THE
TRIBUNE,
A PERIODICAL PUBLICATION,
CONSISTING CHIEFLY OF THE
POLITICAL LECTURES
OF
J. THELWALL.

TAKEN IN SHORT-HAND BY W. RAMSEY, AND REVISED BY
THE LECTURER.

VOL. II.

"If my Lectures had been of that seditious and treasonable complexion
which they have described, it must have been easy to have checked me in my
career, and brought me to punishment, without putting a gag upon the
nation at large, and annihilating the boasted liberties of the country."

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1796.
PREFACE.

As little alteration has taken place in the conduct of this Volume, except what was announced in the Advertisement in the First Number, it would have been perfectly superfluous to trouble the reader with further Preface or Introduction, if the singular circumstances under which I am placed, and the malignant calumny to which I have been exposed did not call upon me for some animadversion. To the flandrous aspersions, however, of certain political leaders I shall not deign any particular answer. Men, whose traffic is corruption, and whose stock in trade forgery and misrepresentation, however high in rank, or dignified by office, are beneath the serious attention of an individual whose rank is his integrity, and whose office the propagation of principles conducive to the general happiness of mankind. To enter the lists on the score of character with such men, were degradation; and to suppose that their assertions have so much credit with mankind as to require elaborate refutation would be an insult to the understanding of the country.

It is sufficient therefore to observe, that their own conduct gives them THE LIE DIRECT: for if my Lectures, delivered upon the average of last

b season
fealon to an audience of 430, and upon the average of this season of 520 persons, one night with another, had been of that seditious and treasonable complexion which they have described, it must have been easy to have checked me in my career, and brought me to punishment, without putting a gag upon the nation at large, and annihilating the boasted liberties of the country. But they knew that my Lectures were not treasonable; they knew that they were not seditious; and they knew that they were therefore the more formidable. They would have been glad to have made them appear such, no doubt: and they have an ingenious train of spies and informers, with memories as convenient as those of their employers: but these were of no use—for I had a short-hand writer, and my real language and sentiments were therefore capable of proof. Therefore it was that the existing laws were inadequate to their purposes; therefore it was that even Lord Grenville's new-fangled treason and sedition bill would not suffice. They know that when perseverance and honesty are opposed to powerful corruption, and when men of any intelligence are embarked in the public cause, so long as they are permitted to speak at all, they will find some means, even under the most severe, ambiguous, and iniquitous laws to publish such truths, and propagate such sentiments, as will ultimately be fatal to their oppressors, without exposing themselves to the condemnation of an honest jury.

Therefore it is, that after proclaiming that this shall be treason, and that shall be transportation, another law is framed to make it felony and death to speak, or even to meet, at all, but under such restrictions as are totally inimical to the independent spirit of Britons, and subversive of the provisions of the Bill of Rights.

If
If there are any persons so obstinate in their prejudices as to suppose that these arguments are not conclusive as to the base manner in which, for sinister purposes, my doctrines have been misrepresented, let them appeal to the evidence of these Volumes, which, unlike the Reports of Secret Committees, shall contain no garbled accounts, no false colourings, no sophistical glossaries or misrepresentations, but shall continue to be published, in regular weekly numbers, till the whole of my Lectures are before the public, with such revisions only of stile and composition as the short-hand transcripts of extempore effusions must of necessity require.

But I have been assailed from another point. In the midst of that storm which the malice and the terrors of ministerial corruption had raised around me, calumny and foul misrepresentation have been poured upon my head from a quarter, where, at such a time, and under such circumstances, it was least to have been expected. Not that I mean to insinuate, that the author of the pamphlet alluded to [Considerations on Lord Grenville's and Mr. Pitt's Bills; by a Lover of Order] was ever an approver of the Lectures. The visionary peculiarities of mind, which, in the midst of all its daring excellencies, mark the "Enquiry concerning Political Justice," cannot have escaped the observation of the attentive reader; and in the midst of the singularities with which that valuable work abounds, nothing is perhaps more remarkable than that it should at once recommend the most extensive plan of freedom and innovation ever discussed by any writer in the English language, and reprove every measure from which even the most moderate reform can rationally be expected.

I knew from this singular work—I knew, also, from the frequent friendly conversations I have
enjoyed with the author, that he was hostile to every species of popular association; and it is but justice to observe, that he has frequently endeavoured to dissuade me from continuing my Lectures, by arguments, strong and convincing I suppose to him, though to me they appeared visionary and futile.

But I little expected the malignity of a public attack, at a time when, even if such an attack had been merited, no possible advantage could accrue to the public; when the doors of my Lecture Room were on the very eve of being closed by the strong arm of authority; and when of course, the only effect such conduct could produce, was to inflame the prejudices already so artfully excited against an individual, whose only crime was having vindicated, in an age of persecution and arbitrary usurpation, that Liberty of Speech which for more than a century has been considered as the distinguishing birthright and peculiar privilege of Britons.

But if an attack, at such a season, from such a quarter, was matter of surprise, how was my astonishment increased at the extravagance and fury of that attack? What was my astonishment when I saw the man, whose private professions of esteem for the powers of my mind, and the purity of my motives, had so frequently increased my confidence, and roused the honest ambition of my soul, stand forward to accuse me at the bar of the public as "an impatient and headlong reformer," who made it his occupation to stir up "all the malignant emotions of the human mind," and bring the passions of the audience "into training" for revengeful destruction, and lamp-post massacres? What was my astonishment when I heard this friend, this philosopher, this transcendent pattern of candour and moderation, whose liberality can find an excuse for the most languidary clauses in Lord Grenville's bill,
bills, treat those doctrines of general humanity and benevolence, so incessantly enforced in these Lectures as “saving clauses,”—compare me to “Lord George Gordon preaching peace to the rioters in Westminster Hall;” and finally, by way of climax, annihilate me to the villainous hypocrite Iago, who after practising every artifice to awaken and to inflame the groundless suspicions of Othello, shelters himself from the suspicions of the abused and deluded Moor by advising him “not to dis honour himself by giving harbour to a thought of jealousy.”

These passages, malignant enough in themselves, become more insufferable from the recollection that the writer of them, not very long ago, reproved another person in strong terms, for seeming, in a distant way, and in a private circle, to hint something like the charge of duplicity which they so strongly and so publickly contain. What signify, after this, the “saving clauses,” (to hurl back the contemptible charge in the teeth of its inventor) of talents “arrested in their growth,” and original “purity of intentions.”

That my talents, be they great or small, have not been arrested, the growing reputation of my Lectures, and the class of auditors by which they have lately been attended, is sufficient evidence; and a comparison of my present with my former public actions will put the matter beyond dispute. And as for my intentions, if my principles are not at this time found and good, it is of no consequence how pure they were when I “commenced my career;” since, on this side of the question at least, the world will regard, as it ought, not what a man was but what he is.

I have the consolation, however, to find that the prejudices excited against me, except in a very narrow and interested circle, have declined, in pro-
portion as the notoriety of my conduct and my principles have increased. In short, if ministers had not found, that the longer my Lectures continued—that is to say, the more opportunities people of all descriptions had to hear and judge for themselves, the more general the conviction became of the propriety of my sentiments and the justice of my cause, they would never have thought it necessary to adopt such strong measures for the purpose of shutting my mouth. But it was necessary for the argument of the "Lover of Order," to represent the system of political lecturing as inimical alike to genius and principle. I am not therefore, surprized that he should persuade himself that my "talents had been arrested in their growth," and that the "uncommon purity of my intentions," had degenerated into the designing villainy of Iago. But as for the latter I know my own heart. I know also that the world will one day do it justice. And as for the former, though I am aware how common it is for authors to "lay the flattering union to their souls," yet Mr. Godwin must excuse me if I bow not with implicit reverence to an opinion of which the success of my undertaking is so far from furnishing the evidence.

But let us examine a little the objections of this singular writer, to the system of political lecturing in general; since, as in all probability, the time is not very distant when my lectures will be resumed, this is the most important part of my subject: and if it should be found, as I believe it will, that these objections are chiefly without foundation, that if admitted they would go to restrict the wide diffusion of all science, and that the few that have any sort of validity, are more than counterbalanced by the important advantages which can no otherwise be so certainly obtained, the Public will
will have more reason than I can have, to deprecate the attempts that have been made to rob them of this species of entertainment and instruction.

"Whether or no Political Lectures, upon the fundamental principles of politics, to be delivered to a mixed and crowded audience," says the Lover of Order, "be entitled to the approbation of an enlightened Statesman, it is somewhat difficult to pronounce."—Difficult to pronounce whether a mixed and crowded audience ought to be instructed upon the fundamental principles of a science upon which the happiness of that general mass, from which a mixed and crowded audience must be composed, more than all other sciences depends!—Genius of common sense and honesty! if the great mass of mankind—the mixed multitude, of which society at large, as well as the generality of crowded audiences, is composed, are not to be regarded as the mere dupes and instruments of a few political professors, what can be so important as to generalize, by the most expeditious means, those maxims and principles by which the science of politics can be rendered most subservient to its great end—the interest and happiness of the whole? But "It is not," continues the author, "for the most part, in crowded audiences, that truth is successfully investigated, and the principles of science luminously conceived." Perhaps this is true: particularly with respect to the latter part. But is it in crowded audiences—is it in his Tribune that the Lecturer conceives his principles, or investigates his subject? It is there indeed that he propounds the one and illustrates the other: but if he has any regard either to his duty or to his fame, nay, if he expects for any continuance, even that poor popularity which consists in the applauses of a promiscuous audience, however illiterate and ill-judging, the mere delivery of
of his Lectures will constitute the smallest part of his labours: his principles will be conceived, his subject digested, and his materials arranged in the silence and solitude of the closet; and every hour of his life, every scene he beholds, and every circumstance that occurs will furnish matter, which his observation will be perpetually seizing, and his reflection applying to the important object of his investigation.

There are some advantages which debate undoubtedly possesses over the system of lecturing. It is more probable that both sides of the question should be fairly stated in open debate than in individual animadversion: misrepresentation is more easily detected, and falsehood more readily exposed*. But the advantages of lecturing are much more numerous and important. The sentiments delivered by the professor are never of necessity the transient dictates of the moment, conceived in the warmth of passion and debate, and provoked by the desire of conquest. His temptations to pervert facts for the sake of argument are much less powerful than those of the debater; he is not so frequently obliged to bring forward his conceptions in so crude a state; and that he has the means of more lucid arrangement, and of compressing a greater body of information into his discourse, and thus combining together the advantages of elaborate research and popular enthusiasm, must be evident to the candid enquirer.

If I am asked what assurance we have that he will use these advantages? I answer that he must either make use of them to a considerable degree,

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* When the Lectures are afterwards published, as in the instance under consideration, even this objection is obviated; and the lecturer lies completely open to refutation.
or else his popularity will be so short-lived, that his errors can be of small importance to society. His reputation is not to be supported with the same facility as that of the popular debater. He has no casual variety to depend upon; no alluring expectations of new faces and new names to hold out to the public; no contradiction to rouse him, no rival to stimulate, and no foil to set him off! Everything depends upon his own diligence and exertions; his situation is so conspicuous as to submit him to an ordeal of uncommon severity; and if he does not give to his discourse a variety and solidity which nothing but great industry, an independent originality of mind, and a mass of well-digested principles can furnish, no charm of voice, no elegance of person, no grace of action or, flow of modulated periods (if he were fortunate enough to possess all these advantages) can support his popularity through a dozen lectures.

But, perhaps, I may be told that the objections of my antagonist relate not to the lecturer, but to the audience. But even in this point of view, the argument is as futile as in the other; and if indeed it were of any validity, it would apply as forcibly against every other species of lecturing as against political lectures: for two hundred raw pupils from the country, and I have seen more in the lecture-room of Mr. Cline, are as effectually a crowd, ay and a mixed crowd, as five or six hundred. Every successful professor, of whatever art or science, delivers his lectures, even on subjects the most abstruse, to a mixed and crowded audience; and the teacher of anatomy, of chemistry, or of politics, however confident of his own powers would equally betray his ignorance, if he expected that the crowd of students who attend his discourses, will either successfully investigate or luminously conceive the
principles of his science in the theatre where they are assembled. It is quite enough if the attention is so far roused and the memory so far impressed as to furnish the materials of that reflection from which, and which alone any real solidity of judgment can result.

The lecturer, generally speaking, can expect no other immediate effect than to fix conviction where it was dubiously entertained, to shake the prejudices hostile to his system, and so far to interest the imagination as to compel a large part, at least, of his auditory to revolve his arguments in their minds till their truth or falsity shall be rendered evident. He must consider himself, in short, not so much as the reaper who goes into the field to collect the harvest of opinion, as theower, whose business it is to scatter the seed; and though part of this seed must be expected, from the perverseness of the soil, to fail of taking sufficient root, yet, if he performs his task with judgment, the harvest, though distant, perhaps, is certain. Nor are these objections applicable only to "Theatres and halls of assembly;" they must be extended also to the conversations that pass "in the domestic tranquillity of the fire side:" for it is not in conversations or debates, whether of the select few or the mixed multitude, that solid opinions are formed: these must undoubtedly be digested in the solitude of the closet. But, in defiance of all the folios and quartos that were ever written, the closet would be as fruitless as the tomb, if it were not for the materials that debate and conversation furnish. It is by conversation that the mind is quickened and the obstinacy of dogmatic confidence softened: it is in "mixed and crowded audiences"—"in theatres and halls of assembly," that the real lover of his species must principally expect to inspire that generous sympathy
thy—that *social ardor*, without which a nation is but a populous wilderness, and the *philosopher* himself only a walking index of obsolete laws and dead-lettered institutes. I wish not to bear too hard upon my opponent: the literary and political world has obligations to him which I hope will not be soon forgotten; but let any man compare together the terms of friendship and reciprocal esteem upon which, for the last two or three years, we have lived, and the *time*, circumstances, and complexion of this attack, and then judge whether I am guilty of illiberality when I appeal to this very pamphlet as a proof how great and how dangerous a tendency the life of domestic solitude led by this singular man, and his scrupulous avoidance of all popular intercourse has to deaden the best sympathies of nature, and encourage a selfish and personal vanity, which the recluse philosopher first mistakes for principle, and then sacrifices it to every feeling of private, and sometimes of public, justice? for what milder construction can possibly be put upon the first twenty-two pages of his pamphlet, and upon those passages in particular which relate to my Lecture, than that the author, in his extreme anxiety for the reputation of candour*, overlooked every consideration of justice to a friend affianced by all the perfecting bitterness of powerful malice? Supposing the Lectures had been as pernicious as the "Lover of Order" represents them, what good end could he at such a time propose by his invectives? They

* The reader will judge how justly the claim of candour is supported by hunting for dishonestable motives, for doctrines "persuading men to unbounded and universal benevolence," (p. 21.) when promulgated by one party, and finding executors (p. 45.) for the most tyrannical clauses in measures brought forward by another.
were about to be closed as it appeared for ever. The minister had clapped the ponderous key of his authority in the door; and the whole strength of his irresistible majority was exerted to turn the massive wards, whose bolts, it was supposed, were to lock me up in silence and obscurity for ever! Was this a time for a philosopher and a friend to choose for his attack? Was this a time for candour to swell the torrent of prejudice which interested calumny had poured upon my head? and by such passages, such unfounded misrepresentations, as this pamphlet contains, to prejudice the moderate and inflame the irritated against a man whom the minister had so evidently devoted to destruction?

It is not, however true, that there was any foundation for considering my Lectures in that point of view in which this "Lover of Order" has placed them: and the perusal of these volumes will prove my assertion. They are not farragoes of personal invective: they are neither "adapted to ripen men for "purposes similar to those of the Jacobin Society of "Paris," nor to bring the passions of the audience into training for lamp-post massacres. In short, they were not the lectures of "an impatient and "headlong reformer;" and, in proof of this, I need only appeal to the fact, that my warmest and most numerous friends will be found among those firm but moderate advocates of liberty who join enthusiasm of principle with the sacred love of peace and order; and that the bitterness of my enemies may be found alike among those bigoted aristocrats, whose prejudices have prevented them from ever hearing me, and the fanatical and infuriated, perhaps hired, advocates of violence and commotion.

To
To sum up all: I felt as the "Lover of Order," himself expresses it, that to accomplish a peaceful and effectual reform, "There must be a consent of "wills, that no minister and no monopolist would "be frantic enough to withstand;" and I was not
"frantic enough, though the "Lover of Order" is, to suppose that this consent of wills---this "magni-
ificent harmony, expanding itself through the whole "community," was to be produced by writing
quarto volumes, and conversing with a few specu-
native philosophers by the fire side.

I therefore endeavoured to give my Lectures the
form most conducive to general attraction. But
though the form was for this reason popular and
miscellaneous, and though I had not always time
for the most accurate and scientific arrangement,
I flatter myself that, to the attentive reader, these
Lectures will appear to be, not the loose declamations
of an impetuous demagogue, but in reality "Lec-
tures on the Fundamental Principles of Poli-
tics": and that the Lectures of the present sea-
son in particular, will be admitted to contain a
connected series of well-founded and digested facts,
the proper investigation and application of which
are absolutely essential to every friend of reform
who wishes really to know what are the miseries
and corruptions that call for redress, and the means
by which that redress is to be procured.

Hence it will be found, though I have varied
my titles as much as possible, that the public might
not be led to suppose, that I was repeating the same
lecture again and again, that the discourse of each
successive night, till the introduction of the two
obnoxious Bills, rose, in tolerably exact progression
from the facts and principles of the preceding, so
as to form one regular and connected treatise: an
advan-
advantage which will undoubtedly be felt much more sensibly by the reader than the hearer, but which, even to the casual attendant, was not without its uses, as it occasioned every individual lecture to be, in reality, better digested and arranged.
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THE TRIBUNE. NO. XVI.
VOLUME THE SECOND.

ADVERTISEMENT.

The ensuing Volumes of this work will contain nothing but the Lectures; except, perhaps, an occasional article of poetry, to fill a page that would otherwise be blank. A whole Lecture will be given in each number, for the sake of greater convenience to the reader, and uniformity in the publication. This, it is obvious, will occasion the numbers to vary, in the quantity they contain, and in the consequent expense of printing: an article which, from various circumstances, is constantly growing upon every publisher. Profit, however, is not the object of this publication; and if it pays the expenses of the printer, and shorthand writer, the author is satisfied: since a very wide circulation (and such it has hitherto had) is necessary even for that. The numbers, therefore, of the common edition, fluctuating from two half-sheets to three, will continue to be sold at three-pence. When they considerably exceed that they must be liable to a consequent advance. The numbers of the fine edition will continue invariably to be sold at six-pence each.

Aldermoor, 13th July, 1795.

The PRESENT WAR a principal cause of the STARVING CONDITION of the PEOPLE.

The first Lecture "On the causes of the Dearth, "nells and Scarcity of Provisions;" delivered by J. THELWALL, Wednesday, April 29th, 1795.

CITIZENS,

MY feelings are peculiarly gratified to find so thronged an attendance when a subject like the present is held out for investigation; because at the first view it must appear to be one of those which do not promise as large a proportion of amusement, as many other topics might lead you to expect. Your

No. XVI. attend-
attendance therefore shews the deep anxiety you feel for the attainment of information; and I am sure a subject equally important with the present cannot frequently be selected for your attention. I know hardly any interest of humanity that is not involved in the enquiry. I know hardly any branch of political knowledge that is not necessary for the complete and thorough investigation; nor any individual subject that would require so large a proportion of time and attention to do it justice; or so much ingenuity and precision to place the facts it involves in a proper point of view; and it is not the ostentation of false modesty, which compels me to say, that I am well assured, I do not come before you properly qualified to do it justice. If I should, however, in some degree awaken the attention of the audience, and through their means of the country at large, to the serious consideration of the subject, and a faultless enquiry into the real sources of the calamity, I shall have effected a very grand part of my object. And I am convinced that it is the duty of every individual, as far as lies in his power, to labour for the benefit of the human species, by dragging forth to public view every fact which industry and opportunity can put him in possession of, relative to circumstances which embrace so large a proportion of their happiness and prosperity.

There will arise considerable difficulties, however, in the investigation. If I should confine myself simply to facts and arguments, I am aware that a large portion of my audience would not only be disappointed, but from not being in the habits of abstract speculation, would fail of receiving that information which, as far as I have the power, I wish to give them. I am aware, also, on the other hand, that if I run too much into popular declamation, or give the reins too much to fancy, the great object which stimulates me to enter into the enquiry would be lost. Facts would not be brought to your minds with sufficient interest and simplicity; and instead of giving you that light which should guide to happiness, I might only produce that heat which by leading to turbulence, would be injurious to society.

I shall attempt, however, as much as I can, to steer a middle course, and without disdaining to route attention by occasional appeals to your feelings and imagination, I shall endeavour by the clearest reasoning which hasty preparation enables me to command, to force my way to the conviction of your better
better judgments. By such a combination I believe the best effects are to be produced: But I am sure of this—that if I should be able to accomplish this purpose to the utmost of my wishes, I should do the most dangerous thing for my own personal security and peace that any individual, barring projects of violence and commotion, could undertake. For the facts involved in this enquiry are so monstrous, the abuses of government, and those who have the administration of government, so enormous, the scandalous practices and proceedings with which the understandings of mankind have so long been imposed upon, while so large a portion of the people have been reduced to beggary, are so dreadful, that a man who should successfully state them to the public, will be in eternal danger—from those men at whose interests he must strike; and if he escapes the traps and pitfalls of perverted law, he ought to wear a helmet on his head and a coat of mail upon his breast, to preserve him from assassination.

I am however too far pledged to the public to retreat from the path of public duty. After the situations in which I have stood, after the malice that has been directed against me, I cannot retire from the theatre of public action without betraying and injuring the cause I am embarked in, more than I have yet been able to do it good. I shall therefore put aside all personal considerations, and proceed to the investigation of my subject: nor shall I be prevented by any considerations from doing all the justice in my power, to the truths which I mean to bring before you.

I warn you however before hand, that small indeed will be the proportion of light which I can throw upon the subject, compared to what might be thrown upon it, by proper time and attention. Yet though I can do but little, it will be no excuse for me if I neglect doing the little that I can.

The enormous increase of the price of provisions must be so evident to the most casual observer, that it is not necessary to enter into any declaration upon the simple circumstance of that increase. If however we take into consideration the facts of former history, and compare together the state of human society, in this country, in former periods and at the present time, the increase will come swelling upon our view in a proportion so monstrous, that credulity will be staggered; and I should not venture to state the facts to you, if I had not aristocratic authority upon which those facts can be established.
When we learn that, 230 years ago, a chicken was sold for a penny, and a hen for two-pence, and that now a fowl is not to be purchased in the London market for less than five shillings, we are struck with wonder, and are led immediately to enquire how comes this monstrous increase in the price of provisions?

The philosopher perhaps will immediately appeal to theoretical reasoning, and tell you of the immense increase of the quantity of circulating specie—he tells you, and he tells you truly, that the mines of Peru have been constantly working; that the bowels of the earth have been rent in every quarter of the globe, in order to drag the hidden stores to the eye of day; and that hence results a rapid decrease of the value of money. He tells you, also, that in this country, in particular, the pompous use of furniture made of precious metals has very much declined, that this furniture has, also, got into circulation, and that hence arises another decrease of the value of money. He tells you, also, that the state of society is such that the circulating medium passes with greater facility from hand to hand, and that in consequence of that quick circulation he can adduce an additional reason for the increased price of the necessaries and luxuries of life—or in other words for the decreased value of money.

All this is true. But let us see how far this will carry us. It will show us, it is true, that a pound in money now is not as much as a pound in money formerly was. And perhaps, if we trace the matter farther back, we shall find another reason, for the increase of the nominal value of commodities; namely, that the weight of that coin which bears the same nominal value, at this time, is not so great as it was at the periods when that nominal value was fixed.

From the first of the Norman Sovereigns of this country to the present times, we may trace a gradual diminution of the value of money: I mean to say in the weight of it. Originally a pound weight of silver was coined into no more than 20 shillings; and hence 20 shillings are called a pound at this very day; although we know very well that 20 shillings are not a pound weight of silver, at this time, but that, on the contrary, 60s. are now coined out of that quantity. This makes however nothing to my present argument, as by far the larger proportion, and if Bishop Fleetwood may be considered as an authority, the whole of this decrease in the weight of money had taken place before the reign of Queen Elizabeth,
Elizabeth, from whom I date the calculations I am about to make. For that Prelate in his very precise and laborious chronology of the fluctuations in the standard and value of money, makes the sterling coin of Queen Elizabeth, correspondent with the standard of the present day.

Let us see then how far these facts will account for the increased price of provisions: for if it is really true, that the sole causes of this increased price are the increase of circulating cash, and the variations of the standard of money, then the condition of the lower orders of society, and of all orders, ought to be precisely the same as before: because, it being the money that has declined, and not the articles of consumption that have advanced in value, the consequence is, that no other difference has actually taken place, than an increased incumbrance in the quantity of money that you are to take to market with you to purchase the articles you want.

A little enquiry, however, will teach us how very small a proportion of the swollen price of provisions is to be attributed to these causes—for at the very time of which I have been speaking to you, while depicting the very moderate price of several articles of consumption, the common price of manual labour was 8d. a day. You will therefore immediately see that there is no sort of proportion between the increase of the price of manual labour and the increase of the price of provisions, during that 230 years which has thus passed away, sweeping, if I may so express myself, in their flight, every comfort and enjoyment from the cheerless tables of the indolent poor.

As I told you before, I have aristocratical authority for these facts. Mr. Hume has never yet been suspected of Jacobinism; yet Mr. Hume, in the 3d Appendix to his History of England, (vol. 8, page 346, of Cadell's small edition, for I think it right to be very particular in my quotations) states it as a fact, upon the authority of an ancient author, that between 1550 and 1560 "a pig or a goose was sold for 4d. a "good capon was sold for 3d. a chicken for 1d. and a hen "for 2d.: and yet," continues this author, who wrote at the very period relative to which he speaks, "at this time the "wages of a common labourer was 8d. per day." Now supposing that the prices of other things were equally low, according to the present ratio, we find that the wages of a single day would have bought the poor labourer a fat pig, a loaf of bread, and some good ale to drink for himself and his family. But
But consider, I pray you, how many days a poor labourer must work before he must touch either ale or fat pig in the present situation of affairs. For my own part, I do not see why a poor labourer (without whom, by the way, we should none of us have either ale, nor pigs, nor bread, nor any thing else) should not occasionally have his pig to banquet upon, and his pot of ale after it to refresh himself. But alas! these things are now entirely out of the question; and if a man has three or four children, his ordinary wages will not even buy a sufficiency of bread alone: for what is the present price of wages? I believe we may estimate them at about sixteen pence per day throughout the country; and I am in possession of facts enough to prove, that for ordinary labour, that is to say, for eleven months out of twelve, this is the outside. Now the price of a half peck loaf, which for such a family is not too much, is twenty-pence. Such are the blessings of our Constitution in Church and State as now administered.

But suppose we take the estimate from London, where the price of labour is considerably higher. The great part of labouring men employed in this capital receive from twenty-pence to two shillings a day: (Some particular trades, among whom combination is easy, have by a sort of insurrection and violence, extorted more!) But what is the price of a pig or goose now? I never go to market, Citizens, and therefore am obliged to report these circumstances at second-hand; but I am told that a good pig or goose at this time will cost about seven shillings instead of four-pence; that a capon instead of three-pence is six shillings; and that fowls, instead of a penny and two-pence, are about four shillings and six-pence, at the lowest.

Now taking the average of the increase from these facts; supposing, for the present, that the increase of other articles has been proportionate, the present price of provisions is about twenty-two times—Mark the fact, Citizens—the price of provisions is multiplied by about twenty-two, from what it was at the period I have been speaking of. Well, are the wages of the labouring poor increased in a proportion of 22 to one? If instead of this, they are scarcely doubled, let us mark in what a very different situation the lower orders of society are placed, from what they were in the golden days of Queen Bess as they are called.—Golden they might be, to the poor, in this respect: but I cannot help putting in my caveat
caveat as to the general praise bestowed upon the reign of that despotic termagant).

If the price of labour had kept pace with the growing price of pigs and of poultry, the wages of a labouring man would have been at this time not less than fifteen shillings per day.

Now Citizens, if these are facts, and if it is also true that no master could possibly afford to give his labourers fifteen shillings per day, I am entitled to draw this conclusion—that the increase of the price of provisions does not principally result from the decrease of the value of money, from the larger quantity of circulating specie, or from any of those causes which mock philosophers have appealed to, in order to gratify the tyrants who paid them for varnishing over their oppressions, and deluding the people who listened to their fallacious arguments.

Citizens this is not all. I have some reason to believe that, at the time I am now speaking of, the usual day’s labour of a working man, instead of twelve or fourteen hours, was but eight. I will tell you my reason for supposing this. I know it to be the fact, that, in a particular part of the country, it was but eight hours at that time; and you will judge how far it is likely that this was an exclusive privilege.

About three years ago, being on the coast of Kent, and taking up my habitation at a friend’s house, at Ditchurch wall, which keeps out the sea from Romney Marsh; and being at the house of one of the principal members of the corporation by which that district has the misfortune to be governed, I had an opportunity of learning some particulars relative to their regulations. By the charter of this corporation, which was granted, I understand, about the time I have been speaking of, the price of the day’s labour, for a man working upon the wall, which stands in need of constant repair, is fixed at a shilling.

This will shew you that at that period 8d. per diem was the average price, and not the maximum of the price paid for labour, for the price of a day’s labour, upon Ditchurch wall, for keeping out the sea from Romney Marsh, was fixed by charter at 1s. Being fixed by charter, it remains the same at this time, and the Corporation itself has not the power of altering it. But the day’s labour upon this wall being originally only eight hours, the poor labourers, finding themselves no longer able to live twenty-four hours upon one day’s work, perform
perform regularly a day and an half's work every day: that is
to say, they toil twelve hours for which they receive 1s. 6d.
for the support of themselves and families.

This is only an individual instance I grant; and therefore
does not authorize a very positive conclusion; but as it has led
me to suspect, that the day's labour was anciently no more
than eight hours, I state the foundation upon which the sus-
picion rests, in hopes that others may think it worth while to
enquire further into the subject. It is certainly worth enqui-
ry; and for my own part, whether it was the general practice
or not, I am thoroughly convinced that it is more than enough
for the interests and happiness of society; and more than
enough to be put upon the individual. Nor can I give un-
qualified praise to the laws of any country, that does not
enable a poor man to maintain his family in decency by the
diurnal labour of eight hours.

Nay Citizens, if—which I believe never can be the case,
and therefore I don't wish to enforce it upon you as a thing
practicable—but if an equal division of labour among all the
inhabitants of this island, and if the luxuries, the follies, and
fopperies of life were banished, even one hour per diem to
each individual would be labour enough for the comfortable
subsistence of all. Nay I am informed, that Mr. Nicholson,
a chymist and philosopher, whose very name commands our
reverence, has absolutely calculated, that the whole labour
employed in producing the absolute necessaries of life, when
divided equally among the whole population of the country,
is not more than half an hour in the day.

Now though I think it a very good thing, that some of the
embellishments, as well as the necessaries of life, should
be attended to, though I think it a very good thing that a
country should be adorned with splendid edifices, magnificent
paintings, books to inform the mind, and diversions and in-
dulgences to relax and soften it—that we should have articles
of ease and gratification, as well as the bare accommodations
of life; yet I do not think it right to grind the faces of the
poor upon the mill-stone of oppression, that a few worthless
individuals may arrogate to themselves the individual possession
of all those comforts and advantages.

Citizens, when I am thoroughly aware of the applications
that may be made of what I am saying, which I could with
always to be, and how far the inferences will go which I at-
tempt to draw from the facts I am stating, I am very desirous
that
that I should never appear to draw a conclusion beyond that point in which the facts, fairly and candidly stated, will bear me out. I ought therefore to observe, that, with respect to the former conclusion upon the prices of provisions, there is some degree of fallacy, and that when this fallacy is fairly stated, it must be admitted to operate as a drawback in some degree, with respect to the disproportion between the prices of provision and of labour; and consequently that the depression of the lower orders of society is not quite so extravagant as it might, in the first instance, appear. I wish to put you in possession of all the facts that I am master of; and I shall not therefore be very much afraid of appearing to contradict in one part of my lecture what I advance in another.

I leave ungenerous advantages to the wrong side of the question. Our cause stands not in need of them. I wish to submit the whole of the reasonings, profound and candidly, that you may see how much and how little the facts I bring before you bear upon the conclusions I wish to adduce.

Some abatement then is to be made from the calculation drawn from poultry and other articles of that description, because the fact is, that it was not, originally, to much as it is now, the practice of a few particular individuals of the privileged and opulent orders of society to monopolize to themselves a particular species of food. Luxuries did not always bear a price so disproportionate to the necessaries of life as they do now. There was a time when salmon (for example) and all luxurious fish were as plentiful and abundant, that the poorest individual in society as well as the richest, could have them upon their tables, and banquet upon them to satiety.

I had an opportunity to mention to you once before, that it was found necessary, at Winchester, to insert a clause in the indentures of poor boys apprenticed from the parish, to prevent them from being fed more than three times in the week upon salmon. But means have since been taken to preclude the necessity of such clauses. It was known by the great and mighty potentates who dance before us in the puppet show of State, adorned with stars and garters—it was known (I was going to say by these mountebanks but I mean by these right honourable gentlemen,) that luxuries were adopted to pamper their appetites, and fill them with the sinful bulks of the flesh, thereby corrupt their morals and render them
but little disposed to go to church, and still less disposed to
listen to every thing that the gentleman in the black gown
should say to them, and finally to render them unfit for la-
bour, and destroy their constitutions. These Right Honour-
able Gentlemen, therefore, with respect to many of those arti-
cles, were willing to engross the dangerous enjoyment to
themselves, knowing very well that their own morals could
not be made much worse, and that if they did eat and drink
themselves to death, it was matter of very little consequence
to society. Salmon was therefore contracted for by their
agents of luxury, the great fishmongers; and agreements
were notoriously made that only a given number should be
bought to market, and the rest, let them be as plentiful as
they would, should serve to manure the earth. Other prac-
tices (particularly the breaking up of small farms) have tended
to increase the price of pigs and poultry: it being found im-
proper for the swinish multitude to have such food—there
being something monstrous in the idea of one pig eating an-
other.

These circumstances have caused a great disproportion be-
tween the prices of those articles and of the articles of com-
mon food: much greater within the remembrance of some
persons perhaps to whom I am now speaking, than it used to
be. But suppose we take the general difference in the price
of provisions at the most moderate calculation possible: sup-
pose we should admit, for the present, that the price of these
articles was no more at the period I am speaking of than the
price of common butcher's meat: suppose for example at the
same time that a chicken was to be bought for a penny, meat
was a penny per pound; what shall we then find the propor-
tion to be? Meat a penny a pound, and labour eightpence
per day, The price of a day's labour, then, at that period, at
the lowest computation, was equal to the price of eight pounds of
butcher's meat. Is that the case now?

If this is the lowest calculation that can be admitted, then,
certainly, whatever the result is, as to the difference between
the proportionate prices of labour and provisions then, and
the proportionate prices of labour and provisions now, we
shall be compelled to admit that such difference does now exisit
between the condition of the laborious part of the com-
munity then and now.

Well then to make the price of labour at this period
equal in point of real advantage to the price of labour at that
period,—that is to say, to enable a man for the same quantum
of
of labour to get the same quantity of comforts and accommodations, the average price of labour ought to be 5s. 4d. per diem throughout the country.

Let me be understood accurately. I do not mean to set myself up as the arbitrary judge of what ought to be, and what ought not to be, the price of labour. That is not what I am aiming at. I want to convince you of the nature and causes of the evil; and then let the good sense and understanding of the country seek for its remedy. Whether the proper remedy is to remove the causes of the extravagant price of provisions, or to raise the wages of labour, or whether both ought in some degree to be done, I do not at present decide: But I think I am entitled from this statement to draw this conclusion—that there is a monstrous advance upon the prices of the necessaries and accommodations of life; the whole of which cannot be attributed to the decrease of the real value of the money by which these articles are bought. I think I am entitled, also, to conclude—that either one or other of these two circumstances is the fact—either the quantity of money has been constantly increasing, and the prices of provisions have consequently kept equal pace with that increase, while the higher orders of society have monopolized the increasing money and all the consequent advantages to themselves, so that the lower orders of society, by whom the whole was produced, have not been proportionably rewarded; or else there is an increase in the price of the articles of consumption, disproportionate to an extravagant degree, with the increase of the specie by which those provisions is to be purchased.

I believe, Citizens, both these statements are true. I believe, from causes which I shall afterwards investigate, that the price of the necessaries of life has increased beyond the increase of the circulating medium: I mean the general circulating medium. I shall speak of that swindling bubble called paper credit, at another part of these Lectures. I believe, also, that there has been a neglect of the lower orders of society; and that the increase of their wages has not borne any sort of proportion with the real increase of the quantity, and consequent decrease of the value of money.

But let us bring the comparison a little nearer to us. Let us take facts of more recent date: and see what we are enabled to conclude from them.

I shall now proceed to statements to the accuracy of which (if they are accurate) a great proportion of you will be able
to bear testimony; or the fallacy of which (if they are false) you will readily detect:—facts relative to the prices of provisions within the last twenty-five years. I shall then compare these prices with the increase of the price of labour; and see how far the lower orders of the people have been benefited even during that period, for a great part of which the growth of wealth, commerce and prosperity have been so frequently boasted, by that treacherous individual, who has all the while had his dagger at the heart of every blessing, and every comfort and accommodation of the country.

Twenty years ago bread was four-pence per quartern, now it is nine-pence farthing. [I understand that in London it has since risen to a shilling.]

Nay this increase, monstrous as it is, has another aggravating circumstance—namely, that many of those vegetables which used to decrease the consumption of bread, are now scarcely to be got at any price whatever. Potatoes which, since I have been a housekeeper, used commonly to be sold at five pounds for two-pence, are now three half-pence per pound. This circumstance may appear trifling and ridiculous to some of us: but it is no trifle, it is no ridicule to the poor individual who has five or six children to support; and who hitherto has been able to give them but little sufficiency, but what was derived from these potatoes, sopped in a little of that chalk and water which in London we call milk.

But these are not the only articles which have thus increased in their price. We talk of famine in France. We have a work famine at home. They have had no scarcity but of bread alone. We, it seems, have a scarcity of everything. No kind of meat, in any part of that country, has ever been more than four-pence per pound. What is the case with us? Boiling beef, twenty or twenty-five years ago, might be bought at from two-pence to two-pence halfpenny: now from six pence to six-pence halfpenny; roasting ditto at four-pence now at eight-pence; pork and veal at four-pence halfpenny, now at eight-pence halfpenny; mutton three-pence halfpenny and four-pound now eight-pence; for good salt butter that used to be bought at five-pence we now pay eleven-pence; loaf sugar, (good aristocratic loaf sugar) such as you must now pay thirteen or fourteen-pence per pound for, was then sold at sixpence; as for the cheap sort of loaf sugar, as it is called, for which you pay eleven-pence or a shilling, at this time, it is such coarse democratic stuff as no individual,
dual, at the period I am speaking of, would have bought at any price whatever. Molift sugar (a very important article to poor people, who wish to keep their children in health by regaling them frequently with a fruit pudding) used to be two-pence halfpenny per pound, it is now nine-pence. Coals, till within these seven years, were scarcely ever so high as a shilling per buffel. They have been three shillings and three shillings and sixpence, during the late inclement season; and twenty-pence was no uncommon price the winter before. What is the result of all this?—That coals have increased their price threefold, common sugar almost fourfold, butter and bread considerably more than double; some meats have increased threefold in their price, and the average of all animal food is considerably more than double the price now that it was twenty or twenty-five years ago. Now then supposing we could admit that all this increase of price resulted from the increase of gold and silver, from the wealth, and grandeur, and splendour, and prosperity of the country—and Mr. Dundas having told you that general bankruptcy is a proof of the prosperity of the country, may perhaps be able to prove to you, that the increased price of provisions is a proof of the grandeur, prosperity, and happiness of the country: But, if this be true, what justice has been done to those millions of our fellow citizens, from whose labour, from whose industry, from the sweat of whose brow, all that wealth and prosperity has been reaped? Ought not this wealth, grandeur, and prosperity, to have enabled the labourer who procured them, at least, to eat as well, drink as well, clothe himself as well, lay on as good a bed, and be sheltered by a good a roof as formerly?

For the accomplishment of this, the price of labour ought to be considerably more than doubled. It has not, however, upon an average, from one end of the country to the other, been increased during that period one fourth. In some places it has scarcely been increased at all; and, in many, not one sixth. Mark then the blessed effects of the martial administrations of North and Pitt; two characters that will go hand in hand down to infamy; the one for the fordid and putraneous cowardice with which he suffered himself to be made the chief tool and instrument of a war he never approved, the other for his savage propensity to the destruction of the human race, and the unfeeling duplicity with which he has purged his ambitious views. But why do I put epithets to the word? Hypocrisy itself includes every thing that is detestable and abhorred;
abhored; and wherever you find that scowling countenance, that shuffling gait, that lapsided arrogance of deportment which marks the political maypole of this devoted country, set down the being thus stamped by the broad seal of nature, for all that the catalogue of guilt contains, from solitary intoxication and debauchery, to the ravage of nations and the depopulation of continents, and the most inveterate hatred to the liberties and happiness of mankind.

Thus, ther, we find that the labourers of this country, at this time possess considerably less than half the necessaries, comforts, and accommodations, which they were able to obtain twenty or twenty-five years ago, and less than a third of what recompened the same or less degree of labour in the middle of last century: while at the same time, the pensions, places, and luxuries of our rulers have been extravagantly increased. The wealth, the power, the insolence of succefive administrations, have kept pace with the growing misery of the people; and while one are stripped of half their necessaries, the others are insulting common sene and common decency, with the pompous display of more than twice their former opulence and wasteful grandeur. Yet aristocrats have the shameless audacity to tell us, that if the price of the necessaries of life has increased, the price of labour has increased also.

It is a courtly virtue to lie with the words of truth; and therefore I give them credit for their consistency. The price of labour has indeed increased from eight-pence to a shilling, and from a shilling to fifteen-pence, while the necessaries of life have risen at a proportion of from eight-pence to two shillings, and from two shillings to five.

Such then are the facts with respect to the usual articles of common accommodation. But there are other articles which, though not immediately consumed by man, have also a tendency to increase his misery, when they are increased in their price. Hay, for example, and indeed every individual article that bears any price whatever. What then are the facts relative to those articles. Have they increased in price, or have they not? Within five years, from the year 1790, oats have increased 75 per cent. in price.

I believe I state this fact from such authority, that I do not stand in danger of any contradiction. I am not myself an adept in the market price of these articles, or in the commerce that is carried on relative to them: but I believe I can state from the best authority, that since the year 1790, the price
price of oats has increased 75 per cent. while hay, every article of pulse, and a great variety of those articles which contribute, in a second-hand way, to the comforts of life, have kept pace with this increase.

What then shall we say to all these facts?—Is it necessary, or is it not, that the causes should be enquired into? I believe it is necessary: for whatever may be the case with respect to theological matters, with respect to political concerns, I believe it is virtue to know good from evil. I believe, that we ought to pluck the apple of science whenever it hangs within our reach. I am sure, also, that if it is good to enquire, it is necessary that the people should make the enquiry for themselves: for I do not believe the ministry will be inclined to make it for them. At this period indeed they have better employment abroad. Their wits and faculties are too much engaged in showing how consistent it is for them to talk of the faithlessness of republicans, by persuading the Royalists of La Vendee to break thro' all the oaths and engagements they have made with the republic of France. They are too busy in sending their 50,000 stand of arms, with their scoundrel run-away emigrant officers, to excite fresh insurrections—fresh scenes of blood and massacre, among the ignorant priest ridden peasants of Poictou;—in arming afresh the Chouan banditti—the midnight murderers of Brittany, that they may have the pretence of something like a shadow of a shadow of the shadow of a probability of success, upon the strength of which, to persuade the people of Britain to be gulled, once more to spend another forty millions in a fresh campaign; and to have the honour of finding themselves in a worse situation at the end than ever.

However this gives me no uneasiness: for things at the worst must surely mend; and our rulers seem determined that it shall not be long before they drive matters to the very worst that human nature is capable of bearing. But say these virtuous men, and their most sapient advocates, it is not right to enter into enquiries of this kind, at this time. Consider the state of the public mind. It will lead to commotion. Such is the trick and cheat which they have been putting upon our understandings, and perhaps upon their own, for centuries; such have been always the pretences of the individuals who have walked the same infamous round before them, and such always will be the pretences of those who follow in the same routine. The delinquents will always think it is not a proper time to enquire into the state of their delinquency. But
But the fact is, that commotions spring from ignorance, and not from knowledge. He who is wise knows how to redress the grievances he labours under. He who is ignorant feels the sting of disaster: but, instead of taking the path of amelioration, plunges headlong into violence. Men ignorant and uninstructed become mad and frantic with their wrongs: for what is madness? What is phrenzy; but the want of knowledge and capacity to understand right from wrong, truth from falsehood, and to perceive which is the way to accomplish those designs which wisdom, justice, and virtue would dictate.

I wish to allay, not to increase fermentation. I wish I knew how to give you a Spartan determination of soul, together with the benevolence and philanthropy with which a few speculative philosophers of the present day have endeavoured to inspire mankind. I would make you hard as rocks, against the assaults of corruption, prejudice and oppression. I would make you stand like a marble wall, and defy the assaults and encroachments of those wretches who dare to let a foot upon the sacred boundary and landmark of liberty. But, at the same time I would fill your souls with a delusion of every thing like violence, rancour, and cruelty. O that I could make you feel the true determination of generous valour, and that you might be as wise and benevolent as you were determined and resolute!

How is it to be done? How shall I steel your breasts, and soften your hearts at the same moment? If I knew how to do this I should then indeed be fit to stand in this Tribune, and listened to by my fellow citizens; because I should then be able to point out to you the certain means of redress, and infuse you success in your struggles for the happiness of future ages, without aggravating, even for an hour, the misery of the present generation.

I am sure, however, that this effect is not to be produced by intimidation or by ignorance. I have seen, since I left had the honour of meeting the countenances of my enlightened fellow citizens in this place; I have seen some of the lamentable consequences of the miserable ignorance, in which the governors of this country contrive to keep the people. I have been rambling, according to my wonted practice, in the true democratic way, on foot, from village to village, from pleasant hill to barren heath, recreating my mind with the beauties, and with the deformities of nature. I have traced over many a barren track of land in that county (Surrey) which
which is called the Gentleman's county; because, forsooth, the beggarly *fins culottes* are routed out from it; their vulgar cottages, so offensive to the proud eye of luxury, are exterminated, and nothing but the stately domes of useless grandeur present themselves to our eyes. I have been travelling over those spots; I have enjoyed the fine prospects from Leith hill; and have turned round, with a sigh, to behold how many a little uncultivated valley there lies waste; how many a beautiful spot lies desolate, which a thousandth part of that revenue which has been so madly waisted in the present detestable war, might have converted into smiling gardens and luxuriant fields, yielding food and raiment to many a poor family, while their little smiling cottages might have imparted delight, where now nothing but gloomy sterility is to be seen.

In the course of these rambles I have dropped, occasionally, into the little hedge ale-houses to refresh myself. I have sat down among the rough clowns, whose tattered garments were foiled with their rustic labours; for I have not forgot that all mankind are equally my brethren; and I love to see the labourer in his ragged coat—that is I love the labourer: I am sorry his coat is obliged to be so ragged. I love the labourer then, in his ragged coat, as well as I love the Peer in his ermine; perhaps better; for indeed I should not be sorry if the ermine of the Peer were employed in keeping the children of the poor ragged-coated peasant warm of a winter's night. I have mixed, therefore, with these people; and I have grieved to hear their sentiments. Commotion and violence they can readily commend. They can applaud the frantic proceedings of those, who have seized upon the shambles, the mills, and the bakers' shops; and thus have endeavoured, by their arbitrary proceedings, to reduce the price of provisions. Thus far they think the interference of the people right: But as to political enquiry, to this they are too many of them dead. The generality of them still cherish the prejudices that have caufed their misery. They hate a Frenchman, for being a Jacobin, as much as they formerly hated him for wearing *wooden shoes*, tho' they know no more of the meaning of the word *Jacobin*, than they did before of the guilt that was attached to shoes of wood. Nay too many of them idolize the name of a contemptible wretch whose father's reputation was the sole cause of his popularity, and whom a few grains of enquiry would lead them to execrate as the author of that very scarcity of which they complain. I have
have argued with these men upon the impropriety of tumult and violence: for I abhor commotion more than I abhor any thing, except despotism and corruption; and I never meet with the advocate of violence, but I endeavour to show him its wickedness and absurdity. But, alas, the uninformed mass love this violence. They uphold the propriety of it, because they are ignorant of the real sources of their calamities; because they do not know that the Miller, the Baker, and the Butcher, against whom their violence is directed, are as much oppressed as themselves; and that they must look higher if they would find the real instruments of their oppression; that they must think more deeply, if they would learn the means by which that oppression is to be removed.

