his attention and to that of my readers in general.

WM. COBBETT.

TO EARL GREY,

On the Remedy for the Evils that now afflict the Kingdom:

Kingston, 24th January, 1831.

MY LORD,

LET me, before I, for the last time, urge your Lordship to come forward for

the salvation of the country, once more shortly state what is now the *situation* of the country, and show how strongly this situation resembles that of France *just previous to the Revolution*.

The fact is not denied by any one, that taxation, be its amount what it may, lessens, in proportion to the amount, the enjoyments of a people. This, and almost in these very words, is acknowledged in the Report of the Agricultural Committee. This nation is now taxed to a degree almost beyond endurance; for, as I said in 1814, and had said in "Paper against Gold," to pay in cash was to double or triple the taxes. The tax on a pound of candles, for instance, is now, when the labourer's wages are reduced to 8s. a week, just as much in nominal amount as it was when his wages were 12s. a week. But threepence taken out of 8s. is *more* than threepence taken out of 12s. In short, it is clear that Peel's Bill has, by reducing prices one half in general, and, in some cases, a great deal more, doubled or tripled the taxes; so that these are now become absolutely intolerable. "Nous demandons à grands cris," said the French people, in their eloquent *Cahirs*; "We ask, we cry aloud;" and, for *what*? Why, for a reduction of those *taxes*, those heavy and galling imposts that were producing amongst them famine and distraction.

It is *the Debt* which is the cause of this dreadful scourge. It demands thirty millions of hard money a year to pay the *bare interest*, and it is made the excuse for raising about ten or twelve millions more for "sinking fund" and other like purposes. Then, to collect these sums amidst the sufferings that the collection of them occasions, demands a standing army in time of peace. This army is made the ground for a *staff* quite enormous, and for barracks and other establishments equally enormous. These again add to the weight of taxation. So that, it is *the Debt*, swelled up by an endeavour to compel the Americans to submit to taxation without representation, and brought to its present hideous size by the war

against the people of France to force back on them the Bourbons, and to crush those who were endeavouring to obtain a reform of parliament in England. It is the *Debt* here as it was the Debt in France! The French Revolution was a *financial affair*. I remember, that the late Mr. GARLICK, who was then at the court at the Hague, wrote to me, in 1791, in somewhat these words: "The revolution was a thing of *necessity*. The government could not have *gone on another month*. It was like a spider, twisted up in his own web." I, who had then been a *soldier* for about seven years, thought it very strange, that a government that had an *army* could not *go on*! I have since discovered how this is; and the practical proof is now, or very shortly will be, before me.

The old French government *did not possess the power to lighten the burdens of the people*. It was compelled to call for the assistance of the people themselves. I beg your Lordship to remember this; for the same call must, in some shape or other, take place here. The old French government called upon the people *too late*, in the first place; then, in the next place, it did not act in a fair and frank manner with the people; thirdly, it endeavoured to maintain all the greatest abuses in full vigour; and, fourthly, it was in want of what we have, the *forms* of freedom and of representation. There *was*, when they came to act, nothing short of a *new government* that would do in France; while we, with similar, precisely similar, difficulties, stand in need of nothing but such a change as shall make the House of Commons the real representatives of the people at large; but to be that, they must be *chosen by the people at large*.

Without a reduction, and a large reduction too, of the interest of the Debt, it is in vain to talk of a *remedy*. The follies of *Webb Hall* are now become subjects of ridicule amongst all classes of men. There are few that remain unsatisfied of the truth, that there must be a complete *revolution in property*, unless the operations of the Debt be

stopped. We already see four, if not five, nobleman's estates in the hands of one single family of "loyal" loan-jobbers, whose father would have brushed, and, perhaps, *did* brush, Lord Shelburne's coat! And, good God! the nobility of this country, while they haughtily and scornfully cast from them a supplicating people, who cannot be their rivals, take to their bosoms, hug, cherish and pamper, a race of reptile loan-jobbers, stock-jobbers and Jews, who are actually at this moment pocketing their rents, by the means of which they will purchase from them the land and the parchments!

My Lord ASHBURNHAM, who presided the other day at a meeting at Battle, in Sussex, very feelingly observed, that, in whatever degree the farmers were suffering, he could assure them that they *did not suffer more than he did*. Why, my Lord, what a thing is this to hear from a nobleman of large landed estate, prudent in the management of his affairs, and squandering in nothing! What a thing to hear from such a person; and when we know, too, that this is only a specimen of what exists in every part of the kingdom! Several years ago (in 1816) I wrote, in sport, some lines now literally true:

Of paper-coin how vast the power!
It breaks or makes us in an hour.
And, thus, perhaps, a beggar's shirt,
When finely ground and cleared of dirt;
Then re-compressed by hand or hopper,
And printed on by sheet of copper,
May raise ten beggars to renown,
And tumble fifty nobles down.

In 1803, when the vapouring Addington was putting forth his schemes of "solid finance," I said, that, if the Debt were not arrested in its progress, the nobility and the church must finally fall; for that their long existence was wholly incompatible with the existence of that Debt. The unprincipled SHERIDAN, who, for some vile purpose or other, was at that time giving his support to Addington, denounced me, in the House of Commons, as a man aiming at the destruction of public credit, and did his best to mark me out for public resentment, and to render my

writings a subject of criticism with that great master of style, the Attorney-General. I lived to see that profligate politician descend to a disgraceful grave; and I shall live to fully verify the opinion for the stating of which he would have had me sacrificed; for who is there, my Lord, that does not now see that the ancient nobility and the church must fall, unless the Debt be, by some means or other, nearly, if not quite, put an end to!

The nobility, by which I mean the ancient families of the kingdom, whether peers or not, suffered Pitt to create a new race of statesmen. The Roses, the Longs, the Addingtons the Ryders, the Castlereaghs, the Cannings, the Scotts, the Percevals, the Jenkinsons, the Laws, the Dundasses, and many others. These have had the active powers in their hands. Out of their system have arisen the Barings, the Smiths, the Peels, the Curtises, the Luke Whites, the Alexanders, the Ricardoes, and thousands of that description. The ancient families, in all times lethargic, have been content with the protection, the ease and safety, which the new race of statesmen promised them. But, at last, they begin to find (and I would fain hope that they will not have made the discovery too late), that it is not ease and safety that have been the result of their confiding the nation's affairs to the new race of statesmen. These have been pretty "vigorous" gentlemen. They have been very able in keeping down reformers. They have discovered great ingenuity in prescribing the price and bulk of pamphlets, and in taking means to prevent the crime of making "breakfast powder" out of wheat and rye. They have never been backward to make provision for preventing the landowners from losing their hares and pheasants; but, for the soul of them, they cannot find out the means of preventing them from losing their estates! They have talked very fluently about property being the basis of legislative power; about the "designing demagogues" who, "bankrupt in character and fortune," wanted to get at the pro-

perty of the rich; about the "sacredness" of property they have spoken volumes; how to prevent the hedge-stakes, the nuts, and the haws, from being stolen, they have well understood; but, as to the estate itself, to preserve that to the owner, makes, it seems, no part of their province! And, my Lord, if this be done at all, be you assured, that it will be a work in which the "designing demagogues" will have a great deal to do.

Let no landowner flatter himself that the thing admits of mitigation. Mr. GIBBS said, at the Canterbury Meeting, the other day, that the landlords as well as farmers, must make sacrifices; from which it would appear that he supposed that the thing would not go beyond a certain point. With the farmer it would not; for the farmer is only a higher sort of labourer; but, with the landlord, no matter how large his possessions, there can be no stop, no pause, as long as the debt exists in any thing like its present amount. He must lose all in a very few years. The whole will be absorbed by the labourers, the paupers (whose allowances are, in fact, now, so much of wages), by the army, by pensioners, placemen, and fundholders. The landlord is now living out of the losses of the farmer; but the present race of farmers will soon be gone; and the next race will have nothing to lose! There will be, for there can be, no rents. The tax-gatherer will take the whole of that which ought to be rent; and this is, and long has been, as clear to my sight as is the paper that I am now writing on.

There is, then, no means of saving the landlords but getting rid of a great part, and a very great part, of the Debt. And is this to be done without admitting the people to a *duo shara* in the choosing of Members of their own House? Is this to be done with nine-tenths of the people forbidden to meet to petition their "representatives"? Is this to be done without harmony and cordiality between the great mass of the people and the ancient families? Is this to be done, while the people are smarting under the endless wrongs, indignities,

insults, and scoffs, heaped upon them by the upstarts who have been supported by those ancient families!

As to the sort of reform, I have already troubled your Lordship with more than enough. But if I go too far, why not stop short of me? If it were true, that some of us asked for too much, would that be a reason for giving us nothing? If time press (and I confess it does) why, my Lord, not break up a hundred of the boroughs, and give their Members to the great towns, on the universal suffrage plan? This, which would be giving only a third of the Commons' House to the people at large, might satisfy them until time were found to consider the matter more maturely. Why not have a reformed House sitting in April next? And why not have the Debt reduced, and the devil set at defiance by June? As to what I am told some Lords say about a House chosen by the people packing the other House about their business; and, when it passed tax-laws, would make none but the rich pay taxes, and would thus take away their estates: as to these, my Lord, they are merely feigned fears; they are manifestly excuses hatched for the purpose of justifying flagrant wrong upon the plea of necessity. These Lords know well, that the Legislatures in America do not rob the rich by partial taxation; they know that it was never done even by the *sans-culottes* of France; they know, in short, that it is monstrous to suppose such a thing. But these persons also know, that it is their intention not to yield an inch; but to hold on, to hang on to the last to the principles of Canning and Davies Giddy.

However, pray, my Lord, I beseech you to look at the absurdity of feigning fears like these under circumstances like the present! Grant, though it is contrary to all reason and to all experience, that a House of Commons chosen by the people would lay the taxes on the great proprietors exclusively. What then? Their estates, or, rather, their incomes, would be reduced to a certain fixed amount. But, if the present thing go on, they must lose the whole of their

incomes in a very short time; so that even that which they pretend to fear would, if it were really to take place in consequence of a reform of the Parliament, be an improvement in their circumstances: they would then have *something*; nay, they would still be the *richest* of the community; whereas they will now be the *poorest*; they will now be *left with nothing*; for I mean to say, distinctly, that if the present thing go on unchecked for only a very few years, every landed estate, the owner of which receives *nothing out of the taxes*, will pass into new hands, and that the present owners (unless they till the land and live on it) will become literally beggars or paupers; and, with perfect seriousness, I declare that I should not be at all surprised to see many a man with a title go into the *poor-house*; for, let it be observed, that they get feebler and feebler every day from the same cause which daily and hourly adds strength to their devourers. I once employed a French Court to *bind volumes of the Register for me*, and a very good bookbinder he was. This Register has seen strange changes in the world; but, unless the ancient families speedily *call the people to their aid*, my sincere opinion is, that the Register has yet to see and record changes still stranger, and, both in themselves and in their consequences, far more important than any that it has hitherto seen.

If the persons *most interested* in the correctness or incorrectness of these forebodings, had not for so many years shut their eyes to the truth, they could not have been in their present situation. However, "there is nothing new under the sun:" the old nobility of all countries have, at different periods, been led along in this way by *active and greedy upstarts*, who have uniformly taught them, that their security was to be found *only in distrust and rigorous treatment of the people*; the people, who can never be their rivals, who are necessary to their subsistence, and who, if only decently treated, are always against changes of every sort. But, in addition to the ordinary

workings of upstarts, we have now a band of paper-formed gentry, who snatch away the lands with a "*præsto! change!*"

We have now not to wait long to see the *event*. If some *efficient* measure be not adopted during the ensuing session of Parliament, it is, in my opinion, more than probable that a later period will be *too late*; not only too late to save the estates of the ancient families from the transfer; but too late also to prevent that very *convulsion*, which has all along been the bugbear held up to frighten those whose utter ruin seems now to be inevitable, if the present course be persevered in for any length of time. Once more, therefore, at the end of precisely (for it is this very day) *twenty years* of unavailing calling on the nobility; *once more I call on them to conciliate the people, and to appeal to them for protection against the "all-devouring monster."* This is the sure and easy way of putting an end to all the turmoil and peril that now exist. In this way all would be justly, quietly, and happily settled. The people, full of satisfaction and good-humour, would cheerfully make sacrifices beyond what any generous mind could expect. Always attached to things long established, they would once more be proud of what, a long series of harsh and scornful treatment has made them at once hate and despise. The fabric of falsehood and fraud, and all the extortions of its inventors, would instantly disappear, and England would be again the seat of industry, of freedom, of that confidence between man and man, and of that abundance in good things, that frankness, that unostentatious hospitality, for which she was in former days justly famed, but of all which she has been bereft by a band of lawyers converted into statesmen, and bringing in their train a band of loan-jobbers, stock-jobbers, Jews, and makers of paper-money, that root of all evil, that debaser, that corrupter of mankind, that scourge and curse of a people from generation to generation. The proposition of the saucy and viperous PARCEVAL, to establish a fortress in Hyde

Park, to cover *thirty acres of ground*, to contain quarters for ten thousand foot, five thousand horse, and a train of artillery, for the *openly avowed* purpose of *keeping the metropolis in awe*; this is only a specimen of what we have had to put up with for the whole of the thirty years last past. Little did those, who so readily gave their assent to such things, imagine that the consequences were *finally to fall on themselves!* On them they have now, however, fallen, and are falling, with weight insupportable. May they be admonished by what they have already felt, and seek in the revived friendship of the people that security for themselves which I am satisfied they will find in no other source!

If a contrary line of conduct were to be pursued; if a refusal of reform were to be still persisted in; if to their deadly and natural foes, the Man-jobbing race, the ancient families were to persist in adding a mass of foes of their own creating, a true picture of all the consequences I forbear to draw. But let it be observed, that if the thing could go on to the close of the transfer of estates, the turmoil would not there end. The same work of transfer must still be going on; the same agitation, the same distress, the same pauperism, the same evils of every description, until the nation, debauched and brutalised, insensible alike to honour and to shame, would be the sport of its hostile neighbours and the scorn of the world. To this length, however, the thing could not, and cannot go. The native vigour of the nation, the mass of intelligence and of talent it possesses, that love of country which is a passion in the bosom of Englishmen, the recollection, become so galling, of the deeds of their forefathers, would, long before the thing arrived at this point, rouse them to action, and in some fit of convulsive energy, all the degrading shackles would be snapped in sunder and scattered to the winds.

That any-thing which I have said, even with the present experience and the manifest appalling prospect to back me, will have any effect on the main

part of those who are most deeply interested in the matter, is a great deal more than past experience will permit me to hope; but, at any rate, *when the tremendous catastrophe shall come, here will be this one additional proof of my anxious desire to prevent it.*

I am, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient

and most humble Servant,

WM. COBBETT

FRANCE.

READ paragraph 7 of the following letter. That will show you the real state of the government of LOUIS-PHILIPPE! In short, it cannot last. There will be a real republic; and we ought to be prepared for that; and to be prepared for it, we must have a cheap government; a really cheap one.

To the Editor of the Register.

LETTER FROM MR. W. COBBETT,
AT PARIS.

SIR,

Paris, 24th Jan, 1831.

1. IN attempting to give you hints in a few words upon the immediate prospects of this country, I shall necessarily divide the body politic into physical and moral, as those prospects undoubtedly depend upon two things, which, though they are very much connected, act independently of each other. The funding system being the life or body, the principles which the government profess with regard to its constitution are the moral part, and accidents which are now well understood may destroy that system, without the name of the constitution being blackened; but, supposing such accidents to be averted, a sort of moral death might arise by the abandonment of the principles which have hitherto been all-powerful. Now, in this view of the matter, the prospects are black in every way; it is impossible to say, in short, on what side the hopes of those who have, since the Revolution, been flattering themselves with the prospect of liberty, and congratulating themselves on the mode which had been taken to secure it: on

what side those hopes are likely to receive the greatest shock.

2. The breaking up of Lafitte's bank seems to have excited a great deal of attention in London; but, it by no means follows that he is to cease to be a minister in consequence, as the English newspapers presume. If every insolvent banker (he may not be insolvent, but the charm is equally dispelled if he be not immensely rich) were to cease his activity there would be a stagnation indeed! M. Lafitte is spoken of by some of even the most honest Journals, as fit for Minister of the Interior, but others extol him now more than ever for his present post. In the *Journal du Commerce* he is spoken of (whether ironically or not I am not sure) as the martyr of the revolution, and it paints the measure of retribution which he deserves in comparison with that deserved by any of those who lost their mere blood! One is involuntarily drawn by such remarks as these to inquire after the disposal of the subscriptions for those who so lost their blood, and who are now called, from the commonness of their species of courage, vulgar in France; and it is to be desired, that if these subscriptions have been pressed into the service of public credit, that the consent to such an application of them as would appear to be sanctioned by the *Journal du Commerce*, has not been anticipated by those with whom they were entrusted.

3. This Minister of Finance, with the facts which are now known, must enlighten the world more than can be described, or than it might be safe to attempt. What! it did not require a civil-list of twenty-five millions to place the king far above private fortunes, if the great private fortunes are such as that of this banker. He is, I believe, a perfectly worthy private man (for a banker); he has numerous relations whom he has made partners with him, or has established in a way to rival himself; but these were attempts to monopolize trade, in all of which he has failed, and he is now only an instance of the hollowness and stagnation of capital and of commerce. The ab-

surd reasoning of this minister in proposing the civil-list is now understood; and we have only to suppose the case of his having land to sell, for instance, to perceive why there should be an overflowing civil-list.

4. Though M. Lafitte has announced a new bank, to be carried on in the name of his nephew, he does not in his circular mention the name of M. Aguado, a well-known Spanish banker resident here, and who it is understood is a sleeping partner of the nephew. M. Lafitte, it is said and says, will now have all his time and all his ability to devote to his country; and I think, the destinies of that country may be imagined, if he be allowed so to devote himself long. It must be evident that all the great banking establishments are brought to a low ebb, by the confidence which is still shown to this one banker, and that his remaining in power will be a proof that this government identifies itself with insolvency, and that it has embraced the vain attempt of keeping up a fictitious commerce and an enormous amount of taxation. The ministry declare that the taxation is indispensable, but facts prove that it is impossible; and in this state they persevere, as coolly persevere, in running the risks of experience, as if they were only learning the horn-book of political economy, and expected no consequences but knowledge.

5. In this state of things, the discontent of the country, and the danger of the imaginations and hopes of the founders of this "popular monarchy" being slighted, must be imminent, without any dereliction of principle in the Government. Though the people were ever so much in love with their Government, according to experience, oftentimes "when poverty comes in at the door, love flies out of the window;" so that it is not surprising that, notwithstanding every use which can be made of the army, and the very great sincerity with which the National Guard on all occasions endeavour to keep the peace, that there have been divers disturbances directed particularly against the taxes. At Nismes, a few days ago, the National

Guard and people were unanimous in preferring a list of thirteen distinct heads of complaint, amongst which were, the dismissal or change of every person connected in whatever way with the raising of the taxes; one request was, an increase of the National Guard which is a desire which is universal, as well as that of the number of electors. How great a proportion of the taxes is paid by the poor, and how false is the pretence that the taxes are equal, will be more manifest by this fact than any other: namely, that the salt tax alone produces sixty-two millions, when the whole revenue is not more than nine hundred millions; of the sixty-two millions, the sixty is tax; and of this taxed article no poor family can dispense with a quarter of a pound a day, which, at four sous or two-pence per pound, is eighteen francs a year. The poorer the food of the family, the more they must pay of tax, as potatoes or cabbage require salt more than meat or bread.

6. So that, the *belly* is no friend to the system which is going on, and as this has grounds to be discontented, who would be either unfeeling or hypocrite enough, to pretend to find in this Government, or in any part of it which in any way leads to such a state of things, matter to applaud?—But, leaving the belly out of the question; there is open war upon all the principles upon which the “best republic” is now proceeding, and with all its acts. With regard to the foreign affairs, as that relating to Belgium is the first at this moment, it is impossible to say anything, from the changes which constantly take place in the decisions made respecting it. Altogether, events come on with such huge strides, that one cannot imagine what degree of animosity or disunion may not be shown about the foreign policy, between the ministry and their opponents,

7. This place is so *lively*, that it is constantly producing something, in some shape or other, in derision of despotism and declaratory of the inherent love of liberty and of equality

which belongs to the brave nation of which it is the capital. The suppression of the press gives more importance to the *theatres*; and if the theatres be put down, *caricatures* arise in such a way that they cannot be touched. But the theatres are now playing, in reality, a great game, which has brought the Government to the point of reducing their liberty even more than that of the press. I must first inform you, that the *cause* of this is, the mode in which NAPOLEON is represented, and even his son, and the numerous and admiring audiences which these representations attract. “NAPOLEON” is now played in *eight different theatres*, “Le Fils de l’Homme” (*the son of the man*) in four, and “Marshal BRUNE” has just made its appearance. The plays of Napoleon enlarge and improve successively; they take different periods of his life, so that, in seeing them all, you almost see his whole history; but it is in the political part which can be *applied now*, in which they improve most and by which they become most popular: and the last which has come out, puts these words into his mouth, on his return from Elba:—“The Chamber of Deputies is unworthy of the nation: I dissolve them:—The Chamber of Peers is interested in returning to the feudal laws: I abolish them.” This passage is cheered and even encored. In this play, the personages of the restoration who are hateful, are not spared. It is the most wholly political and at the same time most interesting, dramatic performance I ever saw.—Now, the way this is to be put an end to is, by passing a law, which is to take effect in a very few days, to prohibit the representing of any personage on the stage, who has not been dead more than twenty-five years, *without the permission of the Minister of the Interior*.

8. Here is a desperate abandonment to the fear of liberty, which requires nothing now to make it manifest. It says more also as to the feeling of the nation for the memory of the Emperor, than a friend of the “best republic” would say, and therefore I will not say any-thing about it. These theatres

hold, some of them, two thousand persons, and they are always full.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,
Wm. COBBETT, Junr.

REFORM; AND THE INTRIGUES AT COURT.

THE following article is taken from the bloody old newspaper, which cannot see the end of its own corrupt, mercenary and sanguinary career, in that reform, *which it affects to advocate*. It has been the *trumpeter to deeds of blood* ever since it existed; and, if a real reform take place, *down it comes!* In the meanwhile, it is, at present, evidently, the *organ of the public offices*; and the following article *comes from those offices*. In this respect, it is of *importance*, and should be read with attention. It is impossible not to see that there have been *intrigues at Brighton on the subject of reform*. Why should the King have the *ex-Minister there* with a grand party to dinner! A pretty story, indeed, to say, that the King declared it to be *'no political party'*! A pretty humbug! Lord GREY will not forget 1807, and the then works of PERCEVAL and SCOTT ELDON, as the reader will find them recorded in No. 3 of the *History of George the Fourth*, which has been out some time, but which I shall make room to insert in the next number of the Register; and after that will follow the rest of the Numbers as fast as I can get them out. But No. 3 should be *read now*. It is published, price 6d., and it will show how Lord Grey was *jockeyed* in 1807! Times are changed, however; *the people* have now taken the thing in hand, and they are not to be *humbugged* with stories about *scamples of conscience*.

Much has been said relative to the *late visit of the Duke of Wellington at Brighton*. The following will, however, set at rest all speculation as to the political nature of the Duke's journey. His Majesty invited a *military party to meet his Grace at dinner*; after the removal of the cloth, his Majesty, having filled a bumper,

said, *'The King of England knows nothing of politics except when in his closet*. He now gives the health of the *Great Captain of the Age*—his Grace the Duke of Wellington.' This judicious remark answered a double purpose; it operated to convince the Duke that his Majesty's confidence in the *present Ministry was impregnable*; and it also served to convince Earl Grey and his colleagues, that the *Royal trust reposed in them had not moulted one feather*.' A pretty story! This is from the Bloody Old Thing of this day (Feb. 3); and as pretty a lie it is as ever appeared even in that infamous newspaper. Let the reader *look well* at it; and he will see what *has been going on!* He will see what it is that has made the Ministers CRY ALOUD FOR THE SUPPORT OF THE PEOPLE. There needed no crying for it: the people were ready with ten thousand times as much support as they can want. Ah! Borough-mongers, you will fail! No *intrigues* will avail you! Lord GREY knows, however, that *the people* are his *only support*. Read the following article *with attention*; and let us all gather round the Ministers, and blow the intrigues to the winds.

From The Bloody Old Times of the 1st of February.

It is our deliberate conviction; and was expressed as such in *The Times* of yesterday, that a reform of Parliament is our only security against a revolutionary overthrow of the Church and State of England.

Beyond all question, if the Whig Ministers be not now supported, a Tory Government—or rather bastard-Tory—would stand a good chance of immediately succeeding to office.

An Administration of pure Tories, indeed—that is, of Tories through prejudice or fanaticism, but, according to their lights, or blindness, honest withal,—could not, we believe, be formed. The party is itself fast crumbling to decay. Its numbers are limited—its intellectual capacity still more limited, the public feeling entertained towards

it falls not far short of derision. It must seek to recruit its ranks from other quarters—from among those who were not Tories; that is to say, from the class of unattached, outlying, adventurers, unencumbered with principles or opinions of any kind,—waiters upon Providence, or fortune. Recruits, however, from such an order of politicians would be caught up with great difficulty by an administration, of whose tenets the fashion has gone by. Political adventurers are, for the most part, keen and shrewd fellows, watchful of the wind, sharp-sighted enough to know a “hawk from a hand-saw” whenever their own interest is concerned. They are usually men of shifts and compromises, valuing the like qualities in others, and, above all things in the world, looking with instinctive contempt on people who will not bend to the force of circumstances, or swim with the current of the times.

Hopeless of extraneous succour, then, we see not how the ultra-Tory coterie (for to such dimensions does the party seem to us to be reduced) could carry on the Government for a single hour. Suppose we, therefore, the Whigs dismissed, and the wild and unadulterated Tories disposed of, who would succeed to office? There remains no material for a Government, that we can find, but the impure, or bastard, or, for want of a better word, the trading Tory faction, your place and pension-men,—your men of precedent, of practice, of detail, of expedient, of much dexterity, of small retrenchment, of distant but “not quite impossible”, reform;—men for whom Downing-street comprises the only spot of earth of which they can breathe the air without something like a sense of suffocation.

This trained, and, to the country, most formidable band, would, it is greatly to be dreaded, become Ministers if the Whigs were overturned. And what, then, would follow? The public may guess from the means by which they have been for some time working to undermine the Whigs.

There is no violation of secrecy in mentioning what seems to be admitted

among all the best-informed circles—viz., that attempts have been made of late, in a spirit no less iniquitous than daring, to persuade an illustrious personage that the pledge of his ministers to meet the universal desire of the people of England for a correction of those monstrous abuses which have crept through the constituent body into the whole of their representative system, is a pledge to *revolutionize the state!* From various quarters, and highly respectable, has it been circulated that the Royal ear is thus abused from day to day, for purposes the most selfish and criminal.

If, then, they who hope to succeed the present Ministers found their own superior claims to his Majesty's confidence on their hostility to that measure,—viz., a reform of Parliament, by which the existing Government is pledged to stand or fall,—the new Cabinet so to be formed will have “no reform” for its test and watchword. It cannot break faith with the Sovereign by undertaking that same measure which he will have been prevailed upon by the representations of its members to expel from his councils another Ministry for promising. The new Cabinet cannot do with the manly and plain-sailing mind of King William what another Administration was accused of performing during the lifetime of George IV.,—namely, make one certain policy the pretext for destroying a rival Government, and instantly afterwards carry that same policy into execution. No such project can now be meditated with regard to Parliamentary reform.

Whatever Cabinet shall supplant (we speak of an event which, we trust, is not likely)—whatever Cabinet may supplant that of Lord Grey, by poisoning the Royal mind with chimerical fears of reform, will be tied to the stake, and compelled to act upon a system adverse to every species of reform. Then let King William look round him, and examine what power can such a Ministry command to support a scheme of Government so universally reprobated by his people.

Is the present Parliament to be relieved

upon? Notoriously not. The Duke of Wellington, at the opening of the session, reckoned upon a hard run between him and the reformers. But what has happened since? Why, England has spoken: towns and counties, rich and poor, the middle classes every-where, are pledged, not like the Whig Ministers, to grant reform, but, as a free people ought to do, they say with one voice they *will insist on it*. Let a new Cabinet, then,—we care not who it may consist of, should even Mr. Goulburn himself be at the head of it,—let any new Ministry attempt to drown the cry for reform in that of “*revolution*,” there is not a village in the United Kingdom, from Dover to the north-westerly point of Donegal, whence petitions will not pour in upon the Sovereign to dismiss such a Government for traitors.

If the King listen to the counsels of observant and disinterested men, his Majesty will learn that to resist reform in such an age as this, would be to have repeated, in England, a lesson which Providence seems to have inflicted upon other states, expressly that their neighbours may have the wisdom to profit by it.

It is not the interest of a King of England, or of any monarch, that his people should suffer; nor can it be for his happiness that they should assail him with remonstrances or murmurs. The people of England have a right to what they ask—to redress of grievances, and to protection against the abuse of power. The King has a right to their allegiance in the same degree in which he affords them protection; and it is the doctrine of our constitution, that he can claim no more.

If the people, despairing of redress of grievances through the regular channels, should force fresh channels for themselves (and these are days in which such things have happened), what will be the mournful result for the survivors of a period so calamitous?—Why, the internal relations of the British monarchy will all have been disturbed, and its best institutions subverted, that a mercenary faction might prolong for a few months

the experiment of tyrannizing over King and people.

REFORM MEETINGS.

WHAT can LORD GREY want more than the following two petitions from the county of LINCOLN and from WORCESTER? *Support*, indeed! Why, he has *all the people* at his back. What can he have more? Ten Registers like this, big as it has grown to be, would not contain a *brief* account of a *tenth* part of the proceedings in support of him which have taken place during only the last week. All men, who have *property*, are now convinced that a real and extensive reform is become necessary to give them a *chance* of preserving that property. This is the description of persons, who are moving now! And is this mass of men to be silenced, to be made to bend their necks till they have not a shilling left? are they thus to be made to succumb to utter ruin by a band of intriguers, who live on the taxes? LORD GREY did not, I am sure, think, six months ago, that events were about to place him on such an *eminence*! He has the power, and, I trust, he has the will, to save the country from *anarchy*; but he can do it only by making a *firm stand with the people at his back*. If the aristocracy reject the people; if they resolve to *oust Lord Grey*, and if they be enabled to do this, let them take the consequences.

LINCOLNSHIRE REFORM MEETING.

Castle of Lincoln, Friday, Jan. 28.

One of the most important meetings that has yet taken place, as indicative of the state of public feeling among the substantial yeomanry and farmers of this important county, has just been held, and, notwithstanding the inclemency of the weather, between 2,000 and 3,000 freeholders attended it. Though none of what are called the aristocratic party among the reformers signed the requisition, and some who did sign publicly objected to the introduction of “*ballot*” as one of the objects of the requisition, still the attendance at the meeting was eminently respectable.

The high-sheriff, General Johnson, was called to the chair, and Sir R. Haron, Sir E. F. Bromhead, Colonel Sibthorp, Sir W. Ingilby, and many other gentlemen, addressed the meeting, and a petition for reform was unanimously agreed to. The *Stamford Cham-*

tion received last night contains eight columns of the speeches delivered on this occasion. The following is a copy of the petition:—

“ TO THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

“ We, the undersigned freeholders and inhabitants of the county of Lincoln, humbly represent to your honourable House.—

“ That, by the grievous weight of taxation now imposed upon the country, all productive industry is paralysed, and must, if such taxation be continued, be slowly annihilated.

“ We have seen with horror and disgust that long catalogue of unmerited pensions which has lately been exposed to public indignation by the wise and honest decision of his Majesty's Ministers.

“ We deprecate that waste of public money which ensues from keeping up unnecessary offices, civil, ecclesiastical, and military, and from an unreasonable amount of salaries paid to great officers of state and of the law.

“ We denounce, as opposed to the principles of the Christian religion (whose kingdom is not of this world), and destructive to society, those enormous emoluments which are lavished upon the higher order of the clergy.

“ We complain that national property, commonly called crown land, is misapplied.

“ We believe that these grievances have arisen from a want of popular representation in the House of Commons, and that nothing can give to the people the unbiased exercise of their elective suffrages, and restore to them a just influence and control over their representatives, but a well-organized system of voting by ballot.

“ Feeling a perfect conviction that this measure, and this alone, can complete your plan of retrenchment; that this, and this alone, can remedy existing grievances, and give security for the future, we conjure your honourable House, by all you hold dear and sacred, as you would save your country from an impending convulsion, to give attention to our prayer.

“ We pray that your honourable House would be pleased to remit a large portion of the existing taxes.

“ That all unmerited pensions, and all unnecessary offices, civil, ecclesiastical and military, may be suppressed.

“ That the salaries of officers of the state and of the law may be reduced.

“ That a more reasonable provision may be made for the hierarchy.

“ That the crown lands may be sold.

“ That the savings resulting from the correction of all these abuses may be applied in the place of taxes to be remitted.

“ Above all, that you would cause these old laws to be respected whose object it is to secure the freedom of election, and enact a system of voting by ballot, with such regulations, as shall to your wisdom seem best calculated to prevent the wealthy and the powerful from invading and usurping that dearest privilege of the people, the right of choosing their own representatives.

“ And your petitioners will ever pray.”

WORCESTER MEETING.

To the honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in parliament assembled.

The Petition of the undersigned Members of the Political Union, and other inhabitants of the city of Worcester, and its neighbourhood,

SUBMITT.

That your petitioners perceive, from painful experience, that your hon. House, instead of representing the opinions, feelings, and interests of the great body of the people; instead of being the safeguard and protector of the rights, liberties, and privileges of the nation at large, has become subservient to, and the representative of, the will and power of an overgrown aristocracy (not of that ancient and honourable aristocracy who established and defended the liberties of the people, but of that few and borough-mongering aristocracy, alike the enemies of the King, of the ancient aristocracy, and of the people); and under whose influence your hon. House has abetted and supported every wicked and tyrannical Minister of the day.

That your hon. House has, by a series of acts, commenced, forwarded, and upheld, a most wanton, profligate, and monstrous expenditure of the public money; which wanton, profligate, and monstrous expenditure of the public money has mainly tended to benefit, enrich, and increase the influence of a corrupt borough-mongering aristocracy.

Your hon. House has accordingly uniformly agreed in acts for the benefiting the said borough-mongering aristocracy and other traffickers of seats in your hon. House, by the keeping up of all useless places, unmerited pensions, sinecures, an immense standing army, and in officering that immense standing army as well as navy in the most extravagant manner; all of which acts have tended to produce that greatest of all national evils,—that greatest of all monuments of the folly, corruption, and degeneracy of your hon. House—the NATIONAL DEBT.

Here your Petitioners make one remark. they think it a little strange that your hon. House should occupy so much of your valuable time, session after session, in discussing measures to deprive the poor industrious, famishing labourer and artisan, when out of employ, of a scanty parochial pittance, and yet it should never occur to the recollection of your hon. House, of the necessity and propriety of taking away the pay from that long, grievous, and disgraceful list of State Paupers, who have fattened on the vitals of the country, not one of whom but is otherwise well circumstanced in life, and the generality of whom have not rendered the state any real service.

Your Petitioners, with all due submission to your hon. House, conceive it more disgraceful to be a State Pauper than a Parish Pauper, inasmuch as the former is the cause of a great portion of the distress, wretchedness, and starvation of the latter.

This wanton, profligate, and monstrous expenditure of the public money, has, by your hon. House, been followed up by an unjust, oppressive, and overwhelming system of taxation—a taxation, a parallel to which cannot be found in any state, kingdom, or empire on the face of the globe—a taxation that is rapidly impoverishing, degrading, and sinking the middle and working classes of his Majesty's subjects into one general mass of misery and ruin.

Your Petitioners are of opinion that this hitherto wanton, profligate, and monstrous expenditure of the public money—this hitherto unjust, oppressive, and overwhelming system of taxation, are not only rapidly impoverishing, degrading and sinking the middle and working classes of his Majesty's subjects into one general mass of misery and ruin, but also producing the greatest discontents—the most alarming fears, and frightful consequences throughout the whole community. Thousands of individuals, who formerly were peaceful, happy, and loyal subjects, are now, through suffering innumerable privations, and being plunged into the deepest distress, driven to deeds of desperation, so that the foundation of society is undermined, and the peace and prosperity of the kingdom endangered thereby.

To prevent this approaching misery and ruin, to remove these discontents, alarming fears, and frightful consequences, with which the nation is threatened, to avert all these crying evils, your petitioners beg, entreat, and implore your honourable House to retrace your steps, by lopping off all unnecessary places, unmerited pensions, and disgraceful sinecures, by enforcing the most rigid economy in every branch of the expenditure; by diminishing instead of increasing the army; by reducing that enormous load of taxation; but, above all, by promoting such a radical reform in the representation of the people in your honourable House; as shall restore to them their long lost-rights, liberties, and privileges—such a Reform as shall for ever deprive all rotten boroughs from returning Members to your honourable House; that shall give a more equitable and extensive suffrage to the productive classes of the kingdom; that shall materially shorten the duration of Parliaments, and that shall be suited to the increased knowledge and civilized age in which we live. Such a Reform that shall enable every elector conscientiously to exercise his suffrage in VOTING BY BALLOT; so that good, patriotic, and intelligent men may be returned to your honourable House, the honour and welfare of the country advanced thereby, and that England may become, not in name only, but in reality, "the envy of surrounding nations, and the admiration of the world."

Your petitioners are aware that vote by ballot is disliked—is dreaded by the borough-mongering aristocracy and other traffickers in seats in your honourable House, because it is

un-English. Your petitioners certainly must allow that the borough-mongering system of elections, with all its flagrant train of evils—bribery, perjury, and other accursed practices, is not UN-English—but that persecuting and ruining whole families by the borough-mongering faction, because the heads of such families have been persons of integrity, and voted from pure motives, is not UN-ENGLISH, but peculiarly English; your petitioners are also aware that a lavish and excessive expenditure—that an over-bearing system of taxation—that an astonishingly large national debt, &c. &c. are things which are not un-English, but PECULIARLY ENGLISH; and the sooner your honourable House makes them un-English the better.

And for the attainment of the above-mentioned objects, your petitioners would earnestly pray your honourable House to take such immediate steps as your honourable House may in its wisdom deem proper.

And your petitioners will, as in duty bound, ever pray, &c. &c.

PARSONS AND TITHES.

I SHALL, next week, make a GRAND SHOW-UP of the PARSONS and the MARQUIS OF BLANDFORD, who has acknowledged that *he did* write a letter to a parson, telling him that it was reported that some connexion with the fires had been traced to me, and that I had absconded in consequence. I will, next week, deal with him for this, and I will show that some connexion with the parsons has been traced to him, and shall then leave the public to judge who it is that ought to abscond; that is to say, to hide, or keep out of sight. Ah! the parsons were deceived! They were too eager in believing the lies of the *Bloody Old Times*, which, just then, actually snuffed my blood; literally smelled it; and had its nasty old tongue out, ready to lap it up! To amuse the parsons, and to stay their impatience for the Grand Showing-up, along with their co-operator, the Marquis, I here insert, 1. A Letter from a Correspondent in Wales; 2. An Account of the Proceedings of a Parson and his Wife against a Servant Girl; 3. Several Petitions relative to Parsons and Tithes. When they have read these, they will, doubtless, sit down comfortably, and wait for the showing-up of next week, which they shall have

fine style, TREVOR and his motions notwithstanding.

Carmarthen, Jan. 31, 1831.

SIR,—I perceive in your last Register, that a gentleman has written to you to know whether you would consent to allow No. 7 of "Twopenny Trash" to be translated into Welch, and that you have consented; now I should like to know where this gentleman lives, or rather where the Welch edition will be published, and the price by the dozen or hundred. The Welch farmers are much dissatisfied with the Tithes System, and I am sure if the above Number contain something on the subject of Tithes it will be eagerly read by vast numbers in this part of the country. There was an admirable and short article in your Register, about three weeks ago, which (with your permission) your correspondent would also do well to get translated into Welch. The Clergy have had their day, the people are now going to have theirs. Success attend them.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

A. S.

A PARSON AND A PARSON'S WIFE

(From the Bridgewater and Somersetshire Herald.)

ON Monday, the 17th instant, a man was examined before J. F. Luttrell, Esq., M. P., at Dunster, on a charge preferred against him by the Rev. C. A. Verelst, Rector of Withycombe, of attempting to set fire to his house. From the evidence of Mrs. Verelst and servants it appeared that the man came to the house and asked alms on the morning of the preceding day, and that soon after he left some matting, which had been nailed up against the outside of the house to protect some shrubs from frost, was discovered to be on fire; that the man was instantly pursued and searched, but nothing whatever was found upon him except twopence, which had been given him by some people of the neighbourhood. It was further proved that the man was only a short time on the premises. The worthy Magistrate dismissed the charge, but committed the prisoner upon another, under the Vagrant Act, for one month to the treadmill.

On the Friday following, a young woman, who had lived about three weeks in Mrs. Verelst's service, was brought before the same Magistrate, by her master, charged with having attempted to set fire to his house on the preceding day. The worthy and excellent Magistrate, before the several depositions

were read, addressed the prisoner, a very mild, respectable-looking young woman, and told her he was sorry to see a person of her appearance in such an awful situation. "If," said he, "the evidence which shall be given be such as shall oblige me to commit you, and you, in another and superior Court, be convicted of the crime you are charged with, your punishment will be death. Therefore I entreat you to pay every attention to the reading of the depositions, and put any questions to the witnesses you may think proper.

any-thing to me and I will do it for you." The prisoner, making a low curtsy, said, "Thank your honour; I am wholly innocent." "If you are," said he, "still, should the evidence be strong enough to oblige me to commit, and a Jury to convict you, your punishment will be as certain in this world, as theirs will be in the next who may have falsely sworn against you; therefore, pay strict attention to the evidence of the different witnesses, and if I sit here for a week, I will exert all my power to do you justice."

The Rev. C. A. Verelst was then sworn. The substance of his evidence was, that the prisoner had lived in his service about three weeks as housemaid; that he had seen the prisoner at half-past two on the preceding day, near a door up stairs, the pulley of which he was adjusting; that about half-past three he noticed a strong smell of fire; that it was discovered to have been caused by a fire which had been in a sort of cupboard under a window-seat, in an unfurnished room in his house, and that a piece of paper and a skipping-rope, partly burnt (which he produced), were taken from it by his gardener, George Littey; and that he (Mr. Verelst) and his butler, — Pincombe, afterwards found, in the same place, a small piece of candle, wrapped in a little bit of greasy newspaper (also produced); that he charged the prisoner with having done it, and had her apprehended.

Mrs. Verelst was next sworn and examined. She said she saw the prisoner, about half-past twelve o'clock on the preceding day, searching for a piece of soap in an unlocked closet appropriated to the housemaid, holding in her hand a bit of candle, without a candlestick, about two inches long, wrapped in a piece of newspaper. On being asked by the Magistrate how she knew the paper was part of a newspaper, she said, "I was near enough to discover that it was so;" and she swore positively that it was a piece of newspaper. This drew forth a remark from Mr. Luttrell; that in another place, if the charge went there, she (Mrs. Verelst) would undergo a most searching cross-examination. "For how," said that gentleman, rolling up a small piece of printed paper, printed with type about the size of that used for newspapers, "can any person positively swear, from looking at this paper in my hand, that it is, or is not, part of a newspaper?" Mrs. Verelst then said, she would swear it was a piece of newspaper to the best

of her belief. "But you have already, Madam," said the Magistrate, "twice sworn positively that it was a piece of newspaper." At this period the other witnesses were ordered out of the room. Mrs. Verelst then went on to say, that the prisoner went up stairs about two o'clock, though she had no business there, and described the discovery of the smell of fire, and her going into the room where the smoke was, when she instantly directed Littey, the gardener, to the window-seat, and cried, "There is the fire, tear down the boards." On being asked what made her direct Littey to the window-seat, she replied "I saw the smoke issuing from it." She admitted the room was full of smoke at the time. She was asked if any rooms in the house had been washed or scrubbed that day, which it was the prisoner's place to do when it was necessary; she answered positively, "No." She further said, in answer to other questions, that the prisoner had given her notice to leave her service at the end of the month, but that they had had no quarrel.

The next person examined was her own maid, Harriet Merry, whose evidence was almost an echo of her mistress's, except that she did not swear positively that the paper wrapped round the candle was a piece of newspaper; but to the best of her belief it was, and that the prisoner had the candle in a candlestick, instead of holding it in her hand without one; she also swore positively that no rooms had been washed or scrubbed on that day.

The Butler, Pincombe, was examined next: he swore that he saw a candlestick, which was produced, about the time mentioned by Mrs. Verelst, near the housemaid's closet, with a piece of candle in it about two inches long, but whether it was wrapped in paper or not he did not know. In answer to a question, he said his room had been washed out that day. On hearing this, Mrs. Verelst rose from her seat and said, "she begged leave to say that she now recollected that two rooms had been washed on the day of the supposed fire, from a remark which Mrs. Merry, her maid, had made to her when she was about to enter them, 'Don't go into them, Madam, as they are damp, and you will take cold,' and which remark that moment came to her recollection."

George Littey, the gardener, then swore that he was alarmed at the cry of "fire" that he entered the house, ran up stairs, went with his master into the room, which was full of smoke, and began to examine the cracks of the floor, when he was directed to the window-seat by his mistress, who said, "Look in the window-seat, look in the window-seat;" which he did, and found the piece of paper and skipping-rope partly burnt; there was no fire there then, and those things were cold.

The kitchen-maid was examined next, and in answer to questions put to her, said, that when the prisoner went up stairs she was in the kitchen, and if she had had a lighted candle she must have seen it, which she did

not, and that the tinder-box was not out of the kitchen for the day.

The Magistrate directed the room to be cleared, while he consulted his clerk. In about five minutes the prisoner and her accusers were called in, and we were again admitted, when the worthy and excellent Magistrate, addressing the prisoner, said, "I feel great pleasure in saying that you are discharged, and that I believe you to be wholly innocent; and that when you leave this room, you will do so as free from imputation of being guilty of the charge this day brought against you, as you would have done had you walked out of it a week ago. Cause for suspicion there was, and it is my belief that there was a fire to create an alarm, or some worse purpose, and that the fire originated with some one residing in the house, but that person, I believe, was certainly not you; and I heartily wish that the real criminal may yet be discovered and punished."

It was a market-day at Dunster, and the room was filled by the yeomanry and tradespeople of the town and neighbourhood, who heartily congratulated the poor girl (a stranger in the neighbourhood, and a native of Exeter) on her escape, and a subscription was instantly made for her, which did as much honour to the subscribers as did their sympathy and anxiety during the examination.

The expressions of feeling during the time of Mrs. Verelst being examined were so strong that Mr. Luttrell was obliged to restrain them, and to declare, "that, however unwilling to do so, he should order the room to be cleared if they were continued." At one time during her examination, Mrs. Verelst was so annoyed by the questions put to her, that she declared she would answer no more. Her husband and Mr. Luttrell, however, told her she must do so.

TITHES.

At a numerous and respectable meeting of owners and occupiers of land in the parish of Barnwell, in the county of Somerset, convened by the vestry, pursuant to public notice, and held at the Ship Inn, the 14th of January, 1831, for the purpose of taking into consideration the propriety of petitioning Parliament to repeal or alter the tithe-laws,

Mr. Bisson, churchwarden, in the chair; The following resolutions were unanimously agreed to:—

Moved by Mr. Ford, seconded by Joseph Hewlett,—

That tithes were originally granted to maintain the edifice of the church, to support the poor, to maintain the bishops and parochial clergy, and it was far from the grantor's intentions, that tithes should be applied in the manner they are at the present day; which produces the effect of paralyzing industry in its efforts to increase the produce of the earth, by taxing it in proportion to the exertions made for its productiveness.

Moved by Mr. Francis Keene, seconded by Mr. William Sheppard,—

That the present rigorous exaction of tithes upon the diminished means of the farmers is peculiarly hard in this parish, which, in addition to the heavy poor-rates and other parochial taxes, are a grievous burden; and do bring the church of England into disrespect.

Moved by Mr. Young, seconded by Mr. Salisbury,—

That it is expedient to use all just and lawful means to obtain a great and effectual alteration in the tithe system; and, to effect this purpose, that petitions be presented to both Houses of Parliament.

Moved by Mr. Norman, seconded by Mr. James Hewlett,—

That the petitions which have been read be adopted by this Meeting; and that the one to the House of Commons be transmitted to the Members for this county, and the one to House of Lords to Earl Radnor, requesting them to present them and support their prayer.

Moved by Mr. Wood, seconded by Mr. Stabius,—

That the thanks of this Meeting be most cordially given to Mr. James C. Fuller, for his well-founded statement in the *Bristol Mirror* paper, of the present oppressive collection of the vicarial tithes, of this parish, in explanation of an erroneous paragraph inserted therein, with regard to the reduction thereof.

That the resolutions of this Meeting be published in the *Bristol Mirror* and London *Weekly Dispatch* newspapers.

SAMUEL BISHOP, Chairman.

Moved by Mr. Keene, seconded by Mr. Abraham Tanner,—

That the thanks of this Meeting be given to Mr. Bisdee, for his able conduct in the Chair.

ISLE OF ELY.

At a vestry meeting held at the church at Newton, on Thursday evening, the following petition to both Houses of Parliament was unanimously adopted,

To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled.—The humble petition of the undersigned, being chiefly owners and occupiers of land, in the parish of Newton, in the Isle of Ely, and county of Cambridge;

SHEWETH,

That your petitioners regret exceedingly the agitated and distressed state of the Kingdom, and humbly submit that the greatest cause of such, in agricultural districts, is the working of the present Tithe Laws.

That the contents of this parish is under 800 acres, and the rectory glebe 372 acres rents for 600l. per annum, which, with the tithes of 700l., realises 1,300l. per annum, being an advance of 500l. per annum since 1810.

That for a period of more than sixty years, your petitioners have had no resident rector, nor have seen one since 1810, but to hold his audit, three or four days in the year. Your petitioners respectfully urge, that this crying evil of non-residence arises from the system of pluralities, and not from the unhealthiness of the parish, or the want of a suitable residence.

Your petitioners humbly submit, that if ever a government had a right to enact for the clergy a tenth of the produce of the land, produced by a tenth of the capital employed in cattle, compost, fallows, weeding, tillage, taxes, rates, and seed, together with the tenth of the husbandman's toil and the entire benefit of every tenth labourer; the same power as created so odious an impost and prolific source of feuds and contentions, has a right to abolish it; and that all clerical claims of invested rights have been fully compensated by lack of service and partaking of the toil of the cultivator and the improvements of proprietors, without contributing towards them; and your petitioners humbly and respectfully insist, that if invested rights do exist, they belong to the government for the good and benefit of the people at large.

That your petitioners feel most anxious to press upon the consideration of your honourable House, the unanimity of this parish. That every occupier paying tithe, most earnestly pray your honourable House to abolish the tithe-laws; to agree to no commutation short of one *not re-newable*; to do away with all unnecessary officers, such as deans, prebends, and archdeacons. And that your honourable House do take into your own hands the whole of the church property of whatsoever tenor it may be.—That the bishops be equalized and paid as the judges; that pluralities be abolished, by compelling residence, with a stipend equal to its local respectability. And your petitioners will ever pray.

At a Meeting held this 20th day of January, 1831, pursuant to public notice, at the Vestry of the parish Church of Berkeley, to take into consideration the necessity of a petition to parliament on the subject of the tithes; Mr. Edward Andrews, one of the churchwardens, in the chair;

It was unanimously resolved,

That the present feeling, and state of the parish require a statement by petition.

Whereupon the following petition to the two Houses of parliament was moved by William Cornock, Esq., of Goldwick, seconded by John Cox Hickey, Esq., and carried unanimously, viz:—

“To the hon. the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in parliament assembled;

“The humble petition of the undersigned parishioners of the parish of Berkeley, in the county of Gloucester,

“ SHREWEN,

“ That your petitioners are mostly agriculturists, some of whom live on their own lands, and some on lands rented of other persons.

“ That they have in common with all classes connected with them, felt the burdens attached to the land of late years grow more and more oppressive; but of all grievances most intolerable to be borne, that of the tithe system is the worst.

“ That your petitioners undoubtedly consider the poor's-rates as a very important part of their burdens; but at the same time cannot help reflecting, that when the tithes were first instituted, they were intended not only to support the poor, but to repair churches, both of which are now paid by your petitioners in addition to the tithe, of which they now complain.

“ That the mode of paying the clergy by a forced collection of a tenth or other portion of the produce of the land, is one most destructive to all religion and even to morality, inasmuch as it leads to litigation and dispute, thereby preventing that cordial friendship which ought to subsist between the clergyman and those under his care, and creating, in its place, hostility and bitter feeling, contrary to the dictates of the established Christian religion; and, in uneducated minds, producing even a contempt for the doctrines taught by the clergy.

“ That your petitioners have a full proof thereof in their own parish, in a continued system of law-suits, begun and carried on by their vicar, during a period of twenty-one years down to the present time, and not even yet terminated: nor do your petitioners expect them to end so long as the present system of tithe remains.

“ That seventy-five persons in this parish have, at this present time, suits pending against them, at the instigation of the vicar; and were your petitioners to take into consideration the vexation, annoyance, and expense thereby created, they are quite certain that equal to one-fifth part of the produce of the land is thus swept away and taken from them.

“ That your petitioners have to boast of their loyalty and attachment to the King, laws, and government, as a proof whereof they adduce, that during the late eventful times, not a single disturbance has taken place in their parish; and the whole body of yeomanry, labourers, and others, amounting to 627 persons came forward in two days, and were sworn in to oppose any breach of the peace.

“ Your Petitioners, therefore, humbly beseech your honourable House to take such measures as in your wisdom you may deem fit and proper, for the purpose of doing away with the present odious system of tithes, and substituting instead thereof an annual allowance to the clergy, or other persons interested in the receipt of tithes, to be paid by

all classes of persons and property receiving spiritual assistance.

“ And your Petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray, &c.”

“ That Sir Berkeley William Guise, one of the county Members, be requested to present the same to the House of Commons; and that the petition to the House of Lords be forwarded to Colonel Berkeley, with a respectful request that he will select some Peer to present the same.

Resolved also, that a subscription be immediately entered into to defray the expenses of advertisements, &c.

That these resolutions, with a copy of the petition, be published in the *Gloucester Journal* and *Bristol Mirror*.

That the petition lie for signatures at the Office of Messrs. Croome and Smith, Attorneys, Berkeley, till Thursday next.

That the thanks of this Meeting be given to William Cornock, Esq., for the trouble he has taken with the petition.

EDWARD ANDREWS, Chairman.

The Chairman having left the Chair, thanks were voted to him for his kindness in taking the same.

At a numerous and highly respectable Meeting of the owners and occupiers of land, and other inhabitants of the parish of Old Sodbury, in the county of Gloucester, held on the 19th instant. Mr. Duffield, senior, in the chair:

A petition to both Houses of parliament, of which the following is a copy, was most cordially and unanimously agreed to; and that the right hon. Lord [redacted] be requested to present and support the same in the House of Lords, and Sir B. W. Guise, M. P. for the county, in the House of Commons; and the thanks of the Meeting were given to the Chairman, for his able conduct on the occasion.

“ To the honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in parliament assembled;

“ The humble petition of the undersigned loyal owners and occupiers of land, and other inhabitants of the parish of Old Sodbury, in the county of Gloucester,

“ SHREWEN,

“ That your petitioners beg leave to approach your honourable House, on the vital and important subject of the tithe system. Year after year have your petitioners patiently waited in expectation of better times, but in vain! and as long as a shade of hope remained, they forbore trespassing on the valuable time of your honourable House; but they now witness the distressed situation of numerous industrious renting farmers, and anticipating what their own may be, are excited by an earnest desire to use their humble efforts in averting the dreaded crisis from themselves and others, who have just as yet sunk under the accumulation of difficulties they have long had to endure, produced in a

great measure, your petitioners believe, by the injurious effects of the tithe system.

"That your petitioners presume not to instruct your honourable House in the history of their country, but with due deference, beg to remind your honourable House, that the tithe-system now, is very different from what it was at its first institution in England, as the country was, probably, at that time, thinly inhabited, uncultivated and imperfectly cultivated; and prior to the era of the Reformation, the poor, &c. were supported out of the tithes as well as the clergy: but so extremely heavy are the expenses of agriculture since that period, owing unquestionably, to the overwhelming weight of taxation which the people of this country have to bear, that on poor arable land, from which the great tithes are taken in kind, as is the case in this parish, by a lay impropriator, the only individual benefited by its cultivation since the value of agricultural produce has been so greatly depressed, is the tith-owner; but your petitioners trust that the dawn of that day is about to arise, when a patriotic king, and an enlightened administration, will relieve the country from this greivous impost.

"That your petitioners beg to assure your honourable House, that they are not actuated by the slightest feeling of hostility towards the clergy, but are fully persuaded that human ingenuity could scarcely have devised a system for the support of the ministers of the Gospel, more destructive of the peace and harmony which ought to exist between the pastor and his flock, than the tithe-system.

"Your petitioners, therefore, humbly pray your honourable House to repeal the tithe-laws, and that your honourable House, may, in its wisdom, substitute some other support for the established clergy, more conducive to the temporal and eternal welfare of the community,

"And your petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray, &c."

BOURBONS AND CITY-GUTTLERS.

THE following article, taken from the STAR (a good honest evening paper), will make my readers stare. They will be surprised that any-body, in England, should have the *audacity to applaud* the deeds of Charles X., and to *lament*, publicly, that his *designs failed of their intended effect*. But, when one considers how these fellows *are*; when one considers what immense amount of *public property* they handle, and how soon a real reform to leave them to *guttle and guzzle on their own earnings*, one is not at all surprised at their partiality for the

Bourbons and Polignac; though one might be surprised at their impudence in avowing it, were it not that we are all aware, that base men, with *full skins*, are always impudent and insolent. With these proceedings at the Drapers' Company those at *New York*, relating to the same event, form a *fine contrast*! Here we have a fair specimen of the different light in which acts of tyranny are viewed by guzzling slaves and by sober freemen.

THE BOURBONS, AND THE DRAPERS' COMPANY.

The thunder-storm being passed, the insects are again crawling forth. In an obscure place, as announced in *The Star* of Tuesday, the Mr. Warden Wrench informed the Drapers' Company (Right Worshipful Gentlemen!) that they were honoured with the presence of one of the Cabinet Ministers of the ex King of France (Baron Dudon), on which a Mr. Wyborn made a long speech in honour and glory of King Charles the Tenth and the Ultras, concluding with a Jeremiad, leploring "That their honest, loyal, and patriotic endeavours were not crowned with the success that they merited." Let these rash and reckless gentlemen beware. The English people have exhibited wonderful forbearance towards the refuse of France, when, after the vile attempts to enslave their own country, they flew for an asylum to ours. But they must not obtrude either themselves or their domgs upon the notice of Englishmen. They must make no perilous experiments upon our patience.—Their friends had better just now pocket up obliviously all their laudation of the Bourbons.

The account is such a curiosity in its way, that we lay it entire before our readers:—

BARON DUDON.

DRAPERS' ANNUAL DINNER.

City, Jan. 29.

At the Annual Dinner of the Drapers this day, Mr. Warden Wrench informed the assembly that they were honoured with the presence of one of the Cabinet Ministers of the Ex-King of France, and after eulogizing his talent and amiable manners, proposed the health of "his Excellency Baron Dudon," which was received with every testimony of satisfaction.

The BARON returned his thanks in the French language, which not being generally understood,

Mr. WYBORN (who accompanied him) addressed the assembly as follows:—"In rising to interpret the sentiments of the eminent statesman whom you have just honoured with such cordial expressions of generous hospitality, I cannot refrain from begging you to accept my own thanks for your kindness towards that distinguished individual—with whose

confidence, intimacy, and friendship, I have been honoured for nearly twenty years, and in whose present and future welfare and happiness I feel, as it is my duty, the warmest and most affectionate interest; and nothing, I am sure, he begs me to state, has given him more heartfelt delight (while it was quite unexpected), than your friendly reception of him this evening—a reception which does honour to this society and to the British nation. Gentlemen, I know and applaud those wise rules of this corporation, which exclude all politics from these convivial meetings; but this is a peculiar example of fortune. I trust that upon a question of purely foreign politics, and the consequences of which must, however, sooner or later, and I fear speedily, come home to the business and bosom of every gentleman present, you will indulge me with your patience for a few observations upon the recent revolution in France, and the present state of the French capital. Upon that convulsion, which has occasioned the temporary retirement from his native country of the nobleman who sits beside me—of a man who, having already in tender years endured the affliction of seeing his father and grandfather perish upon the same scaffold, martyrs in the cause of loyalty to their King and the laws, is now, in his turn, himself an exile with the legitimate inheritors of that ancient monarchy—a man who, I will now venture to assert, and giving full credit to the general principles of loyalty, patriotism, and talent in that gallant nation, has not, on quitting France, left behind him a truer Frenchman, a wiser or more expert statesman, a more sincere patriot, a better friend of rational liberty, or a more enlightened and amiable member of society than himself, be he whom he may; and I speak from an intimate knowledge of the French capital for more than twenty years, up to within a very few weeks since, when I last visited France. Baron Duden has a right to the title of a true Frenchman, and a patriot; his property was confiscated by the Republic, and he served in the ranks of the republican armies, and rose by his courage, merit, and genius, to the post of Intendant-General, or Viceroy, of the northern kingdoms of Spain, during the campaigns of the British armies in the Peninsula. Until Napoleon abdicated, he was faithful to him, as he has since proved himself to the restored dynasty, to whose Cabinet he was called in the moment of danger; and that after the promulgation of the fatal Ordinances. He was therefore no party to their promulgation, but he saw and felt the approaching necessity of a more vigorous system of internal policy. The temporary restriction on the press would, if executed, have spared many evils; that wise (only because necessary) precaution was rendered abortive by the errors in its execution. Prince Polignac, by deciding for himself upon the time and mode of its enforcement, incurred and has submitted to the consequences of its failure. Gentlemen, the fittest pledges of the necessity

of reinforcing the executive are those Ministers who experienced the irresistible pressure of the rising force in the people, which, if not counteracted and quelled, would have overawed and impelled the Monarch into measures injurious and fatal to the honour of the King, the peace of Europe, and the prosperity of France herself. In such a predicament, the history of all civilized nations, ancient and modern (and of none more than the suspension of the Habeas Corpus act by Mr. Pitt), has shown, and established as an axiom, that it is the first duty and the chief virtue of a Minister to preserve the State at the risk of his own responsibility for a violation of established laws. Gentlemen,—it is in vain to disguise the fact—the French people were impatient of their long repose; and I am far from treating as criminal (except in a political sense) that noble aspiration of military glory which warms the heart of every Frenchman, but which has proved so pernicious to their own permanent interests, and so fatal to the existence of so many neighbouring States. It may be said, the present tranquillity of France refutes the assertion of the necessity for the Ordinances. This is an error. The present Sovereign and Ministry were not the chiefs of that party which hurled the exiled family from the throne, on the contrary, they seem to have been placed in readiness by a special providence to arrest for a moment the dangerous career of the republican movers, and the criterion of the real necessity for extraordinary powers to the government of Charles X. will be the permanence of that King and that ministry. They have recently escaped from the attacks of an opposition so formidable, that, but for the interference of one distinguished character, the Orleans dynasty would have ere now ceased to reign. I do not contemplate the possibility of their protracted resistance to the national passion for military glory. In the mean time, what evils have already resulted from the ill-comprehended cry of liberty over distracted Europe? Consider the state of Belgium, of Poland, of Switzerland, of Hanover, of Ireland. Gentlemen, civil liberty, like ardent spirits, becomes a blessing or a curse, according to the capacity of the possessor, and the measure of the dose. Taken in moderation, it enlivens and invigorates;—beyond that exact proportion, it intoxicates, maddens, and destroys. Time alone can resolve the question, whether the French, under Charles X., enjoyed or abused the liberty best adapted to their permanent interests. They have thrown off the bonds of allegiance to their lawful Sovereign—a revolution has been accomplished,—and, as every tree is best known by its fruits, the late Ministers are condemned to await with patience the result of the subversion of their well-intended efforts to preserve the peace of France and the world by the only means which to them appeared feasible. Those efforts were abortive, they being physically unable to carry them into execution against the national will. Should

those who now possess the reins of power prove strong enough to preserve inviolate the faith of treaties, and to preserve the rights of neighbouring states from inraction, then will they admit that they have mis-judged the rising spirit of their gallant countrymen, that they have prematurely curbed what they dreaded for the sake of France, their effervescing ardour for military conquest, and submit in silence to the censure of the present age and posterity. But should even the present highly-gifted Sovereign of the people's choice, and his patriotic and experienced Ministers, prove in their turn equally powerless, as the late King and his Ministers, to calm the popular storm; should France a second time, and for twenty years to come, carry war and devastation into the bosom of so lately peaceful, prosperous, and happy Europe, to be again driven back by the desperate combination of all Europe against her; then, indeed, the Baron Baudouin and his colleagues will not regret, but glory in, the efforts they ineffectually made to avert those evils and horrors from France and humanity, but they will more deeply regret, and we, gentlemen, shall all of us have good cause to deplore, that their honest, loyal, and patriotic endeavours were not crowned with the success they merited.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM NEW YORK, dated Dec. 13, 1830.

"It is with pleasure I have to inform my much-esteemed friends at Lougham of our safe arrival at New York. We set sail from Liverpool on the 29th of September, 1830, in the ship *Buene*, of Boston, New England, and after a somewhat dangerous passage, we landed at this port on the 4th of November, at 12 o'clock at noon. ~~But~~, passing by many things, I shall now inform you a little concerning this country; and my time in it having been short, my observations on it of course must be very limited. I find that a day-labourer in New York can get more money than a first-rate tradesman in England. We never enjoyed life so much before. I would advise the almost broken-down farmers in your country to come to America, where there are neither parsons, tithes, nor burdensome taxes. Here they might live like gentlemen, and enjoy liberty. We return sincere thanks to Mr. Mantle for the active part he took to have us conveyed to this country. His kindness I never shall forget. But I must now describe to you a most gratifying scene which took place on the 25th of November; it was a grand procession in honour of the late revolution in France. The procession reached more than three miles. A light carriage drawn by four horses took the lead, carrying twenty black musicians, playing most exquisitely on almost all kinds of wind instruments. Next followed the butchers, 500 in number, all mounted on gray horses, dressed in blue coats with checked sleeves up to the elbows, white aprons turned by one side, blue trowsers, Wel-

lington boots, and spurs. Each had a tri-coloured cockade in his hat, a badge on the collar of his coat, and a cane decorated with ribbons in his hand. Next came a platform drawn by four bullocks dressed with ribbons; an ox-skin stuffed to imitate a living ox was placed on the platform, supported by two young men in white dresses on each side the ox. After these came another platform decorated with flowers and ribbons. On this platform was placed a white lamb skin stuffed, surrounded by six children about five years of age, in white dresses. Then followed another carriage with two live lambs eating grass, &c. Then four butchers, followed by a machine making sausage. On the standard was painted a beef-steak, placed on a dish, with a knife and fork; and this motto underneath: 'To all we divide a portion.' After these came the tanners, leather-cutters, &c. &c. I cannot tell you half; but figure to yourself the triumphs of Rome and the celebrations of Greece, and you may form some idea of this magnificent scene. Liberty and content were depicted on every countenance. All trade was stopped for the day, and all classes of people joined in the procession. The ministers of different denominations, dressed in their cassacks and gowas, followed by the military, with their cannon and ammunition waggons. In short, nothing was wanting to heighten the grandeur of the scene,—cannon firing, bands of music playing, flags flying in all directions, with all the appropriate mottoes of liberty, &c. To describe the whole is not in my power! Tell M. he would get plenty of tobacco and snuff here for very little. I bought 120 segars for one hillin. —More my next. Write soon.

"Yours, &c.,

"WILLIAM OSBORN,

"New York, late of Lougham, Rutland."

PARLIAMENT.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Monday, Dec. 20th, 1830.

(Continued from col. 317.)

THE objection Mr. Bryan made to a second venture of provision was sufficiently descriptive of the state of the colony. He could not afford to supply a starving population from charity and it already was out of their power to pay for their food. Their furniture, agricultural implements, all their preparations for comfort, are exposed to the weather, themselves are sheltered in huts formed of blankets. The country, for 100 miles round, is an arid sand or bare rock, no grass, no timber. Dr. Westbrook, who came from that place to this six months ago, told me he saw the grave for the first person who died there dug: It was nine feet deep; and the sand from the bottom was, when thrown up, fit for an hour-glass. The live-stock dies in general a few hours after landing, supposed to be poisoned by some

herb or shrub, to avoid which certain loss, most sheep taken there to be sold, or to breed from, are killed in the ships, and retarded as fresh provisions. The bush does not help them, as here, for there are no kangaroos, nor even opossums. The place must be abandoned; and I suppose the number of people will oblige the Government to remove them to a more promising part of the coast. It is, in fact, a second Poyais. What notice will be taken of Captain Sealing's misrepresentations remains to be seen. He might be supposed to have but a slight knowledge of the quality of the land, but the very roadstead is altogether unsafe for shipping, though described by him as a fine harbour. Six vessels were ashore when the Britannia was there, three of them were complete wrecks. I have seen several stout anchors broken on the coral rocks before Fremantle. Mr. BRYAN reports that there are not less than 200 females there, many of them used to more than the common comforts of life, and yet they must starve, if not relieved by the Government, as their own resources are exhausted."

This was certainly a matter of deep and awful importance. Many people had embarked the whole of their property in this speculation, and great responsibility had been incurred, and great blame appeared to rest somewhere. Of course he did not mean to say that any blame attached to the present Ministers, but if this representation was at all correct, blame must attach to some of their predecessors, and, at all events, it was highly desirable that some satisfactory explanation should be given on the subject. Much had been said on the subject of emigration, which many had encouraged from a notion that this country was over-peopled. But from what he knew of some parishes in the county of Kent, they did not contain more than the usual numbers, nor a greater number than might have been employed to advantage, if the farmers had the means of employing them. But the farmers had not the means of employing them at present, and that was one great cause of the distress. If he were to judge from these instances of the state of the whole country, he would be led to conclude that there was no extraordinary superabundance of population. The expenses of these emigrations were enormous, and perhaps it would be much better to colonize at home. A noble Lord, who had presented a petition on the subject, had stated that he had observed in a day's ride to town, 12,000 acres of waste land, and all this might probably be taken in with advantage, and afford employment to a great body of the peasantry. There were fifteen millions of acres of waste land in the whole country, and the taking them in might be formed into a source of employment which would make every peasant in the country happy. But no administration had taken this matter in hand, and the people of this country were left to purchase articles from foreigners which might be very well produced at home.

He hoped, however, that some plan of domestic colonization would be at last adopted; but, in the meantime, he wished to know from the noble Lord at the head of the Colonial Department, whether it was the intention of his Majesty's Government to abandon the settlement on the Swan River, and whether the reports and representations as to the wretched condition of the Colony were correct?

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

TITHES IN IRELAND—The reader may safely take the allegations contained in this petition as applying to a large part of Ireland. And what honest man can say that such a thing ought to be? Not one does say it ought!

O GORMAN MAHON presented a petition, complaining of tithes and church rates, from Clondegad, in the county of Clare. The petitioner complained that they were called on to pay tithes and rates to the Protestant Church though there was no Protestant Church in the parish, nor a Protestant Clergyman, nor even one Protestant inhabitant. Of all this, the inhabitants being Catholics, complained, and complained justly, when the Protestants of England were also complaining of the same exactions. They were the causes here of outrage, and in Ireland they were the causes of much of the discontent which prevailed.

SIR R. INGLES reminded the hon. Member that tithes were paid exclusively by the land, and if the Church did not receive them, a sum equal to them would go to the land itself, and the people would not be benefited.

O GORMAN MAHON, though he wished not to treat with levity what fell from the hon. Member for Oxford, could not avoid noticing that that hon. Member seemed to think that the land produced wealth without labour, and accordingly, in his estimation, the people and their just complaints passed for nothing. It was not the land but the people who complained that they had to pay tithes to a Protestant Church, though there was not a Protestant in the parish.

After this, Mr. DAWSON began a debate upon the appointments made by the new Ministry, and SIR ROBERT PEEL made a longish speech in the tone of an aristocrat in trouble cautioning the Ministers against too much economy, too much reform, and so on. Then came Mr. M. A. TAYLOR about the Court of Chancery, and upon this no one can help observing, that, if anything be intended, it is as much talked about and as much delayed, as little settled, as any of the Chancery suits that have been held up to us as the reason

for some great change which is, to all appearance, as far off as eye.

Tuesday, Dec. 21.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Lord WYNFORD brought in a bill for making life interests in real property subject to the payment of debts. Nobody can doubt the justice of this. It would defeat the roguery of the roguish part of the aristocracy.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

THE MIDDLESEX PETITION.—Mr. HUME presented this petition, which was agreed to at a county meeting held at Hackney, and in which *retrenchment, reform, economy, and the vote by ballot*, were prayed for. It also recommended to the House a reformation of the *poor laws*, and an alteration in the *tithe collection*; “but,” said Mr Hume, “at the same time that it prayed the House to look into these things, it expressed its opinion that it was hopeless to expect any amendment till there was a reform in Parliament, such as should give a voice to every one who paid rates and taxes in the country; nor did the Meeting believe that even this mode would prove effectual unless the vote by ballot was added to it. With respect to the retrenchment that was prayed, he had long thought that without that taking place on a most extensive scale, it would be impossible for the country to retrieve itself from the difficulties of its present situation. He had seen and heard of nothing that had tended to change his opinion on this point. He was likewise bound to state before he sat down, that the Meeting had been unanimously of opinion, that it was impolitic in the highest degree to add to the present military force of the country; and that the alteration of the Corn Laws and the reduction of the expenditure would have been much more effective in checking the discontent of the people.”

Shortly after Mr. HUME came Sir ROBERT WILSON, upon the ballot. He has been answered all over the country in all manner of ways; but, not by *doctrinaires*, WILSON; not by a class

who have a *passion for new-fangled things*, but by the middle classes of men, by trades-people of all descriptions, who feel now that they have been ruined, because they could not give honest votes without danger of ruin for honest voting, and who wish for the ballot in order that they may not be compelled to vote for fellows who eat taxes. Do you know how many *officers* of the army we have now in pay, WILSON? Why 16,000 (*sixteen thousand*). Sixteen thousand *officers*, mind; OFFICERS. Not meh, but OFFICERS! What, would there be sixteen thousand *officers*, if there were voting by ballot? No! not sixteen hours after the assembling of a house so elected. This is your “monarchy,” WILSON; and a goodly monarchy, it is—for you. You have felt it, and, God knows, the people have too! To be sure you wish to live under *such* a monarchy; who can doubt you!

Sir R. WILSON agreed with the petition as far as reform and economy was concerned, but he disagreed with the petition on the subject of ballot. He had before referred to America, and some other states where the ballot was in existence, and had shown that it had not answered expectations there. He had since received a letter from a person of the highest respectability, who had been informed by a merchant of America, “That America had experienced the greatest evils from the election by ballot; there was a general impression in that country that it would be found necessary to abolish it altogether, and he expected that a measure would soon be proposed to effect it.” In Virginia, lately, where a convention had met to consider what changes it was necessary to make in the existing institutions, including the legislature, it was proposed to adopt the ballot, but that proposition was completely rejected. It was requisite that the representative should know the opinions of those who delegated their power to him, he should know all their opinions, and he could not do this if they voted by ballot. He should know the feelings of the different parties among the electors. He further objected to the ballot that it did not necessarily preserve secrecy. He knew that the question was gaining in favour with the people, owing to the example of France; but it ought to be recollected, that in France there were only 80,000 voters, and in France it was of great use in protecting the voters against the power of the government. But, as the ballot existed in France, would members wish to have it here? Would the hon. Member for Middlesex have the House of

Commons vote by ballot, as the Chamber of Deputies voted? Would the hon. Member be contented that his vote should be unknown? Would he like to have to say, "Oh! I assure you I voted for that question;" instead of seeing his name in those printed lists that were now circulated? It was not a system which could be applied to that House, and was therefore plautly imperfect. It was a new-fangled passion of a certain class of *doctrinaires*, who imagined that they had found out, in the nineteenth century, a remedy for all abuses. If it were introduced into that House, it would overthrow the monarchy, and to such a proceeding he would be no party. He was born under a monarchy, and so he wished the country to remain, and he should always oppose the introduction of the ballot.

Mr. D. W. HARVEY declared, that when he was convinced that the feelings of the *great body of the people were as much in favour of ballot, as they were in favour of reform*, he, for one, should never oppose it by his vote. When it could be shown to him that the respectable body he represented were friendly to the Ballot, he would yield his individual opinion to the general opinion.

The feelings of the great body of the people seem to be *more in favour of the ballot* than of reform. In short (and it is one of the most awful things that we have lately witnessed), the cry for the ballot proceeds more from the middle than the labouring classes. It is clear, then, that these want to vote for other men than they have been accustomed to vote for; and this desire is produced by their finding themselves ruined by their present representative. Nothing can be clearer than this. So, yield, Mr. D. W. HARVEY.

Mr. CURTEIS denied that the tithes were felt by the agriculturists as a burden; and maintained that if a vote by ballot, were conceded, it would involve the country in all the horrors of a civil war. He allowed that the great majority of people were favourable to Parliamentary Reform; but he denied that they were favourable to the ballot.

I am sorry to do any-thing "tending to bring either House of Parliament into contempt," because it is contrary to *law* to do so; but, for the life o' me, I can't help laughing now-and-then. By-the-by, suppose a parcel of men, a hundred, for instance, were to go down and plant themselves opposite the House of Commons; in that square, (now I forget the name of it) near Abingdon Street; and suppose they were to stand and do nothing, but

laugh. Laugh out; not stifle it, but laugh out; move their bodies backward and forward in the attitudes of laughter; shake their sides, and hold their foreheads: would this be a positive infringement of *six acts*, or would it be a "*conspiracy to evade*" six acts? I have thought of this a good deal.

Wednesday, Dec. 22, 1830.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

LORD FARNHAM made a string of observations upon the state of Ireland.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Nothing done.

December 23, 1830.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Nothing important.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

TREVOR.—TREVOR comes in here; but I have dispatched Trevor in the Registers of the 25th of December and 1st of January. That is, in No. 26, Vol. LXX. and No. 1, Vol. LXXI. The reader will turn to these numbers, therefore, if he should want to refer to TREVOR's pranks. But I do not remember that I thanked Trevor for this eulogium on me; at least, for this formal acknowledgment of my power, my immense power (for who can deny it now, without calling Trevor liar?) namely, "The publication" (dear little Register!) "to which he referred was one that was circulated very extensively, and that laboured unceasingly in efforts of excitation—efforts that, if not arrested in their progress, would, sooner or later, *destroy that and the other House of parliament!*" There, you vile wretches that pretend to *despise me!* There's a sixpenny pamphlet for you! A *sixpenny pamphlet* that can destroy the "*collective wisdom* of the nation," that can destroy the "*noblest assembly of free-men in the world!*" What, and the other place too, Trevor! Why, I never thought of that! I remember hearing of some lady who said that "the handsomest compliment ever paid her she received from the lips of a drunken coal-heaver, who came reeling out of a pot-house, and seeing her sitting in her carriage drawn up close to the curb-stone, in the carelessness of

drunkenness, exclaimed, "God bless you, let me light my pipe by your eyes!" And, accordingly, as this lady always felt grateful to the drunken coal-heaver, so, Trevor, I shall always feel grateful to you; for, say what you may, Trevor, as that pair of eyes which could seem to the drunken coal-heaver bright enough to light his pipe must be very bright indeed, so that pen which could seem to Trevor powerful enough to destroy two Houses of parliament (and such Houses!) must be indeed powerful!

JOBS.—Mr. HUME gave notice, that, on the second Thursday in February, he should move for a Select Committee to inquire into the office of King's Printer in England and Scotland.

Lord ALTHORP asked whether the hon. Member might not add the King's Printer for Ireland?

Mr. HUME said that he thought that office had been abolished—that, in fact, the Government had been beforehand with him, but he should be happy to adopt the noble Lord's suggestion. He would take that opportunity of asking the noble Lord whether it were true, that unless the patent was challenged before the 1st of January in the ensuing year, it would become free from further objection? He understood that the patent was at an office somewhere in the Adelphi, and had lain there for nearly a year, and at the end of that time would be valid.

Lord ALTHORP knew nothing of such a law, but would inquire about it.

PENSIONS.—Mr. GUEST, in moving that there be laid before the House the Warrant or other Document, of date 5th January, 1823, whereby a certain Pension was granted to Mrs. Harriett Arbuthnot, read to the House the particulars of numerous other Pensions, the details of which we could not correctly ascertain, in consequence of the extremely low tone of voice and rapid utterance with which the hon. Gentleman spoke. He contended that Members of that House obtaining pensions for any members of their family, especially for their wives, virtually vacated their seats in that House, as much as if they had themselves accepted them by name. He could not but think, that as the reigning King had himself but a life-interest in the revenues of the Crown, he could only dispose of them for his own life, as in law a subject can transfer to others only the interest which he himself by law possesses. He (Mr. Guest) thought, therefore, that the pensions granted during any reign ought to terminate upon the demise of the Crown, unless Parliament should approve of their continuance. He was desirous that each particular pension in the present List should be laid before the House, for the purpose of an examination of the grounds

upon which such pension had been granted. It would be his duty, when the funds for payment of those pensions would be applied for, to divide the House (if he stood alone) on every pension which might not appear to have been granted for actual service.

Mr. HUME, in seconding the motion of his hon. Friend, would say, that although it was extremely unpleasant, in the discharge of his duty to his constituents, to be compelled to bring forward the case of an individual, yet there was no other mode of putting a stop to the practice of improperly pensioning individuals out of the taxes, but by taking up and bringing before the House individual cases. (Hear.) He concurred in the opinion expressed by his hon. Friend, that when the wife of a Member of that House received a pension, it was in direct violation of the spirit of the Act of Parliament for such a Member to retain his seat in the House. (Hear.) The whole of the Pension List ought to be investigated by a Committee of the House. The manner in which that list was accustomed to be filled up for some reigns past, was one of the main causes of the present distressed state of the country.

How many years have I been at these pensions, sinecures and grants! All my readers know how fond I am of country affairs. Country occupations, country amusements, all things appertaining to country life, are enticing to me. But, when even a boy, I had my scruples at some of its amusements. Who has followed in a hare-hunt; seen her started from her seat of tranquillity and innocence, and flee before six-and-thirty blood-thirsty and roaring dogs, and perhaps as many hollowing boys and men, without thinking to himself, What has she done to deserve this? Who has seen her, in the course of the hunt, soaked in mud and wet, stopping and pricking up her ears to find if her double have defeated her pursuers, her eyes starting from her head with terror, every muscle quivering, and her heart beating so as even to be heard three or four yards off; who has seen this, without, at least, wishing her safe from her foes? But who, on seeing her after all her amazing exertions to save her life by flight, and by many dexterous arts to deceive; who has seen her give up all hope and run half the length of the last field uttering the most appalling shrieks of death; who has seen and heard this and not felt that hare-hunting has its alloy? I cannot; and were it not for

the many things that can be said in favour of field sports, I should think them sanguinary and unjustifiable. But I never had this feeling about me at a *rat-hunt*. A rat-hunt is laudable in every view that one can take of it. The wretch itself is odious to the sight; it is an animal always on the look-out for thefts; it lives in no settled manner, and in no particular place; earth nor water can be called its proper element for it lives in both; nor town nor country, but both; it feeds on no particular species of food; flesh, fish, grain, all are alike its food, and in every way disguised; nothing comes amiss to it, and its gluttony is beyond comparison. It is, too, a most unnatural thing, neglecting (according to the naturalists) its aged parents and devouring its feeble young! It has no good quality, and yet devours more, or spoils more, than any created animal; it has appetite for every-thing, and never seems satisfied. It is, in short, the *predator* of nature; and all useful and industrious creatures are interested in its destruction. A *rat-hunt*, therefore, has charms, for me unbounded: at all hours, in all weather, any day, I am ready for the *chasse aux rats*. I go to it in perfect lightness of heart; for, if any-thing can make it justifiable to amuse oneself in observing the arts of the timid, unoffending and harmless hare when pursued by enemies, how much more justifiable to amuse oneself at seeing those of the rat, whose destruction is positive good! For this reason I like rat-hunting; I recommend rat-hunting. It is really amusing. How often have I stood in the floor of a barn, watching the progress of this sort of fun. How I have laughed when all the straw has been moved to within a few trusses of the bottom: then begins the sport. The dog's sagacity, the boy's rashness, and the man's experience—how all these are severally displayed when it comes to within a few trusses of the nests of the nasty, stinking, plundering herd. A general rustle under the little remaining straw makes every creature intent. And, Oh! my God! how I have

laughed to see, one moment after, a shoal of vermin pour forth; how I have laughed to see the dogs snap them up, the boys bewilder one another with cries of "There they go! there they go! there they go!" and the men, after roaring to the boys not to *strike before the dogs*, not to *hit the dog's noses*; give way to the general enthusiasm and knock and bang and trample and howl as loud as any.—THE STRAW IS BEING MOVED.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,
FRIDAY, JANUARY 28, 1831.

INSOLVENT.

JAN. 27.—HILL, R., Lewes, Sussex, upholterer.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

LYON, A., and N. J., Calisher, Birmingham, and George-street, Jewry-street, wholesale jewellers.

BANKRUPTS.

ATKINS, A., Gloucester, merchant.

BROADLEY, J., and J. Watson, North Moor, Lancashire, cotton-spinners.

FALLOWS, W., Stafford, inn-keeper.

GRIFIN, T., Belvedere road, and Essex-place, Prince's-road, Lambeth, timber-merchant.

HALL, T., Wigan, Lancashire, shop-keeper.

HARRISON, J., Hammersmith, coal-merchant.

LASKLY, R., Exeter, haberdasher.

LEDDY, H., Paisgrave place, Temple, scrivener.

MUNRO, J., Liverpool, iron-founder.

SUMMERS, H., Manchester, lace-manufacturer.

WILBY, S., Aldermansbury, vintner.

WINN, T., Leeds, victualler.

WOOD, A., Great Towers-street, and Southampton-street, Camberwell, carpenter.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 1, 1831.

INSOLVENTS.

JAN. 31.—INSOLE, G., Cardiff, brick-merchant.

JAN. 31.—STEVENSON, T., Chesterfield, joiner.

BANKRUPTCY ENLARGED.

MACDONALD, G., and A. Campbell, Regent-street, St James's, army-agents.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

WEBB, S., Reading, builder.

BANKRUPTS.

AUGHTERLONY, J. R., Great Ormond-street, dyer.

BOND, R., Plymouth, printer.

COULSTOCK, J., Reigate, Surrey, miller.

HAMER, W., Wigan, Lancashire, coach-maker.

HAWKSWORTH, E., Almondsbury, Yorkshire, grocer.

HOSKIN, R., Manchester, silk-mercant.
JACKSON, J., Shad-Thames, Horslydown, silk-mercant.
JONES, D., Cynwyd, Merionethshire, victualler.
KIDD, J., Brook green-terrace, Hammer-smith, baker.
PADDON, F. W., Plymouth, printer.
PEARSE, J., Sidbury, Devonshire, victualler.
SPURR, S., Warrford-couast, Throginorton-street, merchant.
THOMSON, R., Liverpool and Earston, merchant and farmer.
TIPTON, R., Gloucester, scrivener.
WHITE, W., Leamington Priors, Warwickshire, upholsterer.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, COFFIN-EXCHANGE, JAN. 31.—We had for this morning's market rather a short supply of English Wheat, and at an early hour our millers were tolerably free purchasers, and for fine quality we obtained an advance in the prices since this day se'night of full 1s. per quarter, but not being able to establish an advance in Flour, the market closed heavily, although the stands were pretty well cleared. Fine Malting Barley fully maintains last Monday's value; but the inferior qualities are dull sale. Beans of both sorts are rather dearer than otherwise. Oats sell slowly at somewhat higher prices. In White and Grey Peas, or other articles no variation.

Wheat	60s. to 64s.
Eye	38s. to 42s.
Barley	30s. to 40s.
— fine	41s. to 44s.
Peas, White	35s. to 44s.
— Boilers	45s. to 48s.
— Grey	30s. to 39s.
Beans, Small	35s. to 46s.
— Tick	35s. to 44s.
Oats/Potage	20s. to 27s.
— Poland	30s. to 31s.
— Feeds	20s. to 24s.
Flour, per sack	63s. to 65s.

HOP INTELLIGENCE.

Borough, Monday, Jan. 31.—The demand for hops still continues pretty steady: if prices there is no alteration.

PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middle, new, 40s. to 42s. per cwt.
— Sides, new, 38s. to 42s.
Pork, India, new, 113s. 6d.
— Mess, new, 57s. 6d. to 58s. per barrel.
Butter, Belfast, 96s. to 98s. per cwt.
— Carlow, 94s. to 98s.
— Cork, 96s. to 98s.
— Limerick, 96s. to 98s.
— Waterford, 92s. to 94s.
— Dublin, 92s. to 94s.
Cheese, Cheshire, 40s. to 70s.
— Gloucester, Double, 48s. to 56s.
— Gloucester, Single, 44s. to 50s.

Cheese, Edam	40s. to 46s.
— Gouda	42s. to 46s.
Hams, Irish	45s. to 56s.

SMITHFIELD—Jan. 31.

The only difference to-day is in Lincoln Mutton, which is not called higher than 4s. 2d. with an exception that regards a very few complete things; but the sale not so free as last week. The best Downs continue at 4s. 6d. The Beef Trade is full as good as this day se'night, at the same terms: a few choice Scots, as then, making 4s. 6d. Some call the best Veal over 6s.; but, if so, it has been made in only a few instances.—Though we have a larger market than last Monday, yet every thing will be sold. Beasts, 2,460; Calves, 140; Sheep, 20,600; Pigs, 150.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, Feb. 4.

The supplies are still small, the demand moderate, and the prices the same as on Monday.

English arrivals.		Foreign.	Irish.
Flour	5,710		
Wheat	3,615	2,170	
Barley	4,240	420	
Oats	693	185	2,500

THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent. Cons. Ann.	Fin. Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.
	80½	80½	80½	81	80½

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Published by **EFFINGHAM WILSON**, Royal Exchange.

ANN, COUNTESS DOWAGER OF MORNINGTON, mother of Marquis Wellesley, of the Prince of Waterloo, of Lord Maryborough, of Lord Cowley, (now Ambassador at Vienna), and of another Wellesley, who has two or three great livings in the church; this Countess Dowager, the mother of all these, had a pension of 600*l.* a year, paid out of the taxes raised on the people. From the BLACK BOOK, just published by Mr. E. WILSON, Royal Exchange, p. 467.

The Poor Laws provide, that the children of every poor, old, blind, lame, or impotent person, not able to work, shall (if they have the means) relieve and maintain such poor parent, according to the rate at which they shall be assessed by the Justices of the county where the parties live, in order to prevent parishes being burdned with unnecessary charges.

"A petition," says the *Morning Chronicle* of the 31st Jan., "in preparation, in the neighbourhood of BALLYDUFF, county of Waterford, Ireland, which will be intrusted to Mr. Hume, praying that the invidious distinctions which at present exist between Parish and State Paupers may be abolished; and that it may in future be a general rule, that all persons who depend on the public bounty for subsistence shall be distinguished by a peculiar dress."



BELGIUM.

"But, what shall we do with the Duke! My God!" exclaimed Peel to LORD KEY, "What shall we do with the Duke!"

Kennington, Feb 8, 1831

It is now evident that this country, the richest in products of all the continent of Europe; this country of *Lincolnshires*; this country of industry and probity; this country of fortresses without end. it is now evident that this fine country, with its three or four millions of people, are about, speedily, to be reunited to France! My readers will hardly need to be reminded, that, from the moment I heard of the fall of Charles X., I stated that this reunion would be one of the first and most important consequences of that fall. But, now, it may be useful to give my readers a short history of the circumstances

which have finally led to the present state of things.

BELGIUM, of which BRUSSELS is the capital city, was, before the French Revolution of 1789, under the dominion of AUSTRIA; and it was the policy of England (chiefly for the sake of *Hanover* and *Holland*) to keep it in possession of Austria. The French Republicans took the whole country, after having beaten the armies of Prussia, Holland, and Austria, together with the unfortunate English army, under the command of the renowned Duke of York and "the FLOWER of the English nobility." The French "*sans-culottes*" (fellows without breeches) as they were called, in derision, drove them, "*flower*," and all, before them; and Duke York, having had the good luck to reach *BRUSSELS*, got safe across to old England himself, leaving the second in command to make a capitulation, by which it was agreed that the remnant of the English army should be permitted to come away, upon condition that eight thousand French sailors, then prisoners of war in England, should be instantly surrendered to France! And, as if here were not enough to humble

royalty and aristocracy, the French army was, on this memorable occasion, commanded by a man who, only twelve years before, had been an apprentice to a printer, at LIMOGES, a city in a southern province of France, called the LIMOSIN, whence he went under the appellation of "the printer's boy of Limosin."

BELGIUM, thus won by France, was (and with the hearty good-will of the people) incorporated with the French Republic; and thus it continued until the year 1814, when Napoleon was banished to ELBA. Then this fine country, with its industrious and pious and moral and brave people, were, by a treaty to which *England, Austria, Prussia, Russia,* and (by compulsion) the *Bourbons*, were parties, severed from France, and united to *Holland* (detested by the Belgians), and the two countries were formed into "a kingdom," of which the Dutch Stadtholder was made king, having the royal dominion over these countries GUARANTEED to him by the five Powers above-mentioned.

In 1815, on the return of Napoleon from Elba, Belgium became the scene of the battle that finally decided his fate. WATERLOO, which is in Belgium, and at a few miles distance from the city of Brussels, witnessed that *base treason* by which the defeat of Napoleon was occasioned. There were *one million and eleven thousand men*, all to be paid by the people of England, to fight against the French people on this occasion; yet, had there been no *treachery*, all would have failed. However, these things were overlooked: it was the interest of our government, and its endless swarms of tax-eaters, to ascribe the victory solely to our own valour and *that of the Hanoverians*, and to cry up the commander as something far surpassing Alexander or Caesar. He was created a *Duke* by our Prince Regent, and "*Prince of Waterloo*" by the King of Holland. But the great evils to us were, first the *immense sums of our money heaped upon him*, amounting, in the whole, to *more than a million of pounds* on this one man! A greater evil, however, was, the insolence with

which this event filled the borough-mongers and all those who lived on the people. They from that time looked on the industrious part of the nation as so many beasts of burden, made to work for them and to administer to their luxuries and their sport. All became *military* in this country, the laws of which once detested the idea of a standing soldier. No reduction of military expense: the answer to every complaint on this score was, "the *gratitude* due to the *heroes of Waterloo*!" The *consequences* of these things are now before us, and need not be dwelt on here.

Thus were the chains, apparently for ages, rivetted on the unhappy people of Belgium, whom the king-makers had saddled with Judge Bailey's blessing, a *national debt*; that is to say, with part of the debt of Holland and with the amount of part of the expenses which Austria and Prussia had incurred in enslaving them! Their king, who hated them because they hated him, treated them accordingly. His Dutch subjects were Protestants, the Belgians were Catholics, and there soon arose disputes very much resembling those between the Protestant Government and the Catholic people of Ireland. The *press*, always the object of hatred and oppression with tyrants, unless they can corrupt it to their purposes, was *honest*, and therefore was persecuted. Imprisonment, banishment, or ruinous fines, were the certain lot of all men who used the press for the public benefit, and in defence of the people's rights. Taxes the most oppressive and most odious were imposed, and enforced with a degree of rigour approaching to that of our Excise and Custom laws. The jails of Belgium rang with the cries of the victims of the fiscal system.

In this state was Belgium, in *July last*, when the brave people of Paris, setting at nought the cannons and the bayonets of the mercenary and bloody Swiss, drove their tyrants from their palaces and their throne. All men of sense, accustomed to think of such matters, saw that Belgium would speedily revolt against the king that had, as above stated, been forced

upon them. Revolt they did; and, with the cordial good wishes of every just man on the face of the earth to cheer them, they, without organization, without commanders, without any preparation for the combat, finally succeeded in driving their oppressors from their country. Having done this, they had to settle upon a *new government*. A Congress, chosen by the people, have, for many weeks, been deliberating on this subject.* What the people wanted was, a *re-union with France at once*; but, LOUIS-PHILIPPE and his Chambers (for they are not those of the *French people*) being essentially *fund-holding*, and thinking that such re-union would rouse the other four *guaranteeing Powers* to war, and knowing that war would shake to its foundation the funding system of France, have been constantly *against* this re-union. Then, the other four Powers have been working, too, towards the same point. At first, they expressed their resolution to adhere to their *guarantee* of 1814, and to *compel* the Belgians again to submit to their Dutch king; but, though they probably had the fund-holding government of France along with them, they had not the French *people* with them. They next insisted, that the Belgians should have for king some one of the *family* of the Dutch king. But the Belgians having observed, I suppose, that wolves do not breed lambs, thought, apparently, that like father like son; and, therefore, they rejected that proposition. Next, the *guaranteers* insisted that they should have a King of *some breed or other*, but that he should not be of *French breed*! Alas! the Belgian Congress have finally fixed their choice upon the DUKE DE NEMOURS, second son of LOUIS-PHILIPPE! And this is, in fact, neither more nor less than a resolution to be re united with France. The news of to-day is, that LOUIS-PHILIPPE will *not assent* to this! Poh! His scruples will be soon overcome! The first grand review that he has on the *Champ de Mars* will remove all his scruples, and make him as bold as a country girl at her second appearance before a quorum, one half of whom are her lovers.

In short, this thing is *done*. Fielding says, that, when *both parties* are of a mind, whether it be to *fight* or to *marry*, it is extremely difficult to keep them asunder; but that, if either of the parties have no stomach for the enterprise, a team of horses will not get them together; a striking instance of which latter I once witnessed in a man who was always boasting of his pugilistic might and prowess, but who, having taken a *cutting* and *kicking* as silently as a wool-pack, and having been driven (in order to save his coward hide for the moment) to *postpone* the sequel of the salutation by the *accepting of a challenge* for the next day, discovered, in shuffling out of the challenge, *more ingenuity* than timid hare ever discovered to avoid her pursuers, and, in resisting the arguments in favour of the necessity of fighting, *more courage* than St. DUNSTON discovered in all his immortal battles with the devil. Far otherwise is it in the present case. Here is a *marriage* in question; and the parties are both of a mind, and ready to leap into each other's arms. It signifies not a straw, therefore, what Louis-Philippe and his insolvent bankers may think or say of the matter: the rich and beautiful bride offers her hand to her brave and strong and ardent lover; and it is not the intrigues of the old grannies and the fribbles at Vienna and Whitehall; no, nor their *weighty* arguments into the bargain, that will keep the parties asunder for any length of time.

This reunion will be, and must be, accomplished; and *what an event is here!* An event that at one blow *over-sets all* that was accomplished by the *twenty-two years of war* that our THING carried on, and by the six hundred millions of debt that it contracted, and by the six annual millions of poor-rates, and the six annual millions of Dead Weight, which that war has entailed upon us, and which accursed entail is now producing riots and fires and all sorts of calamity and disgrace. France must give the fashion to Europe. There she is, having swept away *tithes*, now sweeping away the *nasty dregs* of

aristocracy, which English money and Austrian, Prussian, and Russian bayonets had re-imposed upon her. There she is at work, establishing *equal laws* and *cheap Government*. The example is too alluring not to be followed. Accordingly we see all Europe in commotion. Every-where *the people* are looking to France as *their* friend. Belgium was the door, doubly and triply barricaded, to shut the French out of the rest of Europe, and prevent her from lending a hand to oppressed people. This event *opens this door*. It is, therefore, an event at which *the people* of all nations must rejoice, and at which the oppressors of all nations must tremble.

But how will this event affect us in particular? Why, as every man of sense saw that the Parisians, by their glorious deeds of July, actually produced the putting out of the PRINCE OF WATERLOO, and the ministerial proposition to make that *reform* which had been scoffed at for so many years; so every man of sense must now see, that this event relating to Belgium will have a tendency to *urge the Government* on in the good work. For, it is another and a most striking proof that the stability of Governments now demand *great concessions to the people*, that the people are no longer to be ruled on the principle of *fear*. I am aware that, taking into view the change that has been made by the discovery of *steam-navigation*, the power of France to invade England and Ireland will be greatly augmented by the re-union of Belgium with France. But I know, at the same time, that all the power of France, if it were four or even ten times what it is, would present nothing formidable to England and Ireland, if *the people were cordial in their love of the Government*; this they would be, if they had *meat to eat* (as their great-grandfathers had) instead of the accursed potatoes; and, if they have not meat to eat, it signifies, in my view of the matter, not a single straw who possesses, or what becomes of, the country. I am happy, however, in the thought, that they have again *begun* to eat meat. I trust that the Ministers will give us a *real reform*; and then

we may safely set all foreign nations at defiance; for that will soon give us *cheap Government, cheap religion*, and will make us all, even the poorest of us, feel, that we have *something to lose*; that our lot *may be worse*; feelings that the millions of us have not had for many years past.

For these reasons I hail with joy this great event. I look upon its accomplishment as inevitable, though intrigue and bribery may cause it to be postponed for a short time. The French nation burns with impatience to wipe out the *stain* of Waterloo; for, though they well know the *treason* by which they were defeated, yet the despots, and their own amongst the rest, with the aid of an enslaved and mercenary press, have caused it to be regarded as a *stain*. They know well how false our Government's pretensions are, relative to the "*glory*" of that affair; but this knowledge does not tend to diminish their resentment; and every Frenchman, except he be a downright *sold* traitor, absolutely *fries* with eagerness to regain the "*field of Waterloo*," which, he feels, will bring back everything to where it stood *before the first fall of Napoleon*! And what a triumph for THE PEOPLE of every country! The great burden of the arguments against reform in England has, for the last 16 years, been this:—"Look at France; only look at France: the French made a *radical reform*; and what have they got by it? All their victories ended in defeat; and there they are, with the Bourbons back again, with all their fine conquests taken away, with the white flag up again, with the defeat at Waterloo sucking to them, with a national debt, and taxed as heavily as ever: so that, be silent about reform; for, it will do you no good in the end; you must, at last, come back again to potatoes, or BENNET'S Gallon loaf and 3d. a week for FOOD and CLOTHING." This was the great burden of all the arguments against reform, for sixteen years, ending on the 29th day of July last! It is gone! The brave Parisians put an end to it on that memorable day,

and every good man on earth clapped his hands with joy on the occasion; for every man felt that the victory had been won for the people of every country. This union of Belgium, however, was necessary to make the thing complete. Very much mistaken are those who imagine that this aggrandisement of France is an injury, or can be an injury, to the *English nation*. An injury, indeed, it may be to the rulers of Holland, of Hanover, of Prussia, of the petty despots of Germany, of Russia and of Austria. To these rulers it may be an injury; but a benefit to the *people* of every country. An injury to domineering aristocracy every-where; but a benefit to the industrious classes of every community on earth. It is for our interest in all respects that Belgium should belong to France. I have a thousand good reasons for this; but, one is enough, and that is, that it will enable the French to establish *cheap Government*, and will compel us to follow their example in that respect. All our dangers, all our miseries, arise from *dear Government*. There is no good reason why England should not be governed even *cheaper* than the United States of America, and maintain at the same time all her just rights and authority in the world. There is no reason why this should not be; and to this cheap government the example of France, and the immense increase of power that that cheap government will give to France, will, in the end, compel us to resort.

War! Oh, no! We shall not go to war to prevent the union of Belgium with France. The French now know (I have taken good care of that) all that I know about the *means which this Government has of going to war*; and they talk on the subject in a manner which shows that they know it well. They do know it well, and they leave us out of the question accordingly. And now is *my day of triumph*; now is my day of glory. When NAPOLEON had been put down; when NAPOLEON had been shipped off to St. Helena; when CASTLEREAGH (who, soon afterwards, cut his own throat and killed

himself at North Cray, in Kent), said, "He shall never quit that island;" when that *really* greatest captain of the age fell because he had become an Emperor, and had married an Austrian; when NAPOLEON was sent off to that miserable island, where he at last died of an "*hereditary cancer*;" then did I say to this very CASTLEREAGH: "You think you have triumphed, do you? Your triumph will be of short duration: the gallant French nation will speedily recover: the Bourbons themselves must break your treaty, or be dethroned; *France and Belgium will be together again*: the debt contracted in consequence of the war will hang like a mill-stone about your necks: the gallant French nation will march where they please: England will be able to stir neither hand nor foot to retard their march, unless she free herself from her debt; and this she cannot do without breaking up the church establishment, and, in great part, the whole body of aristocracy."—*Political Register*, 24th of September, 1814.—This, then, is the day of my triumph. It has not come so soon as I expected, but it is come; and, amongst all the millions upon millions of human beings, whose hearts leap with joy at contemplating this event, not one single soul feels the joy to a greater extent than I do, having the happiness to reflect, that my efforts may, in some small degree, have contributed towards the accomplishment of that event.

"But" (as PEELE said to the Lord Mayor on the 8th of November), "what shall we do with the Duke? What shall we do with the PRINCE OF WATERLOO?" What shall we do with the memory of "Old Blucher," the drivel from whose beard the English "*ladies*" vied with each other to kiss? What shall we do with the memory of that "dear old man," who received from the Prince Regent the Order of the Bath, soon after he began to rifle the museums at Paris? What shall we do with the splendid quarto volume, the text by my old printer's runner, BLAGDON, and the plates by ORME, of

Bond-street, intended to hand down to posterity, the History of the immortal victory obtained over the French and the Americans on the Serpentine River? What shall we do with the mound a hundred feet high, and the brass lion thirty feet high, standing upon the mound, on the "*Field of Waterloo*," and put there at the expense of the poor Belgians themselves to commemorate the glory of the great George the Fourth, then the Prince Regent? What shall we do with the "*Hanoverian monument*," erected on that field, and with the "*Prussian monument*," erected on the same field? What shall we do for a place for the tax-eaters to visit and strut about upon, and spend our earnings at the sign of the Prince of Waterloo, and that of the "*Belle Alliance*"? What shall we do with "*Waterloo bridge*," which the spinster speculators first called the "*Strand bridge*," but which was re-baptised in 1818, the great Prince Regent and the great Prince of Waterloo being sponsors, aided and assisted by horse, foot, and artillery, with all the pomp of glorious war? What shall we do with the "*Waterloo Places*," the "*Waterloo Squares*," "*Waterloo Terraces*," "*Waterloo Rows*," and "*Waterloo Houses*"? What shall we do to get these names out of our eyes and out of our heads? What shall we do with the tree, under which the great Prince sat while he was achieving the Waterloo victory, and which was afterwards dug up and brought to England, here to be planted, and now standing, I suppose, in the grounds at Stratfieldsay? What shall we do with the Waterloo triumphal arch at Hyde Park Corner, representing the glorious achievements of the Prince and joining on to his own dwelling-place? What shall we do with the great naked Achilles, standing in Hyde Park, opposite the Prince's own window, erected (naked thing) at the expense of the "*ladies of England*"? "*But*," as PEARL in his agony said, on the 8th of November, "**WHAT SHALL WE DO WITH THE DUKE!**"

Different men are of minds differently constituted; but, speaking for myself, I am sure that, if I were in this state;

if I had sense to estimate the past and the present; if I had been thus raised; if I had seen a whole people experiencing what England now experiences, and in consequence, too, of transactions for which I had been praised to the skies, I should, notwithstanding I might have been as innocent in point of intention as, I dare say, the Prince has been; were this my case, I confess that, however criminal it might be, I should be coward enough to call upon the earth to open and swallow me. To have an adequate idea of what the feelings of the Prince must be, supposing him to have as weak a mind as I have; and, at the same time, to furnish a warning against the danger of indulging in the dreams of glory and ambition, let me insert here, from Debrett's Peerage, a sort of history, or heraldic account, of the glories of the Prince of Waterloo. From the internal evidence of the writing, it must have come from the Prince himself, or have been written and promulgated by his authority. I recommend it to the attentive perusal of all *young men*. They should read every word of it with attention; and here I give it for that purpose, without the addition or suppression of one single word.

ARTHUR WELLESLEY, DUKE OF WELLINGTON, Marquess of Douro, Marquess and Earl of Wellington, Viscount Wellington of Talavera, and of Wellington, and Baron Douro of Wellesley, co. Somerset; Field Marshal in the army, Colonel of the Royal Regiment of Horse-Guards, Master-General of the Ordnance, and Governor of Plymouth, Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, Knight Grand Cross of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath, Grand Cross of the Royal Hanoverian Guelphic Order, Knight of the Order of St. Esprit of France, PRINCE OF WATERLOO, so created BY THE KING and legislative body OF THE NETHERLANDS, VALUE 2000*l.* PER ANNUM; but the right in other respects is much enhanced when it is considered that it is bestowed IN LANDS AND WOODS SITUATED IN THE VERY THEATRE OF HIS SPLENDID VICTORY. Duke of Ciudad Rodrigo, and a Grandee of Spain of the First Class, Duke of Vitoria, Marquess of Torres Vedras, Count of Vimeira in Portugal, Knight of the Most Illustrious Order of the Golden Fleece, of the Spanish Military Order of St. Ferdinand, Knight Grand Cross of the Impe-

rial Military Order of Maria Theresa, Knight Grand Cross of the Imperial Order of St. George of Russia, Knight Grand Cross of the Order of the Black Eagle of Prussia, Knight Grand Cross of the Portuguese Royal and Military Order of the Tower and Sword, Knight Grand Cross of the Royal and Military Order of Sweden of the Sword, Knight Grand Cross of the Orders of the Elephant of Denmark, of William of the Low Countries, of the Annunciation of Sardinia, of Maximilian Joseph of Bavaria, and of several others, and Commander of the Forces of his Britannic Majesty in France, and of the Army of his Majesty the King of the Low Countries and his Majesty the King of France and of Navarre; born May 11 1769, married April 10, 1806, the hon. Catherine Pakenham, 3d daughter of Edward, lord Longford, (who d. before his mother Elizabeth, in her own right countess of Longford,) and sister of Thomas, present Earl of Longford, and has issue, Arthur, marquis of Douro, b. Feb. 3, 1807, and Charles, b. Jan. 16, 1808.