The fact is, as I shall shew you in the course of this enquiry, that though the causes are multifarious indeed, that have produced this oppression, the greater portion of them is to be traced to the errors, to the vices, to the selfish usurpations of those ministers, and their predecessors, who think that no man has rights who was not wrapped in a swaddling band of ermine, and that no man can be entitled to reason, unless he has, either in possession or expectation, a bit of blue ribbon, or a few gold and silver spangles embroidered on his night-gown.

There can be no doubt that the advocates of administration must be anxious enough to prevent enquiry; because enquiry must point out who are the causes of the wrong; and what is the mode by which redress is to be obtained. There is no doubt that tumult and violence are pleasant things to them; because they give them pretences for giving additional force to the arm of authority, and for drawing tighter those reins of government, which, though the poor may bleed at the mouth while the gag presses hard upon them, it is pleasant enough for those who only drive, and whip, and spur them, to be holding with a hard hand. They, therefore, have little objection to the butcher, the baker, or the Miller being sacrificed to the ignorant indignation of the people, provided thereby they avert the dreaded calamity of calm enquiry, and thus the light of political truth, which brings conviction to the minds of the people, and threatens, by the unanimous sentiment of virtue and justice which it might inspire, to drive them and their crimes from the seat of power. This they must abhor; because whenever that unanimous sentiment of common sense and justice shall prevail among mankind, down drops the curtain upon the mighty puppets of the day; the
the wires they have been moved by, will no longer make them
perform their evolutions, and Punchinello and his family
flutt in their embroidered robes no more.

Citizens, the field of enquiry that opens before me is im-
mensely. The present subject involves almost every question
connected with finance; it involves the consideration of that
delusion which has been so long upheld, paper credit; it in-
volves the system of taxation; it involves the present mode of
partitioning land into farms and tenements; it involves the
scandalous neglect which has occasioned one third of the land
in this island, (taking England, Scotland and Wales, together)
to remain in an uncultivated state.

On the succeeding evening I shall give you the facts stated
by the committee of the board of agriculture, and prove to
you that one third of the lands of this country absolutely lie
waite. What a scandal to the government of the country!
What a shame that pensions, places, and emoluments so im-
mense, should be wasted upon a few worthless individuals,
while so large a portion of the country lies useless, which,
with a tythe of that money, might be converted into regions
of plenty and population!

The despotism of China would blush at such absurdity.
Go there; behold the population thick almost as the bearded
grain that grows upon the cultivated ground. Behold every
street swarming with human beings. What is the reason,
that even in the midst of despotism the human species can thus
be multiplied? They have no pernicious system of paper cre-
dit; they have no monopolized system of external commerce;
they have no monopoly of lands into the hands of a few
holders; they are not year after year, and month after month,
turning the little tenant out of his farm, to throw a huge pro-
vince almost into one concern, and on the speculative mer-
cantile trafficker in land bellow that which might produce
the comfortable support of numerous families, and tend there-
by to the happiness and prosperity of the country.

It is not my intention to enter into the whole of this wide
field on the present evening. I shall confine my observations
during the remainder of this Lecture to a few particular
points, which are immediately connected with the abuses of
government, and with those circumstances that press particu-
larly upon the present moment.

There are undoubtedly circumstances which have occa-
sioned a gradual increase in the price of articles of the first
necessity, in this country; there are other circumstances
which
which have tended to produce an absolute scarcity, not only in England, but in Europe.

Among those which have tended to increase the price of provisions we may reckon the enormous growth of corruption among the higher orders of society; by which the expences of government have been greatly increased. We are to consider, also, among the causes of permanent evil, the restrictions upon the exportation and the importation of corn; and we are to consider, also, a burden rendered venerable by its antiquity, but whose grey hairs can no longer preserve it from contempt, I mean the oppressive burthen of tithes, and a great variety of other causes, which shall be enumerated in their turn. The part, however, which I shall particularly dwell upon this evening, is that which relates to the present war, and which, as all other wars in some degree, but the present more than any former, has occasioned a considerable increase of the price of provisions, independent of taxation, independent of the additional burdens which encumber traffic—as the increase of freightage and insurance, and the like.

The former of these is paid upon all articles of consumption, which are removed from one part of the coast to another; and therefore corn, coals, and other articles which are of home consumption, as well as sugar and articles of foreign produce, partake of the consequent increase of price.

Now, Citizens, I shall state a few facts relative to an individual article, which will shew you, by analogous reasoning, how considerable an increase in the price of the necessaries of life must have been produced by the present war, by the operation of these two species of burthen alone. The freigntage of sugars was only four shillings per hundred weight before the war, now it is ten shillings; the insurance upon the same article, which used to be six pounds per cent. is now increased to sixteen.

You will please to remember, that the increase of freigntage arises from so many individuals who used to be employed in commercial navigation, being pressed on board our men of war, to be cut to pieces and destroyed for the glory and honour of William Pitt and Co. Such is the price which one half of the community pays for having the other half cut and blown to pieces in ridiculous wars!

With respect to the increase of the insurance, that is to be attributed to the activity of the enemy. For as they sometimes take the liberty of sweetening their tea with the sugar we have paid for, the under-writers of course must take a greater
greater premium before they can insure the respective cargoes. And by the way it should be observed, that these gentlemen under-writers do not fail to take advantage of these circumstances. War is a sort of harvest moon to these legal gamblers; so much so, that I remember, at the close of the American war, hearing one of them lament that hostilities were over so soon—for, that if they had continued a year or two longer, he should have feathered his nest completely.

Citizens, I do not mean to contend, that the freightage and insurance of all articles have increased in the same proportion; but this will show you how to account for one part of the increase of the price of the necessaries of life resulting from the present war. In short, there is a thousand ways in which it affects them, besides the wholesale accumulation of taxation, and the obvious inconveniences of decaying manufactures and stagnated commerce.

See, then, the advantages of going to war, to those whole destiny it is to survive at home; as to those poor beings who had their heads knocked off abroad, according to Mr. Burke, they are gone to receive their reward; and therefore he might tell you the faster our brothers and friends have their heads knocked off the better, because they are going so much the faster to heaven. And as he had the honour of being educated among the Jesuits at St. Omer's, I am sure I shall not contend points of religion with him. But admitting this to be the case, there can be no doubt that heaven has been very well peopled by the triumphs of the present war; the last campaign particularly, the exploits of which it is unnecessary to enumerate: and, indeed, it would put one out of breath, as it did the French, to follow them from field of glory to field of glory—from the frontiers of France to the marshes of Flanders, and from the marshes of Flanders to the dykes of Holland, and from the dykes of Holland to the devil knows where.—It would be impossible to enumerate the achievements which will immortalize the name of the British Frederick, and cause posterity to go down upon their knees and blest the wise heads of Pitt, of Jenkinson and Loughborough, and all the sapient projectors of this most glorious, salutary, and triumphant war. Paying a little more for the sugar to sweeten our tea, or drinking it without, or having a plum-pudding or pye or two the lets every week, are trifles in comparison with the permanent advantages reaped from undertakings so wise, and exploits so glorious.

There is another thing has produced an increase of the price of all necessaries to be shipped from one part of the country
country to another, namely, the embargo laid upon our mer-
chandize, in order to enable Mr. Pitt to get more sailors to
fight his battles for him.

But there are, in the present war, circumstances of peculiar
aggravation, which it seems our state politicians could not
calculate.

It was boasted by that great teacher of the Rule of Three,
the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that we should have for
our allies all the powers of Europe. It was well answered by
his powerful opponent in the House of Commons (much more
powerful he would be still, if he would shake off the trammels
of party!)—It was well answered by him, that the greater our
alliances, the greater our calamities; because the consequence
was, that all Europe being engaged in war, no port would be
left open, no place would be neutral, and therefore the greater
would be the stagnation both in our external and internal
commerce.

But he might have gone further; he might have said, not
only our commerce is stagnated, but the very sources of sub-
sistence are dried up, in consequence of this grand alliance.
All Europe is at war. Your own produce, scarcely ever suf-
ficient for your own support, is now to be lent in large quan-
tities to the continent, to supply all the armies of all the de-
spots of Europe. Stripped, as you will be, of every neces-
sary article of life, where is the neutral nation that is to
supply you? What corn will you get from any of the powers
on the right or on the left bank of the Rhine? What sup-
plies will you draw from any of those places from which you used
to have them? None.—You have plunged all Europe into
war; all Europe, of course, must neglect the cultivation and
tillage of its land; all Europe must lose the opportunity of
supplying you with the necessary articles which your profi-
lucy will destroy.—Where then are you to seek, in the midst
of those blessed victories which you anticipate (how well they
have been fulfilled we have since seen)—where are you to seek
for food to sustain the soldiery who are to fight your battles
abroad, and to feed the poor manufacturers who will be lan-
guishing in disafte and want at home?—Will you expect it
from America!—from America, who, if she has one grain
of justice or common sense, must love the cause of
your enemy, and abhor your’s?—America, who must regard
every success you may happen to obtain, as a signal of alarm
to her independence?—America, who must regard your viol-
ation of treaties, on the banks of the Miami, as a bone of
contention
contention purposely preserved, to furnish you with a sorry pretence, if ever you should think yourselves strong enough, once more to attack her, and attempt her subjugation?—According to this calculation has been the event. Hence neither wheat nor any other grain has been imported since the last harvest, except oats, and very small quantities even of thefe; most of them from Ireland; very few, indeed, from Hamburgh.

This accounts for the rise of 75 per cent. in the price of that article, which has been mentioned before. The very great supplies of oats, which used to be sent through the ports of Holland from various parts of the continent, have entirely ceafed.

The states also, on both sides of the Rhine, the Austrians, and the united Netherlands, have either neglected their tillage, or what little they have produced has fallen, not into the hands of Britain, but into the hands of Britain's enemy. Your allies have left half their lands unseason'd; and what has been the fate of that which they have cultivated? The triumphant republican, with his sword in one hand, and his fickle in the other, has reaped the harvest, and carried it into his granaries.

Let us observe, also, the conduct of our good and gracious ally the King of Pruffia, that illustrious sample of the faith of monarchies, that demonstrative reafoner in favour of treating only with regular and established governments. Even when he pretended to be our friend: that is to say, while he showed an inclination to receive our money; for he never showed any inclination to do any thing else for us, but to lighten us a little of that of which he saw we had too much as to make us proud!—Seeing that taking a great deal of it away would bring the people to their fenses, he very kindly helped the Minifter off with it. But even during the time that he was receiving this money, he absolutely prohibited the exportation of corn to any nation whatever.

Now, whether in reality he was afraid that this corn should fall into the hands of the French, or whether he was afraid there would be a scarcity in his own country, it matters not with respect to my argument. Sufliceth it to say, that it being known to our wise Minifter that he had forbid the exportation of corn, yet our wise Minifter thought proper to pay for a quantity of that article; hoping, I suppose, to be able, by weighty arguments, to persuade the King of Pruffia, after he had paid for it, to let him have it. And now we may find, perhaps,
perhaps, that the eloquence of the French Convention is
more powerful in Prussia, than the eloquence of Britain: —
that Court having been a long time studying the French lan-
guage, tho’ I have not yet heard, that any English gramma-
rian has been sent for to instruct them in ours. One part of
the English language, however, the King of Prussia under-
stands very perfectly: that which I mean is generally written
in characters of the brightest yellow, and which is considered
in our senate, as composing the most solid, weighty, and per-
suasive part of eloquence. The ornamental part of rhetoric,
however, he imports from another country; and to these,
as there are some reasons to doubt the soundness of his royal
capacity) he may chance to be most attached.

But there is a still more important circumstance to be
taken into consideration; namely the exportation to the armies.
This is not easily calculated; because I am credibly informed,
that, in many instances, what with the shifting of ground,
retreating from place to place — for, you know, we have been
gravely told in the ministerial papers, that, “ notwithstanding
their successes, the French have never been able to take
possession of any ground, till the British troops had first of
all removed from it.” thereby demonstrating a well known
physical proposition, that two bodies cannot occupy the same
space at the same time. — Well then, what with the bodies of
the English armies moving first from one spot and then from
another, and the bodies of the French moving on to them;
what with sometimes burning the corn and sometimes drown-
ing it, that it might not fall into the hands of the enemy;
what with its sometimes actually falling into those hands, it
has been known that the orders of the Commissaries have
sometimes been three times executed, before the stores have
actually arrived at the army for which they were intended.
So that even the powerful genius of Brook Watson has sunk
beneath the weighty duties, and still more weighty profits of
his office; and he is said to have exclaimed in despair, that it
was impossible to supply a flying army.

Here then is waste for you. Here is a source of aggra-
vated scarcity. The waste and conflagration of a camp is
always double the quantity that would provide for the same
number of individuals in their own peaceful habitations: and
the support of a flying army is always three times as much as
an army that is successful would require.

But this is not all the wicked and mischievous policy of
the present system: It adds wantonness to misfortune, and
aggravates
aggravates with wilful devastation the calamities of the human race. It is reported that even so large a quantity of haystacks as would cover a whole mile and an half of ground in the neighbourhood of Rotterdam, was set on fire by the retreating English and Hanoverians, because it should not fall into the hands of the enemy.

A precious legacy this to bequeath a people whom we had forced into a war they did not wish for; and whom we were incapable of defending!

Magazines of hay having been so destroyed, do you suppose that magazines of corn and beef have not been destroyed in the same way?

O feeble sense of reason and of virtue! — O neglected spirit of justice and humanity! That any being who has capacity enough to count his fingers, or who can put down as many units upon a paper as will make ten, should ever think of plunging continents into war for the gratification of their ambition, when the consequences must be destroying, thus, by wholesale, the means of the existence of so many thousands of their fellow beings, who have the same right to the accommodations of life with themselves; but who, together with their families, are to be reduced to misery and the lingering death of famine, while mad revenge, the avarice of office, and the intoxicating love of power, stalk with inflated insolence over the globe, affect the nod of deity, and snuff the incense of human sacrifices!

Citizens, the evening is far advanced. But late as it is, there is one subject I cannot pass over without some animadversion. I mean the conduct of the Minister of this country with respect to Poland; that country, whose struggles for dawning liberty warmed the heart of every generous Briton; that country to which every man who had one spark of veneration for any thing that looked like liberty in the constitution of this country, must have sincerely wished success; that country has been beaten down; its spirit has been annihilated; its population thinned by massacres perpetrated by the regular Government of Russia; every spark of liberty has been trampled out; the Hyæna of the North, and the vultures of Germany, have torn its mangled limbs; have feasted on its gore; and have been supplied, by British gold, with the means of this destruction and inhuman partition.

This conduct will shew you, that it is not Jacobinism only, that is hateful to the present minister; — that it is not republicanism only that he detests; that he is a worshipped of un-
qualified despotism; that he wishes to establish it throughout the world; and that even the most temperate and moderate reformation; even the merest half-way attempt towards liberty and the amelioration of the condition of the human species, is sufficient to set his gall afloat, and provoke him to glut his appetite for blood.

Look at the history of the attempted revolution in Poland. Were there any appearances of Jacobinism there? Did they set up for that liberty and equality which has been so misrepresented? No: if they had they would have triumphed; and Pitt, and the despots of Europe would have been disappointed. But they were too moderate in their views to warm the souls of the great body of the people; too little careful of the rights of the mass of mankind, to awake the glowing enthusiasm which liberty and equality inspires. They could not unite in one effort the congregated energies of the nation: but the congregated despots and cabinets of Europe were united against them. For their destruction hard British gold was sent over to the Defpot of Prussia, in subsidies.

What use did he openly make of it? Did he assist the alliance against France? No. Did he not, in the most bare-faced manner, apply that money to the destruction of Poland? and did not Pitt still continue to send the money of this country to that Defpot, even after he saw the use that he made of it? And was he not thereby enabled to hold out against the vigorous exertion of the Poles, till the Hyazna of the north was ready to pour her Barbarians upon them, and to repeat the massacres of Ismael in the streets of Warsaw.

Yes, this tiger in human shape, this royal savage, is one of the allies with whom our virtuous administration thinks a free people ought to coalesce, for the destruction of republicanism in France, and for the restoration of the despotism of the Capets, and the contemptible superstition of his holiness the pope.

But it may be said, "he was deceived. He was so busy "with his calculations, with his arithmetical plans and "schemes, that he could not attend to what was doing upon "such a spot of the continent as Poland; that he knew nothing "of the exertions made by those brave people; and but lit- "tle of the attempts made by the tyrants of Europe against "them." But no—he has abjured all such excuses: with "that matchless effrontery which nothing but a William Pitt, "backed by Henry Dundas, could possibly assume, he steps forward
forward and tells you that, "even if he could have foreseen " the manner in which the subsidy paid to the King of Pruf- " sia would have been applied, he certainly would have " paid it."

Here then is a direct avowal of his guilt.—I wish not for punishments; I wish for redress; but if other persons, not as philosophical in their feelings as I wish to be, should ever take it in their heads to redress the wrongs of Europe by coercion, let him take care. When the principal goes to rack, I fear he will find but little security from his plausible harrangues. Nor will it be easy, perhaps, for men of honest and ardent hearts, that wish to keep the cause of liberty un- stained by wanton vengeance, to preserve such a culprit from the grip of a severe retaliation.

Citizens, I shall dwell no longer upon the subject this evening. I have already extended this lecture to an unusual length. I shall therefore adjourn till Friday evening; leaving you for the present with this invocation. Think, I conjure you—deeply think of all the facts that can be collected relative to this subject. It is a subject in which your own happiness is involved; in which is, also, involved the happi- nesses of your posterity; the children yet unborn may blest your patriotic activity, or reprobate your selfish sluggishness, in proportion as you exert yourselves to redress the griev- ances under which the nation groans. And when I invoke you to redress those grievances, I do not invoke you to deeds of cruelty and violence, I invoke you to the energies of the mind. I invoke you to trace, to the very source, the causes of your calamities. I am convinced you will find almost all those calamities to result from the total want of a representa- tion of the people in parliament. I am convinced that you will find that the corruption, the rottenness, the profligacy which have crept into your administrations, in consequence of the want of this representation, is the genuine source of your calamities; and that there is no redress for a nation situated as we are (to repeat those treasonable words which were to have brought the axe of the executioner upon this neck) there is no redress for a nation situated as we are, but from a fair, full, and free representation of the people in the Commons House of Parliament!
ON COMMERCE.

(From the Peripatetic.)

COMMERCE! thou doubtful, and thou partial good!
'Tis true by thee we swell to Wealth and Power;
And Britain's name, and Britain's arts by thee
Are waisted to each region of the Globe,
Bringing, in rich return, their varied tributes
Of wealth and elegance, and the rare boon
To which, o'er all, we owe the power to soar
Above the brute, toward the god-like frame
Of heaven-pervading natures—glorious science!
Man's noblest privilege! But then by thee—
(With grief the mute records it) oft by thee
War, savage War! too, lifts his brazen voice,
To bellow hideous discord through the World;
To deluge guiltless realms with native blood,
At mad Ambition's and at Avarice' call;
Gainst human woe to steel the human breast,
Inflame the rancour of compatriot strife,
And prefs Oppression's foot with fiercer wrath
On the bow'd neck of Misery's fallen race.

'Tis thine, too, Commerce, thro' thy native land
To pour, wide-wafting, like a deluge, round
The poison'd stream of Luxury, rank-polluted!
The monster breeding Nile of hideous vice,
From whole's oft flagrant pools incessant spring
A loath'd mifhapen swarm, which Nature's eye
Turns haggard to behold.

Thou, Commerce, too, monopolizing fiend!
Fatten'st a few upon the toils of all;
And while thy favour'd sons, in Parian domes,
Rival the pomp of regal splendour, lo!
In every town whole charter'd insolence
Barters to Britain's sons the Freeman's name,
If there thy throne is fix'd, what hundreds throng
Each sad retreat of Wretchedness, or fill
The public streets with want's afflicting plaint;
Mourning thy sickle and capricious sway,
Whose endless changes, tho' the rich not feel,
(For Protean gold will ever find employ)
Oft robs the pale mechanic of his bread,
And dooms the pensioner of diurnal toil,
For half the year, perhaps, to idle want;
Perhaps in age to learn a new employ.
THE SECOND LECTURE on the Causes of the present DEARNESS and SCARCITY of PROVISIONS, delivered Friday, May 1st, 1795.

[Many of the occasional reflections in this Lecture will not be understood, if the reader is not reminded that a known agent of the Treasury planted himself in a very conspicuous situation this evening, and made several attempts to interrupt the Lecturer.]

CITIZENS,

IN my Lecture of Wednesday evening, I began with observing the vast and evident disproportion between the increase of the price of provisions and the prices of labour. I proved to you from Hume, or rather from a writer quoted by Hume as an authority, that about 230 years ago, when the common price of labour throughout the country was eight-pence per day, many of the articles of consumption were cheaper in a degree of twenty-two to one, than they are at this period. I afterwards proceeded to show you, that, in all probability, a considerable degree of difference had taken place between the proportionate price of the luxuries of life and the mere necessaries, and that, therefore, perhaps some deduction ought to be made from this calculation. But I believe I gave you data sufficient to authorize me in the conclusion, that after all allowances of this kind, it was but a very moderate calculation indeed to suppose that, in order to have kept any pace between the increase of the price of labour and the increase of the necessary articles of consumption, (that is to say, to make the condition of the laborious part of the community precisely the same as it was 230 years ago) that the wages paid for labour ought to be, considering what the prices of provisions now are, between five and six shillings per day. I endeavoured to show you, that it was not my intention absolutely to point out that such ought to be the wages at this time, but to show you this fact—that either very great injustice has been done to the common people, with respect to the prices paid for their labour, or else a very extravagant aug-
mentation has taken place upon the necessary articles of life, inconsistent with the quantum of specie in circulation.

I might have pushed this subject a little further; and when I was enquiring what ought to have been the prices of labour in order to make the comforts and conveniences of the lower orders of society the same as they were were 230 years ago, I might, perhaps, with very great propriety, have enquired whether the condition of the lower orders of Society ought not, at this period, to be considerably better than it was at that time. For if it is admitted, society has been in a rapid state of progress, if it is true that knowledge has extended to a very considerable degree, that the mechanical arts have been brought to much greater perfection, that all the different employments to which men are devoted, are now performed comparatively with much greater facility (that is to say, a greater quantum of production may be effected with the same labour and in the same time)—if all these circumstances are true, it would be, perhaps, a fair object of enquiry, whether that class of society, to whose industry and exertions we are to attribute this improvement, ought not, at least, to have had some share in the advantages resulting from it; and instead of living in a worse situation than at that time, whether they ought not to be enabled to live in a situation much more comfortable than they then did; for I cannot see what sort of justice there is in the great body of the people labouring eternally, if the whole advantage is to be seized by a few aristocratic oppressors, who are sending their spies and emissaries into every corner to catch up every word that may drop from a friend of Liberty.—Let me observe, however, that I am glad they do send such persons here, because they may chance to hear some truths that will incline them to be active and useful converts, especially if the audience treat such persons with the candour they are entitled to: for men ought not to be censured on account of the situation in which they are placed. They have frequently been the choice of unexperienced youth, frequently the choice of their parents, and frequently have been adopted from accidents in life over which they could have no command. I do not, therefore, make this observation to stimulate ungentle feelings
feelings in your hearts; those persons who frequently attend these Lectures will bear witness, that I have always been anxious to prevent any intemperance even towards the emissaries of those who have absolutely entered into conspiracies, first to knock out my brains by hired bludgeon-men, afterwards to kidnap, and fend me, perhaps, as Lady Grange was sent, into the distant solitary islands of Scotland, and lastly, to carve me alive into four quarters, and stick my head upon a pole.

Pursuing, Citizens, the chain of reasoning from which I have been led into this digression by the illiberal interruptions of this man, I say, that, perhaps, I might have been entitled to argue, that while the nobleman rides in a carriage twice as superb, while he lives in an apartment twice as splendid and convenient, the poor peasant has a right to expect, that he should live in a cottage twice as commodious, and wear twice as comfortable a clothing for himself and family. [TREASURY RUNNER, interrupting—"And so he has."]

I shall shew the honourable Gentleman who has made that reply whether it is so or not, by and by. I will state, not assertions, but facts. If Gentlemen will make observations it must spring from their ignorance—however, ignorance is no improper qualification for a tool of Government. I will state the facts, I will tell that Gentleman, that I have read history, and that from the facts contained in the records of times past, and known state of the industrious orders of society, it can be proved that their situation is three times as miserable, instead of being twice as comfortable as it was.

I shall not, however, occupy your time by replying to the significant nods and monosyllables of one individual. It is my business to investigate this subject; and I shall investigate it upon general principles, in defiance of all the idle vermin in office, which our pockets are so incessantly picked to maintain.

I was going to add, that I might have argued, that if the liveries of a Prince are to be increased from fifty to one hundred guineas per suit, that the poor ought to have the opportunity of putting upon the legs and feet of their children twice as good stockings and shoes as they did before. Citizens, I next examined the rise of provisions and the increase of the prices of labour, within the last twenty or twenty-five years; and as these are facts, of which a larger proportion of those who heard me could judge, I think it a little curious, that
that an individual who has apparently lived thirty or forty
years in the world, should attempt to contradict the conclu-
sion from them.—For as every article of provision has, more
than [considerably] doubled in its price, and as the wages
of labouring men have not increased one fourth part, I should
like very much to know, from some curious calculator, from
some of the scholars into whom Mr. Pitt has flogged his
arithmetic, how, with so small an increase of wages, at the
time when so great an increase has taken place in the price of
the necessaries of life, a man can get twice the comfort and
accommodation now for fourteen or fifteen pence, that he
used to get for a shilling before.

But, Citizens, when I am speaking of the increase, such as
it is, of the prices of labour, I ought to animadvert upon the
special care which the laws of this country, from a laudable
defire to preserve the peace and harmony of society, have
taken to place the lower orders entirely in a state of depen-
dance upon those who employ them; the consequence of
which is, that when any general national hardship takes place,
by means of which the prices of the articles of life are always
increased, but by means of which, at the same time, a quan-
tum of labour becomes less, the master takes a convenient
and snug opportunity to scotch, as they call it, the wages of
the journeymen.

Many of you, I dare say, have read, and I hope such of
you as have not will take an opportunity of reading, the ex-
cellent pamphlet of Citizen Frend, for which that admirable
advocate for the cause of Liberty was so scandalously expelled
the univcrsity of which he was so illustrious a member.
You will remember that, in that pamphlet, he takes notice of
a very affecting circumstance of this kind: Just after the war
had been declared, Citizen Frend (for I believe he will be
better pleased to be called Citizen than Reverend and Mr.)
happened to follow some poor women, who had been to a
market-town to take home their work; and who, as they
walked along, rung in the ears of each other the doleful and
angry complaint, "We are scotched 4d. in a shilling, on ac-
"count of this war."—I repeat not the words, but the sub-
stance.—"O!" says Frend, "that the voice of truth and
"humanity might penetrate the walls of cabinets; and that I
"might resound in the ears of Ministers and Princes—The
"labouring poor are scotched 4d. in a shilling, to maintain
"your ambitious projects and destructive wars, without com-
"mon sense, common virtue, or principle of justice?"

Citizens,
Citizens, I have had some opportunities, also, of observing the dependent situation of these lower orders of society. Some years ago, before my mind had taken that strong bias in favour of political pursuits, to which it is now attached, going into the native country of my parents, I took the opportunity—being generally desirous to see as much as I could, and, not like those poor wretches condemned to the ignorant confines of the office of a Secretary of State, to know no difference between truth and falsehood, right and wrong, but what was taught me by the lying documents of spies and their employers, which it is the duty of those poor ignorant beings to copy—my employment not being of that description, I took the opportunity of seeing, as far as I could, the condition of those orders of society, about whose happiness in the country I had heard so many romantic stories, while I was an inhabitant of the town, and took my ideas of rural felicity from novels and pastoral. I beheld there poor women, doubled with age, toiling, from morning to night, over their wheels, spinning their flax and hemp; and I found that their condition was so miserable, that many of them were positively obliged to take their work once or twice a day home to the persons who employed them, in order to get the scanty pittance that was to purchase the meal by which they were to sustain their emaciated frames. [Vide Peripatetic, vol. i. p. 143.]

I was astonished, I own, at this picture of misery. I had read a good deal in poems and romances about rural felicity. I did not know that rural felicity consisted in fitting over a wheel till one is double, and getting neither comforts nor conveniences—no, nor the necessaries of life, to sustain and prop one’s declining years, by this eternal drudgery.

This made, I own, a deep impression on my mind; which, though it did not operate immediately, stimulated me to a train of enquiry, which could not fail of its ultimate effect.—I had hitherto been a high government man, a supporter of prerogatives, and an advocate for venerating the powers that be.—O! that some way could but be invented to keep mankind (all but the chosen few) in utter ignorance! Then might placemen, pensioners, and the usurping proprietors of rotten boroughs, enjoy, indeed, a golden age, and the swinish multitude (driven as their swineherds’ lift, and slaughtered at their will) should grunt forth sedition no more!—But it will not be. Enquiry will some how or other be awakened; and, when it is awakened, the mists of delusion melt before the riling
rising sun of truth, and the midnight hags of despotism bind us in their spells no more.

I soon found myself compelled to acknowledge that, where such was the condition of so large a portion of society, all could not be right—that "there was something rotten in the state of Denmark;" and every fact which, in the progress of investigation, came under my observation, tended to confirm the opinion.

Among other abuses, I soon found that one of the causes of this calamitous situation was the unfeeling manner in which these poor beings were left to the arbitrary discretion of their employers, who took the liberty, when these poor creatures took home their work, to scotch them as they thought fit; so that, under various pretences, for every pound that was spun by the poor individual, she never got paid for above three quarters, when it came to be estimated by the masters and employers. So much was to be considered as waste, so many deductions were to be made; and the poor individuals, where they are not numerous enough to associate, have no appeal—none at least that they have any hopes from; for you know but little of Justices of the Peace, if you believe a country magistrate will listen to the complaints of a poor friendless being, against the tradesman who has arrived at opulence by his oppression.

Thus then we find, if we regard the facts which history furnishes, that the inevitable consequence must be, from the increased price of the articles consumed, and the want of a proportionate increase in the wages paid to the industrious poor, that within twenty-five years the condition of the latter has been so reduced, that they cannot obtain half the necessaries of life they formerly used to obtain; while their opulent oppressors, the placemen, pensioners, and contractors of the day, enjoy more than twice the luxuries and extravagance with which they formerly debased their nature.

I have stated to you, also, that oats and barley, which, in many parts of the country, be it remembered, are used as substitutes for wheat, have still more extravagantly increased; and that oats, in particular, have increased 75 per cent. since the year 1790.

Perhaps the honourable Clerks of the Treasury will not be inclined to contradict this. They will have had some opportunity of knowing the truth of it.—But, Citizens, since I met you before, I have had an opportunity of getting possession of some other facts, relative to this very important part of the question.
question. I find, from a person who has been many years in
a very considerable way of dealing in those articles, that
twenty-seven or twenty-eight years ago, the common price of
oats, in the retail market, was from 9s. to 10s. 6d. per quarter;
that, till within these twelve years, 12s. was the common
price, and that they were never higher than 14s.—But now,
what is the price of them? Thirty-five shillings! an increase
nearly four-fold, in so small a distance of time, as that which
I have stated to you.

Now, remember what a very important article of consump-
tion these are for the labouring poor in certain parts of the
country. Remember, that throughout the whole of the
country parts of Scotland, wheat is a luxury which the poor
man never tastes; that oats, that barley, field peas, and other
pulses of this description, constitute the whole sustenance of
large proportions of the people there; and I could instance a
poor being, of the name of Crawford, who emigrated to
America on account of his miserable situation, and who has
now, merely from the profits of his own manual labour, been
able to take a little farm of his own, and to become a farmer,
in his turn; but whole sole sustenance, for himself
and family, while he resided in Scotland, was one meal a day
of meagre potatoes; and that, in the horrors and excesses of
their hunger, they gnawed the peelings and fragments for
their supper, having no other sort of sustenance whatever to
keep themselves from absolute starvation.

Now, Citizens, in parts of the country where this was the
cafe, consider what must be the monstrous accumulation of
their grievances, and the miserable situation of the poor,
when such an accumulation has taken place upon the price of
that article in particular (oats) which constitutes the most
strong, the most wholesome, and the most important part of
their subsistence.

So much for the increased comfort, the double accommoda-
tion, the twice as good apartments, and the twice as good
raiment and food, which the common people in Scotland
maintain at this time.

Such being a small, very small part, indeed, of those mon-
strous facts which shew the blessings of a system of rotten
boroughs, and the corruptions of faction, I think myself called
upon, as a good Citizen (that distinction, beyond all others,
which men ought to be most emulous to deserve) to stand for-
ward and investigate, as far as I am able, the causes of the
mischief under which the people groan. Yes, groan, I say; for
for many a poor, meagre, emaciated, depressed, and heart-
broken wretch, in this country pays, with groans and slavery,
for the pampered luxury of those, who, because they swallow
in the wealth of which they have plundered the nation, think
they have a right to stop the mouths of the poor, and the ad-
vocates of the poor with the gag of persecution; and, if
they cannot effect that, think it right to employ their pimps
and perjurers, "Old-Bailey solicitors and the sweepings of
"the stews," to disturb their investigations, misrepresent their
sentiments, and deprive them of their lives.

Citizens, there is another reason why I am desirous of in-
vestigating this subject, and it is this:—That the investigation
of such subjects has a tendency to prevent tumult, insurrection
and confusion. How desirous some men, who call themselves
friends of Government and the Constitution, are to excite
such tumults, we may learn from this fact—that whenever
they believe a number of persons are assembled, to enter into
peaceable enquiry, they send some one or other of their agents
to prevent that enquiry, and disturb the peace. Thus, the very
night that I had the honor to be arrested, in this place, upon
the ridiculous trump'd-up charge of High Treason, Mr.
Walb, the Treasury spy, absolutely told me, that he took, to
the meeting at the King's Arms tavern, the great over-grown
athletic Irishman, that created the riot and confusion there,
and gave the Lord-Mayor a pretence for preventing in future
the meetings of that peaceable assembly.

Citizens! Citizens! we know, and our enemies know—
and their conduct shews that they know it—that if men will
enquire, with impartiality and temper, into the causes of these
calamities, they will have no occasion for turbulence; they
will find that the individuals, against whom they are inclined
to direct their fury, are generally as innocent and oppressed
as themselves; and that it is not the miller, against whose
machine they direct their fury—it is not the butcher, whose
commodity they seize—it is not the baker, whose shop they
break open and rifle,—that these are not the men who are the
causes of the calamities under which they groan; that the
real causes are of much too weighty a nature to be removed
by turbulence. They are so serious, so fortified, so deeply
rooted, that they can only be removed by the unanimous spirit
of enquiry diffusing itself through the country, and awaken-
ing to unanimous effort, by a spirited, firm, and determined
(but at the same time peaceable) disposition, to represent their
grievances to each other, in the first instance, and then with
one congregated voice to that government, which, however it may pretend to make it high treason to overawe any branch of it, will never fail to respect and reverence, as it ought, the sentiments and opinions of the people, whenever, in a firm and unanimous manner, they are thundered in their ears. It was from this conviction that I undertook the present enquiry, and you will remember that on the last evening I traced some of the causes of the evil. I endeavoured to shew you that the evil resulted from impolitic regulations and excessive exactions. I endeavoured to shew you, in part, what I conceived to be the bearing of this question upon the subject of the present war; and I traced, among other circumstances, the great increase of burthens which lays upon many commodities; the increased expense of those transactions, in which they must necessarily be engaged, before they can bring their commodities to market, and I shewed you, that these were, in many cases, increased threefold, from the drawing off of so large a number of sailors and useful labourers for the war, from the superior vigour and activity of the marine of the French republic, which while it has left to England the empty honour of gaining victories in general engagements, and boating of the barren sovereignty of the ocean, has never failed to sweep our commerce into republican ports, which it was the duty of the admistration of this country (if they had understood their duty) to have protected.

I noticed, also, as another cause, the embargo which has been laid upon all, and still continues upon a large portion, of our most essential merchandise; it is true from one or two articles it has been taken off, but the evil was done, and the effects continue to be felt. I stated that the tillage of both fides the Rhine, from which we used to be supplied with various sorts of grain, &c. had been neglected and destroyed; that this evil had been aggravated by the prohibition of exportation from the country of our good ally of Prussia; and also the very considerable mischief which had resuted to this country, from the large exportations that have been made of all the necessary articles of consumption to the armies on the continent, which on account of the calamitous and disgraceful circumstances, in common with other machinations of our blestied and immaculate minister, have been sent three times before they reached the army for which they were intended; having fallen into the hands of the enemy, or been destroyed, sunk in the waters, or consumed in flames, to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy; and
and I noticed a particular circumstance, of a whole mile and
an half of hay stacks, in the neighbourhood of Rotterdam,
being set on fire, in order to prevent them falling into the
hands of the enemy.

Now, Citizens, those persons who have been used to hear
the arithmetic of Pitt will not, I suppose, readily agree with
the conclusion I shall draw from these facts: namely, that it
would have been better for this country, that this hay and these
provisions should have fallen into the hands of the enemy,
than that they should have been thus destroyed.

I mean in general, Citizens, to draw my arguments in
this Tribune, not from partial interest and political expediences,
but from broad and universal principles; to consider universal
justice and humanity the deep root and solid trunk from which
my arguments are to sprout and my conclusions grow; and
to teach you that these, and these alone, are the proper objects
of your veneration. But when I speak of the measures and
maxims of ministers it is impossible to talk of general prin-
ciples, of philanthropy, and humanity. They have abjured
all principle both by word and deed. It is a sort of watch-
word of alarm, which they never use but to couple it with
the indefinable stigma of Jacobinism, when they want to hunt
the persecuted patriot to Botany Bay or the Scaffold. I must
meet them therefore upon the ground of expediency; and it
is the fate of these muddy-headed oppressors, that chuse what
ground they will, they must be beaten.

You will please then to remember, that every considerable
destruction of the necessities of life has a tendency to pro-
duce not only a scarcity in the individual country in which
the devastation is committed, but mediately in the general
stock of the universe—that is to say, in the aggregate stock
of the whole of the productive countries from whence these
resources spring. All the world suffers, in some degree, in
point of real wealth (the wealth that consists in the quantum
of real necessities and comforts) and, to a very considerable
degree, when the devastation is so monstrous as that which
has been committed by this foolish, revengeful, malicious dis-
position—the system of mad havoc and extermination upon
which the present war is conducted.

Now let us attend a little while to a consideration of what
is the fair and honest system of commerce: not such a system
of commerce as placemen and pensioners are desirous of pro-
moting. Remember that the fair system of commerce is this—that
whatever one country produces more than necessary for the
consumption
consumption of that country, it tends to another country that is in want of that article, in order that it may bring back some other article of necessity, or luxury, of which it stands in need.

This is the fair, the just, and rational system of commerce. And, with respect to articles of the first necessity, this is the system upon which commerce must inevitably be conducted. Suppose, then, as is the fact, that the whole produce of those parts of the world that have any commercial intercourse together, taking all the different articles, is pretty nearly in proportion to the whole of the necessities and consumption of all those countries. This I say is nearly the fact; and must be so: for I take it for granted, that man does not toil for the mere pleasure of toiling. He toils to produce as much as he can find a good market for; and is never disposed to produce more than he can confine himself, and turn to his advantage, by disposing of it to others. It will therefore follow that the quantity requisite to supply the demands of the civilized world, will bear a pretty general proportion to the quantity actually produced, when the whole of that produce comes (as by means of commerce it cannot fail, in effect, to come) to a general market. Now the system of commerce being, thus, a general mart for the universe, it follows of course that, with respect to my argument, it matters not whether these productive countries, having intercourse together, be three or three thousand. I will take therefore the smallest number, for the sake of simplicity and convenience. I will suppose that two countries are at war together, and that there is a third country which is in possession of abundance of necessary articles, grain for example, which it is the nature of war to render scarce, and of which, in consequence, the other two hostile countries will be in a considerable degree of want. Now what will this third country do? You may make as many treaties as you choose, to bind the merchants and government of the pacific nation; for treaties are not even packthread—they are nothing but rotten paper, or parchment at best; more feeble than Falstaff's men in buckram, which he knocked down by the half dozen at a time; they stand for nothing at all when the parties have the power of breaking them.—If you wish for a comment upon this text I refer you to the works of the present King of Prussia. Well, Citizens, the country that has corn to spare will send it to the best market, and if there are two markets in want of the commodity,
will find its interest, and will follow its interest, in sending part of its surplus to one and part to the other.

Suppose England then, that England were, at this time, the only country that felt this scarcity, the whole superfluity of other countries would, of course, find its best market here; or if the scarcity be greater here than in France, the consequence must be that those who have, would bring it to the English market, because there it would fetch the best price. But suppose you have produced a scarcity and famine in both countries, reflect, only for one moment, what must be the consequence? Will the country that has abundance of corn bring the whole of it into the English market, by which means the price would be smaller than if they had sent only half of that commodity to England, and the remainder to the market of France?

Now, I ask you, Citizens, if this is not a clear and plain demonstration that the common scarcity, produced by the profligate and abandoned system of burning, drowning, and destroying the articles of human sufficiency, is an aggravation, instead of a mitigation of your misfortunes? and that you are in reality by these means in a worse situation than if the provisions destroyed had fallen into the hands of the enemy? Mr. Pitt and his coadjutors would have sophistry enough I make no doubt to answer all this, in their own way, and to carry the question against me in the House of Commons: but I put it to you as plain men, understanding a plain question—Men whose calculations are not merely confined to multiplication and subtractions;—understanding also that there is such a thing as political, as well as numerical, arithmetic—calculations of the desires, wants and propensity of men, as well as treaties, compacts, plans, and cabinet projections—taking these things into consideration, (of which Pitt, I believe, is as ignorant as the hobby horse that he rode upon when a boy at school)—I ask you whether, in defiance of all the treaties you can make, if you produce a general scarcity, you do not produce a much worse effect upon your own population and country, than if you had produced that scarcity in your own country only, and suffer that produce (which you so ridiculously destroy) to fall into the hands of the enemy?

Thus you see that the generous, humane, and benevolent system of policy, is the best policy, at last, for the country that adopts it, as well as for others to whom it may be extended?

Citizens,
Citizens, there is another circumstance of a very curious nature, and almost as disgraceful as it is curious, which it is necessary for me to dwell upon. But disgraceful circumstances will never put the present administration to the blush; and so I need not have any tenderness for them on the occasion. I mean the conduct of the cabinet of this country with respect to neutral vessels.

There was a time when Britons had an open, manly and courageous spirit. There was a time when Britons had a sense of honor, and a feeling of benevolence; when they would have disdained to set the example of violating all the admitted laws of neutrality between nation and nation. There was a time, when the people of this country knew that neutral vessels were sacred, whatever war might exist between two contending countries. But this, Citizens, was a time when Britons disdained all weapons but those of open and manly exertion. This was a time when the detestable policy was not understood, nor could ever have been suggested, of attempting to starve twenty-four millions of brave and virtuous men, because they were struggling for their emancipation from unheard of despotism.

Yes, Citizens, there was a time when this country, upon the very eve of a war with France, freely permitted to go to that country large quantities and supplies of corn, because it was known that the rival country was in want of such assistance. I believe it is well authenticated that George the second, for George the second was a gentleman!—I say it is well authenticated, there was a time when George the second, actually engaged in a war with France, yet suffered a supply of wheat to be sent into that country, to prevent the people from perishing with famine.

This was glorious and magnificent conduct, worthy of a Briton! and if I had any nationality about me, it would prompt me to regret that the man who did this act was not born in the country which gave me birth.

There was also a time when the laws of nations were respected;—there was also a time when the brave and hardy Briton met his enemy face to face in the field—I mean not to stand up here as a panegyrist of slaughter, I hate massacre and murder however disguised: yet, comparing the two periods, and the two lines of conduct, I cannot but admire the man who prefers to stand openly forward in the field of combat, to the man who wishes by artificial famine to rid the world of enemies he dare not meet, because he knows his degeneracy
degeneracy of mind has sunk him below the gigantic powers of those who are struggling for freedom and justice. There is a chance that the man who meets his enemy openly in the field supposes he is right, detestable as the acts of murder must always be by which such enmity must be supported. But the wretch who attempts to starve, to poison, or assassinate, who hires perjured spies and tumultuous assassins to breed confusion in a neighbouring country, that he may charge that confusion upon those whom he has basely and insolently injured; such a man, by his detestable arts, and sneaking tricks, proves that he knows himself to be a juggler, and that his cause is as rotten as his heart is hollow.

Well, Citizens, while the generous spirit of freedom still remained, Britain respected the laws of nations: and neutral vessels went free. What has been the conduct during the present war? I shall not recapitulate the circumstances which I stated the other evening, relative to dragooning one nation and another into this mad war with the French Republic: I shall confine myself to the capture of the vessels of those nations which in defiance of the juggling and bullying cabinet of this country, have continued their neutrality. And here even the Treasury runners will not have the face to contradict me. They know the facts. They are a little more in their way. There can be no doubt, when a man begs pardon, whether he has committed the offence. And Pitt it is notorious has done so more than once.

He seized every neutral vessel; and brought them into the ports of this country—What has been the consequence? Whether by mismanagement or what not, even the corn seized in the first instance proved good for little upon the hands of the seizers. But the neutral countries began to see this juggling; and they began to juggle in return. They put all their rotten corn on board proper vessels, and threw them in the way of the ships of England, that they might be seized: knowing very well what sort of shallow-pated bullies they had to deal with, and that, sooner or later, they should have full indemnity for them.

Well, the ships were captured in due time; and what did they do with them? Why they sent this blessed harvest, which they had thus reaped by their system of piracy, into the granaries and storehouses in this place, and that place, and the other place; and you may know some of it by the smell, if you go along bank side in the Borough at this time. But do not mistake it for dunghills, or night carts, I pray you. It is
is the corn your governors intended you should eat. For they sent all the good corn out of the country, as fast as they could, to supply their good allies; and behold when they came to open their magazines, (having been obliged already to pay down a good price for the commodity, and make sneaking apologies, as bullies usually do, to the neutral nations they had insulted) they found precious stocks of stuff, the greatest part of which was obliged to be sold to the real swinish multitude: not to the two legged swine, but the real swinish multitude, who run on all fours: many of whom even had the seditious and treasonable presumption to toss up their snouts and refuse the ministerial banquet that was offered to them.

Citizens, the evil consequences of this war, and the system upon which it has been conducted, have not stopped here. We must take into consideration the injury which has been done to our own agriculture, at home; the loss of those hands by which the agriculture ought to have been promoted, by distress and misery, by emigration to America, by manning our armies, and by the laudable and excellent science of kidnapping. The individual whose plough should have furrowed the earth, and produced the smile of plenty, has been sent with his sword to gore the breasts of the friends of the human race, and spread devastation and misery throughout Europe.