This ILLUSTRIOUS NOBLEMAN is the 3d surviving son of Gerrard-Colley Wellesley, earl of Mornington, in the Peerage of Ireland, (by Anne Hill, eldest daughter of Arthur, viscount Dungannon,) and brother of Richard, marquis Wellesley, K. G. &c. &c. (See *Marquess Wellesley in the Peerage of Ireland*.)

After giving a pompous account of his other exploits, he comes to the battle of Waterloo.

However MARVELLOUS this series of eminent services, in which Providence had been pleased to crown the MOST SUBLIME EFFORTS OF HUMAN PRUDENCE AND COURAGE with the most unvaried success, it was but the prelude to that stupendous victory which, unparalleled in all its features, as well as in the vastness of its consequences, raised the character of this hero to a height never before attained by any captain. The beneficence of the King of France and the other sovereigns of Europe, was repaid by the French armies with the most detestable treachery. The allies had no sooner with drawn those troops, at the head of which they replaced Louis on his throne, when Buonaparte was again brought triumphantly from Elba, and the King was once more obliged to seek refuge in the bosom of foreign states. Europe again rose, and the usurper advanced to meet its legions; it seemed to have been ordained that the conflict which had subsisted for more than twenty years should remain undecided till the TWO MIGHTY LEADERS who had so long electrified the world should, for the first time, meet hand to hand, and on the 18th day of June, this great conflict took place on the plains of Waterloo. To attempt to particularize any of the events of that day, would the limits of this work allow it, would be impertinent, for they ARE ENGRAVEN ON

THE HEART AND MIND OF EVERY ENGLISHMAN. Suffice it, therefore, to say, that THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD cannot produce another instance of a conflict so severe, so sanguinary; in which the skill and coolness of officers were so admirably seconded by the discipline and bravery of soldiers; in which science was so eminently invigorated by the coolness of a universal courage, which had in its turn submitted its fervour to be tempered by the soundest discretion; in which, in spite of these fair promises of victory, the fate of the battle was a long day so nicely poised, that the coming night-fall would have left it undecided, but for one of those almost SUPERHUMAN IMPULSES WHICH FALL ONLY ON THE GREATEST MINDS, to produce the greatest results. The Duke of Wellington, by seizing an opportunity which the delay of a moment might have lost, destroyed that army which had so long been the terror of Europe; clouded for ever the almost romantic fame of its leader, and crumbled his rebellious throne into dust.

A DUE MEASURE of gratitude for such services COULD NOT HAVE BEEN RENDERED, but the nation DID ITS BEST: on the 23rd of June the thanks of both Houses of parliament were once more voted to him, "for the consummate ability" (to use the very words of parliament on the occasion), "unexampled exertion and irresistible ardour, displayed by him on the 18th of June;" and on the 11th of the following month, the additional sum of 200,000*l.* was granted to him towards the purchase of lands, and the building on them a suitable mansion; such estates to be holden by him and his heirs, in free and common socage by fealty, and rendering to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, on the 18th of June in every year, AT HIS CASTLE OF WINDSOR, ONE TRICOLOURED FLAG, for all manner of rents, services, exactions, and demands.

Alas! how flat, after this, would appear the plain names of GEORGE WASHINGTON, JOHN ADAMS, THOMAS JEFFERSON, JAMES MADISON, JAMES MUNRO, ANDREW JACKSON! How rapid! yet, when one reflects that the people of whom they have been the chief Magistrates, EAT MEAT THREE TIMES A DAY, while those who live in the country where these fine titles abound, live upon potatoes, from the 1st of January to the 31st of December, when one reflects on this, and ~~what time~~ knows at the same time that the jails of America are empty; that ~~not ten men~~ have been hanged out of twelve millions, in forty years; that ~~such a thing~~

as a special commission was never heard of in that land; that there are all the old laws of England and none of the new ones; that, under that mild and gentle government, no standing army has been required, though it has carried on a triumphant war, by sea as well as by land against the undivided power of this great country itself: when one reflects on these things, one is almost tempted to believe that the plain names of George Washington and of Andrew Jackson are worth all the titles, all the coronets, all the ribbons, stars and garters in the world.

Leaving the Prince of Waterloo to the use of his titles, and to carry the TRI-COLOURED FLAG to Windsor Castle every month of June, or, rather, leaving bright Peel to discover what he shall do with him, let me now, in conclusion of this article, observe that we are not to talk of war, especially about Belgium, and shut our eyes to the circumstance that we are not to have such war as that without having something to do with Jonathan, who, let it be remembered, carries a Long Tom in his stern. It was said of old BINGHAM of Philadelphia (the father of Messrs. Alexander and Henry Baring), who had been a supercargo, or something, on board a privateer, during the war of revolution, that he used to say, in the heat of the fight, "Never mind, my lads, while the Long Tom remains unshipped." It was said of him, or some other privateer's man, that being fired at by an English seventy-four, in order to bring him to and make him surrender, he returned the fire, but overloaded the Long Tom and got it unshipped. However he continued the fight, and got away; and when he was asked, after he got into port, how he could have the audacity to return the fire, he swore that if he had not unshipped his Long Tom "he would have took her!" I dare say that BINGHAM, who was a Yankee, (that is, a New Englander,) was, like the rest of his countrymen, as cool as a cucumber, and as brave as a lion; and certain it is, at any rate, that that cool race is now prepared for us; and that if our Government were so unwise as to

attempt an interference in Belgium and France, we should have to fight Jonathan as well as the French and Belgians; and, let it be remembered that I now warn the Ministers of this danger. When the WHIGS were in power before, they took up from their predecessors, extended, and carried on, a most vigorous "paper-blockade." That finally produced the war of 1812, followed up as it was by CANNING and CASTLE-REAGH, with the aid of their sublime negotiators, of whom one was the younger GEORGE ROSE. The Americans began that war with (to use the expression of the flippant and saucy Canning) "six fir frigates with bits of striped bunting at their mizzen-head." They ended it with a stout fleet, some of them seventy-fours, which fleet has been augmenting from that day to this; such being the natural consequences of a people being truly represented in their legislative assemblies, and of the savings of peace making provision for the expenses of war.

Now, be it known to our ministers and to this bothered people, that long-sighted Jonathan has taken a wonderful interest in the recent Revolution in France. Without a moment's hesitation, his Ambassador at Paris acknowledged the new order of things. In the United States, joy at that event has been expressed in all sorts of ways. In the last Register, I inserted an account of the rejoicings at New York, to which I beg leave to refer my readers, if by chance they have overlooked it. Jonathan is even a cooler fellow than his ancestors. Show, for show's sake, is altogether contrary to his taste. There was not, be you well assured, a procession "three miles long," with all the display of the tri-coloured flag entwined with that of America, and will all the other demonstrations of joy and applause, without something more than mere enthusiasm being at the bottom! Jonathan never moves and never speaks without first duly thinking of the consequences. He did not make all that parade with LA FAYETTE, and heap upon the old general such marks of his gratitude (all which, however, he

merited), without having *an eye to the future*. He knew what effect those marks of his gratitude would have upon a nation so enthusiastic as the French. There is nothing false in this conduct of the Americans: it is wisdom. They see their own safety; the preservation of their own precious liberties and happiness, likely to be secured by the extension of their principles; and they act with justice and humanity, as well as with wisdom, in endeavouring to extend those principles.

The aid of the Americans, in case of war with England, is relied on in France; and it may be safely relied on; because it is utterly impossible for us to carry on an efficient war against France for a month, without one of two things; abandoning our right of search, the exercise of which, in all its plenitude, is absolutely necessary to the efficiency of our arms, or, without fighting the Americans for the maintenance of that right; and, in this case, whence are to come the resources for the carrying on of such a war? In all parts of the world we should be instantly assailed; a hundred millions a year of the present money would not provide for the expenses of such a war. No: our wise way is, to make an efficient reform of the Parliament; then to reduce the expenses of every description; then to prepare for efficient war without hastily or unjustly provoking it; and the best preparation of all would be, causing the working people to have a belly-full of bread and meat instead of the all-acursed potatoes; then we should be safe *at home* and then that Englishman who would surrender the right of search, or any particle of our ancient pretensions to the dominion of the seas, ought to be stripped, not only of his shirt but of his skin. We might then let the French go where they pleased upon land, except upon the land of England and Ireland. The Americans might be told, "Thus far shall you go and no farther!" But while we are in our present miserable state of debt, discontent, and half revolution, we must speak to foreign powers in a tone of timid anxiety, and

must go on gradually sinking into a state of humility and insignificance, until of this proud, and justly proud, England, there will be left *nothing but the name*; and that, apparently, solely for the purpose of reminding us of the glory of our fathers and our own degeneracy.

W. COBBETT.

TO WILTSHIRE BENETT.

Kensington, 9th February, 1831.

BENETT,

I READ in the *Morning Chronicle* of to-day, that you made rather free with my name last night in the big House, which, if I treat with contempt, there is a law to put me to what I deem more than half death. You are, in the *Morning Chronicle*, reported to have said, "The reason why he (Mr. Bennet) accused Mr. Cobbett of being at the bottom of the commotions was, because on one occasion when he (Mr. Bennet) had talked of the peaceable conduct of the agriculturists of Wiltshire, Mr. Cobbett had said, in his Register, "Ah, Mr. Bennet, you know little what you are talking about: you will not say that they are peaceable many days longer." So it had turned out; for their tranquillity only continued for about ten days or a fortnight afterwards. He had therefore told the honourable Member for Preston that he attributed the misconduct of the labourers to his speeches and to Mr. Cobbett's writings."

NOW, BENETT, in the first place, I do not know that you uttered these words; and, therefore, I comment on them as a parcel of words that I find put forth in the newspapers. In the next place, I do not pretend to know *what effect* the speeches of your brother Member may have had upon the people, but I know that my writings could have had none, unless each man paid every week for the Register nearly as much as the weekly allowance to him *for food and clothing*, according to your own evidence, given before a Committee of the House of Commons, in the year 1813. That allowance, as stated by

yourself, was (and if I am rightly informed it continued the same until the riots and fires took place) the price of a gallon loaf and threepence a week; that is to say, eight pounds and ten ounces of bread a week, and rather less than a pound and a quarter of bread a day; and not quite a halfpenny a day in money; and this, as stated by you, was to find food and clothing. Now, at the time when I was writing to produce the dreadful effect of which you are said to have spoken, the price of the Register was a *shilling*; and it is now *fourteen-pence*. How was it, then, to reach the hands of the labourers of Wiltshire? Poor souls, they were thinking much more how they should keep themselves and their crying children from starving than about the reading of Registers, or the reading of anything else. But this report of your speech *misrepresents* what I said, and in a very gross manner too. Here is your speech, and here is the comment that this report alludes to.

“ Mr. BENETT presented a petition from the inhabitants of several parishes in Wiltshire, complaining of the great distress under which they were labouring, and which they attributed principally to the change in the currency, and praying to be relieved from taxation. The hon. Member characterised the petitioners as a most loyal and well-disposed set of people, and expressed his conviction, that notwithstanding the temptation held out to them by what had taken place in another part of the kingdom, they would not only refrain from outrage, but would be most active in repressing it.

“ Pity Mr. Benett took upon him to vouch so very positively for the labourers of Wiltshire; because here is a long winter coming. The best way will be to raise their wages at once; do that now, before there are any people coming in post-chaises to set fire to house-steads. But, by-the-by, if they will not refrain from outrage themselves, how is it possible that they can be most active in repressing it! Ah! Mr. Benett, Mr. benett! They will not be coarced. Get their wages raised, Mr. Benett: take my advice, for once,”

Now, Benett, this is very different from what your present reporter chooses

to put into my mouth. I did not say that you knew little what you were talking about; nor did I say that the labourers would not be peaceable many days longer; nor did I hint at such a thing. To be sure, I discovered a little more sagacity than you did; and the devil is in me, I think, if I ought not; but I neither instigated to disturbance, nor foretold disturbance, in your county; and I have neither been in it (except riding in a post-chaise across a very small part of it), nor have I written five letters into it, that I recollect, for years. But, Benett, between ourselves now, would it not have been better if you had followed my advice, and raised the wages at once; if you had done that then which has been done since the fires and riots began, you would not have had to complain of the effect of my writings. My writings, indeed! What effect could my writings have upon these poor souls, amongst a hundred of whom there is not to be found, perhaps, one whole linnen shirt; and not one man that has tasted any thing but damned potatoes and salt for months. I have never blamed either landlord or parson or farmer for these unspeakable sufferings of the labourers, except on account of their not coming forth to get those taxes removed which are the cause of the suffering. I am not jackass enough to talk about bettering the labourer by taking away either the rents or the tithes; but I have blamed the owners of the land, and I blame them still, for suffering the labourers to be pinched to death in order to get thirty millions a year to be given to fundholders, twelve or fourteen millions a year to maintain a standing army in time of peace, and six millions a year and more to be given to those endless swarms called the dead weight. I have never expressed a wish to strip the King or the nobles of anything that justly belongs to them. I have never aimed at the destruction of any settled institution of the country: I have never desired any great and violent change; but I have always said, and I know, as well as I know that there is a place called the House of Commons (and God knows we have all

reason enough to know that), that in England has his belly full of bread **SOMETHING MUST GIVE WAY**; and meat every day. Damned potatoes that if the funds do not, the church must, or the army must, or the dead weight must, or something must. I have been a true prophet hitherto, and I shall be a true prophet still.

With regard to the treatment of the labourers in agriculture; with regard to their having **A RIGHT** to a sufficiency of meat and bread, out of the produce of the land, and also to good clothing if they honestly and duly labour, or are ready to labour, that is a point from which all the railers and bawlers and abusers on this side of hell, or in hell itself, shall never drive me. I have all my life laboured, since I knew what I was about, to better their wretched lot. I have taken infinite pains to teach them how, by their own exertions, they may assist in providing for their well-being. My little book, entitled **COTTAGE ECONOMY**, teaching them how to do things which they might not understand how to do, instilling into their minds principles of industry, of sobriety, of frugality, of cleanliness, of a disregard of tawdry fineries; of every virtue, indeed, tending to make them able and faithful servants, kind parents, dutiful children, good husbands, and good and beloved wives; this little book, of which a hundred thousand copies have been sold; and in employing my time about which I *must of necessity* have been animated by the best of all earthly motives; this little book will live, will be read with admiration of the great talent which could condescend to employ itself on so humble a subject, when your name will be forgotten even on the spot where you were born, or be remembered only in the very writings which this report represents you as having so grossly abused.

Far, however, is this, and similar abuse, from giving me any pain. The labourers of Wiltshire have had their *wages raised*. If I have been in any degree the cause, to the winds I cast all the calumnies that it has brought upon me. They now get a morsel of meat now and then; but I shall never be content, till every honest hard-working man

and health, will contend for that change.

“Here will I hold: if there be a God above, and that there is all Nature cries aloud through all her works,” he must abhor the wretch who would wish the honest labourer, who raises all the meat, all the bread, and all the clothing, to be compelled to live upon a root nine-tenths of which are dirt and water, while those who do not labour, live in luxury on the fruit of his toil. I know well that the labourer cannot have his due, and that, at the same time, the funds, the army, the church, and all the rest, go on in the present way. I know this perfectly well. I repeat that **SOMETHING MUST GIVE WAY**. Choose you what it shall be: I have suggested the remedy often and often enough: you have rejected my advice: reject it still: do what you like with your own concern; but, Benett, if I can prevent it, the labourers of England, **SHALL NOT LIVE UPON POTATOES**. This is my resolution; and from this all the abuse in the world shall never drive me one single inch. I dare not make an attempt to bring your House into contempt; but any expression containing respect, either for you or for it, shall never be wrung from the lips or pen of

WM. COBBETT.

P. S. Benett, take my advice now: bring in a bill (suggested to me by letter by a good honest man of Wiltshire) to cause every labouring man, boy and woman, to have a *pound of meat a day*, and every thing else in proportion. That will make the country quiet, and nothing else ever will. Leave off talking about me; and go along, and pay the interest of your debt in full tale, and in sovereigns of full weight and fineness. Go and do that; and take your gallant *Yeomanry cavalry*

across the Channel, and set them to keep the French out of Belgium. Do that, BENETT, and let me and my writings alone. Do those two jobs; and then I will say that you are a clever fellow, and will leave off talking about your "*gallon loaf and three-pence a week for food and clothing.*"

FRANCE.

LETTER FROM MR. W. COBBETT,
AT PARIS.

To the Editor of the Register.

SIR,

Paris, 1st Feb., 1831.

THE news from all quarters received here is of the most perplexing description. That of the resignation of the dictator in Poland, of the finding of the bill against Mr. O'Connell and the pelting of the Lord Lieutenant in Ireland, and of the contested election between the Duke de Nemours and the Duke de Leuchtenberg for the kingdom of Belgium, arrived altogether, on Sunday; and it puzzles all the learning and civilization of Paris to divine what is to be the course of events. Some of the rumours which are afloat to-day, are respecting *the destination of the vesse's of war fitted out recently from Portsmouth*; and, conjointly with the intelligence, which some believe, of the *final election of the Duke de Nemours*, it is supposed that *there will be war between France and England*. At the same time, people are prone to believe *that the Americans are eager to abet France in such a war*. The same persons believe that General Lafayette is probably engaging himself with this object. This is the chat of the common people, and I mention it to show that they are thinking of *activity*, and that their minds are probably going before that of the government. They cannot see *why* their kingdom should not be extended, and *why* Louis-Philippe might not be Emperor of the French and King of the Belgians, as Napoleon was of Italy. They are totally incapable of understanding the arguments of *prudence* which are come into vogue; aye, and

that so much more influence now even than with the other Bourbons.

In their comments on the late debate (of Thursday and Friday) in the Chamber of Deputies, the *Quotidienne*, and the other journals which are devoted to the Duke de Bordeaux, openly say, that if Charles X. had remained, *he would have set at nought the treaties of 1814 and 1815*, in the case which has happened with regard to Poland; and that, whatever may be said on the score of *liberalism*, the Bourbons cannot be accused of so base an abandonment of the glory, honour, and the prosperity which is linked to them, of France, *as this government of liberals*. They observe that, notwithstanding the charges of subjection to the English ministry, the government which was so charged made the brilliant conquest of Algiers in defiance of that ministry; and that during different ministries, the Bourbons conquered Spain in spite of the English, who by French prowess were reduced to prayers as the only means of opposing it. So much for a hint as to the tone the royalists take, and I think any one must allow they have the best of the argument upon this question brought on by Poland and also by Belgium. They even exceed in boldness the opposition in the Chamber, who, somehow or other, seem to rest much upon the faith and spirit of treaties, which they say are in favour of the independence of Poland: they have not the courage to open their eyes to the change in the situation of mankind produced by revolutions; and it is unwelcome to the people for M. Lafayette to cite the policy or opinions of that tyrant, Frederick the Great, as his argument for supporting the Poles against the Russians. The people view the matter wholly independent of treaties, in which they never took part, and which were never made but to keep them down, as the first object, and as forming the whole basis of treating. Now, since the Revolution, a different nation is in existence from that which treated. You, Sir, always maintained that even the government of legitimacy had French blood in their veins, and that they felt

the oppressors, despoilers and degraders of France, to be their natural enemies, and that in that character they would persevere against England: and that which is now urged by the royalists is perfectly in unison with all your arguments on this point, at the time when this nation began to lift its head under the Bourbons, in 1822. M. de Chateaubriand, who was the vigorous Minister of Foreign Affairs then, still adheres to the Bourbons, and appears to be now occupied in the tutorship of the Duke de Bordeaux; a thing which shows, I think, something of the spirit in which that family sustain their hopes.

As to laughing at the possibility of the Duke de Bordeaux ever coming to the throne, it would be exceedingly thoughtless; and to affect to do it would argue, in a Frenchman, a carelessness upon the subject. Nothing would have been more absurd, three months ago; but that spirit which either dies, or becomes so scattered, in the people, as to be of no avail, cannot make head against the persevering and unanimous inveteracy of the royalists. If one were to enumerate the acts of the Chambers and of the government, it would not be surprising if the spirit of the people be totally damped, as for the enthusiasm which was so general soon after the Revolution.

One great change has certainly been made for the better, on the score of *religion*, or rather of *priest-craft*; and it is a very remarkable thing, that a society of Catholic priests is established, who perform the mass in French, and who are totally unpaid, except by voluntary contributions. This society furnishes priests to any commune which chooses to apply to it, and many communes, dissatisfied with the political antipathies of their priests, have so done. They avoid politics, except that they really and sincerely join the people in this respect. The first mass was performed the Sunday before last, in Paris, and, the house (a private one) was crowded, and even the street was crowded. On the other hand, the churches may be said to be empty. Notwithstanding the dilapidation of

cathedrals and churches during the first revolution, and the increase of population since, there is now a great profusion of space in the churches. In short, the revolutions have, I think, been complete in this respect, at any rate, of freeing the people from the domination of priests and hypocrites. These are treated with the most ineffable contempt; but it does not follow that it is from either atheism or deism, but from a pure and simple detestation of priestcraft. It is observed that, since the Revolution, there has not been any murder of that atrocious and unaccountable kind so frequently heard of during the reign of the Bourbons, and all which have incontestably been ascribed, in some way or other, to the priests or to the effects of their operations. Viewed in connection with the priests, the Bourbons are completely detested, and Louis-Philippe, who, I believe, never goes to Church, is very much admired. Nothing, as far as I can perceive, are the French so in dread of, as the influence of the old priesthood; and, when they are once completely *hors de combat*, the nation may be said to be in a pretty happy state. The importance of this matter has made me deprive myself of room to notice many other things which are also important. The rapidity with which events now arise, and the confusion in which, really, the world seems ready to be lost, will make it necessary for me, in order to keep you informed of the most interesting facts, to send you my diary, or daily account of what passes; which will be more than you may find worthy of inserting in the Register, entire, but from which I shall leave you to make those extracts which you think proper.

The "intense" state of Ireland agitates the absentees; no small number of whom seem to have abandoned Ireland, and even England, for France. These men wish Mr. O'Connell hanged, and think that if he were so disposed of, peace and comfort would ensue. I hope, however, that the wish of absentees is not a wish which finds any echo amongst the industrious classes in England, who must be sadly deluded, or

exceedingly base, to honour any one man so much. Buonaparte was not more dreaded, than O'Connell seems to be.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,
W. M. COBBETT, JUNR.

7th Dec.

P. S. The affair of Belgium is *really settled*. The intrigues in England have all failed. Intrigues without *bayonet* and *field-pieces* are little worth. The King has refused his assent to his so being King of Belgium; and, to be sure because it would only delay *that re-union* which *must take place*. Alas poor VELLINTON! The *caricature shops* already begin to make one burs one's sides with the various ludicrous exhibitions of the "*Conquerant de la France*," "*Le Heros de Waterloo*," &c &c.

No. III.

HISTORY

OF THE

REGENCY AND REIGN OF GEO. IV

BY WILLIAM COBBETT.

(Continued from No. 3, col. 144.)

The identity of the child now with the Princess, its parentage, the place and the date of its birth, the time and the circumstances of its being first taken under her royal highness's protection, are all established by such a concurrence both of positive and circumstantial evidence, as can, in our judgment, leave no question on this part of the subject. That child was, beyond all doubt, born in the Brownlow-street hospital, on the 11th of July, 1802, of the body of Sophia Austin, and was first brought to the Princess's house in the month of November following. Neither should we be more warrantable in expressing any doubt respecting the alleged pregnancy of the Princess, as stated in the original declarations—a fact so fully contradicted, and by so many witnesses, to whom, if true, it must in various ways have been known, that we cannot think it entitled to the smallest credit. The testimonies on these two points are contained in the annexed depositions and letters. We have not partially abstracted them in this report, lest by any unintentional omission we might weaken their effect; but we humbly offer to your Majesty this our clear and unanimous judgment upon them, formed on full deliberation, and pronounced without hesitation on the result of the whole inquiry.

We do not, however, feel ourselves at liberty, much as we should wish it, to close our report here. Besides the allegations of the pregnancy and delivery of the princess, those declarations, on the whole of which your Majesty has been pleased to command us to inquire and report, contain, as we have already remarked, other particulars respecting the conduct of her Royal Highness, such as must, especially considering her exalted rank and station, necessarily give occasion to very unfavourable interpretations.

From the various depositions and proofs annexed to this report, particularly from the examinations of Robert Bidgood, William Cole, Frances Lloyd, and Mrs. Lisle, your Majesty will perceive that several strong circumstances of this description have been positively sworn to by witnesses, who cannot, in our judgment, be suspected of any unfavourable bias, and whose veracity in this respect we have seen no ground to question.

On the precise bearing and effect of the facts thus appearing, it is not for us to decide; these we submit to your Majesty's wisdom: but we conceive it to be our duty to report on this part of the inquiry as distinctly as on the former facts, that, as on the one hand the facts of pregnancy and delivery are to our minds satisfactorily disproved, so on the other hand, we think that the circumstances to which we now refer, particularly those stated to have passed between her Royal Highness and Captain Manby, must be credited until they shall receive some decisive contradiction; and if true are justly entitled to the most serious consideration.

We cannot close this report without humbly assuring your Majesty, that it was on every account our anxious wish to have executed this delicate trust with as little publicity as the nature of the case would possibly allow; and we entreat your Majesty's permission to express our full persuasion, that if this wish as been disappointed, the failure is not imputable to any thing unnecessarily said or done by us.

All which is most humbly submitted to your Majesty.

(Signed)

ERSKINE,
SPENCER,
GRENVILLE,
ELLENBOROUGH.

July 14th, 1806.

61. It does not comport with my plan to enter here into the case of the cruelly-treated princess, who was, during the whole of her married life, dogged by spies, and beset by perjurers and traitors; her case, which forms the great characteristic of the regency and reign of this "mild" and "generous" and "gentleman" king; her case, though as we go along we shall find it force upon us here and there, must wait for full display, till we come to the date of her death and burial. In this place it is my business to show how this affair of the Princess affected the great and general interests of the nation; how it

affected the *policy of the kingdom*, external as well as internal; how clearly it showed that the interests and safety of millions were thought little of in comparison with the indulgence of the passions of one single man.

62. One thing, in this report, will have stricken every reader; namely, that the Princess *should have the child in her own house four years, and that no complaint should have been made by the Prince before now*. When we look at the *evidence*, we find that the originators of the whole story were a Sir JOHN DOUGLAS and HIS WIFE, who had gone to live at Blackheath (near MONTAGUE-HOUSE, the Princess's place of residence) in 1801, and who *swore positively* to the facts of the *pregnancy and delivery in 1802*. They both swore also, that they communicated the facts to the Prince from a *deep sense of duty, as loyal subjects*; the four lords say, in this their report that it was the *bounden duty* of the Prince to communicate to the King matter "so nearly affecting the honour of the royal family" and, by possibility, the succession to the "crown;" but it does not appear to have occurred to those lords to state *why* the Prince had not made the communication to the King *at an earlier period*! He might not be informed of the facts before. Strange, indeed! What! a child kept in the house of the Princess for *four years*, nursed as if it were her own; and the Prince, her husband, never hear of it, though only at five miles distance from his own palace, though his wife was surrounded by servants that had been, for the greater part, in his own service! But did those Douglasses, those loyal people, those people who swore that they communicated the facts to him from a sense of their duty as loyal subjects, did those people *suppress* their anxiety about the succession to the crown for *four years*? Did they hide the facts for four years? and if they did, were they to be *believed* when they communicated the facts? And how came the FOUR LORDS not to ask (and it does not appear that they did) *at what time it was* that the Douglasses first communicated the facts to the Prince? and if the first communication were in 1806, how came the lords never to ask the Douglasses *why* they did not communicate the facts *before the year 1806*? And when it became clear that the evidence of the Douglasses was false, how came they not to be *prosecuted for perjury*? And if the tribunal were (as was alleged) *not of a nature to bring those who had sworn falsely before it, under the law for punishing perjury, why did the Ministers of that day counsel the King to appoint such a tribunal*?

63. *Who, then, were the Ministers of that day*? And here, when we answer this question, we see all the mystery removed; we see *why the child lived so quietly for four years*; we see *why the Douglasses could restrain their feelings of loyalty no longer than the year 1806*; we see how it came to burst out all at once at that time; and this leads us to the development of intrigue upon intrigue, of the

existence of which, and of the injurious consequences to the country, not one man out of ten thousand has any the most distant idea.

64. *The Ministers of that day* were those who are called the WHIGS. They consisted of a *coalition* indeed; but this was the name they bore; and the principal offices were filled thus: Lord Grenville, first lord of the treasury; Lord Erskine, lord chancellor; Lord Spencer, secretary of state for the home department; Mr. Fox, secretary of state for the foreign department; Mr. Windham, secretary of state for the department of war and colonies; Mr. Grey (now Earl), first lord of the admiralty; Lord Moira, master general of the ordnance; Lord Fitzwilliam, president of the council; Lord Sidmouth, privy seal; Lord Henry Petty (now Marquis of Lansdown), chancellor of the exchequer; and Ellenborough, the lord chief justice, had a seat in the cabinet. How this ministry came to be *in power* is a matter which belongs to the history of George III. For our present purpose, it is, as to this matter, sufficient to say, that this ministry had succeeded that of PITT, upon his death, which took place in January, 1806. Now, let it be well remembered, that Fox, who, and whose adherents, had now got into power, had always been a sort of political mentor of the Prince; that ERSKINE, who was now the *lord chancellor*, had, for many years, been one of his chief companions; and that Lord MOIRA, who was now master general of the ordnance, had been on the footing of a brother with the Prince for a great many years, his "*personal friend*" *par excellence*.

65. The Princess, in her answer to the report of the four lords, distinctly declared that the report, and the whole of the proceeding against her, were the fruit of a "*foolish conspiracy*;" and though there be in the document, no *proof* of any subordination of the Douglasses, it is, at any rate, certain, that their information against the Princess was not made known to the King until, as appears by the WARRANT, (paragraph 60,) *the month of May, 1806*; that is to say, until about *a hundred days after the Whigs, the Prince's friends, got into power*! For four years, while Addington and Pitt were ministers, the child lived very quietly; the Douglasses had known of the pregnancy and delivery; they (as they *swore*) were alarmed for the succession to the throne, and yet the first trace of their communicating the information is, from the documents, found to be in December, 1805. But, at any rate, we find that they had made the communication to the Prince *before the 3rd of that month*; what time before is not stated; but on that day Lady Douglas gave a narrative to the Duke of Sussex, who took it down in writing, and it was signed by him, as having been made in his presence: and the "*true copy*" was attested by BLOOMFIELD. The narrative sets out with stating that the narrator has been "*ordered by the Prince of Wales*" to give the narrative; but the *precise time* of the first communication to him does

not appear. It was, however, *before the 3rd of December, 1805*. Well, then, here was all the story about the pregnancy and the delivery; here were the loyal Douglasses at last performing the duty which for four long years they had neglected in so unaccountable a manner; here the husband had all the story about his wife and the child, regularly written down and attested; and yet from this time to the month of May, and late in that month too, there are no traces of his having communicated the matter to the King. In fact, it is clear that he did not make any such communication. For as the warrant (paragraph 66) proves, the King never heard of the matter until the 29th of May, 1806; that is to say, until *six months*, all but a few days, after the Prince had the attested declarations in his hands! Very surprising, *at the least!*

66. When the communication was at last made to the King, it consisted of *abstracts of the declarations of the Douglasses*. Why, then, were these not laid before the King sooner? If they were worthy of serious attention in *May*, why not in the previous *December*? Oh! there was the Chancellor, *Thomas Lord Erskine*, NOW to lay them before the King! But, was there not the Chancellor *John Lord Eldon*, to lay them before the King in *December*? The Prince's friends came into power in *February*; and they, it appears, soon discovered the necessity of making this matter known to the King, though there does not, from the documents, appear to have been any ground of accusation against the Princess, which did not exist, and which had not been amply detailed, on the 3rd of the previous month of *December*.

67. The Princess, conscious of her innocence, and indignant at the "foul conspiracy" against her, would, if she had been left to herself, or had had only some female friend of plain sense, able to write English, have blown the conspirators into the air in a short time; but, unhappily for her, and unhappily for the nation also, the faction out of place got her into their hands; and, as we are now about to see, sacrificed her to their own purposes of power and emolument. The warrant was issued, the commission held, and the report made, without her being at all informed of the matter. It was an *ex parte* affair altogether; the first intimation that she received of the matter was in the report (par. 66), which was sent to her by the Lord Chancellor. On the 17th of August, she wrote to the King a commentary on this report, and praying for documents and further information. At last, on the 8th December, she sent to the King her grand statement of complaints against her persecutors. All this time she had not been received at Court. But, on the 28th of January, she received, through the Lord Chancellor, a message from the King, saying that he did not think it necessary for him "longer to decline receiving her into his presence;" but, at the same time, giving her a gentle reprimand of the score of levity of conduct.

The Princess instantly answered, that she should attend the King with great joy; and the King, in reply, told her that, at some days' distance, he would rather receive her in London than at Windsor. The Queen and family were at Windsor! Before, however, the interview was to take place in London, he wrote to her to say, that it must be again deferred; for, "that the Prince of Wales, upon receiving the several documents, which the King directed his cabinet to transmit to him, made a formal communication to him, of his intention to put them into the hands of his lawyers; accompanied by a request, that his Majesty would suspend any further steps in the business, until the Prince of Wales should be enabled to submit to him the statement which he proposed to make. The King, therefore, considers it incumbent upon him to defer naming a day to the Princess of Wales, until the further result of the Prince's intention shall have been made known to him."

68. This intimation, which was dated 10th February, 1807, was enough to inflame any one, and particularly a spirited woman; and now she threatened to do that which she ought to have done at the first; namely, *expose the whole affair to the public*. The Prince had had all the documents in his hands for *seven months*; and now, when he found that the Princess was about to be received at Court, he wanted further delay, and she was, though the charges against her were proved to be false, still to remain in a state of disgrace! In her answer, therefore, to this intimation, she declares that she will endure this treatment no longer; and she tells them that, if another week pass without her receiving information that the King is ready to receive her, she will cause all the documents to be published. In this letter, which was dated on the 16th of February, 1807, the Princess rises in her demands; she says, that now, after all this delay, and all the suspicions against her, to which this long banishment from Court must have given rise, a mere reception by the King, or at the Court, will not be sufficient for the clearing of her character; that now it will be necessary that she be received into the bosom of the Royal Family, and restored to her former respect and station amongst them; and that, besides this, it will be necessary that she be "restored to the use of her apartments in Carlton House;" or, that she have assigned to her "some apartment in one of the Royal Palaces" in or near London. She then states, distinctly, that these are the conditions on which alone she can or will refrain from publishing all the documents: and she concludes her letter in these words:—"I trust, therefore, sire, that I may now close this long letter, in confidence that many days will not elapse before I shall receive from your Majesty, that assurance that my just requests may be so completely granted, as may render it possible for me (which nothing else can) to avoid the painful disclosure to the world

"of all the circumstances of that injustice, and of those unmerited sufferings which these proceedings, in the manner in which they have been conducted, have brought upon me."

69. No answer having been given to this letter, the Princess, on the 5th of March, again wrote to the King on the subject, for the last time; and after expressing her mortification at not having received an answer to her letter, said, in conclusion, "I am now reduced to the necessity of abandoning all hope that your Majesty will comply with my humble, my earnest, and anxious requests. Your Majesty, therefore, will not be surprised to find that the publication of the proceedings alluded to will not be withheld beyond Monday next!"

70. The publication was delayed, however; it never appeared until 1813; and then, as will be shown in due time and place, it was brought forth by the acts of the writer of this history, had it not been for whom, the probability is, that it never would have appeared at all, or, at least, during the reign of George IV. And now I have to unfold an intrigue, the like of which has scarcely ever been heard of, and in the history of which we shall see how a whole nation was made to suffer for these whims (to give them the mildest terms) of one single man. The requests of the Princess were granted; she was received at court, and into the royal family; she had apartments allotted her in Kensington palace. But, as all the world saw, these outward signs did not clear her of all suspicion. The newspapers had for seven months been ringing with the criminations and recriminations; those on her side had repeatedly threatened publication; on the other side it was stated, that she had not been entirely acquitted; even the newspapers of the opposition allowed that she had been guilty of some "trifling levities," and that the King had given her a gentle reprimand. Therefore, to be received at court, and to have apartments in a palace, were not enough to wipe away all imputation. It was known that a royal commission had been sitting on her conduct: it was acknowledged that she had been reprimanded: and, therefore, it was impossible that some suspicion should not remain against her, until the whole affair should be made public. This, therefore, she ought to have done; and her not doing it was, as we shall see in time, the cause, and the sole cause, of all those indignities and calamities which marked the remainder of her life, and that finally brought her to an untimely end.

71. How came she, then, not to do this? The answer to this question develops the grand intrigue above alluded to; but to give this answer properly, we must now go back, and get into party-politics. We have seen (in paragraph 64) that a new ministry, called the Whigs, was formed in February, 1806; that this ministry contained the most distinguished

friends of the Prince; and that it was not until they came into power that the Prince laid before the King, through the chancellor, the charges against his wife. The new opposition consisted, of course, of those who had been in the ministry of PITT, and who were now out of place. There were the then late chancellor, Eldon, the Dundases, Lord Castle-reagh, Jenkinson, Canning, Huskisson, and some others of less note; but there now came a man amongst them who soon surpassed all the rest in power as well as in impudence and insolence towards the people. This was that SPENCER PERCEVAL of whose signal death we shall have to speak by-and-by! This man, a sharp lawyer, inured, from his first days at the bar, to the carrying on of state prosecutions; a sort of understrapper, in London, to the attorneys-general in London, and frequently their deputy in the counties; a short, spare, pale-faced, hard, keen, sour-looking man, with a voice well suited to the rest, with words in abundance at his command, with the industry of a laborious attorney, with no knowledge of the great interest of the nation, foreign or domestic, but with a thorough knowledge of those means by which power is obtained and preserved in England, and with no troublesome scruples as to the employment of those means. He had been Solicitor-General under Pitt up to 1801, and Attorney-General under Addington and Pitt up to February 1806. This man became the adviser of the Princess, during the period of the investigation and correspondence of which we have just seen the history; and, as we are now about to see, the power he obtained, by the means of that office, made him the primo Minister of England to the day of his death, though no more fit for that office than any other barrister in London, taken by tossing up or by ballot.

72. At the close of paragraph 69, we have seen that the King was told that the publication would take place on the Monday. That Monday was the 9th of March. In this difficulty what was to be done? The Whig Ministry, with their eyes fixed on the probable speedy succession of the Prince, or, at least, his accession to power, the King having recently been in a very shaky state; the Whig Ministry, with their eyes fixed on this expected event, and not perceiving, as Perceval did, the power that the unpublished book (for "THE BOOK" it is now called) would give them with the Prince as well as with the King; the Whig Ministry would not consent to the terms of the Princess, thinking, too, that in spite of her anger and her threats, she would not throw away the scabbard as towards the King.

73. In the meanwhile, however, Perceval, wholly unknown to the Whigs, had got the book actually printed, and bound up ready for publication, and it is clear that it was intended to be published on the Monday named in the Princess's letter; namely, on the 9th of March, unless prevented by the King's yielding to the wishes of Perceval. He did yield; that is to

say, he resolved to *change his ministers!* A ground for doing this was, however, a difficulty to be got over. To allege and promulgate the true ground would never do; for then the public would have cried aloud for the publication, which contained matter so deeply scandalous to the King and all the Royal family. Therefore another ground was alleged; and herein we are going to behold another and another important consequence, and other national calamities, proceeding from this dispute between the prince and his wife.

71. This other ground that was chosen was the CATHOLIC BILL. The Whigs stood pledged to pass a law for the further relief of the Roman Catholics. They had in September, 1806, dissolved the Parliament, though it was then only four years old, for the purpose of securing a majority in the House of Commons; and into this new House, which had met on the 19th of December, 1806, they had introduced the CATHOLIC BILL, by the hands of Mr. GRAY (now become Lord Howick), with the great and general approbation of the House, and with a clear understanding, that, notwithstanding all the cant and hypocrisy that the foes of the Catholics had, at different times, played off about the conscientious scruples of the KING, the King had now explicitly and cheerfully given his consent to the bringing in of this bill. What, therefore, was the surprise of every-body, when on the 13th of March (mark the dates), it began to be rumoured through the newspapers, that the King had changed his mind about the CATHOLIC BILL; that his scruples of conscience had returned upon him. This caused dreadful alarm in the tabernacles of the Whigs, the understrappers of which faction, who had scarcely as yet touched the second half-year's salary, ran about in a fright as great as that of people who feel an earthquake under their feet. To make a young man of sound mind in sound body resolve never to be a state-dependent, to hedge or ditch or fill dung-cart, rather than depend on a government for food and raiment, there needed nothing but the bare sight of these wretched people at that time.

75. Their fears were but too well founded, though the chiefs of the faction did everything in their power to preserve their places. They not only offered to withdraw the Catholic Bill, but actually withdrew it, and that, too, by the hands of that same Lord HOWICK (now Earl Grey) who had brought it in amidst the plaudits of that same House, who now, on the 18th of March, without a single word, suffered that very bill to be withdrawn! But, the doctrine that the Whigs now openly avowed, and which we shall presently have to notice, exhibited the nature of this "beautiful constitution" in its true light. They withdrew the bill; but the Catholics, to whom they stood solemnly pledged, were coming with a petition for the bill that had been thus withdrawn. The Ministers (having no thought of quitting their places), therefore, in the hope of pacify-

ing the Catholics, and of preserving some little matter of character for political consistency and honesty, entered, in the *Council-Book*, a minute in these words: "That they trusted that his Majesty would see the indispensable necessity of their expressing, on withdrawing the bill, the strong persuasion they felt of the benefits which would result from a different course of policy to the Catholics of Ireland; and they further stated, that it was indispensable to their characters, that they should openly avow these sentiments, not only on the present occasion, but in the event of the Catholic petition coming forward and they further insisted, that the present deference to his Majesty might not be understood as restraining them from submitting for his Majesty's decision, from time to time, such measures as circumstances might require respecting the state of Ireland."

76. The King, or rather Perceval, seems to have had no idea of the possibility of the Whig Ministry remaining in office after they had been told that the King disapproved of the bill; he must, indeed, have regarded it as impossible that any men on earth could be so base as to withdraw, for the sake of retaining their places, a measure which they had repeatedly represented as "absolutely necessary to the tranquillity and safety of the kingdom." Alas! well as he knew them, he greatly underrated the extent of their political meanness and servility. He was, therefore, astonished when he found them still clinging to their places on the miserable shuffle contained in this minute of council; and, therefore, to make short work with them, to choke them off as it were, the King was advised, not only to express his disapprobation of this minute of council, but to require of the Ministers that they should withdraw it too; and, further, that they should sign a declaration of a directly opposite nature, pledging themselves never to bring forward again the measure they had abandoned; nay more, never to propose, even to the King himself, any-thing connected with the Catholic Question.

77. If this had failed, the king must have set fire to Whitehall and Downing-street. It succeeded, however, not because the Whigs would not have signed even this declaration, if they could have hoped that they could thereby have retained their places; but they saw in this paper not the hand and the mind of the poor old king, but of somebody else, and they could see that that somebody, or those somebodies, who were indeed Perceval and his party, had got the power of turning them out; and that, therefore, even the signing of this declaration, degrading as it would have been, would not save them. Having refused to set their hands and seals to such a glaring proof of their baseness, they were turned out, and were of course succeeded by Perceval, Eldon, and the rest of that set who, under Pitt, had so long ruled this deluded nation.

78. The defence of themselves, on the part

of the Whigs, and the subsequent conduct and management of the parliament, exhibit, in their full blaze, all the beauties of this beautiful and "venerable constitution." The history of the *withdrawing of the Catholic bill* now came out: and a history more disgraceful, never stained the character of any government on earth. The public cried aloud for an *explanation* of this matter. It was at once understood by every-body that the ministers had been turned out *on account of the Catholic bill*, and a cry was raised that they had attempted to *force the king to break his coronation oath* by making concessions to the Catholics! O how this nation was the sport of hypocrisy on this occasion! The Whigs, in order to parry this deadly cry, said that what they had done had been *with the king's consent*; that so far from their having, in this case, attempted to force him to act *against his conscience*, they had consulted him *before they brought in the bill*, and not only consulted him, but had *explained all the details* of the measure to him, and had, after this, brought in the bill with *his cordial approbation*.

79. No doubt of the truth of this; but then the *withdrawing* of the bill, which was a fact then fresh in every mind, became, in the eyes of every man of sense, an act of indelible disgrace, involving a principle utterly subversive of every idea of any thing like *representative government*. Lord Howick, who was now, Fox having died in the autumn of 1806, become secretary of state for foreign affairs, had to perform the task of giving, in the House of Commons, the explanation of this matter, which, on the 26th of March, 1807, he did, in these strange and memorable words. "It has been stated," said he, "by some persons who have animadverted upon this transaction, that ministers were not warranted in bringing forward a public measure without previously obtaining the consent of his majesty. But this extravagant proposition scarcely deserves serious notice. According to any rational view of the subject, the duty of a magistrate appears to be *two-fold*. He may act in a double capacity upon different occasions; namely, as a minister, and as an individual member of parliament. There was no minister who had not acted so occasionally. If, indeed, it were culpable to pursue the course some extravagant writers now maintain, Mr. Pitt's conduct upon the slave trade and parliamentary reform would have been highly censurable; for that *distinguished statesman*, in both these instances, brought forward the propositions as an individual member of parliament. The constitutional distinction which, in concurrence with my colleagues, I take between the duty of a minister in the one case and the other, is this; that when a minister brings forward any motion as a *measure of government* which has undergone any discussion in the cabinet, he violates his duty unless such measure shall have received the sanction of that authority. I should, of

course, feel myself very culpable, if I attempted to bring forward any measures in parliament as a ministerial measure unless I had previously submitted that measure to the consideration of the king, and obtained his majesty's consent to its adoption. It was therefore that I laid before his majesty all the particulars with regard to the measure respecting the Catholics, and waited to obtain his majesty's approbation before I attempted to submit the consideration of that measure to this house." Here we have the modern creed of the Whig politicians. What does the English constitution, or the law of parliament, know of any *two-fold* capacity of the members of the House of Commons? According to that constitution, those members are the guardians of the property and the liberties of the people; and they are nothing else. But now we learn; now, for the very first time since the parliament of England began to exist, the House of Commons are flatly and plainly told, that there is another body, namely, the Cabinet Council, who discuss bills, and resolve upon adopting them, before they are presented to that house, before leave be given to bring them in! One of their own members rises in his place, and plainly tells them, that he has recently brought in a bill because the king wished him to do it, and that he has since *withdrawn* that bill because the king changed his mind, and for no other reason whatever, though he was, at the same time, firmly convinced, that the passing of the bill was necessary to tranquillize and conciliate a fourth part of the people of the kingdom! Nay, he does not stop here; but goes on to say, that unless he had obtained the king's approbation for bringing in the bill, he should have regarded it as an act *highly culpable* to have brought it in! We might, perhaps, have presumed before, that such really was the case; but now it is openly avowed, that bills, before leave be moved for to bring them in, are discussed and resolved upon in the cabinet; that is to say, amongst men who are the king's servants during pleasure, and that they receive the sanction of their master before they are proposed to the parliament. What pretty stuff have Blackstone and Paley and that foreign sycophant De Lolme been writing about the checks and balances in that wonderful product of human wisdom called the English constitution! As to the distinction between bills brought forward as *measures of the cabinet*, and bills originating with persons as *individual members of Parliament*, what does the constitution know of such distinction? Does any writer upon our constitution make such a distinction? Does Blackstone, who has given us a commentary upon the whole of our laws talk of any such distinction? Has he once named such a thing as a *cabinet*? Can the parliament recognise the existence of any such council, or body of men? Is not such a body utterly unknown to our laws? Besides, let us ask a little, what bills there are of any consequence, which are *not* measures of the

cabinet, if we admit of this distinction? All bills relating to the army; all bills relating to the navy; all bills relating to the church; all bills relating to the colonies; all bills relating to foreign connexions and subsidies; all bills relating to loans and taxes, not only in the principal, but also in the amount; in short, no one will pretend to deny, that every bill in which the people are generally interested, must, according to this distinction, be regarded as a *measure of the cabinet*, and therefore, if to all such bills the king's consent, previously obtained, be an indispensable requisite, we may call upon Blackstone and Paley to come forth from the grave, vindicate their writings, and tell, if they can, of what use is a House of Commons, except that of amusing the unthinking mass of the people with the idea that they are represented, and that the laws by which they are taxed and bound are made with their own consent. Yes, Mr. Blackstone, you, who through four mortal volumes, which, piled upon one another, might supply the place of a stool, have rung the changes upon the blessings arising from the checks and balances of the English constitution, do rise and tell us where, if Lord Howick's doctrine be sound, or if the parliament be content to act upon it, or rather to be passive under it, we are to look for those inestimable checks and balances. It is the peculiar business of the House of Commons to frame and to pass bills for the raising of money upon the people; and when they pass any bill for the placing of the public money at the disposal of the crown, it is called a *grant*. Now, as all these bills, without one exception, are what Lord Howick terms, *measures of the cabinet*, what a farce, if this doctrine were sound, would this *granting* work be! According to this doctrine, it is resolved in the cabinet to bring in a bill for granting the king money; the king has the bill submitted to him, and directs it to be brought in; the secretary to the treasury brings it in; it is passed without a division; and *this*, this, Lord Howick would tell us, is the true "*practice of the constitution in this free country*," where, as Blackstone says, the people, by their representatives, *tax themselves!*

80. Here was, then, a grand blow given to the "*venerable constitution*." But it was speedily followed by another, coming from the same cause. We have seen that the Whig ministry dissolved the parliament when it was *four years* old, and we are now going to see this parliament dissolved when only *four months* old! The new ministry had nominally at its head the late Duke of Portland; but PERCEVAL, who was chancellor of the exchequer, was, in fact, the master of the whole affair, co-operating, however, cordially with ELDON, who now again became chancellor. The moment the dissolution of the Whigs was resolved on, the other party set up the cry of "*NO POPERY*." The walls and houses, not only of London, but of the country towns and villages, were covered with

these words, sometimes in chalk and sometimes in paint; the clergy and the corporations were all in motion; even the cottages on the skirts of the commons and the forests heard fervent blessings poured out on the head of the "*good old king*" for preserving the "*nation from a rekindling of the fires in Smithfield!*" Never was delusion equal to this! Never a people so deceived; never public credulity so great; never hypocrisy so profound and so detestably malignant as that of the deceivers! The mind shrinks back at the thought of an eternity of suffering, even as the lot of the deliberate murderer; but if the thought were to be endured, it would be as applicable to that awful sentence awarded to hypocrisy like this. *

81. However, it answered its purpose for the time; the rage of the people, from one end of England to the other, was excited against the Whig ministry; and in this state of things, on the 27th of April, 1807, the parliament was dissolved. It was done by commission, in a speech which contained the following passage: "We are further commanded to state to you, that his Majesty is anxious to recur to the *sense of his people*, while the events which have recently taken place are yet fresh in their recollection. His Majesty feels, that in resorting to this measure, under the present circumstances, he at once demonstrates, in the most unequivocal manner, his own conscientious persuasion of the rectitude of those motives upon which he has acted; and affords to his people the best opportunity of testifying their determination to support him in every exercise of the prerogatives of his crown, which is conformable to the sacred obligations under which they are held, and conducive to the welfare of his kingdom, and to the security of the constitution. His Majesty directs us to express his entire conviction that, after so long a reign, marked by a series of indulgences to his Roman Catholic subjects, they, in common with every other class of his people, must feel assured of his attachment to the principles of a just and enlightened toleration; and of his anxious desire to protect equally, and promote impartially, the happiness of all descriptions of his subjects."

82. Away went the delusion all over the country! The ministerial members got turned out of their seats, as a set of delinquent servants are driven out of their places. Many of them did not dare to show their faces in the boroughs and counties where they before had been elected; and, in short, as Mr. WINDHAM said PERCEVAL in the House of Commons, the new ministry sent the majority of the parliament back to the people to be *torn to pieces*. And all this on a pretext as false as perjury itself! There were the people putting up prayers for the prolongation of the life of the "*good old king*," as their sole protector against the horrors of popery, and exclaiming against those ministers who

had wanted to force him to break his coronation oath when he had actually consented to the measure after all its details had been explained to him; and he had had no objection to it, and no thought of changing the ministry, till the Princess threatened him with the publication of the book!

83. These transactions, however, disgraceful as they were to the factions, and little creditable as the temporary delusion might be to the understandings of the people, did a great deal of good in the end, by opening the eyes of the people with regard to the true character of the factions, and of the House of Commons. The people saw Ministers bring in a bill; they saw the House approve of it; they saw the same Ministers withdraw the bill without a word from the House against this step; they heard the Ministers declare that they held it to be their duty to have the King's previous consent to every bill that they brought in; they heard them declare that the bill had been withdrawn because the King had changed his mind relative to it; they saw one Parliament dissolved, at four years old, to suit one Ministry; they saw another dissolved at four months, to suit another ministry. They could not see all this without great disgust being excited in their minds with regard to the factions and the House also. Great disgust was excited; and from the period of these striking transactions the factions date their fall. From this time the main body of the people began to see that there was no difference in the factions; that both sought the public money; that all their professions and promises were false; and that, of every quarrel between them, the people became the only sufferers. So that from this affair of the poor ill-treated Princess, arose this great good to the nation, that it never, since that time, has been the sport of any faction; but, as we shall see in the sequel, this was only a small part of the good which ought to endear her memory to the people of England.

(To be continued.)

TO THE

LABOURERS OF WILTSHIRE.

Bell Court, Fleet Street, Feb. 10th, 1831.

MY FRIENDS,

In the next number of the TWO-PENNY TRASH, I shall address a good long letter to you, and shall send a good parcel of copies to Mr. BURLING, of FISHERTON, Salisbury, where you may get them, in any number that you please, for two-pence a-piece. I have just been writing to your member,

BENNETT, of PYTHOUSE, at whom some of you are said to have flung flint-stones some time ago. I have heard of all your recent sufferings, about which I shall not be more particular here. I have long known how greatly you have suffered from want of a sufficiency of food and raiment; and, in the letter which I intend to address to you, I will explain to you all the causes of that suffering, and will expose the baseness of the cruel villains who would make you live upon potatoes, and who would make you believe that you have of late years been as well off as your forefathers were.

I am glad to hear that your wages have been raised, and I need not tell you what has been the cause of that rise. The TWO-PENNY TRASH will be published on the 1st of March, and it will be at Salisbury the next day. I beg you to read it, when you get it, with great attention, and to fling away the nonsensical little books which are given you to read, and to make you believe that it is necessary for you to be starved to death in order to ensure you a place in heaven after you are dead. I shall show you that God never intended that those who did all the work should live on a miserable root, nine-tenths of which consist of dirt and water.

I am your fr end,

Wm. COBBETT.

THE FIRES.

THE week before last I addressed the Ministers, and in the most respectful, though in the most urgent manner, to do certain things to put an end to these calamitous and disgraceful conflagrations; and I never was more certain of any thing than I am, that the measures which I recommended would, if adopted, have had that effect. Those measures would, as I then observed, not have taken three days in adopting; would have interfered with no man's property, would have been no innovation, could have given offence reasonably to no man; would have been agreeable to the

cordial wishes of ninety-nine hundredths of the people, and would have brought blessings on the head of their royal master from millions of lips. They have not listened to my advice; and, I do not say the consequences are before us; but, at any rate, the terrible disgrace has not been removed. I understand that the country newspapers, which are almost wholly under awe of the aristocracy, the clergy and the magistrates, have been, in many places, actually forbidden to publish accounts of the fires as they occur. At any rate, that they do occur is certain, and I am informed that in Hampshire and Wiltshire, where the "*exposition of the law*" has, God knows, been pretty ample, they are occurring with more violence than ever. I have been told that fifteen fires have taken place in the vicinage of one single market-town in Hampshire, and seven of them since the conclusion of the Special Commission; and five of them since the hanging of COOPER and COOK. But though I could state particulars, I shall not do it here; but in these cases I shall confine myself, as far as particulars go, to what I find in the newspapers, or other publications. In the *Morning Chronicle* of the 9th inst., I find the first of the following paragraphs: the second paragraph I take from the *Morning Chronicle* of the 10th instant.

"A messenger arrived yesterday at the town residence of A. Baring, Esq., and stated that a valuable farm upon that gentleman's estate in Hampshire had, at a late hour on Monday night, been discovered on fire. Every exertion was used by the servants and others to suppress the flames, but without effect, and the whole was consumed. The fire is supposed to be the work of an incendiary, which is rather extraordinary, as Mr. Baring not only refused to appear against Cook, who attempted his life, but had, together with the whole of the members of his family, signed the petitions in favour of the convicted."

"We regret to have to state that fires are recommencing in several parts of the country. On Monday night last

"there was a very extensive fire between Popham-lane and Winchester. There was also a fire at Fareham, near Gosport, on Thursday last. One rick in the middle of a row of 13 was on fire, but from the snow on the roofs of others, they were untouched when assistance arrived. A farm-yard of Micheldever has also been consumed."

With regard to the fire on ALEXANDER BARING's estate, as mentioned in the first paragraph, it is probably the same as the first fire mentioned in the second paragraph, and it is probably Sir THOMAS BARING's farm, and not that of ALEXANDER; because the estate of the former, and his house also, lie between Popham-lane and Winchester. The farm mentioned in the latter part of the second paragraph, as lying at Micheldever, must belong to Sir THOMAS Baring; because he is not only the owner of all the land, but lay impropiator of all the tithe. It is curious that these two fine parishes of Stratton and Micheldever were the private proverty of King Alfred the Great, who bequeathed them as an endowment to the monastery which he founded at Winchester, and in which he was buried. They were seized by the ruthless Henry the Eighth, and given to Wriothesly, one of his tools, who was made Earl of Southampton. From him they passed by marriage into the hands of the Russels; and from the present Duke of Bedford they passed into the hands of these BARINGS. But where did the *Morning Chronicle* get its information, that it is "rather extraordinary" that this should be the work of an incendiary? Where did Dr. Black learn that these Barings petitioned to save the life of Cook? And how came the Doctor to connect Cook's name with this fire? And who told him to say that Baring refused to appear against Cook, who was hanged? And who told the Doctor that Cook attempted Baring's life? Did the Doctor dream all this, or did somebody write it to him that he might publish it? As lead men tell no tales, dead men can set no fires; and, therefore, COOK could not have set this fire. Does the Doctor

mean to say that this fire was set by some of poor Cook's relations or friends, and that, therefore, it is *extraordinary*, seeing that the Barings were so very kind in the case of this poor Cook? However, in the case of the farm at Micheldever, we come nearer to the remains of this poor young man, who was only *nineteen years of age*. In that village he was born; in that village he had been bred and had always lived; to that village his poor, honest, and broken-hearted parents took his dead body; and there they paid the parson *sixteen shillings*, as I am told, for leave to bury it in the church-yard. In this very village, and necessarily (for I know the village and the farms very well) within about a hundred and fifty yards from the spot where the dead body of Cook lies, this farm-yard, as the *Chronicle* tells us, has been consumed, and that, too, since the hanging and the burial of Cook!

Will not these facts speak? Will not these facts produce conviction? Will not these facts urge the ministers to reflect, and induce them to adopt measures to tranquillize the minds of the people, and to remove from them that bitterness, that vengeful feeling, which is so manifestly at work? The Attorney-General said, the other night, in a speech that he made in consequence of the motion of HUNT, that, "through-
" out the country neither life nor pro-
" perty was safe for a single hour; but
" what was the change wrought by the
" simple announcement that the law
" was to take its course? *The mischief*
" *ceased, with a single exception, to*
" *which I shall advert presently.*" I do not perceive, by the report, that the learned gentleman did at all advert to this exception; but I suppose him to have meant the *fires* to form the exception; and then all that the special commissions had done was to secure the *commodité*, as the French people call it, while the house was more exposed to destruction than ever. For, what were all the rest of the dangers compared to that of the fires! It was the fires that kept the country in a state of alarm; and, if the learned gentle-

man would but go to a pretty large farm-house, any-where, either in Hampshire or Wiltshire or Berkshire, and pass two or three dark evenings and nights there, he would discover, I believe, that the dangers have not ceased; that peace is not restored; that all is suspicion, distrust, fear, alarm, agitation, and constant racking anxiety; families going to bed with their clothes half on and half off; lights burning all night; servants watched to their beds; every creature approaching the house, or coming to speak to a servant, watched as if suspected. In short, turning the most happy of all the dwellings upon earth into dwellings of the deepest misery. Afraid to speak an angry word to a servant: afraid to turn a servant off: afraid to hire a new one. And this is what English farm-houses have been brought to, in consequence of a series of measures that have at last reduced the labourers to live upon potatoes.

W. M. COBBETT.

THE following is taken from the COLCHESTER GAZETTE of the 29th of January. Read it, PARSONS, and gnash your teeth! Ah! I have *hit* you: I have given you something to make you remember your *Tracts* and your *Sermons* against me. I have stuck the blister plaster upon you: scratch it off, *scirk* it off (Hampshire Parsons), if you can. Better answer PROTESTANT REFORMATION AND TWO-PENNY TRASH, No. 7, than waste your time in abusing me!

SIR,—The whole country from one end to the other seems in commotion about tithes, and it seems really as if people were suddenly awakened to the perception of grievances that they ought to have seen and sought some legal remedy for years ago. I picked up the other day a small pamphlet, sold for twopence, entitled "TWO-PENNY TRASH," by Mr. Cobbett; in it I found the whole history of the origin and perversion of tithes; they were formerly intended to keep the poor, and to repair the churches and hospitals. Now, *how* has it happened that all this was not known till now? Why was it left for Mr. Cobbett in the "*History of the Protestant Reformation*," as he calls it, to tell us what our historians

ought to have told us? There seems to me to have been some studied plan on the part of certain persons interested in tithes to keep us in ignorance; I cannot help surmising that the foolish cry of *No Popery* was one of those means. By maintaining an unchristian animosity towards our Catholic fellow-creatures, the church monopoly was kept up and inquiry stifled, and the real meaning of tithes which began with the Catholics was kept out of sight; nor should we have known much about the matter had not Mr. Cobbett enlightened us a bit by his writings. I do not go to the length that he does, nor agree with him in all things, but in this I do agree, that the old story about Guy Fawkes and the fire of London, and all the rest of the lies trumped up against Roman Catholics, are mere fudge, and were invented to keep up an animosity towards the party who were really in possession of the secrets of the church, and particularly the abuse of the tithes. This has induced me to look a little into the character of the Catholic clergy, and though I am no great devotee to any positive institutions, not finding them in the sermon on the mount; yet I will say the Catholic priests are real Christians, both here and abroad, and though like other clergymen they are flesh and blood, and liable to tumble into the frailties of human nature, yet they are kind to the poor, charitable to every-body, modest, sober, live on a scanty pittance, and are always at prayer or doing works of charity; nor do they waste their time and the money of their flocks in hunting and other field sports. It is not for me to say whether or no what are called heretical parsons do the same; but this I am sure of, that if they do not, it is an additional reason for changing the measure as well as the mode of their pay, and of obtaining from Parliament a material change in a system of tithes which is at present ruining the farmer, and rendering him unable to do justice to the labourer. I am no radical, and God protect me from any wish to encourage feelings of discontent among the farmers, but as a loyal and patriotic subject of these realms, and one who loves his country, and its valuable constitution, I feel it to be my duty to urge those who have better means, and more learning than I can pretend to possess, to institute a temperate but prompt inquiry into some means of relief, including, if possible, a full restoration of tithes to their original use.

I remain, &c.,

Jan., 1831.

AGRICOLA.

LABOURERS' WAGES.

READER, look at the following, and then look at WILTSHIRE BENETT'S evidence of 1813 (mentioned in my letter to him). Look at the following, com-

pared with Benett's "gallon-loaf and "three-pence a week for food and "clothing." Look at these, and then reflect a little upon the transactions of the last four months:—

At a numerous and respectable meeting of the occupiers of land, in the neighbourhood of STOCKBRIDGE, HANTS, held at the Grosvenor Arms Inn, STOCKBRIDGE, on Wednesday, the eighth day of December instant,

It was Resolved,—That, as it is very desirable to arrange and settle the wages of agricultural servants, the following scale be adopted: yet it is the decided opinion of this meeting, that it will be utterly impossible for the great majority of the occupiers of land to continue to pay such wages, unless they are enabled to do so by a very considerable reduction of RENT, TITHES, and TAXES.

As to bodied Men at Regular Labour.

A single man, or a man, wife, and two children, 10s. per week.

A man, wife, and three children, 10s. per week, and 1s. in addition for such third child.

A man, wife, and more than three children, 10s. and 1s. in addition, and the price of a gallon loaf of the best bread and 6d. for every child above three.

Men at Parish Labour not less than 18 Years of Age.

If the gallon loaf should not exceed . . . 15d., 5s. per week.

Ditto . . . 18d., 6s.

Ditto . . . 21d., 7s.

Ditto . . . 2s., 8s.

In addition for a wife, 1s.

In addition for a wife and one child, 2s.

In addition for a wife and two children, 3s.

And for every child above two, incapable of working, a gallon loaf.

REFUSING TO PAY TAXES.

At a reform-meeting at Hastings, Sir GODFREY WEBSTER in the Chair, the Chairman, says the MORNING HERALD of the 10th instant, "declared that it "was his intention, in the event of the frustration of the Ministerial measure "of reform, to resist the payment of "taxes, and to recommend the same "plan to all his tenants, and those over "whom he had control."

I shall make no remark on this, other than repeat my opinion, which I have so often expressed, that, to this it would come at last, if efficient reform were not granted IN TIME. This is precisely the object for which the famous

Breton Association was formed; it was that association which, in fact, produced the attempt of Polignac and his colleagues; and that attempt produced the famous Revolution of July 1830.

HUNT.

THE hackerings, the stammerings, the boggings, the blunderings, and the coverings down of this famous Cöck I should not have noticed, though they have given a shrug to the shoulders, and a lifting of the hands and the eyes, of all those who expected anything from him; but the following paragraph, which I find in the *Morning Herald* of to-day, given as the report of a speech of his made in the House of Commons last night, has made me determine to bestow a few words upon him, after inserting the paragraph as follows:

“The honourable member also presented a petition from a meeting at the Rotunda, Blackfriars, against the prosecution instituted against Mr. O’CONNELL. He was convinced that prosecutions of this kind did not tend to check the opinions against which they were instituted, and unless the Government should get a packed jury in Dublin, Mr. O’CONNELL would be acquitted. He could not help adverting to an expression which fell from LORD ALTHORP last night respecting civil war. He must say, it was a cold-blooded expression, and ought not to have fallen from any member of the Government. He disclaimed all connexion with Messrs. CARLILE, TAYLOR, JONES, and COBBETT, at the Rotunda meetings.”

With regard to his disclaimer of all connexion with me, every one will congratulate me upon that, after the exhibition which he has made in parliament. No man knows better than himself that I have never had the smallest connexion in the world with either Messrs. Carlile, Taylor, or Jones, the first of whom I never saw but five times, the latter but once, and the second never in my life that I know of. But, the shaft at me is merely venomous; in the other cases it is base beyond description. I can defend myself. But they, he well knows, cannot defend

themselves; and one of them, whom for years he called his friend, he knows to be shut up in a prison under a sentence which has made even the most intolerant of the people shudder. For myself, I would have thanked him for thus dragging in neck and heels, and *apropos* of nothing, a disclaimer of me; I should have interpreted it as an act of justice due to me; but, as for them, it is perhaps, though that is saying a great deal, the foulest thing that ever escaped a pair of lips even in that house.

Is this the use to which he means to turn the power which the people of Preston have put into his hands? Was it for this that the good and sincere and generous people of Preston sent him to the parliament house? I have not room for more at present, except this, that, if the reporter have misrepresented him, these remarks do not apply to his conduct; but, let me be understood, that a recantation with regard to myself only, would not diminish, in my eye, but rather augment, the baseness of this unprovoked, this uncalled-for, this ferocious attack, this at-once cowardly and ferocious attack on three men neither of whom is in a situation to defend himself nor to call him to account, and one of whom is doomed to sufferings, the thought of which would soften the heart of a tiger. If he shall be able to disclaim the whole, I shall, for the honour of human nature, be happy to promulgate the disclaimer; if not, I shall show him up in the next *Two-penny Trash*.

WM. COBBETT.

MARQUIS OF BLANDFORD AND HIS PARSONS.

I have not left myself room for this showing up, and must therefore put it off till next week, when it will probably embrace some intelligence which I yet expect on the subject.

W. C.

PARLIAMENT.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Monday, Feb. 7, 1831.

TITHES.—Lord KING said, seeing several right rev. Prelates in their places, he would take the opportunity of presenting several petitions against Tithes, which he should not have thought it fair to present in their absence. The first petition he should present was from a place in Somersetshire, and it was very numerously signed—being signed, indeed, by several thousand persons. They said that their petition was directed against the pernicious tithe system. They stated that they were in great distress; that the farmers could get no profit, and the labourers no employment, on account of the tithe. They stated that tithes, in their origin, were intended to answer very different purposes from that to which they were applied at present; that originally the tithes were divided into three portions—one went to the clergyman, another to repair the church, and the third to maintain the poor. But these petitioners stated, that they had now to maintain all the poor, and keep the church in repair, and that the whole of the tithe went to the minister. The tithes they described as a barrier against improvement, and he must say that there was great truth in the sentiments that of the petition. He knew it was said that tithes were property; and so they were, but very different from individual property. It was said that tithes were the property of the church, and it was asked if it were not as sacred as other property? But the property of the church stood upon a different footing from individual property. The church establishment was the creature of the state; it was paid for, and in such a manner as the state pleased. In that respect, then, it was perfectly different from individual property. A rev. Prelate had stated, on a former evening, that church property was more ancient than other property: it might be more ancient than some other property, but it was at all times the creature of the state, and public property; it was conferred by the state, and it was held as public property, intended for the benefit of the state. It was different from private property, which was necessary for the good of society. Without private property, we should have nothing but the spontaneous produce of the earth; but, without tithe, we should have a great deal more of saleable produce of art and skill than at present. Tithes, then, and private property, operate in different ways. The institution of private property in reared the produce—the institution of tithes lessened it. They were a tax on production; they hindered capital from being applied to the land; and, but for them, more capital would be applied, and more produce obtained. It was now necessary to pay tithe on the gross produce of the land, of capital, and labour, which prevented the employment of

capital, and prevented the employment of labour. Nothing was more prejudicial than a tax on the gross produce of land; and it was one which any prudent rulers of the church would now try to have commuted. He said commuted, because the time for composition was gone by. Nothing short of commutation measured in a fixed corn rent, not liable to alteration, and which would not give a greater than a fixed share of the produce to the tithe-owner, not increasing with the capital employed. He believed that, a few years ago, when the church proposed composition, it might have done; but now nothing short of commutation would do. The right rev. Prelates would now find it prudent to come to some moderate commutation. His Lordship concluded by presenting a petition from Somersetshire, praying for a commutation of tithes.

The Bishop of LINCOLN made a few observations in reply to his Lordship, which were nearly inaudible below the Bar. We understood the right Rev. Prelate to say, that notwithstanding the confidence with which the noble Baron made his assertions, he would find it difficult to prove them. He must maintain that tithes were not established by the state for a State service. In many cases they were granted by individuals who had the power, in order to provide for the due performance of religious service in every parish in the kingdom. The individuals who granted tithes did not intend them to be the property of the State. The question was, what was property? The law gave power to men to appropriate and use certain things. It gave a power to the tithe-owner, a property in the tithes, as it gave to the land-owner a property in his land. Tithes, therefore, stood upon the same footing as other property. He remembered that at the period of the French revolution, the people who argued against tithes also contended that the landlords were nothing more than the stewards for the people, and that rent was the salary which was paid to them for distributing the produce of the land. He did not know why the Church property should be subject to attacks more than other property, unless it could be shown that it weighed heavier than other property on the springs of national industry. Was that the case? He believed not. Was land free from tithes better cultivated than land subject to tithes. (Hear, hear.) Was that the case? He denied that it was. The right Rev. Prelate then quoted a communication from a clergyman, to show "that the tithes were only in his parish 1-6th of the rent. The clergyman stated that he had had several communications with land-surveyors and other persons, who assured him that, generally, the clergymen took from 20 to 30 per cent. less than their due claim for tithes. The agriculturists, the clergyman stated, were not injured by tithes; for, generally, tithe-free land was not better, or so well, cultivated as land subject to tithes. In those parishes, too,

he stated, which were exempted from tithes, the poor-rates were higher than in parishes which had tithes, though he did not state that the high rates were connected with the exemption of tithes." For himself, he doubted therefore that the tithe system was so noxious as the noble Baron described it. He wished it, however, to be understood, that he was not opposed to a commutation of tithes on a fair principle. It was necessary, he believed, that the church should make some sacrifice, and every commutation must involve a sacrifice, but on that account he should not object to a commutation. On the whole, he denied that tithes were public property, or were the cause of distress.

The Bishop of BATH and WELLS, as the petitions came from Somersetshire, had made some inquiry into the circumstances of the petitioners, and he had found that there was nothing peculiar in their situation which could justify them in coming forward to petition against tithes. He did not wish to make any observations then on the question of tithes or the presentation of petitions, but whenever the noble Lord brought it forward he should be prepared to give him an answer. For himself, he would say, that he was anxious for a fair commutation of tithes. In the first living he had he had commuted the tithes, and the plan had given the greatest satisfaction. It had been productive of advantage to him and of benefit to the parish.

Lord KING wished to express his satisfaction at hearing that the rev. prelates had now come to a commutation of tithes, which was something very different from the composition of tithes proposed by the right rev. prelate. A commutation was very different from a composition, such as was proposed by the bill of the right rev. Prelate, which went to give a power to the tithe-owner to lease his tithes for twenty-one years. Commutation must be by a fixed rent—a certain amount of corn not subject to vary—a payment totally different from tithes. He was glad to understand that now commutation and not composition was agreed to, and commutation was not the plan of the right rev. Prelate. The right rev. Prelate who spoke last said that there was nothing peculiar in the situation of the people of Somersetshire.—That was true. The evils were every-where the same, and were not confined to Somersetshire. There was nothing peculiar in the hardships they suffered. They were common, unfortunately, to all the land. The right rev. Prelate who spoke first, said, he (Lord KING) would have great difficulty in making out that tithes were public property; he proved, however, what was the origin of tithes. The greater part of the livings of the country were in the hands of the church or the crown, and these were undoubtedly public property. The advowsons belonging to individuals were of a different nature, but the advowsons belonging to the church or the crown were public property. It was said that tithes were given to secure

the services of the clergy. Had they had that effect? He was surprised at that argument; for were not, he would ask, all pluralities and non-residents the disgrace of the church? There were, he believed, about 10,500 benefices in England, and in these there were only about 6,000 residents. If the grant were intended to secure the services of the clergy, it had failed in its effect. Hardly one half of the parishes under the church of England had resident incumbents; they might reside in other benefices, but nearly half the parishes of England were destitute of resident incumbents. This was one of the great and crying sins of the church of England, from which the church of Scotland was entirely free. He would use this circumstance as the *argument ad verecundiam*. With all the tithes and emoluments belonging to the English church it could not procure residents, but the Scotch church obtained residents without tithes. We had bishops and non-residents; in Scotland they had residents and no bishops. Our hierarchy, our costly hierarchy, could not effect that which was done in Scotland without a hierarchy. This was the *argument ad verecundiam*. The hierarchy had no power to prevent pluralities, or, if it had the power, it did not exercise it. As to tithes being property, he must repeat, they were very different from private property. Private property was beneficial, and it was necessary that there should be private property. Was it necessary that there should be a tax on the gross produce? Tithes were a pernicious sort of property. Under the present circumstances of the union, it would be well in our statesmen to make a change respecting the life interest of those who now claimed them, but making an alteration that would get rid of tithes. They were pernicious; all other property was beneficial. He thought it was not very wise in the right rev. Prelate to refer to the French revolution. Their lordships might depend on it that in tithes there must be an alteration—that they would not be much longer suffered to exist; and that by placing them on the same footing as property in land, the landowners might expect that their property too must be altered."

Tuesday, Feb. 8th.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

TITHES.—Lord KING said, that having one other petitions to present on the subject of tithes, he must renew that to some persons inconvenient discussion, but to others most convenient. Yesterday he had brought the Somersetshire militia into the field; to-day he came down with the militia from Gloucestershire. He was happy to say that all persons appeared now to agree that some alteration was necessary, and it only remained to find out what alteration. One of the right rev. Prelates had yesterday asked him if he had any plan for making the change. He said; he had three plans, all very good ones,

and all simple plans. The first, which was perhaps the most simple and the best, was to charge the land with a proportion of the rent for the maintenance of the clergy; or he would propose that an amount of rent equal to the annual revenues of the clergy should be paid to them, and they should be entitled to that sum in all times to come. His second plan was to give them a corn-rent equal to the tithes, or to fix a quantity of corn equal to their present tithes, and they always to have the same quantity of corn, or the value of it, according to market rate. He was willing too to admit that the quantity of corn should be determined by the actual receipt of the clergy during the last seven years. After ascertaining the amount, he would by this means fix the claims of the clergy for ever. Another and his third plan was to take the whole of the tithes and the church property and sell them, and pay the proceeds into the hands of the Government, who should take upon itself to provide a due maintenance for the clergy; and the overplus, if any (and he was sure there would be a great deal), should go to the public; or a part of the overplus might be employed to provide better for the working clergy. One thing, however, was needful, let it be done as it might, and that was to abolish that most impolitic tax, the tax on the gross produce of the land. It was necessary to do this, to make property beneficial. To secure private property, promote the increase of the produce—but tithes curtail the produce of the land. It was said that there was no difference between church property and other property. But sometimes the clergy said that there was a great difference between the church property and other property. The clergy knew very well that maxim of law, *nullum tempus*, and on that they acted. Nothing they said could bar the right of the church; their claims went back to the days of Richard II., and no other property was on the same footing. This was a difference then between church property and other property, on which the clergy were ready enough to insist when they had any claims. Then they said the church property was different from other property. Now he said that it was. One of the right rev. Prelates yesterday stated, that the Bishops had brought forward a measure, or a Bill, he did not know which, and he wished the right rev. Prelate had been more explicit; but the rev. Prelate said the hierarchy wished for a measure strictly to enforce residence, and that this measure was defeated by the lay improprators, or the lay owners of advowsons. They had defeated the measure because they thought it would diminish the value of their advowsons to enforce residence. He knew not what measure was meant, or what object the Bishops had sought to accomplish; but he was disposed to assert, that the non-residence was caused, in a great measure, by the Bishops themselves. The greatest number of non-residents, he believed, was to be found in the parishes of the Bishops them-

selves. Thus the name of Prettyman was synonymous with that of pluralist. The name of Sparke too was synonymous with that of pluralist. In fact, the names of half the Bench were synonymes of pluralist. He would take the liberty of reading a letter on this subject, which he had cut out of a newspaper—it was addressed to the Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells, and was signed Francis Gillett. It was dated from Knight's Farm, Musbury, Devon, and was as follows:—

MY LORD,—My duty to myself and my country at the present crisis impels me to intrude on your Lordship's most serious consideration concerning the manner in which you have disposed of some of the Dignities and Benefices belonging to the See of Wells since you succeeded the late worthy and highly respected Bishop, Dr. Beadon; and also on your future Church government.

“On the vacancy in the living of West Camel, your Lordship instituted your son: to this no one objected; a deserving young clergyman is certainly every way qualified for a country rectory; but when he became the Archdeacon, I must say that, taking his age into consideration, and his title of “Venerable,” I blushed; yes, my Lord, I even blushed! Is it consistent, my Lord, to see so young a man have rule over so many elders of the church? But to proceed:—On Mr. Beadon's resignation of the Chancellorship, this office also went with the Archdeaconry!—Further, I have been told that at an election for a Canon of the Cathedral, the Chapter did elect some other candidate; thinking, no doubt, as I did, that the thing was already overdone with respect to your son; although I hear since he has obtained this situation also!

“These proceedings passed on, but not, I assure your Lordship, without giving me great uneasiness; yet I never should, most probably, have drawn your attention to them, had I not, lastly, and rather recently, seen by the papers that, at the death of that highly respected gentleman, the late Rev. T. H. Whally, the living of Yeovilton was also swallowed up by the same overwhelming flood; or, in plain words, was joined to the Archdeaconry, Chancellorship, Canonry, and Living beforementioned. At the same time it certainly might not have given your Lordship much trouble to have found within your diocese some truly respectable clergymen, advanced in years, with families, and who are not beneficed, to one of whom this small but comfortable rectory might have been a source of the greatest happiness in their latter days. Besides, my Lord, how can you reconcile to yourself the idea of one clergyman holding two benefices or livings, whilst you are so strenuous an enforcer of full duty within your diocese? and surely the duties of the parish, both with respect to the church and poor, must be beyond all comparison better performed by a rector or vicar, as the case may be, than by a poor curate, however deserving.

"I am aware, my Lord, that it is possible some—nay, even yourself, for a moment—may say it is arrogance in so humble an individual as I am, to trouble your Lordship, in this public way; but as I now state to your Lordship that the greatest dependence of myself and children consists of landed property (however few the acres are), within your Lordship's diocese, and that I have no claim to the emoluments of the church to look up for, my apprehensions at once will be seen to arise from a firm conviction on my mind of the immediate necessity of a thorough reform in the church—that she might be brought once more to stand on that sacred basis—that only firm foundation on which she stood in the primitive ages."

The letter had been published in the papers—he did not vouch for its correctness, but it had never been contradicted, he believed, though he should be glad to hear it contradicted. Here there was another pluralist, not a layman. The rev. Prelates said they wished to prevent pluralities; and as he had given them a plan to commute tithes, he would also give them a plan to secure residence. In fact nothing was more simple. It was only necessary to make the fact of non-residence a legal receipt for the tithes and the other sinecures. That would do the business effectually, far better than all the bishops. He would say no more on presenting his petition, except to recommend the right rev. Prelate, who proposed to bring in a moderate bill, to the words used, he believed, by Mr. Pitt during a great part of the late war, "give up a part to preserve the remainder." The noble Lord concluded by presenting several petitions from parishes in Gloucestershire, praying for the commutation of tithes.

The Bishop of BATH and WELLS did not know that he had given any cause for such an attack. The fact certainly was that his son had two livings, but they were so close to each other that he could well do the duty of both. They were not a walk from each other. In his first living he had been a loser, as he had given up all his income for the Church. He had certainly taken a second living, but he had also employed a curate in each. In one he did the duty himself in the morning, and in the other in the afternoon, while his curate performed the duty in the other part of the day. The first preferment which his son possessed was not given by him, but on account of his son's merit, by the reverend Prelate behind him. [We could not see which Member of the bench the reverend Prelate pointed to.] The other was bestowed on him by the Earl of Eldon, out of respect for his son's character. His son had accepted, at his request, the duties of Chancellor of his Diocese; and he had certainly given him the best thing in his gift, in his diocese. He had brought him from college for that purpose, where he was earning a deal more than the value of his church preferments. He believed, so exemplary was his excellent son's conduct, that

if inquiry were made in his parishes, the noble Lord would not find one human being not disposed to speak highly in his favour. He had been compelled to make this statement, and he hoped it had been satisfactory to their Lordships. (Cheers.) His son was a person of great merit, and he certainly had conferred some favours on him in his diocese; and when the noble Lord stated his preference, he ought to inquire if the duties were well discharged. He must say that he did not think it possible that the duties could be better discharged than they were discharged by his excellent son, the Archdeacon of Wells. He trusted the noble Lord would be ashamed and sorry for having brought forward such an attack.

LORD KING felt neither ashamed nor sorry. He had only asked if there were not pluralities among the bishops, who said they wanted to put them down, and he found out that it was so. The letter he had read stated that the rev. Prelate's son was a deserving young man, and he had made no attack upon him; he had only stated that there were pluralities in that gentleman's possession, and he found that he was correct. He brought the circumstance forward because others—he meant the bishops—said that laymen were the cause of the existence of pluralities in the church. The bishops were not right, therefore, in laying the blame of pluralities on laymen, and it was quite plain, if they had resisted the bill alluded to, the bishops had profited by it.

The Earl of RADNOR said, that it had been asserted by a right rev. Prelate that a bill or measure enforcing residence, and putting an end to pluralities, had been opposed by lay impropriators, and he had been asked when that bill was proposed but he had made no answer. He understood the right rev. Prelate to say, that the bishops were not the cause of non-residence; that this was not owing to the hierarchy but the lay impropriators. The right rev. Prelate had stated, that on some occasion a bill to enforce residence had been proposed, and that its powers had been curtailed by the lay impropriators, who had opposed the bill, as injuring the advowsons of which they were the owners. He had asked his recollection to find out what bill the right rev. Prelate alluded to. He had searched, too, those records which were usually preserved of parliamentary proceedings, to find out what at the lay impropriators had opposed, but he regretted that he was disappointed. He hoped, therefore, that the right rev. Prelate would explain what he meant by his assertion last night, that a bill had been brought in to give a right, or power, to the bishops to enforce residence, and that by lay impropriators this bill had been turned from its purpose.

The Bishop of LONDON was reluctant to take part in this discussion, which was the reason why he had not risen to answer the question put by the noble Baron. There was little occasion, he believed, to do so, because

their Lordships would, he hoped, recollect what he stated the night before. The noble Lord had not repeated his words correctly, and he should only endeavour to re-state them. What he said was this. In accounting for non-residence, he had not said that the lay impropriators solely were the cause of it, but that it was chiefly owing to lay impropriations that it was in many cases impossible for the clergy to reside at their benefices. The chief part of the property belonging to the church had, in many cases, been taken away and appropriated by laymen, and the revenue left was insufficient to pay the performance of the duties of the clergyman, unless by uniting more benefices than one. If their Lordships wished to obtain accurate information on the subject of lay impropriations, he would beg leave to recommend to their perusal a book of bishop Kennet, written upwards of a century ago. By what he said last night, he intended no reflections on the lay impropriators, and had no intention of attributing to them any improper motives. He had but an imperfect recollection of the measure for enforcing residence, as he was then a young man, and had not the honour of a seat in their Lordship's House, nor had he meant to impute any thing improper to those who opposed that measure. The bill he had alluded to was the 53d Geo. III. that was brought in by the Bishops to enforce the residence of the parish clergy. He had always considered that act, or rather that bill, was intended to invest the Bishops with a greater power to enforce residence and prevent pluralities, as he had always understood that the bill was rendered less efficient in its progress by the interference of lay holders of advowsons. He did not mean to say, however, that any undue influence had been used by the holders of those advowsons to stop the measure. He must add, that it was not possible for the Bishops always to enforce residence; indeed, in the larger number of benefices, this was impossible without ruining the clergymen. As to the patronage, he wished to say that it was his intention, on the first opportunity, to bring in a measure to strengthen the provisions of the 7th of his late Majesty, without which that statute could not be carried into effect.

The Duke of WELLINGTON felt himself called on to say, in justice to the clergy, that during the time he was in office he had occasion to promote the issuing a Commission to inquire into the state of Ecclesiastical affairs, and the state of the Ecclesiastical Law; and he invariably found that the Right Rev. Prelates pressed on him the necessity of giving them more power to enforce residence amongst the inferior clergy.

The Earl of CARNARVON deprecated in strong terms the practice of his noble Friend making, night after night, in these times of troubles and disturbances, such attacks on the church. He regretted that his noble friend should think it was his duty to make those attacks. He was convinced—and he was sure that the

great body of the people were of the same opinion—that a more estimable body of men than the clergymen of the Church of England could not exist. There was no class of men in the country who distributed so large a part of their revenue in charity, or were so devoted to good works, and no class of men who conferred so much benefit on the country at large. If he had sometimes differed from the members of the church, it was on questions of religious liberty, in which they thought their security was involved, and which he thought they ought to have conceded for their own safety. Now that no such questions existed, he was bound to say that it was most important to uphold the Established Church as it at present existed in this country. In looking at the question of tithes, it was necessary to consider other interests than those of the clergy; and he was sure that most of the Right Rev. Prelates must desire to have their revenues collected by some other means, and not be exposed to the odium and ill blood which now created dissent in their parishes, and banished their parishioners from the parish church. In reference to the measure of the right rev. Prelate for the composition of tithes, the noble Earl recommended that a commutation should be at once accomplished, as it would be most inconvenient to open up the tithe question again at the end of twenty-one years. With respect to residence, he thought, that if that were to be strictly enforced to the injury of the exemplary body of curates who had grown up within the last ten or fifteen years, it would probably do the church a great injury. To compel residence might deprive these curates of employment, and substitute for them incumbents who were not so competent to the performance of the duties. His Lordship also eulogised the church establishment, and said that this excellent institution had made the greatest improvements within the last few years. He concluded by apologising for trespassing on their Lordships' time; but when they were exposed to hear the church attacked, they would probably put up with the minor inconvenience of having their time taken up, than of allowing such attacks to go abroad unnoticed.

Lord KING wished only to set himself right with his noble Friend. He had not made any attack on the church or on the clergy; he had not said one word against either. He admitted that the great body of the clergy were an exemplary body of men, and he wished to make them more efficient. Pluralities were acknowledged to be an abuse—non-residence was acknowledged to be an abuse, and he wanted to remove these abuses. The same object was proposed by his noble Friend. He was not disposed to take their property from the clergy, and had proposed to grant them a corn rent equal to their revenue on the average of the last seven years. With respect to what the right rev. Prelate said of Bishop Kennet, and a book written one hundred years ago, that would give very imperfect information as to

the present time; for since that period, many parliamentary grants had been made to the church. There was Queen Anne's Bounty, which had now been in operation for many years, and increased the value of many Vicarages. Wishing to put his right rev. Friends at their ease, as to the petitions he had yet to present, he should imitate the church in old times, which established what was called "the peace of the church," from Friday to Mouday. In presenting petitions, he should follow this example, and should add Wednesday; so that on Wednesday, Saturday, and Sunday, there would be peace to the church from the war of petitions.—Adjourned

ness doing is unimportant. Barley, Oats, Beans, and Peas, may be similarly noticed as wheat. Flour remains as we last quoted, and in other grain there is nothing to notice.

Wheat	75s. to 81s.
Rye	30s. to 34s.
Barley	40s. to 42s.
— fine	44s. to 47s.
Peas, White	40s. to 44s.
— Boilers	44s. to 42s.
— Grey	36s. to 42s.
Beans, Small	42s. to 45s.
— Tick	36s. to 40s.
Oats, Potatoe	28s. to 34s.
— Poland	26s. to 28s.
— Feed	22s. to 25s.
Flour, per sack	60s. to 65s.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 4, 1831.

BANKRUPTS.

- ALLNUT, J., Chesbam, Buckinghamshire, paper-maker.
 ANSELL, M. and J., Berkeley-street, Lambeth-walk, dealers in jewellery.
 BRIMICOMBE, W., Totness, Devonshire, plumber.
 BURT, T., Holborn-hill, manufacturer.
 COLE, S., Shimpling, Suffolk, maltster.
 DESORMEAUX, D., Coles-terrace, White Conduit-fields, chemist.
 FARRELL, J., Liverpool, horse-dealer.
 LOWNDS, G. E., Ratcliff-highway, iron-monger.
 MIALL, S., Sun Tavern-fields, St. George's-in-the-East, licensed victualler.
 O'NIELL, C., Liverpool, joiner.
 PERRY, H., Old Jewry, baker, and George-street, Bethnal-green, licensed victualler.
 TAYLOR, C., York, inn-keeper.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 8, 1831.

BANKRUPTS.

- HARRISON, T., Northallerton, Yorkshire, currier.
 JONES, D., Liverpool, furniture-broker.
 MARK, H., Westminster-land-place, Southampton-street, Camberwell, wine-merchant.
 REDHOUSE, T., Crooked-lane, ship-broker.
 RUSSELL, G., Brownlow-street, coach-smith.
 SKATE, W. H., Deau-street, Soho, licensed-appraiser.
 STEWART, P. D., North-bank, St. John's wood, and Prince Edward's Island, North America, merchant.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, FEB. 7.—The market generally this morning is exceedingly dull, and although attempts are making to keep up the quotations, Wheat cannot be sold for the price of this day week, although no material change can be quoted. The supply this morning is very small, but the busi-

HOP INTELLIGENCE.

BOROUGH, Monday, Feb. 7.—There was a tolerable supply, but trade continues rather dull at last quotations.

PROVISIONS.

- Bacon, Middles, new, 40s. to 42s. per cwt.
 — Sides, new... 38s. to 42s.
 Pork, India, new... 112s. 6d.
 — Mecs, new... 57s. 6d. to—s. per barrel.
 Butter, Belfast ... 96s. to —s. per cwt.
 — Carlow ... 94s. to 98s.
 — Cork ... 96s. to —s.
 — Limerick... 96s. to —s.
 — Waterford... 92s. to —s.
 — Dublin ... 90s. to —s.
 Cheese, Cheshire ... 40s. to 70s.
 — Gloucester, Double... 48s. to 56s.
 — Gloucester, Single... 44s. to 50s.
 Cheese, Edam ... 40s. to 46s.
 — Gouda ... 42s. to 46s.
 Hams, Irish... 45s. to 56s.

SMITHFIELD—Feb. 7.

Beef, for the finest young meat, is 4s. to 4s. 6d. per stone, and Mutton, for prime young Downs, sells at 4s. 6d. to 4s. 8d. per stone. Veal, for prime young Calves, sells at 5s. 6d. to 6s. per stone, and dairy-fed Porkers are quoted at 4s. 6d. to 5s. per stone. Beasts, 2,676; Sheep, 20,509; Calves, 110; Pigs, 140.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, Feb. 11.

The supplies are still small, the demand moderate, and the prices the same as on Monday.

English arrivals.		Foreign.	Irish.
Flour	5,710		
Wheat	3,615	2,170	
Barley	4,240	420	
Oats	695	165	2,500

THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent. Cons. Ann. }	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.
	80½	80½	80½	81	80½	80½

1. ENGLISH GRAMMAR.—Of this work sixty thousand copies have now been published. This is a duodecimo volume, and the price is 3s. bound in boards.

2. FRENCH GRAMMAR; or, Plain Instructions for the Learning of French. Price, bound in boards, 5s.

3. AN ITALIAN GRAMMAR, by Mr. JAMES PAUL COBBETT.—Being a Plain and Compendious Introduction to the Study of Italian. Price 5s.

4. COTTAGE ECONOMY.—I wrote this Work expressly for the use of the labouring and middling classes of the English nation. I made myself acquainted with the best and simplest modes of making beer and bread, and these I made it as plain as I believe words could make it. Also of the keeping of Cows, Pigs, Bees, and Poultry, matters which I understood as well as any body could, and in all their details. It includes my writings also on the Straw Plait. A Duodecimo Volume. Price 2s. 6d.

5. THE WOODLANDS; or, a Treatise on the preparing of the ground for planting; on the planting, on the cultivating, on the pruning, and on the cutting down, of Forest Trees and Underwoods. Price 14s. bound in boards.

6. THE ENGLISH GARDENER; or, a Treatise on the situation, soil, enclosing and laying out, of Kitchen Gardens; on the making and managing of Hot-beds and Green-houses; and on the propagation and cultivation of all sorts of Kitchen Garden Plants, and of Fruit Trees, whether of the Garden or the Orchard. And also, on the formation of Shrubberies and Flower Gardens. Price 6s.

7. YEAR'S RESIDENCE IN AMERICA.—The Price of this book, in good print and on fine paper, is 5s.

8. PAPER AGAINST GOLD; or, the History and Mystery of the National Debt, the Bank of England, the Funds, and all the Trickery of Paper Money. The Price of this book, very nicely printed, is 5s.

9. TULL'S HORSE-HOEING HUSBANDRY; or, a Treatise on the Principles of Tillage and Vegetation. With an Introduction, by Wm. COBBETT. 8vo. Price 15s.

10. SERMONS.—There are twelve of these, in one volume, on the following subjects: 1. Hypocrisy and Cruelty; 2. Drunkenness; 3. Believers; 4. Oppression; 5. Unjust Judges; 6. The Sluggard; 7. The Murderer; 8. The Gamester; 9. Public Robbery; 10. The Unnatural Murther; 11. The Sin of Forbidding Marriage; 12. On the Duties of Parsons, and on the Corruption and Greed of Tithes. Price 3s. bound in boards.

A Postscript Sermon, entitled "GOOD DEEDS; or, The Murder of Jesus Christ by the Jews." Price 6d.

To be had at No. 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.

AN ENTIRELY NEW WORK.

This day is published, price One Shilling each, Parts I. to VI. of the

EXTRAORDINARY BLACK BOOK, showing the necessity of Reform in Church, State, Law, and Representation.

"An extraordinary book indeed, and one that should have been bound in red, to show that it blushed for its contents! Conceive a full-sized closely-printed octavo of six hundred pages, *solely* devoted to an exposition of the abuses, in the Church—in the Civil List and Crown Revenues—in the diplomatic and consular establishments—in the judicial administration—in the monopolies of the Bank of England and the East India Company;—conceive, we repeat, an immense octavo, *solely* devoted to these abuses, and yet not exhausting its subject! Every farmer, every mechanic, nay, every man in the kingdom, no matter whether he be Whig, Tory, Liberal, or Radical, young or old, rich or poor, should buy this book. Its publication is a national benefit, for besides the matters just enumerated, the book contains lists of pluralists, placemen, pensioners, sinecurists—and a precious list this is, beating hollow the longest Chancery bill ever heard of!—strictures on the debt and funding system, and above all, a complete and impartial view of the expenditure, patronage, and abuses of Government, as they affect Church, State, Law, and Representation. We confidently predict that this book will create a sensation. We defy any country in the world, whether ancient or modern, to produce its equal. Shame on the Boroughmongers, that it should contain so much truth!"—*Sun, Feb. 3, 1831.*

Published by John Fairburn, Broadway, Ludgate-hill, where may be had, the work complete, in one thick octavo volume, price 14s.

CHEAP CLOTHING! !

SWAIN AND CO.; Tailors and Drapers, No. 93, Fleet-street; beg to inform the public that, as they manufacture the whole of their *Woollen goods*, they make
A Saxony Cloth Coat for 2 12 6
Ditto, Kerseymere Trowsers 1 5 6
Ditto, ditto, Waistcoat ... 0 12 0

Being, for a whole Suit, only 4 10 0

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Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's-court; and published by him, at 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

Vol. 71.—No. 8.]

LONDON, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 19th, 1831.

[Print 1s. 2d.]



The old French government ~~did not possess~~ the power to lighten the burdens of the people. It was compelled to call for the assistance of the people themselves. I beg your lordship to remember this; for, in some shape or other, the same thing must take place here. The old French government called upon the people for their assistance when it was too late; and therefore the monarchy and the church fell.

In 1803 I told the vapouring Addison, that, if the debt were not arrested in its progress, the nobility and the church must finally fall.

Once more, therefore, at the end of precisely twenty-five years of unavailing calling on the nobility; once more I call on them to conciliate the people, and to appeal to them for protection against the all-devouring monster, the funds.

May they be admonished by what they have already felt, and seek in the revived friendship of the people that security for themselves which I am satisfied they will find in no other source. If a contrary line of conduct were to be pursued; if a refusal of reform were still to be persisted in; if to their deadly and natural foes, the loan-jobbers, the landowners were to persist in adding the mass of the people, a true picture of all the consequences I forbear to draw.—*Cobbett's REGISTER, 6th January, 1822.*

TO THE LANDOWNERS OF ENGLAND.

On their Defeat by the Loan-mongering Crew relative to the proposed Tax upon the Funds.

Kenington, 15th February, 1831.

LANDOWNERS,

I ADDRESS you by an appellation expressive of no feeling of respect; because I have no respect for you as a body. For six-and-twenty years, indeed seven-and-twenty, I have been an attentive observer of your conduct; and in that conduct I have constantly perceived a base trucking to men in power and to

the loan-jobbers, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, towards the middle class of society, an increasing insolence and haughtiness, and towards the lower class deeds innumerable, of which the mildest denomination that belongs to them is that of extreme hardness and severity. I have seen a tax on income collected, which took as much from the yearly earnings of the professional man, the tradesman and the farmer, as from the perpetual estate of the landowner; which took from me, for instance, who earned a thousand a year, and who had then six children to bring up, one hundred pounds a year, though that income depended upon my life, and not only that, but my health; and not only upon that, but upon the continuation of my ability, and particularly upon the soundness of my mind; while the same law took no more than one hundred pounds out of a thousand pounds a year of rent, which the landowner derived from a freehold estate, and which estate always yielded the same rent to him or to his children whether he were dead or alive, sick or well, riding about his fields or in a mad-house. I have seen military and naval academies established, the necessary effect of which must be to shut against the middle class of society all the openings to military and naval power and emolument. I have seen, in the imposition of the assessed taxes, of the taxes on the wine, of the taxes on wine, on spirits, &c. the short of the taxes imposed on every thing else, I have seen the same partially prevail, towards the working classes what have I seen? I have seen endless projects which have not been carried into effect; but I have seen quite enough that have been carried into full and terrible effect. I have seen the passing and enforcing of the new felony law; of the new trespass law; of SEVERUS BONAUS's two bills; of the transportation for poaching law, and I have seen this power lodged in the hands of the landowners themselves. I have seen the

tread-mill invented; I have seen SIDMOUTH'S and CASTLEREAGH'S green bags; I have seen the dungeons opened at the discretion of the Secretaries of State; I have heard the roar of laughter at the sufferings of OGDEN in his dungeon, a man seventy years of age, and of spotless character, who had brought up twenty children without ever having resorted to the parish for relief. I have seen and heard these things, and many, many others, within the last twenty-seven years, and I have seen the LANDOWNERS the very foremost in calling for or defending them all.

Therefore the defeat which you have now experienced gives me delight which it would be impossible for me adequately to describe. Look, now, at the several sentences which I have chosen for my motto. You will see, from the second of those sentences, that I foresaw what you would bring it to so long as twenty-seven years ago; which was before the doing of those things which have displeased me so much, and some of which I have mentioned above. It was, too, at a time when the debt was not more than three-fourths of what it is now, and when a revenue of about thirty-five millions a year was deemed amply sufficient. What is your case now, then? Why, it is just what I said it would be when, in 1822, I published the Register from which the extracts are made. I shall now, when I have bestowed a few short remarks on the taxes to be taken off, proceed to remark on the grand question, the intended tax on the funds. The tax to be taken off from the newspapers, though I myself, and for my own interest, care not a straw about the matter; though I know that it will be neither gain nor loss to me, I see this reduction of the tax with pleasure; because, in the first place, there ought to be no such tax, and, in the next place, because it will give a famous blow to that newspaper monopoly which has been such a disgrace to the country, and has done it so much mischief. The *Bloody Old Times* winces under it; and well it may; for it lops off a good half of the value of that

standing advocate for blood. If the old thing were worth twenty thousand pounds last week, it is not worth ten thousand pounds this week. If the Government find, as I am satisfied it will, that it gains in amount of revenue by reducing the amount of the stamp to two-pence; and if it see, as I am sure it will, that it would gain still more by reducing it to a penny, and by reducing the advertisement duty another half; if it see that, as I am sure it will see it, and if it act agreeably to its manifest interests, the bloody old thing may shut up its shop. I always said, take away the tax, and this horrible thing falls at once, and the Government is freed from the dread which it justly entertains of provoking the hostility of bands of mercenary wretches who employ this powerful instrument, the press, for the worst of all possible purposes. The Government will soon find how much it will gain in the tax upon paper, even from this measure. As to advertisements, they will increase prodigiously in number. I have no question, for my part, of the great gain in point of the revenue; and in point of advantage to the country, from the speed that it will give to the communications between persons in trade, and of the encouragement which it will give to honest and able writers, the effect will be prodigious; and, therefore, though the measure will not affect me in the smallest degree in the world, I think the Ministers are entitled to great praise for this measure. It was also wise and just to change the tax from cotton goods to raw cotton; because, in the former shape, it was savagely unjust towards the working people, and gave rise to frauds enormous. The conscientious manufacturer paid the duty honestly; those of a contrary character did not pay a tenth part of what they ought to have paid. But, it is the total abolition of the tax upon candles which gives me the greatest pleasure. If they had added an abolition of that on the malt and the hops and the soap, I would, to be sure, have gone to Downing-street, and have stood bare-headed in the rain to thank them.

Poor Swing (the labourers of the East the South and the West) will have some little to thank them for on the score of coals, owing to the stupidity of the landowners of latter days, in destroying those endless sources of fuel that were found in the wastes (as they were foolishly called) and in the careful cultivation of timber and underwood. But, the tax being removed wholly from the candles is a great and unequivocal good. How often did I, in my Registers sent from Long Island, describe the great advantages of farmers being able to turn their own fat into candles! How often did I cite it as a striking proof of the advantages of that Government over this! The Ministers themselves do not, I am sure, see one half of the good that they will do here. It is said, that it is only a penny a pound taken off the price of candles. Is it not? It is three-pence a pound at the least. The farmer gets next to nothing for his tallow; and this is one of the reasons why he never kills his sheep. The price of tallow in the great market is nothing to me. I have sometimes killed sheep at Kensington, for my own use, a circumstance which led the bloody *Old Times* and all its wolf-whelps about the country to assert positively, that I had "turned the lower room of my house into a butcher's shop. I know not what tallow was in the market; but I know that I got two-pence half-penny a pound for mine, when my candles cost me from seven-pence to eight-pence. I know the expense of making candles well: I know what beautiful candles my servant made in Long Island; and it shall be my business, in a very short time, to teach the farmers and labourers in England how to do the like. One of the great evils that press upon the country, and that has reduced it to its present state, has been the withdrawing from agriculture those employments which formerly occupied the wives and daughters of the labourers at other times than those of weeding, hay-making, and harvest. These employments were carding, spinning, and weaving in many instances. I have seen a hundred spinning-wheels

at a time, in the summer, humming before the doors of the cottages of one single village. The sacks were all spun, and even woven, in the villages. The infernal system of taxing and funding have driven men to resort to the water and the fire to supply the place of manual labour; have huddled millions of miserable wretches together to work in unnatural heat, and to eke out their lives in smoke and stink and prostitution, and the landowners, set on by a bell-wether minister, have echoed and re-echoed again the cries of the "*manufacturing greatness of England*," as the noisy and empty-headed Pitt used to call it. The *PEELS*, the *AXXWASORS*, and all the tribe of grinders and screwers, have swelled up into nobles; the small gentry have all disappeared; the parsons, holding an unalienable property, have supplied their places as magistrates; the agricultural labourers, having lost the employment for the females; have been reduced to paupers; the *natural magistracy*, deriving power from respect and affection, much more than from fear, being thus taken away, new and severe laws innumerable have been enacted, till at last, as Lord Stanhope observed last winter, there is an open "*breach between the poor and the rich*." Thus, all that we behold now is nothing more than the natural result of taxing and funding.

Now, amongst the employments for the females of the labourers in agriculture, one was the *making of candles of various descriptions*; and this employment will now re- For it will very soon be asked of a young woman who offers herself for service in the country, whether she knows how to make candles. Do not tell me about the *price of tallow in the market*. I know that the want of a right to make my own candles is a loss to me of from ten to fifteen pounds a year at the very lowest. If I were a farmer it would be a loss to me of a great deal more. Additional female hands will be wanted in the country in consequence of the repeal of this abominable tax. And not only will the labourers have their

candles cheaper, but in many cases they will have them for next to nothing. The farmers will give the fat to married women, allowing them a certain portion for the manufacture. Neighbours will deal with one another as they do in America, without running to a shop for a candle, and there paying the profits of three or four parties, besides the expense of the carriage and of the fetching. It is impossible so to manage the thing without the labourers having light at a trifling expense, for the want of which the winter evenings are now passed in the dark instead of being cheerfully employed in various matters useful to both men and women. It will be curious to see a Twopenny Trash employed in circulating, amongs the working classes, *praises on the King's Ministers*. This will assuredly be done in the next number, or the number after, where I am to give them detailed instructions for the making of candles. I shall now quit this pleasing subject for the present, and come to the battle between the land and the funds, in which the former has just experienced so signal a defeat.

In my leave-taking address, when sailed for Long Island, in order to avoid the dungeons of SIDMOUTH and CASTLEREAGH, which dungeons the landholders, more than any-body else, had enabled them to open, I told the *reformers* to wait with patience: I did not tell them to assemble in great multitudes unarmed, to be chopped down or trampled under foot by Yeomanry Cavalry, while I, screamed out "*Murder*;" but I told them to "*wait with patience till an open war should take place between the land and the funds*." For then, said I, *the people must be let in*. If they be let in by an honest reform of the Parliament, they will side with the landowners, whose business will simply be to take off the taxes; but the probabilities are that the whole thing will go drivelling along from expedient to expedient, till all goes to pieces like a ship upon the rocks. Thus far this is not prophecy; but it is now become history. The measure just proposed, and abandoned as soon as

proposed, by the Ministers, was a first attack; a first open attack on the funds in behalf of the land. The funds have furiously driven the assailants back; and I dare say that you, the landowners, begin to think that it would have been better for you if you had taken me by the hand, or, rather, considering our relative power and influence, and sense and resources of mind, have suffered me to take you by the hand and lead you along in 1809, and before that time, instead of chuckling at what you stupidly deemed my certain destruction.

Let us see how this matter stands between you and me; for this is a proper time to remind my readers all over the world of the manner in which I have operated upon your interests; or, rather, to show how your present embarrassment, and deep humiliation, and the great and imminent danger to which you are now exposed, arises from your hostility to me, more than from all other causes put together.

In 1803, in 1806, in 1811, and all along until 1822; I, in fact, notwithstanding all your baseness towards me, and your hard deeds towards the people, entertained no desire to see you sacrificed to the monster of Change Alley, provided the people had a free parliamentary reform. Even when you chuckled at the sentence which you thought to be a sentence of death in 1810, when I began, from my prison, to send forth "*Paper against Gold*;" even then I said nothing about the church and crown lands; and as to the abbey lands, I never even whispered a word about them. All my efforts were levelled against the funds, paid, as they were, in unjust amount. Even from Long Island I wrote nothing hostile to your interests. The Puff-out, which came from that Island, and the circumstances connected with which will, when I come to relate them in the history of my life, be found to furnish subject for one of the merriest comedies that ever was acted; even the Puff-out, which certainly produced *Peel's cash payments*, had nothing in it intended to be hostile to you; for who the devil could believe that you would continue

to pay in gold the interest of a debt contracted in moonshine, and in the contracting of which fellows without a farthing in their pockets had got millions upon millions of money! Who the devil was to believe that a set of fellows having estates that produced corn and cattle and hides and wool and timber, would give two trees and two every-things for one that they had borrowed! Who the devil could believe that a set of fellows having fine estates in land would let a parcel of infidel Jews, or pretended Christians, take away these estates bit by bit, but in the most open and flagrant manner, under the impudent pretence, the audacious the infamous pretence, "*that the taking away was required by NATIONAL FAITH!*"

Thus, up to 1819, I was always on your side: even after that; though you had chuckled and were so delighted when acts had been passed which you thought would not only chop off my fingers but silence my tongue. Two of the Six Acts were manifestly passed expressly for me. Mr. Hume said so at the time, and he repeated his assertion the other day in the city, as to one of those acts especially. One act banished me if I said any-thing having a tendency to bring either House of parliament into contempt. Another act compelled me to give bail beforehand if I published any-thing with a stamp. If I published any-thing without a stamp oftener than once a month, it compelled me to sell it for not less than sixpence, in order to make the number of my readers small; and, in order that I might get nothing by the publication, it compelled me to have two sheets and a quarter of paper all printed over, and compelled me to have paper each sheet of which should be *twenty-one inches long and seventeen inches wide*. Another act forbade me to speak in any room, yard, garden, field, or place, upon the subject of politics, to any number of persons, if money were taken for their entrance thence.

Notwithstanding all your triumphing, all your chuckling, all your indecent and unmanly exultations, even at these attempts; these low, these shameful

attempts against one man; notwithstanding all this, I still continued your friend; and, throughout the years 1820, 1821, and, until June 1822, I pleaded your cause against the monster of Change-alley with an earnestness and a force equalled only by your stupid ingratitude. But now, in the month last mentioned, I changed my tone, the occasion of which was this; and *the consequences* you are now feeling.

The same act which had shut me out from any house, room, building, garden, yard, orchard, field, or place, had also prevented me from addressing a meeting of any county of which I was not a freeholder, and those who passed the act had taken pretty good care that I should be the freeholder of none. But freeholds in several counties were immediately given me, and amongst others, in the county of Kent, in which there was a County Meeting held, at Maidstone, in the month of June, 1822. At this meeting a petition was brought forward by those who are called the Whigs, LORD DARNLEY, LORD THANET and others, praying for a *reduction of taxes*. I said that it was unreasonable to call upon the Ministers to take off taxes, unless we were prepared to support them in taking of part of the interest of the debt, and I moved that the following words be added to the petition: "And your petitioners further pray that there may be a reform of your honourable House, and that your honourable House will be pleased to make a JUST reduction in the interest of the national debt." After a long opposition from LORD DARNLEY, and the like from KNATCHBULL, both of whom manifestly disliking the Reform part more than the other, the Meeting (a very large one) divided, and there were only *seven hands* held up against the motion, two of which were the hands of Knatchbull and Lord Darnley. We, the speechifiers, were standing in wagons: and just under the tail of the wagon where I was standing, there was a tall, fat, bull-frog farmer, who, while I was speaking, looked up in my face and shook a great hunting-whip that he had in his hand,

crying out. "Off, off, you jacobite!" I, by way of episode in my harangue, stood down over the tail-board, and, giving him a sowse, and knocking off his hat, said, "Hold your tongue, you great bleating fool! you will vote for me by-and-by, after all;" and so he did; for he held up one hand, and put his hat upon the top of his whip and held it up. Knatchbull would insist upon it that the people had not understood the meaning of the amendment, and that the High Sheriff ought to put the question again. This gave me an opportunity of explaining the meaning of my motion, which, as far as related to the debt, I did in these words: "Gentlemen, we are now paying the fund-holders three times as much as we ought to pay them. My proposition is, that we should pay them less. If we continue to pay them at the present rate, the landlords will, in a few years, lose their estates. Farmers, traders, and others of the middle class, will be poor to what they have been; the labourers will be starved, or will be driven into a state of convulsion and civil war; and the country will become so feeble as not to be able to go to war, though the French were to sail up the Thames and attack the Tower of London. I call upon you, therefore, the pattern county of England, to set an example to the country in praying for a measure which is absolutely necessary to preserve the whole kingdom from ruin. You now understand me clearly. I propose to you a just reduction of this enormous and all-devouring debt." Even after this, Knatchbull made a long speech, imploring the meeting to reject any proposition. The High Sheriff put the question again; and then, instead of seven hands, there were four held up against it!

Up came the petition, piped hot, to the House that very night. Honeywood (the other member for the county), who had not held up his hand against my motion, joined, nevertheless, in the hue and cry that was set up against it in the House. One gentleman

(of great landed estate in the county, said to another gentleman, who told it to me immediately after the meeting was over; this land-owner, while my motion was debating, bent down from the raves of the wagon, and said to this other gentleman, "I am sorry that the motion has been made by HIM, but, since it is made, I HOPE THAT IT WILL BE CARRIED." This man joined Knatchbull in his abuse of me in the House, and thus I had complete proof of the deep malignity of the Whigs against me. I knew well that both sides wished it; and I knew their intention to do it, too, if they possibly could do it, without giving me the credit of the thing. A gentleman who went to the House, and heard what passed that evening, came and gave me an account of it. Never was harmony equal to that of that night. Castle-reagh and Brougham; Knatchbull and Honeywood; John Smith and John Martin; Huskisson and Abercromby; Calcraft and somebody to match him (if his match be to be found in the world); all embraced each other, all seemed to forget their sincerely reciprocal animosities in lamenting that the men of Kent should, from their momentary want of reflection, have been entrapped into such a petition, by the deep art of "a dishonest demagogue." The next morning confirmed the truth of the verbal account that I had received, though stripped of the vivacity of that report. But before I read this, and upon the verbal account, I exclaimed, "What, do the ———s seem to think, then, that it is I that owe this debt! 'Tis their debt—not mine; and now, by ——— I will take care that they shall not shuffle out of it. Let their church go, and their crown lands. If I be 'dishonest,' let them pray honestly. Henceforth they shall learn what it is to abuse me."

From this time I became an advocate for national faith as well as they; that is to say, an advocate for not touching the funds without FIRST touching the places, the pensions, the

sinécures, the grants, the crowds of generals and admirals, the swarms of dead-weight, and particularly the crown lands, the tithes, and other property commonly called the church property. In the month of January, on the third day of that month, 1823, there was to be a county meeting in Norfolk, and as soon as it was announced, a friend gave me a freehold in the county, that I might be legally present at the meeting. For this meeting, I, with plenty of time for reflection beforehand, prepared a petition which should be the standard; the declaration of principles, upon which in future I would proceed. It contained, in the first place, a description of the immense swallowings of the aristocracy, in all the various branches of our enormous expenditure; and then it declared, that though the interest of the debt ought to be reduced, that not a farthing of that interest ought to be touched, until the crown lands and a large part of the property commonly called church property, had been taken and disposed of for public purposes, and until the Parliament had been radically reformed. I myself was the mover of this petition. The meeting was held in St. Andrew's Hall, containing many thousands of persons. The two parties, with Coke and Woodhouse at their head, contrived, by the combinations which they had formed beforehand, to have such noises made, that the meeting, generally speaking, never heard a word of the petition read: they saw it in my hand; they saw my lips move in the reading of it; they saw me hand it to the Sheriff, and heard him say, "I now put the petition of Mr. Cobbett," and up went their hands as of one man. Coke made a long speech, after the manner of Knatchbull, and talked a good deal about *dishonesty*, though he said not a word about *Dungeness Lighthouse*, that infallible proof of his own disinterestedness and generosity. He insisted that the question ought to be put again, because the people had not heard the petition read. PARSON GLOVER made a long speech, imploring the meeting not to agree to the petition; but the parson was fool enough to tell

people what the petition contained. The High Sheriff finally put the question again. And when the negative was put upon it, even those that had been hired and stationed about the Hall to prevent me from being heard, had not the courage to hold up their hands. The High Sheriff, therefore, signed the petition, as the petition of the county meeting. Both parties intrigued with him not to do it; but he, declaring it to be fairly the petition of the meeting, clapped his name to it. When the news of this affair reached London, CANNING, shallow as the fellow was, saw in it a fearful sign; and it being observed to him that it was nothing, for that the meeting had never heard the petition read: "So much the worse," said he, "for that shows the unlimited confidence that they had in the man that proposed it." All manner of means were made use of to shuffle aside this petition. It was sent up by a coach, the people belonging to which contrived to miscarry it. I obtained it by a threat of prosecution; or, more likely, through the dread the coach people had of the consequences of the displeasure of the people of Norwich. When I carried it to Daddy Coke at his town lodging, he, without the smallest provocation on my part, treated me in the most haughty and insolent manner; and if I had then known what I now know about Dungeness Lighthouse, I would have paid him off upon the spot. As it is, I will pay him off by instalments, as disposition and opportunity shall serve: now and then in a digressive paragraph; at other times in a simile to round a sentence with; here in a parenthesis; there in a single word. He has now become as mute as a mouse in one of the barns where he held his hole-and-corner meetings against me.

This Norfolk Petition was the beginning of a new era in my exertions for lightening the burdens of the country. SIR JAMES GRAHAM's pamphlet of 1827, in which he proposed to take *thirty per cent.* from the fundholders, without taking a shilling from the aristocracy, or the church, or the dead-weight, or any thing else, afforded a fine opportu-

nity for me to ask them what was become of their charges against me on account of the Kent and Norfolk petitions; and also afforded me a fine opportunity for showing, in detail, the monstrous injustice of taking away a part of the income of the widows and orphans and aged persons, the means of whose existence were deposited in the funds, while all the enormous pensions, sinecures, grants, salaries, and all the thousands of generals and admirals, and all the millions upon millions swallowed by the clergy, were suffered to remain untouched. Nay, while sixteen hundred thousand pounds had been voted out of the taxes, to be given to the clergy, over and above the immense amount of their livings, four or five of which livings are frequently in the hands of one single man.

Since this pamphlet of Sir James Graham; since the unmerciful lashing which that pamphlet got from my pen, we have heard very little from the landowners about the justice of touching the interest of the debt; very little until this proposition of my Lord ALTHORP came forth. Now, with regard to that proposition *in itself*, the only fault that I have to find with it is, that it was a round-about, indirect measure, the evident tendency and the motive of which were not avowed; and that the rate was too small to have been efficient, besides the operation being complicated. If his Lordship had proposed to take ten per cent. from the interest of the debt, without accompanying it with any proposition for an additional tax upon the land, there would have been frankness and efficiency, at any rate. As it is, the measure has a character of *furtiveness* about it, which nobody likes. You clearly see what lawyers call the *animus furandi*, accompanied with clamorous professions of "*sacred good faith*." I say that *good faith to the nation* demands a taking away of more than a half of the interest of the debt; and this was ably insisted upon by Mr. MATTHIAS ATTWOOD, though that gentleman differs from me as to the proportion. He made the only sensible speech throughout

the whole of the debates upon the subject. He noticed the great breach of national faith took place in 1819, and that, too, against the able remonstrances of this very Mr. ATTWOOD.

It has been said that the fundholders lost at one time as much as they have gained since that time; and this has been asserted over and over again upon the authority of Mr. MUSHETT, who published his tables to show it, in 1821. MUSHETT, who fell into the error of the stupid or cunning; and the babbling Ricardo, took as his criterion the *market price* compared with the *mint price* of gold; and this was the groundwork of the stupid bill of Peel, in 1819, which has produced more mischiefs to this country than all the seven plagues of Egypt would have produced if we had had them all at one time, and the bare name of which being stuck to a man, is quite sufficient to characterize him for life. This error of Mushett was the grand groundwork of that bill. It deluded the land-owners to their ruin; and it has kept the country in a state of constant and gradual decline, till all the world sees its weakness, its nakedness, and its shame.

But, suppose the criterion of RICARDO and Mushett to have been true. How stands the account even according to MUSHETT's own showing? The sublime seigneur, LORD ELLENBOROUGH, with hair so nicely curled, and arms and waist so pretty and so small; this sublime seigneur, in answer to LORD CARNARVON, who had been hammering away about the advantages which the fundholders had derived from the change in the currency made by Peel's stupid bill; this sublime seigneur advised the noble Lord to read a little book published by Mr. Mushett; and observed, that he thought some copies of the book ought to be bought at the public expense and distributed amongst their Lordships. Well, then, this is a book of great authority, it seems. And what does this book show? Why, adopting Mushett's criterion, so unjustly in favour of the fundholders, it makes the account *square* up to the year 1821; when, observe, the fund-holders were *gaining* at

the rate of about twenty per cent! Pray mark this; for they have been gaining at the same rate ever since, except during the time that the small paper money was out, in 1824 and 1825. Thus, with the exception of those two years, they have been receiving twenty per cent. more than they ought to have received from 1821 unto the present day, even according to the showing of MASHETT himself. They have been receiving more than a million and a half a year, which is more than they ought to have received, even according to this account, which is all in their favour; and yet an outcry is raised, and a ministry are to be driven from their posts, if they persevere in taking eight hundred thousand pounds a year from these fundholders!

Ah! my Lord Grey, look at the motto to this Register! Look at the words that I addressed to your Lordship in 1822! Do look, I pray you, at the whole of that letter which I inserted in the last Register! Do, pray, believe that your situation is precisely that of the old French government in 1789! It did not possess the power of lightening the burdens of the people, without the assistance of the people themselves; and it did not call the people to its assistance till it was too late. You have yet time to call the people to your aid; but you have but one way under heaven of accomplishing that object; and that is, by giving them short parliaments, extensive suffrage, and the ballot. You have, however, something to do in the money way, before I, for one, shall ever give my consent to the taking of one single farthing from the interest of the debt. You have, 1. To scratch out all pensions not merited by well-known public services. 2. You have to do away with every sinecure of every description. 3. You have to take away the grants and allowances, and all useless salaries, and take away every charge not useful for the public service. 4. You have to give us less than five Generals to every regiment of soldiers, and less than two Admirals to every ship of the line. 5. You have to reduce the dead-weight to reward for services actually rendered, and to lop off all that is given to widows

and children belonging to this immense body. 6. You have to reduce the standing army in time of peace, break up the academies and sell the barracks. 7. You have to bring the crown lands to book, not forgetting Dungeness Light-house and its disinterested heritor. 8. Finally, you have to make at least a new distribution of the property of the church, as it is called; to restore that property to its ancient and legitimate uses; or to take it altogether, and apply it to national and secular uses. These things you have to do, my Lord Grey, before you will ever have the consent of this nation to take one farthing from the interest of the debt, in any shape, or under any name or guise.

It is no longer ago than last winter that Sir James Graham showed that one hundred and thirteen men, almost all of them belonging to the two Houses of Parliament, received ~~the~~ hundred and fifty thousand pounds a year amongst them. We know well that there are about fifty Bishops, who have from ten to forty thousand pounds a year each. Take them at an average of fifteen thousand (and that is very low); and here are seven hundred and fifty thousand pounds a year amongst fifty men. And, while we have these facts staring us in the face, will the nation hear of a proposition for deducting a part of the incomes which the widows and orphans and aged people have in the funds! Can we think of doing such a thing as this; and can you think of doing it under the pretence of easing the burdens of the people, while you make us pay the pensions to LADY MORNINGTON, to the sister of CANNING, and his widow, to the children of FOX, and to women innumerable who never can have rendered any service to the country!

You have begun at the wrong end. A friend of mine, very partial in his opinion of my writings, confines himself to this single compliment: "Cobbett always begins at the right end;" a compliment which I have always endeavoured to deserve. You have begun at the wrong end. You have begun with the many instead of beginning with the few: you have begun with

that which the folly of former Ministers and Parliaments, and particularly their stupid malignity against me, have made the people regard as sacred, never to be touched; and you have left untouched every thing on which the people look with a grudging eye. Sir James Graham's pensioners, and sinecure people, and the enormous revenues of the bishops and the clergy, are great marks on which all eyes are fixed. The fundholders, though they, like Queen Bess's paupers, are, in reality, "every-where," are seen by nobody; are, in many instances, as poor as the rest of us; they receive what they receive unseen; they are unenvied, unloved; they receive what is regarded as their due; and the benefit to the nation in taking from them it would be difficult to make the mass understand, while their complaints would be heard in every town and village in the kingdom; and every-where the contrast would be drawn between their treatment and that of the fat pensioners and the clergy. There is no argument by which a deduction from the funds could be justified, or palliated, which would not apply with ten-fold force to a total sweeping away of the pension and sinecure lists, and to all the other reductions of which I have spoken above; and this argument would be applied, too, by every man in the kingdom who had one spark of spirit in him. If you had begun at the right end; if you had taken the Norfolk petition and carried it over well; if you had acted upon that petition with firmness, still the fundholder people would have opposed you; but what would their opposition have been, and what would it be now were you to propose a real reform of the Parliament? Would you have fallen down at once before this combination? Would you have been driven out of a deliberate plan without even a sign of resistance?

We are now come to this point: something must give way: you cannot make the funds give way: the labouring classes will have meat and bread; and therefore something else must give way. That something seems to be the church; and it is truly curious

to observe that the eyes of all the people seem now to be directed to this resource. There is no one cries out against the funds; not a single petition is there for taking a penny from the thirty millions a year which these funds cost, while, from one end of the country to the other, the air rings with the cries of the people to take away the property of the church, in some shape or other. How like the state of things in France, in the year 1789! The people there did not seem to know that there was any thing unjust or any thing burdensome in the debt; but, as soon as their tongues were let loose, began to find out that the church was the cause of all their poverty and sufferings. To work they went, therefore, and took that property to begin with; and this the clergy most richly deserved, for having favoured the government and upheld it in contracting the debt. In speaking of the seizure of the church property in France, Burke gives the following warning to England:—"Nations are wading deeper and deeper into an ocean of boundless debt. Public debts, which at first were a security to governments, by interesting many in the public tranquillity, are likely in their excess to become the means of their subversion. If governments provide for these debts by heavy impositions, they perish by becoming odious to the people. If they do not provide for them, they will be undone by the efforts of the most dangerous of all parties; I mean an extensive discontented monied interest, injured and not destroyed." These words are well worthy of the attention of the landowners of England. Between these two dangerous rocks the Ministry and the aristocracy of England now stand. The heavy impositions have made the people discontented with the Government. The Government has just made a slight attempt to get rid of the necessity of these heavy impositions; and it has just had a sample of the efforts of this "most dangerous of all parties." Here are the two dangers between which the Government stands. To save itself from the former,

it must greatly lighten the impositions; and to save itself from the latter, it must call in the people and have them heart and hand with it; but, to do this, it has no earthly means but to make a Reform of the Parliament that shall satisfy the people.

Things are now, however, arrived at that pass, that the debt cannot be touched without touching the church, and without touching the church the first of the two. The cry is so loud and so general, that until the church be touched, and pretty rudely, the people will never hear of touching the debt. For my part, I shall always protest against it, and oppose it with all my might; not because I think the claims of the present fundholders just; but because it will be good for the country to repeal, or greatly to change, the church establishment. The debt is the sheet-anchor of our hope for the obtaining of our rights. It secures to us the making of some efforts at last to take from us the other heavy burdens; I would a million times rather that all the interest of the debt should remain undiminished, than that it should be swept away, and the army, the thousands of generals, the academies, the barracks, the dead weight, the pensions, the sinecures, the parson magistrates, Sturges Bourne's bills, the new trespass law, and the transportation-for-poaching law remain. A million times rather let it all continue than see the debt swept away and the rest of the system remain. We are much better off now than we should be if we had no debt and had all the rest.

The question now is, What is next to be tried? and whether the Ministry who are unable to carry this little point, will condescend to niggle along from expedient to expedient, without attempting any great and radical change. Mr. Attwood well observed, that we were a pretty object for Europe to contemplate, trying to reduce taxes for the relief of the nation, at a moment when common prudence, decent pride, called upon us to show ourselves ready for war. However to this I always said it must come: to this it is come; and

there is no way of extricating ourselves from the difficulty other than by calling in the people to lead their aid in making a total change in the whole of this system of sway. To preserve the "institutions of the country" is become a sort of slang. It seems to come out of the mouth like the ham of a new tune. Agreed, with all my heart. I am for preserving the institutions of the country; but then comes the question: What are the institutions of the country? According to my notions, mortgages on the labour of the child in the cradle, bands of villains met to gamble in Change-alley, bank-notes made a legal tender as occasion may require, exchequer bills, loans and scrip, and bonuses, by which beggars are made gentlemen in twenty-four hours; according to my notions, these are no institutions of the country. Justices of the peace, removable at the pleasure of the Crown, authorised to inflict pecuniary and even corporeal punishment without trial by jury, and with such trial empowered to transport men for their lives; these justices very often, too, being clergymen of the church, or officers in the army or navy. According to my notions, these are not institutions of the country. I do not regard the new trespass law, Sturges Bourne's bills and the transportation for poaching law, as institutions of the country, any more than I regard a band of foreigners upon the pension-list as being an institution of the country. Can I have read Blackstone, and regard a standing army in time of peace, and barracks and military academies and dead-weights, as so many "institutions of the country!" Why, then, I suppose I must regard the hired overseers, the making of men and women to draw carts like beasts of burden, the putting of men up to auction like negroes in the colonies, the making of labourers live upon a pound and a quarter of bread, and a halfpenny a day for food and clothing, the making of them live upon potatoes or starve; I suppose I must regard these as "institutions of the country!" Faith, but I will not so regard them! I know them to be all departures from the in-

stitutions of my country. I know them to have set aside, in their several ways, the institutions of my country; and I am for restoring to my country those institutions.

In conclusion, let it be observed, that the landowners have now received a blow which is only a foretaste of that which is to come. They will be afraid to stir again. By taking off the taxes upon malt and hops, they would give a good blow in return; but to do this they have not the courage. They will droop down, suffer the thing to go on, still be afraid to take the people by the hand; till at last, too feeble to resist, even if they had the courage, their fate will be very much like that of the old landowners of France. I hope, or rather I wish, that it may be the contrary of this, but, as I well know that this must be the end, unless the people be appealed to by a real and radical reform, I am very much afraid that the evil will come in its full magnitude.

This is the light in which I view the fate of this apparently trifling attempt on the part of the ministers. In itself the defeat is nothing. But it says this to the landowners: Fires or no fires, rents or no rents, tithes or no tithes, you shall pay the interest of the debt in full tale, and in sovereigns of full weight and fineness. This is what the fundholders say, while the middle and lower class are calling for a reduction of rents and an abolition of tithes. Such is the state of the landowners of England; such is what they are doomed to endure for their conduct of the last forty years, and particularly for the contempt and scorn and malice with which they have repaid the advice which has been so disinterestedly given them by

WM. COBBETT,

MARQUIS OF BLANDFORD

AND

HIS PARSONS.

To the Readers of the Register.

Kenington, 16th February, 1831.

MY FRIENDS,

THE conduct of this "most noble" fellow and his reverend co-operators, [foi

only one link in a chain of efforts to implicate me in those acts of violence to which the labourers of the southern and western counties were urged, not by writings or by speeches, but by more than half-starvation. The country was in a state of alarm; there were the most powerful motives amongst the landowners and the farmers to cause it to be believed, by the rest of the community, that the labourers had not been driven by hunger to commit the acts, but had been stimulated to them by others. First, the stimulators were Frenchmen, and SCOTT ELDON actually told the Lords, that he was informed, that "one county jail was full of foreigners;" and the famous tax-eater, LORD SIDNEY, told the people of Kent, in an address, published in the newspapers, that the French were doing this in order to devastate England; a charge which the French aristocrats have retaliated, by asserting that the fire-setters in that country are paid by the English! This charge against foreigners was, however, soon dropped, and was followed by the story about "domestic conspirators" assembled in London, and sending emissaries about the country, in gigs, carriages, landaus, post-chaises, or on horse-back. This story being laughed at by the people in London and in the great towns, a more secret agency, or stimulus, was sought for; and as TOWN afforded no clue to any such investigation, LIES were resorted to; and as I had, for many years, been complaining of the cruel treatment of the farm-labourers, I (all other sources having failed) was pitched upon as the cause of all the mischief, especially as I had recently been lecturing in parts of Kent and Sussex. This was, too, a fine opportunity for paying me off for old scores; for the Protestant Reformation, and for my other hard blows, especially those at the Parsons: and there clearly was a simultaneous assault meditated, that should either destroy my life, or stop my pen, or, which was thought most likely, TO MAKE ME FLEE THE COUNTRY.

The plan of the attack was laid, and the attack begun, by that MOST BLOODY

of all bloody publications, the *BLOODY OLD TIMES* newspaper, which has always been the herald of blood, as I shall show, another time, by reference to its bloody columns. Within six months this bloody paper delivered over the *Belgian leaders* "to the hands of the executioner," not foreseeing that they would finally triumph. It called, and it alone called, for the *special commissions*. It asserted that *DYKE*, who was hanged at MAIDSTONE, confessed his guilt to the parson; and *DYKE* maintained his innocence to the last moment of his life which he said had been sworn away. This bloody paper did all it could to insure the destruction of the two *MASONS*, in Hampshire, by representing them as *seditionously inclined*, and as having become so from being constant readers of *Cobbett's Register*. It was this bloody old paper (which will soon get a blow in the diminution of the stamp duties) which began the attack. It affected to pity the poor deluded creatures in the country; but fell furiously on those arch instigators "*COBBETT and CARLILE*," though I knew well that we had not the smallest connexion on earth with each other, and though it knew that I had combatted, and, indeed, destroyed, what I deemed, the most reprehensible of all the publications of Mr. *CARLILE*. But, Mr. *CARLILE*'s name was odious to great numbers of people. Therefore, this bloody newspaper began its efforts by associating my name constantly with his, just as the parsons do in all their publications against me, of which they have put forth not less than two score at the least. What part the *PRESTON* Cock acted at that time, and in co-operation with the bloody old *Times*, I shall have to mention another time, when I come to relate the curious circumstances of his *long visit to the Home Office*, and of his going immediately afterwards to the Rotunda and ORDERING THE TRI-COLOURED FLAG TO BE PULLED DOWN; circumstances wholly unknown to the good honest fellows of Preston, and luckily unknown, or the House and the town would not have had to enjoy the

fun which they are now enjoying from the narratives of his provincial excursions, and his classical allusions to "Greece, Sparta, and Athens."

The bloody old *Times* having thrown out a general invitation to imputations and accusations against me, soon had to publish a striking proof, as it called it, under the title of "*CONFESSIONS OF THOMAS GOODMAN*."

The unfortunate young man, Thomas Goodman, who was convicted of setting fire to the barn of Mr. Alderton, at Battle, and sentenced to death, has made a full confession of his guilt, and attributes his untimely end to that notorious demagogue, William Cobbett, who, you may remember, delivered a public lecture at Battle some time ago, in which he told his auditors that unless the farmers would consent to pay better wages to their labourers, the fires which were then going on in Kent might also take place in this county, and that the boundary between the counties was but imaginary. It is a singular fact that in less than a fortnight after the delivery of this lecture the first fire—namely, that which broke out in the night of the 3d of November, took place in the parish of Battle; and it is still more singular, that the property destroyed on that occasion belonged to Mr. Charles Emery, landlord of the George Inn, at Battle, who had refused Cobbett the use of his principal room for the purpose of delivering his lecture. The unfortunate young man, who is only 18 years of age, confesses that he was stirred up by the words of Cobbett, that his brain was nearly turned; and that he was under the impression that nothing but the destruction of property by fire at night would effect that species of revolution, the necessity of which was so strongly enforced by the arch lecturer. Of the eight fires which took place in the parish of Battle, within one month, the unfortunate convict has confessed that five of them were occasioned by his own hand. The following are the words of the culprit with reference to Cobbett, as taken down this morning, in the presence of the REV. HENRY JOHN RUSH, CURATE OF CROWHURST, Sussex:—

"I, Thomas Goodman, never should have thought of doing any such thing if Mr. Cobbett had never given any lectures, I believe; that there never would be any fires or wars in Battle nor many other places if he never had given any lectures at all."

When this appeared, I declared my belief that it was a lie from the beginning to the end; that it was a mere invention, if not of the *Bloody Old Times*, of somebody else; and you, my friends, will agree with me that it appears rather strange that this *PARSON RUSH* should

get to Goodman; the former being the curate of a country village, having no connexion whatever with the prison in which the condemned man was confined. My remarks on this bloody publication, and the general discredit into which it at once fell, produced another and more formal attempt to fix the instigating of Goodman upon me. The poor silly fellow, who is an orphan, without any parent to protect or advise him, had, before the thirtieth of December, been removed from Lewes, where he was condemned, to Horsham, there to be hanged. In the jail of the latter place, three Magistrates went to him, and the result of the visit was as follows:—

The three undersigned visiting Magistrates of Horsham jail, having seen in the *Courier* newspaper, Mr. Cobbett's remarks upon the confession of Thomas Goodman, under sentence of death for arson, from an anxious wish to elicit the truth, went to see the unfortunate prisoner on the 30th of December, who being questioned as to whether he had any enmity against the person whose rick he had set fire to, declared he bore no malice against him, but that he would state what induced him to act in this manner, and when asked whether he would commit this to paper, he proceeded to write the following statement in our presence, without any dictation or suggestion from us:—

WALTER BURRELL, }
HENRY REDCROFT, } Magistrates.
FRANCIS S BLUNT, }

" I Thomas Goodman once heard of one
" Mr Cobbit going A Bout giving out lectures
" at length he came to Battel and gave one
" their and their was a gret number of peopel
" came to hear him and I went he had verrey
" long conversation concerning the state of
" the country and tilling them that they was
" verrey mutch impose upon and he said he
" would show them the way to gain their rights
" and liberals (liberties) and he said it would
" be verrey Proper for every man to keep gun
" in his house espeely young men and that
" they might prepare themselves in readyness
" to go with him when he called on them and
" he would show them which way to go on
" and he said that peopel might expect fire
" their as well as others places.

" This is the truth and nothing but the
" truth of A dying man.

" THOMAS GOODMAN."

Written before us, { WALTER BURRELL,
30th Dec. 1830, { H. REDCROFT,
FRANCIS SCAWEN BLUNT.

This was faithfully published in the
bloody *Old Times*; my refutation of it,

my exposure of the whole thing, which appeared in the *Morning Chronicle* of the 5th of January, and in the *Register* of the 8th of January, satisfied every body of the falsehood and the baseness of the charge. Nevertheless, the bloody *Old Times* did not desist, but on the 9th of January, I think it was, it published a third confession. The second was an enlargement and great improvement on the first; but the third was an improvement indeed! It was as follows, together with the bloody *Old Times'* introduction to it.

" We understand that the confessions made voluntarily by *Bushby* and *Goodman* are of the utmost importance. That of *Goodman*, (a part of which has already transpired) we are enabled to print, omitting only, that we *frustrate not the ends of Justice*, the names of parties whom he implicates to a certain extent. A similar reason induces us for the present to withhold entirely the confession of *Bushby*.

CONFESSION.

" I Thomas Goodman under sentence of
" death aged twenty years Broad and born in
" Battel hoop maker By trade had been working
" the 1st year and A hall for Mrs Eldridge
" in Battel and had lately 15s a week i hind
" of one Mr. Cobbit going a bout giving out
" lectures—at length he came to Battel and
" gave one their and their was a great number
" of People came to hear him and I went
" to and he had a great deal of conversation
" concerning the states of the parpel and the
" country tilling them that they were verrey
" mutch impose upon and he would tell them
" how to get the better of it or they would
" soon be starved he said it would be verrey
" Proper for everrey man to keep a gun in
" his house espeely young men and that they
" might Prepare them selves in readyness to
" go with him When he called on them and he
" would show them the way to get their
" rights and liberals (liberties) and he said
" that the Farmers must expect there would
" be fires (fires) in Sussex and in Battel as
" well as other Places—and in conversation
" was all as mutch to inflame the Peoples
" minds they thinking that he would be A
" friend to them with made A verrey great
" impression on me and so inflame my mind
" and i from that time was determined to set
" stacks on fire and some afterwards their was
" three fires in Battel and that same night the
" last fire was at the Corstam wheat and set
" fire to Mr. B. Watts is stack with A candle
" and lanterns and some few days afterwards
" i was standing A talking to three more Persons
" there came A verrey gentle man on
" horseback and he rode up to us and said
" why you have had A fire hear i said yes we
" have he said well how do Peopel seeme to
" like theas fires or do they seeme eneways

“ Alarmed at them I said yes they do but
 “ some of them are verrey nitch harden in it
 “ and think their will be no more he said I
 “ am sorry that they should think so Becaus
 “ they have but gust [just] made A beginning
 “ he ask Wether we had hird of any Persons
 “ being taken in Battel that day on suspicion
 “ of theas firs I said I did not know he ask if
 “ we though [though] the Poor Peoples would
 “ assist to find thos Persons out that Set thos
 “ places on fire if the fusters was to gave
 “ them 2s. a day we said we did not know and
 “ he seemed so verrey much Pleasur a bang
 “ theas firs he stopt a haf a power his half
 “ conversation was as sutch he was person
 “ well drest and verrey good horsed new saddel
 “ and Bridel Wich made more impious on
 “ my mind and some little time after I was at
 “ a Publick house in Battel with Mr. B. —
 “ occupys ther was several Peoples ther
 “ Which among them ther was one ———
 “ and ——— I new both verrey well I went
 “ out and they came after me and was fell into
 “ conversatu concerning theas firs had been
 “ ——— said he wish some one would set fir
 “ to the Premises of Mr. ——— and Mr. ———
 “ ——— said he would do it if he could do it
 “ Privat ——— said he would make ote to
 “ help he said he would go with me to set
 “ Muster Watts his bildings on fir if I would
 “ go I said if I did any sutch thing I should do
 “ it by myself.

“ THOMAS GOODMAN.”

Upon this the bloody thing observed, that Goodman had been cautioned that any thing which he might say would produce no alteration in his fate. And then it adds: “The great importance of Goodman’s confession speaks for itself. We hope, and are assured, that it received the due consideration of the Government;” though, observe, it had just before said that his confession was to make no alteration in his fate! Soon after this the *Bloody Old Times* had great pleasure in announcing “that the life of this poor deluded young man was to be spared; but that double vengeance ought to fall on the heads of Curle and Cobbett.” My readers, look at these three confessions; see how they go on improving; observe what a tissue of lies they are; then bear in mind that this man, who confesses that he set five fires, was spared, while the young man, nineteen years of age, was hanged, at Winchester, for knocking down Bingham Baring. Far, however, be it for me to lament that the author, or reputed author, of this tissue of lies was not

put to death; I rejoice exceedingly that I was the cause of saving his life, which I saw I should do, by the dilemma in which I placed all the parties the moment the first confession appeared. “Now,” said I, “this story of the confession is true, or it is a lie; then the poor young man (who is an orphan, and who has no soul that will be permitted to visit him or speak to him except in the presence of the jailor) has spoken truth, or he has been prevailed upon to speak falsehood. If the whole story be a lie, or the confession be believed to be false, then what a shameful thing here is with regard to us! And if the story of the confession be true, and the confession be believed, WILL THEY STILL HANG THIS POOR YOUNG MAN! Let the parson answer that!” This was a devil of a dilemma. To spare a man who confessed that he had set five fires, while another was hanged, in the same town, for setting one fire, and when another was hanged for knocking down Bingham Baring; to spare this five-fire man, under these circumstances, did seem pretty difficult; but, then, to hang him after the works of the Reverend Rush and Walter Burrell and Co. would have been to proclaim to the whole nation, in words written in blood, THAT THE ACCUSATION AGAINST COBBETT WAS FALSE! Exceedingly do I rejoice, however, that this young man was spared; and it is not impossible that he may yet live, and come to me and give me the true history of these confessions. I rejoice that the accusation against me saved his life. Nobody believes the accusation to be true; every-body sees clearly that it was false from the beginning; but, for the sake of saving his life, I would not only have the confession be believed to be true, but would rather have it be believed that I actually gave him the pipe and the matches and went with him to set the fire. I would rather have that be believed of me by every man and woman in the kingdom, than that this young man’s life should not have been spared. I thank the Ministers for spar-

ing it, and do not care a straw about their motive for the act.

I have not room to point out all the curious things connected with these confessions; but, I pray you to read them all attentively; to observe how they go on improving; to observe that the last brings in a whole batch of accused persons, but that *blanks* are put instead of *their* names, while *my* name is always put at full length; to observe, also, that the pretended instigation which Goodman received from me was, according to his own confession, real or pretended, in the presence of a great number of persons; to observe that the "REVEREND" Rush lives very near to Battle, and that the three justices, Burrell and Co., are landowners and persons of great authority in and round Battle, one of them being, I believe, a banker in Battle itself; yet while they are affecting to believe Goodman, or are, at least, circulating his confessions, they produce not one of the about four hundred people in whose presence the pretended instigation took place. They produce not one breath from any of the four hundred persons, except from one who has a rope round his neck, and who has been guilty of five crimes, each of which, according to their view of the matter, deserves to be punished with death. Will anybody believe that these justices and this parson did not think it worth while to try to find out whether there were others to confirm the declaration of Goodman? Nay, do not Burrell, Tredcroft, and Blunt certify, under their hands, that they went to see the condemned Goodman from an "ANXIOUS WISH TO ELICIT THE TRUTH?" And what did Goodman tell them? Why, that he went to hear the lecture of Mr. Cobbett, at Battle, and that there "was a great number of people" present at the lecture along with him. Very well, then, they had only to ride over to Battle, and there "elicit the truth" in a moment, which truth they were so very "anxious" to elicit! And who is fool enough to believe that they did not go to Battle, aye, and to Burwash and Seddlescomb and Crowhurst,

and all the villages round about? Who is fool enough to believe that they did not do this; and, above all things, who is fool enough to believe that they would have forborne to publish the corroboration, if they had obtained it!

To this I shall, upon this part of the subject, add only these never-to-be-forgotten facts: First, that GOODMAN, who had SET FIVE FIRES; and who said that he had been *detuded* by Mr. Cobbett, had his LIFE SPARED; and that COOK, who KNOCKED DOWN BINGHAM BARING (without seriously hurting him), and who denied that he had ever known anything of Mr. Cobbett, was HANGED! That is ENOUGH! What atrocious villain it was, what blood-hunting tyrant it was, who put to poor COOK the question, that drew forth this denial, I do not yet know; but the denial was stated by the bloody *Old Times*. I will find the blood-hunting tyrant out, if I can; but, here is enough to show what efforts were making to get at me, in some way, or in any way!

In short, nothing is clearer than that this whole affair arose out of an anxious desire to destroy me, or to fill me and my family with alarm, so as to drive me off and put me *hors de combat*. Just at this same time, while the *Bloody Old Times* and the Sussex parsons and justices were at work, TAYLOR accused me in the BIG HOUSE. I shall not go into the nonsense which the reporters ascribed to him on the occasion: suffice it to say, that if he had any rational object in view, it was to induce the Attorney-General to prosecute me for sedition; upon the ground, especially, that my writings instigated the labourers to set the fires. What this man said, or, rather, what was published under his name, is of no more consequence to any of us than are the croakings of a toad, or the brayings of an ass, other than as it shows the simultaneous movement which stupidity duly mixed with malignity, were making at the time here referred to. The London press, which had looked very quietly on, as long as the attacks were confined to the *Bloody Old Times* and its provincial whelps, and of the

parsons so pious, and the justices so "anxious to elicit the truth," became alarmed at the works of Trevor, seeing that those works tended of necessity to some legislative measure relative to the press, which they knew, though it might be intended, like the bills of 1819, solely for me, must be general in its operation, things not having arrived quite at that pass to pass an act levelled at me by name, which, besides its uselessness, besides the impossibility of en-

attorney, Mr. FAITHFULL, of Staple's Inn, to write first to these reverends; the name of one was HENRY HOWARD; and that of the other BEEVOR. I did not care a straw for the libel; but I wanted to get at the "most noble" Marquis.

From HOWARD Mr Faithfull received a sort of hubble-bubble answer; but without an acknowledgment of having got the intelligence from SLAFF. Mr. BEEVOR's answer was honest and direct,

therefore, in general, censured and ridiculed the effort of Trevor; and several of the papers insisted that there was intention to assail the press from my sides; and therefore they joined me in showing that the affair of Goodman was a thing hatched up from beginning to end.

It was just when the *Bloody Old Times* and all the stupid parties were cock-a-whoop, that the Marquis of BLANDFORD, that this "most noble" person, wrote to a Parson in Norfolk, that I "had absconded in consequence of a connexion with the fires having been traced to me." This letter of the most noble fellow was looked upon as containing most authentic intelligence, coming from such high authority. It was so pleasing, too, to the minister of peace and of charity to whom it was sent, and whose piety has been rewarded by a couple of good fat livings, that he lost not a moment in spreading it about amongst his brethren of his peace-loving, pious, and charitable calling. Two of these conveyed the glad tidings to Sir THOMAS BEEVOR, who, being in town about a fortnight afterwards, communicated the information to me. The object was to bring the lie home to the "most noble" Marquis; to bring the foul libel home to him, and for a particular reason that I shall here-and-by have to mention.

fellow of the name of SLAFF was he that had communicated the agreeable intelligence to the subaltern reverends who had communicated it to Sir THOMAS BEEVOR. I instructed my

whom I heard the report alluding to Mr Cob- and which you have learnt from Sir as Beevor was mentioned by me, I refer the Rev. THOMAS SLAFF, Old Buck-Norfolk, as the individual from whom such report.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,
E. RIGBY BEEVOR.

E. C. Faithfull, Esq.,
Staple Inn, Holbarn.

Upon receiving this letter, Mr. Faithfull wrote to SLAFF as follows.—

Sir,—Mr. William Cobbett (author of *The Political Register*), having heard from Sir Thomas Beevor, that a report existed that he had absconded in consequence of some of the fires which had lately taken place having been traced to him; by his direction I saw Mr. Beevor, who informed me he had the report from the Rev. E. R. Beevor, to whom I immediately wrote, requesting him to inform me from whom he heard it, and yesterday I received a letter from him, a copy of which I send you on the other side.

I am instructed to inform you, that, unless you immediately contradict this infamous report, or favour me with the name of your authority (if any you have), my instructions are to commence proceedings against you without further notice; and, in order to save the trouble of personal service of process on you, I will thank you for the name and address of your attorney, to whom I may deliver process on your behalf.

I am, &c.,

E. C. FAITHFULL.

To the Rev. Thos. Slaff.

To this letter Mr. Faithfull received the following answer:—

Jan. 13, 1831.

Sir,—Having been absent from home during the last few days, your letter, bearing date the 6th instant, has remained unanswered longer than would otherwise have been the case. I have now to inform you, that the Marquis of Blandford told me, by letter from the House of Commons, that a report, which

he had heard from several Members of the House, existed the evening he wrote, that Mr. Cobbett had absconded.

I may also add that *another noble lord* stated in my presence at a public dinner last week, that this report was *very general in London* at the period in question.

I am, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
T. P. SLAPP.

E. C. Faithfull, Esq.

Having now got the proof of the libel of the Marquis, or the means of proving that SLAPP was a liar, I wrote to the former the following letter, which I published in the Register of the 29th of January:—

Bolt-Court, Jan. 27th, 1820.

My Lord,

I have been informed that, a few weeks ago, your Lordship, by letter, told a Clergymen the Church of England, that the *King some of the Priests had been brought home to me*, and that, in consequence, *I had absconded*. The object of this present letter is, to request your Lordship to have the goodness to inform me whether you ever did communicate, in the manner above mentioned, such information; and to apprise you, at the same time, that this letter will be published in the next Register, and also any answer that your Lordship may be pleased to give thereto.

I am, your Lordship's most humble and most obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.

To the Marquis of Blandford.

To this letter I received the following answer:—

January, 29th, 1820.

Sir,—I have never stated "that the Guilt

him, that the law regards, as reason regards, the *handing about of a lie* to be to tell a lie. A man is not to shelter himself against the charge of lying and slandering by saying, or even proving, that the lies and slanders were current in other people's mouths. If I were to say of a man that he was a nasty, lazy, squandering ass, who had made himself a beggar by his gambling; had been chased off the turf as a black-legs, and had turned patriot merely because he had nothing left to lose; if I were to say that this was reported of a man, even though I brought my authority, which this most noble fellow does not, to be answerable for the statement,

sure, as completely as if it had been told with myself. The character would be in a pretty situation, *if slanders were to be screened by a justification of this sort*. The person is open to prosecution as well as the most noble Marquis, for he handed about the calumny himself: and were it not for the condition of forgiveness implied in the second paragraph of Mr. Faithfull's letter, I would pull up the parson yet, and go down to the Assizes at Norwich, and paint this minister of peace and charity in his true colours.

The circumstance of the report being *"very general"* in the House of Commons and in the different Club-houses, only makes the retelling of it so much the worse. Of the House of Commons

the Pica has been traced to Cobbett, and this he has absconded."—I have only to add that this Report was very general in the House of Commons and in the different Club Houses on the day on which I added this Postscript to the letter addressed to the Reverend Gentleman you have alluded to.

I am Sir, your most obedient servant,
BLANDFORD.

Now, my friends, you have all the case before you. The parson did not like a showing up in a court of justice, which I certainly would have given him, for the sake of the cloth; and, if I do not give the Marquis such a showing up (and I do not say that I will not yet), it is because I despise him and his report too; otherwise I would teach

were pretty places to pick up a slanderous report to be sent of to a gabbling Parson-justice, that he might send it off all over a great county, an object which he set about accomplishing with all possible speed. Mind, too, the opening of the letter, to clap the thing in a postscript; so like a gossiping, malignant parson's wife; so like any thing but a gentleman; and when the public are informed, that more than six weeks had not passed over the writer's head between the writing of this slanderous postscript to the Parson and his writing to me, the man, whom he was slandering, a most friendly letter, expressing a desire to cooperate with me in the cause

of parliamentary reform, and that, too, without my having written to him on the subject! When the public are told this, I may safely leave it to them to characterize the writer.

The main thing to observe upon here is, however, the simultaneous movement that was going on. We have before seen *Bloody Old Times*, the cause of Crowhurst, Walter Burrell and Co., and Trevor and his reporters, all as busy as wasps round a honey-pot; all in the hum of zealous exertion; but Blandford and Sharp let us in to the verbal slander that was going on. From those respectable places where the Marquis says that he picked up his slander, I dare say that hundreds upon hundreds of letters went off to the parsons, and other tax-eaters, in every part of the kingdom; well might the report be very general that I had absconded. Scores of persons came to Bolt-court to inquire about the matter, and were surprised to hear that I was still in England. Men are so prone to believe that that which they wish to happen will happen, that they rush hastily to conclusions; first deceive themselves by their hopes, and then deceive others by their too eager expectations. By the time that the wish reaches the third or fourth pair of lips, it becomes an accomplished event; and thus were the fools and the knives of the Hells deceived by their own stupid malignity. Trevor's motion was only the outward and visible sign of the secret workings that were going on. I knew this well. I could judge, from the columns of *Bloody Old Times*, what was going on in the Hells and amongst all the tax-eaters; but I knew that the beasts had deceived themselves, and every good man that spoke to me on the subject will say that I treated the machinations with scorn. The stupid houses did not wish to make any stir with me, except the *Bloody Old Times*, which cured nothing about the noise of the column, so that injury were inflicted on me. The tax and tithes laws only wanted me to be silenced; and, above all things, driven out of the country. They had it in their recollection that I was so

driven in 1817; and they had a vague hope that I should be frightened to do the same again. They forgot that there were three points in which the circumstances were totally different. First, I had then two bondsmen bound in sums of two or three thousand pounds each, for my good behaviour for two years and a half then to come; and which bonds would have been forfeited by a conviction for libel. Second, I had then seven children, the oldest of them not more than seventeen, and the youngest of them only three. He that was then three is now six feet high; and, instead of little children to rear up and provide for, I have, by God's blessing and my own industry and care and example, sons to support me. Third, and greatest of all, I HAVE NOW DONE MY WORK. I have written, since the day I stepped on board to go to Long Island, fifteen copyright books, exclusive of the Register. But, above all things, I have, by the History of the PARSONS' RESISTANCE, which I first resolved upon in Long Island, made it utterly impossible that this church establishment, which has so long been my bitter persecutor, can long remain what it now is. In short, look at the petitions that come pouring in from all parts of the kingdom; look at the pamphlets; look even at the newspapers, and put your finger, if you can, on a passage containing real and efficient hostility to the system which I have so detested, and say, if you can, that I am not the maker of the nation's mind. I had only begun my work in 1817; I have now done it. If I can help it, my carcass shall not be swung from a tree, or crammed into a dungeon to rot; but either of these shall be done so that carcass before it shall be driven to quit English ground. It is very curious that I have, for a long while, entertained a wish to go to Paris (where I never was), to go to Madrid and to Rome; and had begun to think of preparations for the journey once or twice; but always, when it has come to the point, I have shrunk back from it, under the apprehension of affording bloody villains a pretext to say that I had turned

my back on my foes. When I went on my tour into Kent and Sussex, last fall, it was settled that my wife should go over to St. Omer's, and stay awhile with her youngest son, who is there learning to speak French; but, by the time I got to Rochester, I reflected that the ruffians might say that it was my intention to follow; and therefore though I did it with great sorrow, wrote home, positively forbidding the journey.

Abscond, indeed! Here is an impudent fellow, to talk of *my* absconding. A pretty set, indeed, in the House of Commons and the Hells, to make *an* *suspension of Habeas Corpus Acts, dungeoning bills, gagging bills,* they may *put down the press altogether*; they may do what they like, but never shall they make me *abscond, or quit English ground*. I have *done my work*; I have firmly planted the *tree*; and, please God, will remain to see and taste the fruit, so that Blandford and Slapp, and all the whole crew of tax-eaters and tithe-eaters, may console themselves with the assurance, that, let them or others do what they may, *they will not get rid of me.*

It appears from Slapp's letter that there was another "noble" lord who had heard the same report that Blandford had heard, and who was equally zealous in spreading it about Norfolk. This "noble" babbling slanderer would do better to mind his own affairs, I believe; to go along and set his chuckle-head to work to find out the means of paying the interest of the Debt in full tale, and in sovereigns of full weight and fineness; and find out the means of keeping his own estate, if he has any. And as to Parson Slapp, instead of busying himself with slanders on me let him set to work and answer *Cobbett's Protestant Reformation; Cobbett's Text Sermon; and Cobbett's Two-penny Trash*, No. 7; let him go and answer these, and contrive to make farmers and labourers believe that he ought to have the tithes of two parishes: let him do this, and let justices-of-peaceing alone, or, at any rate, the fellow will do well

to let me alone for the future; for if I hear of any more of his back-biting and eaves-dropping, I will go, yet, and give him a roasting before a judge and jury at Norwich.

WM. COBBETT.

THE GAME-LAWS.

WITH very great pleasure I perceive that Lord ALTHORP has brought in a bill for altering the game-laws, which includes the abolition of that horrible act, which has furnished a subject of my most bitter complaints for about twenty years; namely, the act which enabled the SOUVENS to transport for seven years, from their court of quarter-sessions, any man found poaching in the night. Thus were men, claiming an exclusive right to these wild animals; men appointed and removed at the pleasure of the Government, authorized to execute this tremendous power over all their poor neighbours. PEARL disapproved (aye, to be sure!) of this part of the measure. He suggested to Lord Althorp *not to attempt to alter the laws respecting poaching by night.* The Attorney-General wished "that the right hon. Baronet had not adopted the tone of discouragement, which he had made use of. He requested his noble Friend not to give up that part of his bill which got rid of the severe Penal Laws against night poaching. *The crime was the result of the laws. The Common Law was sufficient to punish these offences, and they ought not to be left to be punished by an extraordinary law made by the landowners, and executed by game preservers.* The difference between the mild punishments of a judge at the assize and of the justices at the quarter-sessions had a very material effect in confusing in the minds of the people the notions of right and wrong."

Never was any thing more true, and never any thing said in a more manly manner, than this. Wiltshire BENNETT denied the frequency of severity on the subject, at the quarter-sessions."

Go and look at the calendars, Bennett, and then you will see who it is that has filled the jails with poachers. So true it is that the judges have been lenient compared with the justices, that it is not long since they were *abused in both Houses of Parliament for this very leniency*. This law has done more to alienate the working people from the owners of the land, than all the other hardships and cruelties put together. For my part, I have petitioned both Houses of Parliament twice for the repeal of this law: I have always represented it as a source of the greatest danger to the peace of the country: my readers can bear me witness how often I have represented it as the source of everlasting heart-burnings in every village in the kingdom. How many men, fine and able and enterprising men, has this cruel law sent to perish in slavery, or to swing on the ignominious gallows, confounding, as the Attorney-General said, in the minds of the people, all notions of right and wrong, hardening their hearts, and preparing them for acts of atrocious ferocity, whenever the occasion should serve. Hampshire will recollect throughout the present generation, the hanging of the two young men whom Judge Burrowes left there for execution, and whose crime was having resisted gamekeepers belonging to Lord Palmerston and Ashton Smith. Resistance, arising solely out of this cruel law, which, as the Attorney-General so well expressed it, was the *cause of the crimes*. The grey hairs of how many fathers and mothers has this law brought in sorrow to the grave! How many widows has it made! How many, good God, how many, fatherless children! And this, too, observe, solely for the preservation of the SPORTS of the rich.

And yet the *Pearson Cook* "did not anticipate that much good would result from the measure." I do anticipate much good; and this is one of the very things that I recommended to the ministers in my Register of the 22nd of January, as the *effectual means of putting an end to the fires*. With respect to the other parts of the bill, I have not had time to consider them; but

this part of it is an unequivocal good; and it is valuable too, as showing the really considerate, merciful and benevolent disposition of those who have brought it in. People who live in towns, or who live in the country and are not well acquainted with the habits, propensities, and feelings of the labouring people, can form no idea of the importance of this measure. It is millions, and many millions, of men and of women who will feel grateful for this measure, regarding it as a step on the return to former free and happy days. The county rates will soon feel the effects of it. All men that have any justice in them, when they come to consider it in all its natural effects, will exult in its adoption, and will leave to the *Pearson Cook* the melancholy non-anticipation of any good as the result.

WM. COBBETT.

PEARSON COCK.

The Parliamentary report, in the *Morning Herald*, of the 15th instant, contains the following passage:—"ROBERT TUNDA MEETINGS.—Mr. HUNT, in presenting a petition from certain persons meeting at the Rotunda, said that it complained of the conduct of the judges on the late commission. He felt himself called upon to observe that he had been threatened and denounced by the party to which the petitioners belonged, solely because he had on a previous occasion disclaimed in that House all connexion with them, or participation in their views. So far, however, from being intimidated by these threats, he now reiterated his former assertion, and, should the House not protect him, he knew very well how to protect himself—(a LAUGH)." This "laugh" was, as I am told by a gentleman who was present, not a *heric*-laugh nor a merry laugh; but a sort of a *hal* laugh, uttered with the chin twisted, the lips lifted, and the nose drawn up, as if the olfactory, as well as the risible, nerves had been affected. This report may be a fabrication on the part of the reporters,

for any-thing that I know to the contrary; but, I find the thing *published*, and, as a publication, I remark on it. What! the *Preston Cock* call for the protection of others, and those others that very body, too, whom he so be- called and so expressed his contempt of, when on his progress from Preston to London! It can never be! It must be an invention of the *reporter*! What! he, who is called the "*Preston Cock*," because, in that town, his flags repre- sented him as a *red game cock*, clapping his wings and crowing, while STANLEY was, upon the same flags, represented as a *yellow dunghill cock, running away*. HE call on the House for protection! But, then, as to the *feasibility* of the thing called for, how is the House to protect him against the tongues or pens of those whom he, or his *reporter*, chooses, by name, to stig- matize in publications, books, or pur- porting to be, reports, or speeches made in that House! "intimidated" (oh! oh! what a fine a- fraid!) and he knows *very well* how to defend himself." Nobody says the contrary; but I do remember that, at a county meeting at Winchester, in 1817, there was a good-for-nothing saucy fellow, under the Grand Jury chamber-window, who, as soon as he began to open his mouth, held up a long wand with a *white feather* tied on at the end of it; and I did not see any-body able "to protect" him against that. I did not see any punishment inflicted, or attempted to be inflicted, for that daring breach of privilege. As to his disclaiming all connexion with these petitioners, and all participation in their views, I leave them and him to settle that matter between them, until, at least, I know what their petition con- tained; and this I beg some one or other of them to have the goodness to let me know as soon as possible, as I shall want it for my "*Letter to the peo- ple of Preston*," which will be published on the 1st of March, in *No. 2 of the Two-penny Trash*.

WM. COBBETT,

Bolt Court, 17th of Feb. 1831.

PARLIAMENT.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Feb. 3.

Nothing of consequence in either House.

Feb. 4.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Nothing of consequence; but in the HOUSE OF COMMONS,

REFORM.—A good many petitions praying for this measure, and almost all of them desiring that the *ballot* may form a part of it.

CIVIL LIST.—LORD ALTHORP brought forward his plan for the Civil List. He proposed a committee of inquiry into it, so that we shall hear much more of this matter. It will not be forgotten that it was this thing, the Civil List, that bundled out the Duke; and now let us see what his successors would be at with it. (Out of a million of money, there is a reduction of 20,000! proposed! and not one pension to be touched!) I have always said that nothing but a reformed parliament CAN do what is wanted; and now see, then, that I am right. I give you short extract from Lord Althorp's speech. He said—

It is necessary for me to explain the ground on which I do not propose to remove any of the existing pensions, and I will state them shortly. It is certainly true, and no man is more ready to assert it than I am, that many of the pensions on the list are such as ought never to have been granted (hear, hear); but after the best examination I have been able to give the subject, I am able to say that the majority are *merely and purely pensions of charity*. I willingly admit that we have the legal right to put an end to all those pensions; they expire, by law, with the demise of the Crown, and it has no right to renew them. But though we may have a legal right, I doubt if we have an equitable right, to abolish them; because they were undoubtedly always granted on the supposition that the party receiving them obtained them for life. The result of my statement unques- tionably is, that there is no immediate saving to the public. When I say that there is no immediate saving, it ought not perhaps to be understood that there is a saving to the extent of about 20,000*l.*; but I do not put it forward so far as a measure of economy.

Mr. HURDIS observations upon this were excellent. He said,—
He should only now say generally, that the

estimate considerably exceeded what he hoped it would have been, and he was satisfied that a great reduction might and ought to be made. Looking at the list of pensions now before the House, he could not find one name in fifty of a person who had ever been at all connected with the crown. That was in itself quite enough to prove the necessity of those pensions coming under the consideration of Parliament every year. He, for one, could not consent to the giving ninety-eight thousand pounds of the public money, to be paid away in pensions at the uncontrolled disposal of the Minister. The noble Lord had, on a former occasion, said that the country could no longer be governed by patronage; he (Mr. Hunt) hoped that the noble Lord may also be convinced that it could no longer be governed by corruption. He had said that the greater part of those pensions were, in fact, charitable donations. Now he (Mr. Hunt) was of opinion, that if peers were unable to maintain themselves suitably to their rank, from their own estates, they ought not to do so upon public charity, but to lay down their titles. (Laughter.) The peerage was instituted by the constitution to stand between the crown and the people; but it was not contemplated by the constitution, that, when unable to keep their places in the state, they should be supported by the people. (Hear.) When the question would come to be discussed in the Committee, he should certainly propose that each individual pension should be examined separately. (Hear, hear.) If he could not effect that examination thoroughly in the Committee, he would do so in the House. Their time could not be better occupied, even should the inquiry occupy them until June. (Laughter.) His view of the subject was supported by law, according to which all pensions cease upon the demise of the crown. Therefore, pledge of the present Government, the law, and the claims of the country, were now all with him. The pensioning, indeed, was said to be charity; but he thought that charity ought to begin at home. (Laughter.) It was the duty of the House to consider that the distress of the country had been occasioned by the pressure of taxation, of which so great a part was imposed for the maintenance of pauper peers. Who were the fitter objects of the charitable consideration of the House? The distressed people of England, or the peers who had relations rich enough to provide for them? To support such persons with the money of the people was not charity—it was profusion and extravagance. (Hear.) It was a time for Parliament to interfere and put an end to the system. He trusted that Ministers would not allow a false delicacy to prevent them from fulfilling their promise of retrenchment.

Look back once more at the motto, reader. Read that over once more.

Mr. HUNT said, he heard with great pain the statement made by the noble Lord oppo-

sition, for he felt that it would occasion deep disappointment to the country at large, he felt that it would disappoint those expectations which the people were entitled to form from the earnest which the present Government held out to the nation. When he spoke of the people, he spoke of those most interested in the matter then under consideration; he spoke of those by whom the means of defraying the expenses of the Civil List were supplied; he spoke of the industrious and useful classes of society—the productive portion of the population, and not the drones by whom every thing was sustained. In the present moment of deep and overpowering distress, the people were looking up to the new Administration in the hope and confidence, that on their first appearance before Parliament and the public, they would come forward with a proposition for the relief of those wants which it was impossible adequately to describe, and scarcely possible to endure. The Civil List certainly formed but a small portion of the expenditure of the nation; but the proposition of the Government would go forth as an earnest of their intentions, and the decision of the House would go forth as an earnest of its intentions, and of what the country had to expect from both. On the subject of the noble Lord's statement, he did not agree with the hon. Member for Cricklade, that there was any mystification in it—it was, unfortunately, but too clear. He had before that night imagined that it was always the object of Government to mystify matters of that sort, and of every sort connected with the expenditure of the country. He had always given them the fullest credit for mystification; but on that occasion he must do them the justice to say, that they had evinced no disposition to mystify. He trusted that as he was so young a Member, they would extend to him the indulgence he had experienced required, and give him credit for every word he uttered, in the delivery of his sentiments, approaching towards personal offence, or want of that respect towards the regulations of the House, which he should be at all times willing to manifest; but having been sent there by the people, and having been returned in a very extraordinary manner by a great body of the people, without any solicitation on his part, and even without his knowledge, he felt that he should disappoint the expectations which they had a right to form, if he permitted that opportunity to pass without giving expression to the considerations which the conduct of the Government unavoidably suggested. He confessed, it appeared to him, that the winds of the question then before the House had been that night argued as if the people had nothing at all to do with the matter—as though it was a matter entirely between the crown and the House—as though the House were to pay so much money out of their own pockets to the crown—and that there was no such thing in this country as a

people from whose hard earnings alone could the sums under discussion be drawn. He could assure the House that no man was *more sensible than himself how much a friend to his people was the present King*. The King of England proved that he felt for his people, while his Ministers had betrayed a very opposite disposition of mind. In substance and effect the noble Lord had told them that there was no relief to be expected on the motion of the Civil List. Now, he desired to learn why it was the former Government had found themselves under the necessity of resigning? What was it that broke up the former Government, and called the present Ministers to fill their places? Nothing more or less than this, that the former Government told the Parliament, and through them the people, that no relief could be afforded through the medium of the Civil List—that in that department there could be no reduction of the public expenditure. (Hear, hear.) It was upon this ground, then, that he affirmed the disappointment which could not fail to be generally felt from the course which his Majesty's Government had thought proper to pursue. It was *not for him to determine what might be too much or too little for the Civil List, but he too well understood, and too painfully felt, what the people were able to pay*. If all the Members of that House were to visit the wretched dwellings which recently it had been his distressing lot to enter, they could not but agree with him, that so far from being able to continue the endurance of the heavy burdens laid upon the people, they were in a condition demanding instant and extensive relief. In presenting a petition yesterday he had an opportunity of stating a fact, which had he then known he certainly should have stated, but the knowledge of which only reached him by means of a letter since received. It was, that in one of the districts whence that petition came the working people were not able to earn more on an average than from 4s. 6d. to 5s. a week; and from what he saw at another place in the same county, he could declare most conscientiously, that he readily believed that statement. When he was at Preston one Sunday, instead of going to church (a laugh), he went round to the habitations of a considerable number of the poor parsons resident in that town and its vicinity. The highest sum that any of them could earn was 6s. a week. Their breakfast was oatmeal broth—their mid-day meal was potatoes, and oatmeal broth again in the evening; they paid 6l. a year for the wretched hovel in which they inhabited; 2s. a quarter for taxes; and 2s. a quarter for the clergy, with 1d. for each chimney in the miserable dwelling. He inquired of them how long since any of them had new clothes, and could not learn that any of them had bought a new garment within the last five years; they never were able to compass anything beyond second-hand clothes, and the poor unhappy beings were so ragged and dirty

that they could not think of going to church. He called upon those who attached so much importance to religious and moral instruction, to ask themselves how they could even indirectly be accessory to a system that kept the people in a condition in which they were unable to attend public worship—so ragged, so miserable, so filthy, so destitute even of soap to clean themselves, that every one of them was compelled to remain at home, and never to visit their parish church. They were taxed in bread, they were taxed in beer, soap, candles, and even in potatoes, and all that with the Pension List, which was now to be submitted to Parliament. They had been told that all of those pensions legally expired at the demise of the crown. Why, then, he would ask, not abolish the whole Pension List, and allow the King to grant all the pensions anew to such only as deserved them? There was not a petition presented to that House which touched upon the subject of the public distress, or the financial difficulties of the country, without calling for a reduction of the Pension List. It was the unanimous demand of the people, that all pensions be abolished except those which had been merited by acknowledged public services. If those petitions were to be definitively answered in the manner in which his Majesty's Government then proposed they should be answered, the people would be driven to despair, from whence the transition to disturbance was easy, and but too certain. *He was not the man to say elsewhere what he should be assumed to repeat in that House*; but as long as he was a Member of that House he hoped and trusted that he should so conduct himself as never to fail in respect towards any individual Member, or towards the House collectively; (hear, hear, hear;) but with every wish to be governed by such a feeling, he would call upon the House to demand information respecting the property derived from the Duchy of Lancaster. It was the duty of the House to see all that the crown possessed. He was not one of those who called for any reduction of what was necessary for the ease and comfort of the crown, but let the means for promoting that be seen and understood. He was perfectly sensible of the disposition which his Majesty had shown to contribute to the relief of his people. The King was justly so popular that anything in which the Ministers failed would be laid at their own door, and not at that of the King; for example, nothing could more merit the gratitude of the people than the manner in which his Majesty had declined the offer for the Queen of 50,000l. How different was the conduct of the Ministers! the reason their conduct formed a bad earnest for the future was, that it afforded indication that they had no intention of reducing their own salaries. He remembered well when those salaries were raised to the present high amount—when a message came from the Crown recommending an increase of the incomes of the several Members of the Royal Family, and the high Officers of State, on the

ground that every article of life had risen one hundred fold, and that, therefore, the King, the Royal Family, the Judges, and the other Officers of State, could no longer live upon their former incomes—but out of whose pockets were those incomes to come? Out of the pockets of those who themselves were called upon likewise to pay for every necessary of life at an enhanced price. He thought that if that consideration had been mentioned at the time, it would have had the effect of preventing so unjust an arrangement. As matters then stood, he hoped the House would not let it go forth that there was to be no reduction in the Civil List—no reduction in the Pension List. Though it was intimated that there was to be a reduction of one-half in the Pension List, he must take the liberty of saying that, substantially, there was no such reduction. It would be little, then, to the credit or advantage of the present Government, to have it go forth in the papers of the following morning, that just expectations of the people were to be disappointed, and that the present Ministry, like the last, were pursuing a course calculated to drive the people to despair. In making that observation, however, he felt bound in justice to bear testimony to the humanity and wisdom which the Government had recently shown in respect to the unhappy persons who had been tried and found guilty in the disturbed districts—that proceeding was more calculated to restore tranquillity than any other which they could adopt, and he sincerely hoped that these merciful dispositions would be carried still further; under the influence of such a sentiment, he intended on an early day to move an Address to the Crown, praying for a General Amnesty to the whole of those unhappy beings—if such an act as that was passed—(cries of question). He apologised to the House if he had departed in the slightest degree from the precise question under consideration. *He should be ashamed of himself if he wilfully travelled out of any question which he might take a share in discussing*, at the same time, that he should be still more ashamed of himself—if, sent to that House by poor and honest men, who lived by the sweat of their brow and the toil of their hands, he did not deliver his sentiments manfully and sincerely—if he did not make an humble, though earnest, appeal to his Majesty and to his Ministers on so pressing an occasion."

This is the maiden speech of the member of parliament, to be sure; but from the expressions of extreme humility, the prayers for indulgence on account of the "young member," the great reluctance to give "personal offence," or even offence to the "regulations of the House;" but, above all when "he hoped and trusted that he should so conduct himself as never to

fail in respect towards any individual member, or towards the House collectively;" from all these sayings one would really have thought him a diffident, heartless boy, taking his station before his time amongst men.—But, is this the man that made the speech at the dinner at Manchester? Is this the man that swore by the living God what he would do; and swore away 'till the company (good, innocent, believing company!) stood up in rapture, and gave three cheers to hail the oath? Is this the same man? This the man who called them "rips," accused them of uttering "Billingsgate" outdoing the first of the oyster season; this the man who compared with blackguards of St. Giles's, low blackguards, drunken blackguards, those whom he is now so anxious not to offend in any manner, either "PERSONALLY" or "collectively;" is this the same man? "Body o me;" if it be the same, sure he must have been "planet-stricken!"

SIR JAMES GRAHAM (who was for some moments inaudible) said, in reference to the speeches of the hon. members for Cricklade and Preston, that he should gladly have the benefit of their assistance, to enable him to determine whether or not the speech of the "hon. member for Durham was intelligible. As to the particular question under consideration, he thought he had a right, on behalf of his colleagues and himself, to claim from hon. members a little indulgence, in the way of time. He thought they were entitled to a little forbearance from those who had expressed so high an opinion of their honesty. Before they decided, something ought to be seen of the measures of the Government. The hon. member for Preston had treated the House with respect; and though recollecting the constituency who sent him there, he did not forget what was due to the House. On that ground, he (Sir James Graham) should treat the hon. member with forbearance."

MORE PENSIONS.—Mr. HUME said there was another class of pensions well deserving the consideration of the House, on account of the abuses of them. The 67th of George III was passed at a time when there was a great reduction of sinecures, with a view of giving to the Sovereign the power of rewarding his public servants. But the manner in which that Act had been carried into execution had led to great abuses. He found that persons received pensions three times more valuable than their services. He found pensions granted to persons who had 50,000*l.* a year. There was a pension of 1500*l.* a year granted

to the Governor of Madras, who had also a salary of 10,000*l.* a year. That was an abuse never contemplated by the Act. He found that Lord Sidmouth had a pension of 3000*l.* a year, Mr. Lushington 2000*l.*, Mr. Goulbourn 2000*l.*, Mr. Hamilton 1800*l.*, Mr. Craker 1500*l.*, Mr. Courtenay 1800*l.*, Mr. Hobhouse 1000*l.*, Mr. Platts 1000*l.*, and Lord Bexley 3000*l.* The services of these gentlemen were never worth 3000*l.* That was his conscientious opinion. He considered that most of these pensions were a pure waste of the public money, and he appealed to the hon. Member for Dorset, whether the bill had not disappointed him? The hon. Member concluded by moving for a return of all persons entitled to pensions under the 57th Geo. III. chap. 55, and the 4th of Geo. IV. chap. 90 stating the names of those persons, and the amount of their pensions, and the length of the services for which they were granted.

February 7.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Lord King's discussion about tithes, which has already been in the Register. See No. 7 of this volume.—Nothing particular in the House of Commons.

February 8.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Lord King's further discussion about tithes, which also see in No. 7 of this volume.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

PARDON AND AMNESTY.—This night came on the motion of the Member for Preston for the pardon of the labourers convicted under the special commissions, and in moving for which the only thing which he seems to have done, is, to make a weak case as it were on purpose to afford the Government an opportunity of sending all over the country a comparatively strong one. For, the reasoning in every mind is, of course, this: "Here is all that can be said in their behalf; and, as a part of that all consists of unqualified denunciations of the 'ruffian incendiaries,' the 'mob,' and so on, why then, really, until mobs and ruffian incendiaries are looked upon as innocent things, governments cannot but put them down somehow." This is what every sober man would say upon reading this speech. Not one argument worth a straw; not a fact that was not either

flatly contradicted afterwards, or (without answer) so completely turned to the disadvantage of the poor fellows, as to produce a conviction of the justness of treating the motion with the monstrous contempt which it met with. But what can be expected in a speech which begins: "If honourable Gentlemen in that House, possessed of every talent, endowment, and eloquence (every talent, every endowment, EVERY ELOQUENCE!) thought it necessary to claim the indulgence of the House, how much more necessary must it be for him, about as he was, humbly, respectfully," &c.? What can be expected when the great turns white so soon; for really there had not been any thing that we see to alarm so much; nothing but the ordinary mace, the ordinary speaker's wig; nothing that could cause such crawling upon the very belly, if one compares it with any line of the speeches out of doors; that at Manchester, at Birmingham, or even here in Stamford-street, where a tart allusion to Government practices arose in the circumstance of a pickpocket being seen in the crowd. The Government is thanked by him for its humanity; Lord Melbourne is particularly thanked; the mob is riotous, and the incendiaries ruffian. Well, then, really all seems right. At any rate there could be no want of a Parliamentary office to transact such business as this! Nothing done yet that might not have been done full as well without any assistance; but much in this speech that had been better left undone. It was not to call the starved labourers of England mob and ruffians that he was sent into that House. I cannot insert this oration, for it is too long; but I observe that it seems to have produced continued roars of laughter, instead of attention; and displaying, to be sure, some specimens of learning that were enough to set a school-room in a roar. Motion negatived without a division.

IRELAND.—Expressly by way of contrast, one would think, O'GORMAN MAHON rose to move for some papers relative to Ireland. He seems to have been treated rather sneeringly by the

House, and, therefore, instantly began one of the boldest, one of the most really manly, attacks upon a whole host of opponents that I ever read or heard of. Exposed to the ministers and their adherents, to all the lawyers, to the law ministers, and to the shoy-boys (led by Sir Francis Burdett), he battled away through a storm such as really might have daunted a man of his years and experience. Indeed, he seems to have been put out by it; he seems to have been bewildered; not to know where he left off at the last interruption; but it was the forgetfulness of a man whose blood was roused. Everybody that I have heard speak of this, speaks in admiration of this young man's conduct. Had he but more experience, how he might have dealt about him in his reply. Burdett denounced the "agitator" O'Connell. The "agitator"! Oh, if O'GORMAN MAHON had but recollected the days of Brentford agitation; had he but recollected the processions to Brentford, with men on the tops of coaches, hired to wear chains and clank them as they went along; had he but recollected the speeches at Brentford, the placards, the resistance of the Speaker's warrant, the barricading the house in Piccadilly; all without any agitation or intention to agitate, no doubt; if O'GORMAN MAHON had only recollected these things, how he might have retorted!

Sir F. BURDETT remarked, that the Government was in an awkward predicament, and that the hon. Member near him and others, who like him professed to support them, pursued a line of conduct calculated to cause them much annoyance. If they called that backing their friends (a plague on such backing!), he would only say, the Government would find more difficulty in avoiding these side attacks than any fair and adverse motions which might be brought to bear on them by declared opponents. He compared the indiscriminate attack of the hon. Member for Clare on all men and all parties in that House, to the conduct of one of his own countrymen at a fair, who laid about with his stick, breaking, indiscriminately, the heads of friends and foes. Long as was the speech of that hon. Member, it was difficult to pick out any one thing which admitted of a required answer. There was simply a string of general remarks, in which he reflected on Irishmen, the best friends of Ireland, and on the

Whigs of England, who had fought the battles of the Catholics for half a century, and thereby precluded themselves from the enjoyment of office, and those stations which were an object of ambition to all honourable men. From what had fallen from the hon. Member, it would appear that Deas Swift's assertion, "That what was true every-where else was not so in Ireland," was well founded; and it would even seem that words bore a different signification in Ireland from what they did every-where else, and therefore when Roman Catholics talked of gratitude without end, they must have meant gratitude without a beginning. (Cheers and laughter.) He must say, that he had never heard anything with more surprise than the tirade of the hon. Member for Clare against the Whigs, which has re-echoed from the great agitator at the other side of the water.

February 9.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Nothing of consequence.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

DISSECTION.—Colonel LYON presented a petition from the Surgical and Medical Society of Worcester-shire, praying for the removal of all difficulties in the way of obtaining subjects for dissection.

Devil! what ALL difficulties, Colonel LYON! The greatest difficulty of all, you know, Colonel, is, not being allowed to commit murder! That is to say, this is the *prime difficulty*. Why we shall be chopped at as we walk along the streets, Colonel, if all the difficulties should be removed; and the utmost lenity that we can expect, is, that, in their tender mercies, the petitioners will content themselves with a slice of a limb, instead of the whole carcass.

Mr. WARBURTON said, that it was not his intention to renew his bill in the present session, but that he had not relinquished the subject, and would probably bring in a bill respecting it in the next session of parliament.

For God's sake do not, Mr. WARBURTON! Do not, I say; for, if you do, you will only get the whole THING into more discredit than it now reels under. It can hardly carry what it has on its back; but pass this, and you will have the whole nation in uproar. History tells us of nations fighting for their property, their liberty, their religion, but pass this law, and we shall have a living nation fighting for its manes!

ROTUNDA-DENOUNCEMENTS.

Here the Member for Preston presented a petition from Mr. Hetherington, about Mr. O'Connell's trial; and he took occasion to denounce me (amongst others). I have done myself justice in the Register, No. 7, of this volume; and will only now remark, that having in his "*proceedings*" denounced the House of Commons in language that I have preserved in some of my remarks on his speeches, he now, *being in the House*, being amongst those whom he so becalled when out of it; he now lays about him on all who are *out of the House*. That is to say, he has made his beginning. The *mob*, the *ruffian incendiaries*; the *farmers*, who, he says, are the instigators of the ruffians, and, lastly, me and the whole Rotunda! So that our turn seems to be now come. Denounce any-body but the man with whom he is standing foot to foot.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Friday, Feb. 10.

TITHES.—Lord KING, on presenting some more Tithe petitions, wished to suggest to the right reverend Prelates, that they would act prudently, under the excited state of public feeling, if they would inform the country, not his Lordship, what was the plan they intended to propose. That would tend to allay the irritation of the people, and the country would know what it had to look to. He submitted that to the consideration of the right reverend prelates. When he first presented a petition to their Lordships on the subject of tithes, on Monday, he believed he stated that he would argue the question solely as a simple political economist, and he had not made a single observation on many of the questions which had attracted attention. He had not said one word about pluralities, nor one word about non-residence—the whole of those subjects had been brought forward by the over-zeal of a right reverend prelate in defending the church. That right reverend prelate had charged the lay patrons with being the cause of non-residence, and had provoked the whole discussion. The right reverend prelate said that they had smothered a bill for preventing non-residence; but when his noble friend (the Earl of Radnor) asked the right reverend prelate to specify the bill, he had not given a very satisfactory account. He believed that he could give a better account than was given by the right reverend prelate. He was old enough to remember, that about twenty-five years ago an attorney excited a great sensation by the number of *qui tam* actions he brought to recover the penalties of a great

number of clergymen for non-residence. It was necessary to check these actions; they were an attack on the church in the tenderest part. Chancellors and lawyers, and civilians and clergymen, were all consulted how to prevent these *qui tam* actions. The informatics were laid, no doubt, for the penalties, and the informer had law then equally against persons who were altogether absent from their parishes, and against those who resided in their parishes, but did not live in the parsonage. This was an error. The learned lawyers, civilians, and chancellors, smote their foreheads to find out how they might relieve the church from the terror of these proceedings, and they suggested the means. Sir William Scott, he believed, brought a bill into the other House by which the *qui tams* were to be put an end to. The bill was sent down to Oxford to receive the suggestions of that learned body for its improvement, in order to render the bill more effectual. The bill purported to be a bill to make the clergy reside; the real object of it was to allow them to be non-resident; and no bill, he believed, had ever more effectually answered its real purpose. The lay patrons were accused of causing the non-residence, but there was no reason to believe from the *qui tam* actions that only their incumbents failed to reside. He believed that it was found, that as many non-residents were among the dignitaries of the church as among the incumbents who derive their situations from lay patrons. He remembered that the bill he had alluded to was opposed very much by a noble Earl, then in the other House, who was as much distinguished for his zeal against the Curates' Bill, as he was since distinguished in that House for his zealous support of all measures of reforming corrupt boroughs. That noble Earl had then fought with him in the good cause night after night, and hit hard at abuses—very hard—harder than he now hit the reformers, though he had snapped at his (Lord King's) fingers the other night. He did not now hit so hard as formerly. The right reverend prelate had charged the laymen with being the cause of non-residence, and he hoped, therefore, that the right reverend prelate would agree to a return of all persons holding pluralities, distinguishing whether they were held under lay or ecclesiastical patronage, including ecclesiastical corporations. Such a return would show whether more pluralities were held under lay or under ecclesiastical patronage, and their Lordships would see which class was most deserving of the accusation of causing non-residence. It was said, as a sort of excuse for pluralities, that they would greatly increase the number of curates. The curates resided, and not the incumbents. It was said, too, that the curates did the duty as well as the incumbents. But what lesson did that teach the public? It was admitted that the duty was as well done by the curates for one quarter of the salary. The public would be apt to apply to ecclesiastical offices the prin-

ciple that was now acted on in civil offices, where it was found that the deputy did all the duty, namely, to abolish the principal office, and retain only the deputy. It was a dangerous lesson to teach the public, that the curates did the duties of the church better than the incumbents, at one-fourth of the salary. With respect to residence, he must say that he highly approved of the charge of the Bishop of Winchester, who spoke of a benefice without a resident incumbent, as an ecclesiastical solecism. The charge of the right rev. Prelate did him great credit. He objected to tithes as a mode of paying the clergy. They were instituted in a barbarous age, when the state of society was different from its present state, and though tithes might be suitable then, they were unsuitable now. They might suit such a country as Poland, where the land was ploughed; and then left to the care of nature to restore to it what the agriculturist had taken from it. Tithes impeded agriculture, they prevented the application of capital to land; and there was no property more prejudicial than a tax on gross produce. No jury of twelve men would say that any greater benefit could be conferred on the country than a commutation of tithes. He would read to their Lordships an opinion of a gentleman, a very sensible man, as to property; he was a Republican, and therefore his opinion on some subjects would not be much valued by their Lordships. His Lordship accordingly read a short extract from the works of Jefferson, stating that the earth was the great capital stock, and was only inherited by individuals that the produce might be increased. That was Jefferson's opinion. He had placed property on a true foundation. He objected to tithes, that they diminished the produce, and diminished the beneficial effects of the right of property. The noble Lord concluded by presenting a petition from a place in Cambridgeshire, for an alteration in the tithe system.

The Duke of Buckingham required that the petition should be read.

The Clerk read it "a petition for the repeal of the assessed taxes." (A laugh.)

Lord King required that the petition should be read further, and it appeared also to be a petition for a commutation of tithes.

The Earl of Winchester was disposed readily to extend to other noble Lords that indulgence for any difference of sentiment which he himself had frequently received at the hands of their Lordships; but often as such indulgence had been granted to him, he felt that he had no other claim to it than the sincerity with which he had always delivered his sentiments. Viewing the conduct of the noble Baron, as it was shown by his attacks on tithes night after night, and particularly his observations on the established Church of the country, he was constrained to say that he could not give him the credit of sincerity in the professions he continually made of intending, by his observations, to promote the in-

terest of the church. (Hear, hear.) In presenting the petition, the noble Lord had permitted himself to make some unwarrantable personal attacks on some of the most respectable Prelates of the church. (Hear, hear.) He had made repeatedly attacks on that church (hear,) and had always spoken in the most contemptuous manner of the church establishment since he had had a seat in the House. The noble Baron, too, had spoken contemptuously of everything connected with religion, which made it doubtful whether, as the noble Baron could see nothing good in the Established Church, he meant to correct abuses. Whatever the noble Baron might say of the effects of religion, in his humble judgment the clergy of the Established Church were a most respectable class of men; and he maintained that religion was the only sure ground for private virtue and public honesty. It was a proper complaint of a right reverend prelate, on the other evening, that the noble Baron brought forward no measure of his own. He had spoken of all sorts of abuses: of tithes, of non-residence, of pluralities; and had gone into all sorts of questions connected with the church. (Hear, hear.) It was high time that the noble Lord's attacks, which might cause a pernicious effect if they remained unanswered, should be noticed, and he, for one, was determined not to allow attacks to be unanswered which he believed to be most injurious to the best interests of the church and the country. (Hear, hear.) He agreed cordially with the observations made by the noble Earl, the night before last; and he hoped that the good advice of that noble Earl would have been received by the noble Baron in good part. He agreed with the noble Earl, that no individual could trace the conduct of the Established Church for the last twenty years without being convinced that it had made very great improvements, owing to the exertions of the members of the Bench to enforce the residence of the inferior clergy. He was convinced that the clergymen of the Established Church stood as high in general estimation as the clergymen of any church in the world. Would to God that the upper classes possessed an equal influence! He spoke not of the influence of wealth, but of that influence which was founded on character; and he heartily wished that the upper classes possessed as much influence of that kind as the clergy were proved to possess in the late disturbed districts among the misguided peasantry. He would only add, that he would not stand up for abuses, and was prepared to say, that many alterations might take place to improve the Church; but he had no doubt, from the exertions already made by the members of the Bench, that the individuals of that body would correct abuses, and would place the Established Church on the very best footing. He would not sit in that House and hear attacks made on that Church without replying to them; and though he was an inefficient defender, practice might

enable him to meet the noble Baron. If the noble Baron brought forward any measure, he would pay as much attention to it as was proper; but he would not silently hear his attacks. (Hear.)

Lord RAGNOR said that, one of the Reverend Bench started the subject of non-residence, and contended that the heads of non-residence did not rest on the Bishops, but on the lay-impropriators, who possessed so many advowsons. He was old enough to recollect when Lord Stowell, then Sir William Scott, brought the bill to promote the residence of the clergy into the House of Commons, in 1803. He was then in the House of Commons, and remembered that the bill had been, supposedly, sent to Oxford for the revision of the heads of the University, and that when it came back again, Mr. Windham fought it out to the last, and said that it was a bill, not for residence, but for non-residence, and the bill was almost for a whole Session before the House. Was it ever denied that that bill had been shown to and revised by the Bishops? No one ever doubted it. He did not wish to prolong the discussion, but he could not but notice, that the subject of residence had been brought by the heads of the Church under discussion in Parliament, both in 1803, and afterwards in 1817, by the then Archbishop of Canterbury, and yet that their measures had proved inefficient to promote residence. He thought the residence of the clergy a matter of great importance, and was willing that the Bishops should have more power to enforce residence. But they must in the first place put an end to pluralities, as residence and pluralities could not exist together.

February 11.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Nothing of much consequence.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

THE BUDGET. Lord Althorp brought forward this subject; but, as it is amply discussed in the body of this Register, it is not necessary to occupy room by putting in any part of the long speeches made upon this occasion.

FRANCE.

I HAVE not room to publish my son's letters; but they show, that there will speedily be an end of the *chert* that has been going on ever since July.

LEEDS REFORM MEETING.

(Abridged from the Leeds Mercury of Saturday last.)

ON Thursday last a numerous and highly respectable meeting of the inhabitants of this borough, was held in the Court-house, at twelve, at noon, convened by the Mayor, on a requisition from sixty respectable inhabi-

itants, "to consider of the propriety of petitioning Parliament in favour of Parliamentary and economical reform, and particularly for the grant of the elective franchise to Leeds and other popular places." The attendance was such as has never before been seen in this town at a Reform meeting, in point of respectability, wealth, and intelligence; and it afforded the gratifying spectacle of a complete union between all classes of reformers in seeking their grand object.

On the motion of Mr. Clapham,

JOHN MARSHALL, Esq., was called to the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN, Gentlemen, we are now met to take into consideration a subject the most important of any which can come before an assemblage of Englishmen. We have some of us long and anxiously looked forward to the time when our fellow-countrymen would demand their rights to a thorough reform of the representation of a corrupt House of Commons. (Hear, hear.) We have endeavoured to do, as it is our duty, to promote these objects. We have followed it through good and evil report, and hitherto without success; but, we have at last seen one set of Ministers driven from their places by their determination to refuse all Reform. (Hear, hear.) We have seen the formation of another Administration, which has professed to advocate those principles of Reform and Re-arrangement which we think so necessary to the state, and they have pledged themselves to bring those measures forward in Parliament at no distant date. Gentlemen, if they redeem their pledges—if they bring forward such a Reform as the state of the country requires, they will deserve the gratitude of their country, and will have the support of every honest and independent man. (Hear, hear.) As the plan will be produced on the 1st of March next, it behoves us to prepare ourselves for receiving it, to watch over the measure, and to see that those regulations which we consider proper and necessary to the peace and well-being of the town are made.—I mean that the election should be taken in a short period, that the votes should be taken in districts, each division of the town having its own poll, and the out-townships the same, so that the poll may be taken in a few hours, or at least in a day; and, what is of more importance, that we should consider in what manner we can support the bringing forward of these arrangements for taking the poll, so as to exclude all bribery and corruption, and intimidation of voters—in short, that the poll should be taken by Ballot. (Applause.)

Mr. RAWSON, in moving the first Resolution, said, an independent House of Commons would never allow any government to oppress and carry on a system of inquiry for the sake of promoting and providing for their numerous dependents and connections. An independent House of Commons would most indignantly

refuse the profligate expenditure of public money in most disgraceful pensions and sinecures. An independent House of Commons would tear up by the roots every monopoly intended to enrich the few, who have more than enough and to spare, and to impoverish the multitude, who are earning their bread by the sweat of their brow. An independent House of Commons would, in short, consult the true welfare of the people, by diminishing the burdens they have to bear, by encouraging their industry, by uniting all their interests, and by establishing their liberties. (Great cheering.)

Mr. BAINES said, the persons who tried to domineer over the people of England, had hallooed Mr. Pitt into war, and brought the nation the Income Tax and all the mischiefs of that system, the persons who were the cause of a thousand millions of public money being spent in an unnecessary war, and of all the distress and misery which the country has since suffered, that same party has sunk never more to rise. Peace be to their manes. (Loud cheers.) Most happy am I to say it; I saw this party rise, and I have seen it fall; that it may never again rear its crest is my wish, as I believe it will be yours. (Hear, hear.) I have nothing more to do at present than to move the Resolution, which I have no doubt will receive your cordial approbation. (Cheers.)

Mr. JOHN MARSHALL, Jun. proposed the third resolution, and said, we have now a Ministry pledged to bring forward a measure of Reform; and though it cannot possibly be such as will give universal satisfaction, I trust it will contain some real improvement in our political system. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. J. CLAPHAM seconded the motion with great pleasure. He had long been a labourer in the field of Reform, but had not been able to effect any thing. We must not allow the Ministers of the Crown, and his Majesty himself, to be borne down, but must support them to the utmost of our ability in effecting all those Radical Reforms.

Mr. JAMES RICHARDSON said, is there any objection to the Ballot that any upright man has ever heard? I have not heard one. (A voice: "And you never will.") The Ballot will overturn bribery; for, as Mr. Sykes said, no man will buy a pig in the poke, or rather, no man will buy the poke; it being a matter of doubt whether there is a pig in it or not. (A laugh and cheers.) It will prevent intimidation; it will not give a master an opportunity of saying to his servants: Go and vote for such a candidate, or I will deprive you of your daily bread. If the people do not back a reforming King and a reforming Administration, the result will be, that we must be delivered over again to the Castle-reagh school of politicians (a voice: "Never"), and then we shall have corruption in perpetuity, excessive taxation in perpetuity, and degradation of the people, until public opinion, or, something worse, revolution, sets the matter right. (Applause.)

Mr. JOHN HARRIS, in seconding the resolution, felt himself in a dilemma. Some of his friends before him had endeavoured to prove the existence of a corrupt House of Commons; in his view there was no such place as a House of Commons. (Laughter.) The resolution which he had the pleasure to second, he supported with all his heart and soul. He had long been looking for a House of Commons.

There were 82 persons in England and who returned 218 members; 21 returning 31 members for Scotland; and 31 persons in Ireland, returning 67 members for Ireland and England, so that it was evident that there was no Commons' House at all.

G. WALLIS, Esq., then came forward and said, he would never vote for any candidate who did not promise to support the Ballot, considering that it was quite constitutional for them to require pledges of their representatives, notwithstanding some of the Members for Yorkshire had said they would vote according to their own notions, and would give no pledges.

Mr. JOHN BOWEN had been a steady reformer ever since the present Prime Minister, as Mr. Grey, brought forward his famous Motion. His sentiments had been the same at that time as those of the Whig interest (applause); but he began to fear that they would not go far enough, there some of them were also borough proprietors.

Mr. CHRISTOPHER HARRIS was afraid, judging from the Civil List submitted to Parliament by the present Ministry, that the hopes of the country, with respect to economy in the public expenditure, would be disappointed. He trusted, however, that his fears would not be realised.

Mr. EDWARD BAINES, Jun., said the advancement of knowledge, which some shrewd at, because they dread it, has at length poured in a flood of light on the system; and as the people now both know their rights and value them, it may be expected that the monstrous abuses and absurdities of the system will vanish, as the visions and phantoms of night disappear at the approach of day.

Mr. WATTS moved, that Mr. Hunt be requested to support the Petition (GENERAL HISSING and DISAPPROBATION).

Mr. SUTTON thought, that any one who entertained a good opinion of Mr. Hunt, would believe him to be ready to support the petition without any such motion. (Cheers.)

Mr. WATTS, seeing that his motion was universally disapproved of, withdrew it.

The meeting then separated.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 11, 1831.

BANKRUPTCIES SUPERSEDED.

BACON, R.; Fenchurch-street, tea-broker.
BROWN, J.; Wedne-bury, Stafford, dealer.

BANKRUPTS.

BENSON, J. and J., Manchester, agents.
BREEDEN, S., Birmingham, draper.

COOK, W., Darlington-place, coach-maker.
 GRAY, J. and W.P. Morris, Bristol, wine-mer.
 LANDRAY, W. Lime-Regis, Dorsetsh. printer.
 LAZENBY, T., York, grocer.
 REED, A., Bishopmiddleham, brewer.
 YOUNG, C., Charing-cross, picture-dealer.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 14, 1831.

INSOLVENTS.

FEB. 14.—LEWIS, T., King's-road, Chelsea, builder.

FEB. 14.—BACKLER, S., St. James's-street, Westminster, tobacconist.

BANKRUPT SUPERSEDED.

HEANE, J., Gloucester, brick-maker.

BANKRUPTS.

BAKER, E., Bristol, oil gas manufacturer.

BINDLEY, J., sen., Ashby-de-la-Zouch, Leicestershire, glass manufacturer.

BROWN, P., Farnham, Surrey, upholster.

COLLINS, J. J., Islington, victualler.

ETHERIDGE, H. J. P., Broad-st. St. Giles, grocer.

EWINGTON, W., Finsbury-st., wine-merchant.

GOODWIN, H., otherwise Goodwin, H. A. Milbank-street, Westminster, plaster of Paris manufacturer.

JONES, R., Greenchurch-st., woollen-droper.

KILLERBY, J., White-street, Southwark, straw hat manufacturer.

LEE, J., York, hatter.

MARTIN, J., jun., Swindon, Wilts., carrier.

POARCH, J., Cheltenham, grocer.

SHERKARD, E., Hart-st., Bloomsbury, tailor.

WILLKINSON, N., Halifax, Yorkshire, straw hat manufacturer.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, FEB. 14.—There is a very short supply of Wheat this morning, and the factors anticipate that the duties on foreign Grain will be, on Thursday, at 2s. 3d. per quarter. Business in the Wheat trade is very dull, and this Grain, on anticipation of the reduced duties, is 2s. to 4s. per quarter cheaper. The new Wheat brought to market is in very bad condition. Foreign Wheat may be quoted at a reduction of 1s. 6d. per quarter. Barley may be quoted at last week's prices, as also may Oats, the latter Grain being heavy sale. Beans and Peas cannot be quoted cheaper than on Monday last, but the trade is dull. Flour remains as last quoted.

Wheat	70s. to 82s.
Rye	28s. to 33s.
Barley	42s. to 44s.
— fine	46s. to 48s.
Peas, White	42s. to 44s.
— Boilers	45s. to 46s.
— Grey	37s. to 40s.
Beans, Small	42s. to 44s.
— Tick	36s. to 40s.
Oats, Potatoes	25s. to 31s.
— Poland	26s. to 33s.
— Feed	22s. to 25s.
Flour, per sack	60s. to 65s.

PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new	40s. to 42s. per cwt.
— Sides, new	38s. to 42s.
Pork, India, new	112s. 6d.
— Mess, new	57s. 6d. to —s. per barrel.
Butter, Belfast	98s. to 99s. per cwt.
— Carlow	94s. to 98s.
— Cork	96s. to 98s.
— Limerick	96s. to 98s.
— Waterford	92s. to —s.
— Dublin	92s. to 94s.
Cheese, Cheshire	40s. to 70s.
— Gloucester, Double	48s. to 56s.
— Gloucester, Single	44s. to 50s.
— Edam	40s. to 46s.
— Gouda	42s. to 46s.
Ham, Irish	45s. to 50s.

SMITHFIELD—Feb. 14.

Beef is cheaper to-day, 4s. 2d. to 4s. 4d. per stone being the last quotation. Mutton, for prime young Downs, is quoted at 4s. 6d. to 4s. 8d. per stone, and Veal, for the best young Calves, is 3s. 4d. to 5s. 8d. per stone. Dairied Porkers are 4s. 6d. to 5s. per stone. Beasts, 2, 215; Sheep, 17, 630; Calves, 140; Pigs, 150.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, Feb. 18.

The supplies are still small, but the market is very dull at Monday's prices. Wheat is 1s. or 2s. cheaper.

	English, arrivals.	Foreign.	Irish.
Wheat	6,300		
Wheat	4,230	1,140	
Barley	7,440	780	
Oats	9,830		345

This day is published, Price 2s.

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FRENCH REPUBLIC
AND
ENGLISH REFORM.

To the Readers of THE REGISTER.

Kensington, 22d February, 1831.

MY FRIENDS,

In another part of this *Register* I shall notice the INDICTMENT which has been so much talked of; but which, in point of importance to you and to the country, is of consequence, beyond all measure, inferior to the two subjects placed as the title to this paper; namely the REPUBLIC OF FRANCE, which is manifestly upon the point of being established; and that REFORM in England for which every one is now looking with a degree of anxiety not in the power of me, or of any man, adequately to describe. These two subjects are so closely connected with each other; they bear upon each other so directly, and in a manner so forcible, that it is impossible to separate them in the mind; it is impossible that one should be in the mind for a single moment without the irresistible intrusion of the other. In my arguments in favour of a real reform of the Parliament; in my *plan* of that reform; in every statement almost that I have made upon the subject; since the month of July last, I have called upon the Ministers to think of the danger that there would be to the whole frame of Government in England if they persevered in refusing to make a reform here, while the French proceeded to make a republican government, and in introducing all that cheapness, and all those innumerable

advantages to the people, which the English would see the French enjoying only in consequence of having destroyed a kingly government, and erected a republic in its stead.

That republic; that result of the heroic exploits of the three days of July, is now just upon the eve of taking place; and anxious it is, that the decision of the Ministers and the Parliament in England is also just upon the eve of taking place. It is therefore now my duty, my friends, to submit to you my opinions upon these two subjects, in order that, if you concur with me in opinion, you may, in your spheres of life, act agreeably thereunto. In another part of the *Register* you will find two letters from Mr. William Cobbett, written at Paris, and also extracts from the French newspapers, detailing the events subsequent to those letters. I beg you to look at paragraph 6, of the letter of the 13th of February, relative to the atrociously cruel treatment of some of the bravest of the men who shed their blood in the month of July; but of this I shall speak more particularly by and by, it being my intention first to give you my opinion, accompanied with reasons, with regard to what is likely to take place in France in a very short space of time.

Let me call to your recollection a passage in the *Register* of the 18th of September last. It was in an address to the brave people of Paris, in consequence of the "Citizen King" having sent Talleyrand as Ambassador to England. In that address I stated all the circumstances which made me believe that those who had succeeded Charles the Tenth in the governing of France, were, in fact, the friends of Charles, and were secretly sorrowing for the events of July. I stated all these circumstances, concluding with the following words:—"It would have been impossible to look well at these circumstances without perceiving that the great object of most of the men

“in power was to make no real change, either in the government or the dynasty; and that, whatever might be the intention of the Duke of Orleans himself, the intention of others was, that he should only keep the place warm for the other branch of the Bourbons, when circumstances might favour their return! And, if to the weight of all these circumstances we add the glaring, the unequivocal proof afforded by the appointment of Talleyrand as Ambassador to the English Court, it is impossible not to be convinced that foul play of some sort is intended towards the people of France. I am certain that this second plot will succeed no better than the first; but it is necessary now to be upon our guard, and to judge by actions, and not by words.”

The second plot has not succeeded. It has just been blown into air; and, perhaps, before even the article that I am now writing shall come from the press, news may arrive of the establishment of a real republic in France, governed by a President, a Senate, and a House of Representatives. Look, I pray you, at the works of the people of Paris; look at their cutting out the fleurs-de-lis (that great emblem of royalty); look at their scratching them off from the coach of the King; look, I pray you, at all their deliberate proceedings against the very appearance of royalty. Our newspapers call these the proceedings of a mob: they are the proceedings of the people of France. The people are represented as having an enmity to religion; as being profigate and Atheists, because they have pulled down the crosses from the tops of the churches. Those who make this charge against that brave and virtuous people, omit to inform us of that most important circumstance, noticed in the letters of Mr. William Cobbett; namely, that Charles X. had the bestly rapidity and insolence to cause a *bullet* to be put at the end of each arm and at the top of these crosses, thereby asserting, in fact, that the adoration of the Bourbons was to accompany the adoration of Christ; or, in other

words, that kingly Government and Christianity were inseparable. Those who call the brave Parisians a mob, omit to notice this circumstance; and they omit to notice, also, that the “mob,” who gutted the palace of the Archbishop of Paris, took all the gold and plate and jewels that they found, and scrupulously DELIVERED THEM UP TO THE PUBLIC AUTHORITIES, to be applied by them to the public use. This, then, is a sensible and honest, as well as brave, people; and such a people will never be enslaved.

The truth is, that the whole of the French nation, with the exception of those who lived upon the taxes, were for a republic in the month of July; and for that it was that the Parisians fought and bled and thousands of them died. But they were then cheated. They were then tricked by the tax-eaters. The cry of *generous forbearance, of public order, of peace*: these cries were set up, arms were put into the hands, as much as possible, of those who thought they had an interest in preventing any great change. The friends and advocates of republicanism were marked out for, and made to endure the effects of, vengeance. The laws against the press were made, in fact, harder instead of softer; and while the royalists were every-where favoured, the republicans were treated like dogs and like mad dogs too. Pray look at the 6th paragraph of Mr. William Cobbett's letter of the 15th of February. What he means by the “*sallad-basket*” is, a caravan to convey malefactors in, the shaking of which is so violent as to resemble the shaking of a salad in one of those baskets in which the French shake it, after washing, to make it dry, previous to the application of the oil and other ingredients. Into these horrid things, in company with thieves and murderers, these gallant young men were put, and carried and lodged in the same prisons by the government of the citizen king; and this, too, while the partizans of Charles X. were permitted with perfect impunity to violate not only public decency but the very letter of the law. In short, every

act of the Government, whether relating to affairs at home or abroad, clearly showed that the new Government was, as I had said in September, intended to *keep the place warm* for the return of the old one. To this point tended all the movements of foreign despots; to this pointed all the negotiation with foreign States; to this point have tended all the recent intrigues with the Congress of Belgium; but to this point the thing has been prevented from arising by the vigilance and valour of the people of Paris.

There have been rumours, and there may be more before this goes to the press, of the abdication of Louis PHILIPPE. Whether with or without foundation, at present I am convinced that the fact will be such before many months have passed over our heads. I agree perfectly with the French correspondent of the *Morning Chronicle*, that if he refuse to govern France as the chief of a republic, "*France will most respectfully invite him to retire.*" No man of common sense, not blinded by some most powerful interest, can fail to see that this last must and will be the result; for as to his governing France as an hereditary King, without an hereditary aristocracy, and a priesthood paid by the public, the thing is impossible; and to suppose that the people of France will suffer these to exist is really very little short of madness. In short, it has been manifest to me from the first hour that I heard of the defeat of Polignac, that the establishment of a republic would be the result; and my opinion is, that before many months have passed over our heads, we shall see Belgium and France united in one republic, governed by a Congress assembling that of the United States of America.

And, Why not? What are the objections to this? All sorts of objections are made by those who share in M. LAFFITTE'S Civil List of twenty-eight millions of francs a year; but not one single objection that can be urged by any man who desires to draw upon his own property or his own earnings. The blood-sucking crew tell the people of France that their manners unsuit them

for a republic. *Their manners!* What manners? They are industrious, ingenious, enterprising, brave, love good eating and drinking and good dress. Just as the Americans are and just as they do. If there be *frivolity*; if there be *dissipation*; if there be *shameless profligacy*; if there be *extravagant squanderings*; if there be *gambling held without number*; if there be *luxury without bounds* existing by the side of *misery which no pen or tongue can describe*, to what are these ascribable, but to the example and to the fiscal oppressions of that very Bourbon Government which is represented as the necessary effect, and not as the cause, of these disgraceful evils? Take away that Government completely; put in its place a cheap government, by men of sense; and away would go in an instant all the frivolity, all the stinking profligation, all the corruption of morals, all the luxury and all the squalid misery.

Another objection is, the *great extent and population of France*. Great as is the extent of France, it is not, after all, one half so great as that of the settled, the inhabited, the regularly governed, extent of the United States of America. The population of France is at present more than double that of the United States; but with the sole exception of Paris, the great towns in France are nothing compared with those of America, in point of population; and who has ever heard of a riot in an American city? Who has ever heard of danger to the public peace in those immense towns of America? Then again with regard to commerce: all the foreign commerce of France put together, scarcely equals that which, under the scarcely heard of government of America, is carried on through the *single port of New York*. Another objection is, that France being a continental power, is surrounded by powerful neighbours, and therefore needs a government capable of carrying on war. And is not the American government capable of carrying on war? Have not the United States powerful neighbours, and such as hate them too; and, is not

England drained of its treasure and fruits of its toil to make that neighbourhood dangerous to the United States? And did not those United States, single-handed, when not half so powerful as they are now, face England in a war, and make her submit to terms of peace dictated by themselves? Did not England by its negociators lay down a *sine qua non*; and did not the cheap government of America send forth an armed vessel, named, in derision, the *sine qua non*; and did not England make peace, giving up that *sine qua non*? What, then, becomes of this tax-eating pretence, that republican government cannot carry on war? But, what impudence must those have who put forward this pretence, while they have before them the record of the glorious achievements of the republic of France herself! To waste one's time in refuting such objections would be blameable. To begin and pull to pieces a kingly government, long established, is one thing, and to re-erect such government in the country where it has been pulled to pieces is quite another thing. The people of France are wholly a different people from those who existed in that country fifty or sixty years ago. There is a new mind in France; and, as the public spirited writers of Paris so frequently express themselves, "*Coute qui coute, la France veut un gouvernement qui coute peu.*" That is to say, Cost what it may to get it, France will have a cheap government. And so said the Belgians; so say the Poles; so say the Italians, and so say all those who pay heavy taxes, in all parts of the world.

It is impossible for me to say what annual sum would suffice for carrying on good government in France, and for maintaining the rights and the glory of the country; but I can see no reason why a *tenth part* of the sum now raised upon the French people might not be amply sufficient. Is it not scarce jealous, is it not an infamy, is it not enough to make the blood of a Frenchman boil, to reflect, that that imbecile creature Charles X. had twice as much of the nation's money allowed him yearly to pay his gamekeepers, to keep his dogs,

and to defray other expenses connected with his *field sports*; aye, twice as much as the American people pay for the support of the whole of their civil government! Is not this enough to make a Frenchman broil with rage? Yet the government of LOUIS-PHILIPPE has diminished none of these expenses; and, as the people have complained, and do complain, there has been no change other than those merely of names and of men: the tyranny, political as well as fiscal, has remained unabated, and even new shackles have been imposed in many cases.

However, the cheat has not succeeded: it has been detected, exposed, and rendered of no avail. The example of France has stirred up work for her despotic enemies; and we shall now see her, though sneered at, as the newspapers tell us, by some of our sagacious legislators, as "*a country governed by a mob,*" giving another example to the world of a great and happy people under a *cheap* government. We, therefore, have next to consider what effect this prospect ought to have on those who have the power to make a real, a peaceable, and effectual REFORM IN ENGLAND; and I have to offer my opinion with regard to what they are likely to do in this respect. Next Tuesday will be the first of March, on that day we are to learn the intentions of the Ministers in this respect. Before that day they will, if they choose, have read this paper, a copy of which I shall send to each of them on Friday; not with any hope (for hope must have something to rest on) that they will pay much attention to what I say, but in order that I may have the satisfaction to reflect that I have performed my duty.