If this has not produced an absolute decline of the cultivation of our farms, it has at least operated to prevent the improvement and continued increase of production, which the improved state of society would otherwise have insured. We are to recollect, that when war sounds his soul-chilling trumpet, when the shrill blast of revenge and carnage is sounding from one end of a country to another, all other concerns flagrant; commerce droops, the arts expire, science languishes, and agricultural improvement is no more: and they must be miserably ignorant indeed of the condition and state of this country, who do not know that there is room enough for improvement with respect to agriculture among us. I shall give you upon this head the best sort of authority to argue from upon such an occasion: aristocratic authority. I had by the "Report of the Committee appointed by the "Board of Agriculture, to take into consideration the state "of waste lands and common fields in this kingdom," that the whole soil of Britain is supposed to consist of about 49,436,160 acres. Now let us consider what is the quantity of this that is cultivated, and what the quantity that is waste. We
We are informed that the waste lands in this kingdom amount to 6,259,472 acres; we are informed that the waste lands in Wales amount to 1,629,307 acres; and we find that the waste lands in Scotland amount to 14,218,222 acres; the whole together amounting to 22,107,001 acres, uncultivated; while the whole cultivated land is only 27,329,159 acres. So that there is almost half of this happy, this glorious, this wisely governed and flourishing country lies waste and uncultivated, under the influence and auspices of so blessed a constitution and so blessed an administration as we have the happiness to boast. Almost one half of one of the finest countries in the world lying positively uncultivated, and producing no one advantage hardly to man or beast! These are facts I state not from the visionary conceptions of my own brain; not from the ravings of democrats; not from the infidious inventions of Jacobins, but from the agents of government themselves, from committees appointed by their own Board of Agriculture.

Let us consider then, in the language of their own report, "what a difference would it make in the state and prosperity of this island, were only one half of these extensive wastes to wave with luxuriant crops of grain—be covered with innumerable herds and flocks, or clothed with stately timber!"

It has been objected that a large part of this waste land could not be cultivated. This objection also the Committee of the Board of Agriculture has been kind enough to remove. For it states that the lands incapable of all improvement are only one million of acres; that the lands fit to be planted are three millions of acres; that the lands fit for arable and pasture are fourteen millions; lands fit for tillage three millions; and lands capable of being converted into meadow, or water meadow, one million. So that we have eighteen millions of acres in this country, now uncultivated, which are capable of being applied to the most important uses: those uses directly connected with the subsistence and comfort of the inhabitants.

We have three millions fit for timber, and which therefore would be useful, in a secondary degree, to the maintenance of the life and comfort of man; and only one million absolutely sterile; and even this one million might, perhaps, be covered with flocks of goats, which, though they yield no fleece, to increase the commerce of the country, yet afford a wholesome food, by their milk, and their flesh, while young, which would be better than for so many inhabitants of the country
to be in want of all wholesome and necessary comfort, as they are at this time. Now, Citizens, we are told from this same author, that those lands might annually produce as much provisions as would be worth 19,500,000 pounds per year; and that they would produce wood for building, firing, &c. and other uses, as much as would be worth several millions more.

Consider then, for a minute, what blessings a wise and peaceful administration of this country might have secured; by applying our resources to improvement and cultivation; and reflect what curses they have procured by the mad havock and confusion into which they have plunged us, and the rest of Europe.

Let us consider, Citizens, how many deserts might have been made to smile in fertility, by a proper application of our resources; for though it has been said, and I am much inclined to agree with it, that the inclosures which have taken place in this country, have been a great calamity; yet I am sure of this, that inclosure, upon a fair and honest principle, might be productive of the greatest advantages. For you are to remember that, in consequence of inclosure, you may have a greater height of cultivation, you may have a greater quantity of cattle, and other necessaries of life, produced; that your wool is less injured and of a superior quality, and therefore more advantageous to the producer, and better for the consumer. But inclosures ought not to be conducted upon the principle that has been usual among us. The rich man ought not to have an act of parliament to rob the poor freeholder of his estate. I say the poor freeholder: for I challenge the greatest casuist of the law to produce me a better title, by which the first nobleman in the land holds his estate, than I will produce in favour of the estate which the poor man has in that right of commonage, which may have been bequeathed, or made over to him, by the nobles and great landed proprietors of former generations.

Citizens, our nobles had once some nobility. I wish not to recall to your admiration the ages of feudal barbarism; but I wish not to have the chains of feudal barbarism without any of the advantages of feudal munificence. I remember, from the pages I have turned over, accounts of the manner in which our great nobility enjoyed their revenues in former times: the hundreds and thousands of individuals supported by their bounty; their open halls of hospitality; the recreations, sports and pastimes with which they enlivened the people.
people, at particular periods; the bounty which they displayed towards them. But in these times they had not learned to consider it as their best grandeur to loll themselves into apoplexyick diseases, in a stupid gilded coach; they thought, on the contrary, that the splendour and greatness of their nobility and fortune was best displayed by having their tenants around them, enjoying the comforts and relaxations of life, about them, at their expence. However, in other circumstances, they might be inclined to opprefp those individuals, they had some degree of liberality, at leat, in their conduct towards them, in these respects.

Among the most conspicuous of them, in point of this endowment, was John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster: for Dukes, even royal Dukes, were not always made of such stuff as they are made of in the present day! Among the foremost of those Dukes, whose liberality kept some pace with their possessions, was John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, who bequeathed a great quantity of land to the poor inhabitants, in particular situations, to be held by them, and all future inhabitants of such districts, for ever.

Now I should like to know of those gentlemen who cry out about Republicans and levellers of property, and all this stuff and nonsense, which originated in their own distempered brains: I would ask which of them holds their estates upon a better tenure? But the greatest plunderer and oppressor always cries stop thief first; because he is desirous of creating that confusion which will prevent his own villainous practices from being detected.

What then is the system upon which inclosures are now carried on? and what ought it to be?

With respect to agriculture, two objects ought always to be kept in view: namely to produce the largest quantity of the necessaries of life that the country can produce; and to promote the most equal distribution of those articles of comfort which can peaceably and justly be effected. This is my system of equality and justice. This is my idea of the first and genuine principles of just government, with respect to agriculture—to produce the largest quantity of the necessities of life, and to promote the most equal distribution of those articles. A little observation will shew us that the last of these, the most important, has never been attended to at all; and that the first has been attended to in a very imperfect manner: witness the waste lands I have just stated to you.

Citizens,
Citizens, the fact is, that there is a third object, which, though it ought to be no object at all, is the only object with governments in general; namely, REVENUE! because without revenue, that is to say without taxation, the expenses and extravagances of ministers and their favourites cannot be supported; pimps and parasites cannot swell to power and grandeur; numerous trains of spies, informers, and assassins, cannot be supported; and, in short, the whole sytem of that grandeur, luxury, extravagance and folly, which constitute what ministers call the grandeur and prosperity of the nation, must tumble into ruin if this revenue were not to be kept in the most flourishing and prosperous condition. In order to support this revenue, it has been necessary to oppress, in a great degree, the agriculture of the country: for as Soame Jenyns, (who though an aristocrat, could sometimes find out the truth) observed, the commerce of this country may be considered as a hog—You see he thought the rich merchants the swinish multitude!—The commerce of this country may be considered as a hog: if you touch but one bristle upon its back, it immediately begins to make such a grunting, that it throws the whole fly into confusion; and the country is distracted with its clamour; while agriculture, like a poor sheep, is led up silently every year, to yield its fleeces to the hearer, without uttering an individual murmur.

Now, Citizens, such being the pacific disposition of agriculture, or the individuals who are employed in agriculture; and such being the turbulent disposition of our rich aristocratic merchants, it is easy to see that ministers will have as large a portion as they can, out of the labour and sweat of the industrious poor.

But let us now consider how inclosures are at present carried on. A bill is brought into Parliament, that virtuous and immaculate assembly, concerning which I always want words to speak with becoming reverence!—A bill is brought into parliament, by a rich proprietor, who has got a large estate, by the side of a common; and thinks that common would be a very good addition to this estate, and is, therefore, desirous that this common should be inclosed for his benefit and advantage. Well what is the mode of proceeding? A time is appointed, and sometimes no time at all, for you will remember, that, some years ago, a Mr. William Tooke, had an estate in the neighbourhood of a brother of the Lord Chief Justice De Grey, which Chief Justice was a very useful
ful friend to Lord North. And this relation of the Chief Justice had a mind to inclose Mr. Wm. Tooke's estate, for his benefit and advantage. A bill was brought into Parliament. It was introduced, read, and re-read on the same day, and committed to be read the third day, and passed the day following. How was this prevented? Why John Horne, who has since taken the name of Tooke, and who has done many gloriously audacious things in the cause of liberty; and who, notwithstanding the assassin-like attack that has been made upon his aged life, by the Reevites and Pittites of the day, during the last summer, by keeping him shut up in a close unwholesome room, I hope he will live to do many more gloriously audacious things in the same cause—This John Horne Tooke wrote a libel upon the Speaker of the House of Commons: and I have heard him say, that it was certainly the most audacious libel that ever was penned. He got it immediately inserted in the newspaper. This libel kicked up, as he expected, a monstrous riot in St. Stephen's chapel:—for that is sometimes—or at least it used to be—not the present House of Commons to be sure:—I speak only of former Houses of Commons, about which it is no treason to speak one's mind freely. These, however, have been formerly the most riotous and sometimes the most blackguard assemblies in the nation. The present parliament is undoubtedly very much reformed: but I hope the next will be reformed still more. The Speaker, in a very great fury, took the chair; and immediately declared, he would not sit there and have the dignity of the House attacked through his sides, in this way. A warm debate was produced, and the attention of the public was called towards the subject.

They attempted, but were not wise enough to know how to do it, to punish the author of the libel: but they never dared to bring in the bill a third time; and the relation of the great, and upright, and immaculate Lord Chief Justice, who was the great and powerful friend of the great and powerful Lord North, never had his bill brought in again; and was glad to make his peace, in a fair and honourable manner, with the said Mr. Wm. Tooke, whose estate he had attempted to inclose as his own.

In the usual course; however, a bill is brought in, and petitions may be presented, and which, when they are supported, some little compensation, to be sure, is generally made to the lower orders of society. But suppose it happens, as it does frequently happen, and must frequently happen, that
that those poor individuals have no friend even to put it into their minds that they have the power of doing such a thing: and the great are not very anxious that the poor about them, should be very well informed as to their political rights! No: they are to be fleeced as bare as can be, and their very bones are to be picked, after they are fleeced, by the rich man, who having committed a highway robbery upon their little properties, talks of the security of property, and enters into associations, with Reeves and his cabalistical informers, to prevent Republicans and Levelers from enquiring into the right by which these robberies have been committed.

But, Citizens, it is very evident that a tenth part of that expence, which has been devoted in this mad and ridiculous war, and in supporting the places, pensions, and emoluments of the corrupt set who have produced the war—a tenth part of this revenue would have cultivated, or made considerable advances towards cultivating, all the waste lands throughout the country, for the benefit and advantage of the common people;—not a bare common, with here a blade of grass and there a blade of grass, and here a dangling briar and there a cope to destroy their little flocks. No, they may turn them into a plentiful, luxuriant, smiling country, from which they might reap a part of their subsistence; and not be compelled to toil from their bed to their table, and from their table to their beds, and thus from day to day, in one constant succession of labour, as if the great mass of mankind were only born to breed slaves for the higher orders of society; and to toil and sweat, and die, without comfort and accommodation.

Go even into the neighbourhood of this metropolis; where manure is abundant; where the means of cultivation are easy;—go which way you will; turn to the east, the west, the north or south;—see what tracts of land lay bare and desolate, which, with a little of the care of government, if they had time to bestow upon such insignificant subjects, might procure a comfortable subsistence for innumerable families, whose little cottages, rising here and there, with a little assistance, might turn this waste into a blooming Eden, and make this country, as one of our poets has called it, "the exulting granary of the world!" But all our resources are swallowed up by this mad and ruinous war. Nothing can be thought of but the annihilation of freedom. Nothing can be thought of but spreading the name of a Pitt, over the continent; and the empty boast, of a shuffling individual and his
his coadjutor, Dundas, having given a constitution to a country, who would neither accept of that constitution, nor suffer either the one or the other of them to be door keeper to the Convention for which they would form the laws.

For this, agriculture is to be neglected, the arts are to be destroyed, Wisdom is to be forbidden to open her lips, infant Genius is no more to plume its unfledged wings in popular assemblies, lest it should soar to the realm of light and truth. Every thing is to be neglected; every thing is to be overthrown; the poor are to be starved in myriads, and only have the melancholy alternative to turn their throats like sheep to the butchering hand—I was going to say of their enemy—No, not of their enemy, but of the enemy of Pitt and his Pittites, and Dundas and the affies which follow him!—for this, I say, every right, every happiness, every social duty, are to be swallowed up! carnage is to reign, year after year, campaign after campaign! mad project after mad project!—Disappointment, instead of producing wisdom, is only to produce desperation!—and the wretched inhabitants of La Vendee are again to be seduced, we are told, from their allegiance; that war may once more rage through that devoted country, and the minister of this devoted country may have occasion to plunge it still deeper, into misery and desolation. From calamities so aggravated I was going to call for guardian angels—I was going to call for preferring Deities to rescue us. But no: I call upon the good sense—I call upon the virtue—I call upon the spirit, and integrity of the people, to snatch the people from the precipice upon which they stand, and preserve us from the desolation which else must inevitably swallow us.
THE EPITHALAMIUM.

(From the Peripatetic.)

SPORTIVE Lyre, whose artless strings,
Lustr'd by young Affection's wings,
(Nymphs and ruflics lift'ning round)
Whisper'd sweet the varied sound—
   Sounds which only aim'd to borrow
Pathos from the youthful heart,—
Thrills of Hope, and Sighs of Sorrow—
   Fleeting joy, and transient smart!—
Sportive Lyre! ah, once again—
   Once again, and then no more—
Let me wake the youthful strain,
   And thy playful strings explore.
Once again—and then, adieu!—
   Bolder heights my soul shall try;
   Bolder objects rise in view—
   Truth and godlike Liberty!
To these my eye enamour'd turns:
For these my ardent bosom burns:
Let these alone my thoughts employ—
   Truth and godlike Liberty!
Rous'd by these, my glowing soul
   Pants a nobler wreath to gain;—
Pants for Glory's patriot goal
   Where the daring Virtues reign!
Pants to hear the graver Muse
   Wake the loud enthuiaft shell
   Whose notes heroic pride infuse
   And bid the soul with ardour swell;—
   Noble Ardour!—virtuous Zeal!
   Parent of each generous deed;
Guardian of the public weal,
   For which the valiant joy to bleed.
   Thoughts like these, from hence, alone,
   Shall this glowing bosom own.—
   Thoughts that lift the soul on high
To make its own Eternity,
   And with Meconian rapture swell
   The notes of Fame's immortal shell.

Meanwhile, Io Hymen! thy triumphs I join,—
My Fancy awhile to thy ardours resign:

Those
Those ardours which oft, when anxiety reigns,
When the nerves wildly throb, or when languid the veins,
By Stella awakened, pour balm thro' my soul,
Lull to sleep every pang, and each sorrow control,
And, chancing each passion that peace would destroy,
Restore me to harmony, softness, and joy;
Those ardours by Nature indulgently given
To realize all that is look'd for in heaven,—
To unite us in bonds of affection and peace,
And bid the rude struggles of selfishness cease,
Till, heart link'd to heart, all the universe smile,
And Social Affection each sorrow beguile,
While Sympathy's touch shall the union sustain,
And vibrate alike thro' each link of the chain.
'Yes such, if, by Nature conducted, and join'd
Not by Interest and Pride, but the tie of the mind,
Sex blended with sex from affection alone,
And Simplicity made every bosem its throne—
Such, such are the blessings from Hymen would flow,
And this wilderness turn to an Eden below:
An Eden of Mind where each virtue should blow.

Then, Iô! thou Hymen that reign'st o'er the few
Who boldly the dictates of Nature pursew!
Blest power! who alone to the virtuous art known
Whose bosoms the charm of Simplicity own,
While a fordid impostor, usurping thy name,
Of throns of proud votaries the homage can claim—
The creatures of Fashion, of Avarice the slaves,
Whom Vanity leads, and each folly depraves.

But see, what kind omens bright dawning appear,
The patriot bosem of Virtue to cheer!—
Simplicity comes, by fair Liberty led,
And Hymen—pure Hymen shall lift up his head,
Each Social Affection once more shall return,
And the altar of Truth with pure incense shall burn,
While Love, like the Phoenix, shall rise from the flame,
His laws shall restore, and his faboth proclaim;
And, wide tho' the Heavens his broad pinions unfurl'd,
Shall shake his bright plumes, and fly'd peace o'er the world.
THE TRIBUNE. N°. XVIII.

Consequences of depriving the Mass of the People of their Share in the Representation. The Third Lecture "on the Causes of the present Dearthness & Scarcity of Provisions, delivered Wednesday, May 6th, 1795.

CITIZENS,

THIS is the third time I have met you upon the subject of this night's Lecture: if I were to meet you again and again till I have gone through the whole of my subject, I know not when this course of lectures could possibly close. The further our researches extend, the more we find to investigate. This, so true in sciences, is perhaps more conspicuously true with respect to the sources of those great national calamities under which we are sinking.

I anticipated to you on the first night the very wide field of enquiry into which this topic would lead me. I was not aware, however, of its full extent. In short, it would be totally impossible to do justice to the subject in a course of lectures that professes to be miscellaneous; and I feel myself called upon, from the pressure of temporary matter, to bring it to a conclusion this evening.

In my mode of investigating it I have divided it into two general heads: that is to say, the immediate causes of aggravated scarcity and dearth; and the general regulations which have unfortunately been adopted, in this country, by which the gradual increase has been occasioned. For the sake of methodical arrangement, it would have been proper, perhaps, to have begun with the latter. Circumstances, however, led me to a different arrangement: particularly my having announced as a part of the subject a topic which necessarily connected itself with that branch of the enquiry, at a time when I was not aware that I should deliver any more than one lecture upon the subject before me.

The greatest part then of what I had to say upon the causes of the temporary scarcity, I have brought to a conclusion.
tion in the former lecture. I am now going to the immediate investigation of what may be considered as the permanent, though growing, causes of the dearness of provisions in this country. And, among those, I shall consider paper credit; the corn laws; the monopoly of farms; the encouragement of the breed of horses; tythes; the neglect of our fisheries; and contracts and monopolies between fishermen and fishmongers; from whence I shall digress once more to the affairs of Poland, and then lead you back to that which in fact is the fountain of all the other causes, the monstrous growth of barefaced corruption in this country.

With respect to paper credit, it may not, at first view, appear to be immediately connected with the subject. But this opinion will vanish, if you remember that it is an admitted principle, making exceptions for accidents which may produce temporary scarcity, and also for the contracts and monopolies between the holders of particular articles, that the price of commodities must necessarily be regulated by the quantity of circulating medium;—or in other words, that gold and silver and all other arbitrary signs of property, decrease and fluctuate in their value, in proportion as they become more abundant, but that the real articles of necessity always remain precisely the same. The calculations and customary language of the world lead us indeed to a contrary conclusion. But the fact is, that it is gold that is purchased with commodity, and not commodity with gold: the gold being in reality nothing but the counters or the figures, if I may so express myself, by which the quantum of wealth is calculated. Whenever, therefore, the numeral or nominal wealth is more abundant than the production, you must put down a greater quantity of these counters, or the signs of these counters, to tell how many fìcep, how many oxen, or how much corn you are worth, or able to buy.

You are to consider that paper credit, thought it does not increase the specie, but on the contrary may be proved to occasion its diminution, yet increases the circulating medium: that is to say, that paper is taken to market, particularly the wholesale market, instead of specie, and, passing in common with the circulating specie, increases the quantity of nominal wealth in circulation, and of course occasions any given quantity of money to be worth so much the less. Thus then you will find that the circulation of paper begets an increase in the price of all the articles of consumption which the great mass of the people have occasion for. It is so important that this part
part of the subject should be understood, that I would rather be guilty of tautology than be obscure. I will state it therefore in another way: As the price of the article which can be brought into the market, must be proportionate to the quantity of circulating medium which can be carried into the market, it follows of course that if I, having 5000l. in specie, can circulate my paper to the amount of 5000l. more, and thus carry in effect 10,000l. into the market, instead of 5000l. I produce an inevitable increase in the price of the articles to be consumed. This, with respect to the dealers in this paper coin, is matter of no inconvenience. It is a struggle of credit. It enables them to carry on their commerce with greater facility; and he whose word passes most current has the best of it. But the common people, the working man and the little shopkeeper, have no part of the credit resulting from this circulating paper. They must take it indeed, sometimes, in payment; and they must abide by the losses of the exchange, and the delay. But their notes will not be accepted; their accommodations between individual and individual will not pass current; they are not permitted to swindle the public, though the rich are; but they must bear their part of the increased price of the necessaries of life, in consequence of this swindling in which they have no share.

And yet, Citizens, no sort of property is protected with so much jealousy as this fabricated, circulating medium. The laws of this country, severe and sanguinary enough in many respects that relate to the treatment of the lower orders of society, have thought it necessary to be still more rigid than usual with respect to this paper credit: and consequently we find that forgery is among those crimes and offences which never escape the latter sentence and punishment of the law.

Why is this? There must be some reason for it. Surely we cannot admit that forgery is a crime peculiarly marked with the blackest stains of turpitude. I stand not up as an advocate for crimes that violate property; but I wish that a scale should be observed between the punishment and the turpitude of actions. Surely, then, I say we cannot suppose that there is more moral turpitude in the act of forgery than in many actions that are passed by with a much slighter degree of punishment. The common feelings of mankind revolt at such a supposition: and nothing but that commercial influence which, of late years, has contaminated our councils and our laws, could have countenanced the unremitting severity.
severity with which this crime has been pursued. We find accordingly that where individuals have not been misled either by commercial connections, or by particular attachments, to the modes and practices of the times, that a great disposition arises among mankind to condemn or blame this extreme severity: nor could all the arguments of commercial expediency and the inviolable barrier of mercantile credit, stifle the voice of public sympathy in the recent cases of Peru and Dodd.

A very ludicrous anecdote, applicable to this subject, was once related to me by an officer whose duty it is to attend one of the circuits. A man had been indicted for forgery at the assizes; and a jury of farmers and graziers was impaneled to try the offence. The facts were proved beyond the possibility of contradiction; but the honest farmers did not understand how it should happen, that a man who committed a robbery without any sort of violence, or injury to the peace of society, should be punished in a manner so much more severe than many whose crimes were marked with deeper turpitude. They therefore consulted among themselves, and presently agreed, that tho' the thing to be sure were proven, yet as for matter of that, it was impossible to hang a man for a bit of paper. If he had stole a sheep, it would have been another thing; but to hang a man for a bit of paper, no they could never agree with that matter: as they had just been trying a man, who had killed another by an unlucky blow, and which the Judge instructed them to find only manslaughter, they agreed to bring this in manslaughter allo; and manslaughter it was.

But however much at a loss, reasoning like speculative moralists, we might be to account why a superior degree of severity should be adopted, for the preservation of this particular species of property, practice will soon give us a clue. Nothing is so friendly to individual accumulation and monopoly.

This the legislators of the ancient world very well knew. They knew that in proportion as you can compress property into a small compass, a few will have an opportunity of ingrossing to themselves a larger proportion of the riches of the country, and of keeping the other portions of society in misery and depression. Lycurgus therefore invented a species of coin, which has been rendered famous through succeeding ages, by the name of iron money. So that if a man in Sparta was worth twenty or thirty pounds, he was obliged to
to hire a waggon, to remove it from place to place: an expedi
dient which could not fail of producing the desired effect,
of preserving a considerable degree of equality among the
citizens.

A contrary object has been kept in view by modern legisla
tors, and of course, a contrary practice has been appealed
to. It was found beneficial to the revenue, it was found
beneficial to corruption, to luxury, and to usurpation, that
property should come into the hands of as few individuals as
possible; and therefore methods have been devised to favour
this monopoly.

The history of the progress of wealth, or rather of the
medium of wealth, would be a very curious one if I had
time to enter into it at large. In the first instance undoubt-
edly all wealth must have consisted in what is now called
kind:—Persons who have collected or who have paid the in
kind will understand what I mean. But this unwieldy fort
of wealth would be very inconvenient upon the present sys-
tem. It would undoubtedly clog very much the wheels of
what ministers call Government—that is to say, corruption.
This, however, you would not perhaps consider as a very
grievous calamity; and you might even be tempted to ex-
claim with Pope

"O that such bulky bribes as all might see ,
Still, as of old, encumber'd villainy!
A Statesman's slumber; how this speech would spoil!
Sir, Spain has sent a thousand jars of oil ;
Huge bales of British cloth blocke the door:
A hundred oxen at your levee roar."

I$fay on Use of Riches.

Specie, then, was soon introduced; but was found not
sufficiently convenient: for James I. having ordered a
large sum to be given to one of his favorites; but happening,
by strange accident, to have a minister who had a little honesty,
he took him into the room where the money was all spread
out. James was astonished at the formidable appearance of
so many guineas; and declared it was too much for any indi-
vidual. He ordered therefore that his favourite should be
content with half.

Nor is this the only kind of inconvenience which politi-
cians have experienced from transactions in specie. It has
been found that guineas, like roaring oxen can tell tales. Of
this
this I will satisfy myself with one example. A great politi-
cian, in the time of William III. had been desirous of
a private audience with Majesty, and had accordingly crept
up the back stairs: for whether you have a Whig King or a
Tory King, there must always be a back stair-cafe to the royal
closet. What the important intelligence was which he had
to communicate was never known, for the affair was con-
ducted with becoming privacy. Nor would it ever have been
known what was the occasion of the subsequent alteration in
his sentiments and conduct, but for an unlucky accident.
But just as he was stealing down again, the bag, in which
the bribe was contained, which was to pay him for his future
votes in Parliament, happened to burst, and the whole secret
was revealed.

"Once tis confess, beneath the patriot's cloak,
From the crack'd bag the dropping guinea spoke,
And, gingling down the back stairs, told the crew
Old Cato is as great a rogue as you."

But, Citizens, paper credit has at once given wings and
secrecy to corruption. There is now no necessity for cum-
bersome waggons to take away your heavy iron wealth; no
occasion for canvas bags to hold your millions; or cloaks to
hide them from the public eye. A little bit of paper that
may be "paffed thro' the hollow circle of a ring," may an-
swer every demand of Government or corruption—may
purchase a whole House of Commons, or transport a band of
Patriots to Botany Bay.

"Blest paper credit! last and best supply,
That lends Corruption lighter wings to fly:
Gold, wing'd by thee, can compass hardeft things,
Can purchase flates, or fetch, or carry kings.
A fingle leaf can waft whole navies o'er,
Or fhip off armies to a distant shore;
A leaf, like Sybil's, waft us to and fro,—
Our fates, our fortunes as the winds do blow!"

The next article to which I shall call your attention you
will immediately perceive to be most intimately connected
with the subject. I mean the corn laws.
It is not necessary for me to enter into an investigation of
all those commercial regulations which have so strongly a
tendency to favour the wealthy few, and keep the rest of
of society in a state of depression and poverty. I shall only notice such of those regulations as relate immediately to the subject in question: though undoubtedly every one of them in some degree eventually affects the price of all commodities and necessaries of life.

Commerce, in fact, ought to be no part of the subject now before us: for the object of agriculture ought not to be commerce, but the comfort and accommodation of the people. But our regulations have not always had this beneficial object in view. We find but too many of them which have a particular tendency towards favoring the opulent landholder, and bolstering up, thro' his means, the System of Rotten Boroughs and Corruption. We find many precautions taken to increase the weight and influence of those gentlemen: and for a very good reason: they are not only proprietors of land; that might be of no more estimation in the eyes of a minister than any other species of commodity, but they are proprietors also of those rotten boroughs, which Lord Mornington and Mr. Pitt are pleased to suppose constitute a part of the excellence of our constitution, that, if we were to tear them away, there would be but little left in the glorious fabric to demand our veneration, or promote our felicity.

Citizens, it is very clear that the higher corn and cattle fell, the higher the landlord can raise his rent. For he will always take care (especially now long leafes are out of fashion) not to lose his share of the advantage, whatever it may be, which the industry or the ingenuity of the farmer may produce. The higher, therefore, the market, the higher will be his rent, and the greater his opportunities of indulging in those gratifications to which, undoubtedly, the higher orders are entitled, though it would be something like blasphemy to attempt to extend them to the lower classes of the community.

Hence we find that, among other wise regulations, there is a bounty upon the exportation of corn, whenever it shall be below a given price: and as the persons who have an interest in fixing this standard as high as it can be fixed, are the very persons who, by the present Constitution of Borough Jobbing and Aristocratic Influence, have the power of altering it whenever they please, we have—or rather, THEY have, by means of this politic regulation an infallible means of keeping up the price to the improvement of their own fortunes, it is true—but to the beggary and starvation of the multitude.
multitude. And yet, while our wealthy land holders are thus associated and represented for the advancement of their rents, and our unrepresented labourers and mechanics are punished like felons for associating for an increas of wages, Aristocrats have the audacity to talk of the liberties of Britons—of equal laws, and equal justice.

But the injustice does not terminate here. I have repeatedly proved, on a variety of occasions, that, as all taxes must be paid out of the profits of productive labour, the whole burden of taxation must, in truth, eventually fall upon the shoulders of the laborious orders of the community. Who is it then that pays the bounty?—The laborious poor!—Who is it that receives the benefit of that bounty?—The landholder!—the indolent rich!—Is there any doubt of the accuracy of this statement?—Reflect awhile.—Are not the taxes paid by the people? Is not the bounty paid out of the taxes? Does it not follow therefore, of course, that the more Government pays in bounties the more taxes must be levied upon the people?—And all for what? Why truly for the noble privilege of paying a greater price for every bit of bread they put in their mouths.

How monstrous to plunder the poor peasant and artisan, in this manner, of the very means of purchasing the necessaries of life, and then to tell them that they must pay so much the more for having been so plundered!!!

Nor is this all. Having taken precautions to prevent the price of the necessaries of life falling below the minimum which our landholders and borough-mongers will condescend to accept, they have also taken other precautions to mount it up to the maximum which their consciences would suffer them to exact. For this barriers are to be erected to prevent the free progress of mercantile intercourse;—the first great maxim in the communion of nations ("Let the abundances of each be exchanged, that the scarcities of each may be removed!") is to be violated;—and commerce, the bountied glory of our isle!—Commerce, who from her very essence should be free as air, is to groan in manacles!

Unless the average price in our markets should be upwards of 50s. per quarter, no corn can be imported from foreign countries.

Now, Citizens, be pleased to remember that though 50s. is or was a very high price, yet good wheat may be consider-ably more than 50s. Nay, and must be so before the ports can be opened; because all the wheat sold at market is not good;
good; and as it is the average, and not the maximum, that opens or closes the ports, the average price may be 50s. while all the good wheat may be sold at a price very considerably higher. I will instance this by a calculation. The average is fixed by the inspection of officers who attend the markets for the purpose of taking an account of the quantities sold in different districts. Suppose that 50 quarters are sold at 53s. that will give you 132l. 10s.; suppose 200 quarters at 52s. the amount will be 750l.; then suppose 400 more at 49s. which is 980l. for the whole. The result is, that 650 quarters of wheat selling for 1632l. 10s. the average price becomes 50s.; but the good corn has been sold at 52 and 53s. Thus then you see, that till good corn has amounted to 53s. or upwards, the ports must be shut, and no foreign corn must be admitted to come in competition with the corn produced in this country; because such a competition would do what? Injure the great mass of the people?—No; do them good—make bread so much the cheaper. And who can dispute that it would be good for the great mass of the people, that all the necessaries of life should be sold as cheap as possible?—No; the injury would be to the rich landholder, who would not be able to charge so great a price for his land: a thing so monstrous, that the happiness of millions ought not, in the eyes of wise and beneficent legislators, to be held in competition with it for a moment. But even this average, extravagant as it would once have been thought, is not fixed. It is fixed, indeed, with respect to you and me: it is fixed that it shall never be altered for our advantage; but it is not fixed that it shall never be altered for the advantage of our boroughmongers and legislators. The fact is, it is altered whenever it suits their conscience that it should be. At no great distance of time, the average was 48s. instead of 50s.—But mark the consequence of your having no voice, no interest in the choice of your representatives; of having your legislature with those individuals who are to make your laws and regulations—the rich landed proprietors—the owners of rotten boroughs—the sapient individuals who happen to possess, upon their estates, the fragments and relics of Druids temples at Old Sarum; or to see from the wave-invaded shore the ruins of a church, still struggling with the surrounding sea, whose shattered spire continues to be represented, though the spot that encircled it is no longer the habitation of man.

It is natural enough that those persons, being the only individuals represented, being the only individuals who have any power
power of control over the representatives, their interest should be particularly attended to; and that, therefore, in proportion as the price of corn increases, the average price fixed in the act of parliament should also be altered: nor should I be at all surprized, if, in a few years, we were to run from 50 to 60, to 70, to 100. Why not? The individuals who make the laws having an interest in making this average as high as it possibly can be borne, what should restrain them but a dread of the enlightened spirit of the people? And who shall dare attempt to inspire that dread? To put the borough-mongers in fear, you are told, is to overawe Parliament; and to overawe Parliament, you are told, is High Treason: and as no one, it may be supposed, is very desirous of being hanged, drawn and quartered——

"Must not things mend in their common course,
"From bad to worse, from worse to that is worst?"

Spencer.

Yet, notwithstanding all this, a sapient magistrate in the northern extremity of the country—a place for the magistrates of which I dare say we all have a becoming esteem)—I mean to say the Lord Justice Clerk, on the trial of Morton and others for sedition, chose to observe that "the poor of this country, particularly those infatuated people stiling themselves The Friends of the People, pay no taxes at all. "It is the landed-property men alone that pay all the taxes; "for look you, my Lords, we pay the poor for their labour; "and so, as we gi the poor the fuller to pay the taxes wi, "it is we, in truth, that pay aw the taxes. And if they be "not content with our good laws and wise government, they "may e'en tack their als upon their backs, and pack off wi "themselves. And let them gang, we'll be better quit o' "them. But we can't take our land upon our backs: Na; "we mun flay."—So that, notwithstanding the increased price of rent—notwithstanding the increased price of the commodities of life, upon which, by the way, all taxes ultimately fall—notwithstanding every burden and imposition which the laborious poor are subject to, we are told that they pay no part of the taxes: and, as a notable proof of this, we are told that they have nothing left, but that which they can put upon their backs, and go off whenever they choose: and as an equal proof that the rich people, the landed property men pay all the taxes, they tell you they have the misfortune to be encumbered with such valuable estates, that it is impossible for
for them to go, let things be as bad as they will. They cannot put their land upon their backs, and consequently they must stay.

Citizens, I might here animadvert upon the unchangeable nature of court politics. Justice Clerk tells the common people they may get themselves gone, as soon as they will. They may put their alls upon their backs, and away they may trudge; for that it will be a good thing to be rid of them.

—What does the cabinet of this country say at this time? Why, it issues a mandate (legally, I grant you, but mark how consistently) saying, that though you are upon the brink of starvation—though your children are crying to you for bread—though distress and misery of every description encircle you round, you shall not attempt to depart from this country, if you have not the permission of Mr. Secretary Dundas. It shall be esteemed as a crime of a very high magnitude. You shall be dragged from the ships, and the ships shall be detained, and not permitted to proceed upon their voyage. You shall have but one alternative—either to starve in your cottages, or be both starved and butchered too, in the ranks of those armies who are fighting for a cause from which undoubtedly you will receive very great advantages; though I very much doubt whether any of you are wise enough to discover in what that advantage will consist. But why animadvert upon inconsistencies? If men can sit upon the bench, and talk such rank nonsense as this, what matters whether they contradict to-day what they said yesterday, or to-morrow what they say to-day?—The labouring part of the community may take their alls upon their back, and quit the country!!! Suppose they did, what would Lord Justice Clerk's landed estate be worth, after they were gone? what would it produce? I will tell him what it would produce—Such innumerable swarms of vermin as would threaten him with immediate destruction, and to deliver him from which he would pray for the restorative arms of those Sans Culottes whom oppressive cruelty had banished from the country. What can Lord Justice Clerk, and all the Lords and the Justices—and the Lord knows who to help them, produce from their estates? Let them sow them with the multry records of the courts of law; let them plant them with acts of parliament, and manure them with the fanguinary sentences of the Court of Judicary; let them, if they choose, dig holes, and bury that gold which they so idolized. What will it produce? Briars, thorns, thistles enough undoubtedly. Every sort of annoyance it will produce.
produce. But bread, the food of man, the barley that should
make him wholesome liquor, will it yield them these? Will
it feed their sheep or oxen, or make them broad cloth? No.
—No sort of commodity whatever, for sustenance or comfort,
will their land, their law, or their acts of Parliament produce
them. Nor will all the mandates of the Privy Council, nor
the grave decisions of the Bench make a potatoe grow with-
out cultivation, or turn acorns into melons and peaches. No:
these they must receive from the labours of that common
rabble, without whom the Lord Justice Clerk has the wisdom
to say, they could do a great deal better than with them.

O what a sort of system is it we live under, when Judges
sit upon the Bench and preach doctrines so absurd and so per-
nicious: doctrines which nothing can equal but the intoxicated
cruelty of the late aristocrats of France, who, while in their
gilded carriages, they rolled carelessly over some poor
tattered beggar, whom they disdained to turn out of the way
to avoid, have been known to exclaim “It is no matter. It
“ is only one of the common fellows; and we had always too
“ many of these wretches!”

We have seen, Citizens what has been the consequence of
such doctrines in France, I hope we shall see no such con-
sequences here. But if we do, whose is the fault? Does it
rest with those who call out to the oppressor “forbear your
“ inhumanity—Reform your ill policy?” or does it result
from those who pollute the sacred vestments of authority
by doctrines so diabolical as that which I have read?

Another cause of the growing scarcity to which I shall
refer you, is the monopoly of farms. The time has been, as
Goldsmith beautifully expresses it, the happy time, “when
every rood of land maintained its man.” What is the cafenow!
Where will you go for those little farms which supported in
comfort, and supplied with all the simple necessaries and de-
cencies of life, a family healthy from its industry, virtuous
from surrounding necessities, and whose interests were insepa-
rably united by the humble situation it was placed in with
that of the great mass of the people? Those little farms are
no longer to be found. Large proprietors have grasped whole
provinces—almost, in one concern; and that useful order of
men is annihilated, to make room for the spacious granaries,
and unwieldy opulence of monopolists and speculators, who,
by reason of their wealth and fewness, find combination and
compact easy, and rule the market at their own will and
pleasure.

A cor-
A correspondent, residing in Shropshire, gives me the particulars of some circumstances which have taken place in his own neighbourhood. He tells me that, in two villages, in the neighbourhood of his own residence, he remembers, at no considerable distance of time, nine farms to have been contained in the one, and seven farms in the other: each of which supported, of course, the families of the occupiers in decency and comfort. What is the condition now? The nine farms are reduced to three; and the seven are reduced to two. Thus then you have two families living in luxury, where you used to have seven maintained in decent competency; and you have three exulting in their large pollutions, where you used to have nine carrying their produce to a fair and early market, to the accommodation and benefit of society.

Whose is the advantage of this? There can be no doubt: the landed proprietor's. He collects his rent with less trouble. He finds it more easy to obtain it immediately at the time when it is due; or the proprietor, forsooth, is a man of capital and credit; and if he cannot get specie from him, he can get circulating paper. He finds, also, that he is enabled to demand a higher rent; because when only one family is to be supported, where three were to be supported before, the farmer can be content with a more moderate ratio of profit, and yet his family live in greater abundance than the three families could afford.

This is not all. The mischief does not stop here. This monopoly destroys competition, and encourages speculation; and consequently creates an artificial, and increases the real, scarcity. The little farmer was obliged to take his commodity into the market, when he wanted to make up his rent, or other payments; the great farmer can keep it in his barns till he meets with a&mdash;man at such a price as he chooses to put upon it. The little farmer could not speculate upon the chances of scarcity, and thus create one where otherwise it would never have existed; the great farmer can: he finds no inconvenience in such speculation; because, being a man of considerable property, a man of responsibility, (as we denominate those who have the power and inclination to starve their fellow beings by wholesale,) he knows that, if he is pressed for an immediate supply, he can have it, by means of the fictitious circulating medium. The fact is, that the very character of a farmer is almost annihilated. In many parts of the country you see no such thing as an individual who attends to his own farm, and is thus brought to something like
like a level with the labourers whom he employs. Instead of this the land is divided between vast proprietors, who consider their farms as objects of commercial speculation, and who look down upon the poor dependent drudges who toil for them, as beings who have no sort of title to commissoration and fellow feeling.

Citizens, we must immediately perceive, if we use a moment's reflection, that in the present state of human intellect and human passions, absolute equality of property is totally impossible. It is a visionary speculation which none but the calumniators of the friends of freedom ever entertained. Reeves and his associators might deem it convenient to suppose persons to entertain such notions; but they existed only in the disfempered brains of Alarmists. But though this is not attainable, there is another state of society perfectly practicable, and which is the best substitute for this poetical vision—this golden age of absolute equality: I mean the imperceptible gradations of rank, where step rises above step by flow degrees, and link mingles with link in intimate and cordial union, till the whole society connected together by inseparable interests indulges that fellow feeling between man and man, from which, and from which alone, the real fruits of humanity and justice can be expected.

Alas! "What can we argue but from what we know?" This argument, so often applied as the test of science, we may apply to feeling also. We must know what calamity is, before we can feel for it. The calamities of the order of society but just below us!—an order into which we see the possibility that we may ourselves descend, press home to our feelings. We enter into the particulars that constitute their poignancy—we understand their nature, and we feel them in their full force. We are disposed both to respect and relieve them. But he who has been nursed in pomp and luxury, looks down upon the poor drudge, by whom he is supported, as a beast of burden, created for his ease and advantage; and feels no more for his calamities, in three instances out of four, than for the pangs of the expiring brute who bleeds beneath the stroke of the butcher to supply his table.

But these imperceptible gradations are destroyed by the present monopolizing system. There are but three classes of men left among us—the monied speculators, among whom may be classed the great farmers I have been describing; the proud high towering drones, who hum, and buzz, and make a noise in the hive; but who never brought a morsel of honey into...
into the cells; and the poor hard-working drudges, who toil from day to night, and almost from night to day, and receive for their useful and important services the bitter inheritance of unpitied poverty. In great towns it is true gradations something more various may be traced; even in these we are hastening to the same dismal state of separation. Hence it is, from these wide gaps, these chasms in society, that there is no common interest, no general affection, no universal sympathy, binding man to man, and constituting one great, united, harmonious mass, having but one object, and adhering steadfastly together for the preservation of each other and the attainment of that object.

Perhaps it is not proper for me, who certainly am not very far advanced in agricultural speculations, to lay down any particular regulations; but I doubt very much whether it would not be to the happiness of this country, if no farm was held by any individuals of more than two hundred acres. But we have now thousands of acres held in one farm.—What wonder, then, that there are monopolies? What produces monopolies? When great competition exists monopoly cannot flourish. But when the power of competition is in the hands of a few individuals, they have nothing to do but to agree to do that which their mutual interest will prompt them to fulfill, and they have the whole public at their mercy; and the power of starving them into a compliance with their extravagant demands.

Citizens, I do not intend to indulge myself frequently in speculative projects. But one has been submitted to me which I think worthy of attention. I have formerly shown you, that almost half the land in this island remains in an uncultivated state. "Now we will suppose," says my correspondent, "that four millions of acres of this was parcell’d into small farms of 80 or 100 acres; this would become a receptacle for 50,000 families put into possession of a comfortable subsistence; and would give us in a few years, by the increased accommodation and comfort of these families, an addition to the rising generation of many thousand individuals. Take into consideration also the advantage that would result to agricultural production: and if we suppose only 30 acres of tillage in one farm, this, on low calculation, would produce us 12,500,000 measures of nett grain." I do not pledge myself to the accuracy of the calculations made in this proposal: But it is easy to see what advantages might result by employing our revenues in such improvements instead of
lavishing them in projects of sanguinary ambition. These are the means by which our grandeur and power might be indeed increased, instead of depopulating the continent, and rushing into frantic crusades to extinguish the principles of Jacobinism, and restore Royalty and popular Idolatry.—Restore Royalty in France!—We restore Royalty in France!—What absurdity!—What injustice!—Whether the principles of Royalty be right or wrong—whether Republicanism be right or wrong—whether Jacobinism ought to triumph, or Jacobinism ought to fall, what was it to us in the present instance? It was the affair of France, and France ought to be left to settle it; nor had we any more right to go to war to compel that nation to adopt a government according to our taste than I have to break into your houses, and say you have no right to have any sort of food upon your table but such as I choose for you. You like roast beef, perhaps; but you shall have nothing but boiled. You, perhaps, are a Jew and will not eat pork. I tell you you shall have nothing but pork; and if you do not forego your damned Judaical infidelity, and eat pork when I command you, I will pull every hair out of your chin, and turn you out as bare as ever your King Nebuchadnezzar was turned out, to graze upon the common, and eat cold fallads with the beasts of the field.

Another circumstance connected very closely with the state of agriculture is the encouragement given to the breed of horses. No person can be at a loss to conceive how very large a proportion of those commodities which might administer to the comfortable support of man, is devoured by the numerous train of horses kept for a variety of purposes in this country. If we turn our eyes to the studs of Noblemen and Princes; if we consider that many, for mere pomp and vanity, have kept hundreds of horses in stables vying for splendour with the palaces of our nobility, erected at an expense that would build cottages for all the poor in the neighbourhood of London:—if we consider the monstrous quantity of steeds trained for the purposes of gaming, to increase the detestable art of lavishing property on vice and profligacy, instead of bestowing it upon benevolence and charity;—if we take all those circumstances into the calculation which will arise in your minds at the bare mention of the subject, we cannot but immediately reflect, what a large decrease must be thus occasioned of the produce which would otherwise contribute to the support of man. Consider how many cattle might graze, and how much wheat might grow upon the tracts of land allotted
lotted for these steeds; tell me if in this article of luxury and fashion you do not find one of the permanent, though growing causes of that scarcity of provisions of which we at this time complain.

This, also, is extended still further. The farmer must have steeds which occasionally he can convert into horses of pleasure. His very plough would be disgraced by having an ox in it; every part of labour, some of which might even be better performed by oxen, is performed by horses.

To this, also, we ought to add the waste, the profligacy, the dissipation, and destructive vices which result from the scandalous practice of keeping an enormous train of lounging fellows in liversies, the whole of whose labour is devoted, not to increasing the necessaries of life, not to add to the useful productions of society, but to increasing the vice, the licentiousness, the luxury, the pride of their employers, swelling them up with the monstrous idea that one set of men was formed to cringe at the footstools of another; and that there are, in reality, distinctions in society besides those of wisdom and virtue. It would be digressing too far to describe all the mischiefs that result to the morals both of the Lord thus waited on, and the Slave that waits. My present concern is only with the effects upon the production and consumption of the necessaries of life; and these are obvious to the most casual observation. I cannot, however, pass by an opportunity of observing, that the very practice of being waited on by a train of insolent slaves in Merry-andrew's coats, besides its other pernicious consequences to society, has a necessary tendency to encourage the idea that one set of men is formed of baser materials than another; that they were born to cringe and bow to a few terrestrial deities; or to be hewers of wood, and drawers of water, mere beasts of burden, for the convenience and pleasure of the erect and lordly few, who call themselves the higher ranks of life: When the fact is, that these characteristics, which we so properly despise, result not from the original nature of man, but from the vicious institutions of society, which make many administer to the luxuries of one; instead of cultivating that spirit of equality to which I hope, one day or other, to see the human race aspire.

It would be unpardonable, when talking of the inconveniences under which our agriculture lies, if I were to pass over the subject of tithes: an oppressive burden, which presses with particular hardship upon those articles to which a considerabe
considerable degree of favour ought to be extended, in adjusting the burthens of the State. The necessary articles of consumption ought, surely, by the wisdom and care of every Government, to be put under such protection and regulations that they should be sold at the easiest possible rate. How is this to be done? By taxing the farmer, first of all, in common with the other inhabitants of the country, thro' every gradation of his profession, and in every form which the ingenuity of financiers can devise, and then in addition to all this, laying upon his shoulders the aggravated burden of priestly imposition to the amount of a tenth of the grost produce of the soil! A burthen, which, when we consider what has been expended in rent to the landlord, in cultivation of the land, in gathering in the harvest, and a thousand incidental expences, will be found to amount at least to one third part of the profit. This might, perhaps, have been endured with patience at a time when superstition reigned over every mind—when priests were considered as Gods, and had sometimes the audacity openly to call themselves such. But now that the eyes of mankind are opened—when they begin to perceive that every one has a right to save his soul in his own way, and that the pulpit is but too generally prostituted to purposes of political usurpation, the motive for servile compliance with so heavy a contribution is no more, and the burthen falling without alleviation upon our shoulders, we cannot but reflect on the immediate effect which this must have on the price of the necessary articles of consumption.