Before they proceed to what I have to say upon the subject, suppose I give them a few words from BURKE, the great defender of the orders of kings, nobles, and established churches. In the year 1789, the French Revolution had begun. The French people had abolished the order of nobility; they had taken the property of the church and applied it to public uses, leaving allotted stipends to the officiat-

ing parochial clergy; they had reduced the king to be merely the chief magistrate of the country, but not taking away his hereditary titles or rights; they had left the executive government, in his hands; they had placed the legislative power in the hands of a single legislative body, called the NATIONAL ASSEMBLY; and in this state matters stood in 1790, when BURKE wrote his REFLECTIONS ON THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. The CAUSE of this change, or revolution, had been the pecuniary embarrassments of the Government, arising from wasteful wars and profligate expenditure of every description. These had plunged the Government into DEBT: to pay the interest of this debt, the people were so ground down by taxes that they could endure the burden no longer. Scheme after scheme was resorted to, to lighten these burdens; new ministry after new ministry came in, each with their new project. Till at last the king called together those ancient assemblies called the States General, which had not been called together before for a century or two. One of these bodies were the representatives of the nobles, another the representatives of the clergy, and the third the representatives of the people. To this last body the people sent their instructions, which were called cahirs, or sheets of paper put together. The three bodies soon disagreed; but many members from the two first soon joined the third body, which then went to work and made a new government, abolishing the order of nobility, and seizing on the property of the church; selling the real property belonging to the church, and applying the proceeds to public purposes, and totally abolishing the tithes.

This was the state in which things stood in 1790, when, as I observed before, BURKE wrote, under the form of a letter to a gentleman in France, his "Reflections on the French Revolution," from which I am now about to take a short passage, which I beseech all my readers, and particularly the ministers, to read with an uncommon degree of attention.

"Your Government in France, though usually, and I think justly, reputed the best of the unqualified or ill-qualified monarchies, was still full of abuses. These abuses accumulated in a length of time, as they must accumulate in every monarchy not under the constant inspection of a popular representative. But the question is not now of the vices of that monarchy, but of its existence. Is it then true, that the French government was such as to be incapable or undeserving of reform; so that it was of absolute necessity the whole fabric should be at once pulled down, and the area cleared for the erection of a theoretic experimental edifice in its place? All France was of a different opinion in the beginning of the year, 1789. The instructions to the representatives to the States-general, from every district in that kingdom, were filled with projects for the reformation of that government, without the remotest suggestion of a design to destroy it. Had such a design been then even insinuated, I believe there would have been but one voice, and that voice for rejecting it with scorn and horror. Men have been sometimes led by degrees, sometimes hurried, into things of which, if they could have seen the whole together they never would have permitted the most remote approach. When those instructions were given, there was no question but that abuses existed, and that they demanded a reform; nor is there now. In the interval, between the instructions and the revolution, things changed their shape; and in consequence of that change, the true question at present is, whether those who would have reformed, or those who have destroyed, are in the right?"—*Burke's Reflections on the French Revolution (Published in 1790), p. 233.*

Pray, Ministers, read this forty times over; especially the last sentence. In this passage from Burke, to whom and to whose executors we have been paying a pension from 1795 to this day; this passage, for the writing of, which this

nation has paid so dearly, the pension having already cost us upwards of ninety-five thousand pounds; this passage, which will still have been cheap, if you now profit from it in the manner that you ought; this passage contains *the whole of our case*; and, "I would fain hope, as to the future, a little more than our case. Here is a government full of *"abuses;"* these abuses have accumulated in length of time, there being no *"popular representative"* to check them. It was not necessary in the case of France, nor is it necessary in ours, that the whole fabric should be pulled down. *"All France was of a different opinion in the beginning of the year 1789."* All England is of a different opinion now!

"The instructions to the representatives to the States General, from every district in the country, were filled with projects for reformation of the Government, *without the remotest idea of a design to destroy it.*" All England has now sent instructions to the Parliament, filled with projects for the reformation of the Government, *without the remotest suggestion to destroy it.*

How similar the cases; how true the proverb, that there is nothing new under the sun! The nation, as one man, is now waiting with anxious hope for this reformation. Let any one propose to destroy it, to any six men, meet them where he will, and they will, as Burke says was the case in France, *"reject the proposition with scorn and horror."* But the destruction *did take place in France, in spite of the scorn and horror; it did take place in France in that same year, 1789, in spite of the scorn and horror with which all France, with one voice, would have rejected the proposition only six months before!* How came it to pass, then, that the destruction did take place, and that those who would have met the proposition with scorn and horror were brought, in the short space of six months, to embrace the thing itself with enthusiasm! Whence came it that the whole people of a great nation acted thus?

I beseech you, King's Ministers, to reflect well before you answer that

question, and before you resolve to reject the great lesson here held out to you. Burke does not deal fairly by us here. He does not state *the cause of this change* in the minds of the people. I verily believe he did this in his original manuscript, but that aristocratical influence prevailed upon him to expunge the passage; because, leaving us unacquainted with the cause of the change in the people's opinions, he really leaves it impossible to answer the question which he propounds at the end of the passage, which it certainly could not have been his original intention to do. He tells us that the instructions to the representatives proved that it was the wish of all France, that there should be *reformation without destruction*; but that (I pray you ministers mark this!) between the giving of the instructions and the Revolution, *"things changed their shape;"* and that, in consequence of that change, the true question is, whether those who *would have reformed*, or those who *have destroyed*, are in the right. Why they were, according to his own showing, one and the same parties. They would have reformed in January, 1789, and they had destroyed in July, 1789. But, there was ANOTHER PARTY, and this party the patrons of Burke chose that he should leave out of sight; and that party was almost the whole of the aristocracy, the high clergy, and the court, none of whom wished for reformation, though *all loudly professed to wish it.* The use that they made of the instructions sent from the people, was, to prepare by all possible means, for preventing those instructions from being acted upon. Some remained intriguing for this purpose at Paris; others got off into foreign countries to stir up strife against the rising liberties of France; others intrigued with the army; so that the people saw that they must either *destroy the thing altogether, or have no reformation at all*, and be compelled to commence a new series of ages of slavery. It was thus that things changed their shape, and on the 14th of July, they with one accord, destroyed that government, a proposition to de-

stroy which they would, in the previous month of January, have received with scorn and horror!

Here is a lesson for every statesman upon the face of the earth; and, how blind must our Government be not to pay attention to it at this time. There are, at this moment, surprising exertions made in London to urge the aristocracy to make a stand against the ministers, if these latter propose to make a real reform of the parliament. There is a work called the *Quarterly Review*, calling on the aristocracy to make this stand; and, in order that it may produce its effects in time, this number of the work has been published one month before the usual period of its appearance. The argument which it uses amounts to this, that if the aristocracy give way at all, it will be merely a beginning to a series of encroachments on the part of the people; till at last aristocracy, throne and church and all, will be overturned. The writer cites, in proof, the example of France; and, like all the abettors of aristocratical encroachments, insists that if Louis XVI. had never given way at all, he might still have been alive and upon the throne. Burke is of a different opinion; for he says that reformation was necessary; and we see that the revolution took place because it was found to be impossible to obtain reformation without it. The court, the greater part of the aristocracy, and the high clergy, resisted all real reform, till the people made it by force; and this they could not do without destroying the Government itself.

And this I think is quite answer enough to the *Quarterly Review*, and to all those lofty seigniors who are saying, in the gaming-houses; "We must make a stand, and we may as well make it at first as at last." But, there is another publication in London, called the *Précurseur*, that is to say, the Forerunner. A French publication, put forth weekly by the partisans of Charles X. and the Duke de Bordeaux, and it is called the Forerunner because it is intended to prepare the way for the return to the throne of France of the pretty

gentlemen who are now at Holyrood House. This publication is ascribed to the pens, or to the dictation, of some of the ex-ministers that are here with Charles. These people, not content with being the precursors of happiness to their own country, have had the generosity to labour with great earnestness for the preservation of the happiness of ours, nothing short of the complete destruction of which happiness they confidently anticipate in taking away the right of returning members from Old Sarum, Gatton, Midhurst, and the like. Therefore, with all the holy zeal of the "Chevaliers du saint Esprit," with *fleurs-de-lis* upon each and every of their buttons, with rat-tails hanging at their poles, and lark-spits dangling on their thighs, they call upon our aristocracy, *Pour l'amour de Dieu, et au nom de St. Louis* not to yield to reform in any shape or in any degree! These people have, it must be confessed, something to urge in support of their advice, which the scribes of the *Quarterly Review* have not; namely, their own personal experience! To be sure, even that would derive additional weight from the "adhesion" of POLIGNAC and his companions, which they will do well to obtain from the fortress of Ham. Then, coming in a body, with Charles, Duke d'Angouleme, petit Bordeaux, Bourmont, Dudou, and altogether, and gravely assuring our aristocracy, if they will but act upon their advice and their example, their success will be as complete as that which they have experienced! Coming with advice thus supported, they must unquestionably, be attended to by our enlightened aristocracy and clergy!

Let me stop here, for a moment, to observe, that these fellows must take care lest they be packed off to some other country; for the Covarsky threatens them, on account of the *plot* that has lately been blown up in France. The words of this mercenary tool of power are these, as put forth by it on the 21st instant. "In consequence of the late "intrigue of the Carlists in France, "some important disclosures have been "made to the French Ambassador; and

" is highly probable that several of the partizans of Charles X. will be ordered out of the country. We should not be surprised if Charles himself on being remonstrated with on the impropriety of his making use of an asylum granted to him in misfortune, for political intrigues, may take offence, and proceed, as was originally intended, to Austria." Mark the baseness and hypocrisy of this! To Talleyrand! Dislosures made to him! What a base lie! Just as if the government and the chambers in France had been plotted against! Just as if the whole affair was not contrived for the purpose of producing the restoration of Charles X. Just as if the people would have instantly called for a Republic, if they, at least, had not been satisfied that the plot was favoured by the government and the Chambers! Aye, the base COURIER sees all this as clearly as I do; but it sees, besides, that power is likely soon to change hands in France; and it knows that the brave French people, when they shall have an organ of their own choosing, will, if these plots continue to be hatched here, say to our big THING, as the gallant in the play says to Sir JOHN BAUTE, "WE WEAR A SWORD!" The THING probably foresees this; and therefore this, its base hireling scribe, is preparing the way for its yielding to the hint. "We wear a sword!" will be quite sufficient to drive the whole crew from our shores.

Having digressed so far, let me go a little farther to observe that we have, here, another striking proof of the necessity of establishing a real republic in France. "What does this plotting arise from? How comes it to be that there are such creatures as *Carlists*? How come there to be such swarms of expectants, looking forward to another restoration? Why is France troubled, tormented and convulsed in this manner? Because there is a pretender to the throne of France. And why is there a pretender to the throne of France? Because there is a throne for him to have pretensions to! And, as long as that throne shall exist, there will always be some despicable creature or

other; some dotard, some driveller, some half-idiot, some child, or something or another to agitate, convulse, set together by the ears, to render miserable that great nation, there always being a numerous crew ready to shed a people's blood, or to cause them to shed each other's blood, rather than forego the desire to live upon the fruit of their labour. If the Americans had made a throne; if they had been fools enough to do that! if they had been such ridiculous asses as to erect a throne, and create a Royal Family, they would never have known any-thing of freedom any more from that hour. They would soon have had a pretender to the throne. The royal family would have soon taught them not to eat meat three times a day. The royal family would have soon had an aristocracy, which indeed must have been created at the same time. In short, instead of being an example for the world to follow, it would have been a beacon for the world to dread. And never will France know one single hour of tranquillity until she gets rid of the throne. The throne which she has given she can take away. That LOUIS-PHILIPPE has no right to it, other than that which he derives from the sovereign will of the people, is well known to all the world. The people, therefore, can annihilate the throne which they have created, and this they must do or they never again will know peace. They found themselves sufficiently oppressed with one royal family: they have now two, and both kept and paid by them! And this, too, as it were, for the express purpose of keeping them in a constant turmoil. There is no remedy but that of repealing the law that made the present throne; common sense says that that ought to be done, and done it will be. There will be a republican government in France, efficient and cheap; and this brings me back to the point whence I departed; namely, the extraordinary efforts now making to urge our aristocracy to resist every attempt at reform; to grant nothing, lest in the end they should be compelled to surrender every-thing; to refuse reform, lest that reform should

lead to a destruction of the order of nobility and of the order of the established church, similar to what took place in France in the year 1789.

Now I have shown, and Burke has acknowledged, that there need have been no destruction of government in France, if a reform had been adopted in time. But it is impossible to hear the argument which I have just noticed, without going back to the arguments made use of by Lords STURTON and FITZVILLIAM, and others, when they formed the coalition which drove Pitt into the war of 1793. The people of England and Scotland cried loudly for reform at that time. They had done the same many years before; but when the French had recovered their liberties, the cry for reform in England became louder and more general. The argument of the coalised aristocracy was this "If we suffer to exist in France a government without nobility, and without an established church, the nobility and the church will be abolished in this country. We ought therefore, in self-defence, to go to war to prevent this dangerous example from existing in France." The answer to this argument was this: "There will be no danger from the example of France, if you give the people their due share of political power in England; but there will be great danger in your going to war to prevent this reform; because by such war the taxes will be so augmented, and become so intolerable, that the people may at last destroy the whole fabric of Government, in order to get rid of them." This was the argument of Fox, and of the other opponents of Pitt, amongst whom one of the most conspicuous was Lord GAYE himself; and in the petition which he presented for reform, in May, 1793, he anticipated this very danger, which danger is now staring him in the face!

When that fatal war was over, the *Courier* newspaper said, "We may now go to supper." "The drama is closed," said the *Bloody Old Times*, "and there remains nothing but the punishment of the Jacobins." "The question of

Reform is now set at rest for ever," said an insolent aristocrat, when remarking on a petition of 1816; "but if the reformers want further answer, the best way will be to refer them to the official dispatches relative to the Battle of Waterloo." In answer to these saucy exultations, I said, "No, we cannot go to supper yet, the drama is not closed, the question is not set at rest, until the reckoning be paid." "If we pay off this reckoning, and be prepared to go to war again whenever the French shall attempt to re-cover the Netherlands; if we do this, then I shall say that we may go to supper, that the drama is closed, and that the question of Reform is settled." From that day to this, I have been asserting, about once a month, that the war of 1793, which was undertaken for the express and even avowed purpose of preventing Parliamentary Reform in England, would finally produce that reform, by having created a debt, a dead-weight, a charge on the poor-rates, such and so great as not to be endured for many years without some great political change in the country, while, after all, France had been left to present to us the most dangerous part of the dreaded example; namely, a nation having abolished tithes, and applied church property to public uses.

And here we are, then, at the end of thirty-eight years from the time that we started against the republicans of France: here we are beholding a second revolution in France; not a second king beheaded, but a second king banished: the sovereignty of the people declared; the tri-coloured flag re-hoisted: all semblance of aristocracy upon the point of being swept away; primogeniture annihilated; a chief magistrate with the name of King it is true, but holding his office at the pleasure of the people; here we are, beholding all this, seeing Belgium surrendering itself up to France, seeing France ready to sally out against every crowned head on the continent: here we are, so loaded with debt, so encumbered and hampered, so distracted with internal troubles, all arising from the war undertaken to

prevent our reform, that we dare not stir hand or foot against France, and are professing the doctrine of non-interference with a vehemence equal to that of poor Farmer Looze, who cried out, "I am innocent, I am innocent!" when the Judge was condemning him!

Was there ever any thing so striking as was there ever any thing so astonishingly signal, as the facts of this short history of the consequences which have resulted from the efforts of the aristocracy to prevent timely reform! But it is the probable sequel of those consequences which it becomes us, and particularly the Ministers, now to contemplate. There is the dreaded French republic again; there is the dreaded government without nobility and established church; there is that great nation now as busy as bees, hunting about after and destroying every symbol of royalty and aristocracy; there they are taking care that their children shall have nothing to remind them that their country ever obeyed a king; but, above all things, there they are resolved upon having A CHEAP GOVERNMENT! And here are we praying from one end of the country to the other, that pensions, sinecures, and other unnecessary expenses, may be done away with; praying that *tithes may be abolished* (for to "commute" is to abolish); here we are praying, in short, for *cheap government*, and, as the only means of obtaining which we are praying for a Parliamentary Reform, fifty thousand times more generally than it was prayed for in 1793.

And we have recently seen a minister actually driven from his post by the clamours of the people for no cause other than that he set his face against reform. He has been succeeded by a ministry who have been tolerated by the people only because they promised to give us reform. The day is at hand when that pledge is to be redeemed; and who shall say what may be the consequence of a failure in the redeeming of that pledge! After the solemn declarations of the ministers, at first when they came into office, I will not anticipate that failure; but the ministers ought to be apprized, that it is not

the mere name of reform that will satisfy the people. Nothing will satisfy them short of a shortening of the duration of parliaments, a breaking-up of the rotten boroughs, a wide extension of the suffrage, and a voting by ballot. If I were to judge from the reports of the speeches of some of the ministers, particularly the speech of LORD BROUGHAM, I should be very much afraid, that that which they will propose will not be satisfactory to the people. On the 2nd of November, Mr. Brougham declared, in his place in the House of Commons, that he disavowed all those plans of reform, which had been imputed to him, of a *limited and bounded nature*, and that he contemplated a larger and more extensive change in the representation; but, in the report of a speech of his, of the 9th of February, we have the following passage, too well calculated to inspire fear rather than hope:—

"With respect to the remedy to be applied to this defective state of the representation, he would merely say now, that when he remained independent of all connexion with Government, he had always been an advocate for a *temperate, safe, and extensive, but constitutional reform* of the Commons House of parliament; and that he was then, and still remained, as warm a friend of that constitution, and of the principles under which it was supported, as any, even the most vehement of those who are altogether opposed to any of the changes which may be contemplated; and he would add too, that while he thus professed himself a warm friend of a *true constitutional reform*, he was an equally warm and decided enemy of those *restless and untried means of reformation*—of those *vain and ill-founded theories*, which were pressed on their attention, but to which, he repeated, he was as *great an enemy* as he had hitherto proved himself to groundless theories, on subjects of far less difficulty and importance."

Here are so many epithets on both sides; such a deal of qualification; he is friendly, to be sure, to what is *temperate, safe, and truly constitutional*;

but he is a bitter enemy to what is *restless, untried, vain, and ill-founded*; and the *work* of it is, he says that these restless, untried, vain, and ill-founded theories, have been *pressed on the attention* of parliament; that is to say, these things have been prayed for in the several petitions presented to one end of the Kingdom to

It is important to observe this; for, from this denunciation of the *untried* theories, we may, I think, pretty safely conclude, that the **BALLOT** is to be rejected, the thing upon which the people set the most value of all. The other things, namely, short, and even annual parliaments, and suffrage universal; these have, at one time or other, all existed before. Scot and lot voting; pot-walloping voting; nothing is quite untried but the ballot; that effectual remedy; that only effectual and safe remedy, upon which the people have set their hearts. This is the "*untried theory*," this the restless, the vain, the ill-founded thing which is to be rejected.

Now, my Lord BROUGHAM, taking it for granted that you have this ballot in view, upon what ground, I pray your Lordship, is it that you call the ballot, vain, ill-founded and untried; for, as to a "*restless*" theory, that being nonsense, I ascribe it to the reporter and not to you. Up in what ground, I again beg your leave to ask, do you charge the ballot with being a *vain, an untried* and an *ill-founded* theory? Nay, I venture to ask you upon what ground it is that you call it a **THEORY** at all? Your Lordship knows the meaning of words, and you must, upon reflection, well know that the ballot, a proposition of the ballot, is *no theory*. What is a theory? The word, with all its derivatives, are very handy words in the mouths of those who have an object in misnaming and casting a slight on any change which is proposed, and which it is their interest not to see adopted. But, what does the word *theory* mean? It means, according to Lord BACON, and according to every man who knows the meaning of words, "a plan, or system, yet subsisting only in the mind." This

is the meaning of the word *theory*. And is, then, the ballot a theory? Is it a plan or system yet subsisting only in the mind; does it not exist in *practice*, in the votings in societies and various

to the other? And, as applicable to the choosing of members of legislative assemblies of a great and powerful country, has it not existed in practice in the United States' government, and in all the state governments, with uninterrupted success, from the establishment of that government, upwards of forty years ago, to this hour? Nay, has it not been in practice in France for the last sixteen years at least; and was it not it, and it *alone*, which rescued the French nation from the hands of those whose heads you, in one of your speeches in Yorkshire, said, and justly said, "ought to have rolled in the dust?"

Say not, I pray, your Lordship, that it is a theory here, though a practice in other countries; because, then, the paper-making and block-making machines, which we imported from France, were theories when they arrived in England; our power-looms are theories when they go to America; the American steam-boats were theories when the builders set to work upon them here. At this rate every thing is a theory on every spot where it has not been practised before; and my neighbour's drilling machine, I having none of my own, though I see the good effects of it, I must still deem a "*theory*," and ridicule it as vain, ill-founded, untried, "and yet subsisting only in the mind!" My Lord, my Lord, before you make use of theory again, as applied to the ballot, pray be pleased to recollect that the people are not totally ignorant of the meaning of words, and that they are not to be persuaded that the ballot, any more than a barrel of flour, is to be deemed a "*theory*" because it comes from America; because it is sent to us by the sons of those who had more spirit or better fortune than their brethren who were left behind them in England.

Dismissing, my Lord BROUGHAM, this string of sarcastic epithets, as

being, along with the term to which they are applied, completely demolished, let me now warn you against the danger of believing, and especially against acting on the belief, that a mere trifling reform will now satisfy the people. When Lord Grey presented his petition in 1793, the concessions which he proposed in that petition would have satisfied the people; and if it had been adopted, the aristocracy would have required no war to crush the young liberties, and to prevent the effects of the example of the people of France. But that which Lord Grey then proposed would not satisfy the people now, because it manifestly would not be efficient to effect the purposes for which the people demand reform. Your Lordship having such a dislike to theory, let me beg permission to point out to you three great and powerful practical circumstances; three great practical changes in the situation of this Government, which have all arisen, which have all come into existence, since the year 1793. I beg to be permitted to endeavour to nail down, to rivet, your best attention to these three circumstances; and if I succeed in doing that, I will not believe that any one will prevail on you to be the advocate of any scheme that shall not embrace a total abolition of rotten boroughs, a great extension of the suffrage, and, above all things, a voting by ballot.

THE FIRST of these circumstances is the fearful addition which has been made to the taxes of the nation. From fifteen millions a year, the taxes raised by the Government (including expense of collection) have risen to upwards of sixty millions a year. From two millions and a quarter a year, the poor-rates have been raised to seven millions and a half a year. From easy circumstances and comfortable life, the middle class has been plunged, generally speaking, into dubious solvency and constant racking anxiety. From bread and meat and decent clothing and comfortable dwellings, the working class has been reduced, generally, to potatoes and rags, and to hovels destitute, in many cases,

of the means of keeping out the wind, or of preserving the bodies of the miserable inmates from perishing by night. And the whole of the people ascribe this state of ruin, beggary, and misery, to the intolerable burden of taxation. It is found necessary to maintain a standing army in time of profound peace, amounting to nearly an hundred thousand men. We have a fleet equal, in point of annual cost, to that with which we carried on war against France, Spain, Holland, and the United States, all combined, fifty years ago; and yet we now see Russia overrun Turkey, and establish a naval power in the Mediterranean; we see the Bourbons, even the feeble imbecile Bourbons, march into Spain and take possession of Cadiz; we see even these Bourbons oust the Dey of Algiers, and make a settlement, if they choose, in Africa; we see the Americans take the Floridas from Spain, and become absolute masters of the Mexican Gulf; finally, we see Belgium, Waterloo and all, about to become part of the French Republic; and here we stand, with military and naval establishments costing pretty nearly twenty millions of pounds sterling a year, without daring to lift our hand or wag our lips against any of the proceedings of any one of these powers; these disgraces the nation feels most acutely, and it knows well that they have arisen from a want of a reform in the Parliament.

THE SECOND great circumstance, which has arisen since the year 1793, is the actual creation of that great power the United States of America, which, under the cheapest of all governments that ever were heard of, has seen their population increase from three millions to twelve; has seen, from possessing scarcely a gun-boat, a navy rise up, capable of fighting that of England herself; and ready, in case of war between England and any third power, to side with that power, unless we abandon the most precious of all our maritime rights. This example of a most prosperous and free and happy people, under a government, the salary of the chief magistrate of which does not equal the amount of many a single sinecure in England, and

the whole of the civil government which, including ten most able ambassadors kept in Europe, does not equal the amount given annually in sinecures or pensions to a couple or three of the families of our aristocracy. This example my Lord Brougham may call "theory;" but theory or theory not, has had upon the world the effect which PAINÉ said it would have; namely, that of making people despise the glare of courts and of aristocracies; and of the planting in their minds this great truth, "that a rich government makes a poor people, and a poor government a rich people." If this circumstance has produced effect upon the French and other foreign nations, what effect must it have produced upon the people of England, whose intercourse with America is as close, at any rate, as the intercourse between Sussex and Yorkshire. When, in 1814, the bloody *Old Times* called upon our government to make war upon the Americans, to depose the President, and to destroy their government; and when nearly the same words were ascribed to Sir JAMES YORKÉ, who was then a lord of the Admiralty; at that time this bloody newspaper said, "that legitimate governments would never be safe until "that successful example of democratic rebellion should be destroyed." If the bloody thing had said that heavy taxing and heavy tithing governments would never be safe as long as that cheap government existed, it would have been right; unless in the case of such of those governments as would make some approach towards that of America in point of cheapness. It is this great circumstance, this fascinating example, that is now urging men on to call for reform, because they know that without that they never can have cheap government.

THE THIRD great circumstance which has arisen since the year 1793, is the example afforded by France, as she now stands. During the war against the French, the example of that country had no terrors for our aristocracy or our Church; because nobody could tell how the struggle might terminate; and after

the war was over, the restoration of the Bourbons, the re-establishment of bishops and priests, and the everlasting boasting of the conquest of France, and the swaggering over Frenchmen on that account: these blinded the people of England so far as to make them overlook the vast advantages that France

derived from the revolution, by events she had scattered the property about into innumerable parcels; she had abolished the law of primogeniture; she had put an end to the ferocious and infamous game-laws, and all the innumerable petty bloody tyrannies, called the *Seigniorial Courts*; she had abolished for ever the *Gabelles* and the *Corvées*; and above all things, she had abolished the tithes! All these, however, were overlooked by the mass of the people of England, who, seeing the Bourbons again on the throne, and the Prince of Waterloo commanding at Paris, thought that all the French had got by their revolution and their wars, was the disgrace of being conquered, which notion was sedulously inculcated by all the base writers and talkers in England; and one answer to the reformers always was, that the French asked for reform, and they got revolution; and that the revolution had brought them nothing but disgrace; so that the example of the great nation of France was an argument against, rather than for, the reformers; but that glorious month which the sun favours with his brightest beams, and which had been the season of those two immortal events, the declaration of American Independence and the taking of the Bastille; that glorious month, which ought to be held as a jubilee every year, saw that revolution which is now in the course of being completed; and when, on the 29th of July, the tri-coloured flag again floated from the Hotel de Ville, it proclaimed hope to the heart of every oppressed man in the world, and terror to the heart of every oppressor. It had the miserable creatures doomed to exist on potatoes and water, to hope once more for bread and for meat; and it called upon every man of virtue and talent to exert himself in the

cause of freedom and of justice. Is there a man in England, with common sense in his head, who can look at what is passing in France, and not connect it with what is passing here with regard to Parliamentary Reform? If there be such man, the state of his mind is wholly unaccountable to me. Do you, my Lord Brougham, believe that a cheap government can be established in France, and that one-half of the present expenditure can be kept up in England? You do not, because you cannot believe it. The wise way, then, is to reduce that expenditure with all possible dispatch; and yet this you cannot do without a reform of the Parliament, real and efficient, and including the ballot!

Thus, my friends, readers of the *Register*, I have said before you, and before the Ministers, if they choose to listen to them, my opinions relative to A REPUBLIC IN FRANCE, and a PARLIAMENTARY REFORM IN ENGLAND. Before I have another opportunity of expressing myself upon these subjects, the die, with regard to the latter at least, will probably have been cast. To express either hopes or fears upon the subject would be totally useless. They would produce no effect; and, therefore, having thus performed my duty, I have only to add, that I am

Your faithful friend

And most obedient servant,

W. COBBETT.

THE WHIG INDICTMENT.

THE following letter to the Editor of the *Morning Chronicle* was published on Monday last. When I have inserted it, I shall add a few remarks.

SIR,—You have published in your paper of the 19th, a statement that a *Bill of Indictment* against me had been found at the *Old Bailey Sessions*, and that the Judges, then on the Bench, had instantly signed a Bench Warrant to apprehend me. I beg you to insert this letter in your paper, which you will deem, I hope, no more than an act

of justice to me, especially as some other papers improved on the statement so far as to assert, that I had *actually "been seized and sent to Newgate."*

Now, Sir, in the first place, not only was I not sent to Newgate, but no warrant at all was issued against me. Without stopping to inquire into the legality, the justice, the decency of publishing statements like this, I now proceed to remark first, that I have yet heard nothing of this indictment, except through the newspapers; second, that I believe such an indictment to have been returned; third, that I am not at all surprised at the transaction which has been plotting for about two months. I beg my friends all over the kingdom, and my readers all over the world, to be assured that I will meet this indictment in a manner becoming the author of *The Political Register* and *The History of the Protestant Reformation*, and *The Poor Man's Friend*.

My friends in this country are not aware, generally speaking, of the nature of a proceeding like this. First, then, they should know that a bill of indictment may be preferred by ANYBODY, against ANYBODY, and for ANYTHING, whether true or false; second, that no evidence is required for the finding the bill to be true, in a case like this, other than evidence to prove the fact of publication by the party accused; and that, in the case of a Grand Jury at the Old Bailey, who have as many bills brought before them at a sessions as a stout porter can carry in his arms, to enquire into the merits of the allegations is utterly impossible. Therefore, the mere finding of the bill to be a true bill amounts to nothing at all; more than that, I say, if the parties choose, and have the luck when the time comes to put upon my trial. I beg my friends, therefore, to be assured that their words "true bill," have nothing in them to damn me.

The *Times Newspaper* of the 19th does not content itself with stating the fact of a true bill having been found against me, but subjects a very broad hint to the consequence of such findings. It says:—"The London Grand

Jury, yesterday afternoon, among the rest of their presentments, returned a true bill against Mr. COBBETT, for publishing a seditious libel, tending to excite disaffection among his Majesty's subjects, particularly those engaged in agricultural labour, and induce them to destroy machinery, &c. The words of the indictment is similar to that on which CARLILE was convicted last sessions. That is to say, that the offences are similar, and it is to be believed that the result will be similar; and that, of course, the Recorder of London will, in all human probability, sentence me to two years' imprisonment in a felon's jail, and to be held in bonds for the remainder of my life.

Now, Sir, I beg, through your columns, to assure my friends that I have written and published nothing criminal; that I have done nothing unlawful; that I will bring this matter before the Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench and a Jury of the city of London; that, so far from fearing the consequences, I glory in being afforded this opportunity of exposing by the means of the whole of the press, the motives in this result of a mean and foul conspiracy against me; of showing to the whole world that this is an attempt (which I make a vain attempt) to prevent me from continuing the labours for obtaining justice for the middle and working class of people; for causing legally to be taken from the recipients of the taxes and the tithes those immense sums, the taking of which has produced all the difficulties, all the troubles, all the commotions in which we are involved at home; and all the wrongs brought upon our country abroad, which we now have the sorrow and the misery to behold; but Sir, with regard to the real motives of this mean and malignant prosecution, as well as with regard to every other matter connected with the proceeding, I will, with your indulgence, inform the public as soon as possibly can, and, in the meantime, I beg you and that public to be assured that if these malignant designs to prevent the way for the annihilation of all that remains of the liberty of the press in

England shall succeed, that success shall never have to be ascribed to abandonment of duty on the part of

Sir, your most humble

And most obedient servant,

Wm. COBBETT,

Westminster, Feb. 29, 1831.

On Monday morning, the 21st, I took my friends and gave bail for my appearance at the sessions. The trial commenced on Wednesday after the middle of April. From all the circumstances, the particulars of which I have not room to detail at present, I have no objection that the affair of Goodman, carried on by Pearson, Bush, Justice Burnett, and Co. that the underhand detestation of BARNBOUR and his clerical associates; that the attempts made at Winchester to get confessions, especially from the man that was hanged for knocking down BINGHAM BARING; I have not the smallest doubt that all these, and that the licentious writings of the bloody *Times* newspaper, to mix me up with Mr. CARLILE; I have not the smallest doubt that these, TAYLOR's motion, and BARNBY's attack, were all so many parts of a scheme to create alarm in my family, and to get me, somehow or other, to remove out of the country, or to cease to write. The parties interested being convinced, as TAYLOR said, that neither Church nor House of Commons could stand if my writings were suffered to go on. How surprised these malignant and stupid Whigs must have been when they saw my Register of last Saturday, which was actually publishing at the very moment when their making bill of indictment was coming from the hands of the Grand Jury! I have always known them for the wickedest and most selfish of mortals; their malice has always been in proportion to their insincerity and their want of ability; and God knows they have a great stock of both. They were wrong, upon this occasion, to fight their battle, and it shall be my business to take care that it is not put under a bushel. I will contest the ground with them inch by inch. But you have begun their attack in their bloody narra-

paper; next, brought out the accusations of a man with a halter about his neck, whose life has been spared, though he has set five fires, according to his own confession; next, they make their attacks in parliament, and thence send the falsehoods all over the country: having failed to produce the effect intended by all these, and by all the cave-droppings of fellows like BLYNDFORD and SLAPP, they come at last with their Bill of Indictment, *to see what that will do!* All shall fail them. I will make this one of the things by which this Whig Ministry shall be remembered. I am at a loss, at present, what to call it; the "*Goodman Ministry*," the "*Trevor Ministry*," the "*Blandford-and-Slapp Ministry*," or the "*Indictment Ministry*." However; there will be time enough to fix upon a proper name for it. And did these greedy fools, these conceited, hungry fellows; did they imagine that I did not fore-see that there must be fights of this sort take place before the end cometh! How many times have I said, "The monster of corruption will not expire without laying its claws about it?" I have no room for any more at present, except just to say this, that my readers may rely upon it, that I will *do the thing well*; that I will fight these gallant Whigs to the bottom of the last ditch. Further information on this subject I will give, from time to time, as the circumstances may arise.

WM. COBBETT.

P. S. If the *liberal* Whigs can spare time; if they can deduct so much from their cares and anxieties about getting me into jail, I would beg them to read the next "*Two-penny Trash*," a great part of which will be employed in showing up their precious scheme for *getting rid of the people of England*, which scheme, I take upon me to say, I will defeat. Their new Governor, WILMOT HERRON (a true Whig in soul), who attacked me at the Mechanics' Institute, and then got SCOTCH BIRKBECK, and the rest of that crew, to prevent me from lecturing at the Mechanics' Insti-

tute again! This fellow, who is now, it seems, to have *eight thousand pounds a year*, said, in his lecture, that it was useless to endeavour to effect any plan of emigration *while I continued to write*: and so it is, HERRON. It is so; and I will continue to write; and you shan't deceive the people, and get them to consent to go to rocks and swamps and snows and burning sands, there to perish, when they have a right to a good living in their native country. "*Two-penny Trash*," number *nine*, shall blow this stupid project of this stupid Ministry to atoms. But, how long will it be before the Ministry itself will be blown into atoms? As to the indictment, I am aware that they will leave that as a valuable legacy to their successors; but what is to become of *themselves* in the meanwhile? Look at their project for the tax on the transfer of stock; look at all their projects, in short. But, readers of the Register, pray observe what is doing in France. Mark, every-body believed that when the Parliament was dissolved in July last, every-body believes that, on this side of the water, there was an eye at that time to the other side of the water. Now, mind, the moment this Whig Ministry was formed, they began to preach up the necessity of immediate Reform of Parliament. They drew the thing along till just before Christmas; and then they adjourned the Parliament to the *third of February*, that they might have *leisure to digest their plan of Reform*. Well! on the *third of February* they met, and had their plan ready; quite ready; but, for no earthly reason that they stated, or that any man could imagine, they were to *keep it a secret until the first day of March*. In the middle of February a plot breaks out at Paris, for the restoring of CHARLES X and the Duke de BORDENEAUX. This plot, like that of POLIGNAC, is defeated by the bravery, good sense, and virtue of the people of Paris; and there are the people of that famous city, demanding a REFORM OF THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES, AND A REAL REFORM too; or, expressing their determination to *proclaim a Re-*

public! Curious coincidence! The people of both countries demanding a reform of the chamber of representatives. It was worth while to wait, therefore, perhaps, to see what the people of France would do, and, upon my word, I should not be much surprised if *Little Lord JOHN's* project of Reform were postponed from the first of March to some other day. For my readers may be well assured that that which we shall finally obtain will depend, in a great measure, upon that which shall take place in France between that day and the last day of June.

BRIGHTON PETITION.

ON Friday, the 18th instant, at a Meeting held in the town of Brighton, the following petition was agreed to, with only five hands held up against five hundred. A petition of another description was moved by one of the *REARDOES*; but that was opposed by Mr *GEO. FAIRFULL*, who substituted the following petition in its stead. I regret exceedingly that I cannot insert the whole of the proceedings of this day, and especially the speeches of Mr. *FAIRFULL* and Mr. *FLLOUR*. It will be seen that the petition is an epitome of *Norfolk petition*, with the important addition of the ballot. I beseech Lord *BROUGHAM* particularly to look well at this petition. If the Ministers were to be considering how they are to get rid of petitions like this rather than how they shall get rid of him, of whose opinions and precepts they are the echo, they would be much more sensibly as well as more honourably employed now. The whole nation seems to have but one mouth, and to be employing that mouth in sending my sentiments to the ears of the Ministers and the Parliament. Yes, Lord *BROUGHAM*, the "schoolmaster has really been abroad;" and abroad he means to be, in spite of your Bill of Indictment. We have often heard of locking the stable door after the steed is stolen. An attempt of this sort is now making by the tax-eaters and parsons, and their tools. To have answered their end, they

should have killed me twenty years ago. To kill me now would be of no use, even if they could do it, for there are my scholars at work all over the country. Let them read this petition from Brighton; then let them read *Norfolk petition*, re-passed as it was the other day by the city of Norwich, then, if they could but read the speech of Mr *GEORGE FAIRFULL*, which was published in the *Brighton Guardian* of the 23rd, and were to reflect that that speech was made under the very nose of the Court, and in the presence of all the creatures hanging about it, they would, if they had sense, begin to think of yielding to the advice of the schoolmaster. This petition was passed on the very day that the liberal Whigs preferred their indictment.

The Petition of the Inhabitants of Brightonstone in the County of Sussex,
SURRELLEN,

That your petitioners, who have hitherto abstained from taking part in political matters, now find themselves called upon by the pressing exigencies of the times to express their sentiments, excited by that universal distress, unparalleled in the history of this country, under which the industrious classes have for a long time been suffering and still continue to suffer.

That your petitioners are of opinion, that there can arise no well-founded expectations that the evils which threaten to disorganize society can be averted but by effecting a great reduction of taxes, failing which, the distress of the large majority of those who are not supported by the taxing system will soon lead to the most disastrous consequences.

That your petitioners feel that such a reduction of taxes as the necessities of the people require cannot be made without a reduction of the interest of the national debt; that that interest cannot with justice be reduced until all unmerited annuities and pensions, and all useless offices, shall have been abolished, the salaries of all necessary officers considerably curtailed, the army lessened, and a large portion of that species of public property, called church property, applied towards the exigencies of the state.

That your petitioners further feel, that there is no prospect of these things, being done until the people be fairly represented; and they therefore pray for such a reform in the Commons' House as will shorten the duration of Parliaments, and secure to every household, paying scot and lot, the right of voting in the return of members, and that by ballot, which they consider the most important feature in any measure of reform.

And your petitioners will ever pray.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

To the Editor of THE REGISTER.

SIR,

Paris, 15th Feb, 1831.

1. This is the time of the Carnival, a season of masquerading and buffoonery, and of irregularities permitted and encouraged in times of slavery, but very fast going out of date. Those disgusting diversions, of women, or men dressed as women, riding astride on horse-back; masks, representing the most hideous deformities and disorders, and covering the affectation of the greatest licentiousness, have given place to the universal and serious interest which is taken by the common people in the affairs of church and state, the leaders in which can no longer, in their policy or hypocrisy, draw off the people from criticising and condemning their manifold and magnitudinous crimes, by indulging and flattering the rabble with complacency for brutal excesses.

2. Yesterday, funeral service was performed in the church (St. Germain l'Auxerrois) for the Duke de Berri, it being the anniversary of his death. A great number of spectators attended the ceremony; and, before it was concluded, something was attempted by the performers of the ceremony which is likely to lead to consequences which are the most distant from their wishes. Either the bust of the Duke de Bordeaux was crowned, or words were pronounced by one of the officiators which were understood to be a prayer for his being elevated to the throne: however, be it as it may, the whole became a scene of confusion; the altar was upset, the bust broke to pieces, and the priests escaped. The service was performed at twelve o'clock, and, by seven in the evening, the congregation, finding ready assistance without, actually pulled down the cross which, in the reign of Charles X., had been placed upon the top of the church.

3. From performing this exploit, the people proceeded to the Archbishop's palace, which they entered, to the number of many hundreds, causing the

Archbishop himself to flee for his personal safety. It was soon reported that several priests had been flung into the Seine, and that the Archbishop was killed; however, I believe that the tables and chairs were the greatest sufferers. After the people had examined every part of the arch-episcopal palace, the National Guard arrived in numerous bodies; after which the people evacuated, departing with cries to pull down the crosses from the other churches.

4. This morning, there are immense assemblages of people, and also great activity in mustering the national guard. The drum is constantly beating, as during the trial of the ministers. These are the first consequences of the suspicion of an open avowal of the possibility of a restoration of the Bourbons. The *flours-de-lis*, which were carefully polished up upon the chandeliers used at the ball which took place in January for the benefit of the wounded of July, and at which the royal family were present, gave rise to the rumour that it was intended to preserve the *flours-de-lis on the banners of the army*; which, however, has been contradicted. But, numerous circumstances have created suspicious as to the march of the Government, which prepared people to view with great jealousy any indication of rebellion to their sovereignty, at the ceremony in question.

5. It is remarked, that the people having thought proper, in the first place, to shut the officiating priests into the sacristy, together with two or three persons attired as national guards, deeming them to have committed an offence against the state, these persons were released by the police, who were sent for by the people, and who, in place of taking the offenders to prison, treated them with the greatest civility. Then the priests had to take flight, and the demolition proceeded. A great backwardness was testified, by the National Guard, assembled, in forcing the people from their proceedings. The church is, in fact, odious to the people, and to all who are connected with them.

6. Numerous persons, mostly labouring men, were taken, as they left the archbishop's palace, prisoners to *La Force*; but I suppose it was to them a matter of indifference, though the prisons are not so conducted as to be very desirable residences. Some accounts are published of the treatment of the persons arrested in December, which make one's hair stand on an end! That poor wretches were formerly subjected to the vilest sufferings in the Bastille, where those sufferings could be kept a secret, is not surprising; but, who would imagine that there should be impudence enough in the world, for the very achievers of the revolution, for those who sacrificed most to obtain it, and have suffered most by it, to be openly kept in the prison with thieves, made to eat *à la gamelle* (all out of one bowl or trough) with thieves, and to be treated in every respect as thieves! Amongst the persons arrested in December, and who have never been examined for two months, and who are detained without sentence, there is a Monsieur AUGUSTE BULLIN, a young man of seventeen years of age, who himself received a wound, his father several wounds, and whose mother had both her thighs shot off while in her bed, where she had retired in fright, and in consequence of which she died next day. The crime of this young man is, having flung a stone at a lamp, after the trials of the murderers of his mother! This fact alone, and the rides which the heroes of July have had in the *sallad-basket*, and their companions with the *itch*, will figure curiously in history with the "best republic." Yet, so long as people choose to be duped, and to be persuaded that there is something or other in a democratic government unsuited to France, they must applaud these proceedings. If "the manners of France are monarchical," as such people say, I suppose it is in *La Force* and in the *sallad-basket*.

7. I have before mentioned to you, the new French Church, which is establishing principally under the direction of the Abbé Chattel, and which appears to be much approved of by the

people. The priests of this species of sect, cannot of course officiate in the churches without the authority of the Maire of the Commune; but two communes have chosen priests from this sect. Only yesterday, a curious letter appeared in the papers, from the Minister of the Interior, addressed to the Prefect, discountenancing meetings in communes for deliberating upon these matters.

8. The workings of the priests have certainly been curious altogether, since the revolution. On New Year's day, when persons of all denominations go to Court, no Catholic priest except the Pope's nuncio went to the Palais-Royal. Up to this time, the Archbishop had indeed not been heard of; but, the question of his salary making a part of the budget, the season for the latter seems to have drawn him out of his hole, and he has recently made several visits to the Palais-Royal, where he is not, I believe, badly received. He had just caused his palace to be put in repair, and re-furnished, when lo! the priestly temerity of yesterday smashed all again. The Government had intended to pull down the palace, rather than make the repairs rendered necessary, after the holy seigneur had caused the people to be fired upon in July; but he preferred to make the repairs out of his own revenue. So at least it is said, and he had accordingly again taken up his residence in it.

9. It is surprising (if any-thing could now be surprising), with the acknowledged queer character of this man, that it should be said, against the priests of the new church, that they aim at being allowed to marry, to dispense with confession, and also to dispense with other forms and ceremonies. These, I believe, are recommendations with them in the eyes of the people; as, indeed, the caution of the Minister of the Interior sufficiently shows. The people regard them as honest men, who are ready to practise all they preach; and they are no longer disposed to place faith in pretenders to extraordinary piety, who are nothing more than actors or jugglers, making a mockery of the saints.

10. I have just understood, that workmen are now employed in taking down the crosses from the tops of the churches. These crosses were placed there by the arrogance of the last priestly king, and I suppose are now removed to save the churches themselves. As one of the Scotch reformers, I believe, said, "Tak awa the nest an the crows will flee awa;" and the French would be very likely to take the most effectual measures to get rid of their crows.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,
Wm. COBBETT, Junr.

P. S. There is an "intense" avidity for news and newspapers now. I am told it resembles the anxiety and curiosity which prevailed a few days before the revolution. Not that I think there will be another revolution here for I think the Government have too much sense.

Paris, 17th Feb.

"THE crisis is at hand—we can now say so. But for the National Guard the Republic would have been proclaimed yesterday in Paris; and what a Republic, great God!—such an one as would have commenced in the devastation of the churches, the tearing down of the cross, and violence against the clergy. We must say, however, the Republican movement has gained ground in these latter days; for they have delivered up to it the insignia of religion, and the emblems of royalty.

"We can assure our readers that the National Guard has been deeply afflicted by the character of these recent days, and by the sacrifices made to disorder.

"The following letter was sent yesterday by the Minister of the Interior to the *Etat Major* of the National Guard:—

"Intelligence, entitled to credit, and which reaches me from hour to hour, apprises me that a certain number of young men intend this morning to attempt to collect the multitude of the *Fauxbourgs*, and to assemble in arms at the garden of the Luxembourg to endeavour to proclaim a Republic.

(Signed) "MONTALIVET.

"The *Etat Major*, in transmitting an official copy of the letter, adds, 'The chiefs of the *legion*, in communicating this letter to the officers of battalions and companies, invite them to take the necessary measures to prevent the disorders, giving them, at the same time, full power to execute it.'

"This letter of M. de Montalivet will make appear, better than all that could be said re-

specting the events at Paris, what the progress is of the movement which has manifested itself, and by what dangers France is in reality threatened.

"Order of the day addressed to the Troops of the first Military Division.

"Soldiers,—Do not listen to the perfidious insinuations of the enemies of the King and of liberty. Philip the First will know how to defend it, as he will the Crown which he has received from the nation. The criminal attempts of the partizans of absolutism and of Charles the Tenth will be frustrated by your firmness. You will be faithful to those oaths to which the French people have sworn, and the King will keep his. The enemies of the glorious revolution of July are as much those of the King as they are ours; and he will put himself at your head to destroy them, if such adversaries can make up their minds to fight.

"The Lieutenant-General,
(Signed) "PAJOL."

(From the *Moniteur* of Thursday)

"The King, accompanied by the Princes, his sons, by Marshal Gerard, General Pajol, and several General officers, went at half past nine o'clock this morning to the *Place de Carrousel* to review twelve battalions of the National Guard of Paris and the suburbs, two detachments of the Line, several detachments of the Cavalry of the National Guard, and of the garrison.

The King delivered the following address to the troops which had defiled before him.

"My dear Comrades,—Always faithful to France, always devoted to my country, it is for her—it is alone for her interest—that I have accepted the Throne, to which I have been called by the voice of the people. I shall guard loyally this honourable trust, to defend it against all our enemies, whoever they may be; to maintain our institutions, our laws, our liberties; to sustain the nationality which my French heart has suffered so much to behold so frequently forgotten in these late years. I shall defend it, no matter who they may be who should dare to insult our glorious national colours, by attempting to oppose to them openly the white flag, or whether obscure attempts be made in the dark to rehoist it, such as that which has now excited the just indignation of the public.

"Those who have made themselves liable to punishment are delivered over to the hands of justice, and they will be punished in pursuance of the rigour of the laws; but when that indignation ceases, the manifestation of which was by disorder and shameful devastations, of which yesterday has given such a sad spectacle to France and to Europe, do not forget that neither liberty nor government is possible where public order is not constantly maintained.

"Let us put an end to these agitations—let us deprive our enemies of every pretext under which they dare to screen themselves, in order

that they may achieve their objects, to the detriment of France and of our national cause.

“It is for the National Guard to second me in this patriotic undertaking—it is to it that I entirely confide myself.”

(From the *Constitutionnel* of Thursday.)

“A considerable crowd went yesterday to Coufflans, where the Archbishop of Paris resides, but he was absent. Thanks to the assistance of the National Guard of Charenton and the National Guard of Bercy, the project of burning the house, which appeared to have been formed, was not executed, but his furniture and pictures were destroyed. The plate and linen were saved by the efforts of M. Michel, jun

“Towards 7 o'clock crowds formed before the church Sainte Marguerite, and the mob loudly demanded that it should be pulled down, and that a stone, which had at its angles fleurs-de-lis, should be broken to pieces. M. Jacquemin, Commissary of Police of the faubourg St Antoine, gave orders to this effect, and the cross and the stone soon disappeared. A few minutes afterwards, information came, that the Seminary of Picpus had been attacked, and delivered up to pillage; the same commissary of police went there immediately with a large detachment of the National Guard, and succeeded in clearing it of the mob, and in conducting to the Prefecture several individuals, upon whom were found stolen articles.

“Yesterday at one o'clock, by order of the authorities, scaffolding was put over the beautiful arch of the Carousel, and workmen with hatchets destroyed the bas-relief of the Trocader and the emblems of the victories of the Duke d'Angouleme. General Pajol, accompanied by his staff, was present.

(From the *Journal des Debats* of Thursday.)

“One of the Colonels of the National Guard arrested and conducted by himself, to the Prefecture of Police, seven individuals, who had assisted yesterday in disarming the two posts of the National Guard.

“It appears certain, that while the National Guard of Bercy, and of the environs, was entering Paris to aid in the maintenance of order and tranquillity, a considerable crowd of persons proceeded to the country house of the Archbishop of Paris, at Coufflans, and entirely plundered it.

(From the *Courier Francais* of Thursday.)

“*L'Opinion* gives the following news, which may afford an idea of the state of feeling at Bordeaux:—

“Active searches were made yesterday. We are assured that several individuals have been arrested belonging to the working classes. Warrants have been issued against persons who are known. Two young men yesterday invited to revolt the workmen engaged at the *Jardin Publique*, by reproaching them with working at twenty sous per day. They have been arrested, and conducted to prison by the *Cannoniers* of the National Guard. The son of

a sworn Magistrate presented himself the other day in a shop, having in his hat a white cockade. ‘Why do you carry a white cockade?’ said some one to him. ‘I have that which will protect it,’ replied the other, and he drew a pignard from his pocket.

“The Carlists in our city have adopted several rallying signs.

“The Chamber of Peers met yesterday in Bureaux. It was thought that there would have been a public sitting, but none took place. It is thought that the assemblage which had been formed in the garden of the Luxembourg, and which was almost immediately dispersed by the National Guard, was the cause of the adjournment of the Chamber.

“Yesterday, at seven o'clock, several individuals were arrested, upon whom arms were found. It was said they were the same persons who had attempted to disarm the posts of the National Guard of Petit Pont, and the Place St. André des Arts. The guard who seized upon their persons was commanded by M. Schonen, chief of the legion.

“M. l'Abbe Borequeau de Villevray, one of the Envoys from the Belgian Congress, was insulted yesterday in the Rue du Bac, whilst going forth from the hotel of the deputation. But as soon as the people recognised his character by the cockade, and the national colours of Belgium, he was treated with respect and regard, which proved the regret experienced at such a mistake.

(From the *National* of Thursday.)

“The Chamber of Deputies continues to be surrounded by numerous detachments of troops. The precincts to the Palais Bourbon were guarded to-day in a manner to make the passage of carriages, and even of pedestrians, difficult. We are ignorant, up to the present moment, how far these precautions are necessary for dispersing the assemblage of the curious.

“In all cases these military demonstrations must appear a little surprising, when it is recollected that they are destined to protect a power which calls itself popular, an assembly which pretends to represent the country, a strange power, which puts an end to the rallies of the press, and to the jokes of lithography; a strange power, to which the students send back their eulogiums, and whose dignity cannot come to the assistance of the bayonets.

CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES—Sitting of Feb. 17.

“The public attention was attracted by the alterations made in the Chamber. Almost all the *fleurs-de-lis* had been effaced, there only remaining twenty-four in the ceiling. These changes excited general attention.

“The order of the day was the continuation of the proposition relative to the municipal organization.

“M. VIENNET then explained the modifications which had been made by the Commis-

sion, and some Members having demanded that the articles which had been changed should be printed,

M. DE CALMARTIN moved an amendment, which excited some discussion, but which was eventually rejected.

“ Various other articles were then put to the vote. Upon one of them,

“ M. BENJAMIN DELESSEUR rose to move an amendment. The hon. Deputy, after taking a general review of the municipal law, expressed his regret that Paris had been exempted from the operation of the law, for the capital, more than the provinces, required a municipal administration which was equally firm and moderate, and which was able to guarantee the security of the citizens. ‘ On seeing the events which have afflicted the capital,’ continued the hon. Deputy, ‘ can we help lamenting the blindness of the Ministry, which could not foresee what it was so easy to prevent? How can we imagine that the Authorities which were able to prevent the funeral service at St. Roche, could not do as much at St. Germain l’Auxerrois, as they were informed of it beforehand? Why did they allow this service, which had not taken place for several years, in so ill-chosen a spot, and before the tombs of the victims of July? The conquering people were roused to insurrection on thinking of this outrage. Why did not the Ministry calculate upon the consequences of this pretended religious scene, which occasioned the events that have afflicted the friends of order?’ ”

“ It was impossible, in spite of the efforts of the National Guard, to prevent the disasters which have taken place; disasters, which, in France and in foreign countries, will give a false idea of the Parisian population. Paris, like the whole of France, detest hypocrisy and fanaticism, and all superstitious practices, but it respects religion and its ministers, when they are worthy of respect. If it has overstepped the bounds of resentment, it is because it was stirred up by the enemies of our institutions, who made it believe that there was no longer any police, because the sign revered for so many ages had been attacked with impunity. These men wished to attack the national representatives. How many times has not the Chamber of Deputies been menaced, and the Chamber has to lament that it is too often forced to deliberate whilst surrounded with military. (Marks of adhesion.) One of our colleagues, distinguished by his hatred to anarchy and hypocrisy, and who at every period has given to liberty the support of his talents, has seen his house invaded by a furious mob, and only owed his safety to the National Guard, which has every-where re-established tranquillity. (True, true, from the left.)

“ How have the leaders of these miscreants continued to escape from all the researches made after them? Have not the leaders of the National Guard a right to complain that several persons who had been arrested for consulting that guard, were immediately set at

liberty. The Government ought to have foreseen these events. With a King so beloved and so devoted to our institutions, with a National Guard so full of zeal, with an army animated with the best sentiments, why does not all go well?

“ Why does the distress of the industrious and commercial classes increase? Because of the weakness of the Government, because the authorities have shown too much indulgence towards the partisans of another political order, who advocate the Republic, because they do not know the inconveniences of it. Let the Ministry act with vigour against these two parties, who understand each other too well, and who join in their efforts to overthrow order and the present state of things. Let them act against the Carlist party, by placing an insurmountable barrier between France and the deposed family, by taking from the family all hope of returning to France, by ordering it immediately to sell its estates.

“ Let them act with vigour against all the fomenters of troubles. Let them not suffer those who have been arrested to languish in prison, but let them be promptly either discharged or condemned, and let care be taken that the guilty do not escape.

“ If these measures be adopted, tranquillity and confidence will be restored, and we may enjoy the advantages of the Revolution of July. There is still time, but if there is delay disorder will spread every-where. When the churches have been pillaged, they will go to the chateau, to the palace, and to the houses. Civil war will then be lighted up in the departments; and Frenchmen will no longer know how to act. I hope that the Ministry will profit by the advice of a friend of the public prosperity, who has no object but the happiness of his country. (Applause.)

“ The President observed that the honourable Deputy had strayed from the question.

“ M. DE MONTMAYRI then rose at last, ‘ Some questions have been addressed to the Ministers, and grave charges, I must say, all them, have been brought against them. Their general principles have been attacked, and specific facts mentioned. If principles only were in question, we might have made an explanation immediately. But facts have been advanced. Commerce, it is said, is not protected; there has been a violation of domicile, and arrests have taken place. To explain these circumstances documents are necessary, and in order to give our words the force which they ought to have, we must call those documents to our aid. We beg the Chamber to allow us till to-morrow.’ (Yes, yes.)

M. BARBE attempted to speak, but was interrupted by cries of ‘ To-morrow, to-morrow,’ and the Chamber decided that the explanations should take place on the morrow.

“ Great tumult arose in the assembly. Many of the Deputies left their places, and formed groups before the tribune and the Ministerial benches.

“ M. Barthe appeared much agitated, and

spoke to M. Augustin Perrier with some violence. Several other Deputies also appeared in great agitation.

“A voice—You want a republic, it is well known.

Most of the Deputies, upon this, rushed to the Ministerial bench, where this incident took place. Tranquillity having been re-established, a Deputy in the centre was heard to say—the Ministers must govern, or they must go out.

M. LAFITTE replied from the centre with much violence—The Government is strong; it is stronger than the Chamber, and it will prove it when necessary.

“The Deputies appeared astonished at these words. Attention was directed towards Cassimir Perrier, who, on seeing his brother engaged in argument, appeared troubled, and when the discussion upon the municipal law was resumed, his voice was so much paralysed that not a word of what he said could be heard.

“The first and second section of the left joined in this tumultuous discussion, and so in my opinion spoke at once that it was impossible to collect the different exclamations which fell from them.

“Many of the Deputies then retired to the Anti-chamber, or the Hall of Conference, and communicated their conjectures as to what was meant by the observation of M. Laffitte. The greater part of them contended that it meant the Chamber was about to be dissolved. The Ministers then retired from the assembly, and it was said they were going to hold a Council.—The Chamber then proceeded with ordinary business, after which it was adjourned till the next day (Friday).

Perrier, Feb. 17

To-day, at noon, the deputation of the National Congress of Belgium repaired to the Palais Royal. Two of his Majesty's aides accompanied it at the top of the grand staircase to conduct it into the first saloon, where it was received by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, who conducted it into the Presence Chamber. His Majesty received it sitting on the throne, having on his right the Duke of Orleans, and on his left the Duke of Nemours. His Majesty the Queen was present, as well as the Prince and Princesses, and the Princess Adelaide, the King's sister. The Ministers and Aides de camp of the King surrounded the throne. The President of the congress delivered the following speech:—

“Sire—The legal organ of the Belgian people, the sovereign Congress, in its sitting of the 3d of February, elected and proclaimed King his Royal Highness Louis Charles Philip d'Orleans, Duke of Nemours, your Majesty's younger son, and has intrusted to us the mission to offer the crown to his Royal Highness in the person of your majesty as his guardian and King.

“This election, which was hailed by the acclamations of a free people, is a homage rendered to the popular royalty of France, and

to the virtue of your family. It cements the natural union of the two nations without founding them. It reconciles their wishes and their natural interests with the interests and the peace of Europe, and by giving to the independence of Belgium a new support, that of the French honour, it ensures to other States a new element of force and tranquility.

“The constitutional empire on which the Crown of Belgium rests is finished. The nation whose independence is recognised expects with impatience both the sanction of its choice, and the benefits of the constitution to which he will take the oath. The answer of your Majesty will fulfil its well-founded expectations, and our just hopes. Your accession has proved that you know all the power of a truly national wish, and the sympathy of France is a pledge to us of its ready assent to the suffrages of Belgium.

“We deliver into your hands, Sire, the official decree of the election of his Royal Highness the Duke of Nemours, and a copy of the constitution decreed by the Congress.

The President of the Congress then read the act of the Congress in the following terms:—

“In the name of the Belgic nation,

“THE NATIONAL CONGRESS

“DECREE—

“Art. 1 His Royal Highness Louis Charles Philip d'Orleans, Duke of Nemours, is proclaimed King of the Belgians, on condition of accepting the Constitution, such as it shall be decreed by the National Congress.

“2 He is not to take possession of the Throne till after having solemnly taken, in the presence of the Congress, the following oath:—

“I swear to observe the Constitution and the laws of the Belgian people, to maintain the national independence, and the integrity of the territory.”

“Brussels, Palace of the Nation,

Feb 3, 1831

“The Secretaries, Members of the Congress.

“VISCOUNT VILAIN XIV.

“LIELDZ

“H. DE BROUCKERRE.

“NOÛHOMB

The President of the Congress

“E. SUREL (CHOMER)

The King answered to the deputation:—

“Gentlemen—The wish which you are commissioned to lay before me in the name of the Belgic people, on presenting me with the act of the election which the Nation in Congress has just made, of my second son, the Duke of Nemours, for King of the Belgians, fills me with sentiments which I request you to express to your generous nation. I am profoundly affected that my constant devotedness to my country has inspired you with this wish. I shall always be proud that one of my sons has been the object of your choice.

“If I listened only to the inclination of my very sincere desire to yield to the wish of a people whose peace and prosperity are equally dear and important to France, I should readi-

ly accede to it. But whatever may be my regret, whatever may be the affliction which I feel in refusing you my son, the strictness of the duties which I have to fulfil imposes upon me this painful obligation; and I must declare, that I do not accept for him the crown which you are commissioned to offer him.

"My first duty is to consult, above all things, the interest of France, and consequently not to endanger that peace which I hope to preserve for its happiness, for that of Belgium, and for that of all the States of Europe to which it is so invaluable and so necessary. I exempt myself from all ambition, my personal wishes agree with my duties. It will never be the thirst of conquest, or the honour of seeing a crown placed upon the head of my son, that will lead me to expose my country to the renewal of the evils which war brings in its train, and for which the advantages we might derive from it, however great they might otherwise be, cannot compensate. The example of Louis XIV. and Napoleon would suffice to preserve me from the fatal temptation of erecting thrones for my sons, and to make me prefer the happiness of having maintained peace, to all the splendour of the victories which in case of war French valour would not fail again to secure to our glorious standards.

"May Belgium be free and happy! Let it never forget that it is to the concert of France with other great powers of Europe that it owes the speedy acknowledgment of its national independence; and let it always rely with confidence on my support to preserve it from every external attack, or from all foreign intervention; but let Belgium also secure itself against the scourge of internal agitations, and let it preserve itself from them by the organization of a Constitutional Government, which may maintain a good understanding with its neighbours, and protect the rights of all by insuring the faithful and impartial execution of the laws. May the Sovereign whom you shall elect consolidate your internal security, and may the choice of him be, at the same time, a pledge to all the Powers of the continuance of peace and general tranquillity! May he be fully sensible of all the duties that he will have to perform! and may he never forget that public liberty will be the best foundation of his throne, as respect for your laws, the maintenance of your institutions, and fidelity in observing his engagements, will be the best means to preserve it against every attack, and to save you from the danger of new convulsions.

"Tell your countrymen that such are the wishes I form for them, and that they may depend upon the entire affection which I bear to them. They will find me always eager to manifest it to them, and to maintain with them those relations of friendship and good neighbourhood which are so necessary to the prosperity of the two States."

PARLIAMENT.

Monday, Feb. 14.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

NATIONAL FAITH. The Duke of Buckingham asked the Minister if it were still the intention of the Government to lay a tax on the funds, as he should consider that a *breach of national faith*. Lord Grey was under the disagreeable necessity of at once announcing that the scheme as mooted by Lord Althorp in his budget-speech was abandoned, and of clearing his Ministry of the charge of dishonest intentions towards the "public creditor." Lord Brougham had to do the same. Lord Grey said, that "it appeared to him both fair and equitable and just, that the fundholders should *begin* to contribute something to the relief of the burdens which pressed on their fellow-subjects, and he could not agree that, in doing so, he was guilty of any breach of faith to one class more than to the other." It is curious to hear this. The words "*equitable and just*" sound monstrously like "*equitable adjustment*:" there only wants the *ment*; and we shall hear it before long, but not till it is much too late. Lord Brougham "most positively denied that the tax on the transfer of stock would have been any breach of public faith towards the fundholders, and it was *not on that ground that it was abandoned*." "Most positively denied!" Yes, but there required a reason, Lord Brougham; however, all I say, is, as Lumpkin says, in Goldsmith's play, "Stick to that, mother!" Oh, how much gall would you have spared yourselves if you had abused me less! Lords Winchelsea, Londonderry, and Farnham, regretted that the measure had been abandoned: all thought that the fundholder should be *compelled to contribute his share*.

TITHES. Lord King bids fair to become the real *purifier* of the church. Any disinterested and dispassionate man must be struck with the hypocrisy of those who charge Lord King with manifesting *irreligion* in what he is

now doing. That he shows a want of respect for religion in showing that parsons all over the country have neglected their religious duties, while that they have taken especial care not to abandon their titles! The scandalous neglect of religion is one great cause of the people's hatred to the church parsons; and the *only cause* of the country being overrun by all sorts of sectarians.

LORD KING rose to submit the motion of which he had given notice, for returns of the resident and non-resident clergy, with an account distinguishing between the living of non-residents in lay, and those in ecclesiastical patronage. Returns of such a kind had often been made to the Privy Council, and sometimes to parliament. His motion was for an abstract of the last returns made on this subject to the Privy Council. A Right Reverend Prelate had, on a former occasion, said that the great cause of non-residence was owing to the lay impropiators of tithes having the patronage of livings, because the incomes they allowed to the clergyman who did the duty was so small that he could not reside. That might be so if the non-residence had been confined to livings of small income. But the great cause was pluralities; and he should say, that if there was a sincere desire to put an end to non-residence, the best plan would be to prevent livings above a certain value from being held in plurality. In a certain book to which he had been referred, he had found it stated, that on an average the church livings were only 365*l.* 8*s.* 4*d.* each. But there were 6,000 livings whose average income was 645*l.* His main object, however, was to show that non-residence was not confined to the livings in the patronage of lay impropiators of tithes, but extended to those in ecclesiastical patronage. He found it stated in a provincial publication of the 12th of the present month of February, that the rich living of Wisbeach, estimated to be worth 5,123*l.* had been given to a near relation of the Bishop of Ely—a Mr. Farriday—and it was stated that this rev. Gentleman was in possession of several other ecclesiastical preferments. It was also stated that the rev. Gentleman was to resign a living in favour of a second son of the Bishop of Ely; but he did not see how all this could be done without the concurrence of the Lord Chancellor. [Lord Chancellor: Farriday had not been appointed to the living of Wisbeach.] The appointment had not then taken place. The rev. Gentleman, however, had five other appointments. (No, no.) It had been stated that he had. There might be considerable difficulties in preventing pluralities; but it would appear that the incomes allowed to the officiating Clergyman were as low in Ecclesiastical Livings as those where the patronage was in the hands of lay-impropiators.

There was an Ecclesiastical Living in Yorkshire where the allowance to the officiating Clergyman was only thirty pounds a year; and there was another in Oxfordshire where the allowance was only 30*l.* a year, although that was made up by subscriptions among the parishioners to 70*l.* a year. These were cases in which the property still remained in the Church. It still remained in the Ecclesiastical Corporations, and had not been abstracted from the Church in the manner so much complained of by the right rev. Prelate. So that where the property still remained in the Church, the incomes of the officiating Ministers were sometimes worse than in livings where the property and patronage were in the hands of others. But as to the abstraction of property from the Church—the right of the Church to all the property which had ever belonged to the Church, had been put by the right rev. Prelate the other night on much higher ground than he had ever heard it placed before by any of the most high-flying of the High Church party. Even Bishop Horsley, who, it would be admitted, was a great stickler for the hierarchy and the property of the Church, had not placed the claim on such high grounds, as he saw from looking at a charge of that right rev. Prelate to his clergy. Bishop Horsley's views were moderate and reasonable, compared with those of the right rev. Prelate who spoke on the subject the other night. He concluded by moving for an Abstract from the last Returns made to the Privy Council of Resident and Non-resident Clergymen, with an Account distinguishing those Livings which were in the gift of lay impropiators, and those which were in the gift of Ecclesiastical Corporations.

The Bishop of Loxnox did not mean to oppose the motion of the noble Baron. He rose merely for the purpose of saying a few words in reference to the gross misrepresentations which had been made on this subject in some of the public prints, and more particularly in a certain book which had been lately published. When he spoke of lay impropiators as being a great cause of non-residence, he did not mean the remotest allusion to the present lay impropiators. He spoke only of the original lay impropiators—the effect of which had been to make the income of many livings so small that it formed a great obstacle to residence. He hoped, therefore, that this would be held to be a complete explanation once for all, and that he would have no occasion to trouble their Lordships further on the subject. There was another point on which he wished to say a few words. It had been said that the average income of livings was from 350*l.* to 360*l.* or 365*l.* a year. He had investigated the subject minutely since he had adverted to it on a former occasion; and the noble Baron himself would probably be surprised at the result; for, after all that had been said about the enormous property of the Church, he had found that, taking every thing into account, the value of the livings, on an

average, did not amount to more than 185*l.* a year. He had taken as the basis of his calculation the Returns of 1811—a period of great agricultural prosperity. Besides the tithes, he had taken into account the value of the glebe lands of Queen Anne's bounty, and the incomes of Bishops and other Ecclesiastical Corporations, and the incomes of livings did not amount, in the whole, to 200*l.* on an average. He stated this in answer to the gross and scandalous misrepresentations in some of the public prints, and particularly in the book to which he alluded, in which there was the grossest misrepresentation on this subject that could well be put forth. The incomes of Archdeacons, for the discharge of their important duties, were very small—so small that they could not perform them at all without the aid of livings held by them in addition to their Archdeaconries.

Lord KING.—It would be easy to send the order to the Secretaries of the Bishops, and to the Deans and Chapters, who could, without difficulty, make out the account of such livings as were in lay, and such as were in ecclesiastical patronage. As to what the right reverend Prelate had said as to his statement, he had not had his information from the *black book* to which the right reverend Prelate alluded, but from a book called *The Revenues of the Church no Burden on the Public*—a book which was favourable to the Church Establishment rather than otherwise. He should feel great pain if the average income of livings were so low as 185*l.* each, as the right reverend Prelate had stated; and he hoped that the right reverend Prelate had fallen into some mistake in his calculation.

Earl GALEY did not see how the Returns called for by his noble Friend could be procured in the manner which he had proposed. He should have no objection to such Returns being laid on their Lordships' table; but he requested his noble Friend to consider whether it would not be better to withdraw his motion for the present, in order to see whether it might not be afterwards brought forward in a shape more calculated to attain the object. His own belief was, that great inconvenience resulted from this mode of incidentally discussing particular parts of the subject, on occasions of presenting petitions. He did not mean to question his noble Friend's sincerity; but he did say, that the course which he had adopted was any thing but favourable to the attainment of the object which his noble Friend himself had in view. He was fully persuaded that there existed among the heads of the Church a most sincere desire to remedy the abuses in the establishment.

The "*Extraordinary Black Book*" referred to by the BISHOP of LONDON and Lord KING (the book is published by Mr. E. WILSON, Royal Exchange), states the whole revenues of the church establishment at 9,459,565*l.* I

always calculated it at 8,000,000*l.*, and I am confident that I am under the mark.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

BREACH OF FAITH. A long debate on the proposed tax on the funds, in which Lord ALTHORP defends himself from the imputation of wishing to *break the public faith*. He is rated by some, and consoled by others; he will not "*resign his opinions*," but he *resigns his project*. I knew that if I lived I should see this; and if I live but a little longer I shall see bitterer draughts than these swallowed by those who have abused me.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Feb. 15.

REFORM. Several petitions in favour of this, but particularly one from Birmingham, signed by 21,000 persons, and styled a "*petition of right*." Several petitions also against tithes.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

ALDERMAN WATKINMAN'S motion about trade and manufactures.—BUCKINGHAM PALACE and WINDSOR CASTLE. A pretty exposure of the manner of carrying on public works was made as to these two places, which have cost already 639,000*l.*, and are, before they are completed, to cost 121,000*l.* more; in all, 760,000*l.* Be it observed that all this money is laid out for building that great unfinished thing in the corner of St. James's Park, which, on all hands, is declared to be an ugly, ill-shaped, and unfit thing, and for *furnishing Windsor Castle*; and the excuse given by the trades-people for the cost of this latter so far exceeding the estimate, is stated by Lord ALTHORP to be, "that the furniture was so extraordinary and so unusual." No less than 203,960*l.* for *furnishing one Palace*, while the country is in such a state of destitution, that men, young working men, have been known to die of pure want, and with nothing inside of them but sour sorrow!

GAME-LAWS. This terrible code is, it seems, to be repealed in great part; but I remarked on this in my last Register, so I need not do it again. Quali-

ation is to be done away with; and a tax of 5*l.* laid on sportsmen. Nothing in the House of Lords on the

16th of February.
HOUSE OF COMMONS.

REFORM Many petitions on this subject; one in particular from Devon; presented by Lord EBRINGTON, and supported by Sir THOMAS ACLAND. This petition, like almost all others on Reform, prayed for the ballot.

POOR LAWS.—Mr. BRISCOE moved for leave to bring in a Bill to amend the 59th of Geo III, c. 12, as far as it relates to the letting and leasing of land to labourers.

Mr. Sturges Bourne and Mr. J. Smith supported the Motion

Sir J. SMITH was of opinion that parishes ought to take a quantity of land, in order to give employment to their own poor; and thus in some measure enable the pauper to contribute to his own support

Mr. POULMAN feared that such a plan would be impracticable with regard to parishes, but private individuals might thus let out small portions of land to poor men, who would thus be enabled to support themselves without entirely depending on parish assistance, and who would, consequently, raise themselves above the degraded state in which they now were. However, he must say, that rather than see the present system patched up in this manner, he should wish Parliament to repeal most of the Acts on the subject till they got back to the Act of Elizabeth. This was a subject which his Majesty's Ministers must speedily take into their consideration.

They must come back to the Act of Elizabeth, sooner or later, and the sooner the better. STURGES BOURNE'S Bill I shot at from Long Island; and I shall have to refer very shortly to the poor luck hunted Register of that time.

February 17.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Nothing of much consequence. Lord ELLENBOROUGH moved for some returns concerning articles on which some change in duties is intended by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Motion agreed to.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

EVESHAM. A good deal of talk about this Borough; but nothing worth recording or commenting on.

DIPLOMATIC EXPENSES. Mr HUME moved for returns of expenses con-

nected with Ambassadors, Consuls, and Vice Consuls, from the year 1814 to 1830. Motion agreed to. A good deal of battling about the steam-boat tax followed this. All sorts of efforts to get the Chancellor of the Exchequer to give up his proposed tax; but he remained firm; fought the poor junkettors of London, Gravesend, and Margate with "force and arms," saying, "Some hon. Gentleman seemed to think, that, because he had consented to make some alterations in his original plan, he ought to submit to a change of the whole. He could assure hon. Gentlemen that they would be mistaken!" Bravo, who'd have thought it!

February 19.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Lord WINCHESTER presented a petition from a parish in Kent for a repeal of the Malt duty. He said that the Beer Bill had caused many small beer shops in which the late outages in the county had been determined on; and thereupon he charged the Government with being in some measure the cause. The Duke of WELLINGTON reminded Lord W. that the Beer Bill did not come into operation till October, whereas the disturbances began before.

REFORM. The Lord CHANCELLOR presented a petition from Edinburgh in favour of reform. His Lordship's words on presenting this petition, are remarked on in the former part of this Register.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

IRELAND. Mr. D. BROWNE came to ask the Government for a grant of money (200,000*l.*) to relieve the Irish in certain districts of Ireland now suffering the most appalling distress. He described the unfortunate people as utterly destitute: said they had "some time since been obliged to have recourse to picking up wretched shell-fish on the sea-shore, in order to delay, as long as possible, the consumption of their stock of potatoes!" He went on, after stating that the number of persons in the district that he spoke of amounted to about 200,000, to hope that the Government would grant a

sum of 200,000*l.*, and then he said "there were many persons who objected to giving money to the people, and he was himself opposed to the principle of mere gifts; but in this case the Irish did not ask for gifts, they only wanted the Government to grant the money as the means of paying for public works, for these poor people wanted nothing more than the means of employment. In what he had stated he had been guilty of no exaggeration; he had stated what he believed to be strictly true, and he had done so at this moment, because he thought it to be his duty to forget every-thing, in a case like the present, but the absolute necessity of bringing the case of these poor people before the House. Objected to giving money TO "THE PEOPLE!" Aye, do they. But just turn to the *Irish pension list*; for, although this country is in a state of distress such as no country ever was known to be in before, though its inhabitants wander about naked, and subsist in great part upon shell-fish, picked up along the shore; though this actually now goes on, this country has a *pension list*, and I here give one little extract from it.

Handfield, Catherine (a year)	£88	1	0
Handfield, Arne Margaret	-	55	1
Handfield, Eliza	-	88	1
Handfield, Jane Isabella	-	88	1
Handfield, Mary	-	88	1
Handfield, Julia Lucy	-	88	1
Handfield, Sarah	-	58	1

There! thou "*many who object to give money to the people!*" who these *people* (the Handfields) are, God knows; but what *WORK* do they do? what are they willing to do?—STANLEY (Secretary for Ireland) said, "He had himself received a Petition from the barony of Trawley, which he intended to present to the House; and the subscribers to it set out their sufferings in language at once most simple and most forcible. They stated that they had been obliged to sell their moveables; that the scanty crop of grain had been sold to pay rent; that the potatoe crop had, to a considerable extent, failed; and that,

'the linen trade being at an end, they could only depend upon the soil, for which they knew no means of compulsory production. 'Give us (said the petitioners, in conclusion) but the means of maintaining our wives and our families—we will be thankful—we will be industrious—we will be happy.' Severe as were the sufferings of the petitioners, their representations of them to the House did not contain a syllable of insubordination, or even of discontent; and for this reason it was doubly deserving the attention of Parliament." (Hear, hear.)

A long debate on the army estimates followed. Nothing of great consequence. The estimate was raised by 5000 more troops, on the ground that the internal state of the country requires it.

Feb 20

HOUSE OF LORDS.

TITHES.—Lord KING observed that he believed he had the precedence. He would bring under their notice the report made by the Archbishop of Dublin to the Lord Lieutenant and Privy Council, in order to obtain their sanction to the great union of Wicklow. He would not enter more fully into the abuses of the Irish unions than was necessary to make the practice of Ireland in this respect intelligible to an English audience. No one could dispute that the union of many parishes into one benefice was a great abuse, and ought never to be unnecessarily allowed. In Ireland the practice was peculiarly objectionable, because it increased the contrast between the extreme poverty of the people and the overgrown wealth of the church establishment. If any one were to ask why so large a portion of the property of Ireland was applied to the maintenance of a religion which was that of a small minority of the people, the only defence that could be set up would be, that in the deserted state of a country where so few lay persons of property resided, it was desirable to secure the residence of so many men of education. But when six, seven, eight, or ten benefices were joined in one Union, the number of resident gentlemen was curtailed, and the only defence of the large revenue of the Established Church was destroyed. Looking to the account of the number of parishes and incumbents in Ireland, he found that 2450 parishes were united in such a manner that they possessed only 700 resident clergymen; being not a third. 1701 parishes were consolidated in 517 unions. These may be called the Irish Consols. There were only 741 parishes with single residents. The unions con-

tinued only during the lives of the incumbents. On the death of the incumbent the parishes could not be again united without the authority of the Bishop, superintended by the Lord Lieutenant and Privy Council, to whom the Bishop must submit his reasons. The union of Wicklow consisted of six parishes. He was far from saying that it was the greatest abuse of the kind. There were many unions of ten parishes; one of no fewer than thirteen. That might be called the *magnum bonum* or the *summum bonum* of the Irish Churches. In the diocese of Clonfert, according to the returns made in 1824, there was not a single instance of a parish held by a separate incumbent. Every benefice in that diocese was a union; and the reason was, that in that diocese the ancient custom of the *quatuor pars* remained that was, the Bishop had a fourth of all the tithes in the diocese. In that diocese the old usage remained of appropriating a fourth of the tithes to the Bishop, a fourth to the prior, a fourth to the incumbent, and a fourth to the church. The consequence was, that the unions in the diocese of Clonfert were not so frequently dissolved as they might be; because it was evident that it must be much more agreeable for the Bishop to receive his *quatuor pars* from a small number of wealthy incumbents than from a larger number of poorer ones. In the diocese of Killaloe, in 136 parishes, there were only 41 shepherds. In the diocese of Dublin there were 60 single parishes, and 97 parishes in 20 unions. He now came to the particular union of Wicklow. By the clause of the Act of the 7th and 8th of George IV., the diocesan, when he wished to unite several parishes, was compelled, within fourteen days of his making an order for that purpose, to report to the Lord Lieutenant and Privy Council, and to give his reasons for what he had done; and if those reasons were disapproved by the Lord Lieutenant and Privy Council, the order became void of force. The noble Lord proceeded to read the report which the Archbishop of Dublin made respecting the union of Wicklow, and to point out the statements in that report which he (Lord King) had the means of contradicting. In the first place, the Archbishop spoke of the Vicar of Wicklow, the Rector of Drumkeel, and the Vicar of Kilpool. Now there was no Vicar of Wicklow. There was no parish of Wicklow. The town of Wicklow was built in two parishes. The Archbishop stated, that the income which the union would produce would be, from the parish of Wicklow, 787*l.*; from the parish of Drumkeel, 69*l.*; from the parish of Kilpool, 50*l.*, making together, 907*l.* Now, Archdeacon Magee, in stating the revenue of the whole union as the ground of a composition, estimated it at 225*l.*; besides the additional value of the glebe land, making altogether 250*l.* The Archbishop stated, the whole extent of the union to be 17,200 acres, great part of which, he said, was far from Wicklow—mountain, moss, and barren heath,

and thinly populated. The fact, however, was, that the union contained 22,000 Irish, or 36,000 statute acres; that it was thirteen miles long from North to South, and nine miles wide; and that the population was great, especially near the county town, which contained from three to four thousand inhabitants. Upon the whole the union contained not less than 13,000 souls, of whom a considerable proportion were Protestants. The Archbishop stated, that there were churches and chapels of ease sufficient, and that the remotest part of Kilpool was not more than a mile from one of them. The fact was, that it was three miles and a half, Irish, or four miles and a half, English. Then the most reverend Prelate stated that the parishes of Drumkeel and Kilpool would not together afford a sufficient income to a resident clergyman, independent of the union with the vicarage of Wicklow; but the tithes of the one amounted to 289*l.* a year, and the revenues of the two together would amount to a sum of 395*l.* 1*l.* 3*d.*—a sum twice as large as that stated by a right reverend Prelate the other day as the average income of English livings. Was not that sufficient for an Irish rector? These contradictions, their Lordships would observe, related to the state of the revenues of the livings in one and the same year. There was no alteration in the rates. The report was presented to the Duke of Northumberland and the Privy Council, and related to one year. And it would be observed, that this union took place in a populous parish, and one in which there was a great number of Protestants, and the rectorial tithes amounted to 1,600*l.* The fortunate person holding these united parishes was a near relation of the most reverend Prelate, and the same was rector of the parish of St. John, Dublin, and a prebend of St. Patrick's. He did not mean to enter upon the church-yard disputes which the reverend Gentleman had with his parishioners, in which he sent them anywhere rather than to heaven. This was for the purpose of making them pay their tithes, and he believed he did make them pay them. So that they were certainly not liable to the reproach which a Monk applied to some people of old—*“Pessima est gens. dicimus non solvunt.”* They did pay their tithes. This union of Wicklow, it appeared, was to be annexed to *commendam* to the Stall of St. Patrick's. This might have been the best account of the case which the most reverend Prelate would give, and it would have been better if he had resorted to one good reason for the measure, than to have had recourse to nineteen bad ones. But were the parishioners to be reckoned as nothing in the scale, and were their interests not to be considered when the annexation was made? It was highly proper that this union of parishes should be dissolved, and he was content that it should be done by the Irish churchmen themselves, and in the way most agreeable to them. But it ought to be done in some way; and if not otherwise done,

it would be proper to address the Crown to do it. He moved for a copy of the Report made by the Archbishop of Dublin to the Duke of Northumberland and the Privy Council, on the subject of the uniting of the living of Wicklow and the two adjoining livings of Drimkeel and Kilpool, with a view to its being laid on the table of the House.

Motion agreed to.

Cotton Trade, West Indies, and Supply were all talked about; but I do not find anything much worth recording.

SEEDS

For Sale at my Shop, Bolt-court, Fleet-street, London.

LOCUST SEED.—Very fine and fresh, at 6s. a pound, received from America about two months ago. For instructions relative to sowing of these seeds, for rearing the plants, for making plantations of them, for preparing the land to receive them, for the after cultivation, for the pruning, and for the application of the timber; for all these see my "WOODLANDS;" or TREATISE ON TIMBER TREES AND UNDERWOOD. 8vo. 14s.

SWEDISH TURNIP SEED.—Any quantity under 10lbs. 10d. a pound; any quantity above 10lbs. and under 50lbs. 9½d. a pound; any quantity above 50lbs. 9d. a pound; above 100lbs. 8½d. A parcel of seed may be sent to any part of the kingdom; I will find proper bags, will send it to any coach or van or wagon, and have it booked at my expense; but *the money must be paid at my shop before the seed be sent away*; in consideration of which I have made due allowance in the price. If the quantity be small, any friend can ... and get it for a friend in the country; if the quantity be large, it may be sent by me. This seed was growed last year at Barn-Elm, on ridges six feet apart; two rows, a foot apart, on each ridge. The plants were raised from seed given me by Mr. PERRINCORN (of Southwell, Bedfordshire), in 1823. He gave it me as the finest sort that he had ever seen. I raised some plants (for use) in my garden every year; but, at Barn-Elm I raised a

whole field of it, and had 320 bushels of seed upon 13 acres of land. I pledge my word, that there was not one single turnip in the whole field (which bore seed) not of the true kind. There was but one of a suspicious look; and that one I pulled up and threw away. So that I *warrant* this seed as being perfectly true, and as having proceeded from plants with small necks and greens, and with that reddish tinge round the collar which is the sure sign of the best sort.

MANGEL WURZEL SEED—Any quantity under 10lb., 7½d. a pound; any quantity above 10lb. and under 50lb., 7d. a pound; any quantity above 50lb., 6½d. a pound; any quantity above 100lb., 6d. a pound. The selling at the same place as above; the payment in the same manner. This seed was also grown at Barn-Elm farm, the summer before the last. It is a seed which is just as good at ten years old as at one.—The plants were raised in seed-beds in 1823; they were selected, and those of the deepest red planted out in a field of 13 acres, which was admired by all who saw it, as a most even, true and beautiful field of the kind. The crop was very large; and out of it were again selected the plants from which my present stock of seed was growed; though, indeed, there was little room for selection, where all were so good and true. I got my seed from Mr. Pym, of Reigate, who raised it from plants proceeding from seed that I had given him, which seed I had raised at Worth, in Sussex; and, all the way through, the greatest care had been taken to raise seed from no plant of a dubious character.—This seed, therefore, I *warrant* as the very best of the kind.

COBBETT'S CORN.—Having to quit my farm at *Michaelmas*, I could have no Corn there; but, at Kensington, I have had the finest crop I ever saw, The *Tox Ter* has said, that it is "*a complete failure*," and a great bleating beast, that is now laughed at by

all the world, has been hawking about Lancashire, that this corn is "not fit for a hog to eat, though I want the poor people to live on it." The answer to poor envious 'Tommy' Tit is given by the beautiful crop that I have now on sale as seed. The answer to the malignant bleating beast might be given in *one very short word*. The great use of this corn is to the labourers. On ten rods of ground I have, this very adverse year, grown eight bushels of shelled corn; and that is sufficient to fat a pig of seven or eight score. Suppose the like comes, on an average, from 20 rods, is not this a great blessing for a labouring man? It is in this light that I have always viewed this corn as of the greatest importance. I have a room at Bolt Court, hung all over the walls with bunches of it. Those bunches would fat a good large hog; and I never look at it without most anxiously hoping to see the day, when the greater part of English labourers' dwellings will be decorated in the same manner. The thing to do is to distribute a little seed amongst the labourers. In the *Two-Penny Trash for April*, I will give them instructions for the planting and management and application of this corn. I should be glad to cause to be distributed, 200 ears of the corn amongst the labourers of each of the counties of Berks, Bucks, Wilts, Hants, Sussex, Suffolk, Norfolk, Essex, Cambridge, Lincoln, Huntingdon, and Gloucester, as a mark of my wish to see them once more have bacon to eat instead of accursed potatoes, and 500 ears amongst those of the county of Kent, as a mark of my particular regard for the labourers of that famous county, the first that was trodden by the feet of the saints, and that never was trodden under the hoof of a conqueror. I do not know very well how to accomplish this distribution. If any gentleman, whom I know, in each of the aforesaid counties, will undertake the distribution, I will give him the ears for the purpose, and a *Two-penny Trash* (containing the instructions) along with

each ear of corn. I SELL THE CORN AT MY SHOP IN BOLT-COURT, AT 1s. A BUNCH OF FIVE EARS, SIX IN NUMBER; and the BOOK, on the cultivation and uses of it, at 2s. 6d.; which is called a TREATISE ON CORBETT'S CORN.

Globe, Feb. 24.—It is with the deepest regret we state that, on Tuesday night, when the King and Queen were returning from Drury Lane Theatre, a stone was thrown at the window of their Carriage, which shattered it, and fell inside; most providentially without injury to the Royal Personages.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 18, 1831.

INSOLVENTS.

FEB. 17.—BYRNE, W., Trinity-pl., Charing-Cross, army-agent.

FEB. 17.—GIDDIES, J., George-town, Demarara, and Gracechurch-street, merchant.

FEB. 18.—PALMER, G., Epping, school-master.

BANKRUPTS.

BRIDGE, J., King's Lynn, Norfolk, builder.

COOMBS, S. jun., St. Wollos, Moam, coal-mt.

DE LACOUR, T. C., London, diamond-mt.

HOUGH, C., Monmouth, printer.

INSOLE, G. and R.-Biddle, Cardiff, Glamorganshire, brick-makers.

JENKINS, R., Newport, Monmouthshire, coal-merchant.

SHAW, G., Birmingham, plater.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 21, 1831.

INSOLVENT.

FEB. 21.—CHATFIELD, W., Charlotte-st., Rathbone-pl. & Bell-st., Cannon-st., printer.

BANKRUPTCY ENLARGED.

BEE, C. G., Stamford-street, bill-broker.

BANKRUPTCIES SUPERSEDED.

COMLEY, G., Uley, Gloucestershire, chandler.

DAVIES, R., Lisle-street, coal-merchant.

BANKRUPTS.

BACKLER, S., St. James's-street, tobacconist.

BRETHERTON, P. jun., Liverpool, dealer.

CAMERON, J. T. Johnston, and W. Bovera, Henrietta street, Westminster, tailors.

DEWIA, J., Barton St. Mary, Gloucestershire, builder.

HOLLAND, M., R., and J., Manchester, Halifax, and Sowerby, common-dealers.

SPOONER, C., Union-street, Bone, oilman.

STORKE, W., Leftwich, Cheshire, bone-dealer.

WAITER, F. A., Piccadilly, coal-merchant.

WINTERFLOOD, R., Little Waltham, Essex, innkeeper.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, FEB. 11.—We have rather a large supply of English Wheat in the market this morning, principally from the West Coast, and we consider that the factors, to effect sales, must submit to a decline of from 1s. to 2s. per quarter. In Foreign Wheat the prices are nominally as we last quoted. In Barley we have a middling supply, and 1s. per quarter reduction from the prices of this day week may be quoted, except in the former samples, which are as we last quoted. The Oat trade is heavy, and the Grain may be quoted at full 1s. per quarter under the price of this day week, and the supply of this Grain is rather abundant, although we have none from Ireland. Beans and Peas, Flour, and all other articles of Grain, remain as on Monday last.

Wheat	74s. to 80s.
Rye	30s. to 33s.
Barley	39s. to 41s.
— fine	45s. to 47s.
Peas, White	40s. to 44s.
— Bonlers	45s. to 49s.
— Grey	36s. to 42s.
Beans, Small	42s. to 45s.
— Tick	36s. to 40s.
Oats, Potatoe	28s. to 34s.
— Poland	26s. to 28s.
— Feed	22s. to 25s.
Flour, per sack	60s. to 65s.

PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new, 44s. to —s. per cwt.	
— Sides, new... 43s. to —s.	
Pork, India, new... 110s. 0d.	
— Mess, new... 55s. to 57s. 6d. per barl.	
Butter, Belfast 96s. to 98s. per cwt.	
— Carlow	94s. to 98s.
— Cork	96s. to 98s.
— Limerick... 96s. to 98s.	
— Waterford... 92s. to —s.	
— Dublin	90s. to —s.
Cheese, Cheshire ... 40s. to 70s.	
— Gloucester, Double... 48s. to 56s.	
— Gloucester, Single... 44s. to 50s.	
— Edam	40s. to 46s.
— Gouda..... 42s. to 46s.	
Hams, Irish... .. 45s. to 56s.	

SMITHFIELD—Feb. 21.

In Beef the finest young Scots fetch 4s. 6d. to 5s. per stone; and coarser meat is 4s. to 4s. 4d. per stone. In the Mutton trade the quotation for the primest Down is 4s. 6d. to 5s. per stone. In Veal prime young Calves reach 6s. to 6s. 4d. per stone. Dairy-fed Porkers sell at 5s. to 5s. 4d. per stone; and large Hogs at 3s. to 4s. Beasts, 2,269; Sheep, 14,590; Calves, 100; Pigs, 120.

THE FUNDS.

	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed	Thur
3 per Cent. } Cons. Ann. }	80½	79½	79½	78½	78½	78½

MARK-LANE.—Friday, Feb. 23.

The supplies are much larger than for some time past. The prices of Wheat, Barley, and Oats are 1s. to 2s. lower than on Monday, with a dull market.

	English arrivals.	Foreign.	Irish.
Flour	9,415		
Wheat	3,610	5,320	
Barley	16,400	530	
Oats	23,650	240	3,425

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N.B. A royal octavo edition, on fine paper, and in extra boards, price 11. 11s. 6d.

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John Brooks, 421, Oxford Street.

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TO
MONSIEUR GUIZOT,

*A Member of the Chamber of Deputies
of France.*

Kensington, 24th February, 1831.

MONSIEUR,

Is a speech, which is reported to have been made by you, in the Chamber of Deputies, on the 19th of this month, I find the following propositions: "That the Government of France ought to reside in the Chamber of Deputies; that the Chamber ought never again to hope to be popular; that it never can be, if it do its duty; that, ever since the Revolution in England of 1688, there has never existed a popular House of Commons; that yet England has preserved her liberties; that therefore, France ought in this respect, to imitate England."

If the people of England were Roman Catholics, they would, upon reading this, have *crossed themselves*, as pious Catholics do when they see, or think they see, some ghost, or the approach of some signal infliction of Providence. Being Protestants, and not in the habit of resorting to this pious mode of expressing our alarm, we stare with astonishment; we are astounded at reading these words; our feeling is a mixture of apprehension for the liberties of the people of France, and of inexpressible indignation against the speaker.

If we had nothing to guide us but the experience of all the nations in the world, we should at once pronounce agreeably to the expression of Mr. John Adams, one of the founders of the American Republic, and since, one of its Presidents, that "of all the scourges that God, in his wrath, ever permitted to be employed to punish the sins of wicked nations, the greatest scourge is that of a Government, all the powers of which reside in a legislative assembly; because men will commit acts of tyranny, so assem-

A
MONSIEUR GUIZOT,

*Membre de la Chambre des Députés de
France.*

Kensington, 31 Fevrier, 1831.

MONSIEUR,

DANS un discours que vous avez fait, à ce qu'on rapporte, dans la chambre des députés, le 19 de ce mois, je trouve les propositions suivantes; "que le gouvernement de France doit résider dans la chambre des députés; que la chambre ne doit plus espérer d'être dorénavant populaire; qu'elle ne peut jamais l'être, si elle fait son devoir; qu'en Angleterre, depuis la révolution de 1688, la Maison des Communes n'a jamais été populaire; que cependant l'Angleterre a conservé ses libertés; que, par conséquent, la France doit, sous ce rapport, imiter l'Angleterre."

Si les Anglais étaient Catholiques Romains, en lisant ceci, ils auraient fait le *signe de la croix* comme font les Catholiques pieux lorsqu'ils voient ou croient voir un apparition à l'approche d'un châtement signalé de la providence. Etant Protestants, et nullement accoutumés à recourir à ce mode pieux d'exprimer nos alarmes, nous sommes saisis d'étonnement, nous restons stupéfaits en lisant ces mots; ce que nous éprouvons est un mélange de crainte pour les libertés du peuple de France, et d'une indignation inexprimable contre l'orateur.

N'aurions-nous pas l'expérience de toutes les nations de la terre pour nous servir de guide, nous n'hésiterions pas à prononcer à l'instant, conformément aux expressions de M. John Adams, un des fondateurs de la liberté Américaine; et depuis un de ses présidents, que "de tous les fléaux que Dieu dans sa colère ait jamais permis qu'on ait employés pour punir les péchés des nations coupables, le plus grand fléau est celui d'un gouvernement dont tout le pouvoir réside dans une assemblée législative, parceque les hommes ainsi assemblés

“bled, that they never would dream of committing singly, and one by one.” “The despot,” adds Mr. Adams, “is known: the band of despots shelter one another from the knowledge and resentment of the people.”

It is much about the same thing, if there be two assemblies, and if they be essentially one body in point of interest. However, leaving theory, or general principles, out of the question, let us come to the *practice*. You have illustrated your doctrine by citing the English House of Commons, as constituting the best Government in the world; as having the Government absolutely in its hands; as having preserved the liberties of the country; as being worthy of the imitation of France; and as having been first established, and having first begun its career, at the Revolution of 1688. Now, I agree that it did begin its career at the Revolution of 1688; I agree that it has, in fact, had the Government essentially in it from that time to this; but I deny that it has preserved the liberties of England; and I deny that it ought to be an object of imitation with France.

The liberties of England consisted most particularly in the certainty of *Trial by Jury*, and in the administration of the law by *Judges entirely independent of the Crown and of its Ministers*. Since the year 1688, laws have been passed to take away the trial by Jury, both in criminal and pecuniary cases, in, I believe, nine instances out of ten. Men may now be imprisoned for long periods—even, and they may have their property taken from them by fines, without any trial by Jury; nay, in certain cases, they may be *transported for seven years without trial by Jury*. With regard to the *independence of the Judges*, a thing so long and so justly the boast of England, there are, in every county of the kingdom, men called *justices of the peace*, in number without limit. These justices are, very frequently, and, I believe, most frequently, Bishops, Deans, Prebends, Canons, Rectors, or Vicars of the Established Church, officers of the Army and the Navy, place-

commettront des actes de tyrannie qu'ils n'auraient jamais pensé à commettre chacun en son particulier.” “Le despote,” ajoute M. Adams, “est connu; les despotes en corps se déroberont les uns les autres à la connaissance et au ressentiment du peuple.”

C'est à peu près la même chose s'il y a deux assemblées, et si leurs intérêts respectifs les réunissent essentiellement en un seul corps. Cependant laissant la théorie, ou les principes généraux, hors de question, venons à la *pratique*.

Vous expliquez votre doctrine en citant la Maison des Communes d'Angleterre, comme constituant le meilleur gouvernement de la terre; comme ayant absolument tout le pouvoir dans ses mains; comme ayant conservé les libertés du pays; comme étant digne de l'imitation de la France; et comme ayant d'abord été établie, et ayant d'abord commencé sa carrière à la révolution de 1688. Je conviens qu'en effet, depuis lors jusqu'aujourd'hui elle a eu essentiellement le gouvernement en sa possession; mais je nie qu'elle ait conservé les libertés de l'Angleterre; et je nie qu'elle doive être un objet d'imitation pour la France.

Les libertés de l'Angleterre consistaient surtout dans le *jugement par juri* et dans l'administration du pays par des juges entièrement indépendants de la couronne et de ses ministres. Depuis l'an 1688, des lois ont été faites pour ôter au juri la connaissance des délits soit civils soit criminels, dans, je crois, neuf cas sur dix. Aujourd'hui on peut être emprisonné même pour long-temps, et on peut être dépouillé de sa propriété par des amendes, sans jugement par juri; qui plus est, en certains cas, l'on peut être transporté pour sept ans, sans jugement par juri.

Venons maintenant à l'*indépendance des juges*, chose qui a été long-temps, et à juste titre, l'orgueil de l'Angleterre. Il y a dans chaque comté du royaume, des hommes appelés *juges de paix*, dont le nombre est illimité. Ces juges sont ordinairement, et, je crois, très souvent, des évêques, des doyens, des prébendiers, des chanoines, des recteurs ou vicaires de l'église établie, des officiers, de

men, pensioners, and sinecurists. At any rate, whatever the proportion of these may be, there are many such who are justices of the peace in every county of the kingdom. Now, Sir, these justices are not only appointed at the sole pleasure of the Ministers, but may be turned out of office at the pleasure of the Ministers, without cause assigned: and yet these men have the power, without any appeal from their decision, to inflict heavy fines, and to sentence men not only to imprisonment at their sole discretion, but also to sentence them to transportation at their discretion. And this is, by no means a nominal power; for some of them have recently passed a sentence of imprisonment for five years, and have transported men for life! The members of the House of Commons are, for the greater part, themselves Justices of the Peace! So that they are not only the makers but also the executors of the law; thus setting at defiance that great principle of our constitution, that the legislative and judiciary functions ought to be kept distinct. I will trouble you with no more instances in which the liberties of England have been preserved by this famous House of Commons, so strict an imitation of which you are desirous to introduce in order to preserve the liberties of France! But, Sir, the sensible way of judging of the value of a thing, is, by looking at the effects which that thing has produced. This House of Commons, which is the object of your admiration and eulogium, found England without a Debt, without a standing army, and without barracks; it has furnished it with a Debt of eight hundred millions of pounds sterling, with a standing army (in time of profound peace) of about 100,000 men, and it has covered the country over with depôts and barracks, which two latter are expressly contrary, the very existence of them is contrary, to the law and constitution of England, as these are laid down by BLACKSTONE, who wrote only seventy years ago. This famous House of Commons found England in safe, secure, tranquil possession of the rising colonies now

l'armée et de la marine, des employés, des pensionnaires, et des sinecuristes. Dans tous les cas, en quelque proportion que ce soit, il y a un grand nombre de ces différens individus qui sont juges de paix dans tous les comtés du royaume. Or, Monsieur, ces juges de paix sont non seulement nommés d'après le seul plaisir des ministres, mais ils peuvent être destitués selon le plaisir des ministres, sans qu'aucun motif soit assigné; et cependant ces hommes ont le pouvoir, sans qu'on en appelle de leurs décisions, d'imposer de fortes amendes, et de condamner non seulement à l'emprisonnement selon leur seule sagesse, mais aussi de condamner à la déportation selon leur sagesse, et ceci n'est nullement un pouvoir nominal, car il y en a plusieurs qui dernièrement ont passé sentence d'emprisonnement pour cinq ans, et ont déporté des individus pour la vie! Il y a un grand nombre de membres de la Maison des Communes qui sont eux-mêmes juges de paix! De sorte que non seulement ils sont les faiseurs mais aussi les exécuteurs des lois; se jouant ainsi de ce grand principe de notre constitution, que les fonctions législatives et les judiciaires doivent être séparées.

Je ne vous citerai pas d'autres exemples de la manière dont les libertés de l'Angleterre ont été conservées par cette fameuse Maison des Communes d'après la quelle vous désirez modeler votre chambre, afin de conserver les libertés de la France! Mais, Monsieur, le meilleur moyen de juger de la valeur d'une chose, est d'examiner les effets que cette chose a produits. Cette Maison des Communes qui est l'objet de votre admiration et de vos éloges a trouvé l'Angleterre sans dette, sans armée permanente, et sans casernes; elle lui a procuré une dette de huit cent millions de livres sterling, avec une armée permanente (en temps d'une paix profonde) d'environ 100,000 hommes, et elle a couvert le pays de depôts et de casernes, quoique ces deux derniers objets soient expressément contraires, que leur existence même soit contraire à la loi et à la constitution d'Angleterre; ainsi qu'on le voit dans Blackstone qui

called the United States of America ; colonies existing in willing obedience, in attachment unparalleled, to England ; and it passed laws, following one another in augmented oppression and insult, till those colonies were not only severed from England for ever, but until they were urged to become an independent nation, which is now become the most formidable rival of England herself.

This famous House of Commons, the like of which you are so anxious to obtain as a Government for the people of France, found England with taxes raised by the state to the amount of one *million two hundred thousand pounds a year* ; and it has brought it to an amount of taxes raised for the state upwards of *sixty millions of pounds sterling a year* ! Will you say that, nevertheless, the people of England are as well off as they were before ? Here is my answer : in England we have a general tax on house and land for the relief and maintenance of poor persons who are unable, by themselves or their relations, to provide for their own wants. In 1687, these poor-taxes amounted, for all England and Wales, in one year, to *one hundred and sixty thousand pounds* ; they now amount in one year, to *seven millions, five hundred thousand pounds* ! Thus, you see, that the increasing misery of the people has kept a pretty exact pace with the increase of the taxes raised by the State ; while from the documents, laid before the parliament, you will learn, that *crimes*, the offspring of misery, have increased in a still greater proportion ; and as those taxes have all been imposed by the House of Commons, to that House, the precise like of which you are so anxious to introduce into France, this disgraceful increase of misery and crime is solely to be ascribed.

But is it peace ; is it tranquillity ; is it content amongst the people of France, that you wish to produce by placing

vingt il y a seulement soixante et dix ans. Cette fameuse Maison des Communes a trouvé l'Angleterre jouissant tranquillement et dans la plus grande sécurité de ses nouvelles colonies, appelées aujourd'hui les Etats-Unis d'Amérique ; colonies qui, outre une obéissance volontaire, montraient à l'Angleterre un attachement sans exemple ; et elle a passé successivement des lois d'oppression et d'insulte jusqu'à ce que ces colonies se sont non seulement séparées de l'Angleterre pour jamais, mais jusqu'à ce qu'elles ont été forcées de devenir une nation indépendante, qui est même devenue la rivale la plus redoutable de l'Angleterre elle-même.

Cette fameuse Maison des Communes, sur le modèle de laquelle vous désirez tant d'obtenir un gouvernement pour le peuple Français, a trouvé l'Angleterre avec des taxes levées pour l'Etat, se montant à un *million deux cent mille livres par an* ; et cette somme augmentée des taxes levées pour l'état, elle l'a portée jusqu'à plus de soixante millions de livres sterling par an ! Direz-vous que cependant les Anglais sont aussi heureux qu'ils l'étaient auparavant ? Voici ma réponse : en Angleterre, nous avons une taxe générale sur les maisons et sur les terres pour le soulagement et le maintien des personnes qui ne peuvent, par elles-mêmes ou par le secours de leurs parents, pourvoir à leurs propres besoins. En 1687, ces taxes pour les pauvres, se montaient par an, pour toute l'Angleterre, y compris la principauté de Galles, à *cent soixante mille livres* ; elles se montent de nos jours à sept millions cinq cent mille livres par an ! Ainsi, vous voyez, que l'accroissement de la misère du peuple a marché de pair avec l'augmentation des taxes levées par l'Etat ; tandis que vous verrez d'après les documents soumis au parlement que les *crimes* fruit de la misère se sont accrues dans une proportion plus grande encore ; et comme ces taxes ont toutes été imposées par la Maison des Communes, c'est à cette Maison seule dont vous désirez introduire la semblable en France, que nous devons attribuer cette honteuse augmentation de misère. Mais,

that beautiful country and her brave people under a government like that of the House of Commons? Look, then, I pray you, Sir, at the situation of England and Ireland *now*? Read, if you can have patience to read; read, if indignation do not smother your voice; read the things called *Debates* which are at this moment going on in that very House of Commons itself. There you will learn that the Ministers know not what to do, nor which way to turn themselves; there you will see, that in their *discut* affairs, all is embarrassment and confusion; in their foreign affairs, all timidity and uncertainty and dread, and that with a hundred thousand men at their command, and a Fleet more expensive than that with which England fought, in the war of 1779, France, Spain and Holland, single-handed; there you will see them, with all this military and naval force in their hands, not daring even to whisper a "*nay*" to the proposition for uniting Belgium with France. In their domestic affairs, there you hear them talking of raising fresh troops in England to be sent to keep down Irish insurgents: there you hear scheme after scheme propounded, to prevent the working people from starving; there you hear an Irish member declaring, that, in one district of Ireland, there are 200,000 persons upon the point of starvation; and there you hear Lord Howick, the bright son of our lofty and superb prime Minister, broaching a plan for MORTGAGING THE POOR-TAXES of England in order to raise money to send the working people *out of the Country!*

Frenchmen! This is the sort of Government which Mr. *Guizot* proposes that you shall be compelled to submit to! Such are the effects of the Government which is the object of his adoration. Understand clearly, I pray you, this scheme for sending Englishmen away from their country. All the houses and all the land are, as I observed

est-ce la paix; est-ce la tranquillité; est-ce le contentement que vous désirez procurer au peuple de France; en plaçant ce beau pays et ses braves habitants sous un gouvernement semblable à celui de la Maison des Communes? Examinez, Monsieur, je vous prie, la situation actuelle de l'Angleterre et de l'Irlande? Lisez, si vous avez la patience de lire, lisez, si l'indignation ne vous étouffe pas la voix; lisez ce qu'on appelle les *débats* qui dans ce moment-ci ont lieu dans cette Maison mêmes des Communes. Vous y verrez que les ministres ne savent que faire ni de quel côté se tourner; vous y verrez que dans leurs affaires fiscales tout est embarras et confusion; et que dans leurs relations extérieures il n'y a que timidité, incertitude et crainte, et qu'avec une armée de cent mille hommes à leurs ordres, et une flotte plus dispendieuse que celle avec laquelle l'Angleterre fit seule la guerre en 1779 contre la France, l'Espagne et la Hollande; vous y verrez qu'avec toutes leurs forces militaires et maritimes à leur disposition, ils n'osent pas souffler un "non" à la proposition qui se fait d'unir la Belgique à la France. Vous y apprendrez que dans leur administration intérieure ils parlent de lever de nouvelles troupes pour les envoyer contenir les Irlandais en insurrection; vous y verrez projet sur projet pour empêcher la classe ouvrière de mourir de faim; vous y entendrez un membre Irlandais déclarer que dans un district de l'Irlande il y a 200,000 personnes sur le point de mourir de faim; et vous y entendrez Lord Howick, le fils glorieux de notre superbe premier ministre, proposer un plan pour HYPOTHEQUER LES TAXES DES PAUVRES de l'Angleterre; afin d'obtenir de l'argent pour envoyer la classe ouvrière hors du pays!

Français! telle est la sorte de gouvernement à laquelle M. *Guizot* propose qu'on vous force de vous soumettre. Tels sont les effets du gouvernement qui est l'objet de son adoration. Comprenez bien, je vous prie, ce projet d'envoyer les Anglais hors de leur pays. Toutes les maisons ainsi que toutes les terres, ainsi que je vous l'ai déjà dit, sont

before, subjected, and justly subjected, to an annual tax for the relief of the poor. Under this Government of a House of Commons, so much adored by Mr. Guizot, hundreds of thousands of idlers have been created to live upon the taxes. These have made the poor increase to such an extent, that the owners of the houses and the land are afraid that they will finally take away so much of their property as to leave them poor also; but this House of Commons, so much admired by Mr. Guizot, instead of diminishing the state taxes and the number of the idlers, are entertaining a project for sending the *working people* away out of the country for ever; and, to raise the money to do that, they are proposing to *mortgage the poor taxes-themselves!*

Such, Frenchmen, are the effects of that species of Government which Mr. Guizot wishes to introduce into France, and to force upon you. I need not tell you to reject his advice; for I perceive with pleasure that you heard it with indignation. He presses this scheme upon you, too, at the very moment when the people of this kingdom, from one end to the other, are crying aloud for a total change in the constitution of this House of Commons, ascribing to that house and to that house alone, all the fatal changes of which I have above spoken, and all the disgraces which our country now suffers; all the trouble, all the calamities, all the uncertainty, all the agitation which now shatter it to its very centre.

No, Frenchmen, you are not so foolish; you are not so credulous; you are not so grossly ignorant; and, above all things, you are not so superlatively base as to listen to this advice of Mr. Guizot. The whole world is filled with admiration of your valour; every honest Briton, from pole to pole, beats with yours in anxious wishes for the establishment of your liberties and your happiness; and every man of sense is convinced that those liberties and that happiness never can exist for one single hour until the people of France be fully and

soumises, et soumises avec justice, à une taxe annuelle pour le soulagement des pauvres. Sous ce gouvernement d'une Maison des Communes tant vénérée par M. Guizot, des milliers de fainéants ont été créés pour vivre des taxes. Ceux-ci ont fait multiplier les pauvres jusqu'à un tel point, que les propriétaires des maisons et des terres sont effrayés qu'on ne finisse par leur enlever leur propriété et les réduire eux-mêmes dans la pauvreté; mais cette Maison des Communes si admirée de M. Guizot, au lieu de diminuer les taxes de l'état et le nombre des paresseux, complète le projet d'envoyer pour jamais la classe ouvrière hors du pays; et afin d'avoir de l'argent pour le mettre à exécution, elle propose d'hypothéquer les taxes mêmes des pauvres!

Tels sont, Français, les effets de cette espèce de gouvernement que M. Guizot désire introduire en France et vous imposer. Je n'ai pas besoin de vous dire de rejeter son avis; car je vois avec plaisir que vous ne l'avez entendu qu'avec indignation. Il s'efforce de de vous imposer son projet au moment même, qui plus est, où les peuples de ce royaume demandent, à grands cris, d'un bout à l'autre, un changement total dans la constitution de cette Maison des Communes, attribuant à cette Maison, et à cette Maison seule, tous les changements funestes dont je vous ai déjà parlé, et tous les malheurs qui maintenant accablent notre pays; toutes les inquiétudes, toutes les calamités toutes les incertitudes, toute l'agitation qui maintenant le remuent jusque dans ses fondements.

Non, Français, vous n'êtes pas assez insensés; vous n'êtes pas assez crédules; vous n'êtes pas d'une ignorance assez grossière; et surtout vous n'êtes pas d'une bassesse assez consommée, pour écouter les conseils d'un M. Guizot. Toute la terre est pleine d'admiration pour votre valeur; tous les cœurs honnêtes, d'un pôle à l'autre, partagent vos vives inquiétudes pour l'établissement de vos libertés et de votre bonheur; et tous les hommes éclairés sont convaincus que ces libertés et ce bonheur ne peuvent jamais exister une

fairly represented by those who are to make the laws affecting their properties and their lives. You have laid down the great principle; you have shed your blood for the great principle of the sovereignty of the people; but, the sovereignty of the people is a mockery unless the people choose who are to exercise that sovereignty; and that sovereignty consists wholly and solely in the making of the laws.

Frenchmen! from those to whom much is given, much is required; not for yourselves only, but for the whole of the oppressed part of mankind you are now about to act. With your example to cite, every oppressed man on earth has an answer to his despot. God has given you the fairest spot in the world to inhabit; he has blessed it with all his choicest blessings; he has given you as much valour as the hearts of human beings can contain; and oppressed millions in all parts of the world are now raising their hands to you, to set that example that shall rescue them from bondage.

WM. COBBETT.

heure entière, si le peuple de France n'est pas pleinement et loyalement représenté par ceux qui doivent faire les lois d'où dépendent leurs propriétés et leurs vies. Vous avez jeté les fondemens du grand principe; vous avez versé votre sang pour le grand principe de la souveraineté du peuple; mais la souveraineté du peuple est une moquerie, si le peuple ne choisit pas ceux qui doivent exercer cette souveraineté; et cette souveraineté consiste entièrement et seulement dans le pouvoir de faire les lois.

Français! On demande beaucoup à ceux à qui beaucoup a été donné. Ce n'est pas pour vous seuls que vous devez agir, mais pour cette partie du genre humain qui est opprimée. Avec votre exemple à citer, tout individu opprimé sur la terre aura une réponse pour son despot. Dieu vous a donné pour habitation la plus belle partie du monde; il l'a comblée de ses dons les plus doux; il vous a donné autant de valeur que le cœur humain peut en contenir; et des millions d'opprimés dans toutes les parties de la terre lèvent maintenant leurs mains vers vous, pour que vous leur donniez cet exemple qui doit les délivrer de l'esclavage.

GARR. COBBETT.

REFORM.

The opening of the subject, in the "Honourable" House, on the 1st of March, 1831. I have here inserted the first two or three speeches, to which I shall add a few remarks of my own.

PARLIAMENTARY REFORM.

Cord JOHN RUSSELL: I rise, Sir, with feelings of the deepest anxiety to bring forward a question which, unparalleled as it is in importance, is as unparalleled in difficulties. Nor is my anxiety in approaching this question lessened by reflecting, that on former occasions I have brought this subject before the consideration of the House. For if, on other occasions, I have invited the attention of the House of Commons to this most important subject, it has been upon my own responsibility, unaided by any one—involving to one in the consequences of defeat; and I have sometimes been gratified with a partial success. (Hear, hear.) But this measure, which I am now about to bring forward, is not mine, but that of the Government, in whose name I appear to-night. (Cheers.) It is, the deliber-

ate measure of the whole cabinet, unanimous upon this subject; and it has only been reserved to me to place this measure before the House as their measure, and in redemption of the solemn pledge which they have given to their sovereign, to Parliament, and to the country. (Hear, hear.) It is, therefore, with the greatest anxiety, that I venture to explain their intentions to this House on a subject, the interest of which is shown by the crowded audience who have assembled here; but still more by the deep interest which is felt by millions out of this House, who look with anxiety, with hope, and with expectation, to the result of this day's debate. (Cheers.) I am sure it will not be necessary for me to say more to do away with the notion which the honourable and learned Member opposite has endeavoured to excite, that this question, not being brought forward by a member of the cabinet, is not the measure of the King's Ministers. (Hear, hear.) I assure the House, that what I am about to propose is the measure that they have determined on; but though I cannot say that it is one of my originating, neither can I pretend that I have been kept in ignorance of its nature. The measure itself, after the noble Lord who is at the head of the Government had framed it in his mind, and

communicated it to his colleagues in the cabinet, was explained to me, and I have been ever since consulting individually or collectively with the members of that cabinet on the subject. I only wish that the noble Lord to whom I have alluded could have been permitted, by any law of Parliament, to have explained this measure in his own clear and intelligible language; but as that is impossible, I trust that the House will favour me with its indulgence while I perform the task of laying before the House the details of the measure—inadequately, I fear, but with a most sincere and earnest prayer for its efficiency and success. (Cheers.) Much cavil has been made upon an expression used by the noble Lord to whom I have before alluded—that he would endeavour to frame such a measure as would satisfy the public mind without endangering the settled institutions of the country. Some persons have said, that one part of the settled institutions of the country was composed of the close and rotten boroughs, but all must be convinced, I think, that the close and rotten boroughs were not what was intended by his Lordship. (Hear, hear, hear.) “But can you,” said this party, “pretend to satisfy the public mind without shaking the settled institutions of the country?” We are of an opinion the reverse of what is expressed in this question. We think that, attempting to satisfy the public mind will not endanger the institutions of the country, but that not to attempt to satisfy it would most certainly endanger them. (Cheers.) We are of opinion that these institutions rest, as they have always hitherto done, upon the confidence and the love of Englishmen—that they must continue to rest on the same foundation; and while we desire not to comply with extravagant demands, at the same time we are anxious to bring forward such a measure as every reasonable man may be satisfied should pass into a law. We wish to place ourselves between the two hostile parties—not agreeing with those who assert that no reform is necessary—not following in the path with others, who declare that some particular reform will alone be satisfactory to the people, or wholesome in its effect upon the state of the representation in this House; but placing ourselves between both; and between the abuses we wish to amend and the convulsion we hope to avert. (Cheers.) It will not be necessary, on this occasion, that I should go over the grounds which have frequently before been stated as arguments in favour of a change in the state of the representation; but it is due to the House that I should state shortly the points on which reformers rest their case. In the first place, then, the ancient constitution of our country declares that no man shall be taxed for the support of the state who has not consented, by himself or his representative, to the imposition of these taxes. The well-known statute, *De Tallagio non concedendo*, repeated the same language, and, although

some historical doubts had been thrown upon it, its legal meaning had never been disputed. It included “all the freemen of the land,” and provided that each county should send to the Commons of the Realm two Knights, each city two Burgesses, and each borough two Members. Thus about a hundred places sent representatives, and some thirty or forty others occasionally enjoyed the privilege, but it was discontinued or revived as they rose or fell in the scale of wealth and importance. Thus, no doubt, at that early period the House of Commons did represent the people of England: there is no doubt, likewise, that the House of Commons, as it now subsists, without entering into the history of the alterations it has from time to time undergone, does not represent the people of England. (Hear, hear, answered by a few loud cries of No, no.) Therefore, if we look to the question of right, the Reformers have right in their favour. Then, if we consider what is reasonable, we shall find a similar result. It will be impossible to keep the Constitution of the House as it exists at present. (Hear.) We have heard—as who has not of the fame of this country—that in wealth it is unparalleled—in civilization unrivalled—and in freedom unequalled in the history of the empires of the world; and suppose a foreigner, well acquainted with these facts, were told that in this most wealthy, most civilized, and most free country, the representatives of the people, the guardians of her liberties, were chosen only every six years, would he not be very curious and very anxious to hear in what way that operation was performed by which this great and wise nation selected the members who were to represent them, and upon whom depended their fortunes and their rights? Would not such a foreigner be much astonished if he were taken to a green mound and informed that it sent two Members to the British Parliament?—if he were shown a stone wall, and told that that also sent two Members to the British Parliament—or, if he were walked into a park, without the vestige of a dwelling, and told that that, too, sent two Members to the British Parliament? Still more would he be astonished if he were carried into the north of England, where he would see large flourishing towns, full of trade and activity, vast magazines of wealth and manufactures, and were told these places send no representatives to Parliament? But his wonder would not end here; he would be astonished if he were carried to such a place as Liverpool (there can be no sufficient reason for not naming it by way of illustration), and there told that he might see a specimen of a popular election, and at the same time witness the most barefaced scenes of the grossest bribery and corruption. Would he not be indeed surprised, when he had seen all I have described, that representatives so chosen could possibly perform the functions of a Legislature? I say, then, that if we appeal to reason, the reformers have reason on their side. It

may be said by the opponents of a change, "We agree that in point of right, the House of Commons does not represent the people, and that in point of reason, nothing can be more absurd than the constitution of such a body; but Government is a matter of practice and worldly wisdom—of experience of life; and as long as the House of Commons enjoys the respect of the people, it would be unwise to change the system." In this argument I must confess there is much weight; and so long as the people did not answer the appeals of the friends of Reform (among whom I was always one), I felt that the argument was not to be resisted. But what is the case at this moment? The whole people call loudly for Reform. (Hear, hear, No, no, and much confusion.) That confidence, whatever it was, which formerly existed in the constitution of this House, exists no longer—it is completely at an end. (Loud cheers, with cries of "No, no," from the opposition benches, answered by redoubled cheers from the ministerial side.) Whatever may be thought of particular acts of the House of Commons, I repeat that the confidence of the country in the constitution and constitution of the House of Commons is gone (hear, hear, and No), and gone for ever. (Much cheering, and continued disturbance.) I will say more—I will say that it would be easier to transfer the flourishing manufactures of Leeds and Manchester to Gattou and Old Saum, than to re-establish the confidence and sympathy between this House and those whom it calls its constituents (Hear, hear, hear.) I end this argument, therefore, by saying, that if the question be one of right, right is in favour of Reform; if it be a question of reason, reason is in favour of Reform; if it be a question of policy and expediency, policy and expediency are in favour of reform. (Loud and lasting cheers.) I come now to that difficult part of the subject—the explanation of the measure, which, representing the Ministers of the King, I am about to propose to the House. Those Ministers have thought, and, in my opinion, justly thought, that it would not be sufficient to propose a member which should merely lop off some excrescences, or cure some notorious defects; but would still leave the battle to be fought hereafter. (Hear, hear.) They have thought that no half measures would be sufficient, (hear, hear), that no trifling, no paltering with Reform (hear, hear), could give stability to the Crown, strength to the Parliament—or satisfaction to the country. (Much cheering.) Let us look, then, at what have been the chief complaints of the people; and in my mind there is much difference between complaints of grievances and propositions of remedy. We ought to look with deference to the opinions of the people on a matter of grievance; but, with regard to remedies, I should endeavour to discover, in communication with my friends, the relief that ought to be afforded. The chief grievances of which the people

complain are these. First, the Nomination of Members by individuals; second, the Elections by close Corporations; third, the Expense of Elections. With regard to the first; the nomination by individuals, it may be exercised in one or two ways; either over a place containing scarcely any inhabitants, and with a very extensive right of election, or over a place of wide extent and numerous population, but where the franchise is confined to very few residents. Gattou is an example of the first, and Bath of the second. At Gattou the right was popular, but there was nobody to exercise it; at Bath the inhabitants were numerous, but very few of them had any concern in the result of an election. We have addressed ourselves to both these evils, because we have thought it essential to apply a remedy to both; but they must, of course, be dealt with in different ways. With regard to boroughs, where there are scarcely any inhabitants, and where the elective franchise is such as to enable many individuals to give their voices in the choice of Members for this House, it would be evidently a more facile to take away the right from the person exercising it, and to give it to the borough; and the only reform that can be justly recommended is to deprive the borough of its franchise altogether. (Hear, hear.) I am perfectly aware, that in making this proposition we are proposing a bold and decisive measure. (Loud cheers.) I am perfectly aware, and I should myself vote upon that persuasion, that on all ordinary occasions rights of this kind ought to be respected. (Hear, hear.) For no trifling interest, for no small consideration, ought they to be touched or injured; but I perfectly remember an occasion on which the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir R. Peel) proposed a great and important measure with this effect. Two years ago, the right hon. Gentleman, standing here as a Minister of the Crown, proposed the measure of Catholic Emancipation. It was accompanied by another measure for the disfranchisement of 200,000 unoffending freeholders, who had broken no law, corrupted no right, but exercised their privilege, ignorantly, perhaps, but independently, and according to the best light they could obtain from their consciences. Now, if I am about to quote his words, it is not because I think he is bound to be consistent. (Hear, and some laughter.) On great questions of this kind, men must act as the interests of the country demand; but I beg the House to recollect that he stood here as the servant of the Crown, representing the Ministry which has gone out of office, and declaring in their name what principles ought to bind Parliament in the decision of a great question at an important crisis. I remember he told us that on fit occasions the House was bound to step beyond its ordinary rules, and that it did so on the discussion of the Union, of the Septennial Act, and some others. To avoid great dangers by extraordinary remedies, the House has not unfrequently dis-

regarded the common rules that govern its proceedings. The right hon. Gentleman then brought forward his measure, and he at once met the objection to which I have referred, in a few words. "I admit (said the right hon. Gentleman) at once the full force of the objection, which will be urged against that part of the measure I propose," and he went on to allow, that the franchise of the Irish freeholder was "a vested right—a public trust," but which it was "competent to Parliament, under the special circumstances of the case, to touch." Such were the sentiments of the right hon. Gentleman—sentiments, he it observed, in which the House agreed; and never was any measure carried through the House with more general approbation. Shall we say, then, that this principle is to be maintained when the poor peasantry of Ireland are concerned; but that when it touches the great and the wealthy, we are not to venture to treat the question as the public interest demands? Shall we at once deprive the freeholder of Ireland of that right which he merely exercised as the Constitution gave it to him; and shall we be afraid to touch the right of the noble Proprietor of Gatton, who returns two Members to Parliament, although he derived no such power from the Constitution? (Hear.) Shall we say that a strictly constitutional, a strictly legal right shall be abolished, because the convenience, the necessity of the country demands it—and that a right which is mere usurpation, with no sanction of law, and supported only by usage, shall be respected and left untouched, though the public interest requires, and the public voice demands its abolition? (Hear, hear.) Shall we make this glaring distinction between rich and poor; high and low, disfranchise the peasant, and prop the falling fortunes of the Peer? (Hear, hear.) The plan we propose is, therefore, meeting the difficulty in point—as the Duke of Wellington and his Colleagues met it in the year 1829; and our measure will have the effect of disfranchising a number of Boroughs. It would be a task of extreme difficulty to ascertain the exact proportion of the wealth, trade, extent, and population of a given number of places, and we have, therefore, been governed by what is manifestly a public record—I mean the Population Returns of 1821, and we propose that every Borough which in that year had less than 2000 inhabitants, should altogether lose the right of sending Members to Parliament. (Continued cheers, with much confusion.) The effect will be utterly to disfranchise sixty Boroughs. (Much cheering from all sides.) But we do not stop here. (Cheers and some laughter.) As the hon. Member for Boroughbridge (Sir C. Wetherell) would say, we go *plus ultra*. We find that there are forty-seven Boroughs, of only 4000 inhabitants, and these we shall deprive of the right of sending more than one Member to Parliament. (Vehement cheers.) We likewise intend that Weymouth, which at present sends four Members, shall, in future,

only elect two. The abolition of sixty Boroughs will occasion 112 vacancies, to which are to be added forty-seven for the Boroughs allowed to send only one Member, and two of Weymouth will be deprived, making whole 161 vacancies. That, I believe, whole extent to which Ministers propose to go. (Cheers, and some laughter.) But, as I have already said, we do not mean to allow that the remaining Boroughs should be in the hands of select Corporations—that is to say, of a small number of persons to the exclusion of the great body of the inhabitants, who have property and interest in the place. It was a point of great difficulty to decide to whom the franchise should be extended. Although it is a much disputed question, yet I believe it will be found, that in ancient times every inhabitant householder resident in a Borough was competent to vote for Members of Parliament. As, however, this arrangement excluded villains and strangers, the franchise always belonged to a particular body in every town—that the voters were persons of property is obvious from the fact, that they were called upon to pay subsidies and taxes. Two different courses seem to prevail in different places. In some, every person having a house, and being free, was admitted to a general participation in the privileges formerly possessed by burgesses: in others, the burgesses became a select body, and were converted into a kind of corporation, more or less distinct—more or less exclusive of the rest of the inhabitants. These differences, the House will be aware, have led to those complicated questions of right which we are every week called upon to decide. I think no one will deny that our election committees often have before them the most vexatious, the most difficult and, at the same time, the most useless questions that men can be called upon to decide. (Originally these points were decided in this House by the prevalence of one party or of another; they are now determined more fairly, but still the determinations are all founded upon the iniquity of the parties. (Hear, hear.) I contend that it is important to get rid of these complicated rights—of these vexatious questions, and to give to the real property and to the real respectability of the different cities and towns the right of voting for members of Parliament. The first distinction that naturally occurred as forming a proper class of voters was that pointed out by the bill of the right hon. Baronet opposite, (Sir R. Peel,) of persons qualified to serve on juries. But, upon looking into this qualification, we found that in Edinburgh, Liverpool, Manchester, and other important places, although it certainly would give an extended constituency, it would still be too limited for the number of the inhabitants. On the other hand, in small boroughs, it would have the evil of confining the elective franchise to a very few persons indeed. According to the returns from the Tax Office, which, I admit, are not entirely to be depended upon, 10, 7, and 3, and even

1, would be the number of persons in some towns rated for a house of 20*l.* a year. Therefore we saw, if we took this qualification, we should be creating new close boroughs, and confining the elective franchise, in enlarging it; we, therefore, propose a right of voting should be given to those paying rates for houses of the yearly value of 10*l.* and upwards. Whether he be the proprietor, or whether he only rents the house, the person rated will have the franchise upon certain conditions, hereafter to be named. At the same time, it is not intended to deprive the present electors of their privilege to vote, provided they be resident. (Hear, hear, hear.) With regard to non-residence, we are of opinion that it produces much expense, that it is the cause of a great deal of bribery, and that it occasions such manifold and manifest evils, that electors who do not live in a place ought not to be permitted to retain their votes. (Hear, hear.) At the same time, I do not believe, that we are inflicting even upon this class any injury, for nearly all, either in one place or in another, will possess a franchise in the great mass of householders. (Hear.) With regard to resident voters, we propose that they should retain their right during life, but that no vote should be allowed hereafter, excepting on the condition I have before stated, that the person claiming the right must be a householder to the extent of 10*l.* a year. I shall now proceed to the manner in which we propose to extend the franchise in counties. The Bill I wish to introduce will give all copyholders to the value of 10*l.* a year, qualified under the right hon. gentleman's Bill to serve on juries, a right to vote for the return of knights of the shire (hear); also that leaseholders, for not less than twenty-one years, whose leases have not been renewed within two years, shall enjoy the same privilege. (Hear, hear.) [Sir R. Peel asked, across the table, the amount of rent which was necessary?] The right will depend upon a lease for twenty-one years, where the annual rent was 50*l.* (Hear.) It will be recollected that when speaking of the numbers disfranchised, I said that 168 vacancies would be created. We are of opinion that it would not be wise or expedient to fill up the whole number of those vacancies. After mature deliberation we have arrived at the conclusion, that the number of members at present in the House is inconsequently large. (Cheers and laughter.) I believe there is no hon. Gentleman who was a Member of the House before the Union with Ireland, who will not agree that the facility of getting through business has since been greatly diminished. Besides, it is to be considered when this Parliament is reformed, as I trust it will be before long, (hear, hear,) there will not be such a number of Members, who enter Parliament merely for the sake of the name, and as a matter of style and fashion. (Hear, and murmurs.) It is not to be disputed that some members spend their money in foreign countries, and never

attend the House at all, to a certain degree, to the inconvenience of those who do attend to their public duties. A few, I know for two or three years together, have never attended in their places; and, at the end of a Parliament, I believe there is generally found an absence of two of individuals, who, having been elected, have never appeared at the Table, even to take the oaths. But it is obvious, that whenever a Member has a certain number of constituents watching his actions, and looking to his votes, in order that the people's money is not given for purposes inconsistent with the people's interests, his attendance will be much more regular. (Hear, hear.) Therefore, when we are proposing a great change, by cutting off a number of Members, the effect will be to facilitate public business, to the manifest advantage of the country. We propose to fill up a certain number of the vacancies, but not the whole of them. We intend that seven large towns should send two Members each, and that twenty other towns should send one Member each. The seven towns which are to send two Members each, are the following:—

Manchester and Salford	Wolverhampton, Bilston, and Sedgeley
Birmingham & Aston	Sheffield
Leeds	Sunderland, and the Wearmouths
Greenwich, Deptford, and Woolwich	

The following were the names of the towns, each of which, it was proposed, should send one Member to Parliament:—

Brighton	Kendal
Blackburne	Bolton
Wolverhampton	Stockport
Macclesfield	Dudley
South Shields & Westoe	Tynemouth & North Shields
Warrington	Cheltenham
Huddersfield	Bradford
Halifax	Rome
Gateshead	Wakefield
Whitehaven, Workington, Harrington	Kidderminster

It is well known that a great portion of the metropolis and its neighbourhood, amounting in population to 800,000 or 900,000, is scarcely at all represented, and we propose to give eight Members to those who are thus unrepresented by dividing them into the following districts:—

Districts.	Population.
Tower Hamlets	283,000
Holborn	218,000
Finchury	162,000
Lambeth	128,000

The two large populous parishes of Mary-le-Bonne, which, no doubt, were entitled to be represented, at least as much entitled to it as Boroughbridge, (hear, and laughter,) were included in one of the districts he had named. Next we propose an addition to the members for the larger counties—a species of

reform always recommended, and which, I believe, Lord Chatham was almost the first to advocate. Those counties contain a variety of interests, and form an admirable constituency; in some, as in Staffordshire, there is a large manufacturing population better represented in this way than perhaps in any other; and as County Members have unquestionably the most excellent class of constituents, they form of themselves a most valuable class of Representatives. The Bill I shall beg leave to introduce will give two additional Members to each of twenty-seven counties, where the inhabitants exceed 150,000. Everybody will expect that Yorkshire, divided into three Ridings—the East, West, and North—should have two Members for each riding; and the other counties to which this additional privilege will be given are the following:—

Chester
Derby
Durham
Gloucester
Lancaster
Norfolk
Somerset
Suffolk
Yorkshire
Wilts
Warwick
Cumberland
Northampton
Cornwall

Devon
Essex
Kent
Lincoln
Salop
Stafford
Sussex
Nottingham
Surrey
Northumberland
Leicester
Southampton
Worcester.

I will now proceed to another part of the subject. I spoke at first of the evils connected in the minds of the people with the power of nomination by individuals, and with the power of election by a few persons in very small and close corporations. The remedies I have detailed are pointed against these defects. I now beg leave to direct the attention of the House to that part of the plan which relates to the expense of long protracted polls, and which, while it removes that evil, also greatly facilitates the collection of the sense of the elective body. The names of electors are to be enrolled, and the disputes regarding qualification in a great measure avoided; we propose that all electors in counties, cities, towns, or boroughs, shall be registered, and for this purpose, machinery will be put in motion very similar to that in the Jury Act—that is to say, at a certain period of the year (I now speak of boroughs), the parish officers and churchwardens are to make a list of the persons who occupy houses of the yearly value of 10l. This list of names will be placed on the church doors, we will suppose in September and in the following month, October, the Returning Officer will hold a sort of trial of votes where claims made, and objections stated, will be considered and decided. When this process has been gone through, the returning officer will declare the list complete, and on the 1st of December in every year, the list will be published, every person who chooses, may obtain a copy of it, and it will be the rule to go-

vern electors and elections for the ensuing year. We intend, that during that ensuing year, every person shall be entitled to vote whose name is in the list, and that no question shall be asked, but as to his identity, and whether he has polled before at the same election. These regulations are extremely simple, and will prevent all those contemplated vexations and noisy scenes now so often witnessed, regarding disputed votes. The means of ascertaining who are the electors being thus easy, there is no reason why the poll should be kept open for eight days, or in some places for a longer period; and it is proposed that, nearly according to the present law, booths shall be erected in the different parishes, so that the whole poll may be taken in two days. For my own part, I may say that the time may come when the machinery will be found so simple that every vote may be given in a single day; but in introducing a new measure it is necessary to allow for possible defects in the working of the machinery: attempts might be made to obstruct the polling, and I therefore recommend two days, in order that no voter may be deprived of the opportunity of offering his suffrage. As to counties, the matter may be somewhat more difficult: we propose in the same manner that the churchwardens should make out a list of all persons claiming the right to vote in the several parishes, and that these lists shall be affixed to the church doors: a person to be appointed (say a barrister of a certain standing) by the Judge of Assize, shall go an annual circuit within a certain time after the lists have been published, and he will hear all claims to vote, and objections to voters. Having decided who are entitled to exercise the privilege, he shall sign his name at the bottom of the list, and shall transmit it to the Clerk of the Peace. The list will then be enrolled as the names of the freeholders of the county for the ensuing year. With respect to the manner of proceeding at elections, we have in view to introduce a measure which can hardly fail to be an improvement of the present system. Every body knows, and must have lamented the enormous expense to which candidates are put in bringing voters to the poll. In Yorkshire, without a contest, it costs nearly 150,000l.; and in Devonshire the electors are obliged to travel forty miles over hard cross-roads, which occupies one day; the next is consumed in polling, and the third in returning home; the whole a manifest source of vast expense, and most inconvenient delay. We propose, therefore, that the poll shall be taken in separate districts, those districts to be arranged according to circumstances by the Magistrates at Quarter Sessions. The counties will be divided into districts, which shall not be changed for two years. The formation of these districts will give an opportunity of more readily taking the votes when an election occurs. The Sheriffs shall hold the election on a certain day, and if it should happen that a poll be demanded, they shall adjourn

the election to the day next but one. The poll shall then be kept open for two days, so as to enable all the persons qualified under the several Acts of Parliament to give their votes. On the third day the poll shall be closed, and on the sixth day an account shall be published of the number of votes. It will be so arranged, that no voter shall have to travel more than fifteen miles to give his vote. (Hear, hear.) At the same time it is not proposed that the number of polling places in one county shall exceed fifteen, as the multiplication of places for receiving the votes would give rise to great inconvenience, and perhaps leave an opening for abuses. (Hear, hear.) We propose that each county shall be divided into two districts, returning each two Members to Parliament. In adjusting that division of the counties, there will, I have no doubt, be some difficulty. But I propose that his Majesty shall nominate a Committee of the Privy Council, to determine the direction and extent of the districts into which each county shall be divided. (Hear, hear.) Those Privy Councillors (hear, hear), those Privy Councillors, I say, shall be persons known to the House and to the country. (Hear, hear, and laughter.) They will be persons of known responsibility in the discharge of that duty. (Hear, and laughter.) In some of the boroughs, to which the right of representation will be continued, the number of electors exceedingly small. We shall, therefore, insert in the bill, which we propose to submit to Parliament, a clause, giving power to the Commissioners, nominated under that bill, authority to enable the inhabitants of the adjoining parishes, and chapelries, to take part in the elections, when the number of electors in such borough shall be below 300. (Hear, hear, hear, and great laughter.) That these are extensive powers I shall not attempt to deny. But, as the difficulty exists, it is our duty to consider how it may be overcome. How is it to be met, his Majesty's Ministers do not know, otherwise than by committing the power to persons known and responsible to Parliament, and to the nation, and appointed by the Royal Proclamation. If any hon. Gentleman stand up in his place and say that the powers which we propose to give to the Committee of the Privy Council are too great, I will only ask him, if it be granted that the business is to be done, that the objects for which we propose the Committee are proper and useful, can he suggest any better and more effectual mode of doing it? (Hear, hear.) If any Gentleman in the House will suggest a mode more safe, more constitutional, his Majesty's Ministers will have no difficulty in adopting that mode and waiving their own (hear, hear), their only object being to advance the interest of the people, to which every other consideration ought to yield. (Hear, hear.) I have now only one thing more to say with regard to the Representation of England. In all those new towns to which we propose to give the right of sending Members to Parliament,

all persons who are in them entitled by their property to vote, shall be excluded from the right to vote for the representatives of the county. At the same time that the towns shall have themselves a proper share in the representation, I do not intend that they shall interfere with the representation of the counties. (Hear.) It is not intended to interfere with the franchise of those freeholders who are at present entitled to vote. (Cries of hear, hear, and order.) I believe I have now concluded the statement of all the alterations which are intended to be made in the representation of England. With respect to the right of the forty-shilling freeholders in the counties, I do not think that there should be any alteration (hear); for I consider that they are a class of persons eminently qualified to have the trust of electors committed to them. By the smallness of the property which constitutes their qualification, they are especially calculated to give the representation that extended basis which it is most desirable that it should have. (A Member, whose name we do not know, here called on Lord John Russell to name the disfranchised boroughs;—repeated cries of "Order, order.") It is proposed to take away the right of electing Members to serve in Parliament from all towns which do not contain two thousand inhabitants. With respect to some of these, it was at first a question whether we should not still allow them to send each one Member; but, on consideration, we thought it better to avoid all chance of an imputation of partiality. We, therefore, determined to fix upon the number of two thousand inhabitants, and thereby leave no doubt that in their disfranchisement we were not influenced by partiality, by prejudice; or by a wish to favour some. (Hear, hear; order, order.) The noble Lord then read the following list, in the course of which he was frequently interrupted by shouts of laughter, cries of "Hear, hear," from present Members for the boroughs disfranchised, and various interjections across the table. The "hear" of the honourable Member for Boroughbridge especially was followed by tremendous cheering and laughter.

Aldborough, York
Aldborough, Suffolk
Appleby
Bedwin
Beeralston
Bishop's Castle
Bletchingley
Boroughbridge
(laughter)
Bosiney
Brackley
Bramber
Buckingham
Callington
Camelford
Castle Rising
Corfe Castle
Dunwich

Eye
Fogey
Gatton
Haslemere
Heyden
Heytesbury
Higham Ferrers
Hindon
Hobester
East Looe
West Looe
Lostwithiel
Ludgershall
Malmesbury
Midhurst
Milborne Port
Minehead
Newport, Cornwall

Newton, Lancashire	Old Sarum
Newton, Isle of Wight	Seaford
Okehampton	
Orford	Stech
Petersfield	Tregony
Plympton	Wareham
Queenborough	Wendover
Reigate	Weobly
Romney	Whitechurch
St. Mawe's	Winchelsea
St. Michael's Corn-wall	Woodstock
Saltash	Wootton Bassett
	Yarmouth

The following was the list of the boroughs which would be allowed to return one Member of Parliament each:—

Amersham	Lyminster
Arundel	Maldon
Ashburton	Marlborough
Bewley	Marlow
Bodmin	Morpeth
Bridport	Northampton
Chippingham	Peury
Chiltheroe	Richmond
Cockermouth	Rye
Dorchester	St. Germans
Downton	St. Ives
Droitwich	Sandwich
Evesham	Sudbury
Grimshy	Shaftesbury
East Grinstead	Tamworth
Guilford	Thetford
Helston	Thirsk
Huntingdon	Totness
Hythe	Truro
Launceston	Wallingford
Leominster	Westbury
Liskeard	Wilton
Lyme Regis	Wycombe

(The noble Lord proceeded) I now come to the representation of Scotland; and, certainly, if England wants reform, Scotland needs it still more. If we have here Members of Parliament representing but a small portion of the people, we still have some degree of popular representation. But, in Scotland, no such thing as popular representation is known. (Hear, hear.) A nation possessing the wealth, the industry, and intelligence for which Scotland is distinguished, has its whole representation vested in less than three thousand persons. In the counties, the number of persons who vote in the election of Members to serve in Parliament are only 2324. I shall not enter into a detail of the manner in which the Scotch votes are obtained. It is sufficient to observe, that although what is called the superiority could not originally arise otherwise than from the possession of land, yet many possessors of land contrived, in selling that property, to retain the superiority, which gives at present the right of representation. It that way it has become a custom to reserve the superiority when the land is sold. Lastly the voters at elections for the Scotch

counties have been, for the most part, persons having no connexion whatever with the county, otherwise than by the purchase of the superiority separately from the land. I have now in my hand a list, showing, that of the three hundred and fifty persons to whom the representation of the county of Ayr is confined, only one hundred and fifty have any property in that county. In Ruth, out of seventeen electors, only two are landed proprietors in the island. In Kinross, of twenty-seven voters, eighteen only are possessors; and in Lanark, only two hundred and fifteen. (Hear.) I do not think that it is too much to say, that this is not a fair representation of the landed property in Scotland. If any gentleman will tell me, that by the arrangements which I propose the landowners of Scotland are deprived of their rights, I can refer him to this list, from which he will perceive that the landowners of Scotland have really at present no rights. But, I intend to give the suffrage to every copyholder whose possession is of the annual value of ten pounds (bann), placing that class on the same footing on which they are to be placed in England; and also to the holders of leases for nineteen years, not renewed within two years previous to the election at which they vote, and paying 50*l.* a year rent; for it is the custom in Scotland to give leases for nineteen years more generally than for twenty-one, as in England. We propose to make a new arrangement of the representation of the whole country; giving to Edinburgh two Members; to Glasgow, two; to Leith, Aberdeen, and Paisley, only one each. The Fifeshire district of boroughs being disfranchised, that county, like the others, shall return one member; and, as we propose to do in England, the towns to which the right is extended shall be taken out of the representation of the counties. The electors in those towns will consist of all persons possessing property, or occupying houses of the value of ten pounds a year. Scotland possesses some advantages in respect to registration. With those alterations, therefore, Scotland will be represented in this House by fifty members, instead of the present forty-five. (Hear, hear, hear.) In those districts the votes at elections shall no longer be taken as at present. The election will no longer be made by the delegates of particular incorporations (hear, hear); but the votes of all the qualified electors shall be taken personally, and the election decided by the sum of those votes. The noble Lord then read a statement, of which we subjoin the substance.

The counties to be settled as follows:—Perth and Selkirk to be joined, and to elect one member together; Dumfries and Galloway, Elgin and Nairne, Ross and Cromarty, Orkney and Shetland, Clerkmannau and Kinnross, with certain additions, to do the same. The remaining twenty-two counties each singly to return one member.

Burghs to be as follow:—Edinburgh to have two members; Glasgow to have two; and

Aberdeen, Paisley, Dundee, Greenock, and Leith (with the addition of Portobello, Musselburgh, and Fishrow), each singly to return one member.

The East Fife district of burghs no longer to return, but to be thrown into the county.

The remaining thirteen districts of burghs, each to return one member; with these variations—that Kilmarnock shall take the place of Glasgow in the district of burghs to which Glasgow formerly belonged; that Peterhead shall take the place of Aberdeen; and that Falkirk shall be added to the districts of Lanark, Linlithgow, Seikirk, and Peebles.

As to qualification of voters:—Burgh members no longer to be elected by town councils or delegates; nor county members by persons holding superiorities of certain value. The qualification for counties being ownership of land or houses, worth 10*l.* a year, with residence; or holding as tenant, in actual possession, on written lease for 19 years or upwards, to the value of 50*l.*

For burghs, the occupancy of a dwelling-house, rented or rated to taxes, at not less than 10*l.* a year.

All voters to be registered by Sheriffs.

Poll to be taken by Sheriffs or substitutes, at one or more places, not to be open for more than two days.

Reports from several polling places to be made to principal Sheriff, by whom the return is to be always made, for burgh as well as for county members.

The noble Lord then continued:—I shall now proceed to Ireland, in which country, although reform is necessary, it may still be much more simple than it can be in England or in Scotland, as the representation of the counties and boroughs was settled at the time of the Union. But in some of those boroughs the number of persons qualified by their property to vote is exceedingly small. I propose, therefore, to give the right of voting to all holders of houses or land to the value of 10*l.* a year. I am convinced that this will be found a measure of great benefit to Ireland. In many of those Irish boroughs the greatest inconvenience and difficulty have been suffered in consequence of the manner in which the franchise is regulated. I need only mention one instance—that of the borough of Wexford, in which many merchants of property and respectability are subjected, by being excluded from the right of voting, to heavy dues amounting to 2,000*l.* a year, from which those possessing that right are exempted. I am convinced that the enlargement of the franchise will enable the people of Ireland to make considerable advances in industry and trade; and I have great hopes that we shall have immediate proofs of its increasing commerce. There are many places of great commercial importance which have not at present their due share in the representation. Of these the principal are Belfast, Limerick, and Waterford, to which I propose to give representatives, so as to add three to the whole number

of members for Ireland. (Great noise.) In the arrangements which we propose, Ireland and Scotland will derive likewise considerable advantages, from the cutting off of some members from the English representation. I think it will be considered an important advantage in the sister countries, that the numbers in this House shall be better balanced. I assure it will give great satisfaction. (Hear, hear.) It is not intended to make any other alteration in the right of voting for the Irish counties, except that beneficed clergy men shall be qualified to vote as 50*l.* freeholders. At elections the votes are to be taken from the opening of the poll to the conclusion—in the same manner as in England. (Much noise, hear, hear, and order.) The result of all the measures comprehended in this Bill, as affecting the number of Members in this House, will be that of the present number of 658—168 being taken off by the disfranchisement of the Boroughs—400 will remain. To that number five being added as the increase of Members for Scotland, three for Ireland, eight for London, and 112 for the rest of England and Wales, making the future number of members of the United Parliament 596. (Hear, hear, and great noise.) The decrease of the present number will accordingly be sixty-two. I will now state the number of persons who will be entitled to the suffrage under this bill, not previously possessing that right, in the different boroughs and towns, in London, and in the counties. I suppose that in the counties the franchise will be extended to 110,000 persons; in the towns to 50,000; in London to 95,000; in Scotland to 50,000; and in Ireland to about 40,000 persons. (Hear, hear.) In the counties at least 110,000 will be entitled to vote who never before possessed the franchise (hear, hear); and it is my opinion, that the whole measure will add to the constituency of the Commons House of Parliament, about half a million of persons, and these all connected with the property of the country, having a valuable stake amongst us, and deeply interested in our institutions. They are the persons on whom we can depend in any future struggle in which this nation may be engaged, and who will maintain and support Parliament and the Throne in carrying that struggle to a successful termination. I think that those measures will produce a farther benefit to the people by the great excitement which it will occasion to industry and good conduct. For when a man finds, that by industrious exertion and by punctuality in paying all his engagements, he will entitle himself to a place in the list of voters, he will have an additional motive to improve his circumstances, and to preserve his character amongst his neighbours. I think, therefore, that in adding to the constituency, we are providing for the moral as well as for the political improvement of the country. Having now, Sir, gone through the principal provisions of the Bill which I propose to introduce, I cannot but take notice of some particulars in which, perhaps, this measure

will be considered by many to be defective. In the first place, there is no provision for the shorter duration of Parliaments. (Hear.) That subject has been considered by his Majesty's Ministers; but, upon the whole, we thought that it would be better to leave it to be brought before the house as a separate provision, than to bring it in at the end of a Bill regulating matters totally distinct from it. (Hear, hear.) Without saying, therefore, what is the opinion of his Majesty's Ministers respecting that question, which I myself think to be one of the utmost importance, and to deserve the utmost care in its decision, I shall keep the large measure of Reform, which this Bill comprehends, separate from every other question, and leave the subject of the duration of Parliaments to be brought before the House by some other Member at a future time. (Hear.) For my own part, I will only say, that whilst I think it desirable that the constituency should have a proper control over their representatives, it is, at the same time, most inexpedient to make the duration of Parliament so short, that the Members of this House should be kept in a perpetual canvass, and not be able deliberately to consider and to decide with freedom any great question. (Hear, hear.) Sir, I do not think that it behoves the people of a great empire to place their representatives in such dependence. (Hear.) What the point then is, at which we may fix the proper control of the constituency, I do not think it necessary to discuss at present. When the question comes under the consideration of this House, I shall be ready to deliver my opinion. I have now only to state, that the King's government are satisfied that, in providing a popularly elected representation, they ought to abstain from embarrassing that question with any other, which is encumbered with its own doubts, difficulties, and obstacles. (Hear.) There is another question, Sir, of which no mention is made in this Bill, although it at present occupies very much the attention of the country—I mean the question of vote by ballot. Sir, there can be no doubt that mode of election has much to recommend it. (Cries of No, no, no! hear, hear.) The arguments which I have heard advanced in its favour are as ingenious as any that I ever heard on any subject. But at the same time I am bound to say, that this House ought to pause before it gives its sanction to that measure. The hon. Member for Bridport says, that the ballot affords the only means by which the elector can be secured in the independence of his vote. But, Sir, I must say, that while on the one side it favours the conscientious voter in the exercise of his franchise, it, at the same time, affords a cover to much fraud, (hear, hear,) and exposes the voter to much bad passion. If it would prevent a bad influence over the good, it would also prevent a good influence over the bad. I doubt, likewise, whether in a country like this, accustomed to vote openly, electors would ever avail them-

selves of the secrecy of the ballot. I am bound to say, moreover, that, above all things, it appears very doubtful that it would be at all advisable to have any class of persons wholly irresponsible in the discharge of a great public duty. (Hear, hear.) But the ballot would certainly lead to such irresponsibility. I know that men of rank and wealth are in favour of that measure. I know that men of enthusiastic minds are in favour of a measure, by which they suppose all influence over the electors would be removed. But I am not satisfied that the electors should not be subject to that influence which the several classes of the community exercise over each other—which the Crown exercises over the Peers, the Lords over the Commons, and the people over their representatives. Sir, I do not wish that any man in the country should possess an irresponsible power, knowing that man's mind is liable to be clouded by every variety of error, and to be swayed by every ruling passion. (Hear, hear.) Besides, Sir, I would have great objections to anything which would appear to me to overturn the principles of our oldest institutions. But it may be said that we overturn those principles in our measures of reform; on the contrary, I hold that we act more in accordance with the principles of our ancestors in conceding, than in refusing reform. (Hear.) They said that Sarum should have representatives on the same grounds on which we now say give representatives to Manchester and to other large towns. I remember, indeed, that Mr. Burke said in one of his speeches, that the House of Commons was, at that time, constituted on the same principle as ever, because the same places continued to send representatives. But, Sir, I wonder that a man of Mr. Burke's powers of mind could argue in that manner. He might as well have said that the Roman Empire in his day was governed on the same principles as in the days of Brutus. Sir, it is not acting upon the original principles of the Constitution to continue to Sarum the franchise given to it in the reign of Edward the Third, when the town no longer exists, with the population for whom that franchise was intended. I cannot believe that any reform which we can effect will prevent wealth, learning, and wit from the possession of influence, although there is no doubt that we may occasion more trouble in the use of it. My right hon. Friend, the Attorney-General, is an illustrious instance, out of many, of the successful exercise of the influence of talent. The extension of the franchise in the boroughs will enable many bankers, lawyers, and merchants to come into this House, to contribute their learning, experience, and zeal to the counsels of the nation. We are told that reform in the representation will destroy the influence of the aristocracy. But, Sir, I say, that wherever the members of the aristocracy reside, exercising the large power which they possess for the good of those who live around them, it is not in human nature that such an aristocracy

could lose their influence in the election of Members to serve their country in Parliament. It is not proper that they should have, as they at present have in some cases, the direct nomination of the representatives of the people; they will, under any system of reform, always possess the influence which it is right that they should possess. But if by aristocracy those persons are meant who do not live among the people, who know nothing of the people, and who care nothing for them—who seek honours without merit, places without duty, and pensions without service—for such an aristocracy I have no sympathy (great cheering), and I think the sooner its influence is carried away with the corruption in which it has thriven, the better for the country, in which it has repressed so long every wholesome and invigorating influence. (Hear, hear, hear.) Language has been held on this subject, which I hope will not be heard in future. A call has been made upon the aristocracy—all who are connected with it have been summoned to make a stand against the people. Some persons have even ventured to say, that they, by their numerical strength, could put down what they call sedition. (Hear, hear, hear.) But the question at issue does not respect the putting down of sedition. The real question is, whether, without some large measure of reform, the business of the country can be carried on with the confidence and the support of the people? I shall not ask whether you can resist reform, but I say, that it has become a question whether or not the Constitution would now perish if reform be deferred? (Loud cheering and cries of hear.) This House in its unreformed state has nothing to look to but the sympathy, confidence, and support of the nation. If it now refuse reform, that sympathy will be withheld—that support will be denied. I ask you, then, whether when his Majesty's ministers are convinced that reform is necessary, and when they have the approbation of the Sovereign for bringing a proposition before the House, in bringing forward which they declare that reform is indispensable (hear)—when multitudes of petitions poured upon your table, and myriads of voices out of doors call for reform—will this House say that we are the judges of our own honesty, that we despise the advice of the Crown, and disregard at once the warning of ministers, and the demands of the people, whom we profess to represent? Will this House say, we shall keep our power, keep it how we may; we regard not the petitions, and will take the consequences of that disregard. (Hear, hear, hear, and “No, no.”) The aristocracy of England have never been found wanting in any great crisis. They have not been found wanting when the country has been engaged in war with a national enemy. They have been at all times foremost, when there were burdens to be supported. I am sure, Sir, that they are now as ready as any other subjects to give their country that support. I now ask them, Sir, will they refuse

to identify themselves with the people, when sacrifices are to be made? I ask them whether they will not come forward to support the security of the throne, the stability of our institutions, the strength and the peace of the country. (Hear, hear.) Whatever may be the result of this proposition, the King's Ministers feel that they have done their duty. They have hitherto proceeded in the line of duty, in a straightforward course, neither seeking the support of a particular class, nor evading the approbation of the multitude. When duty led them to oppose popular clamours, they did not hesitate. By the rigorous enforcement of the laws, the disturbances which prevailed in some districts in England have been put down. By the rigorous enforcement of laws which existed when we came into office, we have, I hope, checked the disturbances with which the sister kingdom was threatened. In neither instance can we be accused of yielding to popular outcry, or of entrencing ourselves in popular favour. The Government, I think, has a right to be believed, when it states, that it is not for any sinister measure that it has brought forward this proposition; but, because it is interested, as everybody must be, in the future welfare of the country; and I do think, that this measure will tend to promote that welfare, by placing the institution on a more secure and satisfactory basis. I think that this is the only way calculated to secure permanency to that institution, which has so long been the admiration of foreign nations (cheers) on account of its public spirit (cheers); but which cannot exist much longer (murmurs of discontent), but by means of an infusion of a new popular spirit. To do this, you must show that you are determined not to be the representatives of a small class, or of a particular interest; but to form a body, who, representing the people, springing from the people, and sympathising with the people, can fairly call on the people to support the future burdens of the country, and to struggle with the future difficulties which it may have to encounter; confident that those who called upon them were ready to join them heart and hand; and were only looking, like themselves, to the glory and welfare of England. (Loud cheering.)

Sir J. SEAVENTH seconded the motion; but, in a few observations which he made, was nearly inaudible, owing to the number of Members who quitted their seats after the noble Lord had concluded his statement. The hon. Baronet observed, that the statement which had been made by his noble friend was so distinct, and so clear, that he felt himself highly honoured in having that opportunity of seconding it. Reform was in his opinion a measure so necessary to give tranquillity to the country, and to uphold its real interests, that his only sorrow was that it had not been brought forward sooner. He had come down to the House without knowing what the plan of Reform was to be; but he thought that it

was more than probable that he should vote for any plan of Reform, because he saw how much it was needed. He believed Reform to be absolutely necessary; for that House which professed to be the representative of the people of England, had entirely lost their confidence. Upon that conviction he would have voted for almost any plan; but since he had heard the plan of the noble Lord, which as far as he had been able to follow it, appeared to be good in every particular, he would not trespass further on the time of the House than to express how happy he was to second such a proposition. He, for one, would fully heartily, and thoroughly give his support to this measure, which appeared to him to be the most desirable that had ever been brought forward.

The question having been put from the Chair,

SIR ROBERT INGLES said, that no one could approach the discussion of such a subject at any time without feeling great difficulty, but now that difficulty was much enhanced, considering the circumstances under which it was brought forward. He was aware that, in opposing the principle upon which the noble Lord had gone, he should have to repeat many arguments that had been made use of before; but it should be remembered that they were arguments which, employed in better times by more able advocates, had induced the House to refuse its assent to the proposition against which they militated. It was, however, true, as stated by the noble Lord, that the question came under somewhat new circumstances before the House. For the first time, as the noble Lord had observed, it came before them sanctioned by the Government. This was true; and now, for the first time, they had heard one, who, though not a Minister, shone with the reflected light of the Government, come down in the face of Parliament, and stigmatised that House as unworthy to pass between the people and the throne. (Cheers from the Opposition Bench on the floor, loudly repeated from the other parts of the House.) This was language which in other times had never been heard from any representative of the Government, in or out of office. The noble Lord had also said that this measure was supported by the demand of the people. (Cheers.) He would not say that this language was absolutely unparliamentary, but it was certainly as near to threatening as it could be to be consistent with the rules of the House. (A cry of "No, no.") The noble Lord had also said, that there would be myriads of petitions and millions of demanders; he admitted that the noble Lord had added, "for their just request," at one time; but at another he had said, "to demand their rights;" and when he was told that the people were to demand anything, he was reminded of an expression of Horace Toulke, "that the people had hands," and he entirely thought that it was desirable that the business of the House should be con-

ducted without any reference to the number of persons demanding, which, in his opinion, was a direct interference with their deliberative character. (Hear, hear.) Now, in the first place, he begged to deny the fact, that the people did demand reform. (Murmurs of "oh, oh.") He denied it, because, at former periods, the same argument had been used, when they were called on to reform themselves, because the people demanded it.

LORD JOHN RUSSEL made some explanation relative to his use of the word "demand," the purport of which did not reach the Gallery.

SIR ROBERT INGLES continued: If the noble Lord intended that the demand of the people was not to end in intimidation, he would submit to the correction; but, as he understood the phrase, and as it was probably understood by the majority of those who heard it, (hear, hear), it seemed to imply, that if the House did not grant it, the people would take the remedy in their own hands. (Hear, and a cry of "no, no.") At very many periods in the history of this country (he was going to state, when he was interrupted), many applications had been made for reform, though, probably, they were not so vehement or so numerous as at present (hear, hear); but, at all events, they were so numerous as to justify the exclamations then which they now heard, with the distinction, that they now came before the House backed with the authority of the Ministry. He would not fatigue the House with any reference to very remote times; but there was a passage in Burke which might (changing only the date) apply almost exactly to the present period. The passage was from a work of his, entitled, "Thoughts on the Cause of the present Discontents;" and it appeared so extraordinarily applicable to the present state of things, that when he should read it to the House, he thought they would venture to say, that the present apprehensions might be outlived just as easily as those which were painted so strongly in Mr Burke's observations. The passage ran thus, "There is something particularly alarming in the present conjuncture. There is hardly a man, in or out of power, who holds any other language; that hardly anything, above or below, abroad or at home, is sound and entire; but that disconnection and confusion in offices, in parries, in families, in Parliament, in the nation, prevail beyond the disorders of any former time. These are facts universally admitted and lamented. This state of things is the more extraordinary, because the great parties which formerly divided and agitated the kingdom, are known to be in a manner entirely dissolved. No great external calamity has visited the nation—no pestilence or famine. We do not labour at present under any scheme of taxation, new or oppressive in the quantity or in the mode. Nor are we engaged in unsuccessful wars, in which our misfortunes might easily pervert our judgment." This was the statement which Mr. Burke had thought fit to make; but all this we had outlived. By relying on the vigour and firmness

of the Government, all these things had been removed, and by being removed, the constitution of the country had been preserved entire. From the statement of another author, it would appear, that in the year 1782, the people demanded reform so earnestly, that it was in vain to think of resisting it; that, in fact, there was hardly an hour to spare; he was quoting Horne Tooke, when he said, "That the people must be satisfied in their just expectations, and that the Ministers would grant what they were no longer able to deny he would venture to assert that they would not much longer refuse." Ho (Sir Robert Inglis) was ready to admit that there was an expectation now existing among the people but not to the extent stated by the noble Lord. The present excitation had arisen from the example of France and Belgium. (Hear, hear.) It was all to be found in the three days of Paris, and the events which had followed those three days. (Loud cries of hear, hear.) When there was any excitement of insurrection in other countries, it had been found to be an epidemic disease, and, as such, brought to this country also, whether through the air, or specifically by direct contact, he did not know; but this at least was certain, the simultaneous popular tumults were produced (Hear, hear.) The same remarkable effect was produced in 1793, and in Condorcet there was a passage which particularly referred to Parliamentary Reform in this country. Condorcet observed, that "since the explosion of liberty in France, a hollow fermentation has shown itself in England, and had more than once disconcerted the Ministry; popular societies had been formed in the three kingdoms, and the necessity of Parliamentary Reform was as much talked of as that of calling together the States-General had been in France in the year 1787. It was well known that numbers had come over to enlighten the people of England, who at once feared and wished for such alteration as would irresistibly draw them along. The opening of the coming Parliament would be the occasion of such a Reform as was most urgently required, and from thence the formation of a Republic would be less tedious, because the seeds of liberty had long been planted in England." The consequence of the Reform that was proposed—let it be called by what name it would—would be that the whole of the power would be placed in the hands of the people. Even if he were disposed to admit the facts of the noble Lord, he should deny his inference. They were sent there by the people, not to legislate day by day according to their will, but to act on their deliberate judgments, for the best interests of the country and of the state. (Hear, hear.) There was a great distinction between this case and the case in which the greatest number of petitions ever known had been presented to that House—he meant the Roman Catholic question. In that instance, as he had stated at the time, the people prayed for the conservation of what

they already possessed: in this instance what they were asking for was a change; and he never would admit that a man could have so good a judgment about what he had not, as about what he actually had. (Hear, hear.) It was, therefore, no inconsistency in him to have called on the House then to support the prayer of the people, and now (even if he believed that it was the desire of the people) to refuse their demand. He was sure that a mere multiplication of the numbers entitled to vote for representatives could be of no advantage to the country; for without quoting a very wise remark, he might observe, that it was quite as possible for, great tyranny to be in the hands of many as of one. He contended, therefore, that to increase the number of voters throughout the country by a million, would not add either to the freedom or the value of the deliberations of that House. They were not sent there for the particular spot that they represented; for if they would look at the King's Writ sent to each returning officer, they would see that the number for the largest county, as well as for the smallest borough, was required to attend to consider the affairs of the country and the good of the Church. This was the qualification which the King required of them, and this had no reference to the particular place which they represented. At one time such an argument might have been just, when it was necessary that the Member for any borough should belong to that very borough which he represented; but since the passing of the Act by which non-resident members were accepted as eligible, there was nothing so specifically to unite them to the local interests of the place which they represented. When a Member was returned to that House, he ceased to be responsible to his constituency. It was at the end of the period which he had to serve in Parliament that he again came before them, and it was then only that he was accountable to them. The noble Lord, like many other theorists, seemed ready to worship the work of his own hands; like them, also, he seemed to have formed a theory of the Constitution which was not to be found in any part of the practice of that Constitution. (Hear, hear.) In the United States, in France, or in Belgium, where there were changes from day to day, such a proposition as that of the noble Lord might meet with favour; but in England, where they had the precedents of a long succession of ages to which to refer, the case was very different. The king's writs and other documents had existed from time immemorial; and these were the only means from which they could derive information with respect to the constitutional duty. He knew that there were such men as De Lolme and Montesquieu, who took on themselves to talk of representation being founded on the basis of population or taxation; but he could find no trace of such a principle in any of the ancient times of our Constitution. He could not find that at any period of our

history population had been made the basis of representation. The noble Lord had said, that he had grounded his plan on the principle of our ancestors, and as they had called upon Old Sarum and Gaton to return Members, so he would call on Manchester and Leeds. He (Sir R. Inglis), however, must doubt exceedingly, whether at any period of our history population had ever entered into the calculation on which boroughs had been called upon to send representatives to Parliament. At the same time he knew that it had been held by no less an authority than Mr. Hallam, that if they looked at the map of England and saw a place that was not represented now, it was certain that it was a place of no importance when the system of the representation of the country had been formed. He thought, however, that if they examined into the subject, they would find that this was not the case. What was it that had first induced the Sovereigns of this country to call a Parliament together? It was because they wanted men and money to carry on their wars; and their appeal had been made to the *liberi homines*. The next thing that took place was the calling on the "communities" to assist at these Parliaments; but in this case each community had but one vote, so that even if two Members were returned they had but one vote between them. At that time the county of Cornwall had but eight Members. He presumed, that if it could be shown that places were called on to return Members which were neither parishes nor market towns, it would be admitted that those places could not be very considerable. Now there were Haslemere, West Looe, and others, which had never been one or the other, and yet they had been called on to send representatives to Parliament. After this he did not see how it could be contended that population or taxation was the basis on which the principle of representation had been grounded, for not only small towns had been called on to send representatives, but large towns had been left unrepresented; and this was a most important point, in answer to those who pretended they only asked for the restoration of the constitution. He well remembered the statement in that House of an honourable and learned Gentleman (now Lord Brougham) who had said that his object was not revolution, but restoration; that noble Lord had said that he was an enemy to visionary and untried experiments—to rash and untried theories. He (Sir R. Inglis) called on that noble and learned Lord's colleagues to defend the present measures against the charge which he brought against it, of being a rash and untried speculation, utterly destructive of every thing that had hitherto existed. He called on the noble Lord to show any trace of what he had that night laid down in the former precedents of England. Let him show that any town or borough had been called into Parliamentary existence, because it was large and populous, or excluded from it because it was small. The noble Lord

had tried to make much of the instance of Old Sarum; and this had always been the great stumbling-block with those who had pursued the same line of argument. In one and the same year, the 23d of Edward I., a writ had been issued to both Old and New Sarum, and in neither case had it been conferred on account of population or taxation. On the contrary, he believed that it had been given in the first instance to oblige some Earl of Salisbury, by putting his friends in the House. And in an account of the borough it was stated that it had lately been purchased by Mr. Pitt, the possessor of the celebrated diamond of that name, who had thus obtained an hereditary seat in the House of Commons, as much as the Earl of Arundel possessed one in the House of Peers by being the owner of Arundel Castle. How, then, was it to be said that, according to the constitution of the country, Noblemen were not to be represented and their interests regarded in that House? The cause of the creation of many boroughs was, he believed, obscure; but, on the other hand, some were as clear and as well ascertained as possible. It was known that two writs to return members had been issued by Elizabeth, at the desire of one of her favourites, Sir Christopher Hatton; and Newport, in the Isle of Wight, had received its franchise to please Sir G. Carew. This was the history of many of the small boroughs; and, in fact, all the Cornish boroughs had exclusively been formed in that manner. Fifteen Cornish boroughs had at one time received the right of representation, some of which were only small villages, and none of them entitled to rank as considerable among the towns of England. It was in vain, after this, to talk of the purity of representation in former times. He defied the noble Lord to point out any period when the representation was better than it was at present. He therefore said, that what was proposed was not restorative. The House and the country might judge what it was; but he would state in one word, that it was "Revolution." (Loud cheers.) A reform like that of the noble Lord was nothing but revolution (cheering); a revolution that would overturn all the natural influence of property, and of rank. (Hear, hear.) Another objection to this great evil was, that it would derange all that system by which the constitution of this country had become the glory of England, and the admiration of the world. Under the circumstances which now existed, there had been at times brought together (under the influence of the crown and of the aristocracy) a body of men who had displayed more honesty, more virtue, more public spirit, more talents, and more zeal for the service of their country, than had ever made their appearance within any other walls, or in any other country. (Hear, hear.) He had already alluded to the opinion of Mr. Hallam, and he thought at that time to have observed, that many of the towns to which the noble Lord proposed to give the elective franchise were

considerable places at the period when the right of representation was given to other places, and yet they were omitted. Halifax, three hundred years ago, was known to have a population of 8400; Wakefield was a most considerable town at the same time; and Manchester, according to tradition, had not less than 5400 inhabitants for two hundred years before the year 1680; and, at all events, it was certain, that at that latter period, assessed the amount of population he had mentioned. But, in answer to what he said that the boroughs had not after that time, and that therefore it was possible to do justice to such a few places? Just the reverse of this was the fact; for after the date to which he had referred with respect to Halifax, fifty-one boroughs had been summoned to send representatives to Parliament; and after the date with respect to Manchester, fourteen boroughs had in like manner received writs. He did not intend to enter into the question of whether it would be advantageous to large towns to receive the elective franchise, though he must confess that he did not know how much Manchester had lost by not having every five or six years such election scenes as that which had lately taken place at Liverpool; but, at least, the advantage thus to be derived was very questionable. Which of the two, Manchester or Liverpool, was the most prosperous he did not know; but both, at all events, enjoyed a high degree of prosperity; the one was prosperous with two representatives, the other without any; and he had never heard that any of the commercial interests of the latter had suffered from the want of having advocates in that House, who were able and willing to maintain its rights. (Hear, hear.) He had another objection to that part of the proposition of the noble Lord, in which he would have taxation and representation go hand in hand; and which put him in mind of the title of a pamphlet he had seen, and which was called, "Taxation Tyranny without Representation." His objection was, that he did not see how this principle could be adopted; for, in the event of a contested election, those who voted in the minority would have no representation at all. Without making any personal allusion, he might recall to the memory of the noble Lord, that there were individuals who came into that House only upon a casting vote. In such cases the minority was all but equal to the majority, and yet they were to have no representation. If the principle of the noble Lord was worth anything, it was worth this—that no person of such minority would be bound to pay the taxes, or obey the laws that were enacted, as his representative had no share in their formation. Such a principle was wholly untenable; and he contended, that such an assertion, made by such an authority in that House, was calculated to do infinite mischief, as tending against good order, and to make the people disobedient. The great benefit of

the condition of the House of Commons, as it now existed (though, if the noble Lord's plan was adopted, that benefit would cease), was, that it admitted all classes, represented all interests, and admitted all talents. If the proposed change took place, the members would be almost entirely confined to one interest, and no talent but the single one of mob oratory. The effect would be to confine the representation to those members who were called popular; and that alone would be sufficient to destroy all the present advantages that the House afforded to the large towns, and to those who sat for close boroughs, as they had been that night designated, for the first time, by a member of the Government (cheers); many of those who had constituted the chief ornaments of the House, and had been in former times the support of the country, would, if this plan had been adopted in their days, never have been received into that House. He would ask the noble Lord by what other means the great Lord Chatham had come into Parliament? By the bye, the first borough for which that great man had sat was Old Sarum itself. Mr. Pitt had sat for Appleby. Mr. Fox had come in for a close borough, and when rejected by a populous place, he again took refuge in a close borough. Mr. Burke had first sat for Wendover; and when, by that means, he became known, he was transposed in his glory to Bristol, as Mr. Canning, who also first sat for Wendover, was transposed to Liverpool. When their talents once became known, they were the honoured representatives of large towns; but would such places ever

be so? He was only by this means that young men, who were unconnected by birth or residence with large towns, could ever hope to enter that House, unless, indeed, they were cursed—he called it cursed—with that talent of mob oratory, which was used for the purpose of inflaming the lowest and most debasing passions of the people. (Hear, hear.) Mr. Burke had stated, that it was essential that all interests should be represented. The noble Lord, indeed, had stated, that lawyers, bankers, and merchants would somehow get in; he had not, however, taken the trouble to explain how it was to be done. But this he (Sir R. Peel) would say, that as law, commerce, and finance, were subjects much discussed in that House, it was highly necessary that there should be persons connected with those matters from whom the House might derive information. But, at all events, the other interests of the country seemed to be entirely passed over. How were those who spoke of the interests of the distant colonies of England to obtain seats? Let it not be said, that in arguing thus he was arguing in favour of a system of corruption. He never would admit that it was corrupt. If any one could satisfy

him that it was a corrupt system, he would be one of the first to say, that if it involved any breach of faith or duty, the practical advantage could not be such as to justify its continuance. But what he meant to contend was, that under this system our Constitution was formed; and under this alone could it be maintained. With the exception of the Hon. Member for Waterford, the hon. Member for Kilkenny, the hon. Member for Cornwall (as we understood the hon. Baronet), and the hon. Member for Staffordshire, there were very few Members who took an active part in the proceedings of that House, who had not entered it as Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, and Mr. Burke had done; and he therefore contended, that unless such opportunity was still afforded, it would tend to deteriorate the talent and ability possessed by the House. Unless he was told something more than could be collected from the vague declamation he had heard that night, he should continue to believe, that at the present moment that House was more independent of the Crown and of the Aristocracy than at any former period. He could easily show that the House was not, in one respect, what it had been formerly, but that made more against the argument of the noble Lord than for it. He could show how much more dependent it was at all times upon the Crown and upon the Aristocracy than at present. Would it be said that the dependence of that House, and the influence and authority exercised over it, was greater at that time than in the reign of James II.? Would the House, in its present state, bear to be treated as it had been treated in the reign of Henry VIII.? Tracing the history of Parliament and the country down to the latest years—there was no period of our history when the influence of the Crown was so slight as at the present moment. What was the state of things in the time her Queen's Majesty directed the Sheriffs to return to Parliament such men only as were of a particular faith in matters of religion, and of known compliance in matters of politics? And, in the reign of Edward VI., the Sheriffs were directed to select only such Members as had been previously recommended by the Privy Council. If they were to refer to the golden time for specimens of the independence of that House, it would not be to the period of the reign of Henry IV., nor to the time of Richard II., when a Member of Parliament was threatened to be executed, for merely making a bludgeon on the Civil List. Such summary vengeance was, indeed, rare in modern times.—(Here the noise, which prevailed generally through out the speech of the honourable Baronet, rose to such a pitch, that he was for some moments inaudible.) When heard, he was repeating his former assertion, that at no time had the House of Commons been so independent of the crown and of the aristocracy as at the present day. Time was, when the Duchess of Norfolk determined not only who should sit for the county of Norfolk, but who should

represent Maldon in Parliament; when Lord Essex could return his kinsman for the county of Stafford, and his servant for the borough of Lanworth. In neither case was there that freedom from influence and that perfect representation which the reformers always assumed to belong to past times. The honourable Baronet then proceeded to dwell upon the facility (as we understood him) with which the repeal of taxes had of late years been conceded to ministers of the crown. He hoped that no feelings of timidity would so far influence the votes of that House as to put the just rights of the crown to hazard, or endanger the principles of that constitution under which the country had so long flourished, and from the loss of which it would inevitably decay. Unless the House was prepared to restore that negative of the crown, which, though disused since the Revolution, had never been totally destroyed—unless they were prepared to restore that negative, they could never presume to go any length in altering the state of the representation. He begged of them to recollect what had been the amount of the secret service money antecedently to the period of the Revolution; and it was well known that secret service money had always been used for the purpose of procuring majorities in that House, to promote the views of the crown and the Administration for the time being. The amount of the secret service money at the time to which he referred was 90,000*l.* a year, being one twentieth of the whole income of the country at the period in question. At the present day the secret service money did not amount to one seven hundredth part of the income of the nation, and no man now believed that anything like direct pecuniary bribery was practised upon the members of that House, or had been for the last forty or fifty years. He believed that no man in the country believed that any inducement in the nature of pecuniary bribe to any member to give his vote in a particular manner upon any question would be rejected with disdain. (Hear, hear.) He was assured that no direct pecuniary bribe was usually offered, in these times; and he entertained no doubt, that if such bribes were offered they would be utterly unavailing to induce members of that House to give their votes one way or the other. He knew that in the time of Mr. Pitt loans were given—that is, in loans were given to such members of that House as were in the habit of supporting His Majesty's Government. Those loans were made in secret, and the shares were distributed amongst the Government Members; but since that time he was persuaded that nothing in the nature of pecuniary bribery was to be heard of in connection with the members of that House. Even the corruption by places had in a great degree ceased to exist; and from the destination of places within the walls of that House, the House had lost much of the legitimate influence which it ought to possess, but it was all the while gaining power of another description, and in a different man-

ner, and whatever power the Crown was losing the House gained. The time had now arrived when members were heard to say, he hoped they would never be enabled to say so upon good grounds, that it was now time to talk of the ambassadors being the servants of the crown. He really was, in no slight degree surprised when it was said that the ambassadors to foreign states, were not to be considered as the servants of the crown. Was not the crown an essential and inherent part of the constitution? And if it possessed

forth were to be considered as servants. If ambassadors ceased to be considered as servants of the crown, the army and navy, by the same rule, might be called the servants of the state; and that would lead straight to nothing short of republicanism. In further proof of there being not only no necessity for reform, but of its being unjust and inexpedient, he would observe, that at no period of the history of this country had there been so little party spirit as the business of the legislators as at the present day, and that he confessed he looked upon as one of the misfortunes of the times that there was no party in the present day; the misfortune of the times was, that there were no two great leading men to divide in nearly equal portions the House and the country, and to take the lead of each division, under whose banners public men might range themselves; but though that was not the case, and though it was to be regretted that it should be so, yet it was at least available for one purpose; that of affording an argument against reform, as showing the independence of individual members of Parliament. It was almost ludicrous to notice so often, the frequent references to old times, seeing that they made so much against the interest of the reformers in the time of Elizabeth, so far from the House possessing a greater degree of influence than at present, that Queen told them in direct terms that they were not to interfere with matters concerning her prerogative royal. She expressed her admiration, not in the eulogistic sense of the word, that they should have suited to interfere with the exercise of her prerogative, and such was their scruple and servitude at that period, that they went rously about taking into consideration whether or not they would ask permission to touch such small matters as sheep and wheat malt, but it was the opinion of the House that they were too weak to treat of such matters as peace and war. Every day the people were becoming more and more intelligent, and further and greater was the source of the increasing influence of the people was the increased amount of petitions presented to that House. The noble Lord himself could not deny that the petitions to that House had of late years prodigiously increased. In the year 1701, when the famous

Kentish petition was presented, it was looked upon as quite a prodigy. Then the increased influence of the Press afforded another argument against reform; it was an influence by which they were all more or less bound, all in the state were bound by the influence of the Press exerted. By means of circulating libraries and book clubs, all classes the people had become readers, and when you had come to read all that passed in that House, and all that was said out of doors of public men, being members of that House or not, the intelligence and the comments of the Press were conveyed almost with the speed of lightning to every quarter of the earth where the English language was spoken or understood. The effect of all these measures and proceedings being openly avowed was, that it had made the House of Commons alive to all that the people felt upon any matter that might form a subject of political discussion; that they had worked a real reform, and all the reform that was necessary, for it established that sympathy which should subsist between the people represented and the people by whom they were represented. By the system of petition which now so generally prevailed, the wants and wishes of the people on all subjects were made known to the legislature. It may thus, that by a convenient fiction, the proceedings of that House were as a sealed book to the people of the empire, but by another convenient fiction, that seal was removed every morning, and the people made acquainted from one end of the United Kingdom to the other, with every thing that had been said and done in that House the preceding evening. In the times so triumphantly referred to by the reformers, the people knew nothing of the proceedings of that House, for it was then a gross breach of privilege to make any publication concerning them. The debates were then given, as they might be seen in the mid volumes of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, reported as they were in the days of Dr. Johnson, as the proceedings of a political club, the names of the members being concealed under the appellations of Hortensius, Cato, Petronius, Flaccus, and such like. He had power to call the attention of the House to a matter of considerable moment. He believed that in the history of civilized man there was not to be found any system of representation so completely popular as that of the noble Lord's, co-existing with a free Press on the one hand, and a monarchy on the other. He believed that there was no instance upon record of a free Press, being placed in juxtaposition with a monarchy and a system of representation such as that proposed by the noble Lord. Before ten years passed away, they were assured that the measure of the noble Lord, if agreed to, would produce a shock so decisive, that all the institutions of the country would give way before it, he said, if carried, but for himself he had no apprehension that it ever would. There was small danger that such a measure as that

could ever receive the sanction of the House. An attempt at such an experiment as that had been made by the National Assembly in France. Something of the sort had been attempted in Switzerland also, and a similar trial was now being made in France. How it might terminate it was not for him to anticipate, but he sincerely hoped, and, indeed, had little fear, that any such experiment would ever be tried in this country. In France it was perfectly well known, for it was too obvious to escape observation, that the attempt to produce a purely popular representation had interrupted the country in the fair course of liberty, arts, domestic trade, and foreign commerce, to which the patriots of this country had ever attained; and he entertained not the slightest doubt, that were the calamity proposed by the noble Lord to be put into effect on this land, that a similar result would ensue. (Cheers.) When the noble Lord, from whom and from whose Government the present measure proceeded, forty years ago made a proposition in that House for a much more moderate reform, he did not conceal from the House that that very moderate reform involved a fundamental change in the Government of the country. What was he not then bound to admit with respect to a reform plan, that went, at a blow, to sweep away one-third of the House of Commons? Were it agreed to, the House of Lords, before ten years, would have but a nominal existence. He would call upon some right honourable gentlemen opposite, supporters of the late Mr. Canning, he would call upon them to answer the eloquence and reasoning of their renowned leader, now no more. He said, that if the representation of the people was complete and perfect in all its parts, nothing could withstand its power and authority. In his (Sir R.'s) opinion, an unreformed House of Lords would not for a moment be tolerated by a reformed House of Commons; and Mr. Canning, more than once expressed his full conviction that the House of Lords could no longer continue as it present constituted if the measure of reform were carried with reference to the House of Commons. Would a reformed House of Commons endure the interference of a House of Lords—would they permit them to interfere with the Civil List—would they not be an appeal to physical force? Much had been said out of doors respecting the duration of Parliaments. There was very little foundation for the complaint on that subject for during the last 300 years, it actually lasted out, upon examination, that only twenty-one parliaments sat above three years, and that the average duration of all the parliaments of that period was only two years and eight months. The Ballot, too, was open to the

MY TRIUMPH.

TO
THE READERS OF THE REGISTER,
ON

The Destruction of the Boroughmongers

Bolt-Court, March 3, 1851.

MY FRIENDS,

You, I mean, who have been observers of my labours, and who have stood faithfully by me for the last twenty years; you, who heard the chuckling of the base and bloody boroughmongers when I was shut up in prison in 1810; you, who heard the ferocious ruffians chuckle aloud, when, in order to retain the power of finally destroying them, I escaped to Long Island, in 1817; you, who have witnessed the manner in which I have fought them such by such, in which I have sustained the unequal combat single-handed from the year 1808, up to *Saturday last*, you will sympathise with me in the joy, in the inexpressible delight, which I now feel at their total overthrow, at the destruction of them by the hands of those very men who they hoped would have preserved them. *Forgiveness!* Yes, we are to forgive when atonement is made to us; and upon that principle I shall act, to be sure.

My friends, in that gloomy moment when I was taking my departure from England, in 1817, in order to save myself from the dungeons of Castlereagh and Sidmouth, in which the victims were deprived of the use of pen, ink, and paper; in that gloomy moment, when, expressing to you, at the same time, my determination not to give up the combat, but to fight the ruffian boroughmongers with my long arm, I addressed you, and, in that address, made use of the following words: "My countrymen, be you assured that there will be no change for the better in England, until there shall come an open war between the land and the funds. The question is,

' the Parliament; if this *breach be-*
 ' *tween the two systems DO NOT*
 ' **LET IN REFORM**, it is hard to say
 ' how very low this country may be
 ' sunk in the scale of nations. Yet us
 ' hope, however, that this is not to be
 ' the fate of our country: let us hope
 ' that she is yet to be freed from this
 ' millstone of debt, and this all-de-
 ' grading boroughmongers' curse."
Leave-taking address, Register, vol. 32,
pages 19 and 23.

Have I not, then, a right to be proud?
 Is not this day the day of my triumph?
 Yes, and of your triumph, too. How
 many thousands of you have been
 actually ruined merely because you had
 the honesty to avow that you held
 my opinions! How many hundreds
 of thousands injured in some degree; an-
 noyed, vexed, goaded through the sides
 of their families; teased, tormented
 and worried: but, how many thousands
 actually ruined, actually reduced to beg-
 gary, for holding, and for having the
 honesty to avow that they held, those
 opinions which are now become the
 opinions of the nation at large, and
 which are now about to receive the
 stamp of an act of Parliament! Nay,
 my friends, I have to relate to you, and
 I shudder with horror as I write, that
 the prisoners in jail on account of the
 late riots have been carefully canvassed
 for the purpose of ascertaining *whether*
they read my writings! Nay, I have to
 relate to you that two of the worthiest
 men that England ever produced have
 just been transported for life from
 Hampshire, not for fires, not for break-
 ing machinery even, but for forming
 part of an assemblage who got a trifling
 sum of money from a farmer. The pro-
 prietors of all the land in the parish in
 which they lived, came and gave them
 the best of characters. It was proved
 by the parson of the parish, and of the
 adjoining parish, that they were two
 most sober and industrious men; and
 that, so far from resorting to any-thing
 but their labour for support, *they of*
themselves supported their widow mo-
ther. In short, the whole world can-
 not produce two labouring men of more
 exemplary character and conduct. But

it appears, from an article in the bloodiest
 of bloody publications, the *Times*
 newspaper, that those two brothers had
 long been "*readers of Cobbett's Register.*" I will take an opportunity short-
 ly of publishing the infamous para-
 graph from that infamous paper,
 which chuckled with delight that
 those two men were to be transported
 for life, leaving their widowed mother
 to starve or go to the parish for relief.
 Of these two excellent men, JOSEPH and
 ROBERT MASON, of the parish of Bul-
 lington, in Hampshire, I never heard
 any-thing in my whole life until the
 trials at Winchester took place. Bul-
 lington is close by the estates of the
 BARRONS. Every-thing was sifted out
 relative to what was called "the po-
 litics" of these men; and it was found
 that they regularly took the Register,
 and that one of them read it aloud every
 Sunday night, or some one night in the
 week, to twenty or thirty of the villagers.
 I will hereafter publish as full an ac-
 count as I can of all the proceedings
 against these two men; and be you as-
 sured, my friends, that as long as I have
 my senses remaining, I will never cease
 to endeavour to obtain them justice, if
 justice be not obtained for them before
 those senses cease. I rest, observe,
 upon the statement of the execrably
 bloody newspaper above-mentioned.
 When I have time to inquire into all the
 facts, you shall be more fully informed
 upon the subject. I enjoy this day of
 triumph; but I cannot, during even
 this day, forget JOSEPH and ROBERT
 MASON; and, indeed, if I knew their
 names, I might, I dare say, add hundreds
 to the list of victims, whose cases it
 would have been and may become my
 duty elaborately to mention.

Now, then, as to the reform proposed
 by the Ministers, I have not the means
 of giving the detail accurately as yet:
 the reports are necessarily imperfect;
 but this we know, that the infamous
 rotten boroughs are to be wiped
 off. If the Ministers had stopped there,
 I should have applauded even that: I
 should have said they had done well.
 But they have done a great deal more
 than this: they have extended the suf-

frage, though not to all householders, yet to householders of a very low degree: they have taken in copyholders and leaseholders without disfranchising freeholders; they have given representatives to a great number of populous places which had them not before; and, in short, it is a reform which we all ought to approve of, which we all ought to applaud. It does not extend so far as my wishes would go; but, as I have always said, in the first place, every sensible man takes what he can get; and in the next place, we are to consider that here was a great variety of interests to be combated, and a great mass of prejudices and aristocratical fears to subdue; and the question with the ministers was, in the first place, whether they should make no reform at all, and thereby expose the whole fabric of the government to destruction, and the country to convulsive revolution; or whether they should make, all at once, such a reform as would satisfy all reasonable men for the present, and not expose the fabric to total destruction, by a breaking up of every vestige of the former species of representation. For my own part, I am of opinion; an opinion settled in my mind after the most impartial investigation and mature consideration, that there would have been no danger to the prerogatives of the King, to the just privileges of the Peers, or to any of the institutions of the country properly so called, if, at once, the right of voting had been extended to every man being of twenty-one years of age, of sane mind, and untarnished by indelible crime; and if the voting had been settled to be by ballot. I am firmly convinced that the aristocracy, that the crown, and even that the clergy would have found themselves better under a reform to this extent than they will do now. But, it does not follow that I am, not to applaud, and greatly to applaud, that which has now been done. On the contrary, so much has been done now, that I am quite willing to wait, and patiently wait, too, for its full effects, and, if those effects be such as to render further change unnecessary

for the good, for the happiness, of the people, and for the revival of the greatness of the country, I should be quite content with what has been done; and, I am sure that the country will be content. With how much less should we have been content in 1817! And now let the base and brutal and insolent borough-mongers reflect on their exultation when the Parliament, in answer to our humble and earnest prayers, for far less than has now been conceded; let them reflect on their exultation, on their inexpressible baseness, in chuckling at the passing of a law by which we were consigned to dungeons, at the pleasure of SIDMOUTH, CASTLEBRASSON, SCOTT ELDON and Co.! If the name of OGDON should come athwart their minds, will not the ruffians now tremble in their shoes! Forgive! Oh, yes, I am for forgiving, the moment atonement shall be made. I want no atonement made to me. But, when I forget other sufferers, may GOD forget me! What! do I not recollect when the "authorities" of Manchester were prepared with horse, foot, and artillery, to prevent me from going to that town to dine with friends who had invited me to dine there? Do I not recollect when JOHN HAYES, of Bolton, was crammed ten weeks into a stinking prison because he went round with a bell to apprize the public-spirited people of that town that their countryman, William Cobbett, had arrived at Liverpool, in good health? Not for me do I demand redress. I call for no atonement towards me; but as long as this tongue or pen shall be able to move will I seek to cause atonement to be made for those who have suffered unjustly for my sake.

However, sufficient unto the day is the triumph thereof. I cordially approve of what the ministers have done, and, for the first time, in about eight and twenty years, I am quite anxious to give a Ministry my support, though some base tax-eaters are, at the same moment, prosecuting me, and that, too, in the meanest and most malignant manner. A prosecution, however, which I will cause to cover them with confusion

and disgrace. It is curious enough, that, in the *Register* published only the week before last, speaking of the stupid plots and contrivances intended to drive me out of the country, I said, "Abscond, indeed, here is an impudent fellow, talk of my absconding! a pretty set indeed, in the House of Commons and House of Lords to make me abscond. They may now make a pension of *Habeas corpus* acts, gagging acts, gagging acts; they may put down the press altogether - they may do what they like; but never shall they make me abscond or quit English ground. They are much more likely to abscond than I am. I have done my work; I have tree, and, please God, I will remain to see and taste the fruit. In the first of these two last, I was wrong. I had not quite done my work: I finished that last Saturday, in the ever-living article called 'FRENCH REVOLUTION and ENGLISH REFORM.' That was the finisher of my work; and it will take a great deal to persuade any man who has read it, that it had not a considerable share in urging the Ministers to a that grand measure, which now fills mouths of all honest men with applause. The work, however, is now done. Here is the tree, bearing the fruit; and, respecting you, fellows, BLANDFORD and SLAPP, here am I to taste the fruit, in spite of your backbitings and slanders.

Though, however, I ascribe a great part of this grand work to my own Herculean labours, the nation at large has its share; and I am by no means for denying that great merit belongs to the Ministers for what they have done. Their enemies in Parliament are nothing, they themselves having the people at their back; but they have had other greater enemies to overcome, and much greater enemies, too; the greatest of all the enemies that men in power know any-thing of; namely, *their own pride* and deep-rooted prejudices. Here the combat must have been severe indeed! They have had the courage to set at defiance those taunts which their political opponents were sure to deal in, with regard to

their want of firmness to resist what they call the "clamours of the people." They have the good sense, the real courage, to set these taunts at defiance. The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom. The voice of the people is the voice of God; and when it is the voice of a whole people, it is the voice of their Creator. Therefore, to act upon a fear of opposing the voice of the people was in the language of Scripture, the "beginning of wisdom." And you have only to look back to the face of CHARLES the First, to the face of LOUIS the Sixteenth, and the aristocracy and clergy of France; to the face of GEORGE the Third, with regard to the American States, to be convinced that the Ministers have now acted wisely as well as justly. They are entitled, in many commendations, not, however, like servile creatures overlooking the great share in the triumph which is ascribable to ourselves.

With regard to the opposition to this measure, it is sheer nonsense. Had it been a little trifling measure, the opposition would have thrown out the Ministers, and the nation, regarding the two factions as forming but one body, would have taken the Reform into its own hands. The paper that I am now writing will go to the press before I shall know the result of this day (Thursday's) debate; but, in all probability, the second reading of the bill will not take place until early next week, when the division on it (if any division) will, of course, take place. The bill will pass; and though I know nothing about the matter, I should suppose that the present Parliament will sit the Sessions out, transact the necessary business of the Session; then be prorogued, then dissolved, and the new and Reformed Parliament elected in the month of October, rendering immortal the memory of the year 1831. The interest excited by the deliberations of the remainder of this session will be far less than the interest excited in the nation at large by the proceedings in a vestry of any of the parishes of Westminster or of London. The nation, full of hope, will be quiet in

every part of it. We shall hear of no more riots and disturbances; no more petitions for a repeal of the Union with Ireland; and I am firmly of opinion with Mr. HOBBS, that, unless in cases where deep revenge has been left imprinted on the heart by deeds of injustice and of cruelty too great for human nature to endure, we shall hear of no more fires. Mr. HOBBS, though the villanous "reporters" have given us no part of his speech, told the Ministers, in the House of Commons, on Saturday last, that "he had the inexpressible pleasure to tell them that the riots and fires had wholly ceased in the county of Kent, for which he was a member; that he verily believed that cessation to have arisen from the hope and expectation which the people entertained of an extensive and efficient Reform of the Parliament; and that he believed most firmly, and most solemnly declared that belief, that, if such reform were refused, the riots and the fires would begin again. I believe so too; and it was upon precisely this principle that I proceeded in those lectures in Kent and Sussex which the bloody *Times* newspaper, in conjunction with the certificates of PARSON RUSH and of WALTER BURRELL and Co. endeavoured to represent as the cause of the fires in those counties. At every place (and I can call witnesses from every place to prove it) I advised the farmers to call all the people of their several parishes together; to bring with them a short petition ready written for Parliamentary Reform; to sign it, and to get the people to sign it too; to assure them that that would bring them better times if their prayer were attended to; to tell them that their prayer would be attended to, and that, therefore, they ought to be patient in the meanwhile. This, I told the farmers, would fill the people with hope, would make them patient, would put a stop to the fires, and to violences of all sorts. And it is for having laboured thus, that this infamous and bloody newspaper has been labouring day by day to prepare the way for causing my blood to be shed! However, here is Mr. HOBBS

foretelling, in Parliament, too, that he believes that the fires will recommence if the Parliament be not efficiently reformed. I have triumphed over this newspaper; but I repeat, what I said a hundred times over, that Parliamentary reform ever can be worth a single straw, which will not give rise to a state of things that will bring punishment on the heads of such ruffians as those who have laboured through the columns of this newspaper, to cause the destruction of the liberties and the lives of the people. There is no act of cruelty, not of oppression am I speaking, but no act of cruelty, of savage barbarity, that this bloody newspaper has not defended and even called for. Like the croak of the raven, its voice has been the omen and precursor of death; and it has seemed to be mortified that there was nothing beyond death to glut its propensity for blood. Amongst the advantages of this measure of the Ministers is to be numbered the exposure of this bloody newspaper. It has now turned about suddenly, and is as loud in cries for the destruction of victims of another sort. Its furious and brutal assault of this morning (Thursday) upon Lord ELLENBOROUGH is a sort of first step in its general assault upon every pensioner and sinecurist; and if such were unhappily the case, that a DANTON, a COLLOP D'HERBOIS, and a ROBESPIERRE, were to succeed the present King and his Ministers, we should see this bloody newspaper, not their apologist, but the Corypheus of the band of writers, breathing blood and carnage. I beseech my readers in particular, and all the public, now to keep their eye upon this vehicle of sentiments of blood. It hates the present Ministers: it attacked them the other day in the most brutal manner, when it thought the duration of their power was uncertain. It said, of this Ministry, that all was "feebleness, uncertainty, crochets, and POULETT THOMSON." This was only last week; and the viperous attack arose from the proposition to lower the tax upon newspapers, which it knew to have originated with Mr. Thomson.

During the summer, the Ministers will have plenty of time to arrange what is called the machinery of taking the elections. They will have the people all in good humour; and, severely as they feel the taxes, and odious as are the tithes, they will find every one willing to pay. The Ministers may throw aside all the stupid projects which have been intruded upon them for getting rid of the people. They will soon find that they have not got too many people. They will soon find, too, that that deep disgrace to the country, the flocking of people of property to America, will cease. I could give them some most striking proofs of this; but I have not room in the present *Register*.

Let not the ministers be disheartened at the fall of the funds, even if they should come down to 40 or 30. Let them remember the words of the first Lord CHATHAM: "The stocks are a good criterion enough: for, when they fall, you may be sure that the nation is *rising*: and when they rise, you may be sure that the nation is *falling*." But, without going so far back as the time when this great statesman delivered this sentiment, have we, the reformers; have I, and has Lord GREY, forgotten the year 1817, when, in answer to a speech of Lord HOLLAND, in which he most urgently pleaded (but in vain) that the persons whom the ministers might choose to imprison should be permitted to see their kindred and friends, and to have the use of pen, ink, and paper; and when he described the disgrace that the dungeon-bill would bring upon the country, and the alarm which it would excite in the breasts of the people; when he did this, for which he was applauded by every good man in the kingdom, the dry and short answer of unfeeling Liverpool was, "Let the noble Lord look at the funds! He will there see that public credit has been benefited by the introduction of this Bill, for the funds have risen ever since the determination of Parliament was known." Therefore, let the ministers not be alarmed at the fall of the funds. Let them recollect 1817; and

they will congratulate themselves that the muckworm has taken an alarm at their measures. It is *the nation*: it is this industrious, this laborious, this honest people, that hail their measure with joy and thanks; and what need they care for the feelings or opinions of a mercenary band who are sucking the blood of his people, and who are undermining all property, and all the institutions of ages? There is, however, a very able article in *The Star* newspaper of yesterday, showing that the measure must ultimately be advantageous even to the fundholders themselves. And I say so, too, provided they be content with that which is *equitable*; for there is no question that a refusal of efficient reform would, in a few years, and more probably in a few months, have deprived them for ever of every farthing that they claim. Every sensible fundholder that I have ever known, who is unable to remove his money from the funds, has expressed his willingness and readiness to submit to a very considerable reduction in positive amount. It would be easy to show that a reduction must follow in other things, and that the fundholder would in reality lose but very little by a reduction in his interest. But there will be time enough to discuss these things hereafter.

At present, before I conclude (my room being small), let us turn and take a look at the dejected countenances of the fellows who are to be trundled out of the rotten boroughs: let us look at the DIVANS, called close corporations; let us look at the hypocritical, profligate, profoundly lying, beastly, mercenary crew called free burgesses and freemen; let us look at the swarms of attorneys of inexpressible villany; villany, as BURKE calls it, *defeated*; that is to say, purged of every alloy arising from the remains of conscience. Let us look at all these; and see them all destroyed "at one fell swoop," by the hand of little Lord JOHN, who, in future story will surpass the famous "Little John," the brother or the rival champion of ROBIN HOOD, and every JACK the GIANT-KILLER". LONDON. Sir

CHARLES WETHERELL may crack his jokes upon the little paymaster, as he called him, as long as he pleases; but the country will be very much disposed to entertain some degree of gratitude towards the instrument of the destruction of such a monstrous evil. The anger of Mr. HORACE TWISS much more natural than it is so natural to the public that this ministry should have left him any thing to be angry for the loss of. When this hero came into parliament, he made his debut in a furious attack on the Parliamentary Reformers. I told him at the time, "Ah! HORACE, HORACE, you are of the true breed, and are upon the right scent, but you come into the pack too late: the game will soon be all gone; and, when that is the case, God Almighty only knows what is to become of you!"

Amongst the consequences of this grand measure will be the complete exposure of all the sham patriots; of all the dirty souls, who, by professing that they wish for reform, thought to escape the vengeance of the people, if a convulsive Revolution should take place. These vile hypocrites, and some of them the basest of Boroughmongers too, always took special good care to exercise their corrupt power in such a way as to perpetuate, if possible, that corrupt power, which will now be blown up, and that too by their own apparent consent and good-will! The touchstone of these will be, when the separate question of the *Ballot* comes to be discussed. By every means in their power, except open means, they will oppose it. The Ministers will do well to propose it, and to maintain it to their utmost, to prevent the possibility of having insincerity ascribed to them. I will give them strength, too, against the implacable enmity of the borough-monger crew. But it will do this, which is more than all the rest: it will leave nothing to be demanded; and that is the great thing of all. It will silence the boroughmongers; silence every enemy that the Ministry has upon the face of the earth. When, in 1815, the base COURTES, and the BLOODY TIMES

exulted in the everlasting fall of the Reformers, and, in answer to their petitions, referred them to the History of the Battle of Waterloo; and, when the former of these papers exclaimed, in the height of its intoxication of savage joy, "The play is over: we may now ~~and the ministers~~" I answered, "No, we must go to supper yet; we must first pay the reckoning for the play, and in order to pay that reckoning, we must first have Parliamentary Reform." We have got that now, and therefore, we may prepare for the supper; and, it seems that we are to have it in grand style; for, the bloody *Times*, which called for the putting us into dungeons, in 1817, for having petitioned for Reform, now calls upon the cities of London and Westminster for a grand illumination to celebrate the passing of the bill. If this illumination should, as I hope it will, take place, all that I shall want, all that I shall lament the want of, will be the power of calling up the saucy CANNING and the venerable Major CARRWRIGHT to witness that illumination. The next thing to the having them in their proper persons, is that of having them in effigy: that of CANNING in a Dustman's cart drawn by an old rip horse, representing a fallen boroughmonger, the effigy clad in mourning, with the words, "a low, degraded crew" (the appellation which he gave the reformers in 1809) coming out of his lips; and the venerable Major in a triumphal car, decked with laurel, the effigy itself furnished with a civic crown. At any rate, one of the very first acts of a reformed Parliament ought to be, the causing of a monument, in the most honourable of all the spots that can be found, to be erected to the memory of this wise and brave man, who spent fifty years of his life in endeavours to obtain that which has, at last, been accomplished.

WM. COBBETT.

THE INDICTMENT.

THE following words which are put in italics is what is called the libel of which some mean wretch or other has

accused me. The whole paragraph is taken from the Register of the eleventh of December, and that is the one that TREVOR barked about in the House of Commons, according to the report of the bloody Times. The part selected for prosecution is the part marked by italics, leaving out the head and tail of the paragraph. The reader will see what a base and contemptible proceeding this is. I am not sure, by any means, that it is the Government which has made this attempt. I shall, however, get it out at last, and I should not be very much surprised if I were to trace it back to the very first instigator, or propagator of the affair of GOODMAN. In another Register, I will publish the result of my inquiries. Only think of the bloody TIMES putting forth a paragraph to cause it to be believed that it was a publication similar to that for which Mr. Carlile has been so severely punished; and then some other of the base London newspapers, sending it all over the country that I was actually in Newgate already. However, TREVOR's seat will be taken from under him by about this day week, for Romney is amongst the boroughs to be scratched out. This reform brings all due revenges, and gives us protection for the future. The execrable monopoly of the press, and all its unpunished and infamous slanders, will be swept away amongst other crying evils. If I were proprietor of a newspaper, the proprietorship of which was worth 20,000*l.* last Saturday, I should now be glad to sell it for five*l.*

In the meanwhile, however, the parsons are reducing their tithes with a tolerable degree of alacrity! It seems to come from them like drops of blood from the heart; but it comes; and it must all come now; or England will never again know even the appearance of peace. "Out of evil comes good." We are not, indeed, upon that mere maxim. "To do evil that good may come from it." But without entering at present into the motives of the working people, it is unquestionable that their acts have produced good, and great good too. They have been always told, and they are told now, and by the very parson that I have quoted above, that their acts of violence, and particularly by the burnings, can do them no good, but add to their wants by destroying the food that they would have to eat. Alas! they know better: they know that one threshing-machine takes away from ten men; and that

also know that they should have none of their food, and that potatoes and salt do not burn! Therefore this argument is not worth a straw. Besides, they see and feel that the good comes, and comes instantly too. They see that they do get some bread, in consequence of the destruction of part of the corn, and while they see this, you attempt in vain to persuade them, that that which they have done is wrong. And as to one effect, that of making the parsons reduce their tithes, it is hailed as a good by ninety nine-hundredths even of men of considerable property, while there is not a single man in the country who does not cheerily trace the reduction to the acts of the labourers, and especially to the fires, for it is the terror of these, and not the bodily force, that has prevailed. To attempt to persuade either farmers or labourers, that the tithes do not do them any harm, is to combat plain common sense. They must know, and they do know, that whatever is received by the parson is just so much taken from them, except that part which he may lay out for productive labour in the parish; and that is a mere trifle compared with what he gives to the East and West Indies, to the wine-countries, to the footmen, and to other unproductive labourers. In short, the tithe-owners take away from the agricultural parishes a tenth part of the gross product, which, in this present state of abuse of the institution, they apply to purposes not only not beneficial, but generally mischievous to the people of those parishes.

COMMON HALL.

There is to be a COMMON HALL, on Monday, to take into consideration the propriety of passing resolutions, pledging the City to support the Ministers in carrying into effect the Reform that they have brought forward. At that Hall, please God, I will be. I should be ashamed to be a Liveryman of London and to be absent on this occasion. I do hope, that there will be a *genus* of illumination, as the Bill has been carried in the Commons. Let the Hells, in St. James's Street, be in darkness and in mourning; but let the tax-paying people rejoice.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 25, 1831.

INSOLVENTS.

FEB. 25.—CHEESEMAN, J., Reading, baker.
 ——— HANNAH, C., Gower-place, London-square, merchant.
 ——— JOYCE, R., Cambridge, boot and shoe maker.
 FEB 23.—SMITH, G. and R. Foulerton, Gutter-lane, Chancery, warehousemen.
 ——— BANKRUPTS.
 BADDELEY, J. C., Brixham, Devonshire, ship-owner.
 BOGUSA, N. C., R. gent-st, dealer in mus. c.
 CARTER, H., Poitsa, surgeon.

CHADWICK, B Ashton-und-Line, victualler.
 GEEDDS, J, George-town, Demerara, and
 Gracechurch-street, merchant.
 PALMER, G., Epping, schoolmaster.
 PARIS, J., Ray-st., Clerkenwell horse-dealer.
 PEEDLE, G., Little Missenden, Bucking-
 hamshire, cattle-dealer.
 POPE, C., St. Philip and Jacob, Gloucester-
 shire, copper-manufacturer.
 WILMOT, W. G., Chapel-street, Grosvenor-
 place, builder.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 28, 1831.

INSOLVENT.

FEB. 26 — JONES, Lr C., Abergavenny,
 linen-draper.

BANKRUPT.

ASKIN, E., Lichfield, printer.
 BARNARD, R., Hollingbourn, Kent, paper-
 maker.
 BRITTEN, D., Breda, Holland, packer.
 CROW, J., Bedford-st., Covent-garden, tailor.
 DEWES, R., Knaresborough, merchant.
 DRING, J., Oxford, mercer.
 FOWLER, T., East Butterwick, Lincolnshire,
 potato-merchant.
 FRY, J., Liverpool, merchant.
 GRIMSHAW, J., Rawden, Yorkshire, mercht.
 HEEL, T., Gateshead Low Fell, Durham,
 draper.
 LEWIS, T., King's-road, Chelsea, builder.
 PHILLIPS, H. N., Edward-st. Regent's-park,
 tavern-keeper.
 RIGMAIDEN, H., Liverpool, wine-merchant.
 WRIGHT, T., Manchester and Salford, so-
 bacconist.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, FEB. 28.—

We have a short supply of Wheat this morn-
 ing, and the quotation for this Grain may be
 given the same as on last Monday. We have
 a large supply of Barley, and the fine malt-
 ing qualities may be quoted at an improve-
 ment of 1s. per quarter from the price of this
 day week, but in other sorts there is no varia-
 tion. We have a very large supply of English
 Oats, and this Grain may be given at 1s. per
 quarter cheaper than on this day week. In
 Rye, Beans, Peas, and other articles of Grain,
 we can quote no variation.

Wheat	76s. to 88s.
Rye	30s. to 34s.
Barley	40s. to 42s.
— fine	46s. to 49s.
Peas, White	42s. to 44s.
— Bulvers	45s. to 49s.
— Grey	36s. to 42s.
Beans, Small	42s. to 45s.
— Tick	36s. to 40s.
Oats, Potatoe	27s. to 33s.
— Poland	25s. to 27s.
— Feed	21s. to 24s.
Flour, per sack	60s. to 65s.

PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new, 44s. to 46s. per cwt.
 — Sides, new... 43s. to 45s.
 Pork, India, new,, 110s. 0d.

Pork, Mess, new... 55s. to 57s. 6d. per barl.
 Butter, Bellast ... 96s. to 98s. per cwt.
 — Clarlow 91s. to 100s.
 — Cork 96s. to 98s.
 — Limerick .. 96s. to 98s.
 — Waterford.. 92s. to —s.
 — Dublin 90s. to —s.
 Cheese, Cheshire ... 40s. to 70s.
 — Gloucester, Double.. 49s. to 56s.
 — Gloucester, Single.. 44s. to 50s.
 — Edam 40s. to 46s.
 — Gouda 42s. to 46s.
 Hams, Irish, 45s. to 56s.

SMITHFIELD—Feb. 28.

Beef, for prime young Scots, fetches from
 1s. 6d. to 4s. 10d. per stone, and in the Mutton
 trade, prime young Downs are as high as 5s.
 to 5s. 6d. per stone. In Veal, the price of the
 finest young Calves is 6s to 6s. 4d. per stone,
 and dairy-fed Porkers sell at 5s; to 5s. 6d. per
 stone. Beasts, 2,407; Sheep, 14,860; Calves,
 110; Pigs, 14⁰

THE FUNDS.

	Fr.	Sat.	Mon	Tues	Wed	Thur
3 per Cent. } 78½	77½	77½	76½	76½	76½	76½
Cons. Ann. }						

CHEAP CLOTHING!

SWAIN AND CO, Tailors and Drapers,
 No. 93, Fleet-street; beg to inform the
 public that, as they manufacture the whole of
 their Woollen goods, they make
 A Saxony Cloth Coat for 2 12 6
 Ditto, Kerseymerc Trowsers ... 1 5 6
 Ditto, ditto, Waistcoat ... 0 12 0

Being, for a whole Suit, only 4 10 0

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REFORM.—The OBSERVER of Sunday,
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 state that this Report of Lord Russell's speech
 is abridged from Wednesday's Morning Chroni-
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 Four o'Clock every Monday Afternoon at 169,
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TO THE
LABOURERS OF ENGLAND.

Particularly those of *Kent, Sussex, Hants, Wilts, Dorset, Berks, Norfolk, and Suffolk.*

On the Scheme now on foot for getting part of them away out of their Native Country.

Kennington, 1st March, 1831.

MY FRIENDS,

THERE IS a bill brought into Parliament by a man who is called Lord HOWICK, and who is the son of Lord GREY, who is now the First Lord of the Treasury, and the King's Prime Minister. The object of this bill, which is not yet become a law, and which I hope will not, is to get a part of you to go away out of your country, and it is my object to make you understand all this matter clearly; and to show you what the consequences would be to you, and to the wives and children of such of you as have wives and children, if you were to consent to be sent away. But first of all, let us ask what reason there can be for sending you away out of your native country. It is not intended absolutely to force you to go, as men who are transported are forced to go, but it is intended to get you to give your consent to be sent away; and let us then ask, how it comes to pass that the Government of the country, that the Lords and the rich men who sit in Parliament, should wish to get rid of a part of the people. You have read in the Holy Scriptures, that amongst the greatest blessings which God has promised to an obedient and good people is, a multiplication of their numbers, an increase of them on the face of the earth, and, until now, it has been a great thing

to boast of by kings and governments, that the number of the people living under them increased. Nay, our own Government, only thirty years ago, stated in its public documents, that the number of the people of England had increased under it, and that this was a proof of the goodness of the Government. Nay, farther, in the year 1796, Mr. PITT, the then Minister, proposed to give rewards to the labouring children in proportion to the number of children that they brought up.

How comes it, then, my good friends, you, the laborious, virtuous, excellent labourers of England, that this same Government now wants to get rid of part of you? How comes it that this same Government, which only thirty years ago boasted of your increase in numbers as a proof of its goodness, now regards this increase of its numbers as a great evil, and is devising means of getting you away from your native land? Before I speak to you upon the terrible dangers which will assail you if you consent to be sent away, let me explain to you the reason of this change in the language, views, and conduct of the Government; let me explain to you why it is that it now wishes to get rid of you.