But let us consider also, not only the immediate, but the secondary operation of this sacred tax. Has it not a tendency to depress the spirit of agricultural improvement? What encouragement have I to labour from the increase of the produce of my land? What temptations do you hold out to me to improve the soil upon which I live, and to invent new methods of tillage and agriculture, by which society would be benefited? Why this is the advantage: You tell me that a man to hear whom, perhaps, I may piously go three times every Sunday; or to whom, perhaps, I may think it greater piety not to go at all; either because his doctrines are averse to the prejudices in which I have been educated; or because my mind has, some how or other, towered above, or sunk below (for it is not for me to decide) the objects to which he would direct my attention:—This man is to reap the profit of my toil. This man is to reap the harvest I have sown. And, in addition to the increased rent which I must pay to the
the landlord, in consequence of the benefit I have conferred upon his land, I am to have an increased burden upon my shoulders to the pious gentleman in the black gown, from whose assistance, I am told, I am not to reap any advantage in this world; but am to receive a copious harvest in the world to come. I have heard say there are but two sorts of bad pay-masters: those who pay before hand, and those who never pay at all. But unfortunately every one of us is obliged to be a bad paymaster in this particular. We are obliged to give prompt payment here: but we must trust to the other world for remuneration: where, if we should be deceived, we shall have no opportunity of bringing the individual to the bar of the King's Bench, to receive compensation from the verdict of an honest jury.

It must, however, be admitted that these men have their uses in society. When the country is plunged in war, no matter how, there are generally, you know, Baft and prayers appointed, in order to influence the people to exert themselves courageously to procure a successful issue to that war. Now it must be admitted, that these pious gentlemen have considerable influence in persuading the people to yield their throats to the knife, for the grandeur and emolument of ministers, and, of course, you know, for our glorious constitution. But to speak a little seriously, whatever might be the objects in view in establishing such an institution as this, is the imposition I am speaking of a means to make that institution successful? Is it consistent with policy, even, that the teachers and hearers should be in a perpetual state of warfare? Yet what but a perpetual state of warfare results, or can result, from this system of tithes? Every person at all acquainted with the history of any country village knows the disgraceful litigations, scandalous to morality, scandalous to the character of man, with which the parishioners are harrassed by their ministers, who preach forbearance, and practice intolerance; who tell them they are not to throw their debtor in jail for the sake of a little property, and yet put their debtor into worse than any jail whatever, the Spiritual Court, for what common sense and justice cannot discover to be any debt at all.

I believe the best thing for the happiness and morals of mankind is, that every individual should choose his own religion, according to the conviction of his own heart. If he chooses with Tom Paine to say THE WORLD IS MY COUNTRY; and DOING GOOD MY RELIGION, I see no reason why he should be persecuted for that faith.
If he chooses to bow down to the Trinity; believing that one is three, and three is one, it is scandalous to interrupt the freedom and tranquility of his worship. It is equally scandalous to interrupt that freedom and tranquility if, on the one hand he chooses to worship God in single Unity, or to bow down; on the other, to all the wooden Saints or moulton calves "which God-smiths can invent, or Priests devise." Let him hear all. Let him listen to all. Let him judge of all with candour, and let him remember that his grandmother, and his nurse (generally the first formers of our religion) are no better judges, nor more infallible Doctors in these matters, than the Pope of Rome, or any other old woman that might happen to model the infant faith of his neighbours. Let him determine according to the dictates of his conscience. (He can have no other guide than conscience or fear. Let those take the scoundrel passion—the principle of fear, whose minds have not nerve enough for bold enquiry. I am for the British manliness of internal conviction!) Let him hear whom he chooses; and let the instructor and the pupil settle their own terms. It is no business of your's or mine where our neighbour goes, or what he believes, or what he pays. All our business is whether he is a good member of society, whether he exerts his faculties, mental or corporeal, to advance the interests of society.

If so general and benevolent a sentiment is adopted, the diabolical "rancour of theological hatred" must be exterminated from the mind of man; and difference of opinion would no more beget that rancour and animosity that have so long deformed the universe; and, under the mask of propagating the religion of peace, spread fire and sword and desolation through the world; while not content with external ravages, the baneful capacity with which it has been accompanied has seized upon the vitals of national industry; has damaged the improvement of the most useful arts; checked the progress of agriculture, and aggravated the dearth and scarcity of those articles necessary for the subsistence of human life.

Such, Citizens, appear to me to be among the leading causes that affect the agricultural productions of the country. There is another branch, however, of this subject which must not be passed over in silence. Corn and cattle are among the most important articles of consumption; but they are not the only resources of life. This country is so happily situated that both these may fail to a considerable degree, and yet barring
barring impolitic regulations, no famine reach us. We are surrounded by seas and watered by innumerable rivers: yet what is the situation of the fisheries of this country? Look to our northern coasts, in particular, (you might look at every coast) and see what neglect prevails. Consider how long the people of Holland, more industrious and more politic than ourselves, have caught our own fish upon our own shores; salted them, and preferred them; and afterwards sold them to us, at a price extravagantly increased, in diminished quantities. I have dwelt, in a former lecture, upon this subject; and upon the impolitic duties and regulations, with respect to salt. In my lecture upon the genuine means of averting national calamities, I entered considerably into the subject; and, as I have printed that lecture, in the first number of my Tribune, I shall not go into it again. There are some facts, however, not noticed there, which ought not to be passed over in silence.

Some provisions, under pretence of checking the growth of this evil, have been made: but they are very inefficient; and perhaps, were even intended to be so. In Aberistwith, in Wales, in particular, it is common for the fishermen, during the season, to go out in the morning, and catch as many fine cod, and fish of that description, as they think they shall be able to sell in their own market. These they throw upon the beech; and the people, of all descriptions, come down and purchase what they want—the finest large fish at a penny a piece. An attempt was made, some years ago, to raise them to two-pence; and the common people were so indignant, that they threatened insurrection; and the fishermen were obliged to keep them at the old price. My correspondent, from whom I have the anecdote—a person who has sent some literary productions into the world, enquired why they did not catch a large quantity, as they seemed to procure them with so much ease; but he was answered—To what use shall we catch more than we can sell? We can get no cheap salt to keep them with. Upon enquiring what was meant by cheap salt, he found that a regulation had been made, some years ago, which required a given quantity of salt to be sold, without any duty, at the salterns or manufactories in that part of the country; in order that the salting of fish might be encouraged, for the benefit of the poor of that neighbourhood in particular, and of the interior of the island in general. But what was the consequence? Did the poor fishermen, the common class of the people, reap the benefit of this? No. They
They had more wealthy, and more powerful neighbours, whose turn (for they are represented in Parliament) was first to be served; and the woe of the disfranchised herd, who have no voice by which their complaints can be made known, were to be deprived of the means of laying up, in the plentiful season, that which might support them in the time of scarcity. A few wealthy individuals, in order to prevent the trade from getting into the hands of these little retail haglers, which they thought would be injurious to their monopolizing plans, contrived, regularly, for the whole of the salt that is thus permitted to be sold without duty; and the poor are not permitted to have a single grain of it for their own tables. Thus, instead of the common people salting the fish, and preserving it for themselves, or carrying it to market, the cheap salt is absolutely bought up, and, as it is said, not made use of at all; left the product of the fisheries, which monopolizing individuals have a particular interest in keeping at as high a price as possible, should get into the hands of the common people, and be sold at reduced prices.

That there are many practices of this kind it is impossible for us to avoid concluding, when we consider the present price of salt; and what it used to be in former times;—when we consider that the inhabitants on the banks of the Severn, where the finest salmon is caught, can rarely get a single fish; and that in almost every place, where these luxuries used to abound, the same complaint is to be heard. The reason is, that the fishermen are under contract with certain great factors, to sell to them the whole of the fish that they catch; and are bound by engagements, to destroy what is not wanted for their limited markets. This statement, at first view, would appear like fiction; but I have the facts from persons who reside in the neighbourhood of the Severn, and who have had opportunities of ascertaining them. I know that, at first blush, it would appear that this is impolitic in the contracting parties; for that the more they sell, the larger would be the profit. But this is not the case. If the individual can obtain any thing like the sum for a tenth part of the commodity, which he would obtain for the whole—if he obtains even the half, he receives a very advanced emolument: because the agents to be employed in the sale, the care to be taken to prevent the whole from being spoiled, the expense of carriage, &c. &c. are much less when he sells a small, than when he sells a very large quantity.

But
But how should any individual have the right of making such regulations? Why should the streams which flow from the liberal urn of nature, which are fed by the waters of heaven, and break their unbidden way through the veins of the earth—those streams which are cultivated by no man—which are stocked by no man—which receive no benefit from this man’s capital, or that man’s capital—why should they be the property of individuals? Are they not the bounties of nature? and has not every one of nature’s children a right to share her bounties? Unles, forsooth, you choose to tell us the great are the only legitimate children of nature, and that the rest are bastardized by those statutes of aggrandizement which have lifted a few to rank, emoluments and distinctions, which the mass can never hope to attain!

Such then are a part, and but a part, of the causes of that increasing dearness of provisions, and consequent misery of the mass of the people, of which we complain. That the effects of these gradually operating causes have lately been very much aggravated by others of a temporary nature, has been already shewn; nor shall I attempt to recapitulate them at this late hour of the evening. Suffice it to say, that, like the present war, with which they are so intimately connected, they may all be traced to the same original spring of action—a systematic aversion in our cabinet to the principles of liberty.

There is one of these topics, however, upon which I slightly touched at the conclusion of the lecture of Wednesday last, that seems to demand more ample notice than I then had time to give it; not only as it is most intimately connected with the immediate subject of these lectures, but as it tends to illustrate, in a most eminent degree, the real character and views of our Ministers. It will be obvious that I allude to the affairs of Poland.

It cannot be unknown to you that Poland, in a very considerable degree, was considered as the granary of Europe. What must have been the consequence of the devastations of last Summer? Consider that this granary of the world, instead of being cultivated by the peaceful plough-share, has been rent by the iron scythe of military tyranny;—that the industrious peasants, who used to cultivate the soil, have been prevented from that cultivation by the trumpet, which has called them to arms; by the gnawing thought, that what they produced another might reap; that the sons of Liberty might plow the earth, but that the demons of Despotism might come with
with their scythes and claim the rich harvest, and carry that which ought to have supported a race of men proud of hard-earned independence, into the granaries of northern savages, whose only refinement is slaughter, and whose only appetite, blood and cruelty.

Consider also the devastations of war which have raged through that fine country. Consider the extent to which this calamity has been diffused during that struggle, whose glorious energy, and whose prospects of success, so frequently cheered my heart, while confined within the mansions of the Tower, at a time when prospects of the happiness of other countries were the only confusions of the generous Briton;—for every thing at home laid tamely prostrate at the feet of a despotic faction.—Poor devoted Poland! you might have calculated largely upon the hardships and calamities you had to struggle with; but you had one enemy which, perhaps, never entered into your speculations. You did not expect that corruption would be employed by a British minister, to blast and palsy your glorious efforts; and to fling with increased energy the tyrannic arm of the Prussian despot!

Citizens, this conduct of the minister of this country—this underhanded exertion to crush the liberties of Poland, discover to you a dismal secret. If you reflect, it will unfold to you the real objects which that minister has in view. Compare this conduct with the conduct of those ministers in the time of Charles II. who, it is now universally admitted, aimed at the establishment of despotism. What conduct did they pursue? Wherever the dawn of liberty was to be discovered, there the British cabinet found a foe. The republic of Holland felt the eternal hostility of the British court. Why? Because the flame of liberty, such as it was in Holland, was thought to be inimical to the project of Charles's ministers for extinguishing the remaining spark of liberty in Britain. Therefore it was that attempts were made to destroy republican Holland. Therefore it was that a Stadtholder was forced upon that people. Therefore it was that Charles's ministers intrigued with the despot of France, for the destruction and overthrow of Holland. That destruction he did not effect; for, just at the time when the brave Batavians, despairing of being able to defend their country, were about to embark, and transport themselves to the East-Indies, the genius of British liberty burst forth, and compelled the court of Britain to alter its detestable measures.

Compare
Compare these facts with the conduct of our ministers in the present struggle on the continent. Why should the minister of this country, who deals forth his hypocritical admiration of the constitution of this country, be hostile to the liberties of the Poles? They were not Jacobins. They did not proclaim liberty and equality. They did not erect guillotines. They did not pretend that fons Cultusfina was to be the basis of their constitution. They did not venture (they were not enlightened enough—they were not wise enough—if they had, they would have triumphed!)—they did not venture to proclaim the equal rights of man. They did not attempt to set up a government, in which every individual should have an equal share in the appointment of the legislature. They were not Robespierists:—they were not even republicans! Why then was there such animosity on the part of the British cabinet against the Polish revolution?—Citizens—Citizens! I fear we shall be compelled to conclude, that the real hatred of our ministers is not against republicanism, but against liberty; not against Jacobinism, but against the least shadow and appearance of independency, and the rights of human beings; a settled abhorrence for every thing like free, just, and humane laws.

O hypocrisy! how transparent is thy veil!—Pitt pretends to approve of limited monarchy: yet Poland attempted to establish a limited monarchy, and Pitt subsidized a German despot to counteract the attempt; and this very Pitt has since told you in the Houfe of Commons (for the audacity of some men is equal to their profligacy!) that if he had been aware of the use to which the subsidies he granted would be applied, he would nevertheless have subsidized the King of Prussia. We have therefore his own authority for pronouncing that he was at least friendly to the subjugation of the brave and virtuous Poles. But for this subsidy, it is clear Prussia could not have resisted the brave efforts of the gallant Kosciusko. He did not resist them effectually at last. He felt (and trembled while he felt) the zeal, the ardour of that brave peasant.—Yes, peasant I will call him; for Kosciusko, like Stanhope, was an aristocrat only by birth: he could perceive that the peasantry are the life, the soul, the existence of society; and therefore he gloried in the character, and assumed the appearance: like a peasant he fought—like a peasant he conquered—and, at last, like a peasant fell—to chains indeed! to anguish! but not to infamy. No: he fell from prosperity; but he rose to glory. His name will be refounded; his memory will be
beloved. Posterity will bow adoration to his bust, when Pitt and all his dependants, are swept down the tide of oblivion; or if their names are preserved, will only be preferred to infamy.

O Poland! Poland!—Yes there was a time when the friends of liberty might flatter themselves with a hope, that not the General of the Poles, but the despot of Prussia (for it is now no longer treason to speak of him as he deserves!) would have felt the galling of chain. But, alas! the gold of Britain enabled him to hold out till the Russian barbarians were ready to take the field.

The Russian!—How my blood curdles at the name! O Poland! O exhausted country! O depopulated Warsaw! whose brave exertions against one despot had robbed thee of the energy that should have defended thee against another!—what heart bleeds not for thy fate! Behold the fiend Zuwarrow, hot from scenes of massacre and cruelty, where Israel's sons groaned and bled, by thousands, at his command; nor even Circassia's daughters, the beauties of the east, nor, nor the smiling infants at the breast escaped his butchering knife. Zuwarrow comes, and Warsaw's streets groan beneath his blood-stained steps. And thou, Imperial Daemon! thou curfed Hyæna of the north, thou pouredst thy savage fury in his foul, and gavest the dagger edge.

Thus Poland fell. It sunk beneath the sanguinary grasp; and scenes of bloodshed and horror marked its fall. Liberty expired; humanity groaned; the hero and his bride; the infant and his parent fell together, in one promiscuous carnage. Such are the triumphs—such the humanity of that regular government, by whose assistance Order and Justice are to be restored in France.

What then was the consequence of this subsidy to Poland? Desolation and massacre. What was the consequence to Britain? The produce of that country, which, if our Cabinet had yielded to the wishes of the people, for the people's hearts were with the Poles (where the heart of the Minister was—if, indeed, he has such a thing, which may be called in question).—The produce of that country, which might have been sent into our ports—that abundance which might have relieved our distresses, is gone. It is not only robbed from us: It is destroyed, annihilated. It is worse than left to us; worse than fallen into the hands of our enemies. It has fallen into the wide womb of non-entity: it has perished, and we can
can never recover it. Is this then—this Machiavellian policy of our rulers, not connected with the causes of our calamities?

We were told, at a former period, when our blessed Sovereign had the misfortune to labour under certain derangements of his transcendent intellects—we were told by the right reverend fathers in God, the Bishops in conclave assembled—and what right reverend Bishops tell us who shall venture to call in question?—we were told, that the crimes of the people had caused the calamities of the Sovereign. Whether this be true or no, I shall not dispute. I do not pretend to be as well versed in the occult sciences, as the reverend bench of Bishops. But this I know, that whether the crimes of the people produced the calamities of the Sovereign or not, the crimes of his Majesty's Ministers frequently produce the calamities both of prince and people.

Thus in the time of Charles I. when the apostate Wentworth, once a bawling advocate for liberty, became minister of the crown, and Earl of Strafford, we find that his bad policy brought the nation into a civil war, and the Sovereign to the block. We find, also, that when Louis XVI. yielded the reins of government to that profligate wretch, Calonne, that Calonne, by his arts and intrigues, plunged the country into bankruptcy and misery; and afterwards, his intrigues plunged Louis XVI. into perjury, and eventually the country into anarchy: an anarchy which Pitt and his coadjutors would persuade you was occasioned by the friends of liberty; but which, in reality, was occasioned by the intrigues of the friends of despotism: by the cabals of that wretch Calonne, the crimes him, of Condé, and Artois, and the profligacy of the court of France.

Citizens, I am no advocate for the doctrine of constructive treason. But if it could be admitted, must we not determine that those ministers are guilty of high treason, who seeing the effects of this misconduct, purloin precisely the same line of conduct, which Calonne and the apostate Wentworth had pursu ed before.

The fact is, Citizens, that the worst calamities of every nation result from the profligacy of ministers. Ever careless of the welfare of the people, and ever grasping to increase revenue and the wages of corruption, they continue the ravages of oppression, till the energies and resources of the country are exhausted, and desolation appears in every corner. And mark how that corruption has swelled of late among us. See the torrent which it has spread over the country. Once it
was a little rippling stream, it played and murmured round the purlieus of the court; in time it became a spreading river; now a mighty torrent, it has burst its banks, and swelling like another Nile, has drowned the nation in one general inundation: and behold the half-formed monsters of vice, of misery, and luxurious deformity, which rise from its polluted slime!

Yes, Citizens, there was a time when corruption had its bounds; when one place was sufficient for one man. But now, so intrepid becomes the honesty of our courtiers, so zealous and enthusiastic are they in preserving the rights of the people, so much additional energy have they acquired, that to sap their independence requires not one place only, but a dozen, before they will consent to support the measures of the court, and become hostile to the welfare of the people. I shall not attempt to illustrate this by enumerating all the places possessed by Pitt and his family in England, by Dundas and his family in Scotland, or by Beresford and his family in Ireland. In short, such is the power and patronage grasped by these three worthless beings, that England, Scotland and Ireland seem to contain but three men; each of whom, if you touch but the hair of his head, or threaten to remove him from his places, even though you leave him his salaries and emoluments, can threaten you with a civil war, and, perhaps, the wreck and ruin of the whole government.

From this monopoly of places arises another misfortune. For you know ministers must be supported; and if they monopolize all the old places to themselves, they must create so many more new places for their dependants. Thus we find, that instead of two Secretaries of State, we have three: all principal Secretaries of State, though one of them, forsooth, is hardly permitted to sign his name to a warrant of any description, unless it be to arrest a Jacobinical fellow for high treason, without permission from his high and mighty master and conditor, Dundas.

As to the creation of lesser places, it were in vain to enumerate these.—Boards of Controle, Offices of Police, and Boards of Agriculture, with salaries for apostate secretaries; and I know not what. I will refer you, however, for an instance to the Tower, where if you should have the good fortune to experience the same opportunities of information that I have had, you may learn, that in consequence of the economical arrangements of that great reformer, the Duke of Richmond, wherever there are three labourers doing any sort of work, there are always six clerks to see that they do it.

I beg
—I beg pardon, Citizens, I have been guilty of a slight inaccuracy in this statement: the language of the Tower is, that wherever there are three labourers doing nothing, there must always be six clerks to see that it is done. Then we must take into consideration, also, the increase of pensions and secret service money; and the compensation which the ministry coming in always makes with the ministry going out. Once it was thought sufficient, when one set of rogues—I beg your pardon—I meant to say ministers went out, for the other set who came in to promise them indemnity; and that they would not impeach them, and bring them to the block. But now, indemnity! they will fly with a swifter—indemnity! holding their hands behind them as they retire—I must have something besides indemnity, or I will become so flaming a Patriot, I will not only oppose your measures, but blow up the whole system—let the people into the secrets of office, and make your places not worth your holding. Your contracts, your monopolies, your discounts upon subsidies, your pensions from foreign Courts, all shall be exposed.—Indemnity, indeed! I say indemnity! Give me a good pension, and I will oppose you only in a parliamentary way. But if you do'nt, take care of me, I shall grow delporate, and

"Let in the light to Pluto's drear abodes,
Abhor'd by men, and hateful e'en to Gods."

If you want authority for all this, I refer you to Fitzwilliam's letters; and if he does not say the same thing in other words, I have no wit in decyphering the courtly character.

That this inordinate growth of corruption is the spring and fountain head of all our calamities cannot be doubted: for it is clear and evident that this corruption, as it leads to waste, extravagance, and dissipation, as it leads to the decrease of productive labour, and an increase of those inordinate burthens and taxes that consume the profits of productive labour, must tend to increase the price of the necessaries of life.

For evils like these, where shall we seek for redress? From tumult and violence? From destroying market houses, and breaking open the shops of butchers and bakers? fie, fie, fie! Can imagination be so dull as to suppose that outrage and tumult can redress calamities so enormous. A little partial evil may, perhaps, sometimes get redress from these criminal exertions; but calamities so great require the peaceful but determined energies of the national mind!—A loud, a fervid, and resolute remonstrance with our rulers. And a union and association
association among ourselves that may command the respect of those, who have the boldness to despise our individual efforts. We must lay the axe deep to the root of the evil, and not suffer our attention to be diverted by tearing the lesser branches. The plain and simple fact is, that the happiness of the lower and middling orders of society, (for let us not be so deluded as to suppose, that the lower orders can be oppressed and the middle orders not feel the oppression!) the great body of the people are neglected, because the great body of the people are not represented in the legislature; and those who make the laws are not at all dependent upon their favour or approbation.

If you will have redress, seek it quietly, but seek it firmly. Redress the evils of corruption, by reforming the source of corruption.

There is no redress for a country situated as we are, but by restoring to the people their right of universal suffrage and annual parliaments: rights which nature dictates, and which no law can take away: rights which the constitution of this country has stamped with approbation; and which, if we wish for happiness and prosperity, we must seek to restore: for the plain and simple fact cannot be more concisely expressed, than in those words in which I have so often repeated it, that "there is no redress for a country situated as we are, but "from a fair, full, and equal representation of the people in "the Commons House of Parliament."

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*** No. XIX. containing the Lecture "On Barracks and Fortifications, with sketches on the character and treatment of the British Soldiery," will be published Saturday the 22d of August.
O! how sweet at the hour when, deep-blushing, appears
The sun's swelling orb at the brink of the sky,
And Eve, penlive Eve, bathes the vale with her tears,
And Zephyr, sad Zephyr, expires in a sigh—
O! how sweet at this hour, when half-wearied with toil,
And each kind emotion awak'd in the breast
That Heav'n's varied bounties and Nature's gay smile
Ere stamp'd on the mind that by Fancy is blest—
O! how sweet, at this hour, on the brow of some hill,
By side the clear brook, or embower'd in the vale,
Directed, perhaps, by the clack of the mill,
Or Milkmaid's blithe carol, who sings o'er her pail,
To approach the lone hamlet, our labours to close,
And share the tir'd peasant's contented repose!
O! how sweet, when each warbler that trill'd from the spray,
Or to Heav'n's azure concave with rapture aspir'd
(The tir'd pinion relax'd, hush'd in silence the lay)
To the grove's covert shade with his mate has retir'd:
How sweet, as around every cottage they play,
(As you wind thro' the lane or the meadow) to hear
The rude ruddy infants attune the wild lay!—
What chorus so sweet to Humanity's ear?
—Sport on, thoughtless babes! ah, yet sport and be gay,
Enjoy the short rapture, and hail the bright glow!
Nor reflect ('twere in vain) on the heels of the day
Tread Night and her shadows—tread Manhood and Woe
Ah! too near is the time that your toils succeed,
When toil and Affliction alone shall be yours!

But see from the furrow, the globe, and the plough,
The peasants return with the toil-fulfil'd brow:
To their rest they return, to their scanty repast;
For the hour of refreshment relieves them at last.
As hither with toil-wearied steps they repair,
Hark what lips and what shouts their loud welcome declare;
While, their sports broken off, how the innocents fly,
And clasp each hard hand with a transport of joy;
Or hang by the coat, as around them they throng,
And lend their small efforts to drag them along.
Each grief those endearments from memory blot,
And the cares of the day, and its toils are forgot;
Till again to their dames, o'er their scantling ale,
As they eat their brown bread, they supply the short tale:
Then to bed they retire, their adventures to close.
To taste (be they sweet!) the short hours of repose;
While the wealthy and proud in mad riot and joy
The fruits of their labour and hardships destroy.

Now
Now silence succeeds to the bustle of day,
And the Moon's silver orb to the Sun's ruddy beam;
Awhile thro' the dews let me pensively stray,
And indulge loathing Fancy awhile in her dream.
While the Nightingale trills, your sweet minstrel divine!
Let me pierce, O ye Fays! your sequester'd retreat;
With your Shakespeare, your Colins, your Fletcher recline;
Your revels enjoy, and your fables repeat.
Ah, why are ye fled, gentle Fays! from the Muse,
Whose songs ye adorn'd, and whose lessons improv'd?
Are ye lacer'd that stern critics their faction refute?—
Dull spectres of Night by malignity mov'd!
Ah, scorn their dark malice, renew the wild strain;
And give us your Fletchers and Shakespeares again.
Such—such are my joys, in lone Hamlet retir'd,
When the toil of the day, and its pleasures are o'er.—
Or, perhaps, with the throng by rude Nature inspir'd
I share the blithe cup, and their feelings explore.
Ah! little ye know, who, envelop'd by pride,
Alone the dull pastimes of Grandeur behold,
What life, and what fancy, and humour refine
In these circles of Mirth by no Fashion control'd.
How oft have I fin'd (twas the finile of the heart,
Not the simper of Form, by Hypocrify taught;
The mask of dull Custom, the effort of Art
To ecape, but in vain, from the torture of Thought.)
How oft have I fin'd, their threwd maxims to hear,
And see the strong traits of wild Nature appear!
Let the proud and the weak, then, the dull and the great,
Who loll in their coaches in indolent state,
Who idle at home, but for idleness stray,
And abroad only prize what's at home every day—
Let to thee the proud inn yield its splendour and down,
And the Country repeat the dull pleasures of Town.
Let me, whom each pleasure eccentric can move,
Who would travel to know and would live to improve,
When at eve my tired limbs relaxation require,
To some snug little thatch, in some hamlet, retire;
Where, the cravings of Nature content to supply,
I may hear, or may join in the hind's rustic joy—
May Man in his varied conditions compare,
And learn the hard lot which too many must bear.
That thus as with all I alternately blend,
The mind may expand, and the heart may amends;
Till embracing Mankind in one girdle of Love,
In Nature's kind lesson I daily improve,
And (no haughty distinctions to fetter my soul)
As the brother of all, learn to feel for the whole.
THE TRIBUNE. N°. XIX.

THE LECTURE “On BARRACKS and FORTIFICATIONS; with sketches of the character and treatment of the BRITISH SOLDIERY.” delivered Wednesday, June 10th, 1795.

CITIZENS,

THE subject that claims your attention this evening is the modern Ministerial rage for Barracks and Fortifications; with sketches of the character and treatment of the British Soldiery; and an enquiry into the genuine modes of national defence.

At the very outset of the consideration of this subject, it naturally suggests itself to us to enquire, What are the real characteristics of the British nation? and what have been the means and sources of her former strength and greatness? If we look to history we shall find, that the strength and grandeur of this country has always depended, not upon its military force, but upon its navy; and, if we enquire a little further, we shall be disposed to consider, that this circumstance does not depend upon any thing peculiar in the character of the British people,—not upon any difference in the original conformation of Englishmen, from the conformation of men of other nations:—for the plain and simple fact is, however historians may attempt to seduce us into a contrary belief, that Britons are but men, and that the inhabitants of all other countries are to be considered as men also, partaking of the same common nature, feelings, capacities, affections, and powers of mind and body: that they are, in fact, of one and the same family; and bound therefore by the same universal laws of nature and affection. We must look then not to the conformation of the British mind, nor to the conformation of the bodily constitution of Britons, for any thing either glorious or censurable, in the former history of Britain; but we must look to the circumstances in which the country has been placed, either with respect to its natural situation, institutions No. XIX.
of Government, or casual introduction of information and science for any differences of character or conduct among the people of this nation.

The plain and simple fact then is, that our situation in the universe has pointed out to us the peculiar character we ought to be most anxious to cultivate, both as to our peaceable pursuits, and the vindication of our rights against external foes.

Other countries, which form a part of the Continent, are, from the very nature of their situation, compelled to cultivate the military science: because they are, at all times, open to attacks from neighbouring enemies; and if they had not that martial characteristic among them, which enables them to defend their frontiers, the imaginary lines that may be drawn upon a map, or those more important barriers erected by the professors of tactics would but ill defend them against the ambition of conquest and dominion, so long as the present mischievous system, begot in Courts, and nurtured by ministerial intrigue, the system of war, shall continue to curst and torment the universe.

Happily for this country (had Ministers understood its happiness we) are situated in a different manner. The ocean has formed a rampart, more powerful than Alps and fortresses, to defend us from those hostile attacks to which other nations are subjected; and thus has separated us, if we were wise enough to make use of the advantage, from the broils and politics of the other nations of Europe.

What a source of happiness does this offer to us! and how madly have we dashed the cup of felicity from our lips, and drained the bitter draught of voluntary misery even to the very dregs!

Certainly there is no country in Europe that has so excellent an opportunity of keeping itself perpetually at peace, as Britain; no country so little concerned in the phantastic balance of power; no nation that has had so few real occasions to see her children orphans in the streets, and her widows lamenting their husbands slain in the field of battle. Unfortunately, however, the country best calculated to remain in eternal peace, has not only been the most signal for frequent wars; but, from a destructive ambition reigning in her Court, and a melancholy defect in her institutions, which enables her Ministers to profit most when havoc and uproar rage with the greatest fury, has too frequently been the cause of provoking war throughout the universe; and keeping Europe, Asia,
and the West, in one continued strife of carnage and destrυ-
lation.

This conduct, with respect to the people, who have been
made subservient to it, may, perhaps, in some degree be ac-
counted for from one of the worst dispositions that degrades
the human character—a disposition to be indifferent to those
calamities from which, by personal situation, we are our-
selves secured.

These ramparts, raised by the billows of the ocean, have
rendered us strangers, as it were, to the real calamities of
war. We feel the burdens of taxation, it is true; and we
feel them at this time cold and heavy, almost, as the iron
hand of death, ready to crush us into non-existence. But
we do not behold those ravages which other countries fre-
quently experience. Our “burning villages do not light us
in many a midnight march;” nor does “trenching war chan-
“nel our fields, nor bruise our flowerets with the armed
“hoofs of hostile paces.” The fields cultivated for our
support, are not laid waste by those aggressions that have re-
duced many parts of the Continent to worse than deserts.—
Unfortunately, for mankind,—nay permit me to say, and even
for ourselves, we are too little acquainted with the real mis-
chiefs produced by this system of war we are so fond of; and,
remaining secure at home—that is to say—our statesmen,
aristocrats, and rich traders, remaining secure at home, and
partaking of no part of the danger, send their fellow citizens,
without remorse, to be butchered in foreign climes, and to
spread over other nations that devastation from which this
country has, hitherto, been happily secured.

But let us not deceive ourselves: We no longer can re-
main secure, if we persist in this scheme of frantic ambition,
which must ultimately bring upon us the just hatred and de-
testation of the world. Proud of our situation; unfeeling,
like from this pride, and from this happiness, we have arro-
gated to ourselves a ridiculous dominion over the ocean: for-
getting that first great principle of justice, that the bounty
which results from no man’s labour, that bounty which never
can be exhausted, but offers a peaceful and eternal source of
wealth to all mankind, never, as Gregoire has observed in
his excellent report on the rights of nations, never can be
the property of any man or any nation. It is a common
good owing its existence and its advantages to no one. It is
therefore, the common inheritance of all the children of na-

ture; and we must prove that the inhabitants of other parts of the universe are not men, or we can have no right to arrogate to ourselves the exclusive possession of this grand and magnificent inheritance.

But thus arrogating to ourselves the dominion of the ocean, we have not been satisfied with the fruits which that dominion gives. It is the natural tendency of all evil passions, when once gratified, to stimulate fresh desires still more vicious and inordinate. Those who have obtained a monopoly of any kind, and persuaded themselves that it is their right, grasp immediately at a still wider monopoly, and soon persuade themselves that the universe itself was made for them.

Not satisfied with the empire of the ocean, the Indies must be subjugated to our mercantile ambition; the western world must yield its neck to the yoke of British usurpation; and Africa must be depopulated, and her footy sons, loaded with chains and fetters, must cultivate for us those luxuries which have, in reality, undermined our independence, and sapped that energy of soul which can only be cherished by simplicity and virtue.

These undertakings have been but too successful in the eyes of Courts and Ministers. They have, it is true, increased the misery of the lower orders of society! they have added to the burdens of the great mass of the people! (an opinion to illustrate which I need only appeal to the historical fact, quoted in my Lectures on the Dearness and Scarcity of Provisions, that a larger quantity of the enjoyments of life were formerly procured by a smaller proportion of labour)—they have driven the multitude to a lower state of misery! but they have increased the dominion, patronage, and grandeur of office; they have increased the prosperity and monopoly of a few great families who have riied to power and opulence by the pillage of the nation!

Yes, by these great and glorious exploits, the people are shrinking in bonds and wretchedness, they have increased this grandeur and prosperity; and have enabled the individuals, thus advanced, to lay additional weights and restrictions upon those people; who, but for this ridiculous pomp of patronage, might be enabled, with bold independence, to lift up their heads and, to the front of grandeur and oppression proclaim, We are your equals, as individual men; as an aggregate body, we are your superiors; and you who call yourselves our
our masters, are servants, whose duty it is to administer to our happiness. It is for this you are paid; for this you are supported in state and luxury; for this that every labourer among us, even to the lowest drudge, whom you have the insolence to despise, contents to bellow upon you a part of that property which his toil has created.

These fatal successes also have begot a lust of dominion in the country, which is, unfortunately, too generally felt even by the great mass of the people, to whom its fruit is nothing but increase of slavery. Hence the poor wretch thivering in nakedness, hence the poor soldier, who toils and bleeds for a scanty maintenance, talks of the glory and grandeur of his country—talks of foreign conquests and great exploits, without remembering that the only advantages to him are wounds and disease; a family left to beggary, and himself an outcast from that society of which he ought to be a member; and which, while he thinks he is protecting it, he is assisting to enslave and ruin.

Citizens, It is in vain that we attempt to disguise the truth. We may dress our opinions in as many pompous ornaments as we please; but these attempts at external grandeur, so much beyond the inherent strength and powers of the nation, must beget, and have begot—internal weakness. Hence we no longer feel that bold and manly consequence, which occasioned Britons once to suppose, that their fleets were their only bulwarks, and their breasts, burning with the enthusiasm of liberty and independence, the only fortifications necessary to secure this country, and protect its liberty and its prosperity. Feeling this internal weakness, but unwilling to confess it, our Ministers have at once amused, and abused with a heap of ridiculous plans and projects, to supply, by adventitious aid, that which can only depend upon the internal virtues of the soul. Hence the Duke of Richmond's ridiculous project of building fortifications all round the coast; and thus walling out the ocean, I suppose: for the ocean is the only enemy that walls of earth and stone can keep away. To think of protecting the country by these castles built with cards—for card castles would be of as much importance as the castles his Grace of Richmond has planned. To expect, by these ridiculous, weak, expiring expedients, to protect a country which once looked to its own heart for its protection, and wished for no vigour and no energy but that which the honest feelings of independence could impart to its martial arm. To think, I say, of prolonging the existence of such a coun-
a country, by such means, shews that the disease is not merely corporeal; that the nobler parts have yielded to the assault; and that the intellects are as much enfeebled as the fibre.

You remember, Citizens, that this plan of general fortification was rejected by the casting vote of the Speaker.—With one puff of air he blew down all the fine projects which his Grace had so long been forming; the paffleboard machinery sunk thro' the trap doors of St. Stephen's Theatre, and lo and behold, the scene in the pantomime being changed, you were presented with the comic spectacle of my Uncle Toby, with his crutch upon his shoulder, exercising his imaginary troops, and storming ideal castles upon his Bowling Green.

But the noble projector was not thus to be disappointed. Though the Parliament had rejected his plan for a general fortification—and it is a woeful picture of the energy and virtue of that Parliament, to reflect that it was only rejected by a casting voice! Though thus rejected, he knew that there was another assembly, which was not always known, it is true, to have the power of adopting, in parties, what the Parliament had in toto rejected, but in which no majority would oppose him, where it was proposed that he should try his hand upon a narrower scale.

Unanimity—unanimity, you know, is the favorite maxim of Cabinets; and they would be unfit to share the power and the patronage of a great nation, who would quarrel among themselves about such a trifling circumstance as the expenditure of a few millions of the public money. They saw that the poor man had fixed his heart upon it, and lo, left he should take on and fret himself about it, they even saddled his hobby-horse, at the public expense, and let him canter away at his pleasure.

Fortifications have accordingly started up all over the country: particularly at Portsmouth; where any man who has the disposition, and an hour or two's leisure, may have as fine an opportunity of laughing at the expensive absurdities with which his Grace has chosen to faddle the nation, as any man who wishes to amuse himself at his own cost could desire. There you may behold immense fortifications, which must have cost millions of money, so magnificent and so capacious, that all the troops in British pay would not be numerous enough to man them. There you may behold port-holes stopped up with cannon placed behind them, and port-holes that are open without any cannon at all.

But
But, Citizens, how comes it that these great projects are thus neglected? Is it that his Grace of Richmond and his fortifications are now the common jest of all the country, and that the people, in their risibility, forget the millions upon millions which they have paid for the support of them, and for which they pay a dearer price for the bread that goes into their mouths for the meat that should supply the strength and vigour for their frame?—Surely we cannot suspect any part of the British Cabinet of such weakness as attending either to the ridicule, or the complaints of the svinish multitude? How comes it then that these great projects have been neglected? Certainly this does not arise from his Grace having been—I was going to say drummed out of the ministerial regiment—but it matters not in what sort of manner I describe it—from his Grace being no longer in that place of power which he formerly filled with so much lustre—a lustre which nothing but the wildom and virtue of his first female progenitor could outvie. This I say is not the caufe, for this neglect began to be conspicuous before his Grace had thought of resigning his post.

The fact is, that internal danger called off the attention of his Grace from the external means of defence; and he was obliged to neglect the fortifications at Portsmouth, to direct the whole energies of his powerful mind towards securing and fortifying the Tower of London, in which, by a sort of divine forecast, he perceived that Traitors of a most dangerous description were by and by to be concealed. And as he knew very well that nothing but strong fortification could resist the furious assaults of Conventional Reformers, he made the Bastille of London so strong that it would now almost resist an army of eight and forty bridewell boys for eight and forty hours.

Yes, Citizens, from sapient projects of external security, ministerial attention was called to the dangerous perils that threatened the internal safety of THEIR constitution. Places and pensions were declared in a state of siege. Sinecures, honours, and emoluments were likely to be invaded; the fortifications of patronage and corruption were like to have been thrown down. The coronet seemed to totter upon the empty head, and the star to tremble at the hollow heart. To avert these horrors—to resist this danger, his Grace of Richmond and his coadjutors hastened with patriotic zeal, and Portsmouth and its fortifications were left to finish and defend themselves.
New dangers require new means of security. And barracks were now to be every were erected, in which the soldiery, shut up out of the hearing of the profane jargon of Jacobinical reformers, may repose in ease and quiet; and be starved for want of that assistance from the great mass of the people which they might otherwise derive.

But, Citizens, I will venture to prophecy, that of all the projects of the present administration, and surely no administration was ever more fruitful of projects of a particular description, there never was one so fraught with danger to the peace, liberty, and happiness of the country—there never was one so replete with unconstitutional violations of every principle that has long been dear to this country, as this of burying the British soldiery alive in barracks: the alarming attempt to separate the soldiery from that mass of fellow citizens of whom they are a part; to whom they are allied; and whom it is their duty to protect in the full enjoyment of their liberty and happiness, and not to be made the instruments of their oppression and ruin. But the honest soldiery of Britain will not be so deluded. Duty, generous affection—interest alike forbid it: for if the people are ruined and oppressed, what are the soldiery but a part of the people? Their ruin, their oppression, their misery must be the consequence; with the aggravated horror of reflecting that, by securing the misery of their fellow citizens, they have paved the way to their own chains and destruction. Will they consent to forge base fetters for their free-born countrymen; and then, for their reward, like the military machines of German despots, be sold like beasts in the public market, and hired out like assassins to deeds of murder, for the benefit of a lawless Court.

 Citizens, you will remember—every individual acquainted with the history of the country will remember, the precautions taken by our ancestors, to prevent the possibility of a separation of interests and feelings between the soldiery and the great mass of the people. One of the precautions to prevent this, and to preserve a perpetual remembrance that every soldier is in reality a citizen, and that it is the country he is to defend, and not two or three people of high rank and office, who too frequently lead this soldiery to be butchered, to promote their ambition—one of these jealous precautions was the total preclusion of a standing army. I say the total preclusion of a standing army: for I mean boldly to assert, for I am ready to prove, that a standing army is not only no part
part of the constitution, but it is a direct violation of that constitution. And mark, by a standing army of this country, I mean an army of individuals, who, having once received the pay of Government, are therefore considered as having become slaves for life; without the power of ever laying down their arms again, if they wish to withdraw from the profession; and without a power in the people to disband them, whenever the termination of war renders it no longer necessary that their occupation should be continued: and to restore them, with proper reward, with affection, thanks, and esteem, into the bosoms of their friends and families.

To preclude the necessity of this standing army, it will be remembered, that an expedient of the utmost wisdom and propriety was invented; that of arming a certain proportion, or, upon occasion, the whole inhabitants of the country, under the denomination of a militia: an army which was always within the control of the people; whose officers were originally appointed by the districts in which they were raised, and who thereby became the soldiers of the people, and not the soldiers of the Court. When men are the soldiers of the people, they will defend the people; when they are the soldiers of the Court, the Court will attempt to persuade them that they have an interest separate from the people; and therefore liberty cannot be secured in so firm a manner, in any other way, as by arming the people themselves, alternately, man after man, every one taking his share of the risk andburthen, to defend the great interests of the people. Thus, by dismissing them in their turns, to mix with that body of the people, whom they have at one time steered forward to defend, and taking others to be trained to the use of arms, you in a considerable degree, at the same time that you take care that every soldier shall be a citizen, make every citizen a soldier. That is, you teach every man the use of arms; and every man being equally able to defend himself, it will be impossible for any faction, either of clubs which designing alarmists pretend to dread, or borough-mongers which the nation at large has so much reason to dread, to overawe the honest majority of the nation. By this means, also, you prevent those scenes of desolation, with which the struggles of the people, to get rid of tyranny, is at all times sure to be attended.

Citizens, it is impossible to be blind to the great consequences that result from this system. It is impossible to avoid seeing, that every soldier, being only a soldier for a time, must have a common interest with the people: It is impossible
to avoid seeing, that, by this means, every citizen will alternately have a chance of procuring a knowledge of the use of arms. And, on the other hand, that it will be impossible for any separate faction to trample upon the rights and happiness of the great body of the people. But there is another thing of great consequence and importance, relative to this part of the argument, which may, perhaps, command, and which certainly ought to command, the attention of Ministers. It is impossible to avoid seeing, that, by adopting these means, you are in reality more secure from foreign invasion, than you can be from any standing army: because, then, the whole body of the people become soldiers, and every individual is ready and able to step forward to the frontiers, and expose his bosom against those who attempt to invade his country, to pillage his little property, and to destroy those comforts which his useful industry has procured for himself and family.

But, if we pursue the thread of history, we shall find that the House of Stuart, particularly after their disgraceful restoration, contributed, in a very considerable degree, to the invasion of this great security of constitutional liberty. That is to say, when this country was unfortunately struck with such blindness and infatuation, as to restore Charles II. to that absolute dominion, for usurping which they had justly deprived his father Charles I. of his life, that profligate tyrant seeing that despotism was no way to be attained, but by rendering a small part of the people capable of coercing the great body; seeing that it was impossible to persuade the great majority of the country to surrender their liberties, but that he must work his way by a minority, he took precautions to establish a standing army: that is to say, he took certain citizens from out of the great mass of the people, strip them of their liberty, strip them of their right of free agency, strip them of the power of returning to their families, and living in peace, tranquillity and ease, and thus (from the scanty pay which he took care to give them—much better, however, proportionately, than they receive now) keeping them in a state of dependency upon his bounty, made them fit instruments of whatever oppression he might think fit to exercise against his people.

Unfortunately, at the time of the Revolution, the liberties of this country (such was the degraded situation of Britain!) were thought not any longer capable of being secured by the arms of the people alone; and therefore the Whigs and the Tories
Tories coalesced together, and brought over a foreign King, protected by a foreign army, and thus, in reality, foisted a band of mercenaries upon the nation; who, however good, however excellent the cause in which they were brought, were, notwithstanding that, still to be considered with a jealous eye, as being mercenaries; and to be considered as having, in some degree, the power of treating us like a conquered people; tho' from the principles upon which this Revolution was said to have been conducted, it ought certainly to have established our liberties upon such broad and general principles, as to have restored the people to the right and honour of defending themselves, and to have stripped all mercenaries of the power of daring to interfere with the concerns of this powerful nation.

Citizens, it is impossible to do justice, by way of digression, to the innumerable mischiefs that result from the interference of any foreign power in the concerns of any nation. There is nothing so diabolical in the whole system of Machiavellian politics, as the attempt of one country to interfere with the internal concerns of another. If the people are disposed to change and alter the mode of their government, or to alter the dynasty of their Kings, they have a right so to do. And if they are disposed unanimously, or by a great majority so to do, they have the power of doing it. But no party or set of men ought to attempt to enforce any change or alteration upon the people, which the people are not, by a decided majority, inclined to adopt. Here, therefore, is one evil, that must necessarily result from any revolution effected by foreign arms, that you never know, in the first place, whether it is the revolution of a faction, or the revolution of the great body of the people; and, in the next place, it is sure to be accompanied with a degree of undue, and undefined power, produced by mercenary coercion, which is eminently injurious to that large and liberal principle of liberty, which the progress of reason, and the enlightened spirit of a nation will be able to procure, when no foreign interference is courted, or permitted.

This was particularly the case with respect to the event I am now speaking of. And William III. having been seated on the throne by a foreign force, and having parted with his Dutch Guards, not without exclaiming, "By God if I had " a son these guards should not be sent back," took the opportunity which the ambiguous circumstances of this revolution afforded to fortify his authority by a standing army:
and thus, one of the first fruits of this glorious Revolution was the establishment of a standing army, more numerous than the Stewarts themselves had ever upheld.

But we have not got to the end of the chapter yet. The invasion of the constitutional rights of the people, by a standing army, was in the first instance small; and it was found necessary not only to extend this military establishment, but also to oppress the poor soldiers, who were to be the instruments of those persons, before the grand views and objects of courts could be well effected. Accordingly, in the reign of Queen Anne, when a very large increase took place in the military establishment, an alteration also took place which stripped the poor soldier of a considerable portion of their pay.

I shall illustrate this by facts. Previous to that increase of the military establishment, the principal offices in the army had been rather posts of honour than emolument; rather places of trust and dignity than places that secured to the individual an increase of patronage; and thereby rendered him at once more inclined to be servile and cringing to the power above him, and more capable of reducing those below him, to a state of abject terror and dependence.

But when this increase of the establishment took place, the Colonels who used to advance money out of their own pockets, that they might occasion the soldiers to be better dressed and provided for, and to make a more comfortable and more respectable appearance in the eyes of their fellow citizens—the Colonels thought that this was a practice they might very well lay aside; and instead of putting themselves to expense, in order to increase the comforts of the common soldiers, they began very seriously to reflect by what means they could turn the pay of the common soldiers to their own interest and advantage: how they might bring money into their pockets, instead of sending it out of them. Accordingly we find that, from this time, a regular stoppage was made out of the pay of the soldiers, at the rate of 2d. per day, which amounted to 3l. 6s. 10d. per year, for the article of clothing.

Now, Citizens, I have been informed by a person who has very considerable concerns in those trades which interfere with the clothing of the soldiers, that out of this 3l. 6s. 10d. per year, which is stopped out of the soldier's pay, there is, in reality, never more expended than from 40s. to 45s. per year: so that the Colonel, out of the pay of every man, un-
der pretence of cloathing him, gets, in reality, what may be called *fleeing money*, to the amount of 15s. per year; which, taking 700 soldiers to a regiment, amounts to 525l. a year, fleeced from the backs of the poor soldier, in addition to that enormous pay which he receives as Colonel; and which ought, undoubtedly, to be considered only as a proper reward for the dignity and advantage which a man of birth and condition in life confers upon the army of this country, by exhibiting his fine person before it three or four times in a year, in a suit of gold laced cloaths of the finest scarlet.

But the peculation does not stop here. For mark the growth of corruption! Corruption is a towering weed. It is, in short, that grain of mustard seed, often talked of but never before understood, which, once dropped upon any soil becomes a towering tree, and the birds of the air and the beasts of the field, (priests, ministers, and pensioners—all animals of prey) take shelter under its foliage. Corruption having risen to this height, soon spreads to a more considerable degree. For if you look through the roll of the army, and examine the situations, and the additions of rank added to the name of every Colonel in the army, you will find very few Colonels but what have also other appointments in the army, of still higher rank and dignity: either as Generals or Major-Generals, or some other distinction of honour and emolument.

This, in reality, reduces the Colonel of the Regiment to a mere sinecure officer: a person receiving a certain pay, for no other service than that of bearing the title to which that pay is annexed; and giving himself the trouble to send to the proper place for receiving the money when it becomes due; for there is a sort of etiquette in the army, which ordains that no officer, who holds an appointment of superior rank, shall ever perform any duty in the inferior rank: and though a man is both General and Colonel, *at the pay-office*, yet his rank as General precludes him from doing any duty as Colonel in the field, or on the parade:—Ergo, the Colonel is a useless office in the army; because the supposed duties of that office are performed by other persons, bearing titles of lesser dignity; and receiving their pay according to that inferior station. Thus, in reality, the whole service that the Colonel renders to his country, for his pay, and for this 525l. a year, fleeced from the backs of the soldiers; is no other than talking about with all the pageantry of military authority, and ornamenting an assembly or a levee with his cockade and sword.

But
But, Citizens, I have not yet got to the end, even of that small portion of facts, relative to the unjust and cruel peculations committed upon our brave soldiers, which have come to my knowledge. One of the advantages resulting from a Commons House of Parliament, by whomsoever it may be bought, or by whomsoever it may be sold; whomsoever it may represent, or whomsoever it may defend because it does not represent them;—one advantage resulting from such a House of Commons is, that, now and then, in the warmth of those disputes that arise in a squabble for places and pensions, indiscreet individuals, who happen to be charged with more information than they can hold, suffer it to boil out in the froth of debate, and the people get, thereby, possession of a few facts, of which they would otherwise be kept in profound ignorance for ever.

You will remember, some time ago, a very pretty pretence that was made, of making an additional provision for our gallant soldiers. In the debate upon this subject it was admitted by Sir George Young (who at present does not take much share in the debates of the House of Commons you know; being better employed at the Mint) this Sir George Young was obliged to acknowledge, during the investigation of that subject, that there was sixpence a week stopped by the paymaster, out of the pay of every soldier, for necessaries; and he, in the course of his speech, observed, that some how or another!—for these were the words he made use of—SOME HOW OR ANOTHER it happened, that this sixpence a week, sometimes amounted to eighteen-pence or two shillings, stopped for necessaries to be provided for the soldiers.

Now it did so happen, that in the whole of that immaculate House, whose virtues, whose independence, and whose enthusiastic attachment to the people, we never can sufficiently admire and reverence!!!—It did so happen, that in the whole of that House there was not found one Member so metaphysical (though metaphysical Members we know there are in that House) as to enquire what was the meaning of those words some how or another! These words seemed so impossible to be understood, or the investigation of them seemed to be so dangerous, that they palled them over in silence: or, as the good old venerable Danes, who teach school in our little country villages, more technically express it, they skipped it. "Go on child—Go on" says the Dane. "I can't go on" says the boy, "I can't read this word Ma'am"—"Spell it child.—Spell
Spell it."—"I can't spell it," says the boy—"Why then skip it, child: mayhap its Latin." So neither the great boys, nor yet the old women in St. Stephen's School, being able either to read or spell this some how or another, or to tell whether it were Latin, Greek, Hebrew, or Esquimaux, they even skipped it; and went on to the next verse; which was a vote of 23,000l. per year, of the public money, to cover the peculation.

Thus, Citizens, you see that, resulting from this system of a standing army, independent of its tendency to reduce the great body of the people to an ignorance of the use of arms, independent of the circumstance that it renders one part of the people liable to be called out to destroy and trample upon another, independent of the circumstance that, instead of the defence of the nation being vested in the hands of the nation, the defence of the nation becomes vested in the hands of the Minister, and thereby that which was meant for defence, is frequently made an instrument of destruction; independent of all this, there is the patronage, there is the corruption, there is the particular emolument resulting to those who bat-ten upon the plunder of poor beings who toil and sweat, and bleed for their protection.

Poor, unprotected soldiery of Britain! and is it thus you are subjected to the dominion of a few beings, far, far less worthy than yourselves, did ye but know your worth? and who treat you as objects whom they are to scourge for their caprice or gratification; as objects whom they are to starve for their benefit and advantage; and, having reduced you to their dominion of slavery and terror, to make you the objects of terror to others, for the security of their own aggrandizement and corruptions.

But, Citizens, notwithstanding all these encroachments, there was one great advantage which this country, and the soldiery of this country, possessed till very lately, with respect to the military establishment. I remember, Sir William Blackstone, the doctrines in whose Commentaries were once considered as the highest pitch of aristocratical assumption, but which are so mild, and moderate, compared with the monstrous doctrines supported by the present administration, that the friends of liberty are now glad to fly for protection under the Tory wing of that Courtly Magistrate:—I remember, that this Judge Blackstone exults in his Commentaries, as one of the chief objects of constitutional security, in this country, that though we had a standing army, yet it was not an army of men sepa-
rate and distinct from the people. It was an army of men who lived among the people; who mixed with the people, who were quartered upon the people; who were, in all respects, upon terms of fellowship and communion with the people; and that it was totally impossible to keep them in ignorance of the general concerns, and interests of the nation, or the subjects that provoked investigation at the time; because they were not, like the armies of foreign Despots, shut up in barracks, and excluded, in consequence, from the conversation of their fellow citizens.

But if this was one of the grand constitutional boasts of this country—if Judge Blackstone, in his Commentaries upon the Law of England, laid this down as the grand palladium of the security of British liberty, and as the only consolation for the admission of a standing army among us, what is British liberty at this period?—Look where you will—turn to what part of the nation you think fit—Enquire in this neighbourhood, or the other, east, west, north or south, what do you hear, but rumours of erecting barracks?—and levies and contributions, a large part of which must be appropriated to the enormous expense of building those barracks, in which the soldiers are to be inured, and in which they are to lose their small degree of remaining liberty, by being deprived of the opportunity of employing themselves in their peaceful vocations. They are to be robbed even of that fragment of loco nativæ liberty, which the very brutes in the wilderness enjoy without restraint—the right of moving from place to place; the right of turning here or there, even in the intervals of duty, and seeking their society among persons whose conversation is agreeable to them, or for whom they have formed an affection or attachment.

One of the smallest calamities that result from this system of barracks, is the increased expense to the nation: for every individual must see that it is impossible to maintain an army in barracks, with the same expense as an army may be maintained when at liberty. A large part of the accommodation of the soldier, while mixing with the bulk of the people, he derives from those exertions by which he affixes the labours of his fellow citizens and promotes a reciprocation of kind offices. Of this he is entirely robbed; and this must be, some how or other, supplied. It is not then merely the expense of erecting those Battiles or Dungeons, that are to confine the degraded and insulted soldiery; they are, also, to be maintained at an expense greater, within those dungeons, than that
at which they might be better maintained in greater liberty, mixing with their fellow citizens, and exchanging good offices with them.

But that expence, grievous and burdensome as it is, is nothing to the evils resulting from this system. I shall not call again to your view the tendency it has to separate the soldier from the citizen; but, as a counterpart of this operation, I must not notice its tendency to engender a ferocity of disposition: for though soldiers are men, and have dispositions no more inclined by nature to rancour than other men, yet, when they are shut up with men only whose trade (if I may call it such) is death, when they are thus prevented from mixing with the innocent and estimable part of the sober sex, and when all the other circumstances attendant upon such confinement are taken into consideration, we cannot but dread the production of a degree of ferocity which they would never otherwise know.

Thus it is that the regular and orderly Governments of this refined and civilized age, do all they can to change the nature of man into the nature, ferocity, and cruelty of the brute; to tread the light of intellect in the dust; to drive away from the breast of the soldier, that milk of human kindliness which is the greatest ornament of valour, and to engender in its place the unsociable and Russian ferocity which distinguishes the Austrian, the Hessian and Russian barbarians with which Europe has so long been scourged. Thus it is we level that glorious distinction which, till this time, has lifted the British soldier so much above every other soldier of the world, and made them pride themselves in humanity, as much as valour.

But there is another point of view in which this system tends, also, to operate against the kindliness and humanity of the soldier’s breast. The soldier becomes more oppressed; and it is the nature of man to grow cruel by oppression. Witness the excesses committed in France, excesses which could not have existed had not the people been so long trod under the hoods of a swinish nobility. I say a swinish NOBILITY: for the nobility of France were in reality the true swine of Europe. They were the men who, wallowing perpetually in licentiousness, to borrow a metaphor from Shakespeare, “made their troughs in the embowelled bosoms” of their countrymen; and devoured, or destroyed, every thing which should have contributed to the happiness, the welfare, and glory of the universe.

No. XIX.  

I say
I say then, Citizens, by the cruelty and oppression of the system of confining the soldiery within Barracks, you do that which may tend not only to make them less worthy members of society, but to rob them of those comforts, and that happiness to which they are entitled, and to reduce them to a situation of greater misery than they would otherwise have been exposed to.

By these means, perhaps, it is wished to reduce the soldiery to a more abject dependence upon the government—to make them believe they have nothing to expect but from the Ministry; to teach them to suppose the people are not their friends; to make an artificial distinction between them; and, in a manner, to say to them—what do you partake from the people? Is not your pay from us?—Is not your food from us?—Are not the little indulgencies, that we think fit occasionally, now and then, to extend to you, all from us?—Is it not to us that you owe the ticket by which you are to buy your meat at a cheaper rate than the other citizens?—Do not all these things come from us?—If the poor soldier is shut up from all intercourse with society, they think, perhaps, that he may be disposed to answer “yes.” But if he goes abroad among his fellow citizens, and receives kindness from them, and converses with them, he will be able to answer “No! It is from the people! all from the people: all! Nay not only do the people pay for our clothing, but we tell you also that the people pay for your’s. Our scanty meal, our scanty clothing, is not an alms received from you. No: It is a part, and but a small part, of that just—that liberal and benevolent compensation which the people of this country are disposed to extend towards us; and which, in point of real pay and taxation, they do extend; but which, in passing through the fives of Secretaries, Paymasters, Agents, and Contractors, becomes most miserably diminished before it comes to us. From them, also, you receive your gilded coaches, that engender your proud diseases both of mind and body;—from them you receive all your power, your emoluments, your distinctions, and your luxuries: and were it not for them, you would be less than the leaft of those whom you pretend to despise: less than the leaft of us whom you treat with this inhumanity, and threaten with that situation to which you shall never reduce us; because soldiers are free men, soldiers are Britons, and the feelings of humanity shall
not be torn from our bosoms by all the stripes you inflict, and the severities of your military tribunals."

Such then are the consequences of Barracks. They have a tendency to separate the soldiery from the people, who are in reality one and the same; they have a tendency to increase the burdens of the people; they have a tendency to rob the soldiery of the greater part of those little comforts which, from the present institutions of society, they can expect; they have also a tendency to keep up suspicion and distrust; and increase the mountebank system of alarm, and thus enable the jugglers of the day to play off their tricks with more eclat, and prevent that discovery, which, if ever it should take place, may bring them to account, and may compel them to refund the ill-gotten wealth extracted from the groans and ruin of the country.

But what are likely to be the consequences of all this? Has not a spirit of enquiry been long abroad? Have not the seeds of truth, think you, already fallen upon the soldier's minds? Are they the only set of men who have not begun to enquire?

Citizens, these artifices are vain. I know that soldiers have been threatened, and sometimes actually punished, with dungeons, and kept upon bread and water for reading a patriotic newspaper. I know that some soldiers of the Scotch battalion of Guards, now in the Tower, were threatened with confinement and with stripes, for subscribing together to take in "the Gazetteer." If they had subscribed to "the Times," or "the True Briton,"—"Oh! that ever the name of Briton should be so prostituted! that such a farrago of prostitution, falsehood, absurdity, and contemptible securility, should ever be stamped upon the forehead with the name of Briton! and that a man should be found, throughout the country, to give countenance to such a libel upon the national character!"

If this had been the paper they had subscribed for, there would have been no threats of stripes and dungeons; for they have no objection to the soldiers, or any other persons, reading, provided they would read nothing but the prostituted trash published by Reeves and his associates, or the farrago issued from the frantic brain of Burke. They are poor deluded short-sighted creatures, however, who have so narrow an opinion of the human intellect.

Read, read my fellow citizens. It is better to read falsehood than nothing. The trash produced by the pimps and
spies of the present day, cannot but convince you of the falsehood of arguments that appeal to such absurdity for support and countenance.

But have the soldiers received no fort of information? Have all the little pamphlets of the day escaped them? After all the diligence which Mr. Dundas, about 18 months ago, so pompously described of planting the Highways, and Wimbledon Common, with seditious pamphlets—what has the seed, so sown, no part of it found its way to the soldier's meats?—And have the soldiers no wrongs to redress?—What, when Sir Henry Clinton, in a pamphlet lately published, declares that a part of the spoil taken at Charlestown, has not, even to this very day, been divided among the brave soldiers who fought for the attainment of that conquest—such as it was!—What, after having bled and toiled, many of them expired and others lost their limbs, in the service of their country—as it was called;—after all this are they, or their widows and orphans, defrauded of their part of the emolument? Did your officers and great naval commanders divide their thousands and ten thousands fourteen years ago, and do great Generals step forward to avow, that the common soldiers remain defrauded to this day of their scanty pittance?—and will not these wrongs convince the soldiery, how much forever excluded from society, that the abused and persecuted patriots, who insist that reformation is required, are not the enemies of their country, or their country's soldiery—are not the perfons, whose throats they ought to cut, even if wretches were found profligate enough to issue such command? Do what they will, so long as Ministers and their agents continue to practice such injustice, so long will the cause of truth be making rapid strides; and the ultimate harvest will be, that Ministers and their Agents, in a few years time, will no longer have the power to delude those whom they vainly suppose they can plunge into utter darkness and mental oblivion.

I could mention a great many other instances; but it matters not dwelling upon particular circumstances. The present situation of Europe opens a wider field of enquiry. We have found that men have rights. We have found that men have capacities to understand those rights, and spirit to assert them. We have found that intelligence can only be extended in proportion as men enjoy those rights; and we have found that virtue can only result from intelligence, and therefore we have only to choose between liberty and virtue, on the one hand,
hand, and ignorance, vice, and abject submission on the other. Having received these great truths, facts and minute particulars, when they can be brought forward, may affix a little in the prosecution of enquiry; but the great principles are things to which we should be eternally referring.

The events that have taken place in Europe might be considered as a warning voice to Ministers, to induce them to reflect, as Citizen O'Connor observes in that admirable speech which will illuminate unborn ages, and confer immortal glory upon the man who delivered it.—Speaking of the treatment of the soldiery, and of the attempts to separate the soldiers from the great body of the people, he says "Do not depend on the bayonet for the support of your measures. Believe me that in proportion as your measures require force to support them, in an exact proportion are they radically and mischievously bad. Believe me there is more strength in the affections and confidence of the people than if you were to convert every second house in the nation into barracks for the soldiery. And when the gentlemen, whom I have heard this night, tell you that to act in contempt of the public opinion is spirit and firmness, and that to act with a decent respect for that opinion is timidity and cowardice, they make the character of the Legislator to merge into the character of the Duellist. Is it not enough that you live in the age, and in the midst of the horrors of revolution to deter you from acting in contempt of the public opinion? Have you not had examples enough to convince you that men, in throwing off the ruffle frock for the uniform of the soldier, do not, at all times, throw away the ties of kindred and of blood? Have you not had examples enough to convince you, that even soldiers cannot at all times be brought to shed the blood of their parents, their kindred, and their friends?" and we might add that soldiers, also, cannot always be kept in ignorance of the incontrovertible maxim that all mankind are Brethren; and that the Irish soldiers should be sent into England to cut the throats of Englishmen, or the English be sent into Ireland to cut the throats of Irishmen, that in reality the Englishman acting against the Irishman, is whetting a dagger that will reach the breast of his parent at home, and the Irishman acting against the English is also murdering his own relative at home. Yes, they will see that it is only striking with the left hand instead of the right; but that the blow is as certain in
in this crofs-handed fray, as if brother pointed the bayonet at the breast of brother, and the father were fæbreing his own son. He proceeds,—"And have you not had a great and memorable example to convince you, that the soldiers of an odious government may become the soldiers of the nation." I would fain hope this warning voice should reach all the Cabinets of Europe; that it should teach Ministers to confess that, not the men whom they proscribe and would destroy on account of their attachment to liberty, are the enemies of the constitution, not these are the Jacobins, as they chuse to call them, but that the real Jacobins are those who having seen the steps and measures which produced the revolution in France, themselves being in power, and having the opportunity, dare to adopt the same measures, and to pursue the very steps, which rendered the Revolution in France necessary and inevitable. One would think they could not be blind to this conviction—that as similar causes will produce similar effects, if they will adopt French oppressions, French retaliations will take place, and that upon their heads must fall the mischiefs that result from their vicious measures.

But, Citizens, as I have objected to barracks and fortifications; as I have objected to a standing army; it may be asked what are the means I would advise, in the present situation of society, for the security of the country: for no man can pretend to be blind to this plain and obvious fact, that

THE COUNTRY IS IN DANGER!

It is in some danger I believe from without, from more quarters than is suspected: for the mad and frantic measures of the administration of the country have roused a lion, which they will not be able to soothe again to slumber. They have conjured up a danger the whole extent of which they cannot perceive. They have entered into a ridiculous alliance with the Empress of Russia, under the vain hope of thus averting the catastrophe likely to fall upon the country. But what have they done by this? They have paved the way for the aggrandizement of their most dangerous and ambitious rival. They have entered into a confederacy with a faithless woman, the scourge of Europe, and blotted over with the most hideous crimes. But, if ever this woman shall bring her fleets into the ocean, what is likely to be the conduct of Russia; taking her present system into consideration? Let us ask what is her interest? and, having asked that, the ghost of a murdered husband shall tell you what sort of conduct she will adopt, and what crimes she will stop at when her interest dictates.
tates. What is the interest then of this Russian tyrant?—Why, her interest is the destruction of the British navy. She has nothing to do, therefore, but to appear to swell the bulk and importance of your navy; to stimulate you into some attempt beyond the real force that you may carry with you; and then, desert you in the hour of battle, and stand neuter while the enemy destroys your fleets. Then, having been well subsidized, she puts her subsidy in her pocket, and pointing to the British nation with scorn, ejaculates, “Behold the salary you have paid me for insuring your destruction and my own aggrandizement.”

It is not then by alliances; it is not then by fortifications; it is not then by barracks; it is not then by a standing army, that I would have you seek for security. I would have you seek security, in the first place, by standing intrepidly, but peaceably forward, and demanding with unanimous voice the restoration of your rights: hewing to the government of the country, and to the Ministers who are at the helm of that government, that you have an enlightened conviction of the nature of your rights; that you have a British determination to enjoy those rights; making use, also, of this plain argument—There is but one way to make the people of any country unanimous; and that is by giving them a common, universal, unanimous interest in the protection and prosperity of the country. Every man who has any thing to defend will stand boldly forward to defend it. And that country where there is any man, or any body of men, who can be said to have nothing to defend, that country may call itself a limited monarchy, may call itself a free country; or what it will, but the plain and simple fact is, that it is a country of slaves! for the only distinction between freeman and slave is this—that a freeman has a stake in the country of which he is a member, has rights, and the opportunity, at least, of procuring possessions, while the slave has no stake at all, no interest to bind him to the government under which he lives, or to stimulate him to stand boldly forward, and expose himself to defend that country, of which he is a member. Make every man free and every man will be brave: for freedom engenders courage. If this were not the fact, how does it happen that a neighbouring country, whose population was so incompetent to enable her to stand against this country while despotism prevailed, should now lay prostrate at her feet the thrones and tyrannies of Europe, while the feeble arms of Britain in vain endeavour
to prop their tottering cause, and has almost fallen herself beneath the weight of that enormous ruin in which those tyrannies are involved?

It is then by a general system of liberty, that gives every man an interest in the country, that you can alone create that unanimity by which the country can be defended. It is only by doing this that you can hope that every citizen, in the hour of danger, will become a soldier, from the conviction that every soldier, in the hour of peace, will become again a citizen. But this is a conviction, this a system upon which I do not expect the present Administration will act, because I know that the instant such a system is established, the gilded fabric of their ill gotten power must crumble into atoms; and that part of the constitution which relates to the internal organization of the cabinet, and to the system of boroughmongering—that part, which is in fact an excrecence which corruption has planted upon the constitution, will be wiped away. The genuine Constitution of Britain will then shine forth with renovated splendour; and liberty and equality, justly defined and properly enjoyed, will once more make Britain an envied Paradise in Europe.

The Lectures will re-commence Wednesday, the 2d of September.
THE TRIBUNE. No. XX.

THE FIRST LECTURE "On ALLIES and ALLIANCES; with Strictures on the FAITH of REGULAR GOVERNMENTS." Delivered Wednesday, May 27th, 1795.

[Note.—This and the ensuing Tribune are properly to be considered as concluding that Course of Lectures on the Causes and Calamities of War, of which the first four were delivered at the beginning of the season; and for which see Vol. I. No. 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7.]

CITIZENS,

The subject for the present evening is, The modern system of alliances and alliances; with Strictures on the faith of regular governments. This subject is exceedingly extensive. There are various points of view in which it may be treated. And, perhaps, if we trace things to the foundation, in whatever point of view we consider it, we shall be inclined to doubt whether alliances, such as are generally formed between nation and nation, are more absurd in their principle or more dangerous in their practice. The enquiry, from the manner in which I find myself disposed to take it up, divides itself into two heads: first, the political influence of these compacts between Government and Government; and second, their operation in a military point of view.

On the present evening I shall enter into an investigation only of that part of the subject which relates to the operation of these compacts upon the political liberty, and civil rights of man. What relates to the operation of alliances in the field of battle I shall defer till another evening.—When I shall, of course, be led more at large into the characters of the present confederated powers of Europe; and into some speculations on the probable catastrophic of the present war.

No. XX.
In the first place, Citizens, I shall examine the arguments upon which the system of alliance is justified, and shall consider how far these arguments may be opposed by others of more serious importance to mankind. And, perhaps, when we enter seriously into the investigation we shall be obliged to confess that alliances are, in general, little other than combinations of particular governments, to oppress and plunder not only the people of all other countries, but even of their own.

The real principles of justice, I believe, and also the real principles of policy, would teach us to observe a conduct exceedingly different from that which has been followed by the Courts of Europe, not only during the present time, but for centuries back. I believe we should find that Justice would dictate to us to do all the good in our power to all the nations of the world; that policy would point out to us that the best things we can do for ourselves is really to promote the happiness and welfare of all the existing nations in the universe; and that our best way to do that is to form no particular alliances, compacts, or treaties, with any nation, or any set or body of men whatever.

It is necessary, for the happiness of mankind, (and it must be admitted as soon as examined) that animosities of every description should be laid aside; that human beings should consider each other as friends and as brothers; and that they should seize all opportunities of advancing that fraternal felicity which nothing but such principles and such convictions can promote. But it is evident, if you form combinations of alliance at one time, which are to dictate to you at future periods, the events of which you cannot foresee, that you must be frequently led to a direct violation of this principle. Compacts, in their very nature, inevitably proceed upon the short-sighted principle of self interest—or more properly of forbid jealousy and exclusion. These combinations, therefore, set out, in the first instance, upon the narrow and unjustifiable project of promoting the interest of a few, in opposition to the interests of the aggregate of the world; and the strong probability is, may almost the certainty, that the progress of events will shortly render the execution of these compacts even more unjust and impolitic than at the time of their first adoption. Courts, however, have paid very little regard, in their practice, to the grand rules, either of moral conduct or national policy. On the contrary, all the cabinets of Europe
rope have been perpetually endeavouring to foment animosities
and aversions between the people of their respective nations;
and to draw the Courts themselves into a closer union of
compact and mutual understanding.

These combinations among the different rulers of different
parts of the universe, have for a long time gone on without
exciting any degree of jealousy or enquiry among the peo-
ple. A sort of lethargic confidence seems to have taken pos-
session of the minds of men, and induced them readily to
believe the tales of artful jugglers and hypocrites, that those
entrusted with the management of public affairs certainly must
understand better, what is for the public good than the public
themselves; and that therefore they were only to repeat by
rote, as parrots, the lefions put into their mouths by their
rulers, without considering what were the ideas affixed, or
whether they conveyed any ideas at all.

But, Citizens, I believe this is not precisely the case at
this time. A spirit of enquiry has gone very widely abroad:
a spirit which I do not think all the exorcisms of priests, the
persecutions of ministers, or even the machinations of that
arch inquisitor Reeves himself, will ever be able to lay. The
fact is that people begin to discover this truth, that ALL
THE PEOPLE OF ALL THE NATIONS OF THE
EARTH HAVE ONE COMMON INTEREST AND ONE
COMMON CAUSE, which it is their duty zealously to pro-
mote, the machinations against which they are called upon
anxiously to watch, and vigilantly, nay, if necessary, BRAVELY
to oppose.

This interest—this cause, is the preservation of LIBER-
TY, PEACE, and UNIVERSAL JUSTICE! This cause, which
may flourish only by suppressing the malevolent pas-
sions, and cultivating a disposition to universal benevolence,
if ever it triumphs, annihalates at once the systems of nation-
ality and cabinet alliances, and unites the people of all climes
and latitudes under the peaceflul banner of fraternity.

If this statement is seriously and coolly considered; if we
strip ourselves of the animosities of faction and the attach-
ments of party; if we take away from this system the mis-
colouring and misrepresentations with which those who can-
not controvert its principles, have endeavoured to caluminate
its supporters, I believe it will bring immediate conviction to
the heart of man. For who can doubt, for an instant, that
peace is better than slaughter? who can doubt, for an instant,
that all national aversion, and hatred to persons, on account,
of their facts, their opinions, nations, climate, language, or colour, are hostile to those generous and noble feelings of philanthropy, without which peace cannot be preserved, and the general intercourse and happiness of mankind cannot be promoted?

Let us enquire then whether alliances (even abstractedly considered) have a tendency to promote this disposition so desirable for the happiness of the universe. Let us consider also—and perhaps it would be well to consider this in the first place—whether, even if alliances could be admitted in themselves to be good, alliances upon the present principle of Machiavelian policy, are of that description which would be desirable. Admitting, for the instant, that alliances ought to be tolerated, what ought to be their object and principle, and what is the nature of the alliances that are generally formed? Do they arise from the people of the contracting—or rather the contracted nations, mixing and confederating together, and arguing with each other upon their respective views and interests, and learning the real dispositions and qualities of each other’s hearts, and thence entering into such compacts and treaties as grow out of their conviction of mutual utility? Or do they in reality grow out of those cabals and confederacies, which a certain set of honourable spies, called confidants and ambassadors, carry on, frequently to the disgrace of morality, and the destruction of every virtuous, candid, and liberal principle which ought to be cherished in the human heart?

If the seed is bad let us not expect that the fruit will be good. If you sow night-shade in your fields, not bread but poison will be your harvest! If you sow treachery, venality, intrigue, and selfishness in your national intercourses, do not expect to reap friendship, faith, and national advantage, for your harvest can only be disappointment, contention, and the sword.

The plain and simple fact is, I believe, that the people are always kept in the dark, as to the real objects of all alliances at present formed between the courts of Europe. They are anxiously prevented from knowing, not only what were the motives, but what are the objects; and are hardly ever acquainted with the real tenor of the compact. There are, it is true, certain general articles with which you are to be acquainted, and upon the faith of which you are to pay your money—4,600,000 pounds, perhaps, at a time! But if any over inquisitive individual should indulge a dangerous disposition
fition to know more than Ministers think fit to reveal, he is silenced at once by some member of the political priesthood, who scruples not to avow with the true air of diplomatic mystery, that there may be secret articles behind the screen, but warns the profane enquirer not to approach with impious interrogatories the sanctum sanctorum of cabinet confed-eracy. So that while you believe you are paying a nation to fight your wars, and defend your interests abroad, you may, perhaps, be hiring foreign mercenaries to cut your throats at home.

But, Citizens, I am, for my own part, much inclined to believe that alliances, conducted upon whatever principle, will be found injurious to the happiness and welfare of na-tions. I have always seen, during that little intercourse which I have had with the world, that the quantum of advantage produced by the individual exertions of any given number of persons, each toiling and labouring separately, has been very superior to the quantum of benefit or advan-tage produced by the same number of persons bound together by compact and combination. And accordingly, it has been very justly observed, that when Pope, Swift, Arbuthnot, and Gay, united together to compose a particular work, they all four, clubbing their wits, wrote a great deal worse than any one of them ever did when he trusted to his own individual genius and imagination. It is so in every thing to which the physical or mental powers of the individual are any way competent. Whatever can be done by an individual is always better done single-handed, than when the same thing is attempted by several persons combined together.

I not mean to say that there is no benefit and advantage in mutual exertions and labour. There are certain things which are beyond the strength, which are beyond the longevity of man, which it would nevertheless be very useful to society to have accomplished. And there are certain undertakings which, in a great measure, depend, and very properly depend upon numbers and combination chiefly for their success; and, therefore, it is necessary for persons to enter into combinations when any such work is to be undertaken. But I mean to contend, that when the business is not of such a nature that it requires a larger portion of physical strength, a larger portion of longevity, than can be commanded by an individual, nor is of that kind to which united suffrage is requisite to give it the stamp of justice and the capability of success—when neither of these is the case, the individual does
does better to trust to the powers, the energies of his own intellect and capacities, than to strengthen and fortify himself, as he supposes, but in reality to debilitate himself, by depending upon the united efforts of other persons.

The question then is—whether the interests and concerns of nations are of that description that they require a combination of several nations together, or whether they are of that description that the individual nation can execute them by depending upon itself alone? For it must be observed, that, in many respects, nations resemble individuals, and the arguments that will apply to the individual will frequently apply to the nation, considered as an aggregate individual also. I do not mean to say that this is universally the case. Whoever argues by simile is in danger of falling into sophistry. And therefore let me warn you, whenever similitudes are offered to you, from this or any other place, to examine what are the particular features and accompaniments of the things compared. For there are points always at which they do, and others at which they do not touch. But, with respect to the general principles I have laid down, I believe you will find, that the individual body and the social body do exactly agree. That is to say, that whatever can be done by the individual nation, will be better done by that individual nation than by any combination and alliance of various nations; and that combinations, and alliances of various nations, ought only to be encouraged when the undertaking is of that description that, in the nature of things, an individual nation could not accomplish it. As would be the sublime projects of Dr. Darwin (if indeed they can be regarded as practicable at all) for ameliorating the condition, and correcting the climates of the globe which we inhabit. But there is another point at which I suspect the comparison does not touch. For these there are certain undertakings for which it is advantageous for individuals to combine, there are strong reasons for supposing that there is none, certainly there are very few objects that it is for the welfare of a nation to pursue, but what it can pursue and accomplish by its own individual exertions.

In short, putting out of our calculations the benevolent visions of philosophers, and considering the characters and pursuits of nations, such as they hitherto have been, I am much inclined to suspect, as you never can produce the same intimate connection between nation and nation as between individual and individual, as you never can produce the same mutual
mutual intercourse of mind, and thorough comprehension of
the views and objects of each, so we shall find, that all those
undertakings which cannot be accomplished by an individual
nation are of that description that it is a great deal better
never to undertake at all. For nothing but disgrace, ruin
and infamy generally have attended, or I believe ever can
attend, undertakings of so extensive and complicated a nature
as to make national confederacies necessary to their con-
duct.

But there is one circumstance in which this parallel, be-
tween individuals and communities, certainly very closely
agrees; namely, the energy, the vigour, and resources of in-
tellect, which, standing independent of all other supports,
has a tendency to generate in the character. The man who
trulst to friends, to promises, and to professions, to extricate
himself from embarrassment, or to attain the advantages he
looked for, generally meets with nothing but disappointment;
and, at last, after trammelling himself with inefficient obliga-
tions, is left to the pursuit of his original object in a worse
condition than he set out, with a mind stripped of half its
vigour, an imagination clouded, a judgment embarrassed, and
a spirit deprived of that keenness and ardour with which, if
he had always been in the habit of depending upon his own
individual exertions, he would have been able to have pressed
forward to the attainment of his wishes.

Is it or is it not so with nations? Consult the facts of his-
tory. Consult, if you will, the analogies of reasoning.—I
believe abstract reasoning would convince you, that the argu-
ments are still more potent with respect to the nation than
the individual. But, if you love an easier task, turn over
the pages of history, and see whether facts do not bear me
out in the assertion I have made. Tell me, ye historians—
(I will endure interruption if any man can tell me such an
instance) what great, what noble, what glorious achievement
ever was accomplished by a number of nations in alliance
and combination. But, if you want to know the glorious
achievements of individual nations, even petty little states,
so small that their numbers would hardly people a second-rate
city in France!—if you want the glorious achievements they
have accomplished, turn to the histories of the little states
of Greece; consult the histories of Athens and Lacedemon,
those names for ever glorious—for ever dear to the heart that
pants for liberty! those small but magnificent Republics,
which, like stars in the political and intellectual firmament,
will shine for ever as examples to mankind, and light us in the path of excellence. Think of the great exploits of Leonidas, of Themistocles, of Epaminondas—think of the glorious struggles of Thermopylae, of Salamis, of Marathon—think of the astonishing achievements which throng in the historic page of Greece and of Rome! Consider, also, the unconquerable energy displayed by the Arabian tribes, under Mahomet, and the early leaders of that religion, which, by the sword of unassociated valour, was established over so large a portion of the earth; not by the numbers, not by the potency, wealth, or resources of the tribes who made those conquests; but by that unity, that individuality, if I may so express myself, which knit and combined the little bands of heroes and the enthusiasts together, and occasioned them to have but one head, one heart, one object and pur-

But, whenever alliances have been made, we have always found that the nations thus allied have become enfeeled. We have histories and records of alliances innumerable. If I were to go largely into them, I should forestall a part of that which is to be the subject of my second lecture. I shall, therefore, neither dwell upon the crusades of ancient nor of modern times, at present; but shall refer them to their proper station in the second branch of my enquiry. I think I have said enough, and every individual will be able to recollect enough, to prove my position, that nations, as well as individuals, are enfeebled by extraneous dependencies—by alliances, treaties, and combinations.

There is another part of the mischiefs, however, of those alliances which must not be passed over in silence. It is their inevitable tendency to spread the mischiefs and the ravages of hostility through a much wider circle than could otherwise be affected by the rival interests, the mistakes and passions of mankind.

Alliances have been fruitful sources of calamity. This part of the established system of regular Governments, alone, has done more to ruin and depopulate nations, than all the gloomy passions that ever inhabited the breasts of men; nay, than the ambition of Princes and Ministers themselves would ever have been able to accomplish without this powerful engine. The hostility which grows between nation and nation, but for this might be settled by the contest between the two parties. But the system of alliance diffuses the mischief from pole to pole; and if two neighbouring nations choose to con-
tend about the navigation of a river, the possession of an inaccessible rock, or a barren mountain, the consequnce is, that the flames of war are to be kindled from nation to nation, the whole universe is to be disturbed, the peasante of every clime is to be torn from his usefull occupation to the field of death, and the matrons of the most distant nations to behold "their infants quartered by the hand of war."

It has been pretended, however, that small countries, or countries of but little political force, would not be able to protext themselves, and would consequently be trampled upon by their more powerful neighbours, if it was not for this system of alliance. Let us enquire what sort of foundation there is for this observation: or rather, let us enquire what sort of effect has been produced, in this respect, by this boasted system of justice and generous protection. If security to the weak has resulted from these confederacies, of which Courts and Ministers are so fond, there is then some colour of vindication; altho' I contend, that the principles of justice and sound policy would produce this effect still better without any such alliances. Justice would dictate to me, that if I am a strong man and my neighbour is weak, I am not to suffer another strong man, merely because he is strong, to break into my neighbour's house and destroy him.

I do not mean to say, that you are not to lend assistance to those who are absolutely wronged. I only say, you are not to make alliances and combinations, by which you agree that, however a quarrel may begin, whoever may be right, whoever may be wrong, (for this is always the sense, though not the express wording of every treaty of alliance) you are to make yourselves a party in the quarrels and projects of your ally, by whomsoever insulted or whomsoever he may insult. It is the alliance, not the principle of justice of protecting the weak against the tyranny of the strong, that I censur: And though there was no treaty of alliance between the Court of St. James's and the Court of Warsaw, yet if one half of that wealth squandered in this country against the liberty of France, had been spent to protect the Poles from that destruction which a combination of despots has brought upon them, I should have gloried in the magnanimity of a nation which had stepped forward to save an oppress'd and a virtuous people from the jaws of tyrannous destruction: I should have rejoiced the more in the conviction that they did it from the dictates of their honest and virtuous hearts, and not from the compulsive, or supposed compulsive circumstance.
of there being a treaty of mutual assistance between the respective powers. But what stronger argument can we have of the impotency and absurdity of these treaties, than the very circumstance of the fate of Poland? The Court of Prussia enters into an alliance with the Court of Warsaw, by which they bind themselves to mutual protection and good friendship. Yet, by and by, true to the Machiavelian maxim, that "a prince is never to observe his promises any longer than it is to his own interest," forth steps the virtuous and pious representative of the regular Government of Prussia, to make an alliance with the still more humane, pious and virtuous representative of the regular government of Russia, and the sapient, the just and magnificent representative of the regular government of Germany, and they make a fresh compact, and a fresh alliance—for the protection of Poland? no, for the division of Poland, with whom this self same King of Prussia, this juggling mountebank in gold and purple—this King of threads and patches, had formerly made a treaty of alliance and support. But it ends not here. You have only got to the fourth act of the farcical tragedy. In all probability the fifth is now in rehearsal; and by and by we may have a treaty between the Emperor of Germany and the Empress of Russia, against this self same King of Prussia, with whom hitherto they have been in alliance, that they may, for the better preservation of the balance of Europe, beat him out of the share of the plunder.

Yet such are the allies we subsidize! Such are the powers to purchase whose faithful assistance, we strip the poor labourer of every comfort and necessary of existence, make his marriage bed a curse, and turn the fruitful issue of his love into plagues and scorpions, harrowing his imagination, and piercing his ears with the cries of want.

To one of these precious allies, in the midst of all our national distresses, 4,600,000 pounds are to be lavished; how much we are to give to the other is yet, perhaps, a secret behind the curtain of the Cabinet; but which we shall one day or other be acquainted with to our cost. Such are the regular governments upon whose faith we can depend, notwithstanding the frequent examples we have had of their unqualified treachery. In the cobweb fabric of their promises we consent to weave the destiny of further years of tremendous hostility, and of thousands of industrious families; upon the frail thread of such a fabric we hang our trembling hopes; and, with no better security, consent to prolong the miseries of
of Europe, and to perpetuate that famine, scarcity, and destruc-
tion, so large a portion of which we have already distribu-
ted not only among ourselves, but to all surrounding
nations.

But what are the pretences for alliances? One of these
pretences—and a very favorite one indeed, in this country, is
the preservation of the balance of power. So you see, first
of all, we describe power by a metaphor, calling it a balance
and then realize the dream of our own fancy, and at the
expense of the lives of thousands, and the happiness of
millions, plunge all Europe into confusion, in order that we
may break a piece of power away here, and throw it in there,
to preserve the equipoise of these imaginary scales. O con-
venience of metaphorical logic! If it suited the purposes of
these sophistical reasoners, they would find that any other sort
of simile was equally descriptive.

The British constitution used to be described as a triple ba-
lance, and many fine declamations have been made by political
jugglers upon the basis of this ridiculous metaphor; but pro-
jects were formed for which this triple balance would not an-
tswer, and Judge Eyre, finding that this metaphor, instead of
supporting his new fashioned theory of High Treason, changed
hoc est Bonus, the balance into a wheel: put the poor British
Constitution to the rack, (—poor Constitution!—it had been
mangled enough already!) and then, to show his knowledge
of physical, as well as metaphorical science, he tells you, that
any thing that presses upon the circumference must injure the
centre: though we know very well that a centre is in its na-
ture immovable, and that whatever violence is committed
upon the circumference, can only alter the direction or veloc-
ity of the converging points, while the centre inevitably re-
mains uninfluenced. However, a wheel or a balance, or a
sword, or a halter, are any of them metaphors sufficiently cap-
able of extensive application, to answer all the purposes of
political reasoners. Having got the power in their hands to
proceed at will to final demonstration, who shall dispute the
intermediate gradations of their logic? or deny that a meta-
phor is as legitimate a basis of sound argument as a syllogism
or a self evident fact?—The rack at such times is just as good
an emblem of justice as a pair of scales; and it matters not
whether you adopt the one or the other; while the sword is
ready to dispatch the individual whom neither the balance can
weigh down nor the rack subdue.

Having
Having made the power of Europe a balance—a balance it should seem of a hundred scales! each government supposed itself Briarius (the giant with a hundred hands) that could uphold them all; and, accordingly, it has always been thought necessary, by one or other of them, to keep the world plunged in wars to support the metaphorical equipoise. But if we ever could be blind enough to suppose that the jugglers who talk of this balance of power were in earnest, we ought to be very much obliged to them for their late conduct, which certainly must have opened our eyes, and convinced us that they never had any meaning, nor ever meant to have any meaning, unless it was that the people were to be put in one scale, and the individuals who compose the government in another, merely to show how light the former are in the estimation of the latter; and how immediately they, with their emptied pockets, kick the beam, weighed down by the ponderous mass of revenue, places, and patronage, in the courtly scale.

The balance of Europe! Will any perf son believe, if in this balance there had been any real meaning, that it was not more destroyed by the partition of Poland, than the navigation of the Scheldt? Is it more dangerous to the safety of Europe, that Savoy should be added to the French Republic, than that so large a portion of Poland should be affixed to the immense empire of Russia?—whose ferocity and ambition, whose rapid strides of usurpation, and whose faithless conduct must have convinced mankind that the real object of her pursuit is the subjugation of Europe! the slavery of the civilized universe, over which her barbarians are to be established as military governors, to restore the reign of ignorance and ferocity!

Another pretence for alliances, (a more modern pretence) is the preservation of order and morality.

Citizens, in what do order and morality consist? In destroying towns and villages? In depopulating nations? In laying fields and vineyards waste, and then raking the ashes together, to spread them decently over the graves of a few great victims, whose power and grandeur could not preserve them from the stroke of justice, when the wickedness and indecency of their conduct had shaken, to their foundations, the venerable structures of prejudice and superstition that once protected them? If this is what is meant by the preservation of order and morality, then indeed are the present confederates against regenerated France, at least in their intentions, most orderly
orderly, most moral, and most pious!—then, indeed, have alliances and royal combinations most frequently, and especially in the late instance, advanced the cause of order, and of that moral distribution, upon which so intimately depends the felicity of the world. Then Iō Kings, Courts, and Cabinets!—Iō alliances and royal confederacies! for the promised millenium is itself at hand!

But if, by order, we mean the establishment of peace and justice; if, by morality, we mean that system of benevolent conduct, which promotes the general welfare and happiness of mankind, what order, I ask, what morality can be promoted by a band of depredators, under whatever titles or distinctions, uniting themselves together to break into a country, with whose concerns they had no right to interfere, to spread desolation through nations that did not choose to adopt their system of politics.—I know but one system of order and morality: and that must spring from the heart; from enlightened understandings, directed to the pursuit of principle; from a determination to promote the peace, the happiness and welfare of mankind, and, as the best means of advancing these, to resist the encroachments of tyranny and usurpation, under whatever forms or pretences their encroachments may be made.

Another of the pretences for alliances and combinations, in the present day, is the preservation of religion. And here, at least, it must be admitted that the advocates for these alliances in this country, have certainly shewn a great disposition to impartiality and justice. So that they may but be employed in protecting religion, they care not what religion it is. Popish, Protestant, Greek, or Mahometan, it is all the same. So that it be but some one of these systems long established in regular governments (and who shall deny the praise of regularity to the Governments of the Grand Signior or the Czarina?) it matters not which. We are now very busy in protecting, and restoring the holy Roman Catholic Religion, and we know, a little while ago, that England (I mean the ministry of England, for the people, you know, in these matters are non entities) were filled with just as anxious a desire for the dominion of Mahomet, as they are now for that of the Pope: just as ready to draw the sword to preserve the religion of the Ottomans, as now to preserve his Holiness in the chair of infallibility, and restore the great hats of the Cardinals to that dignity from which they have been hurled by the atheistical revolution in France.

But
But suppose we are serious for a minute upon this subject, and ask ourselves, whether we can possibly be guilty of a greater absurdity than, in one instant, to fall down on our knees, and worship a being, whom we say is omnipotent, omnipresent, and omniscient, and at the very same time, by drawing our swords to fight against his enemies, (admitting, for the instant, that such a being could either entertain or suffer enmity) to confess that we do not believe he is able to take his own part, or enforce his own will?

These are the pretences upon which alliances have been made. But those who are acquainted with the history of Courts (and indeed they have been exceedingly busy in publishing expositions of their own history of late) those at all acquainted with the history of Courts know that pretence is one thing, the real object another.

Now, Citizens as I have all possible respect for the Administration and Senate of this country, I shall not say one word about their motives: which I take it for granted, are the very best that they are capable of conceiving. But I believe it must be admitted, whatever is the case with the Cabinet and Court of Britain, that, with respect to the Cabinets of many countries, the real object of these alliances has been TO STRENGTHEN THE HANDS OF GOVERNMENT AGAINST THE PEOPLE! to support those individuals who have seized the Administration, or abused the Sovereignty of their respective nations; to fortify in their past and meditated usurpations; and to enable them to pour foreign mercenaries into their countries, and menace and overawe, and, if necessary, dragoon the people, who might be otherwise unwilling to submit to their propositions.