It wants to get you away because it makes so large a demand upon you, that they call paupers; because, character, you take away so much from the farmers, the gentlemen and others, who own and occupy the land; and they think that if they can make you smaller in number, they shall have less to give you. But they do not stop to inquire what it is that has made you paupers; what it is that has brought you into this miserable and degraded state of poverty, or, indeed, they need not inquire, for they must know the cause very well, they must know that it is the taxes and the present application of the taxes, and not any fault of yours, not any over-increase of your numbers, that have brought you

into that state of pauperism which makes you so burdensome to their house and land. All of you who are sixty years of age can recollect that bread and meat, and not wretched potatoes, were the food of the labouring people; you can recollect that every industrious, labouring man brewed his own beer, and drank it by his own fire-side; you can recollect that, at every wedding and every christening, such labouring man had a harral of ale in the house provided for the occasion; you can recollect when the young people were able to provide money before they were married, to purchase decent furniture for a house, and had no need to go to the parish to furnish them with a miserable nest to creep into; you can recollect when a bastard child was a ruffly in a village, and when husbands and wives came together without the disgrace of being forced together by parish officers and the magistrates; you can recollect when every sober and industrious labourer, that was a married man, had his Sunday-coat, and took his wife and children to church all in decent apparel; you can recollect when the young men did not shirk about on a Sunday in ragged smock-frocks, with unshaven faces, with a shirt not washed for a month, and with their toes peeping out of their shoes, and when a young man was pointed at if he had not, on a Sunday, a decent coat upon his back, a good hat on his head, a clean shirt, with silk handkerchief round his neck, leather breeches without a spot, whole worsted stockings tied under the knee with a red garter, a pair of handsome band shoes, which it was deemed almost a disgrace not to have fastened on his feet by silver buckles. There were always some exceptions to this; some lazy, some drunken, some improvident young men; but I appeal to all those of you who are sixty years of age, whether this be not a true description of the state of the labourers of England when you were boys.

Well, then, my friends, why is it not so now? What has been the cause of the horrible change? We must ascertain this cause first; and then contend

plate the project for sending a part of you out of the country. Now, mark well what I am going to say: it is the taxes and the misapplication of the tithes, that have produced this terrible change. Fifty years ago; nay, only forty years ago, the whole of the taxes for a year, amounted to fifteen millions of pounds. They now amount to upwards of sixty millions of pounds. These taxes take away so much from the owners and occupiers of land and houses, and from all persons carrying on trade, manufactures, or commerce, that they have not enough left to pay the working people a sufficiency of wages. Then again, when a working man gets his wages, he has to pay, on his beer, his hops, his malt, his soap, his candles, his tobacco, his tea, his sugar, on the calico that he wears in his shirt, and that his wife wears in her gown, twice as much, on an average, as he would have to pay for them if it were not for these taxes. For instance, the sugar which costs seven-pence a pound, he would have for three-pence; the tea which costs him five shillings a pound, he would have for eighteen-pence, if not for a shilling. This is the cause of the great change in the circumstances of the labouring people of England, and the country people have been further greatly injured by that misapplication of the tithes of which I shall speak more by-and-by, and which is one of the crying sins of this nation. Now, the working people, being thus borne down by the taxes and misapplication of the tithes; being, in the first place, deprived of the wages which they would receive if it were not for the taxes laid upon their employers; and having, in the next place, to give one half of the wages which they get to the tax-gatherer, in one shape or another; being thus borne down, I say, by the taxes and the tithes, they are reduced to this choice; to lie down and die with starvation, or to obtain something out of the poor-rates. By degrees, they have been stripped of the nice little furniture of their houses; by degrees, they have been brought down to have their bodies covered with

miserable rags; by degrees, they have been reduced to the necessity of living upon miserable potatoes, instead of having their bellies filled with bread and with meat, as their forefathers had; by degrees, they have been brought down to this low and wretched state; that, according to the reports laid before Parliament, the honest labouring man is allowed less to live in than is allowed to a felon in the jails; but still they must live, or else there would be nobody to do the work; and without their work, the land is worth nothing. Scheme after scheme has been tried to make them live upon less and less; till at last, the bow has been strained so tightly, that there was danger of its breaking. It never seems to have occurred to those who have had the making of the laws, that it would be better to take off the taxes, and to make a new application of the tithes. This never seems to have come into their heads. They have seen the poor increase, in proportion as the taxes increased; and yet they never seem to have thought that, to reduce the taxes, was the natural and effectual way of putting a stop to the increasing poverty. On the contrary, they have gone on increasing the taxes; they have gone on increasing the number of the soldiers and sailors, though in time of profound peace; of the place-men, the pensioners, the sinecure people; the half-pay people; they have increased these to numbers prodigious; they seem to grudge them nothing, while the amount of the poor-rates seems to alarm them beyond all description. Last spring, my labourers at Barn-Elm, in Surrey, having heard of this project for sending a part of the working people out of the country, presented an humble petition to the two Houses of Parliament upon the subject, a copy of which petition I here insert, begging you to read it with the greatest attention. It was presented to the House of Commons by Mr. PATERSON, the member for the county of Sussex; that which was their case is the case of you all: therefore, read this petition with attention.

To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled.

The petition of the undersigned Labourers, at Barn-Elm Farm, in the parish of SACRES, in the county of Surrey,

Most humbly sheweth,

That your petitioners have perceived that there is a proposition before your honourable House, for mortgaging the poor rates, and for imposing taxes, in order to raise money for the purpose of sending a part of the working people out of the country, upon the ground, that, owing to their excessive numbers, they create a charge upon the land so great as to threaten to swallow up the whole of the rents.

That your petitioners have heard, and they believe, that, out of about eleven thousand parishes in England and Wales, there are one thousand and four, the population of which is, on an average, under a hundred souls to a parish; and that they know, that you have, in the evidence given before your committees, the statements of experienced farmers, that there are not too many work-people to cultivate the land properly, but that the taxes take from the farmer the means of giving the work-people wages sufficient for their proper maintenance; and that from this cause the land is not cultivated so well as it used to be, and does not yield so much as it used to yield, while the labourers are compelled to resort to parish relief.

That, calculating the amount of the county-rates, militia charges, highway-rates, church-rates, and the law expenses, the poor-rates, that is to say, the money actually paid in the way of relief to the poor, does not, especially if we deduct the salaries paid to hired overseers, amount to six millions of pounds in the year; while the other taxes, imposed by the Parliament and collected by the Government, amount to about thirty millions a year; and that, therefore, your petitioners cannot but think it strange, that your honourable House should be alarmed at the prospect of being the rent absorbed by these six millions, while you appear to be under no apprehension at all of those rents being absorbed by the sixty millions, especially as they cannot, for the life of their imaginations, how it is that your honourable House can fail to perceive, that it is the burden of the sixty millions, which is the real and evident cause of the necessity of raising the six millions; daylight not being more evident than the fact, that it is the enormous taxes which disable the farmer and trader and manufacturer to pay sufficient wages to his work-people.

That your petitioners have been told, that of late years, one million and six hundred thousand pounds, or thereabouts, have been voted by your honourable House, out of the taxes, for the relief of the poor clergy of the church of England; and that they have just seen millions upon millions voted by you for the support of half-pay people and their widows and children; that they have been told, that

there are numberless women and children as well as men, maintained as pensioners and sinecurists, that there are many of these men (who have no pretence to have rendered any service to the country), each of whom receives more, every year, than would be sufficient to maintain two or three hundred labourers and their families; and that, while all these are all supported in part on the fruit of our labour, while all these, who do not work at all, have our dinners, in fact, handed over to them by the acts of your honourable House, we cannot very patiently hear of projects for sending us out of our native land, on the ground that we threaten to swallow up the whole of the rental.

That your petitioners have recently observed, that many great sums of the money, part of which we pay, have been voted to be given to persons who render no services to the country; some of which sums we will mention here; that the sum of 94,000*l* has been voted for dishanded *foreign officers, their widows and children*, that your petitioners know, that ever since the peace, this charge has been annually made; that it has been, on an average, 110,900*l* a year; and that, of course, this band of foreigners, have actually taken away out of England, since the peace, *one million and seven hundred thousand pounds*, partly taken from the fruit of our labour; and if our dinners were actually taken from our tables and carried over to Hanover, the process could not be to our eyes more visible than it now is; and we are astonished that those who fear that we, who make the land bring forth crops, and who make the clothing and the houses, shall swallow up the rental, appear to think nothing at all of the swallowings of these Hanoverian men, women, and children, who may continue thus to swallow for half a century to come.

That the advocates of the project for sending us out of our country to the rocks and snows of Nova Scotia, and the swamps and wilds of Canada, have insisted on the necessity of *checking marriages* amongst us, in order to cause a decrease in our numbers; that, however, while this is insisted on in your honourable House, we perceive a part of our own earnings voted away to encourage marriage amongst those who do no work, and who live at our expense; that 145,267*l*. has just been voted as the year's pension for *widows of officers of the army*, and that your petitioners cannot but know, that while this is the case, few officers will die without leaving widows, especially as the *children too* are pensioned until of a certain age; that there is a high premium given for marriages, and for the increase of the numbers of those who do no work, that for this purpose more than *two millions of pounds sterling* have been voted since the peace, out of those taxes, more than the due share of which your petitioners have had to pay; that, to all appearance, their children's children will have to pay in a similar manner for the encouragement and support

of similar idlers; and that to your petitioners it does seem most wonderful, that there should be persons to fear that we, the labourers, shall, on account of our numbers, swallow up the rental, while they actually vote away our food and raiment to increase the numbers of those who never have produced and never will produce any-thing useful to man.

But that, as appertaining to this matter of *check marriages* and the *breeding of children*, the vote, recently passed, of 20,986*l* for the year, for the *Royal Military Asylum*, is worthy of particular attention; that this Asylum is a place for bringing up the *children of soldiers*, that soldiers are thus encouraged and invited to marry, or, at least, to have children, that while our marrying with the children proceeding from us are regarded as evils, we are compelled to pay taxes for encouraging soldiers to marry, and for the support and education of all our children, and that while we are compelled, out of the fruit of our hard work, to pay for the good lodging, clothing, and feeding of the children of soldiers, our own poor children are, in consequence of the taxes, clad in rags, half-starved, and insulted with the degrading name of *paupers*; that since the peace, *half a million of pounds sterling* have been voted out of the taxes for this purpose; that, as far as your petitioners have learned, none of your honourable members have ever expressed their fear that this description of persons would assist to swallow up the rental, and that they do not now learn that there is on foot any project for sending out of the country these costly children of soldiers.

That your petitioners know that more than one-half of the whole of their wages is taken from them by the taxes, that these taxes go chiefly into the hands of idlers, that your petitioners are the bees, and that the tax receivers are the drones, and they know, further, that while there is a project for sending the bees out of the country, no one proposes to send away the drones, but that your petitioners hope to see the day when the checking of the increase of the drones, and not of the bees, will be the object of an English Parliament.

That, in consequence of taxes, your petitioners pay sixpence for a pot of worse beer than they could make for one penny, that they pay ten shillings for a pair of shoes that they could have for five shillings, that they pay seven-pence for a pound of soap or candles that they could have for three-pence, that they pay seven-pence for a pound of sugar that they could have for three-pence, that they pay six shillings for a pound of tea that they could have for two shillings; that they pay double for their bread and meat, of what they would have to pay, if there were no idlers to be kept out of the taxes; that, therefore, it is the taxes that make their wages insufficient for their support, and that compel them to apply for aid to the poor-rates; that how vain these things, they feel indignant at hearing

themselves described as *paupers*, while to many thousands of idlers, for whose support they pay taxes, are called *Noble Lords and Ladies, Honourable Gentlemen, Masters, and Misses* that they feel indignant at hearing themselves described as *idlers* to be gotten rid of, while the idlers who live upon their earnings are upheld, caressed, and cherished, as if they were the sole support of the country.

I hat your petitioners know that, according to the holy Scriptures, *even the ox is to be muzzled as he treadeth out the corn*; that God has said that the labourer is worthy of his hire, that the poor shall not be oppressed; that they shall be fed out of the abundance of the land.

That according to the laws of the Christian church in England, according to the canon law, according to the statute law, the poor of every parish were to be relieved out of the tithes, that they ought to be relieved now; that, at any rate, the laws of England say, that no one shall perish from want; that, if unable to work, or to obtain work, a sufficiency of food and raiment and other necessities of life shall be furnished to the indigent person by the parish, and that, therefore, your petitioners have, in case of need, as clear and good a right to parish relief as the landlord has to the rent of his land; and that, if your honourable House choose to continue to take the *nety millions* a year in taxes, if you choose to cause the working people to be made poor in this way, if you choose to reduce us in this manner to appeal to the parish-rates to support our lives; if you choose to continue to compel us to give more than the half of our wages to the tax-gatherers; if this be your decision, we hope that you will not blame us for pressing on the rates and the rental.

That your petitioners are constantly liable to be called out to serve in the *militia*, that they are compelled to give in their names to the parish constable in order that they may be called out whenever the Government may choose; that they are thus liable to lose their time in the prime of life, to quit their homes, their aged parents, their wives, and helpless children, and to submit to military command, military law, military punishment, and if need be, loss of limb or loss of life in fighting, that they are thus compelled to serve and to suffer on the ground that it is necessary either to the defence of the country against foreign foes, or to the security of property against internal commotion, but that we possess no property but in our labour, which no foe, foreign or domestic, can take from us; and that, if we be to be regarded as having no right to a maintenance out of the land in exchange for our labour, if we be to be looked upon as a nuisance to be gotten rid of, if it just, we would ask, that we should be torn from our homes, and compelled to waste the prime of our lives, subjected to military command and military punishment, for the purpose of defending that land?

That, about twelve years ago, an Act was passed by your honourable House changing the mode of voting in parish vestries, and another Act, about eleven years ago, establishing select vestries; that, by these two Acts, your petitioners were deprived of a great part of their rights; that, by the latter Act, *hired over-seers*, strangers to the parish, were introduced with salaries, to be paid out of rates destined for our relief; that these over-seers are generally paid much in proportion as they give *little* in relief; that hence have come oppressions and insults on us without end; that, in some cases, the labourers wanting relief have been compelled to draw carts and wagons like beasts of burden; in others they have been compelled to carry large stones backwards and forwards in a field, merely to give them pain and to degrade them; in others they have been shut up in the parish-pounds, and, in short, they have been fed and treated far worse than the dogs of those who live in luxury; on those taxes, a large part of which are wrung from the sweat of your petitioners; and that at last, we have seen a bill passed by your honourable House, authorising these over-seers to dispose of our dead bodies for the purpose of being cut up by the surgeons, thereby inflicting on poverty the ignominy due to the murderer.

We know that we have a clear right to relief in case of need we wish not to be compelled to apply for that relief; we desire not to hear the degrading name of pauper; we wish to keep our wages for our own use, and not to have them taken away to be given to idlers; we wish to be well fed and clad, and to carry our heads erect, as was the case with our happy forefathers; we are re-warded, at any rate, not to be treated like beasts of burden, and not to be driven from our country; and, therefore, we pray that your honourable House will repeal the two Acts above mentioned, that you will take from our shoulders and from those of our employers, the grievous burden of taxes, and that you will be pleased to begin forthwith by relieving us from the taxes on malt, hops, leather, soap and candles.

And your petitioners will ever pray.

Now, my friends, this is your case, and I advise you to draw up petitions in the same or similar words, and to give them to the members of your different counties to be presented to the Parliament. Having placed all these matters clearly before you, let me next describe to you the nature of the bill or law which it is now proposed to pass, in order to get you to go out of the country. When I have done that, I shall explain to you the perfect right that you have to remain here, and to have a good living here, in your native

country; provided you honestly labour you have as much right to this as any lord or other man has to his estate; and that in case of your inability to labour sufficiently for the maintenance of your family, you have as much right to relief out of the poor-rates as any man has to the rent of his estate or profits of his trade or calling. Then I shall conclude with describing to you the natural consequences which will arise to you, if you consent to be sent away out of your country; and here I shall speak of the different countries to which it may be intended to send you. These three subjects, then, I have to request you to hear me remark on with all the attention of which you are masters; for, on your due attention to them may depend your future happiness or misery.

First, what is the nature of the bill or law intended to get you out of the country of your birth? It is, that a part of you shall be induced to give your assent to be sent away; to be put on board of ships; to be carried to a foreign land; and that, after being landed in that foreign land, if you ever return to England again, you are to be cut off from all relief from the poor-rates, and, of course, are to be left to starve on the highway or under the hedges if you should be unable to provide for yourselves, or if you should not be able to find any one willing to relieve you voluntarily out of his own purse. So that you see the dreadful penalty, in case you return; you see that, if you be induced to go, you abandon England and parents and brethren and friends, for ever! In order to raise the money to hire the ships, to put you on board of them, and to land you in those foreign parts of which I shall have to speak more particularly by-and-by, it is proposed to MORTGAGE THE POOR-RATES! That is to say, to enable the parish-officers to borrow money of some of the rich people who receive vast sums out of the taxes. It is intended to authorize the parish-officers to borrow money of these people, and to pay the interest and principle out of the poor-rates. That is to say,

it is proposed to put in pawn the whole of the land and houses of England, in order to raise money to hire ships to carry the working people out of the country; yes, my friends, to carry away those without whose labour the houses could not be kept up for ten years, and without whose labour the land is worth not a straw. And observe, my good friends, while the Government is making this proposition, it makes no proposition for sending away one single soul of those who live upon the taxes and the tithes, and whose monstrous havings it is that are the cause of these very poor-rates, which the Government proposes to send you away in order to diminish.

The second great point to which I have to beg your attention is this, that you have a right to live in England; that, if you labour honestly, you have a right to have, in exchange for your labour, a sufficient part of the produce of the earth, to maintain yourself and family well; and, if you be unable to labour, or, if you cannot obtain labour, you have a right to a maintenance out of the produce of the land, and that these rights are as complete in you as the right which the land owner has to the use of his land. Before men entered into civil society, the earth, and all upon the earth, belonged to them all in common. Every one took, according to his strength or his skill, that which he needed. When men entered into civil society, and subjected themselves to laws, then property arose, and the laws protected the weak against the strong; but were never intended to favour the strong at the expense of the weak. Certain portions of the land became the property of certain persons; but still the right of enjoying life was not taken from any body: the right of staying thousands never was given to scores of men. Men entered into society to better their lot, and not to make it worse; not to put it into the power of the few to starve the many, or to make them lead miserable lives. Accordingly, as long as England consisted of lords and vassals; that is to say, of great proprietors of the land,

and of people renting or working under them, the lords naturally took care that the vassals should not suffer from want. When Christianity was introduced into England, a new mode of taking care of the working people was established. A tenth part of the produce of the earth, together with large parcels of land, was given to the clergy. But not for them to consume themselves; but it was given in trust to them for these purposes: first, for the relief of the poor, the aged, the infirm, the widow, and the orphan; second, for the building and repairing of the churches, and furnishing every thing necessary for baptisms, burials, and the other rites and ceremonies of the church; third, to provide the priest of the parish with maintenance for himself and his relations, if he had any, and for the purpose of keeping hospitality and relieving strangers within his gates. This was the law and this the practice in happy England for nine hundred years. At last, when the Catholic religion, which had raised all our churches and cathedrals, and under which our fathers had lived so happy, and had seen their country so great; when this religion was destroyed and the present established in its stead, a large part of the church lands and other revenues was taken by the nobility, and the rest given to parsons, who, being allowed to marry, took the whole of the tithes to themselves, leaving the necessitous poor to starve, or to be relieved by mere casual charity. Our fathers rose in rebellion against this alteration. Long and bloody was the strife, till, at last, a law was made to provide for the indigent poor (some of whom there must be in all countries), by an assessment on the houses and the land, and a law was also made to counsel the people, instead of the parsons, to build and repair and provide for the churches. Hence, my friends, arose the poor-rates and the church-rates; and hence arose the hateful and degrading name of *pauper*, the sound of which our free and happy fathers never heard. They, whose ashes swell up the earth in the church-yards, had the happiness to die before the name of *pauper* was heard in their country.

Such is the history of the *Poor-laws*, from which you will clearly see that the relief which they give is your right, in case of necessity, in exchange for that which was taken from you by the above-mentioned transfer of the revenues of the crown. And it must also be clear to you, that the poor-rates is as perfect as that of any man to the fruits of his estate. All the houses and all the land in England and Wales are charged with the poor-rates. A man's estate can be charged with a mortgage or an annuity. Nay, the very measure which this imbecile ministry now propose, and which I have described to you above, clearly shows, that a part of every real estate belongs to the poor: for they propose to mortgage all those estates; and for what, and for whom? Why, for your use; for you. They propose to borrow money on all the land and houses in England, in order to furnish the means of your going to live in some other country. Let them not, after this, deny that you have a lien upon the land. Let them not, after this, deny that you are part proprietors of the houses and lands. It is, therefore, a right, an imprescriptible and indefeasible right that you have, in case of necessity, to a maintenance out of the poor-rates. It is not *alms* that is given out of these rates; it is not as if you apply for relief in case of need. It is as men having a right to what you ask for, and as having legal redress if your application be refused. And as to the amount, if you require much, let those who manage the affairs of the country, so manage them as for you to require less. They complain, there are men indigent enough to complain, that you make this great demand in consequence of your "early marriages," and your having so many children. They forget, that when you are married, you join the parson and the clerk in prayer that your wives may bring forth numerous children, and that the parson reads to you that beautiful passage of the Scriptures which says that "Little children are as arrows in the hands of the giant, and that bless-

“ed is the man that hath his quiver full of them.” They forget this; they forget, too, that youth, and hot age, is the season for love and for marriage; and that it is to treat you as brutes, as mere brute beasts, to prescribe to you when you shall love or when you shall marry. To indulge this passion, to perform this act, is amongst the rights of nature herself; and the man, let him be who he may, who would attempt to take away, or attempt to restrain you in the enjoyment of, these rights, is amongst the blackest and most hated of tyrants.

The **THIRD** great point, or matter, on which I wish to fix your attention, is the country, or countries, to which it may probably be intended to send you, and the dangers which will attend you, if you suffer yourselves to be sent away. In the first place, you quit your parents, brethren, and friends, for ever; you will observe that it is intended to be for ever, if, as I understand the proposition, you are not to return without being exposed to starvation. Even if you be a single man, a sea voyage, and the necessary hard treatment on board of ship, are not things to be thought little of. If you have wife and children, or children without wife, or wife without children, the hardship is still greater. I, who have crossed the Atlantic six times, know well what poor people suffer in sea voyages. The moment you step your foot on board of ship, the captain of that ship is your master; he can imprison you, or corporally punish you, if he chooses. At any rate, you have to live upon the allowance that he allots you, and it is not to be supposed, that men who are called *paupers* before they go away, will be treated with any extraordinary degree of humanity and gentleness. In spite of all this, however, if you could have security for the Government causing you to be carried to the **UNITED STATES OF AMERICA** (pray mark the name of the country; pray remember it well); if the Government would cause you to be taken there to live under that free government, where there are neither taxes nor tithes; where men earn a dollar

(that is to say, four and sixpence) a day; where there is no tax on malt, on hops, on sugar, on tea, on candles, on tobacco; where there are neither paupers nor beggars; where there are no aristocrats to tread men under-foot; where there are no parsons and no priests, except such as men choose to pay of their own accord; if the Government will have you carried to that country, which has a fine climate, fine fruits, corn and cattle, and where the poorest creature of a labouring man eats meat, if he chooses it, four times a day; if the Government will have you carried to that country, where masters and mistresses will thank you to have your children put to them at five or six years of age, to be reared by them until they are twelve or fourteen, are bound to teach them to read and to write during those years, and to fit them out with clothes, and to give them each fifty pounds a-piece at the end of the time; if the Government will take you to that blessed country, where every man of twenty-one years of age has a vote in the choosing of Members for the Houses of Assembly; if the Government will send you to that country, then I say GO.

But, alas! they appear to have far other intentions; they appear to have Australia (as they call it); or, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, or Canada, in their minds. Now, mark me, this Australia is part of a great wild country in the South Seas, to get to which, requires nine months or twelve months of sea passage; to survive such a voyage is quite enough for a young and stout man, and as to women and children, how are they to survive it? Crowded together in the hold of a ship, that ship knocked about by storms and tempests, the ears dinned with the rattling of the thunder, and the soul terrified by the dreadful flashes of lightning. Besides, have you not read of the dismal fate of the poor creatures who have gone to that country; is not that enough to make you cling even to your beggarly hovels and your potatoes, rather than expose wives and children that you love to sufferings like those? *Australia*, or *Swan River*, as it is sometimes called,

or *Botany Bay*, or *Van Dieman's Land*, which are all different parts of the same horrid country: to none of those will any man go who is plainly told what they are, and who has common sense left in his mind.

With respect to Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Canada, which all join together, and a part of which latter joins the United States of America: in my *Emigrant's Guide*, speaking of these countries in comparison with the United States, I have described them thus: Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Canada, are the horns, the head, the neck, the shins, and the hoofs of the ox; and the United States are the ribs, the sirloin, the kidneys, and the rest of the body. I myself, when in the army, lived in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick eight years. They are one great heap of rocks, covered with grass, with here and there a little strip of land capable of cultivation, by the sides of the rivers. What these countries are you may judge from the following facts; that almost all the meat and all the flour consumed in them, is carried from the United States; that green peas are carried into those countries from the United States, and even cabbages; that, as to fruits, cherries, apples, pears, all go from the United States, though at a distance of hundreds of miles, just as gooseberries are sent from Middlesex and Surrey to Scotland. In short, the most barren, the most villanous piece of waste land; the thin shell upon the top of a gravel pit in England, compared with the fat meadows and the gardens in the Medway, or the beautiful valleys in Wiltshire, is precisely what Nova Scotia and New Brunswick are to the United States of America. A small part of Canada is rather better, when it approaches near to the United States; but here all the good land has been given away long ago to officers of the army and parsons and other persons in office, who swarm in that country. And in these countries, observe, there are church parsons; so that if you go there, you will not lose this blessing, at any rate.

In these countries the English Governor is the chief magistrate, and he is not chosen by the people, as those in the United States are. This governor is appointed by the Ministry in England. Then there is an English army there under his command; so that you have still the same sort of government as if you remained here. Then, the horrible climate; the land covered with snow seven months of the year, the danger of death if any man be lost in the snow for only ten minutes. Thousands of deaths take place every year from people being what is called frost-bitten. I told you before that I had to live myself eight years in these wretched countries. I was in the army. It was my duty to mount guard. The men going on guard were wrapped up in great cloth coats lined with flannel, their head covered with caps of the same sort, leaving only an opening for the eyes and the nose. They used to come out and range themselves at about fifty yards from the room out of which I went to them; and though they had only just run out of their barrack-rooms, I have seen half a dozen men at a time with their noses frost-bitten, which you perceive the moment you see them, by their having become white. The remedy is instantly to rub with snow the part affected; but, very frequently, if this be delayed only for half an hour, mortification takes place; and there are thousands of men in those countries with their hands or feet cut off in order to save their lives. But, my friends, rest not on my word alone, for those facts. In my *Emigrant's Guide* there are letters from John Watson, the son of Stephen Watson, of the village of Suddlescombe, near Battle, in Sussex. This John Watson was sent out to America at the expense of the parish; but he thought he was going to the United States of America, when he found himself landed in that miserable country, New Brunswick. He had land given him within a few miles of the spot where I lived for the better part of four years. But he found his situation so wretched that he took his family, a wife and several children,

and dragged them along through an extent of country *three thousand miles in length*, in order to get out of that country. He went all through Lower and Upper Canada, from which last he got into the United States of America, and then, under that cheap Government, and amidst that kind people, he began to labour, to thrive, to prosper, and his last letter tells his father (whom I saw last October at Battle), that he, John Watson, who was a parish pauper in Sussex, is now a farmer of his own farm, in the midst of abundance of all sorts, and wanting nothing to make him happy but the presence of his and his wife's fathers and mothers. These letters of the Sussex emigrants bespeak the character of the labourers of England, and ought to make shame be painted upon the cheeks of those who entertain projects for sending them away out of their country. If I understand rightly the words of the man who has brought forward the project for sending you away from your native country, the rich fellows who have engrossed the lands in Australia (as they call it) have offered to *bear part of the expense* of sending you away to them. I pray you mark well my words here. Have offered to bear part of the expense of sending you there, if **YOUR SERVICES CAN BE SECURED TO THEM FOR A LIMITED TIME!** That is to say, if the Government will compel you to serve them for a certain time, or if it can persuade you to agree to do it! Pray mark this well; for, if you be thus compelled, you are **SLAVES** for that length of time; and if you thus agree, you are bondsmen and bondswomen and bondchildren, for that length of time!

There, my friends, you now have my account of this matter; and you shall now have my *advice* in a few words. Resolve to go to no country but the United States of America; and, *except* not to go even to that country unless you go in an American ship. Mark my words: you are quite free to refuse to leave your country; and I beseech you not to stir one inch till you be certain that the ship is an American ship,

and that she is bound to the United States of America. Remember these words, write these words down, if you can write, listen to no one that gives you advice contrary to this. Tell what I now tell you to all your friends and all your neighbours round about. It *may* attempt be made to force you away, that attempt is a crime against the laws. You have as much right to live in England as the lords and the parsons and the squires have, and as the king himself has. If you be refused parochial relief unless you will go away, go to a magistrate. If he will not hear you, send a petition to the Parliament, to be presented by Mr HUMPHREYS or Mr. SADDLER. Stir not from your homes, I advise you, one inch, unless you be certain that you are going into an American ship, and that that ship is bound to the United States of America.

But, after all, **WHY SHOULD YOU GO ANY WHERE?** This is your native land; I have shown you how complete your rights are in this land, if there be too many people in it, let those go who live upon the fruit of your labour, and who do no work themselves. You have a right to live well here; not only to live, but to love, to marry, and have all human enjoyments. Besides, you are in the way of improvement: you have lived better this winter than you did the last: you now get some bread and some meat. Wait for a further and greater change in your circumstances: quit not your native land, after having endured so much and for so long a time; after having lived upon potatoes for so many years, quit it not at the moment when you are beginning to taste of bread and of

Now, my friends, pay attention, I pray you, to all that I have said, next to my own happiness and that of my own kin, your happiness is nearest to my heart: I love my country as a whole; I have a due regard for every class in it: I honour the King and the laws: I wish for the peace and the happiness of all ranks of men, and that justice may be done to all; but I am always mindful of that promise of God,

"Blessed is he that pleadeth the cause
 "of the poor and the needy, his ene-
 "mies shall not prevail against him;
 "I will make all his bed on the day of
 "his sickness."

I am

Your Friend,

WM. COBBETT.

TO THE
 PEOPLE OF PRESTON.

*On the Parliamentary Reform now
 under Discussion, and on the Conduct
 of the Preston Cocks with regard to
 that Measure.*

Kensington, 16th March, 1831.

MY EXCELLENT FRIENDS,

By this appellation I still address you, though, as it will be my duty to prove, you have, by your late choice of a member, done as much mischief to your country as it was in your power to do by the means of so feeble an instrument; an instrument to whose feebleness, indeed, it will be owing, that you have not done as much harm to the people of England as you, at the expense of so many sacrifices, have endeavoured to do them good. Before, however, I go into this part of my subject, permit me to offer you some remarks upon the nature and the natural effects of the Reform now proposed to be made.

With respect to the nature of the reform, I shall not enter here into minute detail, because the bill may undergo alterations as to particular towns, boroughs, or counties. When the thing is done, I will give all the details, and show precisely what changes have been made. At present I shall, as to the nature of the reform, merely observe, that, if carried into full effect, it will give us a government of king, lords, and commons, instead of a government of king, lords, and borough-mongers. For this change I have been writing and praying for twenty-four years; and I should be that which knaves and fools have called me, the most inconsistent of mortals, if I did not now express my

approbation of this great act, of the Ministers, by which the unjust power is taken from the aristocracy and restored to the people.

The mind of no man, however comprehensive, however long accustomed to meditate on such matters, however endowed with the faculty of foresight, can, all at once, embrace the various great effects, which must, of necessity, spring from this change. Before, however, I speak of any of these effects, let me do justice to the authors of the change, or, rather, to the author; for, it is as clear to me as daylight is, that we owe this, I trust, timely measure to LOUIS GASTY, and Lord Grey alone; and this is a matter of which you, good men of Preston, and all others the people of England, ought to have a clear understanding. This measure is one the adoption of which will form a really New Era in the affairs of England, ay, and of the world too; it will produce greater effects than any that has been adopted since the "PROTESTANT REFORMATION": it will be called "THE REFORMATION," as the change made in the time of Henry VIII. is called "THE REFORMATION," and as that made in 1688 is called "THE REVOLUTION": our children and their children will have to talk of "before the Reform" and "after the Reform," as we now talk of "before the revolution" and "since the revolution." We ought, therefore, now, while all the facts are before us, to trace this measure to its real author, and to fix that point, so that there never shall be any dispute, nor any doubt, about the matter.

In causing the reform to be adopted, numerous indeed are the parties who will have a fair claim to a share. The people, the magistracy, and the press. I agree too, with Mr. Hoopes, the worthy Member for Kent, that Swine suspended his operations in the hope of seeing the Reform adopted; and I believe that his fearful, his terrific operations, were one great cause, if not the greatest immediate cause, of this mighty measure. The recent fate of the Bourbon was another cause; and the present state and prospects of the govern-

ment of France another cause. But, I am not now writing the *history* of the Reform, but am at present anxious to implant in the minds of my readers the fact, that Lord Grey, and he *alone*, ought to be regarded as the *author* of the measure.

Lord JOHN RUSSELL, when he opened the measure to the HOUSE OF COMMONS, said, that the Bill had been *drawn up by the First Lord of the Treasury himself*. This might have been, and yet that First Lord no more the *author* of it than the person to whom I am now dictating is the *author* of this Letter to you. I dare say that Lord Grey, who has not the beastly folly to write in a hand that nobody can read, did himself actually draw up, actually *write* the Bill, but not *now*, unless the worms had eaten his old copy; for he had this Bill, this very Bill, drawn up by himself, and moved for leave to bring it into the House of Commons, in the year 1797, that is to say, *thirty-four years ago*, that is to say, when Lord John Russell was *three years and nine months old*. It is the same identical Bill: the 113 county members, the copy-holders, the lease-holders, the house-holders, the breaking up of the vile holes of corruption called boroughs. *all is the same*. Lord Grey was *thirty-four years old* when he brought forward this measure, and he is now in the *sixty-eighth year of a sober and mostly a country life*. So that he has had this bill by him, ready drawn up, during one-half of his whole lifetime, and during the whole of the manhood of his long life except thirteen years. For the truth of this statement, I refer every reader to the Parliamentary Debates, 26th May, 1797, or to the Annual Register of that year, and as to the age of Lord Grey, that is stated in the Peerage. He first came into Parliament, I believe, when he was about five-and-twenty. He had been there but a very little while when the French Revolution broke out. When, in the year 1793, the nation was about to be plunged into the war against the republicans of France, he constantly distinguished himself as the opponent of that war, and

maintained, that if the aristocracy would consent to a reform of the Parliament, and thereby restore to the people their fair share of the government, the example of France was not an object for them to dread. In the year 1798, he presented that famous petition which I have republished at full length in my Register, five or six times; and the *truth* of which, namely, that a *hundred and fifty-four boroughmongers returned to a majority of the House of Commons*, I have quoted at least, I should suppose, two hundred times. Indeed, the statements of this petition have been our great war-horse against the boroughmongers. This petition was also the work of Lord Grey. It bears all through it the marks of his pen. But the Bill for the bringing in of which he moved in the year 1797, was entirely his *own work*.

Why, it may be asked, has he kept it out of sight all this time? When it was rejected by a majority of more than three to one, in 1797, the nation was mad with a love of war, and with the prosperity of paper-money, and thus it continued until the death of Pitt, which took place in 1806. Then Lord Grey came into power; and now he committed the only fault or folly that I can discover in his life, being willing to look upon the late Special Commissions as a measure to which his assent was obtained by persons and means whom I do not care to name, and which I do not care to describe. With this exception, the going into power, *without proposing* his reform, is the only fault or folly that I can discover in his life. He has always been right as to the interference with the affairs of foreign nations, always right as to the nature and effects of paper-money; always right as to the effects of the stupid and beastly bill of Peel and of all the measures growing out of it; the only fault or folly to be found in the history of his life is, the having gone into office without bringing forward his measure of reform. The Whigs, to which party he had always belonged, had contended for the necessity of reform when out of office;

but they came into office; they were turned out again; and while in they said not a word about parliamentary reform. But, the truth is, that their fault was not saying nothing about parliamentary reform; but *going into office with those who would not let them say any-thing about it.* They made a coalition with the GRANVILLES and with the ADDINGTONS; nay, they put themselves *under* these. Lord GRANVILLE was the First Lord of the Treasury and Prime Minister; WENDHAM, Lord SPENCER, Lord FIREWILLIAM, all sworn enemies of reform, were in the Cabinet. As if these were not enough, ADDINGTON, now STAMFORDS, and EILENBOROUGH, the Lord Chief Justice, were stuffed into the Cabinet too. Lord Grey, who was then Lord Howick, was part of the time First Lord of the Admiralty, and the other part Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. How was he, a member of such a cabinet, to bring forward his reform bill? His fault was not the not bringing forward of the bill; but his consenting to tarnish his high reputation by belonging to such a Cabinet; and this I have told him five hundred times over. From the year 1807, when he was in place, up almost to the present time, there has been no opportunity until now for him to bring forward this bill with a chance of immediate success. During the Jubilee years of paper-money and Waterloo-feats, the nation was absolutely drunk. In 1817, merchants and bankers and manufacturers and yeomanry joined the nefarious boroughmongers in calling for dungeons for those who most humbly petitioned for parliamentary reform. Then followed the events of 1819. Distress after distress in England, famine after famine in Ireland; but still, expedient after expedient; false hope after false hope, so far deluded the great mass of the middle class of society, and particularly the richer part of them, that there was nothing like a loud and unanimous call for parliamentary reform, until the labourers of England would no longer endure their intolerable sufferings. The acts of this formerly tractable and peaceable part of

the community, were of a nature so terrific that they compelled men of property to trace back the evil to its *true cause*; and that cause they found to be the want of representation of the people in their own House of Parliament. Hence only the innumerable petitions for parliamentary reform. My writings and my lectures, the latter delivered in several towns in almost every county, had a great deal of effect in making men think about the cause of the distresses of the country, and particularly of the misery of the labouring people; a subject on which I never failed to dwell, to the utmost powers of my mind, always predicting that if a remedy were not applied in time, those miseries would lead to some terrible convulsion. Therefore, when the riots and the fires began, these preachings of mine urged people of property to think of the grand remedy which I had constantly pointed out; and made them cry aloud for Parliamentary Reform. But I might have written and preached till my fingers had been cramped with old age, and till my tongue could hardly have been heard from between the small space that the absence of my teeth have left between nose and chin; I might have written and have preached to the last moment of my life, without producing a ten-thousandth part of that effect which was produced in one single week by the riots and the fires.

BARRING, the loan-man, who was so active at the Special Commissions at Winchester, is, in the report of his speech on the Reform Bill, represented as having said, that the petitions in favour of reform arose chiefly from the speeches made by persons who went about the country for the purpose. No insouciant expressions are, in this case, ascribed to the loan-man; and, therefore, I shall only say that he greatly overrated the effects of those speeches. The speeches had been made for six months, or thereabouts, and yet the middle classes had not been roused to petition. The speeches had produced just thoughts in the minds of the middle class. I quitted no county, without

leaving these thoughts implanted all over it. Intelligence flies swifter in the country, where men not given to gabble are thinly scattered; and where they remember what they hear, and relate what they hear with great exactness. I sowed the thoughts; but it was the operations of poor Swing that made those thoughts spring up into action and to produce those petitions, which have finally enabled Lord Grey to bring forward that very bill which he had lying by him for three-and-thirty years. My speeches had no effect, and could have no effect, upon the labourers. In the whole of my six months of travelling and of speech-making, I never spoke to one single labourer, except to ask them about their gardens, or little fields, or their families, and to give them a share of my money. The terms of admission to my speaking necessarily excluded them from a hearing. It was to their employers to whom I addressed myself. I was every-where anxious to get together bodies of the farmers, and I never quitted them without warning them of the danger of keeping silent themselves upon the subject of reform until the weight of the taxes should compel them so to pinch the labourers as to drive them to despair. When, therefore, the desperate deeds of the labourers came, these awful warnings of mine came with full force into the minds of the employers, and led them to resort to those petitions which I had so strenuously recommended.

But, if the labourers of England had remained quiet under their sufferings; if they had still submitted to see their aged fathers and mothers and helpless brothers and sisters compelled by a hired overseer to draw carts like beasts of burden, as was, on the late trials, proved to have been the case in Hampshire, if the able-bodied labourers of England had still remained apparently content under the allowance of the Magistrates of Wiltshire, a pound and a quarter of bread and a halfpenny a day for food and clothing; if the labourers of England had, in short, been still quiet while they had nothing to save them from death but miserable

potatoes and water; if they had done this, it was not all my writings and all my preachings that would have brought one single petition from a body of farmers for any other body of the middle class, or induced them to come forward with those petitions, or with any one of those petitions, which have finally emboldened my Lord Grey to do that which he so anxiously wished to do four-and-thirty years ago. To the acts of those labourers, therefore, criminal as those acts were, and ever must be considered to be, in the eye of the law; to those acts, we owe the present measure, or, rather the adoption of it at this time, and, I trust, before it be too late.

The events in France, in the month of July, had some effect on all sensible men of property, who had before been opposed to reform; but, they had no effect on the labourers of England. The demolition of threshing-machines, and even the fires, had begun amongst the labourers of Kent long before the fall of Charles X. It was touch-and-go in that county and in Sussex, during the winter of 1830. The poor labourers in many cases went and collected the poor-rates themselves; in many cases they took the money by force from the overseers; when fires took place they stood by and would not help to extinguish them. Those two counties afforded every indication of approaching convulsion many months before the Revolution at Paris was thought of; and, as it has always been seen, the example would naturally extend itself westward into those counties which the people in the east denominate the "shires," so it happened now: and I would pledge my life that there is not one labourer out of one thousand, who knows or cares anything at all about what has taken place in France, or what is likely to take place there. Oh, no; the origin of the dreadful tumults was purely domestic. It had its foundation in want; that want had its foundation in the intolerable burden of taxes; that intolerable burden had its foundation in wasteful expenditure; that expenditure had its foundation in a parliament not chosen by the people; the riots and the fires told

the proprietors this; and they therefore called for a parliament to be chosen by the people.

Several of those who have opposed the bill, have asserted that this bill was not agreed on, by the Cabinet, until the eleventh hour; that is to say, that though they said they were prepared and all of a mind on the 2d of February, they really had not decided upon the measure until the Sunday before the Tuesday when the bill was proposed. I have shown you that the bill was drawn up by Lord Grey thirty-four years ago; but, though I pretend not to have, but, on the contrary, declare that I have not, any information on the subject, other than what is furnished by the reflections of my own mind, my belief upon the subject is this: that Lord Grey would, if he had thought himself strong enough, have proposed this measure soon as he came into power; that would have had with him Lords Holland and Althorp, and, perhaps, James Graham; that, however, there were ten or eleven besides himself in the Cabinet, and that of that ten or eleven there were six or seven, if not eight, who would by no means, at that time, have concurred with him in the measure; that it was, nevertheless, absolutely necessary to pledge the Ministry to a Parliamentary Reform, seeing that the Duke of Wellington had notoriously been put out, because he had declared against a Reform; that, therefore, in order to hold his Cabinet together, Lord Grey had, at first, given his consent to a miserable measure which would have destroyed no rotten borough, and have merely extended the corruption around a borough, and have given members to, perhaps, nine or ten great towns; that it was, at this period of the business, determined on to send forth the special commissions in the hope of subduing the mind of the country and moderating the demands for Reform; that the moment the parliament met, this was found to have failed; that, upon the heels of this came the failure of the plot of the Chamber of Deputies and the rest of the things in France, and along with this every appearance of the

approach of a republic in that country, bringing the two nations back to almost precisely the relative situations in which they stood in 1793, with this additional argument in favour of Reform, that the landowners and industrious classes of England had just been, in the plainest manner, told by the monied aristocracy in possession of the boroughs, that they should go on paying the fundholders double or treble interest, till not one man of them had an inch of land left, or a single ship, or loom, or bale of goods, that he could call his own; that now, seeing all this, my Lord Grey determined to do the thing effectually, to return to his original plan, to call upon the king and the country to stand by him in carrying that plan into execution, or to retire from his post.

This, I believe, to be a pretty true history of the matter. The plan was kept wonderfully secret; and well it might; for I verily believe, that until Sunday, the 27th of February, no man knew what was to be proposed; not even the Prime Minister himself. There never were more decided enemies of Parliamentary Reform than Lord Melbourne, Lord Goderich, Lord Palmerston, and two or three others of the Cabinet. I do not say that they are to be accused of what is called inconsistency, because they now propose what they formerly reprobated; for a total change of circumstances must, in every sane mind, produce a change of opinion as to measures to be adopted. But, there cannot be the smallest doubt that Lord Grey has had difficulties enormous to overcome, and that, if this measure be carried into full effect, the country will have to ascribe all the blessings that will arise from it, to the talents and the character of this one man. As I said in the last Register, the nation will owe a good deal to its own conduct, never ~~allowing~~ the share to the rural labourers. Some of the merit will belong to me; but, as we ascribe a naval victory to the Admiral, and a victory by General, it would be a departure in all orate and from every principle of justice, not to ascribe this

victory to Lord Grey. The whole of his Cabinet may take their share, as the officers of a fleet do; but let them have it in the lump. The plan of a battle is always ascribed to the Commander, let the real author of it be who he may; but here we have indubitable proof that the plan sprang out of the mind of the Commander himself; and to him, therefore, our gratitude is due.

Now, my friends, with regard to the effects of this measure, it is, as I said before, impossible for the mind of any man, however comprehensive that mind may be, to suggest a description of all the advantages which will arise from it to us all, high and low, rich and poor. It will effectually put a stop to every species of waste of the public money, which waste has been the curse of our country for nearly a century, and especially within the last forty years. The cause of all our miseries is the weight of the taxes, and, on what are they expended; on these things principally, the debt, the standing army in time of peace, the dead weight, the civil list, including every thing coming under the name of pension, sinecure, grant, allowance, and God knows what; and here we are with this monstrous burden of sixty millions a year, instead of the fifteen millions, which was the total amount of the state taxes when Lord Grey presented his petition in 1793; and instead of the eight millions, which was the annual amount when Lord Grey and the present King were born. Here we are with the country covered with jails and poor-houses, with every fourth man a pauper amongst all the labouring classes; here we are, instead of a labouring people, such as you will find described in another part of this Register, and such as England proudly presented to the world when I was a boy; here we are, a set of degraded miserable beings, such as you will in that same paper find most faithfully described. When I addressed you from the window of the Inn in your own town, on a bitter cold and snowy day, in the month of January last but one, I told you, that, when I was a boy, I had seen my father purchase a wagon-

load of rags to be chopped up to manure his hop garden, containing more and better garments than the whole two or three thousand of you ingenious, industrious, honest and excellent working people then had upon your backs; and you will remember that I then told you that the people in Sussex would perish to the last man rather than submit to such degrading beggary.

We are all convinced that this suffering, and that all the dangers to which it must finally lead; that all the risks to property and life, arise from the weight of the taxes. We not only know that these taxes have been laid on by the Parliament, but we know that they never would have been laid on if the Parliament had been chosen by the free voice of the people, as it must be, if this measure be carried into full and fair effect. Look at the army; look at the navy; look at the three generals to every regiment, and the two admirals to every ship of the line; look at the sixteen or seventeen thousand military officers on full and half-pay; look at the wives and children of these, for whom pensions are provided after the death of the husbands and fathers, thus making us pay enormous premiums for the breeding of idlers, while it is proposed to mortgage the poor-rates, in order to send the working people out of the country. Look at the military academies; look at all these things; trace them back to their source, and you will find them in the rotten boroughs and corrupt corporations.

And how is any minister, be he ever so wise and honest, to diminish these expenses? It would be perfectly equitable to reduce the interest of the national debt, if the other expenses were first reduced; because fifty or forty, or even thirty pounds a year, would be more valuable to the fundholder than a hundred pounds are now; but, with a borough Parliament, what minister will dare attempt to do this act of justice to the people. The Minister must do as this Parliament pleases, or he must cease to be Minister. Mr. PITT, before he was minister, said, that without an efficient reform of the

Parliament, *no honest man could be a Minister in England*, an assertion which he afterwards appears to have done his best to make good. Lord Grey has been accused of having done nothing to lessen the expenses of the enormous Civil List, the bare sight of which had filled the tax-paying part of the community with feelings of disgust and of rage not to be described. It is true that he has done nothing to lessen the expenses of this list; and very prudently he has acted in this respect; for, if he had attempted to lessen this expense, he would have found himself in a minority, and compelled to quit his post. He has acted very wisely in leaving this matter to be dealt with by real representatives of the people. Lord JOHN RUSSELL, who, by the by, though to be regarded, in this particular case, as merely the agent of the Minister, performed his task with great ability as well as spirit, and is entitled to great public confidence, from having been the person chosen by the Minister for the performance of this task: Lord JOHN RUSSELL said, in the course of his speech, that without a reform of the Parliament, "the Government could not go on." His opponents have affected to laugh at this; but nothing was ever more literally true. Why could it not go on? It could not exist without lightening the burdens of the people, and the borough-Parliament would never have suffered those burdens to be lightened to any extent to be sensibly felt. This is the reason why the Government could not go on. Lord ALTHORP made an attempt to lighten the burden of the debt. It was seen that that would lead to lopping off of pensions and sinecures; and, therefore, Lord Althorp was compelled to desist. JOHN SMITH told the minister that Mr. BARING lifted up his hands and his eyes, when he heard the proposition; and that was enough. The Boroughs of Callington Westloe and Thetford, lifted up their hands and their eyes at the proposition, and down it fell dead as a lump of clay. How could a government go on with a power like that to thwart it in its measures?

Another and most important effect will arise from this Reform. Look, my friends, at the Civil List, and, for the present, at that part of it which contains the list of ambassadors, charges d'affaires, consuls, &c. Look at the names of them, whether in *present employ*, or in *retired list*. See *who they are*; see *whom they are related to*; and then you will clearly see, in nine cases out of ten, the cause of their being upon those lists. The expense of them is perfectly enormous, but that evil, great as it is, is a mere nothing when put in comparison with another consideration; namely, their probable unfitness for the office. Now, my friends, figure to yourself, if you can, a more painful situation than that of a minister of great talents and perfect integrity, anxious to do every thing in his power to promote the happiness of the country, to preserve its power, and maintain its character in the world; imagine, if you can, anything more painful than the situation of such a minister, who is compelled (if he choose to retain his place) to appoint ambassadors, consuls, generals, admirals, and indeed every thing else, picked out by others, and not chosen by himself. As to the King, as several of the petitioners have declared, he has been despoiled of his real power as well as the people. The King must be guided by his council, as long as he keeps them; but the boroughs have a power superior to them both. In such a state of things, how is it possible that the affairs of a nation can be well carried on? A king of England has not a tenth part of the power of a president of the United States of America. There, where the people really choose their representatives, there is never any interference with the President, with regard to the appointment of persons to be employed by the government. Such a thing was never heard of in this country. He has all the talents of the whole country at his command; he takes them where he finds them; and he apprehends no opposition from the legislature on account of his choice. Accordingly, the ten ambassadors sent from America to Europe, far surpass any other few am-

bassadors to be found in Europe all put together. Why should not an English king and his minister possess the same free-will, why should they have public servants prescribed to them by the promoters of boroughs? For myself, I most solemnly declare, that I would rather be a hedger or a ditcher for the remainder of my life, than be a minister of England under the control of a borough parliament. What monstrous injustice, too, to make a man responsible for measures, the execution of which he is compelled to put into the hands of persons not chosen by himself; or, indeed, rather, what folly in any man to expose himself to the shame attendant on such a situation!

The Reform now proposed will make a total change in this respect. It will leave the minister quite free to point out for the King's approbation such persons as he shall find fit for the several employments. He will dare to be honest in punishing public delinquents; because such delinquents will have no powerful protectors. Down to the very lowest offices and occupations under the government this base borough influence has extended. Clerks in offices, tute-waiters, excise men, under taxers of all descriptions, door-keepers, porters, all the innumerable swarms coming out of the customs and excise, employed in the distribution as well as the collection of the immense mass of taxes, are spewed out upon us from the Boroughs and Corporations, through the channel of the members for those places; and thus our property and persons are placed under the superintendence and control of the spawn of corruption. Nothing is more common than for a member to bring from the borough that has chosen him, the names of a score or two of wretches to be provided for out of the taxes. Nay, this infernal system interferes in numerous instances with the administration and execution of justice itself. When I was candidate for Coventry, I had applications from five or six of the voters, who promised to vote for me if I would promise to do every thing in my power to save their sons, or other rela-

tions, from the consequences of felonies which they had committed. I rejected their propositions with scorn, telling them, that I did not come to offer myself as a representative of felons; at which they seemed very much surprised, though, apparently, not offended, observing that I certainly saw the thing in a wrong point of view, and telling me that Mr. Mous had always done so, and that he had recently got off the son of a freeman for transportation, though he was condemned to be hanged. In short, the whole system, as Major CARTWRIGHT used to call it, the accursed thing in the camp of the Israelites, and let us bless God it is now to be put an end to.

But, my friends of Preston, if it be not prevented from being put an end to; if it be not still to remain to be the scourge and the curse, the pestilence, the famine, the sword and the fire, to render infamous and to destroy our country; if this matchless infamy be not to remain, to be the unceasing pest of you and your children, and your children's children, it will not be the fault of, it will not be for the want of will in, the member that you have recently chosen; but solely for want of power, for want of talent, in him to prevent so great a good to our country; and if I do not prove this to your satisfaction, then inflict upon me, honest and zealous men of Preston, the loss of your friendship, which friendship I value more, though, in all human probability, I shall never have the pleasure of seeing you again, than I should the friendship of all the lords in the land.

When you had elected this man, though I anticipated that you would be most cruelly disappointed, I was glad that you had done it; First, because it was a great triumph for you over the vile attorneys and the rich ruffians who forbade you to vote for me; Second, because it was a good, humbling blow at that proudest of the proud, Stanley; Third, because it was possible, that the man, might do something useful in Parliament. For these reasons I was glad; and I, with perfect sincerity, publicly pledged myself to support him, as far

as I was able, in every thing good which he should attempt to accomplish. This was done, too, on my part, notwithstanding his *proceedings in London*, just before he left it to go into the West, whence he went to Preston. Those proceedings were as follows: he had been holding what he called "*Radical Meetings*," at a place, called the ROTUNDA, which was rented, and let out, by Mr. CARLILE. But, just at this time, there appeared to be some intention on the part of the government to seize, or *prosecute*, those who took a lead in such meetings. Whatever might be the fact, with regard to this intention of the Government (the Duke of Wellington being still in power, you will remember), your Cock; I call him your cock, because, the account of his triumphal day at Preston told us that his flag, or standard, had on it the picture of a red game cock, clapping his wings and crowing, and that of a yellow dung-hill cock running or creeping away; your cock, I say, at the time above-mentioned, went before the Police Magistrates in the borough of Southwark, inquired of them whether they had a warrant out against him, and having been answered in the negative, he took the opportunity of protesting most solemnly, that *though he had attended meetings at the Rotunda, he had had no connexion with Taylor, Gale Jones, Carlile, or Cobbett*. From Walton-Hall, he went to the Lord Mayor of London, asked him, at a public sitting of that magistrate, whether he had heard anything of a warrant being out against him from the Secretary of State. Upon the Lord Mayor saying that he knew nothing of the matter, your Cock boldly declared that he would go to the Secretary of State himself. Here was another proclamation to go into the newspapers. A few evenings afterwards, the Cock appeared at the Rotunda for the last time, when he told his auditors that he had been with Mr. Peel, who had behaved to him in the kindest and most affable manner, and who had chatted with him for half an hour; but that he was not at liberty to make public what had passed

between them. This excited considerable surprise and some murmur in the audience. To complete the thing, and to send the Cock off from the pit in suitable style, he ordered to be *taken down that tri-coloured flag* which always waved over my head when I was at the Rotunda! This, coupled with the *etc.-à-etc* with Peel, produced, if I am rightly informed, very unequivocal marks of disapprobation; and, in fact, the Cock went off the pit amidst a general shrugging of shoulders and black looks, not unaccompanied with hisses.

In the state of mind which this scene was calculated to produce, the cock went off to the West, where the news of your election found him. What passed at Preston, you know better than I do; what passed on the road up, for his expenses on which road thirty odd pounds are charged on Mr. Mitchell's account, I shall have to notice a little of by-and-by. His reception in London must have surprised, as well as disappointed Mr. Mitchell, who was his precursor; but if Mr. Mitchell had been aware of the circumstances mentioned above, relative to the warrant, the Secretary of State, and the tri-coloured flag, he would not have anticipated a very honourable reception in London. After the arrival of the Cock himself, a meeting was held for the purpose of receiving Mr. Mitchell's report of the expenditure relative to the election, and for the raising of money to make up the deficiency that remained, in which latter respect it wholly failed. Hundreds of persons were ready to give their money, if necessary, to indemnify the committee at Preston, and the electors generally, for sums expended, or sacrifices incurred, in obtaining the triumph over the enemies of reform; but nobody was willing to give his money to defray the expenses of a loitering journey, and of idle parade all the way from Preston to London; especially as every right-minded man felt that the Cock, the moment he became a Member of Parliament, ought to have jumped into a coach, and to have hastened, without sleeping, to the

aid and protection of the six hundred labourers then in the jails of his own native county.

Mr. Mitchell, therefore, laid his deficit before the Londoners in vain. They might, for the sake of the people of Preston, have subscribed for all the other purposes specified in the account, but, to give their money, to hang round the necks of the sincere and public-spirited electors of Preston, A MEDAL, hearing the "image and superscription" of that great Caesar, who had sitten half an hour cheek-by-jowl with Peel, and who had come from the Home Office to order the tri-coloured flag to be taken down; to give their money for a purpose like this, was a folly that the Londoners were not capable of. At this meeting, too, Mr. Mitchell, backed by another (I forget his name), proposed the establishment of what he called a "parliamentary office," to assist the Cock in the discharge of his duty, the expenses of which office were to be defrayed by the Radical Reformers! This proposition, the real object of which was so clearly seen through, excited nothing but contempt and ridicule; and, if the question were put to Mr. Mitchell, he would say, that he never experienced solitude more perfect than that which he experienced during his stay in London: and I dare say that if, in future, he should need quietude, or hear of any friend that does, he will say, talk of groves and forests and wildernesses! Talk of these, indeed! The birds may annoy you in them; whereas, in London, all is tranquil as the tomb.

Thus remained the affairs of the Cock until the opening of the Parliament, when the radical world was all on the tiptoe of expectation. I shall attempt no general description of the stuff which the newspapers put forth as the speeches of the Cock, but shall confine myself to specific facts; shall confine myself to passages of the stuff, such as they stand reported in the newspapers. The first thing which every one observed was, his wonderful respect for the members of the House; the great humility with which he addressed them. This made the radicals stare; and made

them call to mind that his deputy, Mr. Mitchell, had said, at the meeting before mentioned, that Mr. Hunt had, that day, or the day before, been with Lord MELBOURNE, the new Secretary of State, to carry a petition of some sort; that he had met the noble Lord in the street; and, that the latter, finding that the Cock was going to his office, said he would go with him, took him by the arm, turned about, and that thus the honourable Gentleman and the noble Lord walked to, the Home Office together, where they had a long, a polite, and important conversation.

When people saw the reports containing a description of the very humble, respectful, submissive, and adulatory stuff called speeches, reported to have been uttered in the House by the Cock, these visits to the Home Office, accompanied with the pulling down of the tri-coloured flag, and the hunting about after a warrant, which was manifestly made the pretence for denouncing me as one of the disturbers at the Rotunda; when the people saw the reports of the crawling stuff said to have been uttered in the House, all these things rushed back into their mind, and took out of that mind every remaining shadow of doubt with regard to the real motives of this Cock.

It was not long before, if the reports be correct, he began to do his best. Much he cannot do; much he knows not how to attempt. To misrepresent me; to destroy my power; this is one of the ways of doing the borough-mongers great service; whether he attempted to do this or not, I leave you, my friends, to judge, from the following articles, which I have published before, but which must have a place here. The first of these articles was published on the 12th of February, and the last on the 19th of February.

FIRST ARTICLE.

PRESTON COCK.—The hacking, the stammerings, the boggings, the blunderings, and the coverings down of this famous Cock I should not have noticed, though they have given a shrug to the shoulders, and a lifting of the hands and the eyes, of all those who expected anything from him; but the following paragraph, which I find in the *Mornng*

Herald of to-day given as the report of a speech of his made in the House of Commons last night, has made me determine to bestow a few words upon him, after inserting the paragraph as follows:

"The honourable member also presented a petition from a meeting at the Rotunda, Blackfriars, against the prosecution instituted against Mr O'CONNELL. He was convinced that prosecutions of this kind did not tend to check the opinions against which they were instituted, and unless the Government should get a packed jury in Dublin, Mr O'CONNELL would be acquitted. He could not help reverting to an expression which fell from Lord ALTHORP last night respecting civil war. He must say it was a cold-blooded expression, and ought not to have fallen from any member of the Government. He disclaimed all connection with Messrs. CARLILE, TAYLOR, JONES and COBBETT, at the Rotunda meetings."

With regard to his disclaimer of all connection with me, every one will congratulate me upon that, after the exhibition which he has made in parliament. No man knows better than himself that I have never had the smallest connection in the world with either Messrs. Carlile, Taylor, or Jones, the first of whom I never saw but five times, the latter but once, and the second never in my life that I know of. But, the shaft at me is merely venomous; in the other cases it is base beyond description. I can defend myself. But they, he well knows, cannot defend themselves; and one of them, whom for years he called his friend, he knows to be shut up in a prison under a sentence which has made even the most intemperate of the people shudder. For myself I would have thanked him for thus dragging in neck and heels, and apropos of nothing, a disclaimer of me; I should have interpreted it as an act of justice due to me; but as for them, it is perhaps, though that is saying a great deal, the foulest thing that ever escaped a pair of lips even in that house.

Is this the use to which he means to turn the power which the people of Preston have put into his hands? Was it for this that the good and sincere and generous people of Preston sent him to the parliament house? I have not room for more at present, except this, that, if the reporter have misrepresented him, these remarks do not apply to his conduct; but, let me be understood, that a recantation with regard to myself only, would not diminish in my eyes, but rather augment, the baseness of this unprovoked, this uncalculated, this ferocious attack, this at once cowardly and ferocious attack, on three men, neither of whom is in a situation to defend himself, nor to call him to account, and one of whom is doomed to sufferings, the thought of which would soften the heart of a tiger. If he shall be able to disclaim the whole, I shall, for the honour of human nature, be happy to pro-

mulgate the disclaimer; if not, I shall show him up in the next *sup-penny Trash*.

Wm. COBBETT.

SECOND ARTICLE.

PRESTON COCK.—The Parliamentary report in the *Morning Herald* of the 15th instant, contains the following passage:—ROTUNDA MEETINGS.—Mr. HUNT is presenting a petition from certain persons, meeting at the Rotunda, said that it complained of the conduct of the judges on the late commission. He felt himself called upon to observe that he had been threatened and denounced by the party to which the petitioners belonged, solely because he had on a previous occasion disclaimed in that House all connexion with them, or participation in their views. So far, however, from being intimidated by these threats, he now reiterated his former assertion, and should the House not protect him, he knew very well how to protect himself—a LAUGH. This "laugh" was, as I am told by a gentleman who was present, not a hoarse laugh nor a merry laugh, but a sort of a ha! laugh, uttered with the chin twisted, the lips lifted, and the nose drawn up, as if the orofactory, as well as the risible, nerves had been affected. This report may be a fabrication on the part of the reporters, for any thing that I know to the contrary; but I find the thing published, and, as a publication, I remark on it. What! the *Preston Cock* call for the protection of others, and those others that very body, too, whom he so be-called; and so expressed his contempt of, when on his progress from Preston to London! It can never be! It must be an invention of the reporter! What! he who is called the "*Preston Cock*," because in that town his flag represented him as a red game cock, clapping his wings and crowing, while STANLEY was, upon the same flag, represented as a yellow dunghill cock, running away, HE call on the House for protection! But, then, as to the feasibility of the thing called for, how is the House to protect him against the tongues or pens of those whom he, or his reporter, chooses, by name, to stigmatise in publications being, or purporting to be, reports of speeches made in that House? He is not "intimidated" (ooh! ooh! who-d-ose afraid!) and he knows "very well how to defend himself." Nobody says the contrary; but I do remember, that at a county meeting at Winchester, in 1817, there was a good-for-nothing saucy fellow, under the Grand Jury chamber window, who, as soon as he began to open his mouth, held up a long wand with a white feather tied on at the end of it; and I did not see any-body able "to protect" him against that. I did not see any punishment inflicted, or attempted to be inflicted, for that daring breach of privilege. As to his disclaiming all connexion with these petitioners, and all participation in their views, I leave them and him to settle that matter between them; until, at least, I know what their pe-

tion contained; and this I beg some one or other of them to have the goodness to let me know as soon as possible, as I shall want it for my "Letter to the People of Preston," which will be published on the 1st of March, in No. 9 of the Two penny Trist.

WM. COBBETT.

Holt Court, 17th of Feb. 1831.

I leave you, my friends, to judge of all this. If it produces mortification in your minds, it is no fault of mine; to put the facts upon record, is just and necessary; just, towards myself, but still more necessary as a duty which I owe to you and the excellent people of Lancashire, whose kindness to me I never can forget. But, my friends, it is the conduct of your cock, if that conduct be truly described in the reports of the stuff called his speeches, on the subject of the reform now proposed by the Ministers; it is *this* to which I have now to beg your best attention. Before, however, I enter upon this matter, do let me call your attention to his reported declarations relative to the manner in which he has spoken of the House out of the House. He, on three occasions, declared that he never had spoken ill of the House, while he was out of the House. He asserted this, as the reports state, in the most solemn manner, that he never had said out of the House, any thing abusive of the Members of that House, whom he respected individually and collectively! Now, my friends, the *Manchester Appeal* of the 3rd of January, published a report of a speech of his, made at a dinner in that town, on the 1st of January; and it appears that Mr. WITTELS, the very able editor of that paper, was the Chairman at the dinner. From that speech I take the following passage:—

"There was no city, town, village, or hamlet, in England, that had not heard of Henry Hunt, and did not know that he was a radical reformer. He pledged himself never to abandon his principles, and said he never would sit still and see the petitions of the people treated in the scandalous manner in which they had heretofore been treated. Many a corrupt knave would no doubt laugh and sneer

"when they heard his pledges on this subject, but let them take care that he did not make them laugh at the wrong side of their mouths. (A laugh.) They would laugh at his attempts to gain the ear of the speaker, but he could wait; he was rather determined when he had a mind, and he had a good deal of the quality called patience. (A laugh.) He had had many a set of blackguards before him before now. (Laughter and applause.) He had been at meetings at St. Giles's, and had faced crowds of the lowest of the Irish, even when they were intoxicated, but if all accounts were true, he was going among a set of rips far surpassing all these. (Loud cheers.) He had been an eye-witness of the conduct of these men. He had seen a man stand up to present a petition, and as it did not suit these dandies, they began coughing, blowing their noses, knocking on the floor with their sticks, and uttering such *Billingsgate*, that the first of the oyster season could produce nothing equal to it. When they attempted to put these tricks upon him, he should tell the speaker that he could wait, and, by the living God, they should give their answer to the people of Lancashire before he was put down! (Three cheers by the company standing.) That demonstration of sentiment showed to him, that if ever the appeal was made he should have a satisfactory answer. Oh, he knew them so well! They had often said of him, let's but have that chap in the House of Commons and we'll manage him; but the devil take them if they try it. (Cheers and laughter.) Whigs and Tories were always ready to unite against the man of the people. All he prayed for was, let the great God above grant him health and strength and he did not fear, backed as he should be, that he should ring the voice of the people in their ears, that he should make the most corrupt knave among them tremble."

Having been reminded, in answer to the declaration above-mentioned, of

this speech and of others; having heard the House laugh and the public laugh at his challenging any one to prove that he had ever spoken ill of the House out of the House, the newspapers of the 3d of March (I quote from the *MORNING CHRONICLE*) published a *stuff* which it imputed to the Cock, and from which *stuff* I take the following passage, just as I find it in the *MORNING CHRONICLE* of the 3d of March, which was the next day after the *stuff* was said to have been uttered:—"He assured them there was no new light broken in on him with reference to this matter. He had always held the same opinions. At election dinners, and elsewhere, when a little knot of politicians condescended once a year to meet their constituents, and where he heard them utter language they would not have dared to make use of in that House, he had always recommended that those persons should be sent to say those things in the place where the whole world would hear them, and benefit from them; and that, rendering duty to their constituent, those constituents might also be left to play their own part when the occasion required it. He might occasionally have been led to use expressions, respecting that House, which were thought disrespectful, but he confessed he HAD BEEN MISLED BY OTHERS, and that, with the exception of some interruptions, of which he could scarcely complain more than others, he was bound to say, that he had been mistaken with respect to the character of its Members, and that it did not deserve the censure he had cast on it. (Hear, and a laugh.)"

"Oh"! you will exclaim, "the scoundrel reporters must have misrepresented him! He never could have said this! Oh, no, Cobbett, Cobbett! Do not cause it to be believed that it was possible for him to say this! Do not, for our sakes; do not expose us to everlasting ridicule by causing it to be believed that our red game Cock ever said this! The game Cock, you know, Cobbett, is the emblem of

"gallantry, vigilance and valour. Make us not ashamed of our existence; make us not afraid to look our wives and sweethearts in the face, by making them believe, that the man whom we chose, and whom our Committee under their hands and seals proclaimed to be the *VERY BEST MAN IN ENGLAND*, first made the Manchester speech; and then, while that speech was yet ringing in the ears of the people of the North, went into the House of Commons and uttered these words!"

My friends, my friends, I have nothing to do with the matter, except merely as an historian. I did not hear the words uttered at Manchester; nor did I hear these words uttered in the House of Commons. I find the passages stated in two publications, and if they be two fabrications, one by the Editor of the *ADVERTISER* at Manchester, and the other by the Editor of the *MORNING CHRONICLE*; or, if you believe this to be the case, you will believe it still for any thing that I shall say to the contrary; but, be the effects upon your reputation for discernment what they may; such is the light in which your Cock stands before the people.

And now I come to the proof of that which I stated in a former part of this letter; namely, that the *stuff*, called a speech in the House of Commons, and reported to have been uttered there on the 2d of March, and ascribed by the *Morning Chronicle* to your Cock, contains every thing that the *stuff*-maker was capable of, calculated to prevent the adoption of that reform which the Ministers have proposed to make, and which has been hailed with delight by the middle and working classes of people in every part of the kingdom. I say, my friends, that I will prove to you that this *stuff* which the *MORNING CHRONICLE* publishes and imputes to your Cock, has done all that the feebleness of the *stuff*-maker would permit it to do, in order to prevent the adoption of this great and salutary measure. You will be pleased to perceive, and to bear in mind, that the great argument of

the advocates for the boroughs has not been addressed to the people; but to the peers and the King, and this argument is, that if the aristocracy give way to the extent proposed, the people will DEMAND MORE, and that they will go on from demand to demand, till they leave no vestige of the present form of Government. Now, the stuff imputed to your Cuck does not say that the people will never rest till they have destroyed the present form of Government, but it says, and repeatedly says, and keeps hanging on to the point, that the people will not be content with this reform; that, if there were no ballot, the representation would become even more corrupt than before; that the people would not hear of the measure with much gratification; that those who were drawn in the militia would not serve unless permitted to vote, that many of the young men in the north were determined to rot in jail rather than serve in the militia if they had not this privilege; that he, if he were in their place, would do the same; that he HOPED this measure would be carried, and that there would be no re-action, although he really might ask how the great mass of the people could be called on to come forward to support a reform from the benefits of which they were to be excluded, and which was intended for those above them; that he believed that this subject would now be pressed on their attention by petitions; that he had heard of numerous meetings about to take place; that although the noble Lord (Lord John Russell) thought that there would be no agitation, he (Mr. Hunt) knew, from good authority that there would be such agitations as they had never seen before; that he was anxious to hear Sir Charles Wetherell and Sir Robert Peel speak, and was sure that they would not make use of his (Mr. Hunt's) arguments to serve their purposes: lastly, that (as I have quoted before), he had been misled by others, when he had used expressions that were thought disrespectful to that House, and that he had been mistaken with respect to the character of its

Members, and that the House did not deserve the censure he had cast on it!

This, my friends, if you look into the stuff before-mentioned, published as aforesaid, you will find to be an accurate analysis of the said stuff, as far as any meaning can be discovered in it; and there is not a person in Preston, not even a girl or a boy twelve years of age, who will not clearly perceive that the effect of the stuff must be, if it has any effect at all, to furnish the strongest of all arguments to the opponents of the measure, and thereby to cause one of two things, the rejection of all reform, or the producing of a convulsive revolution. It is impossible for you not to perceive that this was the direct tendency of the stuff.

A few days after this stuff was published, I, perceiving the drift of it, published the following in the MORNING CHRONICLE, as the next day of the publication of the Register was too distant. Here you will see the nature of universal suffrage more fully explained than I had ever explained it before. I beg you to read it with attention, and then to lend me your patience while I offer you some further remarks.

Kensington, March 6, 1831

SIR,

I PERCEIVE that one great ground of opposition to the measure now before Parliament, for making a reform in the Commons' House, is this: "that the Radical Reformers will still remain discontented as ever; and will never rest till they have totally destroyed the Government in King, Lords, and Commons." Now, Sir, I have, for rather better than twenty years, been, what is called a radical reformer, and my opinion is, that this ground of opposition is wholly false. Supposing the mass of radical reformers, to feel as I feel, upon this occasion, their feeling is that of entire satisfaction, and of gratitude to his Majesty, who has chosen, and given his countenance to, servants who have proposed this reform. My opinion is, that every sincere radical reformer ought to be contented with the measure at present under discussion, if it be carried into

full and entire effect; but, Sir, having no pretension to that sort of weight in the community which might lead me to hope for any effect from a mere opinion of mine unsupported by reasons; I will, Sir, if permitted, by the room that you have to spare and by your great indulgence, proceed to submit to you those reasons. For two things, not embraced in the present plan, the radical reformers have prayed; namely, UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE, and the BALLOT. With regard to the last of these, it is not yet under discussion; but in the observations which I am about to submit to you, I shall embrace them both. Whoever has had the patience to read my writings, during the last ten years especially, know that I have most strenuously contended for the abstract right of voting as belonging to every man arrived at the age of maturity, being of sane mind, and not stained by indelible crime. In the last number of "Advice to Young Men," I have deduced this right from the law of nature itself; but, Sir, my immovable conviction upon this subject is, not to prevent me from entertaining a deep sense of gratitude towards those who, under the gracious sanction of the King, have tendered to the people this mighty good. If I had been the proposer, I should have gone the length of Universal Suffrage; but, being a receiver instead of a giver, am I not to feel grateful for so much good, merely because a something is omitted, which I had made part of my plan? This would be presumption indeed, and would certainly have earned me the contempt of the whole community, not excepting those in whose behalf I had contended for this disputed right.

Besides, Sir, UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE has two sides to it, which men of sense do not overlook. If, on the side of the people, it admits every working man who honestly gains his living by the sweat of his brow, let it be recollected that it admits also soldiers, sailors, people in the dock-yards, servants in the public offices, excise-men, tide-waiters, coachmen, grooms, footmen, gardeners, and all the innumerable tribes of poor persons absolutely dependent on

the Government, the Aristocracy, and the Clergy! The old Duke of Richmond had seen this fifty years ago; and you will hardly believe that it had escaped my attention now; I who had discussed the matter so many times with the venerable Major Cartwright, who, at one time, actually proposed to shut out soldiers, sailors, custom-house officers, and the like; but who, when he perceived that this destroyed his principle, abandoned his intention in this respect. To the old Duke of Richmond it was objected that he would, by giving the right to yearly or other menial servants, and especially to paupers, throw too great a weight into the hands of the aristocracy! For the dignity, for the honour, of man, I would, if the thing were left to me, still have Universal Suffrage, in spite of the knowledge which I must have that it would bring tribes of pickpockets to the poll; but, Sir, the question has, as you will perceive, two sides to it; and I am not, for the sake of maintaining a favourite principle, to reject, no, nor to lessen the value of, the mighty unmixed good which is now to be conferred upon my country.

Let not those who would cavil against this good, attempt to cite in this case the United States of America; for, as I told Mr. Jeremy Bentham, in my writings from Long Island, one of which writings will be found in the "Year's Residence in America," ignorance of facts as to this point, made him put forth and rely upon an argument of experience wholly untenable. In one State of America there is something approaching to universal suffrage, but in no other State that I am aware of. In Virginia, for instance, a man must be a freeholder. In other of the Slave States, every free man has a vote; and observe, that free men are white men; and that a white man is not there a working man. In the Midland States, where slavery does not exist, no man has a vote who does not pay a tax. In three of the New England States, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island, the elector must swear that he is worth a hundred pounds. In Connecticut (the other New England

State), 1. the voter must be a *white man*, who shall have attained the age of twenty-one years, must have resided in the township six months, and have in the State a freehold of the yearly value of seven dollars; or, must have been enrolled in the militia, and have done duty therein, *one year next before* the time of voting; or must have paid a state-tax within the year next before his voting, and must in all cases have sustained a *good moral character*; and a proof of bad moral character is, a conviction of *bribery, forgery, perjury, duelling, fraud, or theft*, or other offences for which an infamous punishment is inflicted.

This is the most extended suffrage known in the United States of America. *Why, then, have I contended for a greater extent of suffrage in England?* not because I found it universal in America; but because *there* the people choose *King and Lords* as well as *Commons*. The reader will find the whole argument in "The Year's Residence," from paragraph 400 to 412 inclusive. I repeat, however, that if I could cause my *wishes* to be acted upon, I would try the universal suffrage; because *in principle* it is right; but when so much is tendered us of good, and about the nature of which no man can dispute, I am not to cavil at this immense mass of good, because it is not accompanied with the including of this principle.

But, there is *another description of persons* whom I would by no means exclude from a scheme of *universal suffrage*: but whom some of those who profess to wish for universal suffrage, seem quite *willing to cast out*; namely, the *paupers*. The Peels, the Baringes, the Horace Twisses, the Calcrafts, *cheered* again and again! most *vociferously cheered* the Member for Preston, when he said, "that this reform would *not satisfy* the Radicals, *because it did not go the length of universal suffrage.*" This was precisely *what they wanted*; this was the assertion, upon which they had been resting from the beginning of the debate. They wanted a *friend* in need, and here they found him! He declared himself a *through radical*; he took upon himself to say

that the radicals would *not be satisfied* with this reform; and this was precisely what they stood in need of as an argument against abolishing the boroughs, and *against giving any reform at all!* Curious! that the good and sincere and disinterested people of Preston should, by making sacrifices not to be described for what they thought the *good of their country*, send into the House a man, who has been incessantly laughed at by these unmannerly people, until he took upon him to make an assertion, the obvious tendency of which was to *defeat* the King and Ministers in their intentions to *put an end to rotten boroughs*.

However, Sir, the Member for Preston, in his apparent eagerness in this case, expressed no disapprobation of any scheme that might have *prevented paupers from voting!* He expressed, indeed, his *decided approbation* of this; and this is the more surprising, as he well knows that *one-third part* of the whole of the electors of Preston are *deprived* of the right of voting in consequence of being paupers! The right is not *withheld* from them by any general principle or law. It is not a right *not given*; but it is a right *taken away*, and solely in consequence of their being poor and in need of relief. Of this he *approves*, and repels, with indignation, the insinuation that he has been elected by paupers! This, then, is the universal suffrage of this radical champion! What, Sir, is it a part of our radical creed, that soldiers, sailors, excisemen, tide-waiters, dock-yard people, coachmen, grooms, footmen, Peel's new policemen, and whole swarms of pickpockets; is it a part of our creed, that all these ought to be suffered to vote, and that the poor labourer, the poor artisan, the poor and destitute weaver of Preston, shall have his right of voting *taken away*, merely because he has a larger family than he can maintain without that parochial assistance to which he has an *impre-scriptible right?*

Such, Mr. Editor, is by no means the creed of the radicals of England. They, on the contrary, contend with me, that to demand parochial relief, in case of

need, is the right of every Englishman; and they are neither so foolish nor so cruel as to allow that the *political* rights of any man are to be taken away upon the insolently tyrannical pretence that he has been in the enjoyment of a *civil* right. The radicals of England would admit soldiers, excisemen, footmen; nay, thief-takers, and even crowds of strongly suspected thieves; they would admit all these to vote, in order to leave no pretence for excluding the honest ploughman and weaver, whom calamity has compelled to resort to the parish book; but far from their minds to exclude the latter while the former were admitted. The radicals of England, Sir, "despise not the poor because he is poor." They would fain have seen the suffrage extended to all men; but I know not a real radical reformer, who would not treat with scorn inexpressible the man who would cavil at so much good as is now intended the country; the man who would furnish the deadly enemies of reform with an argument for the discovery of which they might be in despair; the man whose patriotism bursts forth in strains indignant at the thought of keeping swarms of pick-pockets back from the polling booth while his blood moves as slowly as the water along the feculent pool at seeing the honest, though indigent, ploughman and weaver repelled in his approach to that scene of the enjoyment of his rights.

The length at which I have been led to trespass upon you prevents me from entering, at present, upon the other part of my subject.

I am, Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant.

WM. COBBETT.

You will perceive, my friends, that the stuff says that every man ought to have a vote, who is liable to be called on to serve in the militia. Now, I pray you mark it well, there was a short stuff published in the *Times* newspaper on the 5th of March, as having been spoken by your Cock on the 4th of March, which stuff was in the following words: "Mr. HUNT having been al-

luded to by the right hon. Gentleman, "felt it right to say, that he had been "misunderstood. What he had said was, "that in his mind, every man liable to "be called out to serve in the militia "should have a vote for the representa- "tives who made that call. He never "could mean to extend the franchise to "paupers, as the law of England dis- "~~allowed~~ all paupers from voting."

I beseech you to mark this well! I have before shown the injustice, the savage cruelty, of taking away the right of voting, or of withholding it from parish paupers, while it was left to be fully enjoyed by soldiers, sailors, footmen, all the menials of every description, police-runners, pick-pockets, and other reputed thieves, and even by street or hedge beggars and gipsies. I have before remarked on the brutal injustice of giving the right to all these, and withholding it, at the same time, from the laborious and honest ploughman or weaver, whom ill-health or a large family may have brought to the poor-book: it is not, therefore, of the savage cruelty of this that I am again about to speak, but of the gross, the immeasurably profound ignorance, displayed in the short stuff which I have just inserted from the *Times* newspaper as ascribed to your Cock. The Cock is here represented as if totally ignorant of the most common concerns of the country in which he was bred up. He would exclude paupers from his universal suffrage; but would not exclude, by any means, men liable to be called on to serve in the militia. Now, then, the fact is, that in all the agricultural counties, and markedly so in the county in which he was born, three-fourths of the men liable to serve in the militia, are paupers, during a very considerable part of the year, and some during the whole of the year round! What, then, becomes of his principle of representation; what becomes of his universal suffrage? What becomes of his capacity for the making of laws? But his reason for this exclusion of paupers really surpasses, in point of profundity and fitness, the proposition itself. He would exclude the paupers "because

they are excluded by the law of England!" Famous reason! He did not say what law of England; but no matter; if this reason be worth a straw in this case, then is there an answer at once to all those who call for a reform. Was there not good reason for putting men into dungeons in 1817; and is there not good reason now for making you pay sevenpence a pound for you sugar instead of threepence? Why my friends, the law of England sanctions rotten boroughs; the law of England sanctions all the pensions and all the sinecures of which we complain; the law of England, in short, is such as to require that great alteration in it which will be made by the bill of Lord John Russell; but upon the principle stated by your Cock, every abuse must be suffered to exist, because its present existence is warranted by the law of England.

My friends, I have, I dare say, said a great deal more than enough to make you congratulate yourselves that HURFMAN and Co's "very best man in England" has been found, or at least that the stuffs imputed to him have been found, to be deprived of their power of mischief by their wonderful feebleness and ignorance. But I must proceed to show you a few instances of the use which the enemies of reform made of his statements and assertions; for, as to argument, these stuffs contain not a particle. When he was, at Manchester, swearing, by the "living God," how he would treat "the rips," if they attempted to silence him, little did you imagine that he would go into the House and tell them that he had been misled by others, and had been greatly mistaken in the character of the Members of the House, when he bestowed his censure upon them; but much less did you expect to hear him applauded by members sitting for rotten boroughs; and still less to hear his sayings quoted in proof, that those rotten boroughs ought always to remain. Yet this I am about to show you was the case CROKER, who came out and got into place by his defence of the DUKE of YORK in the case of Mother CLARKE

CROKER, who has, for many years, lived in the palace at Kensington tax-free; CROKER, who is the colleague of Wellington's son in the borough of Alderburgh, which has eighty voters; this CROKER, who is about to have the stool pulled from under him by the present reform, praised, in his speech of the 4th of March, as reported in the Times; yea, this CROKER praised the "plain honest statement of the honourable Member for Preston!" PEEL (Robert) who was the great champion of the boroughs, said, (speech of the third of March, in the Chronicle,) "If you say to me, take a rule which must inevitably turn out the honourable Member for Preston. I reply NO!" So, my friends of Preston, PEEL, who wishes to preserve all the rotten boroughs, and who sits for one himself, which is to lose one of its Members; this PEEL likes your Member so well that he would adopt no rule that should turn him out of his seat! The next eulogist of your Member is WILLIAM PEEL, the brother of the last, who sits for a rotten borough containing fifty voters, and who was about to have his stool pulled from under him. This man is, by the Chronicle, reported to have spoken thus, in the debate of the 7th of March:— He did not know whether the hon. Member for Preston (Mr. Hunt) was in the House or not, but if he was, he was too good-humoured to be offended with what he (Mr. W. Peel) was about to say. His observation then was, that the noble Lord opposite was mistaken in supposing that this would be the last reform that was demanded; for he felt sure, that if a reformed Parliament sat, and the present Member for Preston was returned, as returned he no doubt would be, that honourable Member would not sit in the House for three months, without saying that the reform was well enough as far as it went, but it did not go far enough; and he would ask them to let him prescribe, and would advise them a dose of Hunt's matchless composition. (Murmurs.) Next came the grand Leviathan of money, ALEXANDER BARING, who said

(4th of March, *Chronicle*), "Let him take an opportunity of alluding to the honourable member for Preston; not only were the observations which he made in that House, unobjectionable, but many of them were extremely useful; and it must be extremely satisfactory to the people to find that they had such a representative in that House to state the grievances under which they supposed they laboured." This BARING is the same who formerly scoffed at the Cock, calling him the "blacking-man." * This BARING is a loan-maker, and he sits for the rotten borough of Callington, along with his son, BINGHAM BARING, who are sent to the House by forty-five voters; and their stool is now about to be pulled from under them. This man is delighted with the useful observations made by your Cock upon this occasion; and he thinks that it must be extremely satisfactory to you to find that you have got such a Cock to fight your battles so finely. But, to cut short this list of eulogists of your Cock, there is in Wiltshire a borough as rotten as a pear, called Malmsbury. It is a delightfully situated, and a very ancient little market town, with the remains of, probably, the finest Abbey that ever was seen in the world. I know this town well; it is in the midst of a beautiful country; and the only curse that the inhabitants complain of is, that there are thirteen men in it who have the privilege of sending two members to Parliament! For this borough sit, at present, a couple of men of the name of FORBES. One of these FORBESSES, in a debate of the 27th of March, on a petition for the Reform Bill, is, in the *Morning Chronicle* of the 8th, reported to have spoken thus: "He would repeat that the measure was radically bad, and would prove disastrous if not defeated in the outset. He was sure that if it should once pass, the House would, before long, be called on to go much further than the noble Lord now proposed to go. The speech, which to him seemed the best and the strongest in argument, throughout the discussion upon the noble Lord's Bill, was

that of the hon. Member for Preston (hear, and laughter), who had manfully told the House, that he would in the name of the people accept the proffered Reform, and come forward afterwards to demand more, and that he would not desist until he should have obtained, step by step (through the instrumentality of the noble Lord's Bill), Universal Suffrage, Annual Parliaments, the Vote by Ballot, and the Overthrow of the Constitution. (Hear, hear, and laughter.)"

My excellent friends of Preston, do you, can you, want any-thing more upon this subject? If you do, take it in an account of what I witnessed myself at a Common Hall, in London, last Monday. You have observed that your Cock told the House (if the report of the 2nd of March be true), that the subject of ballot would now be pressed upon the House by petitions; that he heard of numerous meetings about to take place, and that there would be such agitation in the country as there had never been seen before. To the Common Hall, on Monday last, he went, and, for half an hour, laboured to divide the Livery-men, and thus mar the address to the King and the petition to the House, which had been prepared; and then he would have had London to cite, in proof of his assertion about approaching agitation! The good sense and public spirit of the Livery defeated him, crying out "Never mind the ballot now; we will discuss that another time." Thus met by a refusal from plain good sense, he resorted to a resource that never fails him in case of need! He told us that another time would be too late; for, that LOAN ALDERMAN had given notice, that he should bring on the question of the ballot, as soon as the bill had been read a first time. In such cases a good maxim is proverbially necessary; and the Cock forgot that MR. ALDERMAN WOOD was present. Upon this assertion being made by your Cock, out came the Alderman, and said, "Gentlemen, the discussion on the question of the ballot has been made the order of the day for the 2nd of March;

"it is so written down in the order of book of the House I was, therefore, astonished to hear a Member of that House say what I have heard him say on the subject." This closed him up, and there he now is without any of those numerous petitions which he expected against the measure; without any of those numerous meetings to oppose the measure; and without any of that agitation against it which appeared so to exhilarate his spirits when he was earning the praises of the PEERS, the BARONS, of COCKER, and of FORBES.

While he was foaming at the Common Hall, endeavouring to prevail upon the Livery to give a qualified approbation of the Bill, the two following resolutions were drawn up, and would, if he had persevered in putting his resolution, have been moved by way of preface to it.

1. **RESOLVED**—That, whereas, the thing that is wanted by every true patriot is, the want of reform, seeing that a reform must of necessity reduce him to insignificance and silence.

2. **RESOLVED**—That, as the most likely way to preserve a want of reform is to cause it to be believed that the reformers want a great deal more than is now tendered to them; this Common Hall adopts the following resolution, proposed by the honourable Member for Preston.

Now, my friends of Preston, determine as you please, and deal as you please, about your Cook, I am sure you will agree, with me, that we have now tendered to us all that reasonable men can require." We shall now see rooted up that great evil, which I compared to the accursed docks, and thistles in our fields. A little time, during which we ought to be patient, will give to us the fair fruit of our earnings, and will give it to us by those legal and peaceable means which all men, not cursed with the ambition to be what nature has forbidden them to be, will prefer to even a greater good, if to be obtained, at the risk of strife and of blood. This bill will, as I said before, restore to us

that government of King, Lords, and Commons which you have twenty times heard me assert it was my great object to see restored. It will give to the King the full possession of all his just prerogatives and powers; it will deprive the peers of none of their just privileges; it will give to the people their due share of influence in the Government; it will make little Old England, which was the cradle of real liberty, again an example to the world. You remember, my friends, the speech with which I opened the election of Preston; you remember the picture I drew of the degradation of the country caused by the accursed boroughmongers; I remember your loud "NO," when I exclaimed, "Shall England ALWAYS remain thus! That NO has now been ratified by a Bill brought in by the King's ministers themselves, and, my good friends of Preston, you will not, I am sure, think the event less auspicious, because the first reading was passed on the BIRTH-DAY of

Your ever faithful Friend

Wm COBBETT.

London, March 10, 1831.

Sir,—As you have been so obliging as to take notice, in the Register of last week, of what I said in presenting petitions in favour of reform from the county of Kent, I beg leave to send you verbatim those remarks. "In presenting these petitions I took the opportunity of expressing the sincere pleasure I felt in being enabled to state that the disturbances, which had first commenced in the county of Kent, had wholly subsided, and I trusted that nothing would occur to re-excite them.—In saying this, however, I begged to state my entire conviction that the continuance of the tranquillity, not of that county only, but of the whole kingdom mainly depended on the successful issue of the great Question of Reform."—I am, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

T. L. HODGES.

W. Cobbett, Esq.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, MARCH 4, 1831.

INSOLVENT.

MARCH 3.—HELLIER, I., sen., Wiggle-
don, schoolmaster

BANKRUPTS.

ALLCOCK, P., Redditch, Worcestershire, and
Ipsley, Warwickshire, needle-manufacturer.

FARRAR, J., Halifax, and J. Farrar, Brad-
ford, common carriers.

JOYCE, R., Cambridge, boot and shoe-maker.
MOSS, T., Kilton-in-Lindsey, Lincolnshire,
draper.

STEWART, W., Liverpool, merchant,
WILKINSON, J., Eamout-bridge, West-
moreland, clock and watch-maker.

WILLIAMS, J., Bath, tea-dealer.

TUESDAY, MARCH 8, 1831.

INSOLVENT.

MARCH 7.—COOPER, J. D., Mayfield, Der-
byshire, cotton-spinner.

BANKRUPTCY ENLARGED.

WILSON, N., Halifax, Yorkshire, straw-hat-
manufacturer.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

NEWLAND, J., Liverpool, boot and shoe-
maker.

BANKRUPTS.

ARMISTEAD, H., Sabden-bridge, Lancashire,
milk-keeper.

BROWNE, H. and H., Tewksbury, Glouces-
tershire, carriers.

BYRNE, W., Trinity-place, Charing-cross,
army-agent.

COOKE, H. S., Church-passage, Lothbury,
stock-broker.

EADE, J., Byworth, Sussex, tanner.

LIVIN, J., Hautbois, Norfolk, corn-mercht.
GRAY, J. S., Manchester, wine-merchant.

HEWITT, C., Mytton-gate, Kingston-upon-
Hull, ale and porter dealer.

JANES, T., Cross-street, Finsbury-square,
window-blind-maker.

JONES, Y., Manchester, merchant.

LEES, G., Little Dean, Gloucestershire, li-
censed retailer of beer.

ROSS, Liverpool, boot and shoe-maker.

SAVILLE, G. and M., Ashton-under-Lime,
Lancashire, drapers.

SMITH, J. S., St. Michael in Bedwardine, and
All Saints, Worcester, glove-manufacturer

WRIGHT, J., Studley, Warwickshire, maltster

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, MARCH 7.

—There is a very short supply of English
Wheat this morning, and this grain may be
quoted rather dearer than on this day week.
The supply of Oats is a good one, and there is
a brisk sale of this Grain at an improvement
of 1s. per quarter from last Monday's price.
In Barley, Beans, and Peas, there is nothing
particular doing, and the prices remain as on
last market day.

Wheat 75s. to 79s.

Rye 30s. to 34s.

Barley	36s. to 44s.
— fine	42s. to 16s.
Peas, White	40s. to 42s.
— Bollers	45s. to 48s.
— Grey	36s. to 40s.
Beans, Small	40s. to 42s.
— Tick	30s. to 36s.
Oats, Potatoe	28s. to 32s.
— Poland	24s. to 26s.
— Fyed	22s. to 24s.
Flour, per sack	60s. to 65s.

PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middle, new, 44s. to 46s. per cwt.	
— Sides, new	43s. to 48s.
Pork, India, new	110s. 0d.
Pork, Mess, new	55s. to 57s. 6d. per barrel.
Butter, Belfast	98s. to 100s. per cwt.
— Carlow	95s. to 101s.
— Cork	97s. to 98s.
— Limerick	97s. to 98s.
— Waterford	90s. to 94s.
— Dublin	—s. to —s.
Cheese, Cheshire	40s. to 70s.
— Gloucester, Double	48s. to 56s.
— Gloucester, Single	44s. to 50s.
— Edam	40s. to 46s.
— Gouda	42s. to 46s.
Hams, Irish	45s. to 50s.

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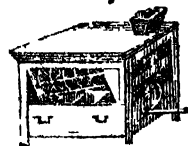
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ON
THE REFORM BILL
TO THE
HAMPSHIRE PARSONS.

Kensington, 15 March, 1831.

PARSONS,

I HAVE often taxed my powers of invention to find out *another name* for you, some appellation more fully descriptive of what you deserve; but, after hunting about, backward and forward, I always come back again to "*Hampshire Parsons*," being able to find nothing, in all God's creation, to resemble the animal described by those two words. Well, then, *Hampshire Parsons*, do you NOW recollect your conduct in the month of March, in 1817? Do you recollect when you, on the eleventh day of that month, at Winchester, met in grand convocation to present an address to the Prince Regent, expressive of your approbation of the bills just then passed for shutting the reformers up in dungeons at the pleasure of Sidmouth and Castlereagh? Do you remember that, upon that occasion, you had that little dull fellow, WILLIAMS (now called FLEMING), for a High Sheriff? Do you remember your roaring insolence upon that occasion; and do you remember that HOLLIS, his Under Sheriff, had the audacity to threaten to take us into custody, if we remained upon the spot after FLEMING had ordered us to depart? But, do you remember that, on that day, I warned you that, before that day ten years, your tithes and your church, and your everything belonging to you, would be

shaken to their very foundation? Have you forgotten this, *Hampshire Parsons*? To be sure, it is now fourteen years since I gave you the warning, and you have the tithes, yet, in name, at least; but do you feel as if you had them? Do you feel as if you were going to have them to the end of your lives? As you are sitting over your bottles, and wiping the grease from the corners of your mouths, do you not muse a little, now and then, on the strange change that has taken place since I met you last in your grand convocation? Do you laugh at people who talk against pluralities and non-residents, as you used to do? Do you still belch out your insolent invectives against reformers? Do you still wield the magisterial sword with the vigour and gaiety that you did fourteen years ago? Do you ever pick up a JESSA BURGESS now-a-days to play-off upon the country against any one whom you deem an enemy of your craft? Do you know what is become of the devils of the tax-enters, who went all over the country in carriages, scattering little tracts to calumniate me, in the years 1809 and 1810?

Leaving you to answer these questions at your leisure, let me express my hope that you will join us, the day after tomorrow, in thanking the King and his Ministers for the famous bill which they have now before the Parliament. Let me hope, that you who have always been for the powers that be, who have always praised the acts of the Government, be they what they might; who applauded it for twenty-two years of war and of waste; who have never found fault with anything done by any Parliament, at the instigation of any Ministry who were the servants of any King, let us hope that you will now join us in praising this great measure of Reform. If I had you not there, ready to join us, I, for my part, shall call aloud for you. In the year before mentioned, you galloped from one end

of the county to the other, to rake together a crew to carry an address, applauding the horrible bills which doomed the reformers to dungeons; and will you now hang back! Your pretence then was, that the reformers were *disaffected*, and that it was necessary for you to come forward in support of the King and his Ministers. Well, Parsons, and are not the borough-mongers now *disaffected*; are not the BARINGS, the PEELS, the CROKERS, the HORACE TWISSERS, now *disaffected*? Are they not now raising their violent voices against the Ministers and the King; and is it not now your duty, then, to come forward in support of this Ministry and this King? If I find you absent the day after to-morrow, I shall certainly think you the most inconsistent of men, and what I shall say of you God only knows.

But, Parsons, you hardly imagine that this reform is to be productive of no consequences! You hardly suppose, I take it, that it is intended to produce no effects. If this be your notion, never were men more deceived in this whole world. It has been made because the Government could no longer go on without it. A reformed Parliament must, therefore, act differently from this borough Parliament. If the reform produce merely a change of men, it would be of no use whatever; but it will produce a very great change of another sort, and will thereby enable the Government to go on. In what manner and what degree that change will reach you, I leave you to settle amongst yourselves when you meet at your benches, whence you send poachers to dance on the tread-mill.

"While there is life there is hope," and accordingly you, I dare say, entertain strong hopes that this fatal measure will not pass into a law. From the very first, it was evident to all men of sense, that this hope was groundless. The case was this. Before the Reform Bill was proposed, it was evident that the Ministry must propose a measure that would satisfy the people, or be driven from their posts. The Duke of WELLINGTON had actually been driven

out of his office, and bereft of all power, because, and only because, he had explicitly declared that he would make no reform of the Parliament. It was *the people* that had driven him out; mind that, Parsons: it was not the Parliament. The Parliament liked him well; but it could not keep him and carry on the thing quietly. The new Ministry, therefore, were compelled, whatever might have been their inclination, to promise a Parliamentary reform. And to satisfy the people it required nothing short of a total destruction of the rotten boroughs, and a great extension of the suffrage. It was not sufficient that the new Ministry promised a reform: it was necessary that the reform should be extensive and satisfactory. A trifling reform could not have saved the Ministry for a day. They would have been in a worse situation than Louis-Philippe with his sham revolution. The people insisted upon a large and efficient reform.

The Ministers have now tendered them such reform. In this reform they see the thing that they wanted. It is not precisely what many of us wished, but it is quite enough to satisfy all reasonable men; and the people will have it. Now, then, Parsons, though I do not like to plunge you into despair, I ask you whether it is reasonable to suppose that this measure of reform is to be defeated in spite of King, Ministers, and people, all combined, and with nobody but the base borough-mongers to oppose them.

It is a question which has, I am sure, been a thousand times put to me: "Can you possibly believe, Cobbett, that the Parliament will ever reform itself? Did you ever know power pronounce its own death? Can you believe that those who sit for the boroughs, will vote the destruction of their own seats? And can you expect a reform from any cause but that of physical force?" My answer always has been YES. and I have repeatedly said in the *Register*, that I hoped and believed, that, at last, when the people were united and resolved, the *borough-holders would give way*;

that some Minister or other would at last be found wise and honest enough to make the proposition; that the borough-holders would stand out stiffly; that they would die hard; but that when it came to the pinch, they would give way, and that thus the reform might be effected by a moral and not a physical force.

Nay, what is that which we now behold but the almost literal fulfilment of an opinion expressed and published by me in a very few days after the present King came to the throne, in the Register of the 17th of July, in a passage which I will now quote. "Your Majesty must clearly see that this feebleness of the country arises from the want of a due representation of the people in Parliament. What have you to do, therefore, but to cause that due representation to be restored? But, some one will say, those who fill the seats now would not pass a law to do this. Would not they! Oh that your Majesty would but try them. I beseech, I pray, I implore you to try the wretches. Let them finish their *elections*, as they call them; then instantly call them together; make no speech to them, but merely send them a message in somewhat the following words:—

"The King informs the House of Commons [the same to the Lords], that he has called them together for one important purpose, and for that purpose only. Upon coming to the throne, he finds, from a careful examination into the state of his kingdom, whether in its foreign relations, or in its domestic concerns, that there has been for many years great mismanagement; that the country has sunk in the eyes of the world; and that his people are in a state of ruin and beggary, such as was never known to their fathers. The King has traced these sad and disgraceful effects to the want of a full, free, and fair representation of the people in the Commons House of Parliament; and, therefore, he

"recommends to the two Houses to pass a law to enable the people at large freely to choose the members of the Commons House, excluding from the right of voting no man who has attained the age of twenty-one, who is of sane mind, and who has not been legally convicted of an infamous crime.

Clap W. R. at the bottom of that, and then we should see whether they would pass the law! Pass it! Aye would they, and with double diligence! They would, without a dissenting voice, thank you for your graceful message, express their gratitude to you for the wise suggestions contained in it, and promise to set about the work with all zeal and industry; and they would keep the promise too."

At the time when this was written, I saw little more than six months ago, and a man in England expected to see what we now behold. The thing will be done well now, but it would have been done better by a message from the King; because then, there would have been no doubts and no intrigues and no rumours upon the subject. There would have been none of this cavilling on the part of the borough-holders; all the ill blood would have been spared, and it would have been better for all parties. I do hope that the bill will not be carried against almost insanity. I always thought that the Ministers would propose a great measure of reform or go out without proposing any. If they proposed such reform, I knew that they must carry it; and when I heard the nature of the reform described, which I heard before Lord JOHN RUSSELL had finished his speech, I gave it as my opinion that the bill would not only be brought in without a division; but that there never would be any division at all upon the principle of the bill; because, though I thought that there was a very great majority of the members opposed to the bill, I knew that, in the present circumstances of the country, and of Europe, few men would like to

have their names down in everlasting print, as having voted against that which ninety-nine hundredths of the whole kingdom had prayed for. The Bloody Old *Times* newspaper has threatened the opponents of the bill with a publication of their names in RED ink. If any thing would induce a gentleman to insist on having his name down in a division in a case like this, it would be such a bloody and brutal threat; but there needed no threats at all, other than the legal and resolute expression of the public opinion; and it is this expression, and this expression alone, that will have produced this great and salutary measure.

Lord Chatham said, more than fifty years ago, that, "if the House did not reform itself from within, it would be reformed from without with a vengeance." It will be, to a certainty, reformed from without; but, happily for the country, not with a vengeance; but with gentleness, good-humour, moderation, and harmony, unparalleled. It certainly is what not one man out of fifty thousand ever expected to see; and, if the measure be carried into full effect, it will reflect honour indescribable on the character of the country; honour on the King and his Ministers; honour on a large part of the Parliament, but honour on the people beyond all description. Its enemies call it a revolution; so it is ten times as great and ten times as good as the revolution of 1688. Revolution means *great change*; and here is a great change; effected, too, without a single commotion; without confiscation of any sort; without punishment inflicted on anybody. No nation upon earth ever did a thing reflecting so much honour upon itself. It is clear to every one that knows how to calculate, that the people could demand a great deal more of the aristocracy than they are now demanding; but, as I have a thousand times said, deal frankly and liberally by them, and you have nothing to apprehend from their demands. This justice to the people has been delayed very long, to be sure there would have been less difficulty in the sequel than there will

be now, if the reform had taken place in 1817; but still it is now made in so frank and gracious a manner, that past refusals and past harsh treatment will be wholly forgotten by the nation at large. We shall do, I trust, as bickering families do, forget past grounds of animosity, except where the parties persevere in their malignity, and every man do his best to cause the nation to be restored to its former happy state.

It is impossible for the Ministers not to perceive that, when they meet a new and reformed Parliament, in which "treasury members," nominees of peers, members who ran down to vote at the ringing of a bell; when they meet a Parliament in which all these will be unknown; when they meet a Parliament in which they can never command a majority; in which they must not expect always to have a majority, in which they are not to expect support from any cause except that of the wisdom or justice of their measures. When the Ministers meet a Parliament like this, their situation will be totally different from that in which they are now placed. They must see this; and, therefore, their having resolved to form such a Parliament is an indubitable proof of the honesty of their intentions.

We shall soon see the manners of the Parliament wholly changed, the hours of meeting will be hours of daylight; the attendance of all the Members will be regular, they will need no cook-shop, no drinking place, no smoking place, beneath the roof where their deliberations are held. The evil example of their lives will no longer be the cause of destruction to young men of fortune. Along with "Bellmy's," the Club-Houses, and the Hells will disappear; there will want no odious and ridiculous law to prevent men from bringing either House of Parliament into contempt, both will become objects of respect with all men of sense, and the esteem of fools is never worth having. Accordingly, the laws will be respected, crimes will become more rare, and punishment will be efficient

for its purpose, because men will acquiesce in its justice.

How monstrous it is, then, that any men, having the smallest pretensions to virtue, should not hail this measure with delight! If monstrous in other men, what must it be in men of your profession! This measure, if carried into full effect, must nearly, but an end entirely to all that bribery, corruption, perjury, base lying, false and foul dealing, drunkenness, debauchery, and the vilest kind, acts of violence, disturbances of the public peace, quarrelling, hatred, and malice amongst neighbours, amongst friends, brethren, parents, and children, all these, which spread themselves over the country at every election, leaving wounds half-healed to be torn open again at the succeeding contest, all these, which, at every step and at every breath, openly violate every principle of Christianity, and these are now to be banished from the land of which they have so long been the foul disgrace and the incessant curse; and yet do you, the teachers of that Christianity, mourn at the prospect of the change!

We shall see, on Thursday next, at Winchester! But, if I am to judge from what I behold in and near London, I shall now find you, at last, amongst the *disaffected*. Act as you will, however, you will, until you make atonement for your behaviour as to me, for your malignant acts against me, you will be most cordially detested by

Wm. COBBETT.

TO THE
READERS OF THE REGISTER.

Kensington, 16th March, 1831.

MY FRIENDS,

I had written a long letter to you on the prospect now before us; but something has just (Wednesday morning, 6 o'clock) come to hand, which is a great deal more valuable than anything that I am capable of writing, namely, the REFORM BILL; the Bill

of Bills, the thing that we have been labouring for, for so many years. I here insert it. It has the merit of having no *satulogy* in it, and is therefore short, compared to what a dunce-headed fellow would have made it.

The speeches, that you will find *to come after the bill*, I insert entire, as *specimens* of the talk on this memorable bill. They will amuse you, and, as I have mentioned them elsewhere, I insert them at full length, to obviate the charge of *quibbling*.

There, now, God bless you! This is a day of test joy for Old England. We shall once more see the labouring man with meat and bread, with a bed to lie on, and a linen shirt and a Sunday coat to wear. This, my friends, is what I have in view more than any other consequence of this great measure.

I am most faithfully yours,

Wm. COBBETT.

A BILL TO AMEND THE REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE IN ENGLAND AND WALES.

[NOTE.—The words printed in *Itahes* are proposed to be inserted in the Committee.]

Whereas it is expedient to take effectual measures for correcting divers abuses that have long prevailed in the choice of Members to serve in the Common House of Parliament, to diminish the expense of elections, to deprive many inconsiderable places of the right of returning Members, to grant such privileges to large, populous, and wealthy towns; to increase the number of Knights of the Shire, and to extend the elective franchise to many of His Majesty's subjects who have not heretofore enjoyed the same. Be it enacted, by the King's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that the boroughs enumerated in schedule (A.) to this Act annexed, shall, cease, after the end of this present Parliament, to return Members to serve in Parliament, and that no writ or precept shall be issued or sent to any of the said boroughs to return Members to serve in any future Parliament.