That this has been the case with some of the nations of Europe, I shall proceed to show. Let us remember what was the case with Brabant. Brabant imagined, as I suspect every nation will now and then imagine, for there is no accounting for the strange conceits that sometimes get into the heads of men—the Brabanteres, I say, imagined that they had RIGHTS! that they had a claim to independence! that they were not a parcel of brute beasts, a swinish multitude, who were to be driven, and whipped, and slaughtered at the will of their Lords; but that they had a right to vindicate and assert the ancient laws and liberties of their country, if they were wise enough to improve those laws and liberties, for their own advantage, as their ancestors before them improved the elder institutions, and reformed the elder abuses that existed in their days.
days. You know the history of that struggle. Brabant
was upon the brink of accomplishing its object; and the ty-
rant who refused to govern by the laws was about to lose his
government altogether. Alliances, however, were formed
with different Cabinets of Europe (and, O! shame to speak
it, with that of Britain among the rest!) which convinced
the Brabanters that they must relinquish the chimerical ideas
of rights and privileges, and peaceably submit themselves to
the wisdom, the virtue, the moderation, and justice of the
regular and established usurpation. Brabant, however, you
will recollect, though disappointed then, has since attained her
object; perhaps not so well as she would before; because a
nation always does best without the assistance of foreigners,
however just and generous these foreigners incline to be.

Holland, also, thought it had a right to settle its own go-

dernment. The Batavians remembered their ancient inde-
pendence, so bravely purchased, and once so wisely established;
and they did not very much like the idea of being governed
by an individual, who was evidently the subject of another
of the crowned heads of Europe. They therefore took it in-
to their heads, that as they had a constitution which authorized
them, whenever they chose, to dismiss or set up a Stadtholder
just as they pleased: a Stadtholder being, in reality, no part
of the ancient constitution of the Batavian States—They
thought they had right to appeal to the ancient laws, and re-
dress the oppressions, usurpations, and grievances under which
they groaned; and they began seriously to think of setting
about the business. But no, says the Stadtholder: You are
combined together, and you are disposed to get rid of me;
and you tell me you have a legal and constitutional, as well as
a natural right so to do. I will not dispute the matter of right
with you: it is not convenient to me, at present, to refer to
histories and constitutions; but I will let you know that there
are other Princes and Potentates in Europe who understand a
logic of another sort; and with whom I am in alliance and
combination; and with a Prussian army, and a British fleet, I
will drive you like a rebellious herd before me, or tumble you
into your own dykes, like so many frogs, till you croak for
mercy, and hide your heads in Orange peel to get out again.
—So much for Dutch and Austrian alliances.

The old despotism of France had its alliances also, and the
French people being bit, in their turn, by this same mad dog,
love of liberty—for its astonishing how this dreadful canine in-
fection runs from man to man, and from nation to nation, so
that,
that, dreadful to think! it may, perhaps, in time, disturb even the Pope in his vatican, dismiss the Grand Signor from his seraglio, and infect the beautiful nymphs and emasculated Eunuchs with metaphysical notions of the rights of man. France began to think of its rights, and to set about reforming the abuses of government. Aye, says the King—or rather the Queen, for he, "a good easy man," give him but his beef steak and bottle of burgundy, would not trouble you with speeches, if you did not, as you do with other automats, make the speech for him, and compel him to do whatever you desired. Aye, aye, says the Queen, that is all very well, and my good man shall appear to agree with it. But I have great relatives, and my German alliances shall back and support us, whenever I see good that the royal puppet should break his oaths and promises. They shall convince you, that you have nothing to depend upon; that oaths are air; that bonds and constitutions are paper; and that while we are amusing you with fair promises, our allies, but your open enemies, were furnishing us with the means of crushing you at pleasure. Thus, by infernal arts and machinations, the offspring of alliances and family compacts, was France interrupted in that career of virtue and philosophy, in which she set out. Yes—I repeat it—that career of virtue and philosophy!—for though the spectacled lunatic of St. Omer's, at the very commencement of the Revolution, fulminated his anathemas, and with his diabolical howlings against the National Assembly stigmatized their holy labours; look at their maxims of virtue, humanity, justice, and then blush, ye combined Courts and Ministers of Europe; blush at those wicked hostilities, and still more wicked intrigues, by which you have driven them from this peaceful career of intellect, to use the destructive weapons of force and violence. France, also, was interrupted in her career, by foreign alliances, by combinations of foreign Courts, that refused to explain the nature of their compacts. But France had too much energy, too much intellect, too much enthusiasm to be disappointed even for a time; and though she chose an alternative which has been dismal, in many respects, in its consequences, and was plunged by an infernal faction into excesses, at which nature shudders, yet she has taught one great and important lesson to the world, that a nation bent upon enquiry and improvement, may sometimes mistake its way, may sometimes, by the arts and the malice with which she is surrounded, be plunged awhile into tumults and mischief, but will persevere not
not only to the final accomplishment of her own virtuous objects, but to the downfall of those whole criminal artifices, or ambitious usurpations, would blast her harvest, and cloud the prospect of felicity and glory.

See then, if it is not digressing too far, what has been the consequence to those who formed those fatal alliances. What has the Emperor got? You will tell me, perhaps, 4,600,000. of English money. But this getting will be to him no gain; not that I believe he will ever pay you one shilling of it again, or ever be able so to do. But what has he got in point of power and grandeur? Let the Brabanters answer you that question. What has the Stadholder got? A snug retreat on the banks of the Thames; and a Dutch fair, represented in pantomime at Frogmore, may, perhaps, convince him of the gratitude of his Master, but will poorly atone for the forfeit revenues of seven wealthy Provinces, with all the regal splendours of the Hague. But behold the consequence of Machiavellian policy! You may destroy the poor deluded puppets, whose grandeur you would exalt over the rights of man; but human intellect, when backed by human energy, is invincible: and woe to those who are frantic enough to oppose its career.

Citizens, we may remember, that about eighteen months ago, we were also menaced with something like a friendly alliance of this sort in England. A fortunate disease visited some foreign troops in the neighbourhood of our coast, and they were humanely landed upon the Isle of Wight. This was only accident, to be sure; but then it served, you know, to feel the pulse a little. Thanks to the state of intellect in Britain, the pulse of the nation vibrated as it ought. The glorious energy of Stanhope roused the country to a sense of its danger; and the resolutions of the Patriotic Societies, I shall venture once more to assert, conspired with the speech of that noble Citizen, to chase the Hessian and Hanoverian barbarians from our coasts: and to the latest hour of my life I shall exult, that, at the peril of a disgraceful death, I contributed, by penning some of those resolutions, to save my country from that scene of desolation and mischief, which I am sure will take place, whenever foreign mercenaries shall be marched into its bosom, to coerce the people, and drag them into submission to any minister, whatever may be the pretences with which a measure so diabolical may be coloured over. Hail! hail! ye fetters, chains, and dungeons!—Hail! scaffold, halter, and axes! you were meant, it is true, as the brands of infamy, and the punishments of guilt; but when tyranny and oppression reign,—when attempts are made to subjugate
subjugate a nation by bands of mercenary cut-throats, ye lose your terrors in the patriot's eye—ye are then the badges of virtue, and the passports of eternal glory.

Citizens, it has been rumoured, that such a design is again in contemplation. But I do not believe it. I think the minister of this country has learned a lesson which will prevent him from doing such things again. So long as Britons are ruled by Britons, I trust that they will use no weapons but reason and enquiry, however great may be their burdens. But I have not faith enough in human patience to suppose, that they will bear to be dragooned by foreign mercenaries; that they will yield their throats to Hessian or Hanoverian butchers, and suffer themselves to be trampled into submission by any foreign interference: nay, I confess that my pacific principles do not go so far as to wish that they should.

The manly spirit of this nation will, I hope, be displayed in peaceable and tranquil exertions: for I am sure of this, that no important reformation, no change or amelioration ought to take place, except when there is a unanimous and manly resolution to demand it; and when there is that manly and unanimous resolution, it will require no artillery to enforce it, no bayonets to accomplish it. But when a government is supported by foreign troops, it is then no longer a question of argument. Silence or resistance are the only alternatives.

Citizens, there is a good maxim among men of moral feelings, as to common plunderers. If they meet a highwayman, or footpad: if he demands their money, they will rather give it, than take away the life of a fellow-being, however depraved; but if he proceeds to violence, they must, even, if they can, kill him in their own defence. In the same manner, I think the probability is that though the people suffer their money to be taken away by foreign mercenaries, they will not suffer themselves to be dragooned by the admission of them into this country; and if they would, all I can say is, that the modern inhabitants of this island are no more Britons, than the present race of slaves who inhabit what once was Greece, are Athenians and Lacedemonians. Be this as it will, with respect to our money, it must be admitted, we have parted with it pretty freely: for Britain having rather too large a quantity of these golden globules flowing through its veins, the political quacks have been very solicitous to apply the lancet; and not a high German Doctor of them, all but has occasionally held the bason. How much the better we are for these applications, I do not pretend to determine; but our great State Physician, our political Sangrado, seems determined to persever in the practice.
But all this is done to support the reputation of regular governments. To regular governments, notwithstanding the repeated instances we have had of their perfidy, we are ready to lend our assistance, and our money. With republican innovators, we are not willing even to cease the monstrous contention of slaughter and desolation; though we cannot produce one single instance of breach of faith in any of those governments, at this time existing, that are worthy of the name of Republics.

Has America broken her faith with any of the nations with which she has had any alliance? On the contrary, peruse the transactions on the banks of Miami; and then read the treaties between this country and America: consult also the rights of nations, and then answer me, Whether the irregular—the fantastical republican government of America, or the regular government of Great-Britain, can most justly be taxed with violation of its faith. Has the republic of France in any one instance, notwithstanding all its wild changes, broke its faith, or violated its compacts? No: on the contrary, in the report of Gregoire, relative to the Rights of Nations, observe what magnanimity, what principles of justice!—to sublme, I am bound to say, as never before were propagated by the government or public assemblies of any nation in the world. Hear them, in the very moment of triumph and victory, when all the nations of the earth were in a manner prostrate before them—hear them consecrating the equal rights of nations, and declaring, that "sovereignty is the right of every nation;" that "it depends not upon its power, upon its riches or population;" that "a dwarf is a man as much as a giant," and has the same rights; and that "sovereignty is as much the right of the little province of Saint-Marine as of the gigantic republic of France."

Turn also, if you please, to the republican government of Switzerland. Has Switzerland—I ask the question with confidence—has Switzerland been less distinguished for its faith than the other governments of Europe? Quite the contrary: No nation has preserved a more unblemished character than that republic, in which, to a considerable degree, at least among many of the Cantons, the principles of liberty and equality are established: that republic in which (as the late King of Prussia declared with a sort of involuntary applause) "every individual is at once a peasant, a citizen, and a soldier."

Away then with the absurd pretences, that you can have no faith in republics; and that you are to seek for it only in the regular governments of aristocracy and monarchy.

But
But they ask you, What signifies making peace with France, in her present state? What security can you have for a permanent peace?

What do these regular governments mean by a permanent peace? Would not one suppose, from this language, that, before the republican phrenzy broke out in France, Europe was always in a state of harmony and friendship? That these regular governments, with their compacts and alliances, might quarrel once or twice, perhaps, in four or five hundred years; but that their usual practice was to observe their treaties, and keep the peace inviolate, from century to century?—But what has been the fact? Consult the records only of our own country for the last hundred years, and you will find that, of that period, more than half has been devoted to war and desolation; that we have been five times at war with France, and six times at war with Spain, as I have shewn in a former lecture; that some of these wars have lasted eight or ten years together; and that it has been a long tranquillity indeed, that has suffered you to be six or seven years at peace. War after war, scene after scene of contention, has ensued. No pretence has been too frivolous, no object too contemptible, to be the ground of hostility.—The plain truth is, that these Regular Governments (that is to say, the Ministers who act under them) have an interest in keeping the world perpetually in war: that it is the people who bear the burden, but the governors who are enriched by the plunder. In short, the regular governments of Europe have hitherto shewn themselves to be consistent in but one principle—a principle which is indeed laid down by Machiavel as the fundamental axiom without which no regular government can possibly exist; namely, that they should neither keep peace, faith, nor compact, any longer than it is to the advantage of those by whom that compact is made. And hence it is that one universal system of slaughter and devastation has been incessantly pursued; nor is it easy to foresee when we shall get to the end of this dismal chapter.

Such, then, are the principles of faith and pacification among these regular governments. I leave it to your serious consideration, whether this is a picture to encourage you to persevere in war, till destruction and misery overwhelm you in one common mass, rather than trust to the yet untried faith of the French republic, however various it may be in its occasional formation, or whatever may be the internal factions which at present distract it; and which are not to be wondered at, when we consider the monstrous abyss of guilt, oppression, and contaminating corruption, from which they have been struggling to get free.
THE SECOND LECTURE "On ALLIES and ALLIANCES; containing Strictures on the consequences of employing Auxiliary Troops; and on the Character and Views of our Allies; with a prospect of the probable Catastrophe of the present War." Delivered Friday, June 5th, 1795.

CITIZENS,

You will remember, that when I formerly treated of the subject of allies and alliances, I entered into an investigation of the principles of the system. I endeavoured to show you how far it was consistent either with good policy, or justice, to form alliances between one State and another, or rather between the Courts and Governments of respective States. I endeavoured to show you that it was not, in reality; a union of the sentiments, passions, and interests of the different countries, that those who formed the alliances wished to promote; but that, on the contrary, every opportunity was seized to aggravate hostile dispositions, and to foment those prejudices which stimulate nation against nation, and urge the deluded multitude to deeds of murder and defoliation. I therefore proceeded to conclude, that these compacts were rather to be regarded as alliances between Courts and Governments, for private interests and concealed purposes of their own, than contracts of different nations, nominally allied, but in reality no farther interested in the bargain than as they must bear all the burden, hazard, and expence which result from such alliances. I showed you that the subject naturally divided itself into two branches: First, the effect of these alliances, as they relate to the particular concerns of nations, and may influence the internal happiness and liberties of the people; and secondly, as they were likely to retard or assist the progress of those military projects which are gen...
rally the avowed objects for which they are contrived. It was only into the first branch of this subject that I entered to any considerable length, that evening; and I concluded with reflecting on the subsidiary treaty, at this time about to be concluded between His Britannic Majesty and the Emperor of Germany. There is a part, however, of that treaty for the Imperial Loan which I have not yet touched upon, and which seems well worthy of consideration: I mean the terms upon which the loan is granted, and the delusive prospects held out to the people, relative to the pretended profit to result, whenever (if ever) the money so borrowed shall be repaid. It has been intimated, that the terms of the loan are such that the people of this country are to be gainers two and a half per cent. The Emperor is to pay seven and a half per cent; while the whole interest payable by our Government, taking all the circumstances into consideration, amounts to no more than five; it being well known that the general system is to borrow at three per cent, and that the difference between the price of stock and hard cash makes it but about two per cent more.

Whether this is the case or not you will presently see, and, in the first place, you will please to observe, that this avowed and evident interest, namely three per cent, paid upon the money borrowed, and also upon the fictitious stock that makes up the deficiency of the nominal fund, is only a part of what the nation in reality pays. For there are bonuses, commission money to the bank and to the brokers, and a variety of charges, of the amount of which those only who are in the habit of adding small items and incidental expenses together, can form any idea.

But, Citizens, let us consider the real amount and nature of this loan a little closely, before we suffer ourselves to be deluded with these ministerial fables of profits and advantages. Remember that 4,600,000 pounds, hard sterling cash, are to be sent to the Emperor. That, therefore, in addition to all the expenses of the negotiation, 4,600,000 pounds is to be borrowed upon the funding system. The consequence will be, when it comes to be reckoned, that so many millions of hard cash, bona fide borrowed, amounts in stock to twice the sum specified: that is to say, the loss upon borrowing is so great, that the difference between the nominal fund and the sum of money borrowed, all things considered, is nearly two to one; and, of course, to lend the Emperor
Emperor 4,600,000 pounds, we contract a debt of about 8,000,000. But you will recollect, that to buy is one thing and to sell is another. If it is so in the common concerns of life, it is transcendentally so with the stocks and funds in this respect. To those gentry who have thought fit to make a common gambling house of the change or market of those funds, I shall take no notice of the absolute losses which result from the circumstances of buying and selling, and the rise of stocks, and consequent losses to the nation, which would take place immediately, even if this money were now to come into the market again, by means of the fulfilment of the Emperor's pecuniary engagements.

There is another more important circumstance to be taken into consideration. If ever this money is paid at all, it must be in times of peace. And if it be true that the Minister has not already entirely ruined the country, when peace returns, prosperity will in some degree return, also, and the funds will necessarily mount to a considerable degree. Now the same quantity of money only, that he borrowed in time of war, is to be paid by the Emperor in times of peace: that is to say, when the funds are high (suppose at par) he is only to repay the 4,600,000 pounds, which he now receives when the funds are exceedingly low.

I shall not enter into any minute calculations upon this subject, it will lead me too far: and minute arithmetical calculations, with me, require more labour than I have time to give them. I shall just state, however, that Mr. Fry, the author of a book entitled "The Guardian of Public Credit," and who is, at this time, about to publish a very useful and important work on the subject of the funded debt, has calculated the proportion of the inevitable losses; and finds that, upon the supposition that the loan was to amount to six millions, the sum originally proposed, the inevitable losses would be to this nation, 2,657,000 pounds, upon this famous and most advantageous contract, even supposing that the Emperor, for novelty sake, should keep his word concerning the payment of the debt thus contracted. You will see then, that independent of the common losses and expenses of the negotiation; independent of the circumstance of making a worse bargain for the English loan, in consequence of having a loan to make for the Emperor; independent of all these circumstances, you will see that the strong probability would have been, supposing the whole six millions to have been bor-

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rowed, that the nation would have lost, by this bargain, 8,657,000 pounds; but as only 4,600,000 were accepted by our Imperial ally, you will find, upon calculation, that the probable loss is only 6,637,000 pounds, and the positive loss, independent of the circumstances previously mentioned, is no more than 2,037,000 pounds. A trifling sum for the important service of keeping a few Austrians, Croats, Bohemians, and Hungarians, a little longer in the field, to keep alive the languid flame of war, and avert for another campaign, or so, the dreadful calamity of turning the Minister out of place, to pave the way for an honourable and permanent peace with the brave insulted Republic of France.

But let us take into consideration the facts which have lately transpired, relative to the dispositions of the different States of Europe. Let us call to our consideration the conduct of the King of Prussia. Let us recollect how he has been receiving the money of Britain with one hand, and making peace with the enemies of Britain—the enemies of the British Ministers, I mean, with the other.

Citizens, you will remember, also, that at the time when the Emperor—for the Emperor of Germany and the King of Prussia seem as if they intended to prove to the world, that they were of the same family—and, indeed, as Kings and Emperors are all of a race divine, it may, perhaps, be admitted that there is some degree of relationship among them all! You will remember, that while he was ratifying the treaty which was to secure him the payment of this sum of money, he, also, declared to the Members of the Germanic Body, that he was ready to make peace with the French Republic: by which declaration he in fact did that which the Minister of this country will finally be obliged to do—acknowledged the French Republic as one of the orderly and regular Governments of Europe.

But you are told by Mr. Pitt, that you are not to suppose the Emperor sincere, in his declarations to his own subjects. There may be something in this: for I conclude that, if the Emperor had been a dealer in sincerity, he would not have entered into any combinations or agreements with Mr. Pitt; nor would Mr. Pitt have ever thought of going to his shop. You are told that this declaration of the Emperor was a piece of state finesse, one of those artifices which are very confidant with regular Governments, but which would fix an indelible stain upon the morals of a Republic. But, as to the ultimate
mate conseqüences, it is little to us, whether the Emperor is 
finessing with the Empire, or finessing with us—whoth he is 
sincere in his professions of sending a large army into the field, 
or whether he is sincere in his profession of willing to make 
peace with the French Republic; or whether, in reality, con-
sidering the situation in which he is placed, he does not know 
which he is sincere in, or whether he is sincere in either; but 
finding himself a little embarrassed, applies, in matters of 
state, the maxim which Ovid, in his "Art of Love," en-
forces to those who are impressed with the tender passion—

"Speak boldly on and trust the followiug word;
"It will be witty of its own accord."

But let us proceed to the second part of our subject—
Namely, the effects, in a military point of view, of those 
alliances by which a variety of states (all having different 
objects, in reality, at heart, though professing the same 
designs) have endeavoured to press and bear down a par-
ticular country, or to accomplish any great and extensive pro-
ject whatever.—What has been the degree of energy and 
conduct, displayed by those confederated powers, which, in 
different ages of the world, have combined their arms to sub-
due others to slavery, or subject them to perccution or exter-
mination on account of their opinions, or for whatever cause, 
from the holy crusades undertaken to gratify the Popes of 
early times, to the present crusade of Kings, in which the 
Popc of Rome has been piously guarded, by the protestant 
bayonets of the English soldiery? Whoever has read must 
remember, that envy, jealousy, suspicion, misunderstanding 
contention, and a consequent disposition to thwart each 
others views and objects, however they might profess to 
agree, have universally distinguished those confederacies, dis-
graced their arms, and disappointed their views. Each poten-
tate, envious of the reputation, and apprehensive of the power 
of his colleague, coldly afflicts, or secretly thwarts his under-
takings, and when this mutual jealousy has produced defeat 
and shame, each exclaims against the rest, to shift the disho-
nour from his own shoulders, and the conseqüence has gen-
erally been, that discord and distrust have produced latis-
tude, disappointment, delay, and, ultimately, retreat and 
ruin.

But it may be said, that the army to which we are to look for 
the successes of the next campaign, is not to be considered as 
an
an allied army of this mixed and complicated nature; for as it was observed by one of the French Generals who retook Toulon, that the only troops the Pope sent were cows and calves, so it appears, that in the next campaign, the only troops Britain is to lend are her gold, her stores, and her provisions—if the knows where to find them.

But still we find, though we are no longer able to conduct the war, though our depopulated country, drained of its youth and manhood to the dregs, is no longer able to furnish soldiers for this desperate strife, still its sanguinary and insatiate agitators cannot consent to give repose to Europe—still we are determined to continue our crusade by the help of auxiliary forces.

But have we duly weighed the general consequence of a nation attempting foreign conquests by the arms of mercenaries? Have we well enquired what has been the general result of efforts of that kind? and what has been the general conduct of auxiliaries, when such projects have been pursued?

Citizens, there is a work which, when I consider the moral complexion of Mr. Pitt’s politics, I suppose he has studied night and morning, even from his youth upward. I mean a work called “the Prince,” written by the famous Secretary of Florence, Machiavel: a man of considerable parts; tho’, taking him to be sincere in his political maxims, of no small depravity of heart. The ethics, I say, of this author, our Minister has studied with the most elaborate care, and has been anxious to try his powers of carrying the precepts into practice. But when I consider his conduct with reference to the degree of wisdom which it has displayed, and consider how many excellent things there are, in this respect, which he might have learned from this same Machiavel, I then become persuaded, that the morality which I was before inclined to attribute to the precepts of this master, must be, in reality, purely and entirely his own, springing from the congenial fountain of his own heart, or inspired, perhaps, by the footy Deity he appears to worship. For it is difficult to believe, that even the present Chancellor of the Exchequer could read a book with the express determination to separate from it and adopt every thing that was morally depraved, and pass over, or reject all that was prudent, politic, and wise. Let me, however, ring in his ears the warning voice of Machiavel, who, upon this subject, has many observations well worthy the attention of the statesman, and who, at once, by argument and
and historical facts, might convince him that he is pursuing
those measures which will involve himself and his country in
ruin and destruction.

Hear then this Machiavel upon the subject of auxiliary
troops. After having told you that the principal foundations
of all states were good laws and good arms, and having pro-
ceeded to shew the different kinds of arms that Princes may
employ, he enters into an elaborate invettigation of the nature
and use of mixed and auxiliary forces, and, grounded in the
facts of history, and assisted by an acute mind, he is led to
this conclusion, that no arms are efficacious but those of the
individual country, by which they are employed.

"Those arms," says he, "that are mercenary and aux-
iliary, are unprofitable and dangerous; and the Prince who
relies upon them will never be secure or safe: for they are
difunited, ambitious, undisposed, treacherous; infulent
to their friends, abject to their enemies, without fear of
God or faith to Man; and the ruin of such a Prince is
no longer deferred than till he is attacked." He proceeds,
afterwards, to show you that the reason is—because "it is
not affection for him that keeps such armies in the field:
they having no attachment but to their pay; and this is not
"a motive strong enough to make them willing to die for
"him."

Yes, Citizens,—it is true: we find that gold will purchase
men to take away the lives of others. Gold will hire men to
steal—to shoot—to poison—or swear!—for that is the modern
way of assassination. You may hire a man to be a spy and a
perjured informer. If he is a little nice, or so, in his con-
science, and does not chafe absolutely to make the bargain
with you in open and direct terms, he may be given to under-
stand, that, perhaps, the obnoxious person owes him 2 or
300 pounds, and that, if he hangs him, good care shall be
taken that it shall not be lost. But though people will sell
the lives of others, for the sake of recovering a just debt, or
the like; nay, tho' some would even make a bargain of blood
in a direct and public manner, few men will consent, for a
little gold, to be shot themselves; or to get themselves
hanged: that is, if they know what they are about. But if a
man is employed as a spy, who is not clever enough to hang
any body else, you know, why then he may chance to get
hanged himself: an appetite for blood, being like all other
appetites; and, when a man is keen for, he does not like
to be entirely disappointed, and will rather set down to a coarser meal than he intended than go away with an empty stomach.

But, to resume the observations of Machiavel. He tells you, a few pages afterwards, "indeed it appears by experience, that Princes and Republics, with their own forces, alone, execute great enterprizes; and that mercenaries are always prejudicial."

He then proceeds to tell you the effect that this practice of employing mercenaries has on the character of a nation: marking, particularly, the inevitable decay of vigour and spirit among those people who seek to be defended by foreign arms. "Besides, a martial common-wealth, that rests upon its own valour, is not so easily enthralled by any of its citizens as one that depends upon foreign troops. Rome and Sparta maintained their freedom, for many ages, by their own forces and arms. The Swifs are more martial than their neighbours, and consequently more free."

Citizens, we might find a great variety of instances to support and illustrate this principle: and even the royal commentator of Machiavel, I mean the late King of Prussia, has furnished us with some. He tells us, "Experience has shewn, that the national troops of a state are always the most serviceable; as appears from several examples, particularly from the valour of Leonidas at Thermopylae, and from the amazing progress of the arms of the Romans and Arabian."

But what was the situation of Rome when she had recourse to auxiliaries, and mercenary forces? While she had wise and virtuous Ministers, more zealous to preserve than praise her Constitution; not usurping dominion for themselves, but guarding the sacred Rights of Man from usurping destroyers; she then defended herself by the force of her own arms and her own valour; but when the Romans were reduced to a state of degeneracy and slavery, when their great men became their tyrants, and their Ministers their oppressors; then abject Rome, whose ambition survived her energy, was reduced to hire foreign arms, and to fight her battles with hired swords. But, did victory continue to attend them? Were the citizens of Rome, when guarded by the savages of the Danube and the Rhine—the Croats and Hessians of the ancient world,—were they then delighted, as of old, with songs in praise of their illustrious Generals, with triumphal processions?
fions and wreathes of victory? No, they found that foreign exploits were nothing more than the forerunners of domestic misery and ruin. And, as Machiavel well observes, "If we consider the decline of the Roman Empire, we shall find it first proceeded from employing the Goths, as mercenaries; by which means the forces of the Empire were enervated, and all their valour transferred, as it were, to those Gothic troops."

So strong was the impression made upon the mind of Machiavel, by inferences which he drew from facts of history upon this head, that we find him laying it down, in absolute terms, that it is better for a country to endure any distresses and struggles, with a brave despair, than to permit itself to be defended by foreign troops; or to employ the arms obtained by alliances with strangers. "Let every Prince, therefore," says he, "who would reduce himself to an incapacity of conquering, employ auxiliary arms: for they are more dangerous than mercenaries." And a little further he says, "Wife Princes, therefore, have always rejected this sort of forces; and depended upon their own: chusing rather to be defeated with these than to conquer with the others: and looking upon that as no victory which is obtained by borrowed arms."

And very good reason there is to think, that nothing deserves the name of victory which is obtained by foreign arms; because the arms that obtained that victory for them, may, and in all probability will withhold the fruits of that victory. And if the nation, for whom it was made, should have the insolence to complain, perhaps, the very troops they so weakly employed, flushed with the insolence of triumph, and urged by that contempt which it is impossible for mercenaries and auxiliaries not to feel, for those who are obliged to hire them, may turn their sabres against them. A victory thus obtained may, in fact, be considered only as a prelude to the destruction and overthrow of the apparently successful country: In short, the project that cannot be effected by the proper force of the particular country that undertakes it, had better never be attempted at all: for the same sort of reason, that nothing but bankruptcy and ruin awaits the individual, who embarks in any business in which he is not competent to conduct himself.

But there is one instance more, which Machiavel gives, in illustration of this maxim, which appears to me to exceedingly apposite to this country, and holds up so very

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forcible
forcible and important a lesson, that I shall not neglect the opportunity, before I quit this subject, of reading it to you. "If we consider the progress of the Venetians," says he, "it will appear that they acted with great security, success, and reputation, whilst they made war with their own forces," that is whilst they fought only by sea; the Venetians being a naval people; a people of commerce, and whose strength lay in their wooden walls; and not in troops employed in foreign conquests and crusades. Nor were the Venetians, while they were wise and flourishing, ever disposed to interfere with foreign states, or like our mad and ridiculous Quixottes, to think of such attempts as filling foreign nations with ready made constitutions, before which they had been able to take the measure.

"The Venetians were successful whilst they fought only by sea; but, as soon as they made a land war,"—What then? Were they merely defeated? No, Citizens; that would have been little; for, in many instances, defeat is better than conquest. And how calamitous forever, to persons in power, it may appear, and may eventually be, yet I am disposed to think, such is the case with us, in the present situation of this country; and that calamitous as the times now are, they would be still more calamitous, if it were possible that we should succeed in the present mad crusade. But defeat was not all that the Venetians experienced.

"As soon as they made a land war, they degenerated from their former valour, and adopted the manners and customs of Italy." What were those manners and customs of Italy, which were such certain signs, and concomitants of Venetian degeneracy? Why they consisted in treachery, in perjury, in spying, and assassination: (the last of these has not yet got footing in England!) An infernal system of inquisition is also to be considered as a part of the manners and customs of that Italian profanity which the Venetians, by their bad policy, were led to adopt.

We know very well what sort of morals must arise from such a system; the page of history has not left us the dark in this particular; and we know what the state of society must become wherever these detestable Italian fashions prevail: Where spies are planted in every house, when men are bribed to become informers, and when, of course, individuals are destroyed by fallhood, and perjury.

The Venetians then, in this state of degeneracy, employed foreign troops to fight their battles; with the gold wrung from
from the industrious people of the country, they purchased foreign mercenaries, till they lost, with rapid disgrace, all that they had been acquiring with great labour and difficulty. We have been told much of this country being made a department of France; and of its being an appendage to the Republic, one and indivisible. But you have not been warned of the still worse subjugation and slavery, proceeding from the vicious morals and the impolitic character which ministerial practices are introducing into this degenerate country. But be assured, when the character of Britain is lost—when the hearts of Englishmen are no longer to be animated by those warm, those generous and republican feelings of liberty, of which, of old, we had not used to be ashamed—and when, instead of these, we adopt the base assasin-like arts of Italian degeneracy, be assured that the independence of this country can no longer be preferred, and that something, even worse than becoming a department of the French Republic, must inevitably await us. Be warned then by the signs and prototypes of history, and let not, among the rest, the fate of Venice be forgotten.

We are told, that the catastrophe produced in the Venetian territory, by admitting this system of mercenary troops, was, that “in one battle, the Venetians were stripped of all they had been acquiring, with incredible labour and difficulty, for eight hundred years: nor is this surprising, for the conquests that are made by mercenary troops are few, tedious and weak, but their losses are rapid and amazing.” Such are the prospects, even according to this Politician, whom courtiers are most in the habit of consulting, (at least if we judge from the moral complexion of their politics;) such are the prospects that arise from employing foreign mercenary troops; and attempting to subdue other countries by the assistance of auxiliary arms.

I shall proceed in the next place to consider, as briefly as possible, what are the characters, the probable views and objects, of our allies; and what may probably be the consequences to this country, resulting from the assistance afforded towards the accomplishment of some of these views, by the present alliances.

Some of the august personages, upon whom it was once my intention to have animadverted with some severity, have made it unnecessary for me to give myself any trouble about them on the present occasion.
Respecting the Emperor, poor man! whatever character he may have had, it seems necessary that he should now look sharply about him, or else he will shortly have no character at all, at least among the estates of the Germanic empire. If we consider the terms of the second treaty concluded between the King of Prussia and the French Republic, and the effects that treaty may probably produce in Germany, we must presently see, that whatever views and objects he may have had, he must be disposed to think that the only view he can now profitably have, is, how he may disappoint the objects of the King of Prussia; which, should they succeed as well as they have begun, may possibly transfer the ascendancy in the Germanic Confederacy to the House of Brandenburgh, and annihilate the political importance of the House of Austria. You are to remember, that one part of the treaty is, that the King of Prussia and the French Republic have joined together to guarantee the neutrality of such of the principalities of Germany as refuse to provide their contingents for carrying on the war. It is believed that the Prince of Hesse Cassel, and the Prince of Saxe Tyschen, in consequence of this, have already declared their determination to avail themselves of this circumstance. Be this, however, as it will, it is evident that, if the Circles of the Empire should on second the views of the King of Prussia, as to be before-hand with the Emperor in making peace, and thereby take advantage of the proffered protection, the Imperial dignity becomes from thenceforward a mere shadow—the constitution of the Germanic Body is shaken to its centre. And yet Mr. Pitt supposes it impossible that the Emperor should be sincere in his avowed readiness to treat with the French Republic.—Such are the intrigues going on among the Princes of Germany! And so much for the faith of our regular governments, the stability of allies, and the dependence on alliances.

I conclude then that there must be a soft part in the head of the Emperor of Germany, if he does not turn around, and give a sharp look-out at his neighbours, left, while he is attempting to make the Sans Culottes wear royal breeches again, the King of Prussia should snatch his Imperial diadem from off his head, and put a red night-cap in its place.

Citizens, I have talked about delineating the character of this Emperor, but I feel myself incompetent to the task; and for this very reason—because it is evident that he has no character to delineate; that he is a man of times and contingencies.
cies—whose views and maxims have descended to him, like
his crown, and whose grandeur and importance are derived
from the tailor who made his imperial robes. He is in short
a mere thing of mechanism and detail—who upholds this and
aims at that, merely because the House of Austria have so
aimed and held for the greater part of the last century: and
therefore it is (a new order of things having suddenly sprung
up in Europe) that he knows not what to do in the present
exigence, and that his conduct is marked with nothing but
indecision, incongruity, and absurdity—yet to such an ally
we give 4,600,000.

But there is another of our allies who is to be regarded in
a more serious point of view—an ally whom I shall treat with
the utmost gravity and decorum; for you know it is not very
polite to level the shafts of ridicule against the ladies. You
will perceive that I can mean no other than our most august,
most active, most virtuous, most humane, and most pious ally,
the Empress of both the Russias. I shall not attempt to speak
the truth, and the whole truth, relative to this good old lady.
No—I remember very well that Lord George Gordon was kept
in Newgate till he died, for calling the late Queen of France
by a name which it was notorious to all the world as properly
belonged to her as homo belongs to all mankind. I shall not,
therefore, when I am speaking of this pious, humane, and
virtuous Empress, talk of wives who murdered their husbands
and usurped their thrones, and afterwards maintained with
blood what had been so bloodily obtained. Neither shall I at-
tempt to delineate the many instances of her piety, and the
zeal with which she attempted to convert the insidels of the
Ottoman empire, by massacring them as fast as the ministers
of her holy wrath could fulfil her fnguinary orders. Nei-
ther shall I delineate again the conduct of her familiar spirit
Zuwarow, at Warsaw.

But there is a part of her character which I think it my
duty seriously to consider: I mean that part of her political
character, by which she appears to me to have been stiumlated
to take part in the present intrigues and divisions of Eu-
rope. Ever since she has been seated on the throne of Mos-
cow, is it possible to be blind to the ambitious projects which
this woman has been forming? Is it possible to be blind to
the gigantic strides she has made towards the accomplishment
of these designs? Is it possible to be blind to the consequent
mischiefs which are arising from these projects? Is it possible
to be blind to the policy of her present conduct? While com-
binations
bination are forming between the powers of Europe, for objects the most extravagant and unattainable, she pretends to make herself a party, in order to stimulate their frantic activity; and while they are exhausting their strength in this ridiculous crusade, she, sitting aloof from the storm, husbands her resources, and reserves her strength, and, ever and anon, when the combatants begin to grow languid, heartens them up with vague and delusive promises, or roues their passions with an inflammatory manifesto.

Does this conduct mark the subtilty of intriguing ambition, or does it not? Does it, or does it not look like the conduct of one who has projects that may be advanced by the weakness of the respective combatants? Is it, or is it not precisely the conduct she ought to pursue, if she really grasped, as by the late King of Sweden she was publicly accused of grasping, at the universal sovereignty of Europe? And ought we not to be alarmed lest she should blindly enable her to dictate laws to Europe; to destroy all commerce but that which will add to her own aggrandizement; to make the operations in the present crusade the means of extending her empire over that ocean, the dominion of which we have proudly arrogated to ourselves? The accomplishment of such projects may appear very distant; but should any event, during the present struggle, enable her to seize a port in the Mediterranean, the complexion of affairs would be immediately altered; and we should awake from our dream too late.

Cannot the fate of Poland warn us of our danger? Was not her conduct, with respect to that unhappy country, perfectly consistent with the fort of policy I have here ascribed to her? While the King of Prussia was exhausting his strength and resources in the field, she remained in politic inactivity. But, no sooner was he completely weakened, and broken down, and the Poles exhausted by their gallant struggle, than forth she rushes upon her devoted prey, reaps the laurels and advantages which Prussia had sown, and partitions the devoted country according to her pleasure.

But our Ministers are too busy for such speculations; nor would they, in these days of sedition and revolution, be so Jacobinical as to question the views, and principles of the regular Governments of Europe. All their energies are engrossed in trying the grand question between Governments and people, and deciding, by the usual argument of Courts, the metaphysical problem "whether the people have a right
"to change their governments, or whether they have not?" Not knowing that the question is already decided, and that, altho' they should reverse the decree in their chancery of appeal, it would be of no avail, since whenever the people are inclined to do it, they will feel that they have not only the right but the power.

Citizens, it would require a greater degree of exertion than, at this time, I am capable of, to enter fully into the views and objects of this good ally: nor is it necessary, perhaps, to say much more upon the subject; for I think there are few people, the Ministers of this country excepted, who are so blind and stupid as not have some insight into her projects. Let us suppose that we continue to carry on this war; that we suffer ourselves to be deluded and cheated as we have been, year after year, and campaign after campaign; continuing all the while to be deluded by the pretences and promises of this woman, till the resources of this country are still further exhausted, and we suffer ourselves thus to be brought into embarrassments and distresses which may be nearer at hand than those men of wealth and property, who plunged us into the war, are inclined to think. In what kind of condition shall we then be, to oppose any ambitious project which she, unwearied and unexhausted, may think fit to avow? And, if these dangers are pressing so closely upon us, as I believe they are, it is not from republicans and levellers, but from the profligacy and infatuation of Ministers, that this country is likely to be brought to ruin and destruction.

Men of more generous hearts than those who have so long been friendly opportunity that opened a way to that mediation which, under such circumstances, must be the first wish of every one who does not, in reality, wish for the destruction of something more than that commerce which we have been told ought to perish, that the rotten boroughs might live.

But suppose that we have not reason to dread all that I have described. Suppose that I have been a little visionary in my apprehensions, relative to this Empress of Russia; yet, surely, it cannot be said, that there is nothing to apprehend from that quarter, considering the great strides which she has been making. Surely it behoves us rather to watch with jealousy, a power so ambitious, so cruel, and so faithless, rather than admit her into a sort of partnership upon that element hitherto the scene of all our glories, but where the treachery
of a false friend might, in a critical moment, prove more fatal than all the hostility of our open enemy.

Such, Citizens, appear to me to be the dangers which threaten us from a continuation of the present war, even on the side of our allies; if we look, on the other hand, at the progress of events at home and on the continent, what is the probable catastrophe that stares us in the face? Look at our fields, at our manufactories; look at the state and condition of the people—see the wants, the aggravated miseries that have been produced among us! Look at the enormous growth of the public debt, look at the unexampled frises which the Minister is making in the accumulation of this debt, during the three years in which we have been engaged in the present war! When we look at the facts, we find an expenditure vast beyond all comparison with whatever went before! We find that the taxes are levied with difficulty; and that, notwithstanding all the boasts which the Minister regularly makes, when he opens the budget, of the flourishing state of the finances, and of the prospect of the resources of the current year considerably more than answering the expenditure—yet, that like the morning and even ingrate of the sluggard, the concluding and the opening account never agree, and when he comes to sum up the past receipts and expenditure, he is always compelled to acknowledge that there has been a deficiency. And what makes this more alarming and ominous, as if we had nearly got to the end of our tether in this iniquitous system of stock-jobbing, we find, by comparing the facts, that this deficiency regularly keeps pace with the extent of our new loans, and the consequent increase of the public debt; so that our taxes are no longer equal, and every year are less and less equal to the discharge even of the interest; and we are obliged not only to borrow the capital with which we carry on this mad crusade, but even, each successive year, to borrow fresh sums to pay the interest of the preceding.

Citizens, it requires no nice arithmetic, it requires no elaborate calculations to prove that, if we continue this game of growing desperation, it must inevitably produce a national bankruptcy.

Pause then awhile, and think what you are doing! think of the profligacy of your present undertakings—think of the wasteful expenditure—think of the misery, waste and depopulation, which has already been produced! think what are already
already the appearances of society. Remember how considerate a depopulation has already taken place; how many useful labourers have been driven to the hospitable shores of America, where punishment for opinion is not known, nor starving industry to be heard of; where the first law of nature may be followed without dread of famine, and children are not yet a curse. There, where no frantic father, pondering over the future destiny of his offspring, and comparing his scanty rewards with his incessant and laborious exertions, is tempted to exclaim with poor Belmour in the play—

"I have been thinking which of my three boys,
"Some few years hence, when I'm dissolv'd in death,
"Shall aft the beggar best: run barefoot fastest,
"Or, with most dextrous shrug, play tricks for charity."[Great impression—and a cry of "Encore." ]

Citizens, the speech I have repeated was given by the Poet to the character of a Gamester; and none but a gamester, in any tolerable state of society, ought to be liable (or, so short a time ago as the period when the play I quote from was written, could have been liable, in this country) to be driven to give utterance to a speech so full of melancholy and horrible images. But now, in England, many an industrious tradesman, and many an upright honest member of society, with anguish of heart, may be driven to apply those heart-rending lines which, in answer to your call, I again repeat, and exclaim—

"I have been thinking, which of my three boys,
"Some few years hence, when I'm dissolv'd in death,
"Shall aft the beggar best: run barefoot fastest,
"Or, with most dextrous shrug, play tricks for charity."—

FATAL EXTRAVAGANCE.

When, I say, you consider this depopulation, and this misery; when you consider the enormous expenditure of the public money; when you consider the shifts to which this proud and insolent Minifter is evidently put, even in the midst of all his arrogance; when you consider the strides which he is going on to make (like a desperate spendthrift on the eve of bankruptcy!) When you see him still content to pay millions upon millions, to an ally, who scarcely deigns even to promise his services in return—when you consider all these deplorable
perate consequences of the present war—the miseries of the people—the symptoms of approaching bankruptcy, the exhausted depopulation, exhausted means, and exhausted patience of the country—are you not led to apprehend a catastrophe, too dreadful even for the imagination to contemplate without horror?

But, Citizens, there is another part of the consequences of the present war upon which I cannot be quite silent: I mean the consequent neglect of agriculture throughout Europe. How many fields, upon the Continent, have remained unfown! how many harvests destroyed by the iron foot of war! what cargoes have been consigned to devouring flames, and floods!

Europe sees too late, and trembles at the dreadful consequence. The Ministers, perhaps, may exult in the prospect that France is on the eve of that famine which he wished to make the weapon of his revenge, against all who depart from the sacred institutions of popery and monarchy! "See," he may, perhaps, exultingly exclaim, "See the misery I have brought upon France! tho' I could not cope with their republican energies, I have destroyed their means of life; I have pillaged neutral vessels, and seized their stores of grain! it is true it has turned rotten upon my hands! but still Frenchmen are starving! glorious prospects! twenty-four millions of people flaring by my machinations! this is indeed a triumph worthy me!" A triumph? a triumph? Thou monster look at home. Stand up and face thy country, if thou darest; and answer for the consequences of thy infernal plans! the famine, with which you meditated to subdue the liberties of France, is gnawing the bowels of deluded Britons; and even the expected relief from our Canadian settlement has entirely failed!

Such are the prospects, and such are the consequences of a mad, profligate, and desperate war. Such are the fatal effects of national animosity and delusion!

I conclude, then, that the probable catastrophe of the present war is famine, desolation, bankruptcy, and national disgrace: a large portion of which it is impossible we should escape; though, if we have wisdom, public spirit, and determined humanity, we can avoid the worst part, by lifting up the commanding voice of popular opinion, and immediately abandoning that mad and frantic crusade, in which it is impossible to succeed, and in which, were success possible, its sole tendency would be to render us more enslaved and miserable. ODE
ODE TO LIBERTY.

BY G. DYER.

HAIL! more refulgent than the morning star,
Gay queen of bliss, fair daughter of the sky,
I woo thee, Liberty! and hope from far
To catch the brightness of thy raptur'd eye.
While not unseemly streams thy zoneless vest,
Thy wild locks dancing to the frolic wind;
And, borne on flying feet, thou scorn'st to rest,
Save where meek truth her modest feat may find.
Hail! radiant form divine, blest Liberty!
Still rove through nature's walks, and let me rove with thee.

Say, dost thou choose to tread the mountain's brow,
Or haunt meandering stream, or wanton plain?
Up the steep mountain's height with thee I go;
Or wake by river's brink the merry strain:
Or I will trip the laughing plain along,
A simple swain, 'midst hinds and virgins gay;
And still will chant to thee the even-song,
Unwearied with the raptures of the day.
And e'en when lock'd in sleep's soft arms I lie,
Still flattering dreams shall wake the midnight ecstasy.

Or dost thou choose to wear the sober veil
Of mild philosophy, and walk unseen,
Serenely grave, along the cloister pale,
Or in the pensive grove, or shaven green:
Then will I tend thee on thy secret way,
And from thy musing catch the patriot flame,
Gentle and clear, as the sun's smiling ray
At dawn, yet warm, as his meridian beam,
When wondering nations feel the piercing rays,
And think they view their God, and kindle into praise.

Such waft thou seen by Isis' silver flood,
In converse sweet with Locke, immortal sage;
Such too by Cam, with him, whose bosom glow'd
With thy sweet raptures, and the muse's rage.
Nor less with him, who bore to distant climes
His country's love, and o'er her miseries sigh'd;
Brave injur'd patriot he, in evil times
Who nobly liv'd, and not ignobly died.
Who nobly liv'd, whose name shall ever live,
While zeal in Britain glows, while freedom shall survive.
Or art thou wont to couch with lion pride
Near Britain's genius, flumb'ring as in ire;
Waiting what time thy children shall abide
Thy noblest form, and glow with purest fire?
Sweet flumb' rer rest! yet shall the times be found,
When Britain's bards shall wake no venal strain;
Her prophets give no more a double found;
No more her patriots thirst for sordid gain;
And lawless zeal shall sink to endless shame,
Nor longer keep thy seat, nor bear thy sacred name.

But shouldst thou scorn at length Britannia's isle,
Then would I pass with Penn the dang'rous sea;
Yes! I would hasten to some happier soil,
Where tyrants had no rule, no slaves obey.
There would I woo thee, goddess, heav'nly fair;
Sing my wild notes to thee, where'er I roam;
Britons no more the muse's praise should share,
Tyrants abroad and miscreants at home—
E'en Britain's friend would publish Britain's shame;
While barbarous tribes should hear, and scorn a Briton's name—

But shouldst thou e'en from Britain speed thy way,
On Gallia's plains still linger with delight;
And while her patriots hail this sacred day,
Oh! aid their counsels, and their battles fight;
May tyrants ne'er, those murd'ers of the world,
Austria's proud Lord, and Prussia's faithless king,
Their blood-stain'd banners to the air unfurl'd,
O'er freedom's sons the note of triumph sing;
Still with the great resolve the Polish heroes fire,
To live in thine embrace, or at thy feet expire.
An Enquiry into the Truth of an Affterion frequently made in the "Honourable House of Commons," That the CONDITION of the COMMON PEOPLE in this COUNTRY, is WORSE than that of WEST INDIA SLAVES. The Second Lecture "on the Comparative Estimate of the Slave Trade, the practice of Crimping, and Mr. Pitt's partial Requisition Bill." Delivered Friday, February 27th, 1795.