And be it enacted that the boroughs enumerated in schedule (B.) to this Act annexed, shall, after the end of this present Parliament, return one Member and no more, to serve in Parliament for each of the said boroughs

And be it enacted, that after the end of this present Parliament, the towns enumerated and described in schedule (C.) to this Act annexed, shall each return two Members to serve in Parliament; and that the towns enumerated in schedule (D.) to this Act annexed, shall each return one Member to serve in Parliament.

And be it enacted, that the towns of Weymouth and Melcombe Regis shall, for the purposes of this Act, be taken as one town; and shall, after the end of this present Parliament, return only two Members to serve in Parliament.

And be it enacted, that each of the towns of Portsmouth, Rochester, and Kingston upon Hull, shall, after the end of this present Parliament, return two Members to serve in Parliament, jointly with the other places respectively, as described in schedule (E.) to this Act annexed.

And be it enacted, that after the end of this present Parliament, each of the places named in schedule (F.) to this Act annexed, shall have a share in the election of burgesses to serve in Parliament, for the shire, town, or borough to which such place is annexed in the said schedule (F.); and that every person having the right of voting in any of the said places previously to the passing of this Act, or acquiring such right by virtue of this Act, shall and may give his vote in respect thereof at the place in which he resides, before the Mayor or other chief officer of the place, who shall transmit the poll taken before him to the returning officer of the shire, town, or borough to which such place may be joined for the purposes of election.

And be it enacted, that no person shall, after the end of this present Parliament, have the right of voting at the election of Members to serve for the town of Carnarvon, in respect of any supposed right of voting in the place called Criccieth.

And be it enacted, that the towns of Swansea, Llanharne, Neath, Aberaven, and Ken Fig, shall, after the end of this present Parliament, for the purposes of this Act, be taken as one borough, and shall return one Member to serve in Parliament; and no person, by reason of any right accruing in any of the places last named, shall have any vote in the election of Members for the borough of Cardiff; and that the votes, in such elections be taken at the town or place within which the persons having the right of voting shall severally reside, by the Mayor or other municipal officer of such town or place, who shall transmit the poll taken before him to the Portreeve of Swansea, who shall be the returning officer for the said borough.

And be it enacted, that the persons described in the several columns of the said several schedules (C.) (D.) and (E.), shall be the persons to whom all writs and precepts shall, after the end of this present Parliament, be directed, and shall be the returning officers

for the elections of Members to serve in Parliament for the said towns and places.

And be it enacted, that no person shall be entitled to vote at the election of a Knight of the Shire to serve in any future Parliament in respect of any house, by reason of the occupation thereof, by or any other person, shall be entitled to vote for any city or borough.

And be it enacted, that from and after the end of this present Parliament, every male person of full age and not subject to any legal incapacity, seized of and in any lands or tenements for an estate for life, or for any longer estate of at least the yearly value of one hundred shillings, holden by copy of Court roll of the Lord or Lady of any Manor, or by any customary tenure, and every person holding lands or tenements by lease for any term not less than years, whereon a yearly rent of not less than fifty pounds shall be reserved, shall have a right to vote in the election of Knights of the Shire in all future Parliaments; provided that no leaseholder shall enjoy such right by virtue of any lease forsoever every year, or which shall have been renewed within two years preceding the registration to be made in manner hereinafter directed; provided always, that nothing hereinafter contained, shall take away or in any manner affect the right of voting for Knights of the Shire, at present enjoyed by any person, and which may hereafter accrue to any person, according to the laws now in force, in respect of freehold property, rent-charges, annuities, or any other right of voting now by law enjoyed in relation to the election of Knights of the Shire.

And be it enacted, that after the end of this present Parliament, every person owning or holding any lands or tenements situate within cities or towns, being counties of themselves, defined in schedule (G.) to this Act annexed, which lands or tenements would, if situated in a county not being a city or town which is a county of itself, entitle the owner or holder thereof to vote, shall be entitled to vote at any election for the knights of the Shire named in the said schedule (G.) respectively.

Provided also, and be it hereby enacted, that no person shall vote for any Member to serve in any future Parliament, in respect of the ownership or possession of any lands or tenements, unless he shall have been seized or possessed thereof for the space of thirty days at least before the registration (to be made in manner hereinafter directed) last before the election at which he shall claim to vote.

And be it enacted, that each of the counties enumerated in schedule (H.) to this Act annexed, to be divided in manner hereinafter particularly directed, shall in like manner choose and return four Knights of the Shire instead of two, to serve in all future Parliaments for the same respectively.

And be it enacted, that in all future Parliaments there shall be six Knights of the Shire instead of four, to serve for the county

of York; that is to say, two Members for each of the three shires of the said county, to be elected in such manner, and by the same classes and descriptions of Voters, and in respect of the same several rights of voting, as if each of the three shires were a county of itself.

And he enacted, that in all future Parliaments there shall be two Knights of the Shire instead of one, to serve for the county of Lincoln, that is to say, two for the parts of Lindsey, in the said county, and one for the parts of Holland and the parts of Kesteven of the same county; and that such two Members shall be chosen to the same shires, and by the same classes and descriptions of Voters, and in respect of the same several rights of voting, as if the said parts of Lindsey were a separate county, and the said parts of Holland and Kesteven together were also a separate county.

And he enacted, that he like manner all persons now having, or who should by virtue of this Act acquire, the right of voting in elections for Knights of the Shire for the county of Southampton, by reason of the ownership or possession of any lands or tenements situate within the Isle of Wight, shall in all future Parliaments come to vote in such election for the county as large burgesses of such ownership or possession, and shall be entitled to choose two Members to represent the Isle of Wight; and that if a Member of the same shall be holden at the time of his report in the Isle of Wight.

And he enacted, that a Committee of the Lords of his Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, to be selected and named by his Majesty, under his Royal high manual, shall within three months of the passing of this Act, inquire into and determine in what manner the said counties enumerated in schedule (H.) to this Act aforesaid shall be divided, for the Election of Knights of the Shire to serve in all future Parliaments; and shall have the power of uniting and incorporating with any county, or any division of a county to be by them made (for the purposes of election only) any existing portions of any other county which may be locally situate within the former, and shall make a report to his Majesty in Council, and it shall be lawful for his Majesty to issue his Royal Proclamation, making known the determination and report of the said Committee, and such report shall forthwith be laid before both Houses of Parliament.

And he enacted, that the said Committee shall also in their said Report determine at what places respectively all Elections of Knights of the Shire to serve in all future Parliaments for the respective Divisions of the said counties, when so divided, shall be holden.

And he enacted, that after such division and incorporation of the said counties shall have been proclaimed, as herein before mentioned, any person claiming and having the

right to vote, after the end of this present Parliament, for a Knight of the Shire to serve in Parliament, shall vote only for that division of the said county in which the property in respect of which he claims to vote shall be situate.

And he enacted, that another Committee of his Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, to be named by his Majesty under his high manual, shall inquire into and determine the Limits and boundaries of all the cities and boroughs in England and Wales having the right of sending members to Parliament, and shall have power to annex unto and incorporate with any city or borough, any parcel or parcels locally situate within the limits of the said city or borough, and any parcel or parcels of any parish or township which may be locally situate beyond the limits of any city or borough respectively, and shall, as so before this Act, send the names of the said cities before his Majesty in Council, together with their determinations, and it shall be lawful for his Majesty to issue his Royal Proclamation, making known the said determination and report of the said Committee, from the date of which Proclamation the cities and boroughs shall be and remain bounded and limited, annexed and incorporated respectively, according to such determination as aforesaid, and the said report shall forthwith be laid before both Houses of Parliament.

And he enacted, that the said last-mentioned Committee of the Lords of his Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, shall within three months after the passing of this Act, proceed to inquire into each city and borough (except those enumerated in schedule (A.) as now have the privilege of sending members to Parliament, but of not a city more than three hundred houses, or the yearly value of the premises held, or rated to the relief of the poor, in the city situate upon inhabited houses as yet rated by the year at least, any parcel or parcels of any parish or township, or any part thereof may lie, or any parcel or township adjoining thereto, or any undivided portions of any other parish or township that may be locally situate within any city or borough, or within such annexed parishes or townships, parishes or townships, as such Committee may deem convenient for the purposes of election only) and every such city or borough shall, jointly with such annexed parishes or townships, parishes or townships, be a city or borough for the purposes of electing members, and return such number of members as they may be entitled respectively to send to serve in all future Parliaments; and the said last-mentioned Committee shall make a report of their determination touching the said annexations to his Majesty in Council, and it shall be lawful for his Majesty to issue his Royal Proclamation, making known the said determination and report of the said Committee, and the said report shall forthwith be laid before both Houses of Parliament.

And be it enacted, that in all elections for members to serve in any future parliament for cities and boroughs, every male person of full age, and not subject to any legal incapacity, who shall have occupied for six months previous to the settlement of the registers which are hereinafter directed to be made, any house within such cities or boroughs of the clear yearly value of ten pounds, or bona fide subject to the yearly rent of ten pounds, or which shall have been for the same time rated to the relief of the poor, or to the duty assessed upon inhabited houses, at a sum not less than ten pounds, shall have a right to vote for such cities and boroughs: provided always, that no person who shall not have been duly registered according to the provisions hereinafter contained shall be admitted to vote at such election: provided also, that every person now having a right to vote in virtue of any corporate right, shall retain such right for his life, and, on being duly registered, shall be entitled to vote, provided every such person shall have resided for six months previous to the time of registration herein directed, within seven statute miles of the usual place of election within such city or borough; and provided, also, that any person now having a right to vote by reason of owning or occupying any tenement, shall retain such right as long as he owns and occupies the same or any other tenement in the same place, by reason of which ownership or occupation he will have a right of voting by the laws or customs now in force, and shall be allowed to vote, if duly registered, as hereinafter directed.

And be it enacted, that the churchwardens and overseers of every parish and township, in part or in whole, situate within, or by virtue of this Act to be annexed to any city or borough returning, or which shall return Members to serve in any future Parliament (except those named in schedule A), shall, on or before the

year, and on or before
and the
in each
subsequent year, make out an alphabetical list of every male person residing within such city or borough, or annexed parish or township, as the case may be, occupying a house of the clear yearly value of ten pounds, or bona fide subject to the yearly rent of ten pounds, or rated to the relief of the poor, or to the duty on inhabited houses, at a sum of not less than ten pounds by the year, and in respect of which all the rents, rates, and taxes, shall have been paid up to that time; and another such list, of every male person claiming to vote by virtue of any corporate, or frigate, or any other right existing in such persons, at the time of passing this Act, and shall affix such lists to the doors of all churches and chapels in the several townships and parishes situate within the said cities and boroughs respectively, on the three Sundays next after they shall have been made respectively in this and every subsequent year

And be it enacted, that on the Monday next

following the last of the said three Sundays in the present year, and on the first Monday in the month of November in each succeeding year, the returning officer of every city or borough shall sit in some convenient public hall or place (having first given three clear days' notice of his sitting, to be affixed on the doors of all the said churches and chapels) for hearing objections to the insertion or omission of names in either of the said lists, and for inquiring into the truth of such objections, and for expunging, retaining, or inserting names according to the best of his judgment.

And be it enacted, that the said returning officer shall have full power, and he is hereby required to retain on the said list all names to which no valid objection shall be made and proved by evidence, and to insert in such list the names of every male person of full age, not subject to any legal incapacity, who shall appear to have been residing for six months at least within such city or borough, or such annexed parish or township; and to have either been in the occupation of such house as aforesaid for six months at the least before the Monday on which the said returning officer shall commence his sittings, or to be entitled in some other right, hereby saved, or not hereby affected, to vote at the election of Members of Parliament to serve for such city or borough; and shall expunge from the said list the name of every person who shall be proved to be a minor under the age of twenty-one years, or incapacitated by any law or statute from voting for Members to serve in Parliament, and of every person who shall be proved not to have been for the time aforesaid the occupier of such house as aforesaid, or not to have made good the payment of all rates, rents, and taxes, or who shall not prove himself entitled in some other right to vote in the election of Members to serve for such city or borough; provided that no person's name shall be expunged without one clear week's notice first given to him or left at his residence; and no person's name shall be inserted without three clear weeks' notice to the churchwardens and overseers aforesaid, of his claim to have his name inserted, and without such notice being affixed for the three Sundays preceding the said Monday on the doors of all churches and chapels within the parish or township in which such person shall reside.

And be it enacted, that the churchwardens and overseers of every parish and township shall make an alphabetical list of all persons claiming to be entitled, by reason of the ownership or possession of any freehold, leasehold, or copyhold, or customary lands or tenements, situate within such parish or township, to vote in any election for a Knight of the Shire to serve for the county wherein such parish or township lies, and shall on or before the
in the present year, and on
or before the
in each succeeding
year, cause such list to be affixed on the doors of all the churches and chapels within such parish or township, or, if there should be no

church or chapel, then to be fixed up in some public and conspicuous situation within the same, respectively on the first three Sundays in the month of September in each year, and on or before the twenty-fifth day of September in each year, shall send such list to the High Constable or High Constables of the hundred wherein such parish or township lies, who shall forthwith transmit the same to the Clerk of the Peace of the County.

And be it enacted, that the Judges named in the last Commission of Assize for each county, immediately after the passing of this Act, and in each succeeding year the Judges of Assize for each county, when travelling the Summer Circuit, shall nominate, and appoint (subject, nevertheless, to the approbation of the Lord High Chancellor, Lord Keeper, or Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal, for the time being) a Barrister to revise such lists, and direct him to make alterations to the omission or insertion of names therein respectively; and that such Barrister, so appointed as aforesaid, shall give public notice by advertisement, in the county newspapers, that he will make a circuit of the county for which he shall be so nominated and appointed, and of the several times and places at which he will hold Courts for that purpose, and he shall hold an open Court for that purpose, at the times and places so to be unappointed, and that such Barrister shall be paid for discharging the duty so cast upon him, out of the

at the rate or less than
for every day that he shall be so employed; provided always, that no Barrister, so nominated and appointed as aforesaid, shall be eligible to serve in Parliament for twelve months from the time of such his appointment for the county for which he shall be nominated and appointed.

And be it enacted, that the said Barrister shall inquire into and determine all such objections as aforesaid, and shall expunge the names of all persons who shall not have owned or held the lands or tenements in respect of which he claims to vote for the space of forty days, at the least, before the first day of holding the said Court, or who shall be incapacitated by any law or statute from voting in the election of Members to serve in Parliament, and shall insert the name of any person who may, to the satisfaction of such Barrister, prove himself to have owned or held such lands and tenements as may entitle him to vote in the next ensuing election, and who shall not be proved incapable, by law, of voting in the election of Members to serve in Parliament provided, that no name shall be expunged or inserted without such notice and publication as is hereinbefore required in respect to the lists to be made for cities and boroughs.

And be it enacted, that such Returning Officer and such Barrister so holding their respective Courts as aforesaid, shall have power to administer an oath to all persons

making objection to the insertion or omission of any name in such list as aforesaid, and to all persons objected against, and to all witnesses who may be tendered on either side, but that the said hearings shall not be attended by Council; and that such Returning Officer or Barrister shall, upon the hearing in open Court, finally determine upon the validity of such claims and objections, and shall in open Court write his initials against the names respectively struck out or inserted, and sign his name to the several lists so revised.

And be it enacted, that such lists shall, when so settled and signed, be tacked together and form one list for the county or division, city or borough, respectively; and the list so signed by the said barrister shall be transmitted to the Clerk of the Peace of the county for which he shall have been appointed, and the list so signed by the said Returning Officer shall be by him kept and handed over at the expiration of his office to the person succeeding him in the same; and that the Clerk of the Peace and the Returning Officer respectively shall cause copies of the same to be printed at the expense of the county (which shall be delivered to all persons applying, on payment of *expence* for each copy), and that such lists shall be the lists of electors to vote after the end of this present Parliament, in the choice of knights, citizens, and burgesses for the several counties, and divisions of counties, cities, and boroughs for which such lists shall be made respectively at any election which may be holden within twelve months next after the said day of the present year, and the lists to be made in each succeeding year shall be the lists of the electors to vote at any election to be holden after the first day of December in each succeeding year respectively.

And be it enacted, that in all elections whatever of Members to serve in any future Parliament, no inquiry shall be permitted at the time of polling, except as to whether the person claiming to vote be the same whose name appears in such list, and whether such persons shall have previously voted at the same election, and no such person shall be excluded from voting at any such election, except by reason of his refusing to take the oath or make the affirmation required by law.

Provided nevertheless, and be it further enacted, that by petitioning to the House of Commons complaining of an undue election or return of any knight, citizen, or burgess, any Petitioner shall be at liberty to question the correctness of the lists which shall have been settled by such barrister or Returning Officer, and to prove that names were improperly retained, inserted, expunged, or omitted at the registration that shall have taken place next before the election or return complained of; and the Committee before whom the merits of any such Petition shall be tried may inquire into the same, and alter the poll

taken at such election according to the truth of the case, and direct the return to be amended accordingly; and in case of corruption, partiality, or willful misconduct, may order such costs to be paid to the petitioner by such barrister or Returning Officer as such Committee shall think reasonable.

And be it enacted, that the Sheriffs of the counties directed hereby to be divided, shall fix the several days of election for Knights of the Shire for the several parts, ridings, and divisions of their said respective counties, and shall preside at the same, by themselves or their lawful Deputies.

And be it enacted, that at all contested elections of Members to serve in all future Parliaments, except elections for counties, and divisions of counties, the poll shall commence on the day of nomination or on the third day next following, or at the latest, on the third day; and that the number of hours during which the polling shall proceed, shall on the first day of polling be seven, and on the second day eight; and that the poll shall on no account be kept open later than four o'clock in the afternoon of such second day; and the final state of the poll shall be declared not later than two o'clock in the afternoon of the third day after the poll shall be opened; and the Returning Officer or Officers shall return the Member or Members to serve in Parliament by virtue of such election immediately after the final state of the poll is declared.

And be it enacted, that if on the day of election of a knight to serve in any future Parliament for any county or division, more candidates shall be proposed for the choice of the electors than the number of vacancies to be filled up, and a poll shall be demanded, the polling shall commence at nine o'clock in the forenoon of the next day but one after the day of election, in the several places to be appointed as hereinafter directed by the Magistrates for taking polls; and the final state of the poll shall be declared at noon of the sixth day after the said day of election.

And be it enacted, that the Justices of the Peace for each county assembled at the General Quarter Sessions to be holden next after the passing of this Act, and after such Royal Proclamations as heretofore mentioned, making known the divisions and incorporations of the said counties for which, after the passing of this Act, Knights of the Shire shall be elected, to serve in all future Parliaments, or at twice Special Sessions to be by them appointed, and of which at least three shall be given ten days public notice, shall consider and shall have full power to appoint convenient places within such counties and divisions for taking the poll at all future elections of Knights of the Shire to serve in Parliament for the said counties and divisions respectively, in such manner that no person shall have to travel more than fifteen miles from the property in respect of which he claims to vote; provided that no county or division of a county

now entitled or by this Act empowered to send Knights of the Shire to serve in Parliament shall have more than fifteen places appointed for taking the poll for the same respectively.

And be it enacted, that the said Justices of the Peace shall have the like authority to appoint different places at the end of two years from the first appointment to be made for that purpose, and that a list of the polling places to be so appointed shall be lodged with the Clerk of the Peace of each county; and that the names of such places so appointed shall be inscribed on lists to be affixed on the door of the chambers and chancery within each county and division immediately after they are so made according to the last appointment, and the polling at elections shall take place according to the list last lodged, in conformity to this enactment, with the said Clerk of the Peace.

And be it enacted, that every election of Members to serve in all future parliaments for all counties and boroughs in England shall be held, carried on, and concluded in some one place, and under the superintendance and control of the same returning officer or officers; but there shall be appointed for taking the poll at such election different booths for different parishes, districts, or places, so divided and allotted as to the returning officer or officers shall seem most convenient, of which division and allotment public notice shall be given, so that no greater number than six hundred shall be required to poll at any one booth.

And be it enacted, that after the end of this present Parliament, all booths to be built for the convenience of taking polls shall be erected by contract with the candidates, or if they cannot agree, such booths shall be erected by the Sheriff or other returning officer or officers at the joint and equal expense of the several candidates; and that the clerks employed in taking the poll shall be paid one guinea by the day, by each of the candidates at such election; provided always, that if any person shall be proposed without his consent, then the person so proposing him shall be liable to defray his share of the said expenses in like manner as if he had been a candidate.

And be it enacted, that the number of hours during which the poll for any county or division shall be taken on the first day shall be seven, and on the second day shall be eight; and that no poll shall be kept open later than four o'clock in the afternoon of the second day.

And be it enacted, that the poll clerks, at the close of each day's poll of an election for any county or division, shall inclose and seal their several books, and shall in open Court deliver them sealed to the Sheriff or to his deputy presiding at such poll, who shall give a receipt for the same; and the Sheriff or his deputy who so receives, shall, on the commencement of the poll on the second day, deliver them back so inclosed and sealed to

the person from whom he shall have received them; and on the final close of the poll the said Sheriff or such his deputy shall keep the said poll-books in an open hall in the assembling of the Court on the next day, when he shall openly break the seals thereof, and cast up the number of votes as they appear on the said several books, and shall openly declare the state of the poll or polls, and shall make proclamation of the Member or Members chosen.

And be it enacted, that in virtue of an Act passed in the 20th year of the reign of King George the Third, intituled, "An Act to remove certain disabilities relative to voters at County Elections," as required, the names of freeholders to be placed on the lists for poll shall be and the name is hereby repealed, and all laws, statutes, and maxims now in force respecting the election of Members to serve in Parliament for that part of the United Kingdom called England and Wales, shall be and remain, and are hereby declared to be and remain in full force, except so far as they are repealed or altered by this Act.

And be it enacted, that if any Sheriff, Returning Officer, Barrister, or any person whatsoever, shall wilfully contravene or disobey the provisions of this Act, or any of them, with respect to any matter or thing which such Sheriff, Returning Officer, Barrister, or other person, is hereby required to do, he shall for such his offence be liable to be sued in an action of debt in any of His Majesty's Courts of Record at Westminster, for the penal sum of _____, and the Jury before whom such action shall be tried, may find their verdict for the full sum of _____ or for any less sum not less than _____ which

the said Jury shall think it just that he should pay for such his offence; and the defendant in such action, being convicted, shall pay such penal sum so awarded, with full costs of suit, to any party who may sue for the same, without prejudice, however, to the right of any party grieved by the same misconduct of such Sheriff, Returning Officer, Barrister, or other person, to recover such damages in an action on the case for a false return, or any other grievance, as he may be entitled to at common law, or by virtue of any statute now in force.

And be it enacted, that if any person named in any of the lists or in notices required to be made, but whose name is not on any election shall be in the enjoyment of any office and by law disqualified from giving his vote at the election of Members to serve in Parliament, shall presume to vote at such election, he shall be liable to all penalties and forfeitures to which he would have been subject for the said offence by any law in force at the time of the passing of this Act, any thing herein contained notwithstanding; and in case of a Petition returned to the House of Commons for altering the return, or setting aside the election in which such person shall have voted, his vote shall be struck off by the Committee, with

such costs to be by him paid to any Petitioner as to such Committee shall seem just.

And be it enacted and provided, that nothing in this Act contained shall extend to or in any wise affect the election for Members to serve in Parliament for the Universities of Oxford or Cambridge.

And be it enacted that throughout this Act, wherever the words "city or borough," "burgh or burghs," may occur, those words shall extend to and include all towns corporate, cinque ports, districts, or places within England and Wales which shall be entitled, after the Act shall have passed, to return Members to serve in Parliament, other than counties and divisions of counties; and also to the town of Berwick upon Tweed; and the words "returning Officer" shall apply to every person or persons who by virtue of his or their office, either under the present Act or under any former law, statute, or statute, has, or have had, and shall have, the right of returning writs or precepts for the election of Members to serve in Parliament, by whatever name such person or persons may have been called; and the words "parish or township" shall extend to every parish, township, vill, hamlet, hamlet, or place maintaining its own poor and the words "churchwardens and overseers of the poor" shall extend to all overseers of the poor in the several parishes, townships or hamlets, vills, districts or places, by whatever name or title they may be called; and whether appointed under the Act for the Relief of the Poor passed in the forty-third year of her Majesty Queen Elizabeth, or under any local Act, or according to any peculiar custom, or in any other manner whatever.

SCHEDULES

TO WHICH THIS ACT REFERS.

SCHEDULE (A.)

Boroughs	Counties
Aldborough	Yorkshire
Ailburg	Stafford
Appleby	Westmoreland
Bedwin Great	Wilts
Bowdlaton	Devonshire
Bishop's Castle	Salop
Bitchingley	Surrey
Broughbridge	Yorkshire
Bosbury	Cornwall
Drackley	Northampton
Hambar	Gloucester
Huckingham	Leicestershire
Callington	Cornwall
Camelford	ditto
Castle Rising	Norfolk
Castle Castle	Dorsetshire
Direwich	Suffolk
Eye	ditto
Fowey	Cornwall
Geiton	Surrey
Hamlemere	ditto
Haddon	Yorkshire

Boroughs.	Counties.
Haytesbury	.. Wilts
Higham Ferrars	.. Northampton
Hindon	.. Wilts
Ilchester	.. Somersetshire
East Looe	.. Cornwall
West Looe	.. ditto
Lostwithiel	.. ditto
Ludgershall	.. Wilts
Malmesbury	.. Wiltshire
Midhurst	.. Sussex
Milborne Port	.. Somersetshire
Minehead	.. ditto
Newport	.. Cornwall
Newton	.. Lancashire
Newtown	.. Isle of Wight
Okehampton	.. Devonshire
Orford	.. Suffolk
Petersfield	.. Hants
Plympton	.. Devonshire
Queenborough	.. Kent
Reigate	.. Surrey
Romney, New	.. Kent
St. Maw's	.. Cornwall
Salisbury	.. ditto
Old Sarum	.. Wilts
Seaford	.. Sussex
Steyning	.. ditto
Stockbridge	.. Hants
Tregony	.. Cornwall
Wareham	.. Dorsetshire
Wendover	.. Bucks
Weobly	.. Herefordshire
Whitchurch	.. Hants
Winchelsea	.. Sussex
Woodstock	.. Oxfordshire
Wootton Bassett	.. Wilts
Yarmouth	.. Isle of Wight

SCHEDULE (B.)

Boroughs.	Counties.
Amersham	.. Buckingham
Arundel	.. Sussex
Ashburton	.. Devon
Bodmin	.. Cornwall
Bridport	.. Dorsetshire
Chippenham	.. Wiltshire
Citlieroe	.. Lancashire
Cockermouth	.. Cumberland
Dorchester	.. Dorsetshire
Downton	.. Wiltshire
Droitwich	.. Worcestershire
Evesham	.. ditto
Grimsham, Great	.. Lincolnshire
Grinstead, East	.. Sussex
Guildford	.. Surrey
Helston	.. Cornwall
Honiton	.. Devonshire
Huntingdon	.. Huntingdon
Hythe	.. Kent
Launceston	.. Cornwall
Leominster	.. Herefordshire
Liskeard	.. Cornwall
Lyme Regis	.. Dorsetshire
Lymington	.. Hampshire
Maldon	.. Essex

Boroughs.	Counties.
Marlborough	.. Wilts
Marlow, Great	.. Bucks
Morpeth	.. Northumberland
Northampton	.. York
Peurya	.. Cornwall
Richmond	.. York
Rye	.. Sussex
St. Germain's	.. Cornwall
St. Ives	.. ditto
Sandwich	.. Kent
Shaftesbury	.. Dorsetshire
Sudbury	.. Suffolk
Tamworth	.. Stafford & Warw.
Thetford	.. Norfolk
Thirsk	.. York
Totness	.. Devonshire
Truro	.. Cornwall
Wallingford	.. Berkshire
Westbury	.. Wiltshire
Wilton	.. ditto
Wycombe	.. Bucks

SCHEDULE (C.)

Places.	Parishes or Township.	Returning Officer.
Manchester	Township of Manchester Township of Salford Townships of— Chorlton Row Ardwick Newick Hulme Cheetham and Pendleton, Lancashire	The Borough-reeve of Manchester
Birmingham	Parishes of— St. Philip & St. Mary, in Birmingham Aston, Warwickshire	The two Bailiffs of the Town of Birmingham
Leeds	The Borough and Liberty of Leeds, Yorkshire	The Mayor of Leeds
Halifax	Parish of Halifax, Yorkshire	
Greenwich	Parishes of— Greenwich; St. Nicholas and St. Paul, Deptford; Woolwich, Kent	
Sheffield	Townships of— Sheffield Ecclestone Brightside Upper Hallam Attercliffe, Yorkshire	The Master Cutler
Sandwich	Parishes of— Sandwich Staplehurst and Maidstone, Kent	
Devonport	The Town of Devonport and the Township of Stonehouse, Devon	
Wolverhampton	Parishes of— Wolverhampton Bilston, and Sedgley, Staffordshire	Countable of Manure of the Denery of Wolverhampton.
Tower Hamlets	Parishes of the Tower Division, Old London, Middlesex	
Reading	Parishes of the Finchley Division, Old London, Middlesex	
	Parishes of— St. Andrew, Holborn, & St. George the Martyr, London Hill Haltwhistle, Northumberland	

Places.	Parish or Township.	Ret. Officer.
	Ely Rents	
	St Giles in the Fields	
	St. George Bloomsbury, Middlesex	
Mary-la-bonne	Parishes of— St. Mary la Bonne St. Pancras, and Farringdon, Middlesex	
Lambeth	St. Mary, Lambeth St. Mary, Newington Bermondsey Rotherhithe, Surrey.	

SCHEDULE (D.)

Borough.	Parish or Township.	Returning Officer.
Brighton	Parish of Brighton, Sussex	The Constables
Bolton-le-Moore	Township of Great and Little Bolton, Lancashire	The Constables
Blackburn	Parish of Blackburn, Lancashire	—
Bradford	Parish of Bradford, Yorkshire	—
Cheltenham	Town of Cheltenham, Gloucestershire	—
Dudley	Parish of St Edmund and St. Thomas, Dudley, Worcestershire	—
Frome	Town of Frome, Somerset	Constables of the Manse
Gateshead	Parish of Gateshead, Durham	—
Huddersfield	Parish of Huddersfield, Yorkshire	—
Kidderminster	Town of Kidderminster, Worcestershire	Bailiff
Kendal	Town of Kendal, Westmorland	Mayor
Macclesfield	Town of Macclesfield, Cheshire	Mayor
Stockport	Town of Stockport, Lancashire	High Constable
South Shields	The Town of South Shields, Township of Westoe, Co Durham	—
Tynemouth	Parish of Tynemouth, Township of North Shields, Northumberland	—
Warrington	Town of Warrington, Lancashire	—
Whitehaven	Town of Whitehaven, Township of Warrington, Cumberland	—
Walsall	Borough and Parishes of Walsall	Mayor

SCHEDULE (E.)

Cities and Boroughs.	Places annexed.
Portsmouth	Parishes, County of Southampton
Rochester	Chatham and Strood, Kent
Kingston-upon-Hull	Wulfricote, Yorkshire.

SCHEDULE (F.)

Places sharing in the Election of Burgesses.	Shire, Town, or Parish.	County in which Principal Burroughs are situated.
Holyhead	Bonmahon	Anglesey
Aberystwith	—	—
Lampeter, and Adpar	Cardigan	Cardigan
Llanelli	Caermerthin	Caermerthin

Places.	Shire, Town, &c.	County.
Pwllheli	—	—
Newm	Caernarvon	Caernarvon
Conway	—	—
Rangor	—	—
Ruthin	Denbigh	Denbigh
Holt	—	—
Wrexham	—	—
Rhydyllan	—	—
Overton	—	—
Carwis	Flint	Flint
Caerwynn	—	—
Holywell	—	—
Mold	—	—
Llansan	—	—
Cwmbridge	—	—
Morbyr Tydfil	Cardiff	Glamorgan
Aberdare	—	—
Llanymorvan	—	—
Llanidloes	—	—
Welsh Pool	Montgomery	Montgomery
Machyneth	—	—
Llanfylling	—	—
Newtown	—	—
Narberth	—	—
St David's	Haverfordwest	Pembrokeshire
Fishguard	—	—
Milford Haven	—	—
Tenby	Pembrokeshire	Pembrokeshire
Wiston	—	—
Knighthon	—	—
Evader	—	—
Kevillece	Radnor	Radnor
Kauclias	—	—
Prestelgne	—	—

SCHEDULE (G)

Counties for which the Freeholders, Copyholders, and Leaseholders are to Vote.

Counties of Cities or Towns.	Counties for which the Freeholders, Copyholders, and Leaseholders are to Vote.
Bristol	.. Somerset
Canterbury	.. Kent
Chester	.. Cheshire
Coventry	.. Warwick
Exeter	.. Devon
Gloucester	.. Gloucestershire
Kingston-upon-Hull	.. Yorkshire, East Riding
Litchfield	.. Staffordshire
Newcastle-upon-Tyne	.. Northumberland
Norwich	.. Norfolk
Nottingham	.. Nottinghamshire
Poole	.. Dorset
Southampton	.. Southampton
Worcester	.. Worcestershire
York	.. Yorkshire, North Riding

SCHEDULE (H.)

Counties to return each Four Members.

Chester	Northampton
Cornwall	Nottingham
Cumberland	Salop
Derby	Somerset
Devon	Southampton
Durham	Stafford
Essex	Suffolk
Gloucester	Surrey
Kent	Sussex
Lancaster	Warwick
Leicester	Wilt
Norfolk	Worcester
Northumberland	

HUNT'S,
BARING'S, AND PALMERSTON'S
SPEECH
ON THE REFORM BILL.

HUNT'S STUFF.

March 2.

Mr HUNT addressed the House at that early period because he was not very well, and did not anticipate that he should hear any-thing from the eloquent speeches of other hon. Members on a subject to which he had devoted his life. He had listened attentively to every-thing which had fallen from both sides, and must say that the plan of the noble Lord had gone far beyond his anticipations. He believed he had been personally alluded to (No, no!) having taken a prominent part in this subject, and hoped, therefore, that he should not be considered presumptuous in declaring his sentiments on that occasion. He meant to do so unequivocally, because his voice was the voice of millions. The noble Lord had described his measure as coming between those who resisted all reform, and those who wanted too wide and sweeping a reform, and he hoped the noble Lord would not, to use an old adage, between these two stools fall to the ground. The noble Lord who spoke from that side of the House said there ought to be no reform; and as that noble Lord's sentiments were cheered by those on that side of the House, he should adopt the sentiments of the noble Lord as their sentiments. In like manner, he would assume the hon. Member for Calne's speech as expressing the sentiments of those who sat on the Ministerial side of the House. And he must say that he was extremely sorry to hear that hon. and learned Member say in his eloquent speech that we ought to give representatives to the middle classes to prevent the lower classes from having representation. He regretted to hear that sentiment, because it was by no means calculated to conciliate the lower classes, and reconcile them to the measure of the noble Lord. When the hon. Member for Calne (Macaulay) talked of the rabble as opposed to what he was pleased to call the middle classes, did he mean to admit that in taking away from that rabble the right of choosing representatives, he was also willing to exempt them from the payment of the taxes—from serving in the militia, or from being called on to fight the battles of their country? (Hear.) Every man in the kingdom knew his opinions on these matters. He had always advocated, both without the walls of that House and within them, the principle of an equality of political rights. He had always contended, and would still continue to contend, that every man who paid taxes to the state was entitled to a vote in the choice of his representatives, and that taxa-

tion and representation should go hand in hand (Hear.) Was he, then, to be told by the hon. Member for Calne that those who fought in the army and the navy of their country—who paid the greatest portion of the taxes—who were called on to contribute to the support of the Government by a tax levied on almost every article of human subsistence—was he to be told by the hon. Member for Calne that those persons were unfit to choose their representatives, and that the plan then before the House gave an extension of suffrage to the middle classes, in order to prevent the lower classes from obtaining their rights? (Hear.) This was the declaration of the hon. Member—this was the principle of the measure before the House; and he spoke the sentiments of millions when he declared that it would give no satisfaction to those who were justly entitled to the exercise of their constitutional privileges. It had been said that the plan now before the House was not reform, but revolution. He, too, would admit it to be revolution when it was proved to him that the rotten boroughs were a portion of the constitution. (Hear.) Now when the hon. Member for Calne was talking so much of the rabble he looked very hard at him (Loud laughter.) He understood that laugh (Hear, and continued laughter.) He was sorry the hon. Member for Calne had not remained in his place, that he (Mr Hunt) might look now in the same way at him (Mr Macaulay here resumed the seat he had formerly occupied.) Well, he saw the hon. Member now, and he asked him again if he was prepared to exempt all those from the payment of the taxes and from public service who did not possess a vote for a representative? He asked the hon. Member if he was prepared to do this, and he asked, at the same time, if he knew from what class of men those votes were taken? Did he know, or did the noble Lord who brought forward this measure know, who were the voters of Ilchester (a laugh), of Ludgershall, and of some of the boroughs of Cornwall? He knew what class of men the voters for Ilchester were—a place where he had been confined two years and a half (Great laughter.) That laugh he understood again. (Continued laughter.) But he repeated, he knew the electors of Ilchester, and that they frequently ran up a score of from thirty to five and-thirty pounds between one election and another, depending solely on the candidates to defray the bill when they came to solicit their votes. Many of them, indeed almost the whole of them, could neither read nor write, and yet it was to them, not to those who really possessed property, that the noble Lord continued the right to vote. It had always been his opinion that the House should really be what it pretended to be, the representation of the Commons of England, and far be it from him, because the people of Ilchester were poor, that they were unfit to possess the right of returning representatives. He had always

contended for the admission of the whole of the tax-payers to that right, and he would continue to do so in spite of all the laughs which might be raised against the claims of the table. He had for years attended public meetings. (Hear.) Aye, public meetings, composed of men a great deal more intelligent and better educated than the inhabitants of that most degraded and rottenest of rotten boroughs, the borough of Calne. (Loud laughter, and hear, hear.) How the noble Paymaster of the Forces could have passed over that rottenest, stinkiest, skulkingest of boroughs, he could not understand. (Laughter, and hear, hear.) He could not tell how the noble Lord had exempted it from that general destruction which he had so properly dealt out to the others. (Hear.) They had been told that if the measure now before them was not carried, its rejection would lead to *revolution and massacre*. (No, no.) What sort of massacre? ("Question.") When he attended a meeting at Manchester, in the year 1819 (laughter, and cries of "Question"); when he attended that meeting, a meeting as peaceable and as orderly as that now assembled in the House of Commons, and met, too, for as peaceable and constitutional an object, the attainment of constitutional reform ("Question"); when that meeting took place there was a real massacre. A drunken and infuriated yeomanry (loud cries of "No, no," and "Question"), a drunken and infuriated yeomanry, with swords newly sharpened (repeated cries of "No," and "Question" from both sides of the House), with swords newly sharpened, slaughtered fourteen, and maimed and wounded six hundred and forty-eight. (Shouts of "No," and "Question.") Where is the man (said the hon. Member) who will step forward and say "No"? (Cries of "Order.") I say again (said the hon. Member, in a tone of voice louder and louder still, which was drowned by still more vehement cries of "No," and "Order"), that on that day a drunken and infuriated yeomanry murdered fourteen, and badly cut and maimed six hundred and forty-eight of as peaceable and well-disposed persons as any he saw around him. (A laugh.) And what were these people thus treated doing? Why they were doing that which the Government in that House were doing now, advocating the propriety of Parliamentary Reform. He was astonished, indeed, to hear the noble Paymaster of the Forces contend that the House of Commons had not hitherto taken up the question of Reform as it did now, because the people had not come forward as they now did, so as to compel the House to listen to them. Now how could this be? In the years 1816, 17, 18, and 19, the cause of Reform was pressed on the attention of Parliament with as much ardour as at the present moment; with this difference, that their petitions were much more respectfully worded than they were now. He did not accuse the noble Lord of a desire to effect anything through intimidation; more

than he believed there was a desire to effect their measures by force on the part of the people; nor did he condemn them for not having gone the whole of the length he wished. As far as the present measure went, it had his support; and even if the Government had determined to disfranchise but one of those boroughs, they would have had his support; but, he confessed, he regretted much the tendency of some of the observations of the Member for Calne, which went to create a division on the subject of the advantages of Reform of this kind out of doors, and to raise the belief that it was intended to collect the higher and the middle classes in array against the lower. (Hear, hear.) The tendency of such argument was, that because the working classes were poor, and because they were suffering, they were to be deprived of their rights; and, he feared, that when they heard the nature of the measure proposed, and the arguments by which some persons supported it, they would not view it with much gratification. He did not wish the rabble, as the honourable Member called them, to have votes; but he did wish that those who paid a rent of from three pounds a year up to ten pounds—the men who were the sinews and nerves of the country—should not be excluded. The Government said, however, they must draw a line; and this was the consequence of a deviation from principle, that the moment they abandoned principle they became involved in difficulties. He would illustrate the point by a legal case; and he appealed to the lawyers to correct him if he were in error. Supposing a man brought up to the bar to be heard for an offence against the laws, and he replies, "I did not know the law—I was ignorant I had violated any law." Would that be taken as a sufficient answer? No. They would say to him, you are bound to know the law, because you are a party to the making of all laws, by yourself, or through your representative, and we cannot admit your defence. And yet with this fact before them, they denied to those who were bound by the laws a vote for the representatives who made them. He considered the question now before the House to be one of the greatest importance which had ever come under their discussion, and that it involved their fate, and the fate of the country, more intimately than any event since the days when Cromwell ordered the mace to be taken from their table, and carried away the keys of the House in his pocket. He would tell the noble Lord that it was for advocating the question now introduced by him that he (Mr. Hunt) had been confined for two years and a half in a loathsome dungeon. (Cries of "Question.") Now, Members had, in the course of the debate, been permitted to go back to the period of Edward the Third (hear), and he thought he might be permitted, for his argument, to refer to events which happened not more than ten years ago. (Hear.) He repeated, then, that he had

been confined in a dungeon for advocating this very same Reform, and he certainly never expected then to see that Hon. member to the force of the saying of Lord Chatham, "that if a form did not come from within doors, it would come from without with a vengeance." The hon. Member for Calne had observed, with truth, that there was no desire to attack the rights of the throne. A good deal had been said about the greasy rascals who went walking about the streets of London. (A laugh.) He was as thorough a radical as any in existence, but where was the man who could say that he had ever said a word against the rights of the throne? He had, as it was his duty to do, protested against the *profligate extravagance of members of the Royal Family*. (Cries of "Question," and "Order.") He would not object to the passing of a Civil List, but he did object to the *profligacy of that Family which had brought the institutions of the country into disrepute*, and which had encouraged the demoralisation of that House (Question) To the situation to which the House and the country were then brought the Royal Family, he contended, had mainly contributed. He hoped, however, that the measure before the House would be carried, if it was only because it gave the country an increase of 500,000 electors; although he would tell the hon. Member for Calne, that ten times the number of good and honest voters would still be excluded. He trusted, that when the hon. Member had occasion to speak on the subject again, he would remember this, and deliver himself with a different temper and tone when he had occasion to mention the state of the people. (Hear.) He was told that ten pounds was the proper qualification, but he thought that the best vote was that which came from the industrious artificer or manufacturer, who earned from thirty shillings to three pounds a week, and he was determined in the course of these discussions to take an opportunity of submitting a proposition on that subject to the consideration of the House. He repeated, that all who paid taxes should have a vote, and he knew the feeling to be strong in the Metropolis, that a number of persons who had no vote returned that circumstance as a ground of exemption on their militia-paper. (Cries of "Oh.") He repeated, they considered themselves exempted, and demanded exemption, because they had no share in the choice of representatives. In the North, he could tell them, that many of the young men were determined to rot in gaol rather than serve in the militia, unless they obtained this privilege. (Cries of "No," and a laugh.) He said Yes; and he would go further. He would tell them, that were he in their situation, he would do the same. (Laughter.) If they deprived him of his right of speaking in that House, he would naturally take another course. The law says, that if a man, drawn to serve in the militia, refuses to do so, he is to be committed to prison; and he, for one,

thought that they were right, under such circumstances, to take the consequences of a refusal. He knew what it was to be in gaol, (a laugh,) he had been confined two years and a half, ("Question" and laughter,) and he knew that persecution never made converts. (Hear.) Although he looked with respect on the right hon. Baronet near him (Sir R. Peel) and venerated his high talents, he remembered the time when he was in his custody; (loud laughter;) but, baring the high talent the right hon. Baronet possessed, he, (Mr. Hunt,) as Member for the borough of Preston, stood now quite as high as he did, and considered himself fully his equal. (A laugh.) He knew no way in which his constituents were touched by this measure; but, if they were, and a great constitutional object was about to be achieved, he should be willing to make the sacrifice. (Hear, hear.) He begged it, however, to be remembered, that he considered the borough of Preston as good as any other in the kingdom. Was it because they possessed universal suffrage, or something like it, that it could be said they chose improper men to represent them? Certainly not. They had for their representatives at different periods members of some of the highest families in the kingdom; and the exercise of their privileges had never been found fault with. He, it was true, had not much property. The late Government had taken care that he should not become rich, for it had placed him in gaol; (hear, and a laugh;) but did he seek the suffrages of the people of Preston? After the massacre of Manchester ("Question") he had been invited to stand for that borough, then under the influence of the great manufacturers, and although the goodwill was as great as it had been since, he was defeated, and 400 families were afterwards, in the year 1820, expelled from their homes in consequence of having voted for him. (The hon. Member was here interrupted by loud cries of "Question") The noble Lord, the Member for Devonshire, (Lord Ebrington,) had been permitted to say how he got into Parliament for that county, and he hoped the same indulgence would be granted, without claiming any thing on his own account, for the ancient borough of Preston. During the last election he was proposed, without any canvass or solicitation on his part, and in three days, he polled 3,020 votes. The people of Preston did this, not from any hostility to the right honourable Gentleman, the Member for Windsor, (Mr. Stanley,) not from any dislike to his family; but he would tell the House why they did it. They had read in the Act of Settlement that no placeman or pensioner was entitled to hold a seat in that House, and so they chose him. He hoped that this measure would be carried, and that there would be no reaction, although he really might ask how the great mass of the people could be called on to come forward and ask that House to support a reform, from the benefits of which they were to be excluded, and

which was intended for those alone? He would say, that if this measure was to be protected by the Ballot it would do, but as it was a mere extension of the suffrage to the *triancy of the rich and powerful*, if they were not protected by the Ballot, the representation would be *even more corrupt than before*. For his part he would never cease to advocate the necessity of the Ballot, because he was sure that the reforms they contemplated required the protection of the Ballot, more than the system they possessed. He believed that *this subject would now be pressed on their attention by petitions*. He had heard of numerous meetings about to take place, and although the noble Lord (Iord John Russell) thought that there would be no agitation, and assured the House that there would be none, he (Mr. Hunt) knew from good authority that there would be such agitation as they had never seen before (Hear, hear, hear). There used to be *stagnant waters* to support the spirit of these meetings, but now there were to be meetings of the Common Hall and the Common Council, and throughout the kingdom, on the subject of this Reform plan. While he had the power to address himself to that House, he would do very little out of doors (Hear, hear, and a laugh). There he had the privilege of speaking that which he conceived likely to benefit the cause he espoused; and he therefore left to others the task of doing the work elsewhere (A laugh). He assured them there was no new light broken in on him with reference to this matter. He had always held the same opinions. At election dinners, and elsewhere, when a little knot of politicians condescended once a year to meet their constituents, and where he heard them utter language they would not have dared to make use of in that House, he had always recommended that these persons should be sent to say those things in the place where the whole world would hear them, and benefit from them, and that, rendering duty to their constituents, those constituents might also be left to play their own part when the occasion required it. He might occasionally have been led to use expressions, respecting that House, which were thought disrespectful, but he confessed he HAD BEEN MISLED BY OTHERS, and that, with the exception of some interruptions, of which he could scarcely complain more than others, he was bound to say, that he had been mistaken with respect to the character of its Members, and that it did not deserve the censure he had cast on it. (Hear, and a laugh.) He had little more to say, for he had already trespassed too long on their attention; but he must add, that those who said the Ballot would make men greater hypocrites, seemed to know little of human nature or of society. It did not seem to recollect that as it was of the highest classes in England it was constantly resorted to as a means of evading the odium of a vote; but if any man was to say in these clubs that the Ballot

made its members hypocrites, he would have his heart made a very willing witness (A laugh). The principle of the measure was founded in justice, and intended for its protection, but he was prepared to contend that without the Ballot the principle would be wholly defeated in its operation. He was sorry he had tried to do so in the House so long. He did not often do so, and should not probably do it again, but the importance of the occasion must be his apology. He knew the anxiety with which the House wished to hear the opinions of the right hon. Baronet (Sir R. Peel) and the Member for Boroughbridge (Sir C. Wetherell) and he could not do the share that anxiety, for he had not heard as yet a single argument or observation on the subject of Reform with which he had not been familiar for the last twenty years. He was sure they would not make use of any of his arguments to serve their purposes (hear, and a laugh); and he should therefore at once conclude, in the hope that, if opposition was to be offered to Reform, there might be some reason found in those who offered it.

HUNT'S STUFF, No. 2.

March 12.

Mr. HUNT was the first, he said, who had spoken in that House respecting the neglect of the petitions of the people; he was now happy and he had two allies in the persons of the Members for Boroughbridge. (Laughter.) The Ministers never could have pretended to bring in the Bill under the pretence that it was in compliance with the wishes of the people. The number of petitions on the subject of Parliamentary Reform were in all, 616. They prayed, in addition to Reform, for retrenchment, for reduction of salaries and pensions, of annuities and allowances, in the shortening of parliaments, and many for the Ballot, but only two of all these—that from Exeter and that from Bristol—prayed alone for any thing which was granted (cheers from the Opposition) but he was bound to add, that all over the country, in every parish of the metropolis, in every town and village throughout the land, the people were running mad in favour of the Ministerial measure. He had letters every day, and sometimes 25 over his number, which was very expensive, giving him accounts of meetings to support Ministers. Never was there greater unanimity; but he should be a hypocrite if he did not declare, that although he would support the Bill, he would not be satisfied with it, as it did not concede any of the favoured objects of his life—neither retrenchment, nor reduction of salaries, or annuities, or pensions, nor extension of the suffrage, indeed in many instances the Bill operated as a curtailment; nor the vote by ballot; nor, in short, any one of the objects he had most ardently desired. He would not, therefore, hesitate to say, that even after this Bill was passed, he would go forth and endeavour out of that House and in that House, to get a great deal more for the people.

BARING AND PALMERSTON.

March 4th

Mr. BARING. This was a question on which he felt the greatest anxiety, and hesitation, and indeed, every man of thinking in that House must feel. The measure now, before them was no ordinary act of Legislation; but, in point of fact, it was a new constitution that they were called upon to consider. (Cheers.) It might be said, he knew, that the old constitution was worn out—that it worked so ill, that it was the cause of misery, and misery to such an extent, that it behoved them to look into the affairs of the nation, with a view to the remodelling of the Government. But even though this might be said, he was sure that honourable Gentlemen on all sides of the House must admit that, in fact and substance the measure now proposed was a new constitution. (Loud cheers.) He was sure that no honourable Gentleman below him could doubt that this was the proposition which the House was called on to consider. (Cheers.) Reference had been made to governments which existed in all parts of the world; but at least it must be allowed, that the only constitution which had used to mix a popular influence with that of the Aristocracy and the Monarch was that which had been tried in this country (cheers)—a constitution which had (he would not say by the wisdom of our ancestors, but a good deal by happy fortune, or, more properly speaking, by the gift of Providence) at last brought them to that state of things which hitherto had been the envy of the world, and till of late years the subject of pride and satisfaction to Englishmen. (Cheers.) And what was that Constitution? As he understood it it was the three Estates of King, Lords, and Commons, and this had been tried for the purpose of giving to the latter a share in the interests of the country. But now some said in speaking of the Commons, they were sinking, rotten, and corrupt; but he said that it was that House which had been the means of mixing up the popular body with the various compounds of the interests of the country. But whether the result had been the good working of that general system to the welfare of the country or not—that was the question of which the country was to judge (Hear, hear.) And when they had heard the hon. Member for Middlesex state in the course of the Debate, that if the people were left to themselves, the House would not have any very different aspect, he thought that it might be assumed, that the present representation was a pretty fair one of the voice of the people. He did not mean to say that a better constitution than that of England might not be imagined; but if all the constitutional dangers of the world had never been able to prevent one where there was so much rational liberty, he was entitled to say that this was some proof that it was beyond the reach of the utmost wit of man, and that accident had given them that jewel, which

to throw away, would be most wilful and inattentive. (Cheers.) That being his view of the case, he hardly need make any apology to his right hon. Friends near him, with whom he had, for nearly five-and-twenty years, been pretty constantly a party man, for stating his sincere opinion on this subject. But it was said that the King should keep to himself—the Aristocracy to themselves—and the Commons to themselves. He, however, contended that that was not the constitution of this country; and he should like to know what practical grievances the people had to complain of, because this was not the constitution? Had the power of the peerage ever trampled on the people? Had not the people more power in their hands—was there not, in fact, more popular power in this country than in any other country in the whole world? He would confess that his great apprehension of the encroachment of the popular power was because he thought that in a short time it would lead to the destruction of all liberty. (Cheers.) What grievances were there that had arisen from the action of the Government? Had the peers, at any time, passed any law that gave them the preference? In Courts of Justice, did not the Commons stand on an equality with them? Did the people find that their rights were not as secure as those of the peers? (Cheers.) He must confess that, for his part, he knew of no such things. On the contrary, he thought that the very mixture of the three powers in this country was the greatest protection and support of its welfare. (Cheers.) He also thought that the influences that had been spoken of were extremely well calculated to check the over eagerness of the popular feeling; though, at the same time, that House did readily respond to the voice of the people, of which, as he had said before, he could give no stronger proof than the administration which had been lately made by the hon. Member for Middlesex. Undoubtedly there was great restlessness abroad; but of that he personally had no apprehension. But, at the same time, did not that restlessness show itself also in that House? The people did not quite know what they wanted—and in the same manner the House of Commons did not quite know what they wanted (A laugh.) They had turned out one Administration and put in another; but, for all that, they did not show that they were disposed to support either the one or the other. This was restlessness that responded to that of the people; therefore, in this way, it might also be said that they represented the people. It had been well said, that the House of Commons just represented the people so as to afford them time to reflect. That House did not do things in the hurry of those who went to taverns and market-places for the purpose of talking politics, but they met the popular voice as though they had said to it, "Just take time to reconsider the matter." The benefit of this system had been sufficiently evident in the late question of Catholic Emancipation;

for had that House then acted as the hon. Member for Westminster seemed to wish—had that House immediately represented the popular opinion that was going on without that measure would never have been carried; and he believed that it was generally admitted to be a measure on which the peace of the empire had depended. In his opinion, the present representation was not at all at enmity with the people; and he was convinced that the people, seeing the great attention which that House paid to all the interests of the country, would be satisfied with it, and if even there had been a legislature which had watched with parental care over the interests of all classes, the House of Commons was that legislature, and he who denied it, must either be grossly wanting in observation, or of a most perverted judgment. (Cheers.) But it seemed that there was a new light coming upon them, and to what did it amount? That the whole influence of the aristocracy was to go. (Cries of "No, no," answered by continued cheering from the opposition.) The principle on which those market place reformers set out was, that the influence of the aristocracy with that House was illegal. He trusted that no Gentleman would suppose that he was speaking entirely for the aristocratical influence. He should be sorry to see the people—even those of the very lowest grade—without considerable influence in that House; but it was because the interest of one counteracted the interest of another, that they were able to take the representation of what might be called—not offensively—low popularity into that House. Let them look at the example of France—there, with a population of 32 millions of people, the constituency of the country had been sometimes short of 20,000, and the qualification of those voters was the payment of 12*l.* in tax, which might be calculated as answering to an income of about 60*l.* a year, which, when it was considered what was the difference between the money and fortunes of the two countries, might be considered as about equal to 100*l.* a year in this country. This was what the state of representation in that country had been, and even since the change that had taken place there, the utmost extent of any alteration that had been proposed was to change the 40*l.* a year to 40*l.*, and to increase the number of the constituency to about 200,000. No one could rejoice more than he did at the victory that had been gained in that country, for he had looked upon it as being the means of preventing the nation from being trampled in the dust; but, with all the popular excitement that had followed upon that victory, no proposition to a greater extent, with respect to the Electoral Law, than that which he had already stated, had been made. Let none suppose that he proposed such a qualification as this for England; but he quoted it for the purpose of showing that those who were supposed to have the love of liberty most at heart, thought that property

ought to be the standard of the right of election. What he wanted was, liberty for all. (Loud cheers.) Let him take the liberty of alluding to the hon. Member for Preston. Not only were the observations which he made in that House *unobjectionable*, but many of them were extremely useful; and it must be extremely satisfactory to the people to find that they had such a representative in that House to state the grievances under which they *suffered* they laboured. Seeing this, it was impossible that they should shut their eyes to the importance of the English House of Commons. Any one who had seen the power that people of no property had over popular bodies ought to see, that, without counterbalancing that power, the whole system would be changed. To form that counterbalance had been the system of the Government as yet; that had been the constitution of England (hear, hear), and it was but shallow policy to look at it in any other way. If the members of that House were stared to the people, he believed that they would be satisfied with them. If appeal was made to their acts alone, without superadding the excitement of those who *were* *winning* them for the purpose of agitation, he believed that that would be the result. He would not say that those who thus agitated did not believe it to be their duty to do so; but it was, in fact, they who set on motion what it was near the fashion to call the *rage* of the people. (Hear, hear.) He had been always what was called a moderate reformer. He had never been able to bring his mind to vote for what was called a general measure on this subject, because he believed that such a general measure would be the means of altering the entire constitution. To let large manufacturing towns should be represented, was not only necessary to give satisfaction to the people, but would be useful in enabling the House the better to discharge its duty. With respect to Scotland, he had always thought that it ought to have a different mode of representation from the present; but, at the same time, this must be done without endangering what he called the practical constitution of England. But when he said that the representation of Scotland wanted alteration, he must say that he confessed he believed that Scotland was virtually and really represented in that House. (Hear, hear.) He had never seen any Scotch question which had not been most pugna- ciously canvassed by the Members of that country. This was remarkably instanced in the case of the Scotch *li* note system. The Scotch gentlemen had come spear in hand, ready for the attack, and had been quite competent to beat all the English and Irish gentlemen out of the field. Something had been said about remunerating proprietors for the loss of their boroughs; he was, however, not disposed to enter into that question at all; the view that he took of it was entirely in reference to the safety, policy, and expediency of the measure. He wished to know what great

advantage was to be derived from striking off those impure boroughs, as they were styled, and what advantage was to be got by leaving those sweet-scented places that were to be retained? He scarcely knew what was left to represent the people; He did not know how it was that the noble Lord, when he went on his reforming tour, did not stay at Tavistock on his way to Callington. (Loud and continued cheers.) He was armed with an exterminating sword; but Tavistock was invulnerable. (Renewed cheers.) Since he was connected with Callington he knew of no moral offences, at least he could not complain of any, which had been committed in respect to its elections. He could safely deny that there was in it any thing which could deserve the name of corruption. (Cheers.) He had not spent one shilling in all his elections that he would not readily submit an account of to the greatest purists on election matters who sat on the mountainous part of that side of the House. (Great cheers.) [The hon. Member spoke from the Ministerial side of the House.] His whole election bill did not exceed 150*l.*, and that was wholly, for things, every one of which he might have bought openly at Charing-Cross. He had been in his time returned for some populous places, and if he were to show the bills which he then paid, they would not place in a very high degree of respect those popular elections which were to be left by the noble Lord. It was in vain to deny that there were places under the influence of individual Peers, who returned whom they pleased, and the practice it was difficult to defend. When it was mentioned in the House, Members affected a warm indignation, because it was necessary. That was a piece of indispensable hypocrisy; and yet, when stated to an unprejudiced man, something plausible might be said in its favour. It was not his intention, however, to defend it, but only to say, that the places which were to be left, and were to be odorous like the perfumes of Arabia, were not much better than boroughs. The open boroughs, which had more than four thousand inhabitants, were to be left with all their imperfections, except that of absent freemen. Why was the Reform not to extend to such places? (Hear, hear.)

... could any come there by applying to some of those populous places which were so extravagant, and by which he would be very likely to get into *The Gazette* as a bankrupt. He contended that the present system worked well; and if it were wanted to introduce greater purity, why did the Ministers leave places to return Members with so few as 4,000 inhabitants. When boroughs were thrown open, would influence be diminished, or would the purity of boroughs be greater? When a gentleman now went to an open borough, what questions were asked? Were any inquiries made as to his political principles? No; but what is the length of his purse?

(Cheers.) If he had not been guilty of any great offence—if he were not branded with any unrightly mark, and would bleed freely, he was sure to succeed. It was a species of cant to talk of the liberality and virtue of populous places; and it would not purify the election to descend to a lower class of voters. (Hear, hear.) He might perhaps complain of partiality; and it might be said, it had judged *hæc* said, that Callington was on one side of the line and Tavistock on the other. (Cheers.) That was true; but who drew the line? (Cheers continued for a considerable time.) He did not wish, he did not mean, to make any personal allusions. Tavistock was somewhat larger than Callington; but they were both small towns in the same county, ten or twelve miles apart. He had received 200 votes, and the number of inhabitants was, he believed, upwards of 2,500. His noble Friend (Lord Althorp) saw that the owners of the nomination boroughs exercised an influence over the Treasury, and could command the Ministry. Whether Tavistock belonged to the Duke of Bedford or not, he would be able to influence it after the alterations as before. (Lord John Russell intimated some doubts.) If his noble Friend doubted this, he would ensure it for half a crown; and with his two Members for Tavistock and two for Bedford, which he might always command with common care (cheers), might he not still influence the Treasury? (Cheers.) Might he not knock loud at the Treasury doors? For himself he must say, that he had been many years a Member of Parliament, and he had never knocked at the Treasury door, nor had he received any favours, nor asked any at any time from any Administration. (Cheers.) Putting all these matters apart, the great question for the House to consider was, what errors were in the representation which might be corrected; putting out of view the fact of one place being overlooked, and another kept in view—of one being represented, and another not being represented—the real question for the House was, and he hoped Gentlemen would consider it well, what there was wrong in the proposition was, that it went to cut off all the lower classes from voting? He was as much as any man opposed to universal suffrage, but for the people to have a certain portion of influence in the elections was essential to the Constitution. The people now had such an influence, and every reform of an extensive nature, which did not greatly enlarge the representation, would be likely to do that away. It was a beneficial arrangement at present, which made all classes suppose they had a voice in the election. It was not the amount of wealth represented; it was not the number of people, it was the excitement of an election, the notice that they were represented, much beyond the reality, which made the present arrangement so beneficial. It was indispensable to the working of the Bill that the low class of voters should be got rid of. It

was, then, the disfranchisement, to a certain extent, of the lower classes. (Hear, hear.) But with somewhat of inconsistency it was stated, that all the low class of voters now in existence were to be continued during their lives. No other alteration was to be made, it appeared, than to do away with the out voters during the lives of those who at present possessed the franchise. He wished to know, then, if it were anticipated that great injury would accrue to the country from leaving these people in possession of their franchise during their lives? If danger were to be apprehended from allowing of the continuance of these low voters at the end, say of twenty years, how happened it that no danger was to be apprehended from them now? (Cheers.) If our safety was to be compromised at the end of twenty years, would it not be compromised before? There might be the same confusion now as hereafter. If it were not to be safe to take a lower qualification than 10*l*. at the end of twenty years, was that safe now? He believed it would be the same at the end of ten or fifteen years as at the end of twenty years. Did we live then at a period so free from alarm and danger, that we could suppose no danger was now to ensue from leaving these low voters, and that it would ensue at the end of twenty years? The noble Lord, by his Bill, cashiered him (Mr. Baring), and if he had a seat in the House, he would bring in a Bill to cashier the noble Lord (Laughter and cheers.) The Bill of the noble Lord created an entire change in the constitution; it was an entire change in the constitution of that House, and what were to be its consequences nobody could tell. The whole construction of the House was by this Bill changed, and thus was its anomalous nature laid open for the first time. He did not mean to say that the House was perfect in its construction; but he must say, of the alterations proposed, he could not see the necessity (Cheers.) It was necessary to preserve the Government from falling altogether under the power of the people. It was said that the House was not popular, but if the impression had got abroad that persons came to that House to study their own private interests, and to enrich themselves at the expense of the public, whose fault was it? It was the fault of those who created the impression, and who excited the opinion. (Cheers.) If it were really the case that the House was unpopular; that it had lost the confidence of the people, it could not do that part of its duties which consisted in protecting the liberties of the people. It was necessary that the House should enjoy the confidence of the people to enable it to do its duties. To restore it to that confidence was the great difficulty, and all that was got over, its operations would be materially affected; but he would not consent to try and argue it by committing suicide. (Cheers.) It was necessary to state this difficulty, and necessary to state the danger he apprehended. If it were unfortunate that opinion demanded great changes, he could

not see the great changes now proposed, without alarm and concern. He believed, too, that the sound mind of the country did not see these great changes without apprehension. Much was said of the enjoyment of the rich in this country; but those who had visited Paris and Belgium must know, that there the misery of the people was extreme; that their distress was great, and that the people were demanding work and bread. The lower classes, who demanded these changes, would be the first to suffer by them, and they, therefore, must be weaned from these errors, by the more intelligent classes. He had not met with one single person who did not feel apprehensions from this measure. They did not foresee what was likely to be its consequences. They said it came from the King and from the Government, and they conclude that it must be wise, and they place confidence in the Government. Some persons, of a more ardent and a bolder disposition, who speculated on consequences, were not without fear, because they could not speculate with any certainty as to its probable results. If they asked why the measure was necessary, they were answered that there was danger in withholding it, because the excitement was so great. If it were not granted, it was said there would be a revolution. Why should there be this excitement; and would it exist if his right honourable friends took pains to quiet the minds of the people? (Long and loud cheers.) He did not mean that they had excited the agitation by any improper means, but when they announced a measure from the Crown, was it likely that the people would be satisfied with the constitution? (Hear, hear.) He must express his great regret that this question had been agitated there. When it was first mentioned, he supposed it would be some moderate reform, and he was astonished when he found it such a reform as to surprise, by its extent and by its surpassing his hopes, the honourable Member for Preston. He had great confidence in the talents of his Majesty's Ministers, great confidence in their integrity and honour, but he could not reconcile it to his conscience not to speak plain and openly against this measure. (Great cheering.) This is a very imperfect outline of what Mr. Baring said, for a great part of his speech was inaudible in the gallery.

VISCOUNT PALMERSTON. In the greater part of what the hon. Gentleman said in the early part of his speech, he cordially concurred. He concurred with him in thinking that this was one of the most important subjects that ever was agitated in parliament. He agreed with him that it was distinguished from all other measures, because most of the consequences could be calculated, but this measure could be tried by no test borrowed from experience. (Hear, hear, hear.) It must influence the character of the Government and the legislature in all future time, and impress its influence on the whole frame

of society. He could not describe its importance, and if he should undervalue it, he would be incompetent to discharge the duties of his office. He must be a bold or a very unshaking man who did not contemplate the measure with the deepest solicitude and the greatest anxiety, who could calmly and carelessly look at a measure calculated to effect a great change in the character and constitution of the House of Commons—a House of Commons, which, in spite of its defects, had for many years continued so effectually to promote the happiness of the people. (Hear, hear.) He would be tuff for his duties, and unequal to the present crisis, who could look at a measure of that nature, without being convinced that it demanded the most calm reflection. A love of change and a fondness for political experiment were not characteristic of the people of England. They were, on the contrary, remarkable for a tenacious adherence to the institutions of their ancestors, and their aversion to innovations. They found a striking contrast to their neighbours on the continent, to whom allusion had been made, and who boasted of the newness of their institutions, while the English were proud of the antiquity of theirs. In general it had been found difficult to effect changes that were recommended by the greatest advantages. These laws, which posterity would regard as the finest monuments of legislative wisdom, were only wrung from the reluctant people of England after many a hard-fought battle. The laws which restored the Catholics to the constitution, and the laws which put an end to the traffic in flesh and blood, were only carried after a contest of many years. The public voice only called for a change—it demanded innovation—and this had not been brought about by any long-winded orators; it was the calm and steady determination of the intelligent and well-informed people of the Empire. They saw that the change was reasonable—they saw that there were practical evils in the present constitution of the parliament, and they sought a practical remedy. The hon. Gentleman said that his right hon. Friends might restore the country to quiet, and make the agitation cease. (Hear, hear.) He said that if the Government, and the Press, and the public would cease the agitation, we might retain our constitution; but might not the hon. Gentleman suppose, when the Government, and the Press, and the public were all united, that his own opinion was fallacious? (Hear, hear, hear.) Public opinion called for a change. (Hear, hear! no, no.) If he were asked for a proof of it, he would refer to the fact, that the right hon. Gentlemen opposite were sitting there, while his and his friends were sitting on the seats they occupied. The rock the Gentlemen opposite stood on was a rash neglect of public opinion. (Cheers.) They had been bowed up with confidence in their own powers. They spread abroad all the canvass of prostrange. (N.

no.) They thought to defy the gale of public opinion, but it wrecked and dismantled them. The besetting sin of the last Administration was a disregard of public opinion, both at home and abroad. (Hear, hear, and no, no.) That error had been fatal to them—alms, and, not only to themselves, but to others. It had set all Europe to a flame. (No, no, from the opposition, and cheers from the Ministerial side.) He said yes—it was his belief that they imagine that few men in authority would be able to overrule public opinion, and stifle the stronger feelings of mankind, and this opinion of theirs had led to the most disastrous results, and produced that poverty and distress which had been adverted to. It was only by the resolution of his Majesty's Ministers since the Government had been changed that serious evils had been averted from this country. He would only refer to the state of this country in the month of November last, and ask what it now was; and ask if Ireland would now have been tranquil, except from the measures of his noble Friend at the head of the Home Department? He would suppose that the late Ministers had remained in office, and that they had adopted all the measures for tranquillizing Ireland which had been adopted by the new Ministers, and he would then affirm that they could not have succeeded, because they had not the confidence of the country. (Cheers.) Not having public opinion with them, their best resolutions would have been prostrated. It was this strong expression of public opinion that made a change necessary, and that forced the House to consider and devise measures to cure the defects in our representation, and win back the confidence of the people. It was asked whence sprung this great desire for change? What had caused this rapid growth of a wish for reform? He would answer, it was not from any intrigue of individuals, and not from any ordinary election manoeuvres. But when almost every respectable man in the country was convinced that some reform had become necessary—and when laying aside their hereditary reverence for the sanctity of the constitution, they came forward to demand a change of ancient institutions, it was impossible not to feel that some other course was becoming desirable. It was true that there were some in the country and in that House, who thought that things should remain as they are, and who wished for no change; and there were many others who would now be willing to make some concessions, when an occasion offered for its being done in the way they desired it, or who would wait till they were driven to the necessity of reform, by the impossibility of continuing to resist the voice of those who demanded it. (Hear.) The time, however, was now gone by when such views could be safely entertained. If, three years ago, the conviction on this subject, which was now so general, had been permitted to enter the minds of the Members of that House; if, three years ago, when the great unrepresented

town; demanded the concession of their political right to return Members to the Common House of Parliament, if, at that period, the Legislature had permitted itself to be influenced by those impressions, which were now acknowledged to be so general; if the Government, instead of drawing nice equations of Parliamentary interest, and balancing with dexterity between contending classes, had condescended to attend to the claims they put forth, if the cry for reform, even in so limited a scale, had then received the attention which it deserved, he was confident that the House would not at that moment have been occupied with discussing this large and more comprehensive constitutional change, proposed to the House by the Paymaster of the Forces, under the sanction of the Ministers of the Crown (Hear, hear.) He (Lord Palmerston) had supported the proposition for giving representatives to those towns, because he considered the principle which it involved was a wise, a just, and a salutary one, and because he felt, that if it was refused, they would speedily be compelled to give much more than the House was then called on to concede. His predictions were, at that time, condemned and disregarded; and the consequence was, that they were now placed in that very situation which he had warned them would be the consequence of the course they adopted (Hear.) For reasons precisely similar to those which induced him to vote for the limited reform then proposed, he was now prepared to support that larger and more ample change of the system of representation on which they were about to pronounce in opinion. Taunts had, in the course of the discussion, been unsparingly thrown out against some of those who supported the present measure, and who were, like him, admirers of Mr. Pitt; that they had abandoned the principles that great man professed, and which they made the guide of their political career (Hear.) Events might, he thought, have saved the admirers of Mr. Pitt from a charge of this kind, and taught those who accused them to form a humbler and juster estimate of the value of political consistency. He should have thought that they might have found by examples, the merit of which he would be the last man in the country to contend, that a public man might change his opinions without being influenced by any gross motive than the honourable and truly noble desire to promote the good and the welfare of his country. (Hear, hear.) He should have thought that they might have been taught, by experience, on more points than one, that a public man should not carry the pernicious vanity of consistency to one subject to an extent which would endanger the safety of the greater and more important interests that are mixed up with the relations committed to his care. (Hear, hear.) Of Mr. Canning he entertained as high an opinion as any of those who professed to be guided by his sentiments, or to follow his dictation, but he

would tell those who attempted to point out the particular policy adopted by Mr. Canning, from quotations culled out of speeches delivered at particular times, and in support of peculiar opinions, that they were ill able to fathom the mind of the man from whom they emanated. If ever there was a man who took a large and enlightened view of public events and public policy, that man was Mr. Canning. If ever there was a statesman who polarised his public course by an extended and liberal principle of action, and whose gigantic views it was impossible to bow down to any of the ordinary Lilliputian comprehensions of his species, that man was Mr. Canning, and he was satisfied, that had he lived to mark the signs of the present times, and to bring his great and comprehensive intellect to an examination of the difficulties to be overcome, he would have been as ardent a supporter of the measures now proposed by the Government, as any of the friends he saw around him. (Hear, hear.) If any man wanted a real key to the opinions and policy of Mr. Canning, he would find it in the memorable speech delivered in the month of February, 1826, on the question of the proposed alteration in the Silk Trade, and particularly in that concluding sentence, where he declares, in elegant and emphatic language, "That those who resist improvements because they consider them to be innovations, may be at last compelled to accept innovations when they have ceased to be improvements." (Hear.) The course to be adopted in the year 1828, if they had yielded to the demands of the great manufacturing towns, was simple and easy. The course to be followed in the year 1831 was, from the change of circumstances in all times, more difficult and complicated. In the one case, a partial reform might have been tolerated; in the other, nothing but a general and comprehensive change in the system of representation will be accepted (Hear.) That which might have been given piecemeal and by degrees in 1828, ceased to be possible now, and there was no alternative left to them but the course the Government had adopted. There were some, he knew, who called the present reform by the name of revolution. There were others, he believed, who thought that it fell far short of what the people were entitled to demand; but he was convinced that all educated and intelligent men, who admitted the importance of preserving and consolidating the constitutional institutions, would be satisfied that the plan now proposed was well adapted to the end which all had in view. (Hear.) Any man who looked at the workings of the present system must see that there were five great and peculiar弊害, which it was necessary to remove, in order to fit it for the intelligence and feelings of the times in which they lived. The first of these was the system of nomination by the patrons of boroughs; the gross and barefaced corruption which prevails among the lower classes, when their votes become necessary to the higher; the

absence of all adequate balances of representation with respect to the great manufacturing and commercial towns, the great expense of elections, and the very unequal and unjust distribution of the power of voting among the middle and lower classes. The plan then before the house applied to all these defects, and he was convinced that, if calmly and dispassionately examined, there was not an evil they generated, for which it did not provide a sure and effectual remedy. (Hear.) It was impossible to contend that the principle of returning members at the command of a nominee was consistent with that theory of the constitution by which that House was declared the representatives of the people of England. He did not mean to deny that some advantages were occasionally derived from this most objectionable practice. Men of splendid talents and great capacity had, he admitted, entered that House through such means, when no others were open to them, and although elected under a system in which popular rights had no share, he did not mean to deny that the people had suffered from that circumstance, for many of those so nominated had become their warmest champions and their most distinguished supporters. He admitted, therefore, the force of the inference derived from this source; but when he found how impossible it was to maintain in argument the practice of such nominations as consistent with the theory of a representative government, he was compelled to declare that no plan of reform would be perfect or effective without the thorough and effective disfranchisement of all the boroughs which possessed this privilege. (Hear, hear.) Without that disfranchisement, indeed, it would be impossible to carry the plan of Reform into effect; for how else were they to provide for the great commercial and manufacturing towns, those representatives, which all now admitted it was necessary to concede to them? That House was already sufficiently numerous, perhaps too numerous for the convenient dispatch of public business, and unless they took from the close boroughs the members which they were about to bestow on the counties, and the large unrepresented towns, they must add to the evil which is felt and acknowledged. The hon. Member for Callington (Mr. Baring) said that the principle of the plan was bad, because it took population for its basis. He denied that it did so. They took property as the basis of the measure, and population as the rule for disfranchisement. The Member for Callington, in speaking of the rule adopted with respect to disfranchisement, and in observing on the line which the Government had drawn with respect to the population of the close boroughs, seemed to intimate that what had been done was meant with a view to protect particular boroughs, and to maintain untouched the political influence of certain powerful families. (Hear, hear.) If he (Lord Palmerston) thought the hon. member for Callington really intended to cast such an im-

putation on the conduct and motives of the members of the Government, he certainly should, for our, he hence forward to entertain less deference for his opinions than he had hitherto paid him on subjects of greater weight than that they were now considering. He had, however, a triumphant answer for all that had been said or insinuated on that subject, for the borough of Tavistock had a population by more than 1000 above the line they had drawn as the standard of disfranchisement; and, still further to relieve the mind of his honourable Friend the Member for Callington, from the suspicion that the Government were guilty of sanctioning a proceeding (to which he would not attach the proper expression,) he could inform him, that there were twenty five boroughs inferior to Tavistock in point of population, but yet included in the number of those which retained the privilege of returning a Member to that House. (Hear, hear.) The object the Government had in view in this disfranchisement was, first to give Representatives to the great manufacturing towns; and next, to add to the respectability of the electors, and to increase the number of those who claim to enjoy the right of choosing their representatives. In doing so, they disclaimed any intention to sever the ties which bind together the middle classes and the aristocracy. (Hear.) On the contrary, it was their earnest desire to increase, rather than to diminish, that influence—an influence arising from good conduct and propriety of demeanour on the one side, and respect and deference on the other, and which was as honourable to those who exercised it, as to those who acknowledged its authority. The measure before the House was not intended to affect this power, for it gave additional reasons for supporting and defending it, but it was intended to destroy that corrupt influence which destroys all public principle, and debases the state of every class of society wherever it has existence. When, however, the hon. member for Callington contended that the measure had in reality put an end to all the power of the aristocracy, he (Lord Palmerston) was not called on to answer him, for he had supplied an answer to himself. The hon. Member seemed to forget, that in the arguments he used to prove that the Duke of Bedford would enjoy the same political influence as he did before, he also asserted, as a proof of the inefficiency of the working of the new system, that he would enjoy just the same extent of nomination and authority in his borough of Callington as he at present possessed. (Hear, hear.) Now that was the true view of the operations of the plan before the House. He contended that property, rank, and respectability would still maintain the same influence in the representation—an influence of which he should be the last man to deprive it, but which was now not to be maintained in the present state of society independent of good conduct, morality, and intelligence. It was the possession of those qualities, united with

rank and station, which now commanded admiration and respect; and if the measure excluded all influence not founded on this basis, so far from its being a ground of objection, he thought it one of the greatest benefits they could confer on that House and the Country. (Hear.) The effect of the plan will be, by admitting householders paying a certain rent, to include a vast proportion of the more respectable of the middle classes of the country; and although an hon. and learned Friend of his (Mr. Twiss) had been pleased to make himself exceedingly merry at the expense of these middle classes (hear), of shopkeepers and attorneys, and members of clubs at public-houses—(No, and hear)—He did not quote from memory, he took down the words, and he repeated them. The hon. Member did not explain in what respect the potwallopers and voters of the rotten burghs, whose rights he was so anxious to preserve, were superior to the attorneys and the shopkeepers. (Hear.) The hon. member for Callington had called the plan defective, because it admitted the potwallopers to exercise their rights at that moment, and took them away some ten or twenty years hence. His answer to that was, that the government feared no danger which could make it inexpedient to leave with those persons the rights they at present enjoyed. They included among the voters the great majority of the respectable among the middle classes, and that, secure in the support which this will procure them, they do not feel it necessary to make the disfranchisement more extensive than may be necessary to effect that object of binding closer the ties which should bind the middle classes to the State; and he would add, notwithstanding all the taunts with which that class might be assailed, that there never was a time when it contained so many men of intelligence and character—when its opinions were more entitled to confidence and respect (hear), or its Members more distinguished by morality and good conduct—by obedience to the laws—by the love of order—by attachment to the throne, and the constitution. In case of need, he sincerely believed they would be equally distinguished by devotion to their country (hear); and this was one great reason with him for concurring to them their political rights, of which they had been too long deprived. After observing that the Bill would put an end to all purchasing of seats and trafficking in votes, the noble Lord proceeded to observe, that the argument used for refusing Representatives to some of the great towns was, as he understood it, that they were at present virtually represented. He would oppose that argument by the converse of the proposition, and ask those who contended that the large towns were virtually represented in the smaller ones, why the small ones might not now content themselves with a similar advantage? (Hear, hear.) If that point was put to the vote, he believed he should be sure of a majority. The doctrine

of virtual representation was, however, not suited to the times, nor to the question before the House. The advantage of the present method of representation did not consist in the fact that there were 633 Members of intelligence and ability, but that they were elected by a number of constituents as the Representatives of a number of different interests. If it were possible by any miracle to collect together an equal number of even more able and more intelligent men, still it would not be a House of Commons, because its Members could not possess that sympathy of feelings, and that community of interests, which exist between the Representative and the Represented. Under the Representative System, if a House of Commons should by any means happen to be in advance of the knowledge of the time and of public opinion, they are the more disposed to submit to the decrees of those who have previously been intrusted with their confidence, from a full conviction of their honour and integrity. This state of connection, indeed, induces greater confidence on the one side, and greater security of sway on the other; and the more so, from the periodical returns of the time when it is their duty to give an account of the manner in which they have performed their trust. The noble Lord then proceeded to observe, that the plan now proposed went to restore to the landed interest that influence which he thought indispensable to the safety and prosperity of the country, by giving fifty-five members to the counties, and still further, by conferring votes on copyholders, and not permitting those who had votes for towns to enjoy the same privilege in counties. He looked, indeed, on the increase of the members for counties as the surest and most stable basis of representation; for, without meaning to disparage the manufacturing or commercial interests, he must say, that he considered the soil to be the country itself. The member for Callington had observed that it was not morality, or good conduct, or public spirit, which governed these elections, but the length of a purse. (Hear.) This was the very evil the bill was intended to cure. Many a man of integrity and intellect was compelled to retire in the middle of a county contest, because his purse would not permit him to keep the poll open fourteen days, and pay the expense of post-horses; and that great practical grievance would now be removed. The great merit of the bill, in his opinion, was, that it altered the distribution of political power, and restored the constitution, by placing the middle classes in that condition to which they were entitled, and which was most likely to prove advantageous to themselves and to the community. (Hear.) There were men, he knew, who thought that public opinion should be cast out of consideration in the management of the machinery of the nation, and who were opposed to all change, because they believed that the House of Com-

mons could carry on the affairs of the country with as much success, in defence of that public, as with its utmost concurrence and assistance. He trusted, however, that of those who did entertain that opinion, there would not on that occasion be found a majority in the House; for, if there was, he believed the consequences of their determination would prove most unfortunate for their country. (Hear.) Those who thought that thrones were secure, in proportion as they possessed the affections and the respect of those they were called on to rule, and that nations were powerful by the community of feeling, and community of interests which bound them together, would, he was satisfied, give their cordial and unqualified support to the proposition of his noble Friend, and he had nothing further to say, than that he earnestly hoped, in the decision they were shortly about to come to, that the voices of such men would prevail. (Loud cheers.)

FRANCE.

To the Editor of THE REGISTER.

Paris, 11 March, 1821.

SIR,

I SHOULD think you hardly desire to hear any of the rumours with regard to a new ministry here, for the arrangement of the government seems to be a matter of no interest with the people themselves. Very little good is expected from any individual, whatever his name may be, as, hitherto, the professions of every person and every party, so soon as they have arrived at power, have been forgotten. It seems that there is one point at present at issue, with the King; namely, whether he shall actually assist at the council upon all occasions, and it is said that M. Casimir-Perrier, being invited to form a ministry, to the expulsion, of course, of M. Lafitte as president of the council, has made it a condition that the King should not preside. This has been rejected by the King; but most parties seem to endeavour to get rid of the practice; and the moderate politicians propose that the ministers should be left to themselves, except once a week, perhaps, when the King should preside at his council. In short, it appears, that M. Lafitte, though first minister, is not the main person in the government, and that it is contrary to the desires of those rich individuals

who caused the appointment of Louis-Philippe, that those of them who become his ministers shall not possess the whole of the power. On the other hand, why did these men elect his Majesty; why did they make such a glory of their choice, if his office were to be such, that any log could fill it? Human nature itself revolts against the idea of such a mockery; and I think it cannot be denied, that Louis-Philippe would, indeed, show that want of firmness which is insinuated against him, if he did not use the power which has been placed in his hands: that he does show firmness cannot be questioned, when he resists the desire of the whole nation, urged by the most numerous and powerful motives, for war; at the same time that his judgment cannot be called in question by those who elected him, because his resistance is one in which they most cordially and desperately support him. Louis-Philippe having been elected by the fundholders, he fulfils his mission of preserving the interests of his constituents; but, the ambitious and inconsistent part of these constituents, who would mix patriotic professions with their way of life, which in itself implies the total absence of liberty for the people, are disappointed in having got a real King. The news from Poland keeps things alive, if I may judge from the drum, which so frequently beats the *rappel*. I have mentioned before, that I believed the drum would be discontinued; however, this may be sometimes, but cannot on sudden emergencies. This was the case yesterday, and also the day before. The news on Tuesday being of the total disamputation of the Poles, on Wednesday an illumination was ventured on by the insolent Russian Ambassador; and the consequence was, that the illumination was put out by mud and stones, leaving his excellency nothing but fragments of glass. Much coercion was not practised upon this occasion; but it is remarkable how serious an affair it appears with the government, and what sorrow it undoubtedly occasions them; one would

think that they apprehended an infliction of the *knout*, at least, by the orders of his imperial majesty the autocrat. The journalists who are organs of the government, seem disposed to defend the autocrat against the "*bloody distribs*," as they call them, of the English *Couriers*; the disrespectful language of which towards the imperial person appears to them surprising. These journals seem to wish to be understood to say, that if the government of which the *Courier* is the organ, would join this government, that then the cause of "civilization" might be supported: so that, at last, civilization waits for that which the stock-jobbing system dreads: national faith, freedom of commerce, and those fine things which are cited until one is overwhelmed with falsehood, as evidences of high civilization, are themselves the cause which has produced and connives at the progress of barbarism, and which might very possibly lead the Russians to Paris.

It has for several days actually been a subject of conversation, that there may arise circumstances which would render it wise to *remove the seat of government to Tours*. This is a pretty pass to be come to, after seven months of negotiation, while all the time the people have been sighing to drive away despotism off the face of the earth. That this fine city should be abandoned by the government which it created, and into whose hands it showered such immense means of acting upon the well-understood principles which ought to have actuated it! I do not mean to say, that the government think they could maintain themselves at Tours better than Paris; for they must know perfectly well, that it is not walls of earth or stone upon which they must rely; but, it was the chat, after the news of the danger to Varsovy, "*Where shall we go to if the Russians visit us?*" Probably, a conscientious conviction that the Parisians may not be depended on for every super-human efforts to defend the present system, now troubles the wealthy citizens; but they ought also to be pretty well aware that it is no longer time to calculate upon armies

being furnished by the people, to be employed as *machines* by any government.

So far, however, from the Russians entering France, and the French having to receive them, the French will more likely go to meet them, and prevent the necessity of any defiance, by attack, however irregular it may be. One is astonished at the gloomy wisdom of those who pretend to military knowledge, and who say that the French troops are all *rate*; and it is enough to disgust you to hear the slang, that they would "get preciously licked." Why, the Poles, who, compared to the French, are also barbarians, have literally mowed down with their scythes the "heroes of the Balkan;" these "heroes," though they have overcome the irrational animals who were supported only by infatuation, now approach men who are encouraged by the hope, real or imaginary, of liberty, with terror and amazement; as appears manifestly enough by the fact, that, in spite of the whipping and beating by which they are propelled, they prefer fighting with cannons in order to avoid coming to close quarters.

Thus, there is not much to fear from the anger of the despots, if they should, in their rage and folly, advance towards this country; but, for the security, it must be allowed that this government is wholly dependent on the good-will of the people. However, so far from taking the proper precautions for defence, it has all along been a general complaint against the ministers, that the army was neglected. It is now said that reinforcements are sent to the frontiers; that General GERRARD is sent to command the troops stationed in the east, and it will be his duty to keep a look out for Austrians, Prussians, and Russians; a duty which one would think him unqualified to perform with vigilance, as he resigned his office of minister-of-war, because the state of his sight rendered it painful for him to sign his name. It is supposed that the appointment of this general does not arise with Marshal SOULT, the minister-of-war; which would then only reflect

upon the sort of anarchy which there must be in the government: if an important appointment such as this is made contrary to the advice of the minister whose department it is to direct it, because the person appointed is a favourite at court, this is the true, thorough-bred old *régime*, revived under the name of popular monarchy!

I have just heard, that about two hundred of the young men, enlisted immediately after the Revolution, and who were sent to this part of France, and who have, during the winter, been very assiduous in their duties, and have been animated by the hopes of a campaign for the spring, *have returned to their homes*. Their story is, that they had been desired to *sign their engagement*: they said, that *as they were volunteers, they would not sign*; so that, they had three sous per lieue given them to find their way back. They say that, as to billets on the road, or lodging, they got it in some places; but that, in others, *the maires had the drapeau blanc in the belly*, and that there they got nothing. These lads think that they were *got rid of*, on account of a no-great liking in their officers to the epoch during which they were enrolled. As to *war*, it is no longer talked of, they say.

Yesterday was the day of "*mi-carné*," a great day, and something like a repetition of the carnival. As it happened, the news from Poland occupied several hundreds of young men during this day of recreation, with matter for a solemn procession of mourning. They carried several tri-coloured banners, covered with black crape, and visited the Palais Royal and other places. At the Palais Royal they uttered cries that they would go to Poland; several hard things were shouted respecting the deputies, and, what was more serious than words, it was feared, I believe, that they would go to the prison St. Pelagie, to liberate the political prisoners; at the same time, that these prisoners are said to have protested against the proceedings which were taking against them, on the score of their informality: be it as it will,

strong bodies of national-guard and troops of the line were stationed in the neighbourhood of the prison.

The dissolution of the Chamber is rather a question, for the moment; but I believe it will be dissolved before long, unless foreign affairs take such a turn as to make it dangerous for the tranquillity of the country. It is not expected that the change which is to take place in the ministry will be favourable to the liberty of individuals; and it is giving the new ministry too much credit beforehand to expect that their foreign policy will be either more open or more vigorous than that of the present. It is quite amusing to see the Carlists complaining of violations of laws, of *domiciliary visits*, and talking of the *Habeas Corpus* Act; however, they may congratulate themselves, that the domiciliary visits, the rummaging of papers which take place in their houses, and the arrests of their persons and violations of seals of their letters, or of those of their friends found upon them, are conducted with a degree of rigour which gives less cause for alarm for the *liberty of the subject*, than that which is exercised against their declared opponents. I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT, Jun.

SEEDS

For Sale at my Shop, Bolt-court, Fleet-street, London.

LOCUST SEED.—Very fine and fresh, at 6s. a pound, received from America about two months ago. For instructions relative to sowing of these seeds, for rearing the plants, for making plantations of them, for preparing the land to receive them, for the after cultivation, for the pruning, and for the application of the timber; for all these see my "**WOODLANDS**;" or **TREATISE ON TIMBER TREES AND UNDERWOOD**. 8vo. 11s.

SWEDISH TURNIP SEED.—Any quantity under 10lbs. 10d. a pound; any quantity above 10lbs. and under

50lbs. $9\frac{1}{2}d.$ a pound; any quantity above 50lbs. $9d.$ a pound; above 100lbs. $8\frac{1}{2}d.$ A parcel of seed may be sent to any part of the kingdom; I will find proper hags, will send it to any coach or van or wagon, and have it booked at my expense; but *the money must be paid at my shop before the seed be sent away*; in consideration of which I have made due allowance in the price. If the quantity be small, any friend can call and get it for a friend in the country; if the quantity be large, it may be sent by me. This seed was grown last year at Barn-Elm, on ridges six feet apart, two rows, a foot apart, on each ridge. The plants were raised from seed given me by Mr. PERPERCORN (of Southwell, Bedfordshire), in 1823. He gave it me as the finest sort that he had ever seen. I raised some plants (for use) in my garden every year; but, at Barn-Elm I raised a whole field of it, and had 320 bushels of seed upon 13 acres of land. I pledge my word, that there was not one single turnip in the whole field (which bore seed) not of the true kind. There was but one of a suspicious look; and that one I pulled up and threw away. So that I warrant this seed as being perfectly true, and as having proceeded from plants with small necks and greens, and with that reddish tinge round the collar which is the sure sign of the best sort.

MANGEL WURZEL SEED.—Any quantity under 10lb., $7\frac{1}{2}d.$ a pound; any quantity above 10lb. and under 50lb., $7d.$ a pound; any quantity above 50lb., $6\frac{1}{2}d.$ a pound; any quantity above 100lb., $6d.$ a pound. The selling at the same place as above; the payment in the same manner. This seed was also grown at Barn-Elm farm, the summer before the last. It is a seed which is just as good at ten years old as at one.—The plants were raised in seed-beds in 1823; they were selected, and those of the deepest red planted out in a field of 13 acres, which was admired by all who saw it, as a most

even, true and beautiful field of the kind. The crop was very large; and out of it were again selected the plants from which my present stock of seed was grown; though, indeed, there was little room for selection, where all were so good and true. I got my seed from Mr. PYM, of Reigate, who raised it from plants proceeding from seed that I had given him, which seed I had raised at Worth, in Sussex; and, all the way through, the greatest care had been taken to raise seed from no plant of a dubious character.—This seed, therefore, I warrant as the very best of the kind.

COBBETT'S CORN.—Having to quit my farm at Michaelmas, I could have no Corn there; but, at Kensington, I have had the finest crop I ever saw. The TOM TIT has said, that it is “a complete failure,” and a great bleating beast, that is now laughed at by all the world, has been bawling about Lancashire, that this corn is “not fit for a hog to eat, though I want the poor people to live on it.” The answer to poor envious Tommy Tit is given by the beautiful crop that I have now on sale as seed. The answer to the malignant bleating beast might be given in one very short word. The great use of this corn is to the labourers. On ten rods of ground I have, this very adverse year, grown eight bushels of shelled corn; and that is sufficient to fat a pig of seven or eight score. Suppose the like comes, on an average, from 20 rods, is not this a great blessing for a labouring man? It is in this light that I have always viewed this corn as of the greatest importance. I have a room at Bolt Court, hung all over the walls with bunches of it. Those bunches would fat a good large hog; and I never look at it without most anxiously hoping to see the day, when the greater part of English labourers' dwellings will be decorated in the same manner. The thing to do is to distribute a little seed amongst the labourers. In the *Two-Penny Trash for April*, I will give them instructions for the plant-

ing and management and application of this corn. I should be glad to cause to be distributed, 200 ears of the corn amongst the labourers of each of the counties of *Berks, Bucks, Wilts, Hants, Sussex, Suffolk, Norfolk, Essex, Cambridge, Lincoln, Huntingdon, and Gloucester*, as a mark of my wish to see them once more have *bacon* to eat instead of accursed potatoes, and 500 ears amongst those of the county of *Kent*, as a mark of my particular regard for the labourers of that famous county, the first that was trodden by the feet of the saints, and that never was trodden under the hoof of a conqueror. I do not know very well how to accomplish this distribution. If any gentleman, whom I know, in each of the aforesaid counties, will undertake the distribution, I will give him the ears for the purpose, and a *Two-penny Trush* (containing the instructions) along with each ear of corn. I SELL THE CORN AT MY SHOP IN BOLT-COURT, AT 1s. A BUNCH OF FINE EARS, SIX IN NUMBER; and the Book, on the cultivation and uses of it, at 2s. 6d.; which is called a TREATISE ON COBBETT'S CORN.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, MARCH 11, 1831.

INSOLVENTS.

MARCH 10. — BURKINGTON, G., Stock Exchange, stock-broker.

MARCH 10. — COOPER, J. D. and C. K., Woodcave, Derbyshire, cotton-spinners.

MARCH 9. — GREASLEY, T. and C., West Smithfield, clothiers.

MARCH 10. — LITTLE, W., Macclesfield-st. North, City-road, tea-dealer.

BANKRUPTS.

BROMWICH, H., Newgate-market, carcass-butcher.

BOWMAN, B. and W. Thompson, Compter-street-road, cabinet-manufacturers.

DEBATT, J., Poultry, pastry-cook.

FROST, T., Wine-street, Waterloo-road, Lambeth, miller.

VEAL, J., Fordingbridge, Hampshire, draper.

ARMSTRONG, J., Raskelf, Yorkshire, miller.

ION, G., Great Musgrave, Westmoreland, inn-keeper.

NORRIS, E. and T. W. Hodgson, Manchester-cotton-spinners.

WEBSTER, J., Leeds, dyer.

TUESDAY, MARCH 15, 1831.

INSOLVENT.

MARCH 12. — DANSON, H. W., Bristol, merchant.

BANKRUPT'S.

ANDREW, W., Shrewsbury, mercer.

BROWN, T., Kingston-upon-Hull, scrivener.

BLOXAM, T., Huddersley, Leicestershire, surgeon.

DODS, W. and R. Moore, Percy-street, Tottenham-court-road, linen drapers.

GEORGE, R., Parker-street, Drury-lane, stage coach-maker.

HANCOCK, T. H., Brighton, inn-keeper.

HOLDEN, R., W. Vanhouse, & W. A. Hankey, Jun., Mincing-lane, West India broker.

LAYZELL, W., Colchester, linen-draper.

LUCK, T. P., West-lane, Walworth, linen-man.

MORGAN, J., Moor-lane, Fore-st., victualler.

SHILLIBEE, G., Bury-street, Bloomsbury, livery stable-keeper.

WAKEFIELD, J., Huddersley, Leicestershire, grocer.

WYTHES, R. and W., Birmingham, grocers.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, MARCH 11. — We have a short supply of English Wheat, and there is a moderate demand at last week's prices for this article of Grain. Barley is heavy, and the quotation is generally from 1s. to 2s. per quarter cheaper than we last quoted. Oats remain without any alteration from this day week. In Beans there is rather more demand for old, but new Beans remain with little inquiry, at last week's prices. White Peas may be quoted 2s. per quarter cheaper with a dull trade. Flour remains as we last quoted.

Wheat	74s. to 78s.
Rye	30s. to 31s.
Barley	36s. to 38s.
— fine	42s. to 46s.
Peas, White	38s. to 40s.
— Boilers	41s. to 48s.
— Grey	36s. to 40s.
Beans, Small	40s. to 42s.
— Tick	32s. to 36s.
Oats, Potatoes	28s. to 31s.
— Poland	26s. to 27s.
— Feed	22s. to 24s.
Flour, per sack	60s. to 65s.

PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middle, new, 44s. to 48s. per cwt.

— Sides, new... 43s. to 48s.

Pork, India, new... 110s. 6d.

Pork, Mess, new... 55s. to 57s. 6d. per barrel.

Butter, Belfast... 98s. to 100s. per cwt.

Carlow... 95s. to 101s.

Cork... 97s. to 98s.

Limerick... 97s. to 98s.

Waterford... 90s. to 94s.

Dublin... —s. to —s.

- Cheese, Cheshire 40s. to 70s.
- Gloucester, Double . . . 48s. to 56s.
- Gloucester, Single . . . 44s. to 50s.
- Edam 40s. to 46s.
- Gouda 42s. to 46s.
- Hams, Irish 45s. to 56s.

SMITHFIELD—March 14.
 In the Beef trade prime young Scots sell at 4s. 4d. to 4s. 8d. per stone. Mutton, for the best young Downs, fetches 5s. to 5s. 3d. per stone, and coarser sheep are 4s. to 4s. 6d. per stone. In Veal, the finest young Calves are worth 5s. 6d. to 6s. per stone, and dairy-fed Porkers are quoted at 4s. 6d. to 5s. per stone. Beasts, 2,455; Sheep, 16,440; Calves, 102 Pigs, 140.

THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent. } Cons. Ann. }	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thurs.
	75½	75¾	75¾	75¾	75¾	76

MARK-LANE.—Friday, March 18.

The supplies are very small, but the prices remain the same as on Monday.

English arrivals.		Foreign.	Irish.
Flour	755		
Wheat	1,260	7,430	
Barley	810		
Oats	2,290		

Just published, Price 4s. 6d., extra boards,

JOURNAL

or

A TOUR IN ITALY,

AND ALSO IN PART OF

FRANCE AND SWITZERLAND;

The route being

From Paris, through Lyons, to Marseilles, and, thence, to Nice, Genoa, Pisa, Florence, Rome, Naples, and Mount Vesuvius;

AND

By Rome, Terni, Perugia, Arezzo, Florence, Bologna, Ferrara, Padua, Venice, Verona, Milan, over the Alps by Mount St. Bernard, Geneva, and the Jura, back into France;

The space of time being,

From October 1828, to September 1829.

CONTAINING

A description of the country, of the principal cities and their most striking curiosities; of the climate, soil, agriculture, horticulture, and products; of the prices of provisions and labour; and of the dresses and conditions of the people;

AND ALSO

An account of the laws and customs, civil and religious, and of the morals and demeanour of the inhabitants, in the several States.

By JAMES P. COBBETT.

NEW EDITION.

EMIGRANT'S GUIDE.

Just published, at my shop, No. 103, Fleet Street, a New Edition of a volume under this title, with a Postscript, price 2s. 6d. in boards, and consisting of ten letters, addressed to English Tax-payers, of which letters, the following are the contents:

Letter I.—On the Question, Whether it be advisable to emigrate from England at this time?

Letter II.—On the Descriptions of Persons to whom Emigration would be most beneficial.

Letter III.—On the Parts of the United States to go to, preceded by Reasons for going to no other Country, and especially not to an English Colony.

Letter IV.—On the Preparations some time previous to Sailing.

Letter V.—Of the sort of Ship to go in, and of the Steps to be taken relative to the Passage, and the sort of Passage; also of the Stores, and other things, to be taken out with the Emigrant.

Letter VI.—Of the Precautions to be observed while on board of Ship, whether in Cabin or Steerage.

Letter VII.—Of the first Steps to be taken on Landing.

Letter VIII.—Of the way to proceed to get a Farm, or a Shop, to settle in Business, or to set yourself down as an Independent Gentleman.

Letter IX.—On the means of Educating Children, and of obtaining literary Knowledge.

Letter X.—Of such other Matters, a knowledge relating to which must be useful to every one going from England to the United States.

Postscript.—An account of the Prices of Houses and Land, recently obtained from America by Mr. Cobbett.

It grieves me very much to know it to be my duty to publish this book; but I cannot refrain from doing it, when I see the alarms and hear the cries of thousands of virtuous families that it may save from utter ruin.

TREATISE on COBBETT'S CORN; containing Instructions for Propagating and Cultivating the Plant, and for Harvesting and Preserving the Crop; and also an account of the several uses to which the Produce is applied, with minute Directions relative to each mode of application. These are all drawn from the actual experience of Mr. Cobbett, on his Farm at Barn Elm, last year (1828). The Book is a neatly-printed Duodecimo. Price 5s. 6d.

ADVICE TO YOUNG MEN.—This work being now completed, those who want odd Numbers to complete their sets, must get them *quickly*, for the single Numbers *will soon be gone*. The work, now freed from the expense of wrappers and the loss and inconvenience attending on a publication in Numbers, will, bound in boards, *be sold at 5s.*

A FRENCH GRAMMAR; or, Plain Instructions for the Learning of French. The notoriously great sale of this Book is no bad criterion of its worth. The reason of its popularity is its *plainness*, its *simplicity*. I have made it as plain as I possibly could. I have encountered and overcome the difficulty of giving *clear definitions*: I have proceeded in such a way as to make the task of learning as little difficult as possible. The price of this book is 5s. in boards.

THE HISTORY OF THE PROTESTANT "REFORMATION," showing how that event has impoverished and degraded the main body of the people in those countries; in a series of letters, addressed to all sensible and just Englishmen. This is the Title of the Work, which consists of Two Volumes, the *first* containing the Series of Letters above described, and the *second* containing a List of *Abbeys, Priories, Nunneries*, and other Religious and charitable Endowments, that were seized on and granted away by the Reformers to one another, and to their minions. The List is arranged according to the Counties, alphabetically, and each piece of property is fully stated, with its then, as well as its actual value; by whom founded and when; by whom granted away, and to whom.—Of this Work there are *two Editions*, one in Duodecimo, price 4s. 6d. for the first Volume, and 3s. 6d. for the second; and another in *Royal Octavo*, on handsome paper, with marginal Notes, and a full Index. This latter Edition was printed for Libraries, and there was consequently but a limited number of Copies struck off: the Price 1l. 11s. 6d. in Extra Boards.

COTTAGE ECONOMY. I wrote this Work professedly for the use of the Labouring and Middling Classes of the English Nation; and I knew that the lively and pleasing manner of the writing would cause it to have many readers, and that thus its substance would get handed to those who could not read. I made myself acquainted with the best and simplest mode of making *Beer and Bread*, and these I made it as plain as, I believe, words could make it. It was necessary further, to treat of the keeping of *Cows, Pigs, Bees*, and *Poultry*, matters which I understood as well as any body could, and in all their details; and I think it impossible for any one to read the Book without learning something of utility in the management of a Family. It includes my Writings also on the *Straw Plait*. A Duodecimo Volume, Price 2s. 6d.

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THE PRESS

AGAINST

PARLIAMENTARY PRIVILEGE.

Kennington, 22d March, 1831.

I SHALL wait till to-morrow before I offer any remarks on the *state of the country* as regards the REFORM BILL; because, to-morrow will tell us whether the borough-people mean to *fight the thing out*, or to *yield*. In the meanwhile I insert the most curious debate on the *articles* in the Old, Bloody Old *Times* newspaper, which, looking upon the borough-people as *down*, has been duncing on their carcasses, and, in fact, calling for *their blood* as clearly as it called for that of the labourers and for mine, only three months ago. I beg the readers of the Register to read this debate with *attention*; and to mark, particularly, what was said by the *Attorney-General*? He *opposes* a motion for prosecuting this bloody paper for libels the *most ferocious* that ever were put into print, because they were *true*! Mark that, reader. In the next Register I will, if I can get the papers, insert these publications of the bloody old paper, which really would seem to be written in a slaughter-house. So that it causes blood to be shed, it does not seem to care much for *what*, or *how*; its delight is in carriage. It may be said that, whatever it may have been, it is now labouring in the *same cause* with me, and that, therefore, I ought to act towards it as towards a *fellow-labourer*. I deny all this: I deny that this infamous paper wishes for Reform; I know that it abhors the thought of it. It is clamour-

ing for it, because its customers are clamouring for it; but, if any-thing should happen to make the result doubtful, we should see it begin to *hesitate*, and if the result should be the *defeat of the bill*, and a new Ministry likely to stand, we should hear this very paper *crying out for the blood of Lord Grey*! This has been its uniform course, from the day that it was set up by Old Walters to the present hour. Oh, no! no fellowship with this infamous paper, the crew who own which *hate reform*, and *hate the present Ministry*, whom they attacked in the basest manner only two days before the Reform Bill was brought forth, calling the Ministry "*all imbecility, all crotchet and Poulett Thompson*." When this vile thing heard the whole nation burst forth in applause of the bill and the Ministers, it instantly tacked about, and began to abuse the Duke of Wellington, Peel, and all the Opposition, in a really infamous manner. It is the Robespierre of newspapers; it is a literary bloodhound. I now quit it for the present, requesting my readers to remember my words; namely, that if Lord Grey *should be defeated*, this paper will not only turn against him, but will, almost in so many words, *call for his blood*.

BREACH OF PRIVILEGE.