CITIZENS,

THF number of facts connected with the subject, which I am this evening to refute, occasioned me, in my former lecture, to run rather more largely into detail than was at first my intention; and, therefore, compelled me to leave untouched, or but slightly touched, many of the most important arguments that relate to this very momentous question.

It appeared to me, therefore, not amiss to refute it this evening, and to endeavour to investigate those parts of the subject which I, for want of time, hurried over too much or totally omitted, on the last evening.

On that evening I began with some reflections upon the general character of Europe; and was particularly led to condemn the avarice and cruel pride with which it arrogates to itself the right of enslaving the other portions of the globe. My business, on the present evening, is to make a more particular application of those arguments to the character of the nation, a portion of whose population I am now addressing. And, on this occasion, I wish, from those feelings of vanity every man has, with relation to the country in which he was born, that I were able to draw a picture in which nothing but the most pleasing lines and amiable colours should obtrude themselves upon the eye. I wish it were possible for me to delineate a character in which every

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thing should excite admiration and applause. I am afraid, however, if I discharge my duty, by dealing fairly with my countrymen, it will be impossible to have so grateful a task, on the present evening; for tho' the spark of reason has not only fallen upon the British bosom, but its flame has extended to a considerable degree, so that there is a great disposition in the minds of the people at large, to benevolence and magnanimity, yet I cannot be blind to the operation of those circumstances, which have a tendency to introduce, and, thro' a very wide circle, have positively diffused, characteristics of a very different description. I cannot be so blind as not to perceive, that, for a very considerable time, an illiberal, monopolizing, and rapacious spirit of commerce has diffused itself among the people; and, backed by those corruptions that have crept into the government of the country, has tarnished the character of Englishmen. In short, the over eager pursuit of opulence among one class of people, and the consequent depression of the other, have produced a notion among us totally subversive of the feelings of justice and humanity—a supposition that nothing is respectable but wealth; and consequently, an hardened cruelty, or at least an insensibility of disposition, so inveterate as nothing but avarice and rapacity ever can impart to the human character.

If there had wanted proofs of the existence of these qualities, in this country, the debate in a great assembly of yesterday, would furnish me with abundant argument to substantiate the position I have laid down. Let any man but cast his eye, in the slightest manner, over these arguments which were used, in opposition to a benevolent and humane motion in that assembly, and then let them tell me, whether virtue and enlightened generosity are, in reality, the only traits of character by which the present generation of Britons are to be handed down to posterity!

Citizens, I shall take the liberty of entering into a serious investigation of those arguments; because it will show you, to what retreats the friends of slavery are driven for shelter, and how hard they find the task of supporting their system of enslaving one portion of the human race, to support the luxurious vices and sensual gratifications of another. A learned Alderman has observed, that this abolition, the abolition of the slave trade, ought never to be assented to—why?—not because slavery is just, not because we are entitled to the limbs, lives, and progeny of the poor blacks, by means of the divine right of our white complexions: no, this he does
not attempt to prove: but, says he, the consequence of such abolition would be the loss, to this nation, of the West India Islands.

If I meant to enter very fully into this part of the enquiry, I am not at all afraid, but that I should be able to prove to you, because it has been repeatedly proved, beyond reply, that this effect would not result. But such a discussion would, I believe, be perfectly superfluous, in more points of view than one—for this is a part of the argument which, notwithstanding the boasts of some, the grand exploits of others, and the confidence of many, I am much inclined to suspect, will not be urged many successive years: for, notwithstanding some apparent successes, and

"The fine yellow harvest we have got,"

If we look at the condition of our islands, and the energy of the enemy, and consider the resources which, by our perseverance in the system of slavery, we give to that enemy in those regions, I am inclined to believe, that the West Indies will be lost; not by the abolition of the slave trade, but by that cruel and rapacious obstinacy, with which we determine not to relinquish that inhuman traffic. For, if we will not relinquish, there is another nation in Europe that will abolish it—will tear it up and destroy it, root and branch, with the powerful arm of liberty and equality; and with it will go, I have no doubt, or at least soon after it, the whole of that system of colonization, whose soil is corruption, and whose manure is blood. [A feeble his.]

I am delivering opinions, Citizens, not wishes. I do not call you together to invoke Deities to further my prayers, or fulfill my prophecies. I call you together to listen to opinions, which I am convinced are the opinions of truth. With my wishes, be they on one side or be they on the other, it would be impertinent for me to trouble you: and, therefore, I cannot but conceive, that marks of illiberal disapprobation must arise from a trembling conviction that these are but too well founded; and the calamity, if a calamity it is to be considered, will be traced to the mal-administration of those, who, having no other way to preferve their popularity, send their emissaries into every public meeting, to disturb the tranquillity of investigation.

I, however, am very doubtful at least, whether the loss of colonies is, in reality, any calamity to any country. But if
it were, is justice therefore to be sacrificed? Are the sacred principles of truth and liberty to be immolated at the altar of interest? And, for the sake of wealth and aggrandizement, are we to perfest in those practices, whose cruelty calls aloud for redress, and for the defence of which we have no other argument but interested necessity, the tyrant’s constant plea? Yes, says the learned Alderman, you are: for, if you loose your colonies, there is another consequence behind; a consequence, connected with that disposition of rapacity which I have been obliged to acknowledge, in some degree, to be characteristic of my country, the loss of great part of our revenue, which would, ultimately, endanger the existence of the country.

The existence of the country! the existence of the country! How long are we to be deluded by unmeaning cant? How long has party after party, administrations and oppositions, rung the changes upon those words in our ears? But where is the individual who has told us what he means to convey to our minds by this pompous phrase? What, does the air of heaven depend upon our revenue? Do our streams derive their salubrity, and our meadows their fertility, from our revenue? Do the seas, that wash our shores, and waft to us the tribute of the world, depend upon our revenue? Or, is the aggrandizement of parties—the wealth of factions—the general fruit of this revenue?—Is this, I say, the existence of the country? And will mankind be annihilated when Ministers can no longer cover their tables with the wealth of a province, and fill the Senate, and every department of an intricate system, with their creatures and dependents, the hungry consumers of this revenue?—But, flimsy as this argument is, it is not true. The revenue is not benefited by colonization. I stand in fear of no contradiction when I say this: and I do not say so, because the nature of this lecture precludes contradiction; but I fear no contradiction from the world, when I affirm that Colonies do not affist the revenue of a country. They affist patronage, it is true, dependants upon Courts and Ministers they affist; but they injure the real revenue: for there was never yet a Colony, whose revenue equalled the expences of its government. And as for their secondary operation upon the revenue, by means of their commerce, the genuine spirit of commerce abhors monopoly and restraint, and the example of America might convince us, that the best way to increase our trade is to make our Colonies independent.

But,
But, upon what principle, let me ask, is the idea supported, that to revenue we are to sacrifice the cause of liberty and humanity? Alas! the very argument stamps, with deep conviction, the justice of that character which I felt it my melancholy duty to assign to Britain. —Yes, it is my duty to convince you that such is the degraded state of our national character; because, till you are convinced of it, you will not lend your virtuous and peaceable efforts to wipe the stain away.

Behold the consequence of this rapacious avarice. Every thing is to be sacrificed to revenue; without which the wages of corruption cannot be paid. Every thing is to be sacrificed to the interest of a few monopolizing traders; because, unless monopoly goes on to an extravagant length, the extravagant projects of corruption cannot be supported. It is only by the growth of monopoly, that great revenues can be easily collected; and, therefore it is, that wealth is to be held up as the idol of our adoration; that we are to bow down in reverence, to every thing splendid; and that measure after measure is to be adopted, project after project is to be carried into execution, to keep those who are poor still poorer, to push them further down the ladder of society, to confine all favour and preferment to a few wealthy and powerful families, and to make it difficult for any to acquire but those who have already too much.

But to illustrate still further this principle of rapacity, and to show you its curious effects upon the rational as well as the moral faculties of its advocates, let us proceed to the curious arguments of that most honourable gentleman, Mr. Secretary Dundas. He is, you know, an advocate for the gradual abolition of this traffic: a man of moderation: that is to say, one of those who, not having the virtue to act right, and finding the wrong to be no longer tenable, endeavours to frustrate the cause of justice, by finding out a middle path between the two.

You will remember, Citizens, that in conformity with this system of moderation, about three or four years ago, when every guard and fence of the advocates of slavery was beaten down; and the friends of liberty began to exult in the prospect, that this great fortress of tyranny was about to surrender to the irresistible artillery of reason, Dundas stepped forward with his unexpected proposition of gradual abolition, and, under pretence of a capitulation, induced the advocates of justice to raise the siege. It was proposed by him, that
the measures for this gradual abolition should not take place till the end of four years."
Four years, he told you, was a period that would make no very considerable difference to those who remained in chains and bondage—four years longer continuance of a traffic, admitted to be a perpetual scene of rapine, blood and cruelty, could be no great injury to the cause of humanity. Just as he told you, on another occasion, that seven months close confinement was no sort of punishment whatever. "Another reason," he says, "for giving four years to the planter was, that he might have some time to furnish himself with slaves, and not suffer a stagnation or bankruptcy in his business by a total stop-
page."

Can men repeat these words, and yet be ignorant of their import? Can they lay down, after laborious examination, doctrines like these, and not shudder at the consequences? Has it not been proved to you, that the annual consumption (for it seems that human beings are to be spoken of as stock in trade!)—that the annual consumption of Africans in our West India Settlements, is no less than 60,000. Multiply—for, if we consider men as property, we must subject them, like other property, to rules of arithmetic, and strike our balances of debtor and creditor with the coldness of commercial precision.—Multiply this 60,000 by four, and you find, that 240,000 Africans were to be sacrificed to the moderation of this humane Secretary—for what?—why to prevent the bankruptcy of a few West India monopolists. What then—is this the enlightened and generous spirit so often boasted by Britons? or is it that spirit of rapacious avarice, that regards the lives of mankind, the happiness and liberties of thousands, as trifling circumstances, compared with the hurling of a few wealthy individuals from that rank which their opulence has given them, and casting them, for a while, into the humbler ranks of life they have so long been in the habit of despising.

But mark, Citizens, I pray you, the progress of this gradual abolition. The four years being nearly past, the same most humane and generous pleader comes forward and tells you, that a longer time is necessary now than was requisite at the former discussion. Though only four years were requisite four years ago, "more than four years are requisite now; and he thinks that the abolition ought, at present, to be deferred indefinitely." This puts me in mind of an anecdote, in ancient history, of one Simonides, a poet and philosopher,
pher, who was consulted by the tyrant under whose dominion he lived, about the opinion he entertained of the existence and nature of God. Simonides, at first, required two days to consider it; two days were granted, and when they were expired, the Monarch expected a reply. But, instead of answering the question, he required four days more. Four days more were granted, and at the end of these he came, not with his reply, but with a request of six days longer; and, at the end of those six days, he requested an indefinite time; "because," he said, "the more he considered of the nature of the Divinity, the more puzzled he was to give an answer to the question." And so, in the same manner, we have a great and mighty statesman, who finds the same growing difficulties upon a leading question of benevolence, as the ancient philosopher and poet did upon the leading question of theology; and he tells you, after having had four years to consider upon the question, that he is less determined in his own mind when the Deity of benevolence shall begin to be acknowledged and worshipped, than he was when he told you, four years ago, that four years only were necessary before the temple should be built.

But another reason why he now thinks a longer time necessary than at first is, that in war the planter has not the same opportunity of providing slaves.

Citizens, we have heard of a variety of trades; and we have heard of a variety of species of cattle in which traders may deal. In some parts of the world they are very famous for dealing in black cattle; with some, no cattle are in such repute as the golden calf; and there are other countries in which the cattle are all white. Now it happens, that while the trade of war continues, the traffic in white cattle admits of a quicker return, and, in consequence of modern improvements in the way of carrying it on, is discovered to be more profitable than the trade in black. Thus then, during the continuance of the war, it is not quite so easy to procure black slaves for the plantations, as it is to procure white slaves for the ships of war, and the ranks of a devoted army: and, therefore, you are told, upon the old system of bringing forward one piece of iniquity in justification of another, the slave trade is to be prolonged till the return of tranquility shall enable the planter to get such a stock of human cattle as may satisfy his conscientious desires.

If gold is thus to be admitted as an equivalent for life, if trade is to be set up as a thing of more advantage and consequence...
sequence than humanity, and justice, can we be surprized that, in the same assemblies, doctrines should be preached so abhorrent to the feelings of mankind as those I am about to recite to you? Can we be surprized to hear members, in that same assemblie, declare that "liberty,"—hear it Englishmen, if you can, restrain your indignation and hear it with patience! "that liberty is not the unalienable right of man!" What is liberty then the birth-right only of Britons? for it has been called the birth-right of Britons, even by those: borough mangers who swindle us out of the inheritance, and then threaten us with the halter for appealing to the title deeds. Is not liberty the right of all human beings? Or is the period come when right is changed into wrong? Are Britons also to be considered as implicated in this new doctrine? And are they also to be taught that their liberties are not unalienable? That they may be stolten by violence, or taken away by fraud, and that he, who has once been a free agent, may be reduced to the condition of a slave?

Are we surprized to hear in the same assemblie, also, "that it would be inhumanity to the people of Africa, to leave them to their savage liberty; and that nothing could exceed,"—Mark, Citizens, the curious argument, "it is not right to leave the Africans to the possession of their savage liberty, because nothing can exceed the joy and consolation which the Negroes, in the West India Islands, experience, upon the arrival of a fresh cargo of slaves from Africa: and to rob them of this would be to deprive them of one of the greatest sweets of life."

And is this true? Have civilized and enlightened Britons sunk the simple character of savages so low, that they, also, can exult in the chains and torments of their fellow beings? And feel a wicked consolation, in the midst of their own sufferings, by finding that others are rendered as wretched and as hopeless as themselves? If this malignant disposition is, in reality, generated in the breasts of Africans, by the oppression with which we have treated them, what becomes of the curious argument which Mr. Alderman Newham, thought fit to set up.

Citizens, I am no adept in theological questions. I do not pretend to speculate either upon the world above or that below. I am satisfied with the sphere I move in. I am sure I can do no benefit in any other. But divines, I understand, have upheld the doctrine that, if it were possible for a man to get into heaven, with the passions of demons and fiends in his
his bosom, still he would be miserable; and heaven, itself, 
would to him be worse than hell. Mark, however, the very 
different doctrines of the pious Alderman, whose words I 
have before quoted, "he hoped that the slaves would have 
their reward, in another world, for any sufferings they meet 
in this life: but while the life of our trade depends so mater-
ially upon their slavery, he would never agree to their eman-
cipation."

Citizens, I cannot answer for the faithfulness of reporters, 
but the newspapers have given me this as the logic which 
this honourable gentleman—for "they are all honourable men"—
used in the debate of yesterday. But let us compare this 
with other doctrines that have been held in the same place, 
and then let us consider what are humanity, liberty, and jus-
tice? We have been told, by some of the honourable gentle-
men in that assembly, that our commerce was to perish that our 
constitution might live. Now we are told, that humanity must 
perish that our commerce may live; and that we must never 
think of emancipating millions of our fellow beings, so long 
as the success of our trade depends upon their groans and 
bondage. What then—is humanity only a third-rate virtue? 
Alas! how blind have been those philosophers and moralists 
who have hitherto considered it as the first, the only virtue; 
and who imagined, that nothing was excellent but only in 
proportion as it grew out of, or was conducive to this great 
object! We are now told that it is a virtue of the third de-
gree. That humanity is to yield to commerce, and com-
merce, in its turn, is to yield to the security of the emolu-
ments of placemen and pensioners, to the sacred rights of the 
proprietors of rotten boroughs!

Citizens, another argument that has been made use of, 
deserves also considerable attention. The argument is de-

erived from the dreadful consequences of enquiry and discussion: 
those Jacobinical weapons with which some late infamous 
conspirators, "who," in the language of the Solicitor Ge-

eral, "carried their criminal enthusiasm so far as to wish 
"for the establishment of universal peace and fraternity," 
endeavoured to effect their diabolical purpose.

An honourable member tells you, that "the discussion," 
not only the abolition, but the simple discussion, "may be 
"attended with the worst consequences; as it would add a 
"spark to the general conflagration that now rages in 
"Europe."

I know
I know not what "these honourable men" mean by the general conflagration that rages in Europe. If by conflagration they mean the war and violence at this time raging over the whole continent, let them throw their censure upon the Minister whose intrigues produced that conflagration. If by conflagration they mean the light of political enquiry, I hope and trust the friends of liberty, unawed by threats or prosecution, will fan the sacred fire, will continue to cherish it, and keep it alive, 'altho' their own blood should be necessary to feed the flame; and that they will never neglect it till its sacred light has beamed into every eye, and warmed every heart in the universe.

Not such, however, are the sentiments of those "honourable men" who constitute the infallible majority of that honourable House. O, the enquiry is certainly a shocking enquiry, echo they. It is a dreadful enquiry at this time. You must not touch the subject at this period, the terms liberty, justice, slavery, will ring in your ears for ever, and lead to speculations and principles which at such a time are horrible. True, says Mr. Secretary Dundas, rising with the whole weight and patronage of Scotland upon his shoulders; true, says he, heaving and straining under that accumulation of places and emoluments, under which he has the misfortune to groan; true, the subject is horrible: "the "islands are already in a state of sedition; and if liberty is "given them, it is probable they will use their liberty in a "very improper manner. Let us think also of the situation "of the affairs at home;" (let us consider in what a ticklish situation our places, pensions and emoluments are at this instant.) "Even conversation on the subject, now, can only "excite confusion and agitation; and, therefore, I wish that "the motion had never been introduced."

And then he proceeds to shew another excellent reason, the necessity of subordination, why the House of Commons should not proceed with the enquiry till they know the pleasure of the House of Lords, which has now been three years nodding over the business. If the House of Commons does not venerate the House of Lords, perhaps the people will not venerate the House of Commons. Such is the interpretation—the plain English of his argument—for I quote not thee as his words. I shall read when I quote: when I make interpretations I deliver them extemporaneous, as my own. This is the true interpretation of his argument in reproba-
bation of the animated and generously indignant language of Mr. Whitbread, who with a courage and independence worthy a representative of a free and generous nation, reproved the tardy indifference of the Upper House on this great question.

But mark his words, "The honourable gentleman, in pledging himself to bring forward the motion, over and over again, if he knew it vain to do so, and that their Lordships would be against it—he must say that the gentleman meant mischief; to excite tumult, by provoking a fruitless discussion." The author of this motion is a man, who, except upon one question, has always uniformly voted with our present upright, heaven-born, and heaven-instructed Minister: yet Mr. Dundas says, "if the honourable gentleman wished to give the alarm, that justice had not been done by Parliament in past years, he stirred the embers of sedition." How came Mr. Dundas to suppose, that the conclusion from the arguments in yesterday's debate would be that justice had not been done by Parliament? I find no such accusation from those who argued for the abolition. If I recollect right, there is in an old proverb—something about a guilty conscience—I refer, however, to the better memory of my audience.

But if we are to admit this sort of argument, let us consider awhile the situation in which we shall be placed. You must not agitate, in the House of Commons, a question upon which the Lords have shewn a disposition to put a negative; you must not meet in popular assemblies to deliberate upon subjects which are in the contemplation of the Legislature; you must never repeat a petition once refused; and therefore, the refusal of the Legislature, like the laws of the Medes and Persians, is to be considered as irrevocable; and it is sedition to attempt to agitate a question which they shew a disposition to lull to sleep. What then is become of your right to petition? What is become of your right of remonstrance, if even your representatives must not press a disagreeable subject upon a confiding House of Commons, without being charged with stirring up the embers of sedition? Sedition is a new crime lately started up among us, and like Jacobin and Buggahoo may be applied to any thing that the speaker fears or hates. Search me, ye lawyers (for I see there are several present) search me your precedents, explore your voluminous statutes, tumble over your high authorities, and shew me a definition of this crime, which, like the serpent of Moses, swallows
swallows up every thing that comes in his way; or converts
to its own semblance every thing that is disagreeable to the
Minifter.

We weakly imagine that we once had rights. If we had,
they cannot be annihilated by a sate, nor supplanted by a nick-
name. If we have rights, surely we have a right peaceably
to investigate them; to remonstrate again and again; to agi-
tate the question to day, to-morrow, this year, and next year,
and again and again, till the mind of the legislature receives
that light which may be struck out among what they call the
dregs of the people, by which they may be induced to tread
in a new path, and may alter the resolutions they may have
 rashly taken.

But this new doctrine of the passive obedience of the lower
to the upper house, and of members in opposition to a minis-
terial majority, this doctrine that we are to bow down, with
implicit reverence, and entrust every thing, without a mur-
mur, to the superintending providence of the Lords in Par-
liament assembled, calls to my mind some circumstances which,
though not generally known, are worth attention, relative to
the manner in which the agitation of this question originated.
The fact is, that many of those who first started the question,
had no sort of inclination that it should ever be so seriously
attended to;—that it was, in short, a mere party job. In or-
der, says one, to keep the popular attention from grievances
at home, let us enter into an enquiry respecting oppression
abroad. Let us impeach, year after year, season after sea-
son, and Parliament after Parliament, a man whose only crime
is having obeyed with zeal the masters whom he served, and
whose fifteenth, iniquitous as it is, is not only factioned, but
cherished and encouraged by the exiling government. Let
us talk, also, of the rights of black men, left the rights of white
men should be too much discussed. Let us go to
Africa and the West Indies, that while the attention is en-

gaged in things abroad, thugs at home may go on to our
liking. But their opponents were longer sighted than them-
selves. They saw thro' the thin disguise, and determined to
fight the enemies of liberty with their own weapons. They
saw that, with proper management, the discussion of this
question might lead to the discussion of principles, which
afterwards they could apply to practice at home; and thus, as
I have been told by a very valuable character, whose name I
shall not mention, because he has already suffered enough
from the iron hand of oppression,—suffice it to say, I have
been
been told this by one of the foremost of the agitators of this discussion, that the cause of the poor Africans was made a mere stalking horse by both parties; many of the first, and apparently the most zealous promoters of the cause, having no other view than to promote their respective designs at home. In such a project, it is not easy to conceive which party must inevitably be worsted. And now that the supporters of old abuses, perceive, too late, the consequences, they want to crush the enquiry entirely; because they find that, instead of distracting the popular attention from grievances at home, it has riveted their attention to the principles from the neglect of which all abuses spring.

But Sir William Young, with arguments as brilliant, and as weighty as if they were just come fresh from the mint, contradicts the language of Mr. Dundas, relative to the seditious disposition of the islands. He finds another argument to build upon, and therefore proceeds without ceremony to pull down the argument of his friend: and thus, says one of these honourable gentlemen, in reply to the other gentleman equally honourable. "The slaves are very loyal to their "Masters!"—We understand now, it seems, what Courtiers mean by loyalty. I thought it meant respect and obedience to laws fairly made and impartially executed. But Sir William Young conceives loyalty to be a blind and implicit obedience to those, who think proper to lash us when we dare to murmur. "The slaves are very loyal to their masters; and (this argument is worthy some observation and attention) "there "are no peons in this country more happy than the negro "slaves."

What, Citizens, is it an argument to prevent us from doing justice to the slaves in the West Indies, that the people of this country are reduced to a situation equally deplorable with those negroes, whom they half despise, and half pity. But this is thought too cold by the learned Alderman whom I have so often quoted. He says, "I affirm that the condition of "the negroes is happier than that of the poor among our- "selves."

Citizens, I know not whether this is one of those statements which the orator thought self-evident, and therefore did not deem necessary to pursue any further; or whether it was one of those sudden rays of light and truth, which burst in upon the mind sometimes in the heat of investigation. But supposing the latter to be the case, I am rather inclined to think, that if this opinion had suggested itself a little earlier,
when he was preparing the brilliant speech by which he hoped, no doubt, to recommend himself to some fresh contract, or little bonus, he might have pursued the argument much further, and thus continued his oration—

"Nay, Mr. Speaker, so incontrovertible is this argument, that it might not only be supported by the actual experience of every honourable member of this honourable house, but I have absolutely written documents and calculations in my pocket by which I could demonstrate it to this honourable house: nay I can produce proofs from the writings even of the Jacobinical advocates of the abolition of the slave trade themselves to support me:—for if this honourable house will turn to the work of one Citizen Wadstrom, on Colonization, page 12, this honourable house will find these words. As to the traffic of the slave trade, as the Whites practice every fraud upon them in the quantity and quality of the goods delivered, and in trepanning their persons, the blacks cannot carry on equal trade on equal terms, without referring to similar practices. As to the injustice, cruelty and rapine, which, at the instigation of the Whites, they practice on one another, they are not more disgraceful than the well known trades of crimps and kidnappers, and press-gangs." (The consequences of all which, as this honourable house well knows, falls entirely upon the lower orders of society). "All of which," he continues, "are carried on without foreign instigation, in several European countries, and even protected or connived at by their governments."

"Nay, Mr. Speaker, it would require no great eloquence to convince you, that the parallel between the two situations is much more close than this honourable house would at first suppose; nay, and that wherever there is a difference, that difference is in favour of the blackamoor negro slave. For are not the people of this country found denly seized and carried to cramming houses, just as the blackamoor negroes are in Africa? where they are kept as long as pleases their masters, or till they can find an opportunity to dispose of them! Are not the common people in England, like the blackamoor negroes in Africa, treated with hard labour, little kindness, and licks food? Are not those who are kidnapped and doomed to fight for us, will-they will-they, punished with stripes and blows, as this honourable house knows very well? And are they not crammed down into miserable holes, and dungeons, and all that sort of
* of thing? Suffer me to call to the attention of this honourable house the miserable situation of poor Englishmen—in cramping houses, and press-houses, and tender-holds, and I am sure this honourable house will then perceive that the blackamoor negroes ought to be very well contented so long as white Englishmen, whom this honourable house knows are of the same flesh and blood with this honourable house, are treated in such a manner. Nay, and for matter of that, if we were to do any thing for these here blackamoor negroes, those there Jacobins might, perhaps, say rightly enough, that, if we are to be reforming, we ought to begin reforming evils at home, before we go abroad: for charity begins at home, says one of our wise old ancestors; and if this honourable house does not respect the maxims of our wise old ancestors, how should the people, you know? And so, as I was saying, Mr. Speaker, I will prove to this very thronged representation of the people, that the imprest holes, and the dungeons of crimping-houses, and the tenders, and all that, are worse than any thing the blackamoor negro slave experiences. For I am enabled to assure this honourable house, that poor Englishmen, when they are imprest, are thrown into a place called the hold: where they are kept, day after day, to compel them to enlist, upon bread and water just sufficient to keep life and foul together; and, if they lie down to sleep, the rats, that run about the hold, disturb them by gnawing and tearing the hair off their heads. I am glad, however, that our wise Minister is about to tax powder; for poor men will not now be in so much danger of having their hair gnawed off, in these most miserable dungeons: because why? there will not be any powder and pomatum to tempt them. Whereas the rats, now, sometimes eat their hair, and sometimes their ears, so that when the poor men are induced to enlist, they look as if they had been in the pillory. And, Mr. Speaker, to keep up the parallel, and shew this honourable house, that the condition of those blackamoor negro slaves, on the West India islands, is not worse than the condition of the lower orders of the people in this country, I shall ask this honourable house, What is it but slavery, to toil fourteen or fifteen hours a day; and after that, not to get a decent subsistence for their wretched families? What does this honourable house think slavery is? Does it not consist in stripes and bondage? In the whole produce of your labour going to those who have not toiled "with
with you, and nothing but wretched offals left for you?

What is slavery? but having no rights, no power to mend
your condition, nor no power of getting redress from the
laws: which this honourable house very well knows, while
law is so dear and wages are so low, no poor man can
possibly get in this country. Nay, Mr. Speaker, is it not
admitted, that the principal difference between freemen
and slaves consists in the one being governed by laws of his
own making, and the other by laws made by his masters:
because why? we all love ourselves best: and they who
make laws will always make them for their own advantage:
and they who have nothing to do with making the laws
will have no advantage at all. Now, it is well known to
this honourable house, that the common people in England
have no more share in making the laws than so many
blackamoor negroes: and therefore, that they are slaves.
And as, here in England, those who toil and bleed for us,
are robbed of all their rights because they have so toiled
and bled; now what is this but slavery? And, therefore,
what necessity can there be for abolishing the slave trade,
when the blackamoor negroes are no worse off than our
own people. For what though we have a Commons' House
of Parliament, is it not very well known that the common
people have no right to vote for them? And, therefore,
Mr. Speaker, one set of people making laws by which anoth-
er are to be governed will-they will-they, makes them slaves;
and as the slave trade goes on here as much as in Africa,
with this difference, that the slaves, who are seized and
sold by crimps and profs-gangs, and the like, are sold not
to work in plantations, but to be shot at, in a war, in the
success of which, if success were possible, they can pro-
mit themselves no advantage whatever.

Such Citizens is, I suppose, the sort of argument which
this learned Alderman would have made use of if he had had
time for that consideration which the subject demands. He
might, also, perhaps, have animadverted upon the pending
requisition bill. He might, if he had chosen, have ani-
madverted upon the unconstitutional powers vested by
this bill in the hands of Justices of the Peace: such as the
clause that "Justices of the Peace for the several divisions,
are to hold a Court of general session, for hearing, as the
"last resort, the appeals which may be made from the re-
spective parishes;" by which, without any trial by jury
whatever, the liberties, and ultimately the lives of our fel-
low
low citizens, in the lower orders of society are to be determined upon. Of the same despotic complexion, he might have said, is the clause, "that petty sessions are to be held, to receive the return of the parishes to such orders, and to attest and enrol the men to be rased; and for hearing the appeals of parishes, &c. against the proceedings of regulating officers;" and this, which is, perhaps, the most extraordinary of all, that "if returns of men, for any parish or place, shall not be made within three weeks after the service of the order by the Constable or Tything-man, the Justices, in Petty Session, may summon the Churchwardens and Overseers, making such default, to appear before them; and if it does not appear to the satisfaction of such Justices, that such default has been unavoidable, and hath not happened by wilful neglect, they are required to fine the Churchwarden," without trial by jury, without examination of witnesses in open Court, "they are required to fine the Churchwarden, in the sum of thirty pounds for each man!!! to be levied by warrant and distress on the goods and chattels of such churchwarden, &c. and Overseer. If the Churchwarden neglects to attend the summons, as above, he may be fined any sum from twenty pounds down to five pounds," without trial by jury; without any sort of trial whatever. By the arbitrary will of the Justice of the Peace, he may be "committed to the common goal, without bail or mainprize, for a space not more than a month, nor less than a fortnight." And all this for not being sufficiently vigilant in crimping, buying and inveigling those poor slaves, called the common people of England, into the worse than plantation drudgery to which this bill consigns them!

It might be asked, What are the reasons, why these clauses receive not the same revision which others, which bore less hard upon more opulent classes, have received. The answer is obvious, the revived clauses affected a set of men, who not only have representatives, but influence and weight, and whose complaints could not be treated with contempt. But as for these unaltered clauses, they are parts of the general system. Justices of the Peace are appointed by the Crown; and it is necessary, every now and then, to be vesting additional power in their hands, that they may keep the lower classes of people in order; who, if they had the Jacobinical right of trial by jury, might have justice done to them, when it would be more convenient for the exigencies of the state (that is to say, the exi-
gencies of Ministers and placemen) that they should be hurried on board a tender, or thrown into a dungeon, without any opportunity of vindication. For this it is that power is to be vested in Justices, to send on board the tenders all whom they think proper to determine "have no visible mode of subsistence!" And thus any man, who has rendered himself obnoxious to these petty Deities, without possibility of redress, may be seized and hurried on board a tender, to toil and bleed, at once a Briton and a slave.

I am aware, Citizens, that many other arguments might also be adduced, to prove the truth of the position, that "the condition of the lower orders of the people in this country is as bad may in some respects perhaps worse, than that of the poor Africans, who are doomed to slavery in our West India islands: who toil for the luxuries of others, but want themselves the necessaries of life; who furnish the nectar that enlivens our banquet, but who pine in sorrow and hunger; drink their own tears, and eat (at the known peril of the most barbarous punishments) the tops of the green plants which their own toil has reared.

Yes, Citizens, I know it is not only in the West India islands, where misery pines; where groans are heard, where anguish sob's in the cheerless gale, and breaks the silence of the joyless night. No, in the wretched cabins of the poor artificers of this country, I have seen myself famine and disease, shuddering under the mouldering roof, and crouching over a few mouldering embers that no longer emitted one ray of comfort.

Go, Citizens, to that part of the town where our weavers once resided in cheerful abundance; but where now want, nakedness and misery unspeakable, throng every street, and make each tenement a peep-house. This I have witnessed, myself, before the iron hand of power tore me from the sphere of my active exertions in behalf of my fellow citizens. How must that affliction have been aggravated during that season whose severity has reached even the joints of affluence and grandeur, through folds of ermine and double waddled doors. How many of these poor beings must have fallen victims to that piercing season? The bills of mortality may represent them, perhaps, as dying natural deaths; but famine, miserable famine was the real cause of those diseases which brought them to their miserable end.

Relieve this slave-trade then, ye friends of humanity!—Abolish unnecessary war; abolish unnecessary places and pensions;
sions; let not one hundred and sixty-two borough mongers consider themselves as the sole electors of that assembly which, as it legislates for all, ought to represent the whole population of the country.

O Wilberforce, if thou art indeed that man of humanity which thy zeal in the cause of the wretched Africans would lead us to believe, seek not so wide for objects of thy benevolence; nor expect that redress can begin in the western hemisphere. The seed, the root of the oppression is here; and here the cure must begin. If we would emancipate our fellow beings, in whatever part of the world, it is not by becoming ourselves the slaves of a Minister that so noble an effect can be produced: if we would dispense justice to our distant colonies, we must begin by rooting out from the centre the corruption and oppression by which that cruelty and injustice is countenanced and defended.

Citizens I am warm. I cannot withhold my honest indignation. I cannot "see the sufferings of my fellow creatures " and own myself a man," without feeling the boiling blood rush round my heart in stronger tides. Let me not, however, by an imprudent warmth, stimulate you too far. Judge me, thou Pottedly, who, without the passions and prejudices of the present day, shalt view my actions and shalt read my heart—I wish not to rule to violence. I would warm your hearts with a holy flame; I would awaken the settled glow of humanity, not impulse you by the volcanic explosions of anarchy and bloodshed. I detest, I abhor alike the assassin's knife, whether openly brandished by usurping power, or hid under the cloak of conspiracy.

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THE HORRORS OF ROYAL AMBITION.
From the Battle of Barnet, a Poem in the Peripatetic.

ACCURS'D remembrance of intestine rage!
Lo! friend with friend, and kin with kin engage!
Then frantic Britain arts and laws forlook,
Let ploughthares rust, and broke the pastoral crook;
While harpy Discord wak'd the brazen found,
Whose savage blast each social feeling drownd'.'

And
And call'd her hinds, in each fierce baron's train,
To spread a bloody harvest o'er the plain;
With War's dread scythe the horrend fields to mow,
And lay the boast of human virtue low.
At each stern Master's feet, whose sickle pride
Waver'd, in direful doubt, from side to side:
As interest prompts (but dimly understood)
As private pique, or daring thirst of blood,
As fordid bribes, or harlot smiles inspire;
Or spleenful Humour whets the fatal ire,
Each brutal chieftain arms, with impious joy,
And feels the dire ambition to destroy:
Thro' kindred ranks red Slaughter breaks their way,
And pomps of heraldry their crimes display.

See helm on helm, and thronging shield on shield,
With proud devices darken all the field;
From sword to sword the beamy horror plays,
And from throng'd lances wafting lightnings blaze;
While high in air the threatening banners spread,
The white rove here, and there the flaunting red.
The dire alarm prophetic vultures found,
And groaning myriads glut the purple ground:
While titled heroes hence their honours claim,
And float on valsal blood to impious flame.

"O! thou fond Many!" what hadst thou to do
In kindred blood the conflict to imbrue?
Ah! what'cavil'd the name the tyrant bore
Who tied your necks, or tax'd your hard-earn'd store?
One orphan'd babe defenceless left to sigh,
One briny tear that wash'd the widow's eye,
If justly weigh'd, had wak'd a sharper pain
Than Edward's exile, or than Henry's chain.
But York's nor Lancaster's proud claims ye knew;
For humbler tyrants ye the faction drew.
As herds to slaughter by their owners led,
Dumb, and unconscious of the cause, ye bled:
The titled ruffian the pretence supplied;
And as he swoon'd the abject million died:
Each petty Jove, their madness to inflame,
Shouts the dread thunder of his worship'd name;
His blazon'd Â£gis shakes; and thick they fall,
Till universal Darkness threatens all:
O'er all the realm one night of Horror lowers,
And huge Destruction, unrestrain'd, devours;
With stride exulting stalks around the coalt,
And snuffs the offerings of each valsal bolt!

[To be continued.]
CITIZENS,

IT is with great pleasure I meet you once more, under circumstances, I believe, considering the state of the public mind, still more auspicious to the cause of liberty than those under which we parted.

During the last season, the anxiety and zeal with which, in common with thousands of my fellow citizens, I was prompted to labour in the public cause, became so far injurious to my health, that my life was in danger of falling a sacrifice to my exertions. I come now before you with my health in some degree recruited, ready to repeat those exertions; wishing not by them to make myself anything, but desiring to make the cause of liberty and the triumph of human felicity all in all, both to myself and you.

Citizens, you will permit me to bespeak your candour. The exertion necessary to address you, at the opening of a season, is much more considerable than those, who have not been in the habit of public speaking can suppose. Even this short recess occasions me to come before you again with that trepidation and anxiety, which the importance of the cause I am labouring in, is well calculated to increase. There are always great advantages to be encountered on the renewal of any exhibition, of any kind, after a vacation; and which must particularly operate when every thing depends upon the mind and exertions of the individual; and when he is to trust to the moment for that expression with which he wishes at once to bring conviction to the judgment, and route the amiable feelings of the soul. This difficulty is still more increased from the impediments thrown in the way of mental preparation, by the attention I have been obliged to pay to the enlargement of the room, and the arrangement of the accommodations necessary for the throngs of auditors, who honour this place by their attendance. I trust, therefore, you will

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listen
listen with candour to the efforts I make this evening, and that you will pass over those defects which result from the circumstances under which I stand, and attribute them to the right causes.

Another disadvantage I labour under, upon this occasion, results from my having been induced, by particular circumstances, to make some alteration in my plan. It was my intention to have commenced this course with a very different subject from that which I am going to bring before you. During my recess my time has been, of course, divided between contemplating those beautiful scenes, which abound in the part of the country I retired to, viewing the state of society, (calaminous and miserable enough, indeed, even in the midst of that Eden of fertility!) and in directing my mind to those pursuits which might better enable me to do justice to the arduous situation in which I stand. These circumstances co-operating together, with the accident of having devoted some serious attention to the political works of Hume, and particularly my having fallen, in this course of reading, upon his essay on eloquence, induced me to chuse, as an introduction to this course of lectures, an enquiry into the natural connection between eloquence and liberty, and a refutation of some of the sophisms which that ingenious philosopher introduced into that essay, not very friendly to the cause of truth and liberty. I had occasion, however, as soon as I came to London, to change this plan. I had the mortification to observe, that among the friends of liberty and reform, there were strong symptoms of the growth of a disposition to envy, faction, and division, against which every true friend to the rights and happiness of mankind will be anxious to set his face.

I am well aware, and you will easily perceive, that nothing can be so fatal to the progress of liberty as a spirit of this kind; and that, therefore, there is nothing which it is so important to expose in proper colours, that it may become the object of hatred and avoidance to those who, but for thus contemplating it, might be deluded to be the tools of personal faction, when principles, and not men, ought to be the objects of their attention; and when the happiness of millions, and not the quarrels and contentions of rivals or calumniators, ought to engross the faculties, and call forth the energies of the human mind.

Citizens, I am not desirous of inflaming but of healing divisions, and I will admit that a disposition to suspicion, which
which is one of the chief causes of those factions, into which
the advocates for the cause of liberty so frequently split, does
not always, as at first sight one might be led to suppose, pro-
cceed from the worst and basest of motives that actuate the
human mind. There are generous qualities in the characters
of men so nearly allied to certain vices and foibles, that it is
not found a very difficult matter, amongst the agents of cor-
rupition, to turn the very virtues that should warm our bo-
foms into scorpions to fling our peace; and, instead of suffer-
ing them to be conducive to our happiness, to make them
instruments of our destruction. If we consider the real cha-
racter of the principle of liberty, we shall find that it is natu-
really connected with a certain degree of jealousy. The great
importance of the principle we are contending for, occasions
a thousand anxieties relative to those whose exertions we look
up to for the promotion of its success: as the tender mother
suggefts a thousand fears and apprehensions, relative to the
welfare of her babe, while the hireling regards, with perfect
indifference, all those probabilities of injury and danger with
which the little cherub may appear surrounded: So, frequent-
ly, in our anxiety and zeal for the cause of liberty, in our
conviction of the great importance of promoting that princi-
ple, we are apt to have our minds perturbated with a thou-
sand needless apprehensions, and frequently to glance the eye
of suspicion at the actions of our fellow citizens, when, if
we had the cause less at heart, this feeling might not be so
prevalent.

I am, therefore, ready to make some apology, for those
who may be active in disseminating suspicions: but I wish it
to be remembered how far this apology ought to go. We
may excuse—we ought to applaud the man who weighs every
circumstance, who scrutinizes every action, who dives to the
very bottom of the soul of any individual, or set of individu-
als, before he reposes that confidence in them, which, if
they are unworthy of it, they may hereafter abuse to the in-
jury of the cause: but there is a wide difference between
cautions and calumny; between jealous suspicion, and the
fastionous spirit of cabal and ferocious denunciation: one may be
excused from the good qualities of the heart or soundness of
judgment which frequently produces it: the other, if it does
not proceed from the worst of dispositions, must certainly re-
sult from the blindest infatuation; and I warn every friend to
the cause of liberty, at the same time that he keeps the Argus

[BB2]
eye of jealous scrutiny upon the conduct of every man, at the same time that he anxiously forbears to repose any more confidence in any man than results from the necessity of the circumstances under which we are placed may require.—I warn every friend of liberty to avoid that malignant disposition to calumny, suspicion, and denunciation, which has disgraced the otherwise glorious revolution of France; has brought to the grave so many virtuous and enlightened characters; has annihilated so much intellect, that might otherwise still have been flashing light, truth and conviction through the universe; and has occasioned that country, after all its struggles for the glorious principle of equality, to go backward, instead of forward, in the career of truth and justice; and to relinquish some of the most noble principles that were ever propagated for the felicity and moral advancement of man.

Citizens, this disposition to jealousy which actuates, and which under proper regulations, ought to actuate the breasts of those who are zealous for the cause of liberty, has not escaped the observation of the tools of ministerial corruption. The spies and agents of the infernal system of despotism veiled under the semblance of law and constitution, despairing of success from other efforts, conscious that, like all men engaged in a bad cause, every step that they take to extricate themselves from the difficulties into which they are plunged, will but embarrass them still more;—conscious that every effort they make to crush the cause of liberty, and extinguish the light of human reason, does but recoil upon themselves, and, like the flail in the hand of the unskilful thrresher, destroy—not the brains, it is true, but the heads of those who wield it;—finding that their attempts to destroy the advocates of liberty, have but promoted the cause, and that, by stretching too far the string of despotism, they have so destroyed the energy of the bow of power, that it will twang no more, as usual, nor drive home the darts of persecution to the hearts of those whom they wished to destroy—Conscious of this, they have changed their mode of conduct; and being no longer capable of deluding themselves with the expectation of success, by exertions in the open field, they skulk behind the walls and bushes of pretended patriotism, and thence attempt, by covert arts and secret machinations, treacherously to destroy those who, invincible in the truth and justice of their cause, laugh at the malice of open persecution, and defy the storms of their arbitrary authority. Panic struck also at beholding
beholding, and who so blind as not to behold, the rapid diffusion of the principles of liberty through every rank of the community, they feel themselves called upon for still stronger exertions at a time when their folly and their injustice has palled the arm of ministerial authority, and occasioned the once omnipotent hand of corruption to sink listless by the side they with in vain to defend: feeling this they appeal to their last resort—they attempt to divide those whom united they cannot prevail against, but whose attachment to the cause of human happiness it is impossible for them to forgive.

"We have knit ourselves together, say they, in one phalanx; distinctions of Whig and Tory we have buried in oblivion; and, thus united, with the legible proclamation on our foreheads, that we never had any other principle than the principle of getting into place when out, and keeping in when in—With this proclamation, engraved in brass, and stuck upon every frontlet, we have armed ourselves with lawless arrogance, and with this weapon and this impenetrable helmet, we wish to protect ourselves in the places of power and emolument, which, at the expence of almost thirty millions of taxation upon the groaning people, we have monopolized to ourselves: but it is in vain that we have made our citadels so strong, it is in vain that we have thus armed to defend them; the multitude are a swinish herd no more; they have learned to walk erect; they have discovered that they have intellect; they have discovered that they have rights, and the starvation to which we have reduced them, disposes them to demand those rights; we must, therefore, set them together by the ears among themselves, as quickly as we can,—induce them to hate each other, and cut each other's throats—or, at least, to blast each other's characters, and disquiet each other with the thankless pursuits they are engaged in, or else farewell to all those golden visions of hereditary places and immortal pensions with which we have delighted our imaginations and filled our coffers.

"Strong in a just cause, vindicated by the zeal of honest advocates, and rendered triumphant by the intrepidity of upright juries, these champions for the rights of man will prevail, say they, against the sacred immunities of places, pensions and emoluments, if we do not find some other means for their destruction. Ye Taylors, ye Lynams, ye Grove'ss, and ye Goflings,* bring us no more your reports of what

* This last mentioned wretch was in the room when this was delivered.
this patriot does, or that patriot means to do; even your for-
geries and falsehoods, (though we know you are as ready to
swear to falsehoods as to truths,) even these will no longer
avail: ye must adopt another plan; ye must scatter the poi-
sonous seeds of suspicion in every breast, and sow division be-
tween patriot and patriot; and if any little personal difference
happens to arise between them, or any misapprehension or
suspicion, you must inflame it into the rancour of party hatred
and factious animosity; and then, perhaps, we may have an
opportunity of enjoying our golden situations a little longer,
and the system of corruption may last our day,—which is long
enough for us, you know: for by courts and courtiers there
is one maxim, at least, of one philosopher, which is always
revered and held sacred—When we are gone, let the world be
consumed with fire: it is no matter to us; all our concerns are
settled!!!

"Let us then destroy the characters of the men whose lives
we cannot destroy: let us calumniate those whom we cannot
move; and if we can neither find juries corrupt enough to do
whatever we bid them, nor assassins who are bold enough, or
cunning enough, to wreak our revenge in secret, at least we
will stab that which is dearer than life to the generous mind,
—we will endeavour to send the honest and upright advocate
of Truth and Liberty abroad into the world, under the sem-
blance of a monster, as bloated with vice and corruption as
we are ourselves."

Citizens, for such designs it is but too easy to find engines.
There are, and there always will be, men whose zeal and
enthusiasm is greater than their judgment; and these may be
for a while deluded. There are, and there always will be,
other men whose minds are full of envy, malignity, and per-
sonal animosity; and to these a hint is sufficient. And there
are, and always will be, others who, without having either
done or suffered any thing for the cause of liberty, alspire to
the reputation of being the only good patriots, by denouncing
every person who has done or suffered any thing, and holding
up to hatred and derision every one who happens to have that
share of public confidence and affection, which they know
they have not the ability, or virtue, or courage to procure by
their own exertions. Such individuals will always be ready
to seize upon the slightest pretences for fowling divisions and
creating factions: not because they themselves really suspect,
or at least not so much as they pretend, the men against
whom they direct their fury; not, on the other hand, that
they really wish to prevent the cause of Liberty from triumphant;—not that they are corrupt enough to mean to play the game of the Minister, but merely because they wish for that popularity which they do not like the trouble of procuring by honest and proper means. To these men "trifles light as air are confirmations strong as proofs of holy writ;" and there is no accident of the convivial hour, there is no individual circumstance in the history of any man's life, so insignificant that they will not seize upon to weave the web of calumny, to blast his reputation and destroy his exertions, whenever it happens to suit with their malignant caprice, or be conformable to the views of their narrow ambition.