SIR ROBERT INGLIS. I beg to call the attention of the House to a question which involves a Breach of its Privilege—a matter at all times important, but now, when it has reference to a subject of the highest interest, peculiarly so. I am not myself a party concerned, nor have I to complain of any paragraph in which my name has been mentioned. But I should be unworthy of a seat in this House, if, after reading the paper which has been put into my hands, I should refrain from calling the attention of the House to it. On the eve of such a discussion as that which is now pending, it is not fit that Members should come to a vote with threats hanging over them, couched in such language as must require some move to divert the mind of the effect of it. The paper to which I refer, called *The Times*—respectable, as I under-

stand, in point of talent, though how far it is so in other points of view, it is not for me to inquire. I understand, also, that it has a large circulation, and that it arrogates to itself the designation of the leading journal of Europe, and talks of its own thunder. And, therefore, I regret bring this before the notice of the House, that any mere obscure journal, which may have been equal in virulence though not in effect, as it may not enjoy so large a circulation, is in my judgment, rather than I do not consider it as a manifesto—that I am not one of those who are in the habit of reading *The Times*; (I laugh,) but though I shall call the attention of the House to only one paragraph, I am informed it forms but part of a series which has existed from the first of March, the first day on which the noble Lord brought forward his bill, all of which tend to degrade this House in the opinion of the people, and to hold up a large body of those who take part in its deliberations unworthy of the confidence of the country. (Hear, hear, Sir, we are speaking for the country with Passards in the gallery; and indeed we are able to disregard all public opinion.) I cannot say that we are placed in that critical situation in which we ought to be; and we should not only be betraying our duty to the nation, but to ourselves and to the constitution, if we suffer any one of our Members, and much more a large number of them, to be insulted in the way which is here done. I shall content myself with reading a single paragraph unless my motion is opposed, which I do not expect, as I have shaped it in strict conformity with the precedents of the House. In the *Times* there has been published a list of those who are supposed to be introduced into this House by nominees, and I beg honourable Gentlemen to bear this in mind, for they will see how it is connected with the paragraph which I am now about to read. "The unanimous enthusiasm of the people of England in defence of the national rights and liberties" (tremendous cheering). "The honourable and learned Gentleman (said Sir R. Inglis, turning to some one behind him on the Opposition benches, whom we were not able to discover) has utterly mistaken my object and general character, if he thinks that I would complain of that passage in the paragraph. I have no such design; but I am convinced that the paragraph would hardly be understood if I had not read the introductory one, on which I have no intention to found any motion. The article is in *The Times* of Monday, the 14th of this month, and goes thus:—'The unanimous enthusiasm of the people of England, in the defence of the national rights and liberties, has never so manifestly shown our recollection as on this present question of the Reform Bill; nor have we found recorded a single instance of rich and poor, high and low, men of all conditions, professions, and fortunes, feeling an equal sympathy in any cause, except, indeed,

in that of war against some hated public enemy. That enemy now is the usurper of the people's franchises—the cutpurse of the people's money—the robber of the public treasury under the forms of law—of laws enacted by the plunderer himself, to favour his own extortion, his own systematic conversion of the fruits of other men's industry to selfish or criminal uses. If the thing itself now about, we trust to God, to be expelled for ever from our re-established commonwealth—this bill has justly incurred the execration of every honest man in the community, how deeply disgusting it is to see the very agents of the system—those through whom the whole weight of its oppression has been felt and exemplified during the last twenty years—push themselves forward to bolster up its vice and rotteness, and to charge with 'ignorance,' 'presumption,' 'abominable iniquity,' a patriotic Government and a united Nation, for joining in one common effort to put the nuisance down which, after night, borrough nominees—the in fact the proceedings of the House of Commons with arguments to justify their own intrusion into it, and their continuance there, thus impudently maintaining what the lawyers call 'an adverse possession' in spite of judgment against them, we really feel inclined to ask why the rightful owners of the House should be longer insulted by the presence of such unwelcome inmates.' I am happy that there is no lawyer to be found to cheer this. "It is beyond question a piece of the broadest and coolest chicanery in the world, for these hired lackeys of public delinquents to stand up as advocates of the disgraceful service they have embarked in. If there is one man, Sir, in this House who will state that this is not a gross and scandalous breach of privilege (hear, hear)—that it is not a constant endeavour to disturb the freedom of debate—that it is no attempt to degrade the House in the judgment of its constituents, if there be one such, at least I will say that I trust that every other Member will be in opposition to such sentiments (Hear, hear) The last occasion on which the House was called upon to exercise its power in this way was in the time of Mr. Fox, when that gentleman made a complaint against *The Public Advertiser* of that day; and if, after reading the paragraph, I could have contented myself with being silent, then, indeed, I should be unworthy of being a representative here for I feel that though I am not directly implicated by it, yet the House generally would be disgraced if such paragraphs as those were to be allowed without the just sense of the House being expressed upon them. (Hear, hear) And if it should be said that we ought to wait longer, and see if a better tone will not be taken by this writer, all I can say is, that the longer indulgence of the House will only give the idea that such things may be done with impunity. Under these circumstances, I have no option but (having brought the subject

under any apprehension, for he never saw a great question, though discussed with much animation, discussed with more quietness. He saw no disposition whatever to impede free discussion. He hoped that his hon. Friend would have found it possible not to have noticed these expressions; and he hoped his hon. Friend would yet see the expediency of not carrying the subject any farther. He hoped that his hon. Friend would leave his resolution as a notice, which he was sure would operate as a notice that though the subject might be treated with freedom, it must be treated with decency.

Mr. PERCEVAL felt himself at all times very inadequate to take part in any discussion for which he was not previously prepared, but he could not avoid speaking on the question. He could not agree with the desire expressed by the hon. Member for Callington, still less could he agree with the observations of the Right hon. Gentleman, the late Paymaster of the Forces (Mr. Calcraft). According to his poor ability, and looking to the state of the country, he had no hesitation in saying, now that the question had been mooted by his hon. Friend, that it could not be got rid of in the manner proposed by the hon. Member for Callington, without that House forfeiting all its authority and losing its character in the country. The question having been mooted, if the House declined proceeding—if it did not vote the paragraph a gross libel and a breach of the privileges of the House—if the House did not with a firm spirit do its duty, and assert its dignity, it would give an ascendancy to the Press which it could acquire by no other means. It might have been a question of discretion as to bringing the subject forward, though he for one did not think it ought not to have been brought forward; but, having been brought under the notice of the House, it had no course left but to vote the paragraph quoted a gross breach of privilege, and take notice of it accordingly. He was not aware, when his hon. Friend called the attention of the House to the paragraph, as he was not then in the House, if he had connected it with a long series of similar paragraphs which could not have been written but with the intention of deterring the Members of the House of Commons from doing their duty, and of relaying the effect of their vote, by libelling their character and rendering their authority of no avail in the country. This article was one of the series, and no man who had read the series could entertain the least doubt that such was the intention of the writer of that Paper; nor that he was resolved to deter the Members of the House from doing their duty, by holding them up to the scorn and hatred of the country. (Hear, hear.) Was not such the tendency of these articles, when it was said that they ought not to show their faces in that House? Was it not the tendency of these articles to deter them from doing their duty? and were they not described as "the hired

lacquys of public delinquents," who ought not to dare "to stand up as the advocates of the disgraceful services they had embarked in?" (Hear, hear.) He, therefore, thanked his hon. Friend for having brought forward the motion. He admitted that that question was open to a conflict of opinion, because it was the produce of the moment, and there were no fixed principles to guide them in coming to a decision on the propriety of bringing such questions before the House; but now that it had been brought before it, the House could not shrink from its duty, or get rid of the motion by a verbal amendment. It was an attack on their privileges, and they could not pass it over without a dereliction of duty. (Cheers.)

Sir FRANCIS BURDETT agreed with the hon. Member who spoke last, that the Press had, with undeviating perseverance, with commanding interest, with great ability; and with great patriotism and integrity (No, no! and cheers)—with great patriotism and integrity, fought the battle which was then at issue between the people and the boroughmongers who sat in that House. (Cheers.) He could not doubt what would be the issue, whatever course might be taken; and as the matter had been brought for inquiry before the people of the country, he had no doubt that the corrupt state of the representation (No, no! and, cheers)—to whomever the question might be referred, before whatever Jury it might be brought, before any society of gentlemen—that they would all be of the same opinion as the generality of the people of England, and of the same opinion as he was respecting the corruption of that House. (Cheers; no, no.) He was indifferent to the vote of that House. The statement of the fact of its general character was by the hon. Gentleman called a violation of its privileges, when it was made by an honest writer. (A laugh.) For that statement of a fact, when made abroad, which hon. Gentlemen knew to be true, of which they ought to be ashamed, when their practices were exposed by the Press, the hon. Gentleman stated that it was a violation of the privileges of the House. He did not think it was wise to call any part of the Press before the House in the present excited state of the country. (No, no! cheers.) The Members spoke of the tendency of the articles of the Press; but they overlooked the tendency of those constant violations of the vital spirit and vital liberties of the country—those violations both of the law and the Constitution of which they were all sensible when they voted that resolution at the beginning of every session which lay on their table, and which declared that it was a violation of the privileges of that House for Peers, or great money, or mere money dealers to traffic in seats of that House. To do that was a violation of their highest privileges, and yet it was done every day. (Cheers.) Let the hon. Gentlemen bring forward those violations of their privileges which, with true hypocrisy were

now overlooked; for the people were sick, the nation was sick, every man was sick of those continued violations both of the law and the constitution, which made that House anything but a representation of the people. (Hear.) The hon. Member talked of tendency; let him put down that tendency to destroy the constitution which arose from the interference of great men; let him put down the late nefarious practices that were brooded; let him put down, too, the influence of such men in that House which had a tendency to destroy the rights and the liberties of the people. Feeling so, thinking that it was not in a case of the infringement of the legal rights and privileges of the House proper for the House to erect itself into a judge of its own cause, assuming what it could have no evidence to prove, and carrying into execution the punishment it decreed for offences against its own dignity—as for the character of that House, it was destroyed many years ago (cheers, no, no)—he was astonished that Members should now be so squeamish, when it had been avowed in that House that practices existed which, at an early period of its history, it would have been the duty of the Speaker to call the Member to order who should have alluded to them. They had since then been avowed. Since 1807, when Mr. Madlocks detected Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Percival in practising this corrupt traffic, they having turned out a Member, Mr. Quaintin Dick, he believed, because, holding his seat for some borough under their influence, he would not vote as they wished on the subject of the Duke of York, they requiring only Members as tools in that House—when these Members were detected in *flagrant delicto*, and when that question was brought before the House, what then was the defence set up? He would first state that the Ministers, those who were concerned in the traffic, did as was now recommended to the Borough Members to do, they had the decency to walk out of the House into the lobby, sure that the persons they left behind would whitewash them; they had the decency to go out; and did not vote on the question. Let the Borough members imitate that conduct when the subject in which they were interested was discussed, and let them do it with a good grace; for whether they did it with a good grace or a bad grace, their votes, he could tell them, would have no more effect than whistling to the winds. (Hear, hear, cries of "Question.") What was the defence of these Ministers, who intended to commit an offence, but who had not completed it, who had begun a bargain, but had not concluded it, because they were caught in the fact; who were found with the hand in the pocket, but had not drawn forth the pocket-handkerchief; what was the defence of these Ministers? Why, they escaped by the great argument, that bribery and corruption were as notorious as the sun at noon-day. It was indifferent to him what the decision of the House was, but he would say, that the House

had no right to take that method of ascertaining its privileges. He had himself been found guilty of a libel on that House, but he inferred that it was an unjust sentence, and he cared not that he had been found guilty, because the House was not a proper tribunal to try such questions. (Hear, hear.) He would venture to say, whatever legal proceedings might be had, whether they were to get damages if such an action could be brought, or to inflict a vindictive punishment for the violation of the dignity, or as necessary to support the virtue of the House, he would venture to say that they must fail. If the House, therefore, came to a vote, he hoped it would not be from the expectation of bringing the affair to a favourable issue. Feeling as he did, he should not have done justice to the House or the public if he had not expressed his sentiments in the way he had done. (Cheers.)

Sir C. Wetherell said, that there was no man who was more an advocate for freedom of speech, and no man more permitted himself freely to use his speech, than the hon. Member for Westminster, who was a great friend to freedom of debate in that House. (Hear, hear.) The hon. Baronet set out with being a lover of popularity; he was an advocate of freedom, a great theorist, and a great practitioner of the doctrines of liberty and equality (cheers, and No, no); but, at the same time, since he (Sir C. Wetherell) had had a seat in that House, a more dictatorial speech, more dictatorial in language, more dictatorial in manner, more dictatorial in principle, more full of usurpation,

had he had never had a seat, he had never had of the hon. Baronet had never been equalled in that House. The hon. Baronet had the presumption to recommend the Borough Members to retire of whom (said Sir Charles) I am one. (A laugh.) Does he dare (continued Sir Charles) to call upon me, does he dare to call, does he presume to call upon me (a laugh), does he dare to call upon honourable and independent gentlemen, gentlemen as honourable and independent as he is (cheers); does the hon. Baronet, I say, dare to call upon me to go out of the House, and not to vote on the question which is to revolutionise the legislature? (No, no.) I say yes. The hon. Baronet advised the Borough Members to go out of the House. This is the most *ultra* dictatorial, or I will say, as the noble paymaster the Poetess said of one the other day, the *plus ultra* dictatoriality ever the debates of this House that was ever known in a public assembly. Shall I retire when the hon. Baronet keeps his seat? (Hear, hear.) Shall I go out while he keeps his place on a leather cushion? (Hear, hear.) When the hon. Baronet, with due liberality, recommended me to go out, does he think that he is to be allowed shyly to blackball all those Members who will not vote for the revolutionary principles of a Jacobin revolution? He could tell the hon. Baronet (Sir Charles continued) that the

borough Members would do their duty. After commenting at some further length on the dictatorship of the hon. Member for Westminster, the hon. Baronet proceeded to discuss the question before the House. The hon. Baronet had only drawn a short conclusion from long premises, he had indeed had nothing but premises, and he hoped the House would allow him to lay down his premises before he came to a conclusion. He had been a reader of *The Times*. The foreign articles of that paper were written with greater ability than those of any other paper, and for those he read *The Times*. His name was not, he believed, alluded to in the paragraph referred to by the hon. Member for Oxford; that paragraph was not one of those which might apply to A, B, or C, but it described the case of all those whom it was proposed to expel from the House, or not less than 160 Members. That paragraph was a libel on that House and its Members, and proscribed 160 of its Members. In his view of this paragraph he did not agree with the opinion of the late Paymaster of the Forces (Mr. Calcraft). If his right hon. Friend looked at it, he would see that it did not depend on the Press if its libel did not take effect. His right hon. Friend did not like the form of expression in which his hon. Friend had clothed his motion; but, for his part, he did not object to it. He did not know that he should, himself, have taken notice of such a libel; but it having been taken notice of and brought before the House, there could be no doubt that it was a libel on the House, and a gross attack on its privileges. He would conclude by saying, that he had never given a vote of which he was more convinced of the propriety than he was of the vote he should give in favour of his hon. Friend's motion. (Hear.)

Sir CHARLES FORBES regretted that the motion of the hon. Member had not gone further, and taken into consideration the other numbers of *The Times*. If he had gone to the paper of the 2d March, he might have introduced some more revolting specimens of the gentlemen of the Press, and of their endeavours to stigmatise as scandalous those who dared to show their faces again in the House; should the Parliament be dissolved, that paper said, and he remembered the words well, "that the now infamous and" asked out "nominees of peers and other eminent persons would be justly handed over to condign punishment of popular indignation, if they should dare to obstruct themselves into Parliament." That and similar passages had struck him so forcibly, as being exceedingly offensive, and of so infamous character, so contrary to the just and proper liberty of the Press, and so detestable, that he carried the paper down to the House, intending to call the attention of the House to the subject. He consulted persons of high authority on these matters, and they preferred treating the matter with silent contempt, saying, that if it were publicly mentioned, it would give the paragraph that notoriety which

the Editor of *The Times* was desirous of obtaining. (Hear, hear.) There was some truth, but he thought, more danger in that opinion. It was evident that the House encourages by its silence, and by not noticing such attacks, the Press to proceed in its present course. He saw this, but he was in part reconciled to silence by its being observed, that these paragraphs were the mere productions of an anonymous libeller. Those who wrote such libels were no better than cowardly assassins; and if they were not as cowardly as they were licentious—if they had the spirit—they would be cowardly assassins. He hoped that the people would have more good sense than to allow their judgments to be led astray by what these papers said. He had heard no person speak of these paragraphs but with indignation. The hon. Baronet (the Member for Westminster) had attempted to defend them, and in his opinion the defence and the charges were worthy of each other. He trusted that no hon. member would be intimidated from doing his duty by the threats of such men. He hoped that they would do their duty conscientiously, and he trusted they would stand firm, though they should pay with their lives for the performance of the duty. He at least was determined to resist, at every step, this most revolutionary measure; and if it were carried, he did not believe that the same class of men as at present would find their way into the House of Commons. (Question.) The ornaments of the House, the greatest men, the brightest patriots, had found their way into that House through the means that were now denounced by the noble Lord—with no great consistency, as the House and the country might know by comparing the noble Lord's plans with his written works; and if those denounced means were done away, such men would no longer find their way into Parliament. (Question.)

Lord ALTHORPE said that it was impossible to deny that this was a question of the privileges of the House. (Hear.) But it was a different question whether the subject ought to have been brought before the House or not. The question of Reform interested all the people; it had excited the whole nation, and it could not be denied that improper language had been used on both sides. (Hear, hear.) Would the honourable Baronet say that no attacks were made on the Ministers? Were they not called revolutionary? Were they not attacked for endeavouring, as was said, to produce a revolution in the country? (Hear, hear.) He admitted that the language brought under the notice of the House was not justifiable; but it was a question of prudence whether the House should, under the present circumstances, engage itself in a conflict with the people. Was that a proper period, when all the feelings of the country were excited, to take strong measures to preserve from violation the privileges of the House? If it was not then proper to interfere—if the House suffered itself to be carried away by feeling—it would

not do itself any credit, and would not increase the respect of the people. Under these circumstances, he felt a difficulty as to what course to pursue, and if it were consistent with the forms of the House, he would move the previous question. The noble Lord concluded by moving the previous question.

Mr. CAMMELL referred to the Queen's Trial and to the period of Emancipation, to show that in much popular excitement warm and impetuous language had generally been used. He complained of the honourable Member not having brought forward the subject immediately after it had occurred, if it ought to have been on the "moment." The House had sat every day last week, even Saturday, and yet not one word had been said on the subject till that night. [The honourable Member made some further observations, which, as he spoke from under the gallery, were not audible.]

Mr. C. WYNN regretted that he could not vote with his noble Friend. (Hear, hear.) Whether or not it was desirable to have brought forward the subject was one thing; but now that it had been brought forward he was compelled to say that the House could take no other course than to declare that it was a libel, and an infringement on the privileges of the House. Considering the nature of the great question before the House, the interest it had excited in the country, and the great talents that had been called into the discussion, he thought some greater latitude might be allowed than ordinary circumstances. If the discussion had been confined to the defects of the Constitution, and to show the necessity of reforming it, he would allow great liberty. But what was this? It went to deprive a great part of the Members of that House of the freedom of deliberation. He begged the second paragraph referred to might be read.

The Clerk accordingly read the following paragraph:—

"When, night after night, brought nouns rise to infest the proceedings of the House of Commons with arguments to justify their own intrusion into it, and their continuance there, thus impudently maintaining what the lawyers call an 'adverse possession,' in spite of judgment against them, we really feel inclined to ask why the House should be long the presence of such unwelcome intruders? It is beyond question a piece of the broadest and coolest effrontery in the world, for these hired lacquies of public delinquents to stand up as advocates of the disgraceful service embarked in."

The hon. Member continued.—If that were not the despotism of that arbitrary system of liberty which they had seen elsewhere, if that were not the introduction into this country of that system of tolerant intolerance which would allow no liberty to any opinions but his own, he did not know what was. It was said

that it was not prudent to commit the House to a contest with the people, which was undoubtedly a subject of serious consideration. But it could not be doubted that these libels would go on increasing if they were unnoticed—would not any person who might be brought up at a future time justly complain of the impudence of the House in allowing writers to go on thus, and having passed over these libels with a taciturnity of notice? To that he, then, he could not assent. He knew inconveniences to which public men exposed themselves by embracing the course he mentioned; he knew the penalty they pay; and he was not afraid to meet it.

Mr. GANNAN had heard the speech of his right honourable Friend with regret, but not with astonishment. He was aware that his right honourable Friend had a partiality through his whole life to support the forms of the House, and therefore, he was not surprised at his speech. He had heard, however, that speech with great regret, for though he was aware of the opinions of his late colleague and right honourable Friend on the subject of reform, he was himself sincerely and ardently desirous that the House should come to a favourable decision on that great question. [Calls of "Question."] If the House would allow him, he was anxious to be permitted to say a few words, though he should be reluctant to infringe on the rules of the House; he knew its general courtesy, and should be ready to bend to its wishes. He was about to say that though no man was more ardently desirous than he was, that the great measure should be approved of by Parliament, yet there was one feeling in his heart which was more urgent still, and that was, that the discussions on this question should be conducted so as to preserve the peace of the country, and the stability of our institutions, and that there should be no excitement of any angry feelings either in that House or the country. Entertaining that wish, he thought it was most unfortunate that the hon. Member for Oxford should have regarded it as his duty to bring before the House a question of that nature, when the eyes of all the country were turned on the House, and all the nation was watching in breathless expectation for its decision. He was sorry that his honourable Friend had deemed it his duty to turn the attention from that great question to a conflict between the privileges of that House and the freedom of the press. It was desirable that there should be no such discussion between the House and the press before they came to settle the great question of the evening. He hoped he should not betray any soreness on such a subject, but week after week—Sunday after Sunday (hear, hear), some kind friend of his who had probably left the warm precincts of office (hear, hear), "casting long lingering looks behind him" (hear, and a

laugh), made attacks of somewhat the same description on him and the right honourable Friends who sat near him. He was reminded day after day of the question directed to him in the course of the debate by the hon. Member for Boroughbridge (Sir C. Wetherell), and he was asked what will your constituents at Cockerham say to this? (A

In the coarsest terms of sarcasm and invective ridicule; but was he deterred from the fulfilment of his duty by the repetition of these attacks? No. If he wanted any additional stimulus to pursue the course he had undertaken, and to discharge his duty to his country and to his constituents honestly, fairly, and conscientiously, he found that stimulus in the attacks to which he was thus subjected. (Hear, hear.) If, however, these attacks are to be taken as questions of privilege on one side, they are equally so on the other; and those who would punish the newspapers for what they may consider as libels will be bound themselves to abstain from many of those observations which had been used but too freely in the course of the debates on reform. It will be their bounden duty to suppress all those passages in the speeches of the members which stigmatise the measure of reform now proposed by the ministers, under the sanction of the Sovereign, as tending to bring about a revolution. (Hear.) Why, it was but the other evening, in course of the discussions, that an hon. Baronet (Sir H. Hardinge) declared that the Reform Bill would if carried, shake the crown from the head of the Sovereign. (Hear, hear.) That sentiment had been since repeated in the House, and echoed in the newspapers (hear), and yet no one on that side of the House had thought of treating it as a breach of privilege, or an invasion of the right of free discussion. Better at once shut up the gallery of that House, and proclaim to the world, by a rigid enforcement of the Standing Orders, that no strangers shall be admitted, nor no account of the proceedings of that House go forth to the public. They might as well put an end at once to all free discussion as to attempt, by a proceeding like that recommended by the hon. Baronet (Ingles), to endeavour to prescribe the limits in which it is to be carried on. Of the danger of that course to the country and to the constitution he had not, however, the slightest doubt, and in so much dread would he hold the prospect of such an event, that although the passing of the Reform Bill was one of the objects dearest to his heart, and which he considered likely to prove most beneficial to his country, yet he would be content to forego reform itself, rather than abandon that freedom of discussion and publicity of their proceedings which was so essential to the preservation of their constitutional liberties. (Hear.) If he was called on to express an opinion on the subject of the article in *The Times*, he would say with the noble Lord (Althorp) that he could not defend it; but he

called on them, at the same time, when they proposed to deal with this question in the manner recommended by the hon. Baronet (Ingles), to consider that they were a deliberative assembly, and that they could not, as parties, exercise a sound discretion in the capacity of judges. (Hear.) He agreed in the force of the observations of the hon. Ba-

reference to the language of some of the petitions which had been presented, and which that House had not hesitated to receive and to allow to be printed. The Members of the Duke of Newcastle had been spoken of in these petitions; the boroughs of Lord Fitzwilliam had been alluded to; and could they, after having thus admitted themselves to be nominees, declare they were the real representatives of the people? (Hear.) The right hon. Baronet concluded by observing, that he thought what had been already said and done on this subject would operate as a salutary warning on both sides; but if the hon. Baronet pressed his motion to a division, he must oppose it for the sake of the peace of the country, and the safety of our public institutions. (Hear.)

Sir H. HARDINGE thought, that the right hon. Baronet, who had just spoken, although he deprecated further discussion, was one of those who had done his utmost to prolong it. (Hear.) The right hon. Baronet had gone out of his way to select an illustration for his argument, and had chosen to mix up an expression of his in reference to the Reform Bill, with the subject then before the House, as if there was something in his observation in common with that libel which every Member of either side condemned. (Hear, hear.) Was there anything in the expression of an opinion that the Reform Bill had a tendency to loosen the crown on the head of the King, to be found in common with the language of the libel in the newspaper, that the right hon. Baronet should find it necessary to advert to it so pointedly? (Hear, hear.) Was he (Sir H. Hardinge) to be debarred from the expression of his opinions in that House, because libels were published out of it? Did the right hon. Baronet mean to make it a parallel case, and to say he had expressed his opinions on the reform bill as indifferently and coarsely and improperly as the libeller in the newspaper? (Hear.) Another hon. Member had stigmatised him as a boroughmonger, who ought not to have a seat in that House. There were, however, some boroughmongers even among them most closely connected with the Government. To sit sitting beside the right hon. baronet (Sir J. Graham) at that moment a Member of the Government, who sat for a borough closer by far than that which he represented, and, indeed, one of the closest in the country. (Hear, hear.) (We believe Lord John Russell was the Member alluded to.) He begged, however, to remind the hon. Member that he had represented the city of Durham in that House for more than nine years,

and that the number of his constituents were at no period less than 1,200. (Hear.) He now, however, represented a place where the constituency was not so numerous, but he could conscientiously declare that he was as free to speak his opinion and to give his vote on any subject at that moment as he was before. What right, then, had the honourable Baron t to stigmatise him as unfit to sit in that House from being a boroughmonger? (Hear, hear, hear.) If it was possible for him to forget the courtesy which was due to the hon. Bart. (the Member for Westminster), he would say, that if the hon. Baronet presumed to insinuate he (Sir H. Hardinge) was not at liberty to express his opinions freely and fairly in that House, he slung back the imputation with scorn. (Hear, hear.) He regretted the debate which had now taken place. He regretted that the hon. Member for Oxford had brought the question before them, and he was sorry for the occasion of it. He was not, however, to be deterred by clamour from the expression of his feelings with respect to the Reform Bill. He respected the opinions of the people and their claims; but when the constitution of the country was at issue, he was prepared to come before the people and resist the fulfilment of their view of the subject. The right hon. Gentleman concluded by declaring that he was determined to do his duty, and to express his opinions fearlessly and conscientiously, in spite of the taunts of the honourable Member for Westminster, or the clamours and attempts at intimidation of any party either within or without that House. (Hear.)

Lord JOHN RUSSELL defended the expressions of his honourable Friend (Sir James Graham), and denied that his right honourable Friend intended to draw any comparison between the expressions of the right honourable Gentleman (Sir H. Hardinge), and those of the writer in the newspaper. His right hon. Friend merely wished to show the heat and strength of expression which had been occasionally drawn forth by the discussions which they were engaged. The noble

Lord then proceeded to observe, that the House should pause before they committed themselves to sanction the proceedings now recommended—for they who proclaimed the language of the Newspaper to be false and seditious—they who were attacked were now about to inflict the punishment; and, with their passions inflamed by hearing the offensive passage read to them by the hon. Member, they refused even a day for consideration before they came to their vote of censure and condemnation. (Hear.) He confessed that he thought the course they were pursuing would have an effect the reverse of that which they anticipated. The people at large, who disapproved of that House constituting itself at once an accuser and judge, were too much in the habit of taking a very different view of such proceedings, for they frequently pronounced those who suffered by

them to be martyrs, and elevated them into heroes. (Hear.) He had, at one time, in vain pressed the House to pass over a vote of the same description as that which was then recommended. An hon. Member had written a pamphlet which gave great offence to that House. It was determined, that he should be committed to Newgate; and what was the result? He was returned most triumphantly as Member for Westminster at the next election. (Hear.) If he could suppose that, by supporting the motion of the hon. Member for Oxford, he could deter others from similar offences, then he should not hesitate; but as they could not hope that, he thought that the preservation of freedom of discussion would be materially affected by consenting to the course which was proposed.

Sir F. BURDETT said, he was always disposed to adopt that course which he thought best fitted to secure the rights of the people. The hon. Gentleman (Sir H. Hardinge) said he had no constituents (Cries of no! and spoke) during which the right hon. Baronet resumed his seat—but he immediately rose again; in obedience to the louder and more general call from his own side of the House.) However much he might be disposed to regard the hon. Member, he must be permitted to say without intending to give him any offence, that when the state of the representation and the vital interests of the people were under consideration, as he understood them now to be on the question of Reform, he was determined to do his duty, in spite of all the clamour and in defiance of all consequences. The hon. Member had placed him in the situation of one of those who had no constituents. (Cries of no.)

Sir H. HARDINGE, in explanation, said the hon. Baronet made a mistake in persisting to assert that he had no constituents. The borough he now represented had now, in the year 1831, a greater number of voters than it possessed at the time the franchise was first conferred on them, and many more than it had in the year 1688, when the representative system was settled at the Revolution; and he might add, that, for the last fifty years, the number had gone on increasing every year. (Hear, hear.)

Sir F. BURDETT said, that however distinguished the honourable Gentleman might be as a Member of that House, and however honestly and efficiently he might fulfil the duties of office, still he wanted the essential quality of a representative of the people—a large body of constituents. With respect to the Reform Bill shaking the Crown from the head of the King he must say that in his opinion, it would fix it more firmly on his brow without that dimming of its lustre which was the consequence of its participating in the abuses of those who had properties in boroughs. (Hear.)

Sir R. INGLIS, in reply, said, he might have concurred in the proposal of the noble Lord if there had been a single individual found in

that House to defend the language of the passages he had brought under its attention. He could not abandon his motion; for, if he did so, he thought he should be abandoning his duty. The House had a jurisdiction on the question of its own privileges which it was bound to support; and unless it was prepared to renounce the rights it possessed on such occasions, it must, when a subject of this kind was brought before it, be prepared to do its duty. It might be a question whether he had exercised a proper discretion in bringing the matter before the House. In his own opinion he believed he had done his duty, and he therefore persisted in his original motion, adding, as an amendment, that certain passages in *The Times* Newspaper of the 1st, 2d, 7th, 8th, and 14th of March are false and scandalous libels, and that they be handed over to the Attorney-General, with instructions to prosecute the writer.

Strangers were then ordered to withdraw, but

Mr. HUNT rose amidst loud cries of "Question," and persisted in addressing the House, notwithstanding the noise by which he was assailed. He said their patience must be great to overcome his, for he was determined to speak unless the Speaker told him he was not in order. The hon. Baronet who brought forward the Motion wished the Attorney-General to prosecute; but were they sure, although they might pronounce the articles to be libellous, and the Judges agreed with them, that twelve Jurymen could be found to agree with them? Notwithstanding the coarseness of the language used by the writer in *The Times*, he (Mr. Hunt) asserted that every word of the article was true. (Hear and no.) The question was, whether they would agree to a Resolution declaring audacious false which every man in that House knew to be true? (Hear.) A Member behind him (Mr. Hume, we believe) intimated to him that he would only do *The Times* mischief. (Hear, and a laugh.) He repeated what he had said, and he thought that House, in the last act of its life, would be true to the character it had maintained through its career, if it came to a vote pronouncing that false which every man in the kingdom knew to be true.

Strangers were again ordered to withdraw, but

Sir R. PEEL rose and said, that as the hon. Baronet (Sir R. Inglis) had in his Motion referred to Papers which he had not read, these Papers should be also read, and laid on the Table before the House came to a decision on their contents.

Sir R. INGLIS said (as we understood) that they contained passages of the same tendency as that already read; and his Motion now was, that they be delivered to the Attorney-General, to consider the nature of their contents, and to prosecute, if he found that a prosecution could be supported.

Mr. O'CONNELL said the expressions in *The Times* were coarse, and not to be justified.

But were they not true? (Hear.) The hon. Member for Boroughbridge (Sir C. Wetherell) had himself partly admitted that they were so. He condemned the whole proceeding as impolitic and unjust, and as a gross attempt to accuse and punish at the same instant. In his opinion, it would be much more decent not to go to a vote on such a question. The House was following the practice of Rhodainanthus—they pronounced the guilt of the accused, and then sent him to be tried. (Hear, hear.)

Sir R. PEEL said he regarded the present proceeding as purely preliminary, and it should be marked by a spirit of regularity as well as justice. Reference had been made to other papers which were not before the House; and he confessed he could not make up his mind on the question with respect to them, for he had not read them until they were placed in a connected series before him. He had heard the first, but the House was about to commit itself on several others, of which it was presumed they knew nothing. He suggested that these papers be also read. (Hear.)

Sir R. INGLIS said they were all of the same character and tendency, and he wished to save the time of the House by abstaining from reading them.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL expressed his surprise that the hon. Baronet (Sir R. Inglis) complained now, for the first time, of language contained in papers not one of which was less than a week old, and said nothing offensive in any of the succeeding day's papers; and he was the more surprised, because the hon. Baronet had spoken to him on the subject, and even put the papers into his hand, without intimating his intention to proceed in that manner. He would not say he had expressed an opinion that it was or was not a libel; but coarse he had admitted it to be, although false he really could not call it. (Hear.) He thought it, and he now said, it was highly desirable that no proceedings should be taken on it with respect to any supposed breach of privilege; and so far from believing that language of that kind would induce any Member to abstain from opposing Reform, he thought it would have a directly opposite tendency, inasmuch as it induced men, from a sense of pride and of honour, to persist in supporting that system which had subjected them to such attacks from their connection with it. He thought on the contrary, that attacks in language such as that of which the hon. Baronet complained were calculated to defeat the carrying of the measure of Reform, and to confirm the opposition of those Members who, although not accountable to large bodies of constituents, were, he believed, acting on a principle of honour; although he must say that he thought their opinions were liable to be biased by their situation. He concluded by expressing his regret that a question of this kind had been brought forward on the eve of the greater debate, and under circumstances which bore the appearance of a disposition

to delay the decision on the most important topic which ever came under their consideration.

After a few words from Sir C. Wetherell, Sir R. PEEL disowned, for himself, an intention to obstruct the debate which was expected, and observed, that he had not even heard of an intention to make such a motion until he entered that House, and heard that it was commenced. He trusted this explanation would clear that side of the House from the prejudice which might be raised against them by the learned Gentleman's observations.

Mr. SLANEY, amid loud cries of "Question," contended, that the people would look on the whole proceeding as an attempt to set aside the decision on the Reform Bill. (Hear.)

Sir R. INGLES thought the learned Gentleman (the Attorney-General) should not have referred to the conversation he held with him on the subject of these papers, unless he had also repeated the nature of that conversation. He (Sir R. Ingles) would not follow his example by detailing the nature of that conversation. All he would say was, that he had seen some of the papers that day for the first time, and he was ready now to read the passages to which he alluded, if the House thought proper. (Cries of no.)

The Gallery was then cleared; but we understood that the Motion was withdrawn.

On re-entering the Gallery we found

Sir G. CLERK on his legs, with a petition, we believe, against the Parliamentary Reform Bill; but the anxiety of the House to proceed to the discussion occasioned loud cries of "No, no," upon which the hon. Baronet postponed presenting his Petition; observing, however, that that was the first time that he had heard any objection made to the presentation of a petition upon the subject.

REFORM BILL

To the Readers of THE REGISTER.

Keatington, March 29, 1831.

MY FRIENDS,

SINCE the date of my last, I have been into HAMPSHIRE and SUSSEX, and at the county-meetings in those counties, neither of which meetings the Prince of Waterloo will, finally, call a farce. I should like very much to give you a full account of my journey, which, all the circumstances taken into consideration, was the very pleasantest I ever had in my life. I had to pass through the whole of the country that had been the scenes of my childhood and my youth; but, before I indulge in a description of my journey, and even in giving an account of the state of

men's minds with regard to the great question that now agitates the country, you will expect at my hands an account of the recent Parliamentary proceedings with regard to the *Reform Bill*, and you will also expect at my hands a statement of my opinions with regard to the prospects now before us relative to that bill, and to the great changes which it has in contemplation.

With regard to the proceedings in Parliament relative to this bill, on Monday the 13th instant, leave was given to bring it in without any division. On Monday the 21st instant, the second reading was moved for, and on Tuesday the 22d, the House divided on the question, when there appeared, according to the reports in the newspapers, three hundred and two for it, and three hundred and one against it, so that the second reading was carried by a majority of only one.

Every body was of opinion that, if the Ministers lost the bill, they ought instantly to *dissolve the Parliament*, in which case we know well that the two county members for Hampshire, for instance, and, indeed, that every county member who had opposed the bill, would not have been returned again. We also know that there are a certain number of members called Treasury-members, and that they would not have been returned again. This would, of course, have given the Ministers a considerable majority, without which they could carry on nothing in the way of governing the country or preserving its peace. But the case is not at all altered by this *majority of one*. Upon all other questions there will be a majority against them; as in the case of the *Timber Bill*, when, as very happily explained by Mr. DENISON at the Surrey Meeting, the question simply was this: Shall the people of England, Ireland, and Scotland, have good timber cheap; or shall they have had timber dear, for the sole purpose of enriching colonists, who are, at any day, ready to declare their independence, or to transfer their allegiance to the United States? This was the question, as plain as any nose upon any man's face; and yet, by a

majority of forty-six, the House determined that the people of England, Ireland, and Scotland, should have had wood dear. It is evident, then, that the Ministry cannot go on without a dissolution of the Parliament.

Observe, too, that there are several, who have voted for the second reading of the bill, *who will vote against the material clauses of it in the committee*; and they have even intimated already that they shall do so. There are three hundred and one who have been bold enough to vote against the whole of the bill all taken together; and, perhaps, there are another hundred to vote against those clauses of the bill which make it valuable in the eyes of the people. These call themselves reformers; but are for a different sort of reform; that is to say, in effect, no reform at all! So that it is nonsense to suppose that this reform of Lord Grey's can be carried with the present men in the House of Commons; and yet if it be not carried who is to carry on any Government at all any longer?

Then we come to this; there must be a dissolution, or the Reform of Lord Grey must be abandoned. It is impossible that he can consent to remain in office without carrying the whole of this bill. That is impossible; because it is not to be done without covering himself with shame and infamy; and it is therefore declared to be impossible upon the same ground that we say it is impossible that a man should willingly jump from the top of a high house into the street. In short, the whole nation knows enough of him to know that he would scorn to remain in office an hour, having the same Parliament to deal with, after having lost this bill or any material part of it. But to retire from office would not be sufficient to the preservation of his character and his honour. To get out of the way quietly and let others come and carry on the Government with an unreformed Parliament, would be very little better than remaining in office without carrying the reform. Indeed, it would be no better, but rather worse: it would argue a desire to save himself by shuffling out of

the way. He must, therefore, dissolve the Parliament, which is now become *absolutely necessary as a test of his earnestness and sincerity*. The committee on the bill is, as the report states, put off to the 14th of April. Between this and that there is plenty of time to dissolve the Parliament, when this Parliament will be two months older than that Parliament which PERCEVAL dissolved in the spring of 1807. The ground alleged for that dissolution was, that the King wished to appeal to the sense of his people, after the recent attempt on the part of his Ministers to carry the measure of Catholic Em-

pation. A great deal better ground exists for a dissolution at this time; for, here are the people, with voice unanimous, calling for a measure which the House of Commons will not pass, and which the Minister has presented to that House in accordance with that call. The dissolution, therefore, is now perfectly natural; it is a thing imperiously called for by the circumstances of the country; it is a thing which every just man is calling aloud for. The nation wants the Reform Bill to be carried; it sees that the Minister cannot carry it with the present House; it knows that he can carry it with such a House as a dissolution would give him; and, therefore, it says that, if the Bill be not carried, the fault is solely that of the Minister. Lord Grey must perceive that the nation reasons and concludes thus; and, therefore, if after all that we have seen; if, after all the proof that we have had of his sincerity in this cause; if we could still doubt of that sincerity, every one must perceive, that the preservation of his character absolutely commands him to dissolve the Parliament.

But, CAN he dissolve the Parliament? He can, if it be true that the King wishes that this Bill should be passed, To dissolve the Parliament there must be the consent of the King; and will the King refuse to give that consent? This is the question; it is, indeed, the only question at present; and it is perhaps the most important question, a question of the most fearful magnitude that one

Englishman ever put to another, in any period of the history of our country! But, I may be asked, how I can doubt of the King's readiness to give his consent to the dissolution of the Parliament, that being so obviously necessary to the success of this measure. I may be asked how I can doubt of this, seeing that all the newspapers have assured us, over and over again, that the King was tail as much in favour of the thing as his Ministers. I should rather disbelieve than believe the fact, if we had no better authority than that; but, the Ministers themselves have declared in Parliament, that they have brought forward the measure *with the entire sanction of the King*. This is a great deal; there is no question of their having spoken truth as to this matter; there is no question of their having had the complete sanction of the King for the bringing forward of this measure. But, alas, kings, though kings, are still but men; and men can *change their minds*, whether they be kings or shepherds.

It would be curious indeed, if this very Lord Grey should (which I trust will not be the case), *twice in his lifetime*, have had to experience a change of this sort in the mind of a King. By turning to page 419 of this present volume of the Register, where will be found No. 3 of the History of George IV., the reader will find, in paragraphs from 74 to 82 inclusive, the whole history of the change of the mind of George III. in 1807. He will there find that EARL GREY, then Lord Howick, brought in the Catholic Bill with the King's approbation and sanction; that it was brought in and read a first time without a division; that it was afterwards withdrawn by the Ministers themselves without opposition; and that the ministry were turned out thereupon and the Parliament dissolved. Upon that occasion Lord Grey declared in the House of Commons, that, "before he attempted to submit the consideration of the measure to the House, he laid before his Majesty all the particulars with regard to it, and obtained his Majesty's approbation of it!"

Yet, as I have observed before, the King *changed his mind*, and turned out Lord Grey and his colleagues. Therefore, though the Ministers have brought forward the present measure in like manner, with the approbation of the King, you see, my friends, that that does not make it amount to a *positive certainty* that the King will dissolve the Parliament for the sake of carrying a measure to which he had given his sanction. I do not *doubt* myself; I do not *suspect*; I do not fear; but in truth I know nothing of the matter, except, as I said before, that kings are *men*, and that all men are liable to change their minds; and that Lord Grey's twenty-four years' exile from that political power of which nature formed him for always having a large share, is a striking instance of the effects of the change in the mind of a King. Upon the occasion here referred to, the King was ready enough to dissolve the Parliament, and did dissolve it; when it was only four months old; but, observe, he dissolved it to keep in his new minister, and to keep out the one that had brought in the bill: he dissolved it, not for the purpose of causing to be carried the measure to which he had given his sanction, but in order to defeat the measure to which he had given his sanction; he dissolved it, however, when the senseless and hypocritical cry of "no-papery" had placed at his back the unreflecting millions of England and Wales and Scotland, led on by the parsons and the corporate bodies. In this latter respect, great indeed is the difference in the two cases. Then it was the millions who wished the measure to be defeated: now it is the millions who wished the measure not to be defeated: now it is the millions who wish the measure to be carried. Dissolution was then necessary to defeat the measure; dissolution is now necessary to carry the measure.

With regard to the King having given his sanction to this measure, there can be no doubt: that *must* be so; for, if that had not been the case it would at once have been contradicted in both

Houses of Parliament; but, with regard to the King still *containing in the same mind*, we have no such authority to rest on. And, now, let me stop here just to indulge my vanity for a moment. *PERRI*'s father had a *presentation*, you know, and why should not I? In talking, many times, with friends, about the way that I would go to work in making a parliamentary reform, if I were prime minister, I have, on such occasions, always said, that I never would accept of the office, unless the king would first put into my hand, signed by himself, a MESSAGE to both Houses of Parliament, recommending them to make a parliamentary reform, and containing some words describing the great principle of such reform. I always said that, "Put not your trust in princes" was a precept that never should be disobeyed by me; a precept implanted in my mind by that which occurred to *LOAN GARR* in 1807. How much better would it have been if Lord Grey had proceeded by message in this case! Then all would have been straightforward work: then there would have been no idle rumours, no suspicions among the people, no intrigues at court, no cabals of any sort. In short, the measure would have been carried long ago, and the nation, all the people being in perfect harmony and good humour, would have been preparing for the election of a reformed parliament.

But to what does all this tend? Do I suspect that the King has changed his mind? I suspect nothing; but, at the same time, I know nothing. I can only judge from appearances and circumstances; and, I cannot help putting to myself this question: Is it possible that the three hundred and one men, who voted against the second reading of the Bill could believe that the King would dissolve the parliament unless this Bill were carried by this parliament? This is the question which I put to myself; and I beg you, my friends, to put the same question to yourselves, in a very serious and deliberate manner. If these three hundred and one men believed that the parliament would be dis-

solved, and they sent to face the people if they voted against this Bill, would they have voted against it? Would they have voted against it, if they had believed that such vote would have sent them packing? Look well at the matter, my friends, take time to consider, and then answer that question to yourselves. These men are, to be sure, neither Solomons nor Solons; but, they are not madmen; they are so far from being regardless of their own interests and safety, that these are objects which always appear to be uppermost in their minds. Would they, then, have voted thus, purely for the pleasure and honour attending the publication of their names throughout the country? They knew to a certainty that, if the King dissolved the Parliament after that vote, scarcely a man of them would ever enter the House again. They could have no hope in *out-voting the ministry*; because a dissolution of the Parliament would render their vote of no use. It is, therefore, CERTAIN that these three hundred and one men believed, that, if there were a majority against the second reading, the King would not dissolve the Parliament.

Now, my friends, I do not say that the thing is so, because they believed it to be so; but, at the same time, here are three hundred and one men all acting upon this one and same belief; and there are amongst them a considerable number who know very well what is passing at the court and amongst all those who are likely to possess influence with the King. Pray observe, too, that in 1807, the King was defended against his Ministers by an assertion, that, though they had his sanction to a bill in favour of the Catholics, they had not clearly explained to him the full extent of that bill! This was a very ugly assertion; because it did not admit of disproof: there was no calling upon the King to give evidence in the case: the Ministers, therefore, had no defence against this; and, if the king should listen to advice such as would prevent his consent to a dissolution of Parliament, *LORD GREY* would find himself, as far as relates to this point, just in the situation in which

he found himself in 1807. Remark, I pray you, that the opposers of the bill have already laid the ground for this accusation against him. They have repeatedly said, that the bill, in its *present shape*, was not agreed upon by the cabinet until the eleventh hour: they have repeatedly insinuated that the King's name ought not to have been mentioned as connected with the bill; and you can see that they have been constantly endeavouring to cause it to be believed that the King has not been given clearly to understand the extent and drift of the bill. This is a very ugly circumstance; and, though I repeat that these men are neither Solomons nor Solons, they are not, downright fools or idiots.

These observations, my friends, would be useless if they pointed at no practical result; if they afforded no lesson to the people to teach them how to act. The question is not, now, whether this reform bill ought to be carried; but whether the Parliament ought to be dissolved, seeing that, without such dissolution, the reform bill *cannot be carried*! This, therefore, is now the business of the people. The King is legally endued with a power of dissolving Parliament at his pleasure; this prerogative, like all the rest which he possesses, has been given him for the good of his people; the good of his people demand the exercise of it at this time; and it is therefore the right as well as the duty of his people earnestly to implore him to exercise that power. Hitherto it has been sufficient to express gratitude to him for having given his sanction to this great measure; but now, when it is found that it is impossible to carry this measure without a dissolution of the Parliament, duty to themselves as well as to the King calls upon them to petition him to dissolve the Parliament.

It is nonsense to talk of waiting to see *what the House will do in the Committee*. We are apprized beforehand that there will be a great majority against the material parts of the bill in the Committee. To go into the committee at all, under such circumstances, must be looked upon, in fact, as an

abandonment of the bill on the part of the Ministers. Any to abandon it in this way would be a disgrace not to be endured by any man with English blood in his veins; and certainly not to be endured by Lord Grey, who has passed a whole long life amidst this turmoil of factions, and never yet did a mean thing, never *abased* himself in one single instance. To be in place at all, he can, at his age and after all that has passed, have no possible motive other than that of the good of his country; he has proposed the good, and in the most specific and full and clear manner; and, if the King shall not permit him to do the good, the only thing left for him to do is, to give up his post, and at the same time to declare, in the most full and clear manner, THE CAUSE OF HIS RESIGNATION OF THAT POST! To do this, not in speech in Parliament, which may be disfigured at the pleasure of the boroughmongers, but in some formal document, signed with his name; and thus prevent a repetition of the tricks that were played him in 1807. Then, indeed, he was not the PRIME MINISTER; he was merely a member of the ministry, and, in fact, he was under the GRENVILLES, who, however provoked, had, amongst them, *sinécures to the amount of thirty thousand pounds a year*. This was the power that kept him quiet under the load of obloquy, cast on him by the transactions of that period. He is now prime-minister himself. He is weighed down by no Grenvilles nor by any-body else. The people know that the bill is *his*, and solely *his*; and if the King will not let him use the only means by which it can be carried, it will be a duty to the country as well as to himself to state the fact, in the fullest and most authentic manner, to the nation, quite regardless of whom it may effect. The nation must be told the truth now, and the whole truth, let the telling of it affect what and whom it may; and then the nation will have Lord Grey, at any rate

I am stopped short here by a sight of the debate in the Lords last night (it is

now *Thursday morning*), every word of which is of importance. I beg you to read it with attention. Mark particularly the words of LORD GREY. This debate, on which I shall add some remarks, is of vital importance at this moment. It enables us to see clearly *what is the duty which the people have NOW to perform!*

LORD FARNHAM presented a petition from the Corporation of Dublin, against the Ministerial plan of Reform proposed by the Ministers:—
 “1st, Because it went to alter the relative situation of the different political bodies of the country, giving too much power to one at the expense of the rest; and, 2dly, Because it would have a material tendency, if extended to Ireland, to promote the views of those who were desirous of a Repeal of the Union. His Lordship presented another to the same effect from the Master and Wardens of the Guild of Merchants of Dublin.

The Earl of ROSEN had received letters requesting him to support the prayer of the petitions, which he thought himself bound to do. He was not, however, one of those who were hostile to all reform, but he was for a safe change and not a revolutionary reform; and it would be a revolutionary reform that would be effected if Parliament were to pass the present measure. If extended to Ireland, he fully agreed with the petitioners that it would have the strongest tendency to dissolve the union with Great Britain, a consequence of which would be a dismemberment of the empire, and the total destruction of the Protestant Church in Ireland. Viewing the measure in that light, it of course met with his strongest disapprobation. Hence the inconsistency and vacillation of public men that had led to these evils, and opened the flood-gates which let in these sweeping and dangerous schemes of revolutionary reform, which must end in the destruction of the constitution. He thought the petitioners had made out their case, that this would lead to a repeal of the Union.

Earl GREY, although he had always thought and said that it was a most inconvenient course to be discussing this measure incidentally on the presenting of petitions, yet he could not sit silent and hear it said that the measure of Reform proposed by his Majesty's Ministers was a revolutionary measure, and one which would end in the destruction of the constitution. He did not mean at present to enter upon the discussion of the subject at length, but he could not hear that assertion—for assertion it was, and not argument—without meeting it with a contrary and most confident assertion, that the measure in question had no such tendency. He asserted that its tendency was directly the reverse of that which had been ascribed to it by the noble Earl, and it was on that account that it had been introduced, and it was for that reason that he would support it to the utmost of his power. The noble Earl said that the petitioners had made out their case; that this measure had a tendency to lead to a repeal of the Union. But they had only made it out in the same manner as the noble Earl had made out his case; and that was by confident assertion, but by no argument. When the measure should be assailed by argument, he should feel no difficulty in defending it, and showing that it was liable to none of those imputations that had been cast upon it. As to the assertion that it would have a tendency to produce a dissolution of the Union between Great Britain and Ireland, he felt so powerfully the necessity, for the sake of both countries, to maintain that Union, that if the measure in question had that tendency, he should think that circumstance a strong objection to it. But, on the contrary, as the bill was calculated not to promote, but to prevent revolution here, and to allay if not to extinguish the discontents, and to calm the irritation which threatened to produce revolution in Ireland,—its tendency would be, not to lead to the repeal of the Union, but to allay those

"discontents and that irritation which
 "occasioned the clamours for the re-
 "peal. Such, he was persuaded, would
 "be the effect of the measure in Ire-
 "land as well as in England. With
 "respect to the observation of the
 "noble Earl, that it was the incon-
 "sistencies of public men that led to
 "these measures; from that imputa-
 "tion of inconsistency he was not called
 "upon to defend himself. It was well
 "known that he had retained the prin-
 "ciples which he had always held with
 "reference to another measure of Re-
 "form, *when for these principles he had*
 "*been driven from office twenty-six*
 "*years ago; and yet those by whom*
 "these principles had been most ar-
 "dently combated, had been compelled
 "at last to pass these very measures
 "which he had then so strongly advoc-
 "ated, and to pass them under far
 "less favourable circumstances than
 "then existed, and with far less
 "beneficial results than would have
 "attended their adoption at that time.
 "As to the question of Parliamentary Re-
 "form, which more immediately con-
 "cerned the present subject, it was well
 "known that he had from his earliest
 "years supported it, and that at the com-
 "mencement of his Parliamentary car-
 "eer, he had introduced into the other
 "House a measure on the subject. He
 "had always retained the same opinions
 "on that question, although he had
 "failed in effecting his object.
 "But if this measure were to fail in his
 "hands now, and the present Govern-
 "ment should be dissolved on that prin-
 "ciple, the consequence would be, that
 "Reform would be afterwards forced
 "upon men in office; and such a reform,
 "and under such circumstances, that
 "there was great reason to fear that
 "then the reform would indeed be revolu-
 "tionary. Perhaps he had said more
 "than enough on a question raised in
 "this incidental and irregular manner.
 "But he felt himself called upon by the
 "observations made by the noble Earl
 "to maintain that the measure of Reform
 "proposed by his Majesty's Ministers,
 "was a measure of constitutional Re-
 "form, in contradistinction to a revolu-

"tionary measure—a constitutional
 "Reform which had given general satis-
 "faction, and which would contribute
 "equally to the strength of the Govern-
 "ment, and to the prosperity of the
 "country. (Hear, hear.)

"The Earl of ROSEN, in explanation,
 "said, that he had given no occasion to
 "the noble Earl to suppose that when
 "he spoke of the inconsistencies of
 "public men, he had alluded to him.
 "He certainly did not allude to whether
 "his opinion of the measure was right
 "or wrong, he meant no disrespect to
 "the noble Earl. When the time came
 "for arguing the question, he would
 "state his reasons for his opinion.

"The Earl of CAERNARVON hoped
 "that the measure, if it came to this
 "House at all, would at least be so al-
 "tered that their Lordships would find
 "that it was not revolutionary. But
 "that, as it stood at present, it bore the
 "impress of that character, was, he be-
 "lieved, the opinion of one half of the
 "people of property in this country.
 "That there must be a reform of some
 "kind without delay, might be taken
 "to be decided by the vote of last
 "night. But it had always been his
 "opinion that any measure of reform
 "ought to be entertained with great
 "caution, and proceeded with slowly, so
 "as to give the most ample time for
 "consideration and for discussion, and
 "that it ought not to be brought for-
 "ward and carried on with that breath-
 "less haste with which his Majesty's
 "Ministers had proceeded with their
 "measure. They were scarcely settled
 "in their seats when they came down
 "with this scheme, which would, if
 "passed into law, have the effect of
 "unsettling and changing all the insti-
 "tutions and constituency of the country,
 "except in the Universities—institutions
 "and a constituency which might be
 "said to have existed from time imme-
 "morial in this Kingdom. When he
 "had, on a former occasion, called this
 "a new constitution, he had been de-
 "murred; but it was a new constitution.
 "They had already seen many new
 "constitutions among other nations;
 "but that a new constitution should be

" proposed for this country, which
 " would upset all its old institutions,
 " was not what was expected by the
 " people of these realms, and it was nat-
 " ural for them to be alarmed? He
 " was not connected with any borough,
 " nor did he know that he had influence
 " enough to secure the return of one
 " Member. He had no interest in the
 " matter, except that which every man
 " who loved his country, and wished to
 " live and die under its ancient institu-
 " tions, ought to have. But he was ad-
 " verse to all sweeping reforms, for it was
 " impossible to make any material al-
 " teration in any one particular, without
 " more or less affecting the rest. He
 " had been always ready to promote
 " reform where an abuse existed, but
 " then he was for reforming gradually,
 " and for correcting abuses when it be-
 " came necessary, and when it was
 " clear that a pressure existed. We
 " had had the good fortune to pre-
 " serve our institutions unimpaired
 " when all around us tottered. He
 " had seen no less than twenty-six con-
 " stitutions produced in the course of
 " the French Revolution, as fast as they
 " were formed in the prolific brains of
 " the French philosophers. We our-
 " selves had been great constitution-
 " mongers. We had prepared a con-
 " stitution for Corsica; and when the
 " Lord-Lieutenant that was to govern
 " the Island had called his Parliament
 " together, it had not sat half an hour
 " when he was obliged to fly, and take
 " refuge from it in a fortress, from which
 " he was glad to escape, and get on
 " board a British ship. A similar ex-
 " periment had been made in Sicily;
 " and their Lordships knew with what
 " success and with what results. It
 " was the attempting to reform all at
 " once which produced these practical
 " evils; and it was, therefore, that he,
 " whether he was right or wrong,
 " was disappointed with this measure.
 " With cautious, slow, temperate reform
 " —with reform *bit by bit, as abuses*
 " *appeared* and the occasion called for
 " it, he would have been pleased. His
 " noble Friend (Earl Grey) had said, that
 " he had not to defend himself against

" any well-founded charge of inconsis-
 " tency in supporting this measure;
 " but if his noble Friend chose to take
 " up the cause of some of his friends
 " who now supported it, he would have
 " much to defend. Was the measure
 " now proposed what was to be ex-
 " pected from the speech in which his
 " noble Friend had announced it; and
 " was the speech a fitting prologue to
 " the plan? It was the greatest of all
 " humbugs to say that reform would
 " be a panacea for all political evils.
 " His noble Friend had said that there
 " would be little difference between
 " his noble Friend and him, and that
 " they only proposed to do the same in
 " a different way; and was his noble
 " Friend then aware of the desperate
 " plunge which he was afterwards to
 " take? But he hoped *the Commons*
 " *would modify or alter it*; for, as it
 " stood at present, it was the most
 " dangerous that had ever been brought
 " forward. He was favourable to re-
 " form *as the occasion called for it*;
 " but he did not know that he could
 " ever be persuaded to go to that extent.
 " He would not go into the subject
 " more at length at present. (Hear,
 " hear, from the Lord Chancellor.) He
 " might, perhaps, fall under the lash of
 " the wit of the noble and learned Lord
 " who interrupted him in this irregular
 " way; but he insisted that, after the
 " eulogium which had been pronounced
 " on his own measure, he ought not to
 " allow the matter to pass without ob-
 " servation. (Earl Grey.—Hear, hear.)
 " He repeated, that since his noble
 " Friend had chosen to start the discus-
 " sion, he ought to be answered. ●
 " The Marquess of Lansdown.—Al-
 " though he had the means at that time
 " of entering into a discussion of the
 " subject at large, yet, after the allu-
 " sions that had been made to his noble
 " Friend near him, (Earl Grey,) and to
 " his having started the subject, he
 " could not forbear reminding the noble
 " Earl that he had forgotten that his
 " noble Friend had said nothing on the
 " subject until the discussion had been
 " started by the noble Earl on the other
 " side. (Roden.) The noble Earl had

" stated that he had the strongest ob-
 " jections to his noble Friend's measure,
 " although of what nature he did not
 " distinctly state. It was not his in-
 " tention at present to discuss the prin-
 " ciple of that measure, but he had too
 " great a sense of the importance of that
 " measure to allow the noble Earl's re-
 " marks to pass without some reply,
 " although he would speak with the
 " greatest respect of the noble Earl,
 " whom, he believed, he might call his
 " noble Friend. As to the charge, that
 " this measure had been brought forward
 " and carried on with breathless haste
 " —if the noble Earl would consult the
 " votes of the House of Commons, he
 " would find that a much longer time
 " than six weeks had elapsed from their
 " taking office and the proposal of the
 " measure. It had been announced here
 " six weeks before it was brought for-
 " ward. After it was proposed in the
 " other House, it was discussed for
 " seven days on the first reading, and
 " debated two nights on the second
 " reading, after an interval of about a
 " fortnight, and it was not to be com-
 " mitted till after the holidays; and
 " this was the breathless haste of which
 " the noble Earl complained. No doubt
 " the measure was one of too great im-
 " portance to be hurried forward with-
 " out due consideration and attention,
 " which it was the duty of Parliament
 " to pay to a measure of so much con-
 " sequence. But the more that meas-
 " ure was considered, the more it would
 " appear that the result would be that
 " it would be the best means of securing
 " the country from those evils which
 " the noble Earl and all of them depre-
 " cated. But he would say to him, and
 " to all those who admitted that some
 " reform was desirable, "Come for-
 " ward with your plan of reform, state
 " distinctly what it is, and then we
 " shall be able to judge whether his
 " noble Friend's plan or that which
 " they proposed was best calculated to
 " accomplish the desired object. Let
 " them state their plan, and then the
 " public would be enabled to judge
 " which plan was the most conformable
 " to the ancient principles of the con-

" stitution—he said the ancient princi-
 " ples of the constitution; for he knew
 " of no ancient principles of the con-
 " stitution on which Parliamentary re-
 " presentation was founded, except
 " property and knowledge, which were
 " always changing. How then could
 " the constitution be preserved in its
 " ancient principles, unless they fol-
 " lowed the changes of knowledge
 " and property, and brought the power
 " of choosing the representatives in Par-
 " liament to them? Unless they did
 " this, then, property and knowledge
 " would be unrepresented, and the an-
 " cient principles of the constitution
 " would be departed from. The con-
 " sequence of the exclusion of property
 " and knowledge from being unrepre-
 " sented would be, that these would be
 " used as a lever for ambition and tur-
 " bulence to work upon; and the result
 " would be the destruction of that
 " which we all wished so much to pre-
 " serve. But as the noble Lord had
 " refrained, as had been done by others
 " in another place, from stating dis-
 " tinctly what his plan of reform was,
 " its nature must be gathered as much
 " as it could be collected from the vague
 " hints which the noble Earl had thrown
 " out. The noble Earl said that his
 " reform would be a moderate and
 " gradual reform, and that it would be
 " a reform carried on slowly—*bit by*
 " *bit*—as the occasions arose. But if
 " his noble Friend meant that it was to
 " be a reform by *perpetual changes*,
 " constantly keeping alive discussion
 " and irritation, that was what he (Lord
 " Lansdown) protested against. His
 " Majesty's Ministers had proceeded
 " slowly and deliberately, and with
 " much consideration, as the importance
 " of the subject demanded. But then a
 " scheme was wanted on which Parlia-
 " ment could make its stand, and not
 " one which shall leave the subject
 " liable to continual discussion from
 " session to session. A measure of re-
 " form was wanted which would unite
 " in its favour the feelings of all classes,
 " and which would afford a reasonable
 " prospect that Parliament could make
 " its stand without the necessity of

“making changes. What the noble Earl’s scheme was, did not distinctly appear, but the noble Earl said that he would reform bit by bit. The noble Earl there seemed to allude to some schemes of reform of his in the House which he himself produced bit by bit for two years, calling a multitude of witnesses to this House, at a very serious expense, on the case of the Pearyn election. But the noble Earl had his bit-and-bit reform thrown back on his hands, and he knew what was the opinion of the House about it, considering what its state of opinion then was. The noble Earl’s bit-by-bit reform would be neither more nor less than a source of constant irritation, agitation, and discontent, and that was a scheme of reform against which he (Lord Lansdown) protested. As to the measure proposed by his Majesty’s Minister, it was formed on the basis of the ancient principles of the constitution, and it was most just and reasonable in its provisions, and well deserved the support of Parliament and of the country. (Hear, hear.) As to the noble Earl’s allusions to Corsica and Sicily, he could not but be aware that the state of society there was very different from what it was here, and that although the measure might not suit either of these places, it by no means followed that it would not suit this country.

“The Earl of CAERNARVON, in explanation, said that, notwithstanding his failure in the case of the Pearyn election, he had succeeded in getting one of the Members for Granpound transferred to Yorkshire, and that was satisfaction enough for all his labour and expense.

“The LORD CHANCELLOR.—He would not have said a word on the present occasion had the noble Earl not alluded in a marked manner to him, and asserted that he was irregular when he said, hear, hear, in the course of the noble Earl’s speech. Now he did not mean to say that he was very well acquainted with their Lords’ orders; but he supposed

they expressed assent or dissent by cheering or saying “hear, hear,” as they did in the other House. Now what he meant to intimate was a total dissent from almost every thing that the noble Earl said; and although the noble Earl appeared to insinuate that he only said “hear, hear,” because he was unable to answer the noble Earl; if he thought so he was never more mistaken in his life, for there was nothing on earth that he could do more easily than answer him, although that had been done much more effectually by the powerful and triumphant speech of the noble President of the Council. And then the noble Earl himself, who complained of irregularity, had, in his two feeble speeches, violated the nineteenth Standing Order of the House. But the noble Earl had said that the measure had been brought into the other House with almost breathless haste—almost as soon, we believe he said, as within six weeks from the time Ministers were settled in their offices. Now, what if it were double that time—what if it were three months? The Ministers had taken office on the 22d November, and the second reading of the Bill had taken place exactly four months from that time. It had not been brought into the other House till three months after, and it had been a month more there before it was read a second time. So much for the breathless haste. The noble Earl had not of course the same opportunity of knowing the state of opinion, and the principles of action which prevailed in the country, as the Ministers had from their correspondence from all quarters. But if he had been in office, and had access to that correspondence, he (the Lord Chancellor) was morally certain that the noble Earl would be so far from attacking this plan as revolutionary, that on the contrary, he would hail it as his strongest support against revolution, and sacrifice his bit-by-bit reform—a happy name which he had found for his system—on the altar of his country. But if the Ministers had delayed

the bringing forward their plan but one month longer, they would, he had no doubt, have been assailed on the opposite ground by those who now chose the side of the breathless haste. *He had seen such a disposition in the noble Earl to attack the Ministers ever since they came into office*, that he had no doubt but that such would have been the case. He had opened his fire upon them, not by platoons, but by a pop-pop from his pop-gun. It was a bit by bit attack. (A laugh.) But had they delayed but for one month more, then the noble Earl would have said, 'You made great promises on the subject of reform when you came into office, but here are four months elapsed since, and not a bit of reform has been produced.' But he had rather meet the attack in this shape than in any other. He had rather be opposed by those who openly and frankly avowed that they wanted no reform, than by the bit and bit reformers. He would not enter into a comparison between the present measure and that of the noble Earl's shadowy shape of reform—

"If shape it might be called which shape had none,
"Distinguishable in member, joint, or limb,
"Of substance which but shadow seemed,
"Of each seem'd either."

After all, nothing would astonish him more than to find that this scheme of reform had any existence. (The Earl of Carnarvon: *I am not obliged to produce a plan.*) Why, then, he said that he was not bound to wait for it. (A laugh.) The noble Earl desired them not to go on till he produced his plan, and now he said he would do nothing—he would not even advance step by step, nor bit by bit; and yet desired them to wait till he had done nothing. (A laugh.) But this measure was a real and complete improvement, which ought to satisfy the country, and, according to all appearances, would satisfy all classes of the community. He was, he confessed, very suspicious about those who now qualified their opposition by saying that they approved of some reform, although before they had been against all reform. He dreaded

the same game being played on reform that had been played on the Catholic Question, the result of which would be, if successful, that reform would be forced upon us, and there were many chances to one of its being then not so safe and so wholesome as the measure of Reform which was now proposed; for no man ought to wait till the time of safety was gone, and till the flood gates were opened, which would overwhelm all in destruction.

Lord FARNHAM said, that the real nature of the Ministerial Plan of Reform could well be understood by considering what description of persons they were who approved of it. In Ireland its chief supporters were precisely the persons who had been most distinguished in agitation for a dissolution of the Union. (Hear.)

The Duke of Richmond said, that it would be time to discuss the details of the bill when it came before the House, as it certainly should come. (Hear, hear.) The noble Lord (Carnarvon) had not stated whether his bill would contemplate the disfranchisement of such boroughs as Gatton or Sarum. He saw a noble Lord opposite to whom the answer to that question might be interesting. (Hear, hear.)

Lord Monson, considering himself alluded to by the noble Duke, would take that opportunity of declaring that, were he of opinion that the close boroughs, such as those which the noble Duke had mentioned, were really injurious to the interests of the people of England, he would himself be the first to call for their abolition. (Hear, hear.) But his firm conviction was the contrary, and he would be prepared to give the reasons of his opinion when the question came before the House. (Hear.) The petition was received, and the House adjourned.

Now, my friends, if you have read all this with attention, and especially the speech of Lord GERR, you cannot fail to be convinced that the dissolution is not yet certain; for his Lordship

evidently contemplates the possibility and the consequences of his being again "driven from office!" Such is the amount of his words; and he never utters words without meaning, and without being frank and sincere as to that meaning. What he says with regard to the cause of his former expulsion from office, which, as I have shown in the History of George the Fourth, was by an intrigue and by hypocrisy such as the world had never witnessed before; what he says upon this subject is perfectly true, and not less striking than it is true! I pray you to mark this well. If Catholic Emancipation had taken place in consequence of the bill which he brought into the House of Commons in 1807, how different would have been the state of Ireland at this moment! In consequence of the measure having been rejected, having been prevented by the foulest intrigue that ever disgraced a state, Ireland was kept in a state of turmoil for two-and-twenty years. The cost of that turmoil to England and Scotland, taking everything into view, was not so little as ten million of pounds sterling a year! And, when the measure was at last adopted, how different the result, from what that result would have been if it had been adopted in 1807! The measure was at last adopted, by the very men that had defeated it in 1807; by the very men who had driven Lord Grey from office because he had proposed that same measure! I call it the same measure, because both measures restored the Catholics to their municipal and political rights; but Lord Grey's measure was not accompanied with the disfranchisement of forty-shilling freeholders, nor with any other of the little spiteful provisions, which prove to all the world that that which was given was given grudgingly. And there was Lord Grey, at the end of twenty-two years' expulsion from power, giving his support to this measure, when brought forward by those who had expelled him because he brought forward this very measure.

But the view in which this past transaction is most interesting to his Majesty and ourselves, and particularly to

his Majesty, at this moment, is this; namely, that Catholic Emancipation, which would have been received as a gracious gift in 1807, was, in 1829, received as a thing extorted from the Government! WELLINGTON and PEEL both confessed that they gave it with the greatest reluctance: they pleaded dire necessity; and, of course, the people of Ireland received it as something which they had extorted by terror. Wellington, Peel, the whole of the men in power, confessed that they yielded to the dread of total convulsion in Ireland. They, upon that ground, being reduced to that state, gave a great deal more than would have satisfied the Catholics in 1807. In short, they made an absolute surrender; and took none of those "securities" for the Established Church which the Catholics were eager to consent to in 1807; and, as every man of sense perceived at the time, they, by the bill of 1829, gave a blow to that establishment which it could never recover. The result has been, that which must naturally be expected from every extorted concession; namely, an incessant restlessness to obtain more and more, and particularly the total repeal and abolition of the Protestant Church in Ireland, which must take place before Ireland ever again will know peace. I should tell you, my friends, and particularly the young men amongst you, that while Lord Grey was preparing the measure of Catholic Emancipation, Lord SEVENER (the father of Lord ALTHORPE), who was then Secretary of State for the Home Department, was taking infinite pains to ascertain the real state of the Protestant Church in Ireland; and it was in contemplation at that time to propose such alterations with regard to that Church, as might, in conjunction with the operation of the Emancipation Bill, have satisfied all reasonable men, whether Catholics or Protestants. By the rejection of Lord Grey's bill of 1807, all conciliation was cast to the winds: the measure of Emancipation was put off, till the people in power were compelled to adopt it; and thus the Catholics had given to them the power of dealing at their pleasure with

the Protestant Church, with every motive on earth to deal with it in the harshest manner; and that Church is destined to experience the fatal consequences of the vile court-intrigue which defeated the bill of Lord GALEY in 1807.

Now, then, my friends, with this piece of history before their eyes, will the Church and the aristocracy again beset the King, in order to induce him to *change his mind*, and thereby defeat the measure brought in by his sanction, and of fifty thousand times more importance to him and to his people, including the aristocracy and the clergy, than was the bill of 1807? Will they combine for this purpose, and that too in opposition to the voice of the people in every part of the United Kingdom? Will they attempt, by imitating the means made use of in 1807, to *put off* Reform, as Catholic Emancipation was put off, until the hour, as my Lord GALEY observes, when it will be *forced* upon them, as Catholic Emancipation finally was? Will they attempt to do this thing by an endeavour to prevail on his Majesty to refuse to dissolve the Parliament? If they do, let them recollect that the putting off will not be for a period of twenty-two years; no, nor, in all human probability, for a period of twenty-two months. Let them recollect also what have been the consequences of the putting off for that twenty-two years; and, to know the consequences of putting off Reform for twenty-two months, let them look at the words of Lord GALEY in that debate; let them be warned by those words; let the awful warning have its due effect upon their minds; let them remember that it is not Ireland, with her harshly-treated and bare and destitute people, with patient-preaching priests to keep them quiet by persuasion, and with this great country of prejudiced Protestants to *overlay* them, at any moment, at the holding up of the finger of the Government; let them recollect that it is not the miserable and destitute Catholics of Ireland, whose resentment is now to be excited; but the whole of the people of this

Island, the boroughmongers and the tax-eaters excepted. Let them recollect that it is not a wretched people kept down by an hierarchy and a squirearchy of a different religion. Let them recollect that they can bring no great country to overlay this. Let them recollect that there is no force upon earth able to compel this people to cease making their utmost efforts to obtain that Reform which has now been proposed by the Minister.

There has been on the part of the opposition to this measure, frequent calls to "look at France;" to look at the series of revolutions which have taken place in that country. I desire nothing better. I say, do pray look at France and at her series of revolutions: look at them, and you will find that every one of them is to be ascribed, not to reform, but to the *want of reform*; not to a listening to the voice of the people on the part of the Government; but, to *not listening to the voice of the people on the part of the Government*. In some of the speeches it has been broadly hinted to the King, that it behoves him to look at the *fate of Louis XVI.*! I will not follow the example here; but, I will not only hint to the boroughholding aristocracy and the benediced clergy to look at the fate of those orders in France, but will desire them to look well at that fate, and to be patient while I remind them of the real causes of the fall of those orders in that kingdom.

France, borne down by debts and taxes, arising from unnecessary wars, and from a prodigal expenditure in every department of the state, found herself, in the year 1787, in a state of great financial embarrassment, with a people impatient of their burdens and resolved to endure them no longer. Half a dozen finance ministers succeeded each other, each with his budget of tricks, but each failing in an attempt to alleviate the burden of the country. After *Hivers* expedients, it was at last resolved to call together, after a lapse of nearly two centuries, the *States-General*, to represent the complaints and wants of the people; and, in short, to

put things to rights. The French laboured under disadvantages which we do not. They had not two Houses of Legislature, to which the people had been accustomed for ages and ages, and a King with functions as clearly defined as those of Justice of the Peace or of Constable. Their legislative bodies, therefore, fell into disputes relative to their functions and rights; but these disputes would have been of trifling importance, if the aristocracy had been sincere in favour of a reformation of abuses. For I appeal to BURKE, as I recently have done, as complete authority for saying, that, in the *instructions* which the people sent to their representatives from every part of the kingdom, in those written and positive instructions, not a single word was found to indicate a wish for the destruction of any institution of the country; not a single wish to change the form of the Government in the smallest particular; not a single word expressive of a wish for any thing but a *reformation of abuses*, and a taking from the aristocracy those powers which they had usurped, contrary to the ancient laws and usages of the kingdom.

This was the temper of the people of France in the year 1788. In January, 1789, the representatives of the people met with these instructions in their hands. In the month of July, in that same year of 1789, the Bastille was taken by the people in spite of the military, and then the work of destroying the monarchy was fairly begun; we all know that Louis XVI. was dethroned in August, 1792; that he was put to death in the month of January, 1793, and what we have now to do is to ascertain *the cause of the progress from a desire to do nothing but reform, to this tragical mark of complete revolution*. Observe, that BURKE himself states, that when the States-General met in 1789, he is convinced that there was not a man in all France, who would not have heard with scorn and indignation any proposition for the destruction of the monarchy; yet, in the course of three years, that monarchy was, in fact, completely subverted; and that, too, with

the hearty concurrence of that same French people. The *petitions* now poured in from all parts of this kingdom, like the *instructions* sent to the States-General, contain not a breath from which it can be inferred that any man in the kingdom wishes for the destruction of the kingly government, nor for that of any order in the State; contain not a single breath, from which it can be inferred that any man wishes for any change in the form of the government, or for any alteration that shall abridge the prerogatives of the King, or the just, the long-established, privileges of the peers. The people of England NOW feel as the people of France felt in 1788; and, let it be ever remembered, that if their feeling *should change*, as those of the people of France changed, it will *not be their fault*; but the fault of those who, in imitation of the fatal example of the aristocracy of France, shall resist and defeat the prayer for reform!

The punishment inflicted on the aristocracy of France was very great; and the degradation which they had to endure was still greater; but, neither was greater than they deserved; for it was they, it was their injustice and arrogance, that brought the King to the block, and that plunged their country in blood.

The great object of the French people was to compel the aristocracy to surrender the enormous power which they had by degrees usurped over both king and people. They had usurped to themselves all the offices, all the employments, all the valuable privileges, even down to the carrying on of profitable trades. They had all the offices of the army and navy in their hands, or in those of their relations and dependents. They had ten thousand of their order, or belonging to their order, on the pension and half-pay list of the army alone. MADAME DE POMPADOUR represents LOUIS XV. as *thanking God for a defeat of his army*; because every victory brought swarms of the noble-se to be put on the pension-list, for services or pretended services. This cormorant noblesse had beggared the nation.

They had drained it to such an extent that the farmers were unable to pay wages to the labouring people; the land was falling out of cultivation; people of property emigrating in all directions, and a half starvation was seen to spread itself over whole provinces.

This monstrous oppression the people traced to the unjust power of the noblesse who, and whose families and dependents, were wallowing in luxury, while the industrious classes were perishing. Therefore, to take from the noblesse this usurped and mischievous power, was the great object of the people of France. It was, too, the object of LA FAYETTE and numerous others of the nobility themselves, who saw, not only that the people must continue to suffer, but that their country must sink into a state of insignificance, unless some great change were adopted. The main body of the noblesse, however, refused to bring themselves to give up the prey which they had so long enjoyed, opposed themselves to this reform; insisted that only some *slight corrections of abuses* were necessary; dwelt on the antiquity and sacredness of their rights and privileges; and, unable to make impression on the minds of the people by means like these, many of them emigrated into Germany and the Netherlands, intrigued with foreign despots, and made preparations for forming an alliance of those despots, to compel the French people, by force of arms, to desist from their efforts to obtain the grand reform which they sought. But, the great resource of this wicked and tyrannical aristocracy was, *their influence over the mind of the poor king*, who appears to have been an honest and humane man; but a man of mind too weak to resist the seductions by which he was beset. His Queen, a princess of the house of Austria, to whom haughtiness of the Luciferian stamp was natural, had great power over him. His two brothers, since LOUIS XVIII. and CHARLES X., were also bitter enemies of all reformation. So that, however good and sincere a man the king might have been in him-

self, he was continually induced to act an insincere part, continually making promises and continually breaking them. This, however, only tended to urge the nation on, step by step, till at last, the National Assembly, which now represented all the people, proceeded to the making of a new constitution, which should deprive their arrogant enemies, forever, of their power of oppression. The King gave his consent to this constitution; but, *in secret*, "made a protest against the sanction which he had already given, against the present sanction, and every sanction that should be obtained from him in future by what he called violence." This was in the month of June, 1791. The emigrants had already obtained a coalition of the despots; and the French people ascribed these to the influence of the Queen and the feebleness and insincerity of the King, who had refused his assent to several decrees against the emigrants; but who was now about to be put to the trial by accepting or refusing the constitution itself.

To avoid this, he was advised to take a step that determined his fate; namely, that of escaping out of the territories of France, and joining the enemies of his people. He and his whole family secretly departed from his palace in the night of the 20th of June; but, by the vigilance of the country people, he was stopped on the road at a short distance from the frontiers, and brought back to Paris, his two brothers having got safe out of France by another road. After this, no soul in France ever placed confidence in his word. He accepted the constitution, signed it, and swore to maintain it; but nobody ever believed him sincere. He was continually accused of secretly siding with the enemies of France. His brothers and their friends formed part of an army at Coblenz, ready to invade France. I was in France from February, 1792, till September, in that year. The emigrants and the despots were hovering with their armies on the borders of France; and though the King signed declarations against them, every soul in France, down to the little carter boys

and shepherd boys, believed him to wish success to their enemies, and to be aiding them to the utmost of his power, by listening to others than his own Ministers, and by acting, in fact, contrary to the pledges which he had given to his Ministers and to the people. At last the people, with one accord, seemed to demand his dethronement, which took place on the 10th of August, 1792, while I was in Picardy, on my road from St. Omer's to Havre de Grace. It is well known that he was beheaded in January, 1793; and thus ended this King, not a victim to either vice or folly; for he was not a fool, and by no means a vicious man; not a victim to a tyrannical disposition, nor a disposition to waste the means of his people, for he was a mild and humane man, and not a luxurious and profligate squanderer; not to any obstinacy in resisting the just claims of his suffering people, for it appears to have been his most anxious desire to accede to them. But a victim he fell to the incessant importunities, the false representations, the insidious advice, of a crafty, a greedy, an arrogant, an insolent and cruel aristocracy, who could not endure the idea of stooping from their usurped height, and of withdrawing their ever-grasping hands from the pockets of the industrious parts of the community.

From the melancholy fate of this de- luded King, let us turn with feelings very different from those which that fate in- spires, to the well-merited fate of that aristocracy. Let us behold them, and let those who revile the Reform Bill of Lord Grey behold them, scattered, like the blaspheming Jews, over every country upon earth, and every-where pursued by the curses of their own country and the contempt and scorn of all the rest of mankind. Even when crept back again into their native land, those of them who survived their ignominious exile, were stripped of their estates, and restored to their title as it were in mockery, and to per- petuate their treason to their country and to their King. Alas, all that the French people wanted of them in the

year 1788 was, that they should give up the power which they had usurped. *Their titles and estates they might still have enjoyed*; but by resolving to pre- serve the powers that they had usurped; by their efforts to preserve these, they not only lost these, but *their titles and estates into the bargain!* What a lesson!

After this, one is astonished to hear people referring to the French Revolu- tion for arguments *against* reform. Ar- guments for it that Revolution furnishes the most cogent in the world. An at- tempt to bring back the ancient usurpa- tions of the aristocracy, and to restrict the people in the enjoyment of their political rights, produced the fall of CHARLES X. An endeavour, or rather, a series of endeavours, to prevent the people of France from freely choosing their representatives, are producing all the troubles of LOUIS-PHILIPPE, who must finally yield to the reasonable de- mands of the people, or share the fate of his predecessors. All Europe is in a state of commotion, every-where are the people on foot to obtain a just share in the government of their country; and is it to be believed that England is the only country in which the people are not to succeed!

In every view that one can possibly take of the matter, it appears to be madness in the English aristocracy, above all men living, to resist this Bill or to attempt to chip it to pieces. The Bill is essentially *a whole*: take away one part, you spoil all the rest. When one looks at the magnitude of its ob- jects, and the number of its provisions, one can hardly believe one's eyes at perceiving so much matter so clearly expressed and in so small a compass. There is deep reflection imprinted on every line of it. It is all that we want, and we want it all. "THE BILL," as some gentleman said, at the Surrey Meeting; "THE WHOLE BILL, AND NOTHING BUT THE BILL," let this be the unanimous cry of the people of England; and, the people will then be safe, the King great and happy, and the aristocracy safe and rich in spite of themselves.

This Bill, which I inserted at full length in the last number of the Register, will be one of the great constitutional landmarks of England; and, bare justice will always demand that, as "PEEL'S BILL" stands inseparable from the name of its author, so ought this Bill, the one as famous for the mischiefs it has done as the latter for the good which it will inevitably do. I have before distinctly stated that this Bill was proposed to the Parliament thirty-four years ago, by LORD GREY; but, in a matter of such importance, and especially in a case where justice is to be done to one who has conferred so great a benefit on his country, it is right to produce indubitable proof of the correctness of the statement, which I here do in an extract from the ANNUAL REGISTER for the year 1797.

"On the twenty-sixth of May, Mr. GREY rose, in pursuance of previous notice, to move for a reform in the representation of the people. After an exordium, contrasting our former prosperity with our present distress, and also asserting the purity and patriotism of his present intentions, he expressed his wish that our establishment should remain as it was, composed of Lords and Commons. He proposed, that the county representation should remain nearly on the same footing only, that instead of ninety-two county members, there should be one hundred and thirteen. For instance, instead of two for the county of York, there should be two for each Riding; and so in other counties, where the present representation was not proportionate to the extent of population. In order to put an end to compromises, each county, or riding, should be divided into grand divisions, each of which should return one representative. With regard to the qualifications of electors, instead of confining the right of election to freeholders, it should be extended to copyholders and leaseholders, who were bound to pay a certain annual rent, a certain number of years. But the reform which he had to propose, in the other branch of representation, was

of a much more extensive nature. It was, that the remaining four hundred members should be returned by one description of persons, which were householders. If it were possible, one person should not be permitted to vote for more than one member of Parliament. In order to prevent expense, the poll ought to be taken through the whole kingdom at one time: this was the outline of his plan; to state that it could be obtained at first with exactness, or was not liable to difficulties, would be presumptuous and absurd. But he flattered himself there would be found no insuperable or fundamental objections to it. The landowner would find his property suitably represented; the merchant support in the householders; and men of respectability and talents in the different professions would find a fair door open for admission into Parliament. The only persons whom he wished to exclude from that House, were men who were neither possessed of lauded property, nor engaged in commercial enterprise, nor professors of any particular science, and who, without property, without industry, and without talents, obtained seats in the House of Commons, by the influence of great men, for the purpose, not of consulting the good of the people, but of promoting their own interests."

And is this nobleman, now that he has the whole of the people at his back, going to abandon this measure? Is he going to suffer it to be chipped away in a committee? Oh, no! The only question, as I said before, is, will the King consent to dissolve the Parliament, or will he not; or rather, that is the only question with those who oppose the Bill; but with me, and with the rest of the King's dutiful and tax-paying subjects, it can be no question at all. But a king is still but a man, and is liable to importunities, blandishments; and delusive statements, like other men. It is therefore the duty of the people now humbly to pray him to dissolve this present Parliament, and by that exercise of his undoubted preroga-

tive, to give them an opportunity, in a legal and constitutional manner, to support his Ministers on this great and important occasion, when the honour of their country, as well as its peace and happiness, are so manifestly at stake. That every man of you, my friends, will discharge your duty in this respect, I have no doubt; and if the people in general imitate your laudable example, we shall have what has always been the first wish of my heart, a reform of Parliament by peaceable means.

On the bit-and-bit reform patronised by Lord CARMARVON, while his son is, by the by, *sharply looking out for the county of Hauts*, it is unnecessary to say anything to you, who have read the pretty little sharp, biting speech of Lord BROUGNAM, except perhaps just to mention, that a HERBERT never was known to deviate from a *certain point*, any more than the needle from the pole. But, there was another lord, an Irish lord, who said that the effects of Lord GREY's reform might be judged of by the persons who most loudly applauded it; and his Lordship was pleased to hint that the radicals, or jacobins, were the loudest of those applauders. Now I am looked upon as not the least of the jacobins, or those who have been accused of revolution, confusion, and anarchy. I deny the accusation; but if I did wish for revolution, confusion, and anarchy, I should, so help me God! wish for the rejection of this Bill! wish to see Lord GREY once more driven from power, and wish to see WELLINGTON and PERL back again at the head of affairs. There has been a great talk about "*political suicide*;" but of all the acts of self-destruction ever committed by mortal man, not excepting that of CASTLEREAGH, at North Cray, in Kent; of all the acts of insanity, co-operating with ungovernable rage, none ever equalled the act of that man, who, being desirous to see anarchy and confusion in the country, being desirous to see the complete overthrow of every ancient institution, to see all property spread abroad for a scramble, nevertheless

uses his utmost endeavours to cause the passing of this bill, which, in every line of it, promises security to the riches of the rich, and peace and plenty to the labourer's dwelling. Once more, therefore, my friends, and with this I conclude, "the Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill;" and, in order that we may ensure to ourselves and our children this great blessing, humble and earnest supplications ought to be made to his Majesty, that, in justice and mercy to his suffering and dutiful people, he will be graciously pleased to dissolve this Parliament.

I am

Your faithful friend, *

And most obedient servant,
WM. COBBETT.

P. S. From a speech of Lord Grey, last night (it is now *Friday*), I think it is evident that the Parliament *will be dissolved*. This is the *only thing*, to which we have *now* to look.

TWO-PENNY TRASH for April, containing instructions to LABOURERS for planting COBBETT'S CORN, will be published 1st April.

No 4 of GEORGE IV will be published *next Saturday*.

PRESTON COCK, like Swift's *bug*, must wait till I have leisure to give him a *last squeeze*; or perhaps the *dissolution* may do it better!

Mr. RIDGWAY, of Piccadilly, has published a correct *List of the Division*, on the Reform Bill, on an open sheet in *Red and Black*. Every one should have it stuck up in his house.

The following Lists are taken from *The Morning Chronicle* of the 24th inst.

List of the Majority and Minority, on the Second Reading of the Reform Bill, in the House of Commons, Tuesday, March 22, 1831.

MAJORITY.

ENGLAND.

Ackland, Sir T. D.	Devonshire
Adeane, H. J.	Cambridgeshire
Althorp, Viscount	Northamptonshire

Anson, Sir G	Lichfield	Fane, J.	Oxfordshire
Anson, G.	Yarmouth	Fazakerley, J. N.	Peterborough
Arcebeckne, A.	Dunwich	Fergusson, Sir R. C.	Nottingham
Astley, Sir J. D.	Wiltshire	Fitzroy, Lord James	Thetford
Baillie, J. E.	Bristol	Foley, J. H. H.	Derbyshire
Baillie, H. D.	Rye	Foley, T. H.	Worcestershire
Bainbridge, E. T.	Taunton	Folkes, W. J. H. B.	Norfolk
Baring, W. B.	Callington	Fordwich, Lord	Canterbury
Baring, F. T.	Portsmouth	Fortescue, G. M.	Hendon
Baring, F.	Thetford	Fyler, T. B.	Coventry
Baring, Sir T. B.	Chipping Wycomb	Garlies, Viscount	Cockermouth
Bayntun, S. A.	York	Gisborne, T.	Stafford
Beaumont, T. W.	Northumberland	Gladstone, T.	Queenborough
Belgrave, Viscount	Cheshire	Gordon, R.	Cricklade
Bennett, J.	Wiltshire	Graham, Sir J. R. G.	Cumberland
Bentinck, Lord W. G. C.	King's Lynn	Graham, Sir S.	Ludgershall
Bernal, R.	Rochester	Grant, R.	Norwich
Bethell, R.	Yorkshire	Greene, T.	Leicester
Biddulph, R. M.	Derbyshire	Grosvenor, R.	Chester
Blake, Sir F.	Berwick	Guest, J. J.	Honiton
Blanford, Marq. of	New Woodstock	Guise, Sir W. B.	Gloucestershire
Bloant, E.	Steyping	Gursey, R. H.	Norwich
Bouverie, P. P.	Cockermouth	Haudley, W. F.	Newark-on-Trent
Bouverie, D. P.	New Sarum	Harvey, D. W.	Colchester
Bridshaw, J.	Ditto	Hawkins, J. H.	St. Michaels'
Briscoe, J. L.	surrey	Heathcote, Sir G.	Rutlandshire
Broughtham, J.	Downton	Heron, Sir R.	Peterborough
Bruce, M.	Ilchester	Hobhouse, J. C.	Westminster
Buck, L. W.	Exeter	Hodges, T. L.	Kent
Buller, J.	Exeter	Hodgson, J.	Newcastle-upon-Tyne
Buller, C.	West Loos	Horne, Sir W.	Blethchingly
Bulkeley, Sir R. B. W.	Beaumont	Howard, P. H.	Carlisle
Bunbury, Sir H. E.	Suffolk	Howard, W.	Morpeth
Burgett, Sir F.	Westminster	Howard, H.	New Shoreham
Burton, H.	Beverley	Howick, Viscount	Higham Lectors
Buxton, T. F.	Weymouth	Hughes, H. W.	Oxford City
Byng, G.	Middlesex	Hughes, W. L.	Wallingford
Byng, G. S.	Milborne Port	Hume, J.	Middlesex
Calcraft, J.	Wexham	Hunt, H.	Preston
Calthorpe, Hon. F. C.	Bramber	Inglby, Sir W. A.	Lincolnshire
Calvert, C.	Southwark	Jerningham, H. V. S.	Poutrict
Calvert, N.	Hertfordshire	Johnstone, Sir J. V. B.	Yorkshire
Campbell, J.	Stafford	Keck, G. A. L.	Leicestershire
Carter, J. B.	Portsmouth	Kemp, T. R.	Lewes
Cavendish, H. F. C.	Derby Town	Knigh, R.	Wallingford
Cavendish, W.	Cambridge University	Labouchere, H.	Taunton
Cholmeley, M. J.	Graham	Langston, J. H.	Oxford City
Clive, E. B.	Hertford	Lawley, F.	Warwickshire
Coke, T. W.	Norfolk	Lee, J. L.	Wells
Colborne, N. W. R.	Horsham	Lefevre, C. S.	Downton
Cradock, S.	Camelford	Lemon, Sir C.	Penryn
Crompton, P. C.	Saltish	Lennard, T. B.	Maldon
Cripps, J.	Cirencester	Lennox, Lord, J. G.	Chichester
Curtis, H. B.	Sussex	Lester, B. L.	Poole
Davies, T. H. H.	Worcester	Lloyd, Sir E. P.	Flint
Denison, W. J.	Surrey	Loch, J.	Hythe
Denman, Sir T.	Nottingham	Lundley, J. S.	Nottinghamshire
Dugdale, D. S.	Warwickshire	Lyttleton, E. J.	Staffordshire
Duncombe, T. S.	Hertford	Maberly, J.	Abingdon
Dundas, J. C.	Richmond	Macaulay, T. B.	Calne
Dundas, T.	York	Macdonald, Sir J.	Calne
Dundas, Sir R. L.	Richmond	Mackintosh, Sir J.	Knaresborough
Dundas, C.	Berkshire	Marjoribanks, S.	Hythe
Ebrington, Viscount	Devonshire	Marryatt, J.	Saundwich
Ellice, E.	Coventry	Marshall, W.	Leominster
Ellis, G. J. W. A.	Okehampton	Martin, Sir T. B.	Plymouth
Evans, W.	Leicester	Martin, J.	Tewkesbury
Ewart, W.	Liverpool	Milbank, M.	Camelford

Mildmay, P. St. J.	Witchester	Thomson, C. P.	Dover
Morgan, C. M. R.	Brecon	Thompson, Ald.	London
Morgan, Sir C.	Monmouthshire	Thompson, P. B.	Wenlock
Morpeth, Viscount	Yorkshire	Tomes, J.	Warwick
Morrison, J.	St. Ives	Tulton, H.	Appleby
Mostyn, Sir T.	Flintshire	Tynte, C. K. K.	Bridgewater
Mundy, F.	Derbyshire	Tyrell, C.	Suffolk
Newark, Lord	East Retford	Uxbridge, Earl of	Anglesey
Noel, Sir G. N.	Rutlandshire	Vere, J. J.	Ilchester
Nugent, Earl	Aylesbury	Vernon, G. G.	Lichfield
Ord, W.	Morpeth	Villiers, T. H.	Wootton-Basset
O-borne, Lord F. G.	Cambridgeshire	Waithman, Ald.	London
Palmer, C.	Bath	Walpole, J.	King's Lynn
Palmer, R.	Berkshire	Warburton, H.	Bridport
Palmer, C. F.	Reading	Waterpark, Lord	Knaresborough
Palmerston, Visct.	Cambridge University	Watson, R.	Canterbury
Patten, J. W.	Leicestershire	Webb, E.	Gloucester
Pelham, C. A. W.	Newtown	Wellesley, W. T. P. L.	St. Ives
Pendarves, E. W. W.	Cornwall	Western, C. C.	Essex
Pearlyn, E.	Shaftesbury	Whitbread, W. H.	Bedford
Petit, L. H.	Ripon	Weyland, J.	Hindon
Philpotts, Sir R. B. P.	Haverfordwest	Whitmore, W. W.	Bridgenorth
Phillips, G. R.	Steyning	Wilbraham, G.	Stockbridge
Philpotts, J.	Gloucester	Wilks, J.	Boston
Polhill, F.	Bedford	Wilson, Sir R. T.	Southwark
Ponsouby, B. W. F. S.	Dorsetshire	Wood, Alderman	London
Portman, E. B.	Bath	Wood, T.	Brecknockshire
Powlett, Lord W. J. F.	Durham	Wood, C.	Gainsley
Poyntz, W. S.	Ashburton	Wood, J.	Preston
Prendergast, M. G.	Westbury	Wrightson, W. R.	Kingston-upon-Hull
Price, Sir R.	Herefordshire	Wynn, Sir W. W.	Denbighshire
Pryse, F.	Cardigan		
Ramsbottom, J.	Windsor	SCOTLAND.	
Ramsden, J. C.	Malton	Abercromby, G. R.	Kinnaird
Rickford, W.	Aylesbury	Agnew, Sir A.	Wigtonshire
Ridley, Sir M. W.	Newcastle-upon-Tyne	Campbell, W. F.	Ayleshire
Roberts, A. W.	Maidstone	Fergusson, R. C.	Kirkcaldbright
Robinson, Sir G.	Northampton	Grant, C.	Invernesshire
Robinson, G. R.	Worcester	Jeffrey, F.	Forfar
Russell, W.	Durham	Johnston, J.	Inverkerdhang
Russell, C.	Reading	Johnstone, J. J. H.	Dumfriesshire
Russell, Lord W.	Tavistock	Kennedy, T. F.	Ayr
Russell, Lord J.	Tavistock	Lock, James	Tain
Russell, R. G.	Thirsk	Maule, W. R.	Forfarshire
Sandford, E. A.	Somersetshire	Stewart, Sir M. S.	Renfrewshire
Sandon, Viscount	Tiverton	Traill, G.	Orkney
Schomswar, G.	Kingston-upon-Hull	Wemyss, J.	Fifehire
Schricht, Sir J. S.	Hertfordshire		
Selton, Earl of	Droitwich	IRELAND.	
Sheil, R. L.	Milborne Port	Acheson, Lord	County of Armagh
Slaney, R. A.	Shrewsbury	Belfast, Earl of	County of Antrim
Smith, R.	Buckinghamshire	Bernard, T.	King's County
Smith, J.	Chichester	Boyle, Lord	County of Cork
Smith, J. A.	Midhurst	Boyle, J.	Cork
Spence, G.	Ripon	Brabazon, Lord	County of Dublin
Stanley, Lord	Lancashire	Browne, W.	County of Kerry
Stanley, E. G. S.	Windsor	Browne, J.	County of Mayo
Staunton, Sir C. T.	Heytesbury	Browne, D.	County of Mayo
Stewart, P. M.	Lancaster	Brownlow, C.	County of Armagh
Strathaven, Lord	Huntingdonshire	Burke, Sir J.	County of Galway
Strutt, E.	Derby	Cailughan, D.	Cork
Stuart, Lord D. C.	Arsudel	Chapman, M. L.	Westmeath County
Stuart, Lord P. J. H. C.	Cardiff	Chichester, Sir A.	Belfast
Surrey, Earl of	Horsbham	Chichester, Lieut.-C. A.	Wexford County
Talbot, C. R.	Gloucestershire	Dawson, A.	County of Louth
Taylor, M. A.	Durham	Fitzgerald, Lord W. C.	County of Kildare
Tennant, C.	St. Albans	Fitzgibbon, R.	County Limerick
Tennyson, C.	Bletchingly	French, A.	Roscommon County
		Grattan, A.	County Wicklow

Hill, Lord G. A. Carrickfergus
 Hill, Lord A. County of Down
 Howard, R. County Wicklow
 Jephson, C. D. O. Malloy
 Killeen, Lord County of Meath
 King, R. County of Cork
 King, H. County of Sligo
 Knox, J. J. Dungannon
 Lamb, G. Dungarvon
 Lambert, J. S. County of Galway
 Leader, N. P. Kilkenny
 Macnamara, W. N. County of Clare
 Mountcharles, Earl Donegal County
 O'Connell, D. Waterford County
 O'Connor, O. Roscommon County
 O'Leary, R. M. County of Kildare
 O'Grady, S. Limerick County
 O'Hara, J. County of Galway
 O'Neil, J. B. R. County of Antrim
 Ossory, Earl of County Kilkenny
 Oxmantown, Lord King's County
 Parnell, Sir H. Queen's County
 Ponsonby, G. Youghall
 Pottier, F. A. Tipperary County
 Russell, J. Kinsale
 Rutherford, E. S. Downpatrick
 South, R. V. Trillick
 Somerville, Sir M. County of Meath
 White, H. County of Dublin
 White, S. County of Leitrim
 Wynn, L. Tipperary County

TITLES.

Duncombe, Viscount Kilkenny County
 Ross, L. S. Limerick

MINORITY.

ENGLAND.

A'Court, E. H. Heytesbury
 Alexander, J. Old Sarum
 Alexander, J. T. P. Ditto
 Anderson, G. C. Plympton Earle
 Appleby, Lord Cuneester
 Arden, Lord Dorchester
 Avelar, W. Bridgwater
 Astin, Alderman Arundel
 Atwood, M. Boroughbridge
 Baldwin, C. B. Tynness
 Banks, G. Corfe Castle
 Banks, W. J. Marlborough
 Bantock, H. Dorsetshire
 Barrington, A. Ditto
 Beard, J. Dartmouth
 Becket, Sir J. Haslemere
 Bell, M. Northumberland, C.
 Beresford, Sir J. I. Northallerton
 Beresford, M. Berwick
 Black, C. Eberaldston
 Bonham, L. R. Rye
 Bondwell, Lord Fowey
 Borge, G. Eye
 Bourne, G. Lynnington
 Buxton, J. J. Great Bedwin
 Cavers, J. Huntingdon
 Capel, J. Queenborough
 Carrington, Sir C. E. St. Mawes
 Cartwright, W. R. Northamptonshire

Cecil, Lord T. Stanford
 Chaplin, C. Lincolnshire
 Chaplin, T. Stamford
 Cholmondeley, Ld. H. H. Castle Rising
 Churchill, Lord C. S. New Woodstock
 Clayton, J. E. Aldborough
 Clive, Viscount Ludlow
 Clive, R. H. Ludlow
 Clive, H. Montgomery
 Cockburn, Sir G. Plymouth
 Cocks, J. Reigate
 Constable, Sir T. A. Heden
 Cornwall, F. H. Bishop's Castle
 Cotterell, Sir J. G. Herefordshire
 Courtenay, T. Totness
 Croker, J. W. Aldburgh
 Curzon, R. Clitherow
 Cust, P. E. Clitherow
 Cust, E. Lostwithiel
 Darlington, Earl of Saltash
 Davis, R. H. Bristol
 Dawson, G. R. Harwich
 Dick, Q. Maldon
 Dickenson, W. Somersetshire
 Domyville, Sir G. Plympton Earle
 Dottin, A. R. Southampton
 Douro, Marquis of Aldburgh
 Dowdeswell, J. E. Twkesbury
 Drake, T. T. Agmonde-sham
 Drake, W. T. Ditto
 Dugdale, W. Shaftesbury
 Duncombe, W. Yorkshire
 Duncombe, A. East Retford
 Dundas, H. Wmchelsea
 Dundas, R. A. Ipswich
 East, Sir E. H. Winchester
 Easton, Viscount Hereford
 Egerton, W. Chesbire
 Egerton, Sir P. Chester
 Egerton, W. T. Lynnington
 Elliot, Lord Liskeard
 Encombe, Viscount Truro
 Estcourt, T. H. S. B. Marlborough
 Estcourt, T. G. B. Oxford University
 Eston, Earl of Bury St. Edmund's
 Ewing, J. Wareham
 Fane, Sir H. Hastings
 Fane, H. S. Lyme Regis
 Fane, J. T. Lyme Regis
 Fardell, J. Lincoln
 Farrand, R. Heden
 Fleming, J. Hampshire
 Foley, E. T. Ludgershall
 Forester, G. C. W. Wemlock
 Forbes, Sir C. Malmesbury
 Forbes, J. Malmesbury
 Fremantle, Sir T. P. Buckingham
 Freshfield, J. W. Penryn
 Gilbert, D. Bodmin
 Gordon, J. A. Tuzony
 Gordon, J. Weymouth
 Gore, W. O. Caernarvon
 Graham, Marquis of Cambridge Town
 Grant, Sir A. Westbury
 Gresley, Sir R. New Romney
 Greville, Sir G. J. Warwick
 Grimston, Viscount St. Allwans
 Gunning, Sir R. H. Northampton

Harris, G. Great Grimby
 Harlinge, Sir H. Newport, Cornwall
 Hastings, Sir C. A. Leicester
 Heathcote, Sir W. Hampshire
 Herries, J. C. Harwich
 Hill, Sir R. Salop
 Holmes, W. Haslemere
 Home-dale, Viscount East Grinstead
 Hope, J. T. Gaston
 Hope, H. T. East Loos
 Hotham, Lord Leominster
 Houldsworth, A. H. Dartmouth
 Houldsworth, T. Newton
 Howard, F. G. Casle Rising
 Hoy, J. B. Southampton
 Hulke, Sir C. West Loos
 Ingestre, Viscount Hertford

(To be continued.)

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, MARCH 13, 1831.

INSOLVENT.

MARCH 18.—STOW, J. S., Birmingham, gun-maker.

BANKRUPTCIES SUPERSEDED.

BREEDEN, S., Birmingham, draper.
 MANN, J., Cleobury-Mortimer, Shropshire, baker.

MARSHALL, W., Fountain-grove, Huddersfield, Yorkshire, shear-manufacturer.

BANKRUPTS.

D'EMDEN, H., Upper Frederick-street, Connaught-square, bookseller.

FAXON, S. W., Jermyn-street, surgeon.
 GREASLEY, T. and C., West Smithfield, clothiers.

HALLAS, B., Ossett, Yorkshire, cloth-mercht.
 MORRIS, C., Manchester, joiner.
 WALL, J., Manchester, dealer.

TUESDAY, MARCH 22, 1831.

INSOLVENTS.

MARCH 21.—HAINES, B., Royal Hospital-row, Chelsea, grocer and cheesemonger.

FLETCHER, C., Salford, Lancashire, common-brewer.

BANKRUPTCIES SUPERSEDED.

BARLOW, M., Salford, Lancashire, publican.
 JACKSON, J., Liverpool, merchant.

BANKRUPTS.

CHEESEMAN, Reading, Berkshire, baker.
 CHOAT, J., Lamb's-Conduit-street, Red Lion-square, trunk-maker.

DOWNES, E., Chorlton-row, Manchester, publican.

FOWLER, T., late of Saint Peter the Great, otherwise Subdeanery, Sussex, carpenter.

GRAVESON, J. & M., Halifax, linen-drappers.

LITTLE, W., Marclesfield-street, North City-road, tea-dealer.

PINNELL, W., Upper Lambourn, Berkshire, farmer.

PLATT, J., Liverpool, inn-keeper.
 PRATT, W., Norwich, common-brewer and coal-merchant.

RUSHFORTH, R. W., Manchester, merchant.
 STOTT, J., Bishopsgate-st. Without, oilman.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, MARCH 21. There is a fair trade in English Wheat, although the purchasers are not very extensive, and fine samples may be given at a shade above Monday's price. Foreign Wheat remains as last quoted, and trade is steady. The top price of Flour is 65s. per sack. Barley is rather more in demand than on Friday last, in consequence of the explanation given by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Oats are full as dear as on this day week, and there is a pretty good trade in this article. Beans, Peas, and Hye, remain as last noticed.

Wheat	74s. to 77s.
Rye	30s. to 31s.
Barley	36s. to 39s.
— fine	41s. to 47s.
Peas, White	10s. to 12s.
— Boilers	45s. to 48s.
— Grey	35s. to 40s.
Beans, Small	10s. to 12s.
— Tick	32s. to 36s.
Oats, Potatoc	28s. to 31s.
— Poland	26s. to 28s.
— Feed	22s. to 24s.
Flour, per sack	60s. to 65s.

PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new, 42s. to 46	per cwt.
— Sides, new...	43s. to 48s.
Pork, India, new...	115s. 0d. to 117
Pork, Mess, new...	60s. to 60d. per barrel.
Butter, Belfast	110s. per cwt.
— Carlow	105s. to 110
— Cork	105s. to —
— Limerick	104s. to —
— Waterford	100s. to 104s.
— Dublin	—s. to —s.
Cheese, Cheshire	50s. to 64s.
— Gloucester, Double	56s. to 62s.
— Gloucester, Single	50s. to 56s.
— Edam	46s. to 50s.
— Gouda	41s. to 50s.
Hams, Irish	50s. to 60s.

SMITHFIELD—March 21.

Prime young Scots, Lincolns, and Durhams, fetch 4s. 4d. to 4s. 6d. per stone; and in Mutton the prime young Downs are 5s. to 5s. 2d. per stone. In Veal prime young Calves are 5s. 6d. to 6s. per stone; and dairy fed Porkers are 5s. to 5s. 2d. per stone. Beasts, 2,790; Sheep, 20,550; Calves, 120; Pigs, 170.

THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent. } Fri. Sat. Mon. Tue. Wed. Thur.	
Cons. Ann. } 76½ 76½ 76½ 76½	