But though such dispositions exist in some few bosoms, and though the passions of those are frequently communicated, by a sort of contagion, to the most excellent of human minds, the real friend of Liberty and man will not be driven from the course of exertion, by all the calumnies and jealousies of Faction. Others may be factious, but the true friend of Liberty will rather be the victim of Faction himself, than lend his assistance to disseminate those seeds of division which he knows must be injurious to the cause of Truth. For it is not personal popularity that is sought by the real friend of Liberty: no, it is public good; and he deceives himself strangely indeed, who can imagine that he ever was seriously attached to the cause of public happiness and virtue, who can suffer any degree of injustice or perfecution to drive him from a steady perseverance in those principles, without the establishment of which the happiness of mankind never can be advanced, nor the calamities of the human race removed.

There are other dangers, however, which result from this factious spirit—this disposition to suspicion and jealous, against which it is proper to warn the friends of Liberty. The man who feels himself goaded with unmerited reproach is in danger of losing his temper, and being stimulated to rashness, which may be pleasing to those to whom otherwise he would be too wise to render himself subservient. He may be urged, perhaps, in his zeal to prove how unjustly he has been reproached, to acts of imprudence, which may be friendly to the views of those spies and tools of Oppression, with whom guarded caution, mixed with activity and zeal for the public cause, constitute the highest crime: because it renders the assiduous champion of human rights, who unites those qualities, superior to their little artifices, and places him out of the reach of their base misrepresentations.
It is therefore against imprudencies of this kind, that I would particularly warn those who may be calumniated, or who may have the misfortune to be thwarted in the prosecution of those pursuits of liberty and justice, in which they are engaged. These are dangers of which those who first stimulate to disseminate the principles of suspicion are well aware: and there is no doubt, but this is one of the objects for which calumny is frequently employed: because it is frequently seen that warm and generous minds fall into this snare, and lose the guard of prudence that they may get rid of those suspicions, which, instead of being thus thrown off their guard by them, they ought to treat with contempt, or to repel with the firmness and dignity of conscious innocence.

But there are dangers of a more alarming kind proceeding from this disposition to envy and suspicion: and I am very much mistaken, indeed, if (not forgetting the artifices and intrigues of the allied courts and cabinets of Europe) these are not among the the principal causes of those excesses and cruelties, which have brought a stain upon some part of the revolution in France. Yes, I am convinced, that most of the crying acts of injustice that have sullied the French revolution, are to be traced to this suspicious and factious disposition which I have thus endeavoured to represent in proper colours, that you may abhor and avoid it: and I cannot persuade myself but that, if this principle of suspicion had been early eradicated, that we should never have heard of the wanton excesses of Robespierre and his party, whose principles I must for ever revere, though I abhor their practices, so opposite to every thing which those principles, well digested and deeply felt, are calculated to produce.

Had mankind, in that part of the world, experienced the advantage of a regular and gradual introduction to the principles of truth, liberty and humanity, which we, in some degree enjoy; had the scorpion malignity of suspicion, generated by the base and treacherous corruption of the court, been early exterminated from the Gallic mind, it is impossible that a principle the most lenignant, the most glorious that ever warmed the human breast, should have been so disgraced as, for one period, we behold it in that country.

I dwell
I dwell not upon these excesses with a view to shock you from the principles of liberty. Europe is becoming rapidly convinced that it was not the principles of liberty that produced the mischief, but that the evil flowed from passions and dispositions the most inimical to that sacred cause. The principles of liberty are the principles of benevolence: for I don't understand what liberty means, if its object is not to promote the happiness of mankind, and diffuse through all ranks an equal proportion of rights, felicity, and protection. But let us observe the progress of suspicion: let us observe the history of the rise and fall of the respective factions. If two sets of men differed but a hair's breadth in principle, the high-flown enthusiasts immediately denounced the moderates as royalists, and advocates for federalism; while the moderates, if such extravagant suspicions can be called moderation, reverted the denunciation, by calling out on every side, that those violent enthusiasts were in the pay of the courts in alliance against the liberties of France; and that they only wanted, by the excesses, to disgrace that cause in which they pretended to be so warm.

If we examine impartially, we shall soon find that neither the one nor the other of these denunciations had any basis. The Briffonins were not advocates either for Royalty or Federalism: they were not persons who attempted either to restore or modify the fallen despotism of France: they were pure, they were zealous, they were generous republicans; and, if a doubt could have existed before, their conduct in the hour of death proved them to be such, in defiance of the calumnies that were heaped upon them. Nor can common sense, for one moment, believe that the energetic exertions of the Jacobins, those vigorous efforts of courage and intellect, with which they rousted the nation to an enthusiasm unparalleled in the history of man, and drove the combined powers like chaff before the whirlwind, were meant to support the cause of the allied despots of the continent, by depriving them of their dominions, and reducing them to the most degraded state of terror and humiliation.

Let us then fairly and impartially admit, that men may differ from each other in opinion, without having corrupt and rotten hearts. Let us admit that even the most furious aristocrat may perhaps be deceived and deluded; and that he wants nothing but a little serious argument and investigation, to convince him of the error of the principles he has adopted:

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that even he, perhaps, has a heart warm and glowing for the happiness of his fellow beings, though he is unfortunately ignorant of the means by which the happiness of those fellow beings can be promoted. Still more, let us believe that it is possible for a man, or set of men, to differ from us with respect to some particular measures, without immediately concluding that he or they must of necessity be hostile to the liberties and rights of man, and wish to trample under foot those sacred privileges of which every man, by the very circumstance of his manhood, is entitled; and which it is impossible for any set of men whatever to deprive him of the right of enjoying, however they may take from him the present possession.

But there is another reason why we ought to be careful of these dispositions to split into factions and divisions. What signifies, to you or me, what may be the difference in the particular parts of the system which you or I may have adopted; if there are grievances, mischiefs, and oppressions which we are all of us convinced ought to be remedied, let us seek, by united, peaceable and justifiable methods, for the amelioration of society in those respects, and leave the adjustment of more minute differences to the time when they become more important. Let us not split into fancied parties. Let us not give each other nicknames. Let us not distinguish this man as a this-ite, or the other as a that-ite: Let us remember, that not factions, but the great body of mankind, ought to be the object of our attention; and that their is the cause that we ought constantly to labour to promote. But of this we lose sight immediately that we put those contemptible ites at the end of names; as if we were the adjuncts of some particular man, whom we have been weak enough to make our leader: not remembering that principles ought to be our only leaders; and that men are nothing any longer than they promote those principles which are favourable to the happiness of mankind.

Unfortunately, from losing sight of this great truth, the revolutionists of France have also lost sight, to a certain degree, of the grandest of those principles they have been so long struggling to establish.

I shall not enter at large, upon this occasion, into the investigation of the plan of government now before them. This will be more proper to be treated upon, when I come (as in a few evenings I shall come) to consider the indefeasible right of annual Parliaments and universal suffrage. But
let it be remembered, that the true advocates of this universal suffrage, the true champions of the real and just equality of man, the true champions for the abolition of the odious distinction between citizens and low people (so odiously restored by this last plan of the constitution in France) brought themselves into disgrace, by the cruelties engendered by faction and suspicion; and brought, by these means, some degree of odium upon the principles they supported: and thus France, after a struggle of so many years, seems in danger of losing, by its factions and suspicions, the glorious principle of universal equality.—I don't mean equality of property. No man was ever wicked enough to put that into the heads of mankind, till Recrues and his associators made their appearance among us. He and his colleagues were the incendiaries who broached that doctrine; and if it should unfortunately (which I hope and trust it never will) sink into the hearts of the common people; they are the guilty wretches who, at the bar of this country, ought to answer for all the massacres and mischiefs which so absurd an idea has a tendency to produce.

It is not then this Russian principle of equality, it is the real, the just principle of equality, which says that all men—as Paine has beautifully expressed it, in that glorious and immortal work lately sent by him into the world—all men by the right of their manhood possess, and to which “their persons are their title deeds.” This is the sort of equality—an equality of rights, for which I stand up as the advocate: the equality which says that the man, who produces every thing by his labour, shall be as well protected as he who enjoys every thing by the advantages of his ingenuity, or the accidents and circumstances under which he is placed. This is the principle of equality that I defend. This is the principle of equality, which I could almost drop from the bottom of my heart a tear of blood to behold, that the people of France are upon the eve of relinquishing. And relinquish it, according to this compromising constitution they will—at least in theory, though the framers of the plan have glossed it over with expedients, in the hope of rendering it palatable.

If, therefore, fellow citizens, you are really advocates for the rights and happiness of mankind—if you really believe that fundamental truths ought always to be adhered to; that expedients should be left to shuffling knaves, and first principles be the landmarks to direct the virtuous advocates for the
happiness of the human race—if you really wish to promote the cause of liberty—if you wish that the crops, produced by your luxuriant soil, should no longer be sent to feed Hessian, Austrian, Croat, Bohemian, and Hanoverian—if you wish that emigrant locusts should no longer devour the fertility of this country—if you wish that the consequence of your industry should be plenty, that the consequence of plenty should be universal and equally diffused happiness—if you wish that those calamities under which we groan should be removed; that famine should be driven from our doors; that inordinate taxation should no longer be heaped upon our shoulders, to support in idle luxury and splendor those tools of corruption, placemen and pensioners—if you really wish to promote your own happiness, and that of your fellow beings, dismiss from your minds the fordid principle of unfounded suspicion; avoid, by all means, splitting yourselves into factions and divisions; let Candour, the belt anchor of Freedom, keep you to your meetings; and when you do fail forward in quest of public happiness, let Humanity and Justice be the pilots that direct your course, and Unanimity and Benevolent Feeling be the mariner and the gale that direct and waft you to your port.

If, Citizens, you will thus adhere to the great compass of principle and reason—though I pretend not to be God Almighty’s nephew—though I cannot pretend to point out the oak under which I have lain while the dove of inspiration whispered in my ear, yet I will venture to predict, the day is not distant when the condition of Britons must be improved. Knowledge is widely diffusing itself among mankind; the principle of Liberty has had a most rapid spread indeed, during the last six or eight months; mankind begin to feel, in different parts of the country, as they ought; and I have been astonished to observe how numerous the advocates of Liberty are, even amongst those ranks and conditions of life in which we have been generally used to expect nothing but a servile compliance with the corruptions of aristocracy, and the infirmitations of ministerial tyranny. Shall we then relinquish this great pursuit from personal motives? Shall we render ourselves unworthy of the liberty we seek, and thus lose the liberty we wish to obtain? or shall we, uniting heart and hand, press boldly forward, by just, spirited, and peaceful exertions, towards the accomplishment of our object—towards the attainment of that liberty to which I trust all from their hearts...
are attached? And if there are any who now hear me, or who may hereafter hear the doctrines that I have this night delivered, who feel (which, under the restraints of principle, it is justifiable to feel) an emulation and ambition to obtain the applause and affections of their fellow-citizens, let them take from me one short and simple lesson. — 'It is in vain that we make disputes about interest and duty. If we wish to live among persons of enlightened intellect, we shall find that interest and duty are one; that he who labours to promote the general happiness, brings to his own heart a satisfaction greater than any selfish exertions ever could produce; and that he who, instead of looking for popularity, looks to the promotion of public happiness, intelligence and virtue, will earn eventually a more durable reputation, than envy, cabal, and jealousy, ever were capable of obtaining. Let us not forget that the reputation obtained by intrigue, the popularity purchased by denunciation, suspicion, faction, jealousy, and envy, is short-lived indeed, while that which is obtained by principle and magnanimity will last for ever. — The fame of Marat flourished but for a day, because built upon faction, violence, and injustice; but the glory of Thomas Paine (who has built his reputation upon principles and integrity, and an unfeigned zeal for human happiness) stands upon a rock that never can be shaken. So long as the tongue of man can articulate the names of those heroes who have benefitted mankind, so long, in defiance of perdition, will the name of Thomas Paine resound throughout the world: for though I may not, nor perhaps any other of his admirers, agree with all that he has said in all his works, or the precise manner in which he has sometimes treated his subject, yet, whoever observes the tenor of his writings and conduct, must admit 'this was a man of principle, who laboured for the promotion of the happiness of mankind; who kept himself aloof and independent of all faction: — this therefore is the man who has built himself a solid and lasting reputation, because he sought for that reputation alone by promoting the happiness and welfare of man.'

**The following Passages constituted a Digression in the Second Lecture, but they belong more properly to this, and are therefore here introduced.**

The
I have spoken thus far in general terms; because it is the general cause, not the particular feeling that principally actuates my mind. Considering however, the industry with which, during my absence from town, calumny has been employed against me, it may not be improper to make a few brief observations upon that subject: at the same time I shall carefully avoid all personalities and retaliation; as my object is to prevent, not to increase dissention; and as it is a part of my system to have no personal quarrels, and to cherish no animosities against any man who is labouring in the public cause whatever may have been his conduct to me in particular.

It is not difficult to perceive the source of these misrepresentations. There are undoubtedly many well-meaning, but indiscrétte men, who are angry with me for withdrawing myself from the popular society; a measure, the motives of which I fully explained in the concluding lecture of the last season; and which the doctrines enforced from this place sufficiently prove to have sprung from no departure from those principles of liberty to which I have so long been pledged. It was also easy to foresee, that a situation like this could not be occupied without exciting the envy and jealously of those who have not magnanimity enough to look with complacency upon the good fortune of their fellow-citizens.

Alas—those who envy me the applause and emoluments of this situation, know but little of the cares that surround it. They perceive and exaggerate the external advantages; but they know nothing of the internal difficulties—the constant labour, the perpetual anxiety, and the sacrifice of health, strength, and social enjoyment, which it demands. If those things had been considered but ever so slightly, surely it would not have been difficult to find a reason, why a little retire-

* See Tribune, Number XV.

† The emoluments of the lecture room (if in this age of perfection a situation in which a man stands up to speak the truth could be regarded as permanent) when the incumbrances produced by three years perfection and disappointment are cleared away, would, it is true, be more than sufficient to satisfy my simple wants. But those who count over the gain by an exaggerated calculation of numbers, little suspect that my expenses, independent of house-keeping, &c. are little short of 400l. a year.
ment, in a distant part of the country should have appeared
defensible to me, without inventing the paltry story of my
having accepted a pension from that caitiff-minister who for-
merly attempted to pension me with a gibbet and an axe.

Citizens, I was not now to learn that calumny is the in-
evitable attendant of all active exertions; and that he who
wishes to benefit mankind in any way whatever, must be con-
tent to receive, as part of his wages, not only the hatred and
malevolence of those whose corruptions he would undermine,
but of others also whose factious intolerance cannot bear the
slightest difference of opinion from the infallible standard of
their own judgment.

It is not unknown to me—it ought not to be unknown to
any man that whenever we engage in any efforts to ameliorate
the condition of mankind, if we escape the harters of aristoc-
cracy, we ought not to be sure that we shall escape the guil-
lotine of faction.

I am not therefore astonished, that my back was scarcely
turned—that I had scarcely reached the scene of my retire-
ment before suspicion lifted its serpent-head, and I was brand-
ed as a pensioned apostate who had abandoned his post, and
abjured his principles. These suspicions, however, did not
prevent calamities of a very different nature. And it is
curious to compare the contradictory fabrications which were
invented by the violent supporters of opposite principles who
seem in a manner to have formed a coalition in this respect—
or rather to have conspired together to place the poor bark of
my reputation between the Scylla of minislerial and the Chas-
ridbs of democratic perfection. To the furtitious forgeries
of "the Sun" and "True Briton," I shall make no reply—
It is enough to say, that it was in "the Sun" and "True
Briton," that they were published. And to confess the truth,
I have always had so much vanity as to be gratified rather than
hurt at the abuse which ministerial hirelings lavished upon me.
A report which has passed through a different channel ought
not however to be passed over in silence, because it will ex-
hibit in just colours the fidelity for which those gentlemen
called spies are so famous, and shew you in the clearest point
of view how much justice there is in the government of any
country, upon the foundation of their testimony, putting their
fellow-citizens in jeopardy of their lives.

It will perhaps be entertaining to hear, that while I was
in the Isle of Wight, struggling with the attack upon my constitution, information was actually lodged by some of those virtuous spies—that I was at the head of the riots, pulling down a crimping-house in St. George's Fields. If you ask me the authority for this anecdote—I tell you that I have aristocratic authority. Mr. Ford, of the Secretary of State's office, has himself declared, that they received such information, while I, forsooth, not knowing what my spectre was doing in St. George's Fields, was 70 or 80 miles from the spot, and scarcely capable of stirring across my room.—A pleasant counterpart this for the report that I had retired from public duty upon a pension of three hundred a year. Citizens, I will not make any boasts either of my abhorrence of violence, on the one hand, or my abhorrence of corruption on the other. The man whose actions do not speak in his favor, deserves no credit for his professions: but this much I will venture to assure you, that whether I ever head a band of incendiaries, or become the humble servant of Mr. Pitt, I will never be bought for three hundred a year, nor hanged for pulling down a crimping-house.

But let us dismiss this grating subject: let us dismiss (if the warmth of youthful exultation will permit) let us dismiss all egotism—all personal feelings. Let me exhort you also, every one who may hear me, not, by misrepresentations and ill-founded suspicions, to stir up personal factions and divisions, so hostile to the cause of real freedom. Let us unite heart and hand, and struggle together in the great cause of human happiness; and, if we must have rivalry among us, let this be the struggle of our rivalship—not who shall most deserve, but who shall most merit—not who shall engross, but who shall deserve, the largest portion of the approbation and affection of mankind.

It has been well observed, citizens, by one of our most celebrated poets, that "the proper study of mankind is man." We may certainly then affirm, that in the present state of society, when political disquisition and novel truths are diffusing themselves in every country, one of the most important studies is the state of popular opinion relative to those questions with which the universe is agitated. Nothing can be more desirable than to know the state of popular opinion under such circumstances; because it is by knowing and duly weighing the state of this opinion that violence is to be prevented on the one hand, and persecution on the other.

Ignorance will always dispose mankind to exertions unfriendly to human happiness: as he who is groping about in the dark is more likely to do mischief to himself and others, than he who, walking upright in the broad eye of day, has the opportunity of perceiving and understanding the objects by which he is surrounded. It is therefore that, at this early part of the season, I come before you to give you my report of the state of popular opinion in this country.

I cannot pretend that this is a subject which has been merely suggested upon the spur of the moment. It was in my meditation before I adjourned the last session; and it was a part of my intention to employ a considerable proportion of the summer recess in observing and collecting the necessary facts in different parts of the country. If strength had enabled me to fulfill my designs, I should have been able to come before you on the present evening with a much more ample and satisfactory account than I can at present pretend to present. It was my intention to have divided my time principally between studious retirement, and democratic pedestrian rambles, from which
the opinions of different classes of society may be collected.—In these rambles I meant to mix with all classes who came in my way—for they are grossly ignorant who suppose, that a knowledge of the world is to be obtained by associating with one class of society: and therefore it is, that the most ignorant of all the ignorant animals that crawl upon the face of the earth are generally found among our high and mighty potentates and rulers.

I will grant that we are never thoroughly acquainted with society, without some opportunity of viewing and beholding the conduct of the highest orders. But as the highest orders are few, and the intermediate and lower orders are numerous, I will venture to assert that it is better of the two to be shut out from the society of the highest than to be excluded from all intercourse with the great mass of the people.

There is another reason why I would recommend to my fellow-citizens, democratic excursions of this kind. The man who travels in a post-chaise from place to place, generally collects no other information than is derived from the milestones he passes upon the road, or the charges made by his postilion and the landlord of his inn. He who, on the contrary, leisurely roves from place to place, and mixes with every company that falls in his way, has an opportunity of discovering the real springs of human action, and learning the real value of the human character. For it is not beneath the embroidered vest, it is not beneath the plumed hat of aristocracy, that virtue is to be exclusively sought. Many a time will this glorious principle, united with animating intelligence, be found under the tattered garb of the peasant, and in the bosom of the laborious and despised orders of society. To mix with all ranks of men is the duty of every individual who has the opportunity so to do: for it is thus that we practically learn that great lesson, so theoretically enforced, that all mankind are of one family, and that mutual obligation connects every individual of the universe together in one chain of sympathy and reciprocal duty.

"And thus, as withal we excursively rove,
"The mind will expand, and the heart will improve;
"Till embracing mankind in one girdle of love,
"In nature's kind bosome we daily improve;
"And, no selfish distinctions to fetter the soul,
"As brothers to all learn to feel for the whole."

PERIPATETIC.

With
With these views it was that I marked out for myself when I quitted London, a very extensive rout: a rout, however, which I was unable to pursue: the plain fact being, that my exertions in this place had undermined my health too much to permit me to execute any considerable proportion of the project I had formed; and that I had scarcely set my foot upon the delightful shore of the Isle of Wight when a cruel disease seized upon that vital organ which in this Tribune is particularly acted upon, and threatened me almost with dissolution.

Such information as I had an opportunity of collecting I did not however neglect; and the fruits both of my personal observations and of my enquiries I shall lay before you; acknowledging, at the same time, that my sphere of actual observation was confined to the Island, the neighbourhood of Portsmouth, Gosport, the adjacent roads, and the city of Chichester. The last of these places I cannot mention without repeating by way of prefatory digression, a little anecdote which may tend to illustrate the patience and dignity of the loyal magistracy of that corporation; and to shew you with what horror and alarm those most dreadful of all dreadful monsters, the hunters of political truth, are regarded by the official guardians of the constitution in church and state as now administered.

Upon strong and repeated invitation, I was induced to make a visit of a few days to Chichester; where I was informed a few avowed and unintimidated citizens, to whom I was hitherto known only by name, eagerly desired the opportunity of my acquaintance. To such an invitation it was not easy to return a denial; and I embraced the opportunity of repairing to a spot famous for its dependence on the famous Duke of Richmond; and for the unequivocal display of his right noble apostacy. I knew pretty well what sort of character was to be expected among the leading members of a rotten borough, with the palace of a great man in its neighbourhood; and I was not ignorant of the mean arts of official cabal; yet what was my surprize to hear, that the worshipful Mayor of this worshipful corporation, on the report of my intended visit, had called his maces around him and given them express orders to keep a sharp look-out to the preservation of peace and order in the loyal city during the time I should remain there; and that if the least disturbance arose in any corner of the city, no matter where I was at the time, 

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that horrible Jacobin should immediately be taken into custody:—to be committed, I suppose, to the house of correction; there undoubtedly to experience the humane treatment of jailors and the comforts of close confinement, that Mr. Pitt and Mr. Dundas might again have an opportunity of convincing you, by their logic, that such confinement is no punishment.—But this, Citizens, was not enough. A very flattery and pompous member of that corporation, who calls himself an Esquire, and boasts that he has prevented four petitions from coming to Parliament, from different boroughs and corporations in which he has a most constitutional authority and domination—this pompous gentleman we caught in the very face of walking backwards and forwards under the window of the friend’s house where I was, and clapping his ear against the crevices of the window, to overhear our conversation. We did not let the poor gentleman go without his errand: for all ancient maxims ought to have sacred veneration paid to them; and it would have been a great pity the old proverb should have been marred, that Listeners never hear any good of themselves.

Thus much, Citizens, for undoubted facts. If the positive testimony of one individual is to be believed (which, in a circumstance so atrocious and extraordinary, I grant you hardly ought to be the case) there is a tale behind of much blacker import. Such testimony as, if it were on the other side of the question, would send a dozen or two of suspected persons to the Tower, and suspend for a third time the Habeas Corpus act, that this Esquire-like eaves-dropping member of the corporation of Chichester, with two other perfons, formed a plan, and for two or three hours paraded the streets of Chichester, for the purpose of executing that plan—either to seize me by force, (that is to say, kidnap me,) or, if I made the smallest resistance, to put an immediate period to my life. I do not give you this as a fancy I mean to affirm as true. It is a maxim with me, that miracles are not to be believed on the same slight testimony as ordinary circumstances; and I yet lack the faith to believe that, however great their profanity, the miscreants of the country have courage enough to put into execution schemes so daringly infamous. Threats of violence, however, no more than threats of persecution, ought to terrify the advocate of truth from the duty of promoting human happiness; and feeling, as I truly shall be credited when I say I have long felt, not only a principle, but a passion for the diffusion of political information, and the improvement
improvement of the condition of my fellow beings, I have not relaxed in my endeavours to qualify myself for the situation in which I stand. I have kept the Tribune constantly in my eye; and, amidst all the wild scenery of the Isle of Wight, the baffle of a great sea-port, and the social circles of Chichester, have endeavoured to collect, as far as opportunities would admit, such facts as would enable me to form some judgment of the state of popular opinion, at this time.

Citizens, in order to accomplish this, I have endeavoured to make observation go hand-in-hand with my studies; and, while one part of my time was devoted to the examination of the arguments in favour of despotism, from Hobbes's "Levishman" to Peacock's Defence of Parliamentary Corruption, another part was taken up in observing the condition and developing the opinions of my fellow citizens.

For this last, the sphere in which I moved was in some degree favourable; for it is the promiscuousness of society, and not the multitude, that enables us to form in any degree a just idea of the state of popular sentiments; and the places in which I have been are particularly favourable to observation in this respect, inasmuch as they are the resorts of persons promiscuously collected from various parts of the country. The island, particularly, is visited for its natural curiosities by people from all parts; and it is among persons thus promiscuously thrown together, that I have endeavoured to form, as far as I was able, some judgment relative to the state of opinion. As to the persons to whom I was introduced, and the individuals who sought my society, on account of the principles for which I have been persecuted, I put them entirely out of the question; because these were evidently drawn together by a sort of magnetism of principle, which occasions us to be pleased with those who correspond with us in opinion. We should always, therefore, when we wish to estimate popular opinion, put these out of the case; and this is another reason why great and mighty potentates frequently betray so much of that ignorance to which I have before alluded. Used to flattery, and unable to exist without it; herding only with the particular set of beings about them, who cajole them with false pictures of society; and, taking their own little narrow circle for the universe, they think that the great majority of the people must be precisely of opinion with the little majority of the virtuous assemblies they frequent.

But
But citizens, it is in inn's and public houses, in groupes promiscuously met upon the road, in pass'ge-boats and ferry-boats, in, and upon stage-coaches, and the like—in farm-houses and in all places of promiscuous resort, where I was myself unknown, and where I knew not an individual with whom I conversed, that I collected my opinion on the state of popular feeling. Taking the persons thus promiscuously met as the fair though casual representative of the public mind, I cannot but say, that he must be blind indeed, who does not perceive the strong current of popular opinion daily increasing against the men at present in power, and the system they have been so long endeavouring to thrust down the people's throats.

Persons of all descriptions, and almost all situations of life, may be met with in excursions of this kind; and I have been pleased to find, that the opinion which I had drawn from my own observation was considerably confirmed by that of others, who had opportunities of extending their observations through a larger sphere. Perhaps it may appear an extravagant calculation, yet I believe it is by no means an exaggeration, to declare that, according to my observations, and according to the correspondent facts I have collected from the observations of others, taking all the classes of society together, where you meet them in situations where they can openly speak their minds, because they suppose they are not known, a majority of nearly three to one will be found unfavourable to those mad and extravagant measures to which the present ministers seem attached. Even the most firm and furious aristocrats find themselves obliged to make considerable concessions; and there are some subjects upon which the whole country appears, in a considerable degree unanimous: even those who profess aristocratic principles, agreeing, upon certain points, with those who profess principles favourable to democracy.

Among these we may reckon several of considerable importance.

We shall find, I believe, that the opinions of mankind are almost uniformly against the late prosecutions; and that even those persons who seem disposed to wish that all the state prisoners had been hung up at once, yet agree, that the prosecution was marked with a fanguinary spirit, never equalled in the annals of this country; and readily admit, that Pitt and his administration have shown a disposition for blood, though not
not so successful, yet but little less keen and ferocious than that which distinguished Robespierre and his faction in Paris. I declare to you, that I have heard persons who think no words sufficiently strong to reprobate the measures of the French, who think that, even as it is at present administered, there is something divine in the constitution of Britain, yet declare that they are very well convinced, that a closer parallel could not be found than between the present minister and the fallen dictator of France. This is no exaggeration, and I believe you will find it no difficult matter to draw the same confessions from the lips of those who were not many months ago the most zealous advocates of administration, and all the measures they pursued.

There are other topics upon which I have found the public sentiment still more unanimous; and you will remember, that the places in which I have been are not very likely to have given me an opinion over favourable of the degree of sentiment that prevailed in behalf of liberty.

The island whose charms and luxuriant production ought to render it the paradise of human felicity, is the centre of feudal despotism: a few lordly tyrants exercise a tyranny so cruel, that it is astonishing, at the close of the 18th century, beings are to be found so abject as to endure it. I will not mention names, because I do not wish to stir up ungentle feelings against individuals. It is to reform the system that I aim, and not to excite rancour against those who have the misfortune to be educated in that system. The prejudices and errors of society are what I wish to see eradicated: I do not wish to see men the victims of their prejudices and errors: Portsmouth and Gosport are notoriously the centre of patronage and government influence; and Chichester is known to be almost immediately under the potent thumb of the great, great, great, man whose consequence is increased by a tax of a shilling per chaldron on all the coals consumed in this metropolis. Yet, citizens, even in Portsmouth, which lives by war, the voice of the people is unanimously against this war; at least in as far as it is carried on with a view to the subjugation of France, of invasion or continental exploit. — It is true, our successes at sea have inflated the vanity of John Bull, and many are much delighted with the idea of the British navy riding triumphant over the ocean, but in the boats that pulled from Portsmouth to Gosport, I have heard the passengers — sailors — and even officers of the navy declare, that they should like those conquests better if they found them productive
productive of any reduction in the price of bread: and I have heard even naval officers exclaim, with a degree of boldness little expected, against the political measures of the times. — I have heard them forward to declare, and I have never met with any person who was hardy enough to deny their conviction, that the calamities and miseries under which the great mass of the people groan are to be attributed entirely to the mal-administration of men in power, and to the foolish and ridiculous project of attempting the reduction of the French republic. With one of these citizen-officers in particular, I was considerably entertained: he was an old veteran, who seemed to have seen some service; and among the rest, I learned from his conversation, that he had been in the West Indies. In his zeal for the happiness of oppressed and insulted man, it is true, he was a little vindictive, but his heart upon the whole was rather brave than hardened. The mention however of the conduct of our heaven-born minister, threw him into a fit of true tailor-like indignation, and in the execrations which he poured upon the author of the present distresses of the poor, among other punishments which his active imagination devised, he had the almost Jacobinical wickedness to say he should like to feed him four times a day upon Indian corn, and let him have no drink.

The fact is, citizens, there is not a department in the state in which the ray of light and truth is not making its appearance. The army seems as if it were not much disposed to be longer made the mere tool and engine of ministerial oppression: the honest soldier begins to feel that he has not put off the rights and duties of humanity, by putting on a scarlet coat. He begins to perceive, that all the people of the country have one common interest; although the arts of ministerial corruption may attempt to make divisions between one class of citizens and another. In fact, the brave soldier begins to perceive that, there is but one class of beings to whom the affections of the heart ought to be directed, and that they are known, not by the coat that is put on, nor the trappings with which it is decorated; not by a black cloak, or a red jacket—but that they are known only by the upright form and stamp of humanity, which constitutes the only title to affection and esteem.

Citizens, this war was once, perhaps, so near to being popular, that what with the terror impressed on the public mind by a powerful faction, supported by powerful armies, it
might almost have appeared to have a majority of the people in its favour. But whatever appearances were then produced, it can now no longer be pretended, that the voice of the people is with the war. Even aristocrats, who bear all the strongest prejudices of the ancient system about them, you will hear speaking with the utmost inveteracy against the continuation of this mad crusade; and the worthless wretches in whose behalf we pretend to carry it on. Nay, in this respect, the aristocrats are more inveterate against the unfortunate emigrants than the democrats themselves. The philosophical among the latter description of men, may drop the tear of sympathy over the errors, the delusions, and even the vices of these victims; but the aristocrat has no commiseration left for them; and I have heard, from the lips of the most professed advocates for extirping corruptions, the most bitter execrations, and the most fervent prayers, for the destruction of them all. Particularly one afternoon I had the pleasure of riding a little way with one of those aristocrats upon the roof of a coach: for you know we democrats must not be ashamed of our principles, and there is no disgrace whatever in finding it more convenient to travel upon the outside of a coach than the inside; nor have I yet attained such refinement as to be much attached to "being shut up in a glass case, with a varnishlıed cover over my head, like the preparation of a stuffed monster in the cabinet of a natural historian."

—While enjoying, then, the prospects from the roof of the stage-coach, I was joined by an aristocrat, who happened to be one of the naval officers who had been upon the famous expedition to Quiberon. We had not then received the news of the catastrophe of that expedition: But my companion, after giving me to understand, that he was present at the landing of the emigrants, made no scruple of declaring his opinion, that every man of them would be cut to pieces: and he concluded with a most sailor-like oath, that "by God he hoped they would be so, for he knew not what those damned lubbers of emigrants did in this country, or why we should have spent our blood and treasure in endeavouring to restore such a pack of damned cowardly rascals to their estates."—Yet so far was this man, at the same time, from being at all infected with the principles of Jacobinism, as they are called, that in boasting what great exploits we should per-
form at sea, he wished that the Americans would join with the French, that we might "blow all the republican rascals to hell at once!"

Such is the opinion, even of aristocrats, relative to these gentlemen emigrants, in behalf of whom we are waiting our best blood, and reducing our people to famine; in behalf of whom we can find stores and provisions to send upon their frantic expeditions, while the indigent poor are starving, and calling in vain to their profligate drivers for bread.

Citizens, every fact that I have observed, every opportunity that I have had of looking abroad, whether I have drank my basin of milk in the stone kitchen of the farmer, in those parts of the island where you cannot meet (as in many parts you cannot) with the common receptacles for travellers—whether I have repaired to an aristocratic looking inn, or fed down in little hedge alehouses;—or whether I have crossed in the common ferry-boats that passed between Gosport and Portsmouth, or in the passage-boats that ply to and from Rude; whether I have travelled about the country on foot, have journeyed in a caravan, or taken my seat on the roof of a coach, I have seen, and glory to have seen, so wide a diffusion of the principles of truth and liberty, that I am sure, if the advocates for reform would but persevere, and preserve their temperance—if they would avoid factions on one hand, and being made the tools, on the other, of villainous spies, who wish to plunge them into violence, that the minister may have a pretence for establishing a military despotism over us, there is no machination of ministerial tyranny—no device of inquisitorial persecution (though Reeves could recover his reputation from that sink of infamy into which it is sunk, and restore those associations, so busily employed some time ago in disturbing the peace of society) there is no power upon earth able to snatch from us the glorious prospect of social amelioration, to result from the restoration of our natural and constitutional rights—our annual parliaments, and our universal suffrage, which corruption has secretly and gradually stolen away.

War and corruption have long reigned hand in hand, and the spawn of ministerial dependency produced from their fatal union, has preyed upon the vitals, the morals and
and felicity of mankind; while a few bloated vipers and serpents, glutted with the miseries and destruction of mankind, have swelled to a power and grandeur equalled only by the noble plunderers and empurpled ruffians that disgraced the declining state of the Roman empire. Yet these depredators are the people who talk of property; and fearful lest justice should call them to account,—lest honesty and virtue should be restored to their ancient rights, talk of protection against levellers—the frantic creations of their own disordered brains.

As well might the banditti of Cazile, while their caverns are filled with the spoil of murdered travellers, when they hear that the officers of justice are on their way, barricade themselves in their subterranean dwellings, and say,—"Fellow-plunderers, we must defend our property!"

This system, however, draws towards its dissolusion. The symptoms of its dotage are already apparent; and the extravagant and preternatural exertions of the last three years have brought it apparently to the very brink of this awful catastrophe. Yet in the paroxysm of madness and infatuation, the minister perverts in demanding efforts still more disproportionate to its strength, and more fatal to its existence. Experience preaches in vain; disaster after disaster in vain cries out "forbear!"—Mad Phaeton is in his car, and the world must be consumed before he will quit the reigns.

Regard the history of the last years of his administration. Mark the whole progress of this ruinous crusade—behold how ridicule has had the heels of all his wasteful measures!—how disappointment, disgrace, misery and absurdity, have stared him in the face at every turning! and then wonder at the frenzy of the man who can still adhere to his visionary projects.

When this war was first talked about—when it was first thought necessary to delude the people of Britain into a struggle for the extermination of Gallic liberty, you were told, forsooth, that France was presently to be conquered, and that the war could not possibly last beyond one campaign. Nay, according to Mr. Burke, it was only a phantom we had to combat—a mere imagination, which, as soon as the torch of British indignation was uplifted, would vanish away; for having put his spectacles upon his nose, and

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examined
examined the map of Europe, he declared that it was impossible to discover the spot which once was France. The king was gone—the nobility were gone, the priests were gone—the age of chivalry was gone, and nothing but an immense blank—a vacuum, presented itself to his eyes. You therefore had nothing to do, but to fill up this vacuum with an army of British soldiers and German allies, and the business, bocus pocus, was done at once. And yet, Citizens, not only one campaign is over, two, three campaigns are gone by; and if Mr. Burke, and the whole college of Jesuits to help him, were to put on two pair of spectacles a-piece (save only the little barren spot of Corsica) they could not find the speck of earth on which allied Europe can raise a trophy in commemoration of those great exertions by which they were to over run every spot of land where this nulity (as they affected to call it, and wished to make it) Liberty dared to raise her head, and the light of Human reason dared to shine.

Another of the wasteful projects of this great and sapient Minister, was the conquest of the West-India islands. But look a little seriously upon the state of affairs in that quarter, and answer me, whether the probability exists that one foot of West-India territory shall long remain in the hands of any European power? You would not abolish the slave-trade; you would not wash the guilt of blood from your polluted hands; you listened to the great Scotch logician, Mr. Dundas, and he convinced you that you ought to finish the century in the same iniquitous way in which it was begun; that it would be a shame to have a little patch of humanity at the fag end of that hundred years, the whole of which had hitherto been one continued scene of cruelty—of West-India slavery and East-India murders. You listened to this flimsy sophistry; you would not abolish the slave-trade: but if you had had a few grains of understanding in this particular—(I speak this to the legislature of the country—not to you, my fellow citizens—for I suspect that the majority of the persons who now hear me, did not wish to continue that iniquitous traffic!)—if those before whom the question was agitated, had exercised but nine grains of common sense and reflection, they would have perceived that the period was fast approaching, when it would be impossible, from the very nature of things, to continue the slave-trade much longer. They might have perceived that the only consequence of attempting to prolong it beyond its natural date, would be that effect, which, in a great degree, has taken place; the total and precipitate emancipation of
of the blacks, before they were fit to receive that emancipa-
tion; and, consequently, scenes of cruelty and horror which
humanity cannot but shiver at, even while she exults in the
prospect unfolding for future generations, when blacks no
more than whites shall longer groan under the yoke of slavery,
and lift up their fettered hands in vain, to remind their fellow
beings that "they are men and brethren."

But monopolists—cannibals who fatten on human gore—
would to continue the blood-flushed traffic of Africa; and see
the consequence. You would not abolish the slave-trade,
but the wicked jacobinical convention of France would.
They would go a step further. I shall not commend that step.
If any choice had been left, it is not to be applauded. It is
only to be excused from the dire necessities of the times, and
the circumstances under which they laboured. They went
further. The whole herd of Negroes (rendered savage and
ferocious by the cruel bondage in which they had so long been
kept) were emancipated at once. And it is an absurdity
too gross for human intellect, to suppose that it is now possible
to prevent that decree from operating in all the territories in
the West-Indies; though not so immediately, perhaps, as it
will operate in their own.

This then is the prospect of the catastrophe of Pitt's famous
project for conquering the West-India islands; and monopo-
lishing all the profits, and all the duties, and all the patronage
upon collecting those duties, of the whole sugar trade of the
universe.

Another famous project was, the re-union of Dunkirk to
this country.—But I will not dwell upon this subject. I have
too high a veneration for the unfortunate hero who failed in
that attempt. I will draw a veil over it, and not excite your
tender sympathy by a relation of his misfortunes.

Next came the boastful projects of Col. Mack; who, with
a sabre two yards long, and a pair of whiskers as long as his
sabre, threatened to eat up all the jas bins at a breakfast, and
restore Louis XVII. to the throne of France. But it all went
off in a whiff of tobacco, which feared his magnanimous
whiskers, and obliged him to turn his back, to hide his con-
fusion; not having, like some persons who shall be nameless,
lost entirely the faculty of blushing. No—he felt the blood,
not of courage, but of confusion, rising in his cheek, and there-
fore prudently chose to conceal his shame, from those to whom
he could not shew his valour!

Well,
Well, Citizens, projects were not yet at an end: and when all other things failed, then, forsooth, Louis XVIII. with a manifesto, full of the sublime and beautiful, in his hand, and pardons and denunciations, so hashed up together that one could scarcely perceive which was which, in his mouth, was to be restored to the crown of France. To effect this, the orderly faith-keeping government of this country persuaded the plunderers of La Vendée to break the faith they had sworn to the republic; well knowing that faith is never to be kept but with a regular government, and even with that no longer than is perfectly consistent with the royal principle of self-interest. They persuaded, therefore, the poor wretches of La Vendée to break their faith, and throw that province once more into anarchy and slaughter: and they sent an army of emigrants to assist these heroes of nocturnal plunder—for the Chouans are nothing else.—Proper allies for emigrants, you will say, perhaps, and for the patrons of those emigrants!—And these men were to make a conquest of France.—What, French emigrants to conquer France? Did not 70,000 of them run away in one day from France—70,000 men run away at once? Trust such men with arms—and expect great exploits from them! If there had been one grain of valour, if there had been one grain of honesty, in their bosoms, they would either have submitted at once, as virtuous men ought to submit, to the majority of voices in their country, or else they would have shown that they had the courage, at least, though not the humanity of men, and would have fled where they were, to have defended their principles; and not, like cowards and poltroons, with tears in their eyes, and calumnies, fictions and supplications in their mouths, have fled to other countries for support, in a struggle which they had not courage to support themselves.

Well, the expedition to Quiberon failed, as all rational men foresaw it would fail; and yet, upon the very morning when I departed from that part of the country, I saw another immense fleet failing to repeat, as generally believed, the same absurd attempt, perhaps upon another, perhaps upon the same part of the coast of France. They failed—that is, the emigrants who were on board this fleet failed—amidst the excorations of all parties; and the only regret which arose at the foreseen catastrophe, was to think how many of our own brave countymen might perhaps be implicated in the event; and how much injury would be sustained by the people of this
this country, from the loss of those stores provided for this crusade, and its ridiculous counterpart, the West-India expedition.

How shall we account for this hopeless perseverance? Shall we attribute the conduct of administration merely to the phrenzy which generally accompanies despair? or shall we say, that persons in very elevated situations are lifted above the influence of experience; that their sublime faculties, dwelling always upon their own golden speculations, disdain to look down upon the events and realities which instruct a swinish multitude—or to regard the lessons derived from the common occurrences of life; and that therefore they persevere, in despite of the open conviction of former errors?—or shall we, as I believe we must, attribute it to another cause, more interesting, and more sublime?

Yes, citizens, all this ought to be attributed to confidence in supernatural assistance; which though slow, the stars perhaps have told them, is sure. In this opinion I am confirmed, by having lately observed, that our virtuous and excellent minister has got a fresh champion, and advocate, of most extraordinary and reverential character; and this not an advocate who stops, like Mr. Burke, to see the star fall upon the earth, before she admires it: no, but one who fears to the stars herself, and reads in them the book of fate by the optic glasses of aristocratical inspiration. In short, it is no other than the great Mrs. Williams; the far-famed fortune-teller, who boasts in her dedication, of her acquaintance with our most gracious and excellent queen, and avows herself the champion of trembling royalty. This heaven-instructed Mrs. Williams—and surely a heaven-born minister ought to have a heaven-instructed comforter.—This heaven-instructed Mrs. Williams tells our sapient minister, in her new book of fate (price 2s. 6d.—and pray do buy it, it must be a precious morsel!) that notwithstanding the ravings of Brothers, (whom by her skill in judicial astrology, she is enabled to pronounce a Jacobinical impostor) monarchy will be restored in France, that the Stadtholder will be restored in Holland, and that the present house of Brunswick (which God grant!) will reign to all eternity upon the throne of Britain!!!!!
Citizens, I cannot blame the ministers of this country for seeking supernatural assistance; for they seem to have brought themselves into a condition from which no natural assistance can extricate them. They have not only made those blunders I have already mentioned, but, worse than all, they have fought to overthrow republicanism in France, and they have almost occasioned it to triumph throughout Europe;—they have fought to increase the usurped power and sovereignty of rotten boroughmongers, and they have fapp’d their power to the very foundation, till the edifice of their high-built fame and glory seems tottering into ruins; and we may shortly expect, that like Shakespeare’s “baseless fabric of a vision it will leave not a wreck behind.”

The plain and simple fact is, and melancholy as it is to relate, grieved at heart as I must feel at being compelled to announce it to you, yet it is impossible to conceal the dreadful truth, that the principles of democracy are spreading very wide in this country.

But I will not detain you, at this late hour, upon so melancholy a subject. I will therefore adjourn till Wednesday evening, when I will trace the causes of its dissemination, and point out the means by which it may be (not checked indeed, for I am afraid that is impossible) but turned to the general advantage of the community, and rendered it conducive to the renovation, and the ameliorating of our happy and glorious constitution!!!
RIGHTS OF BRITONS.

In the former volume of this work, I took the liberty of inserting extracts from some of the Reviews, and making references to others, relative to such recent publications as had passed the critical ordeal. I take the liberty of repeating this practice on the present occasion, by inserting, verbatim, the only Review which has yet appeared of my Vindication of the Rights of Britons.—This is, I believe, peculiarly justifiable in this instance; as the work in question is intimately connected with the Lectures published in the Tribune: it having been repeated in the Lecture-Room, on the second, third, and fourth nights of the last season; and containing, in a collected point of view, an abstract of those principles which have actuated my political conduct; and which will be found diffused, in a more ample manner, through the whole of my discourses.


The Natural and Constitutional Rights of Britons to Annual Parliaments, Universal Suffrage, and the Freedom of Popular Association: being a Vindication of the Notions and Political Conduct of John Thelwall, and of the London Corresponding Society, in general. Intended to have been delivered at the Bar of the Old Bailey, in Consutation of the late Charges of High Treason. 8vo. 25. Symonds. 1795.

"Mr. Thelwall informs us, in a short advertisement, that this pamphlet contains only the least important part of that statement for which he stands pledged to the public; and which is soon to appear, under the title of a 'Narrative of the Proceedings of Government.' He sends this vindication into the world separately, that the investigation of the principles upon which he has acted may prepare the public to appreciate, with greater justice, the practices by which his persecutors aimed at his destruction. He affirms that he would have delivered this address on his trial, if he had not been persuaded to resign his whole cause into the hands of Messrs. Erskine and Gibbs, whose professional knowledge rendered them more adequate to the task of combating the hoist of crown lawyers that were embattled against him.

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"This advice, we are of opinion, was judiciously taken. However we may approve of many parts of this vindication as a political discourse, it could not have been considered by the jury as an answer to the speeches of the crown lawyers; nor, however careless the author might have been of his life, would he have acted the part of a wise man, had he sacrificed it for the mere pleasure of delivering a severe censure on the measures of administration. At the same time we do not dispute the right he had to publish it in its present form, and think it upon the whole highly creditable to his talents as a political writer. There are many passages which might be selected for their eloquence, many for a nice and discriminating acuteness, and many for the honest warmth of innocence, and the fervor of unblushing zeal. His defence of universal suffrage we are not prepared to agree with; and there are other openings left for critical refutation: but, making allowance for a certain peculiarity of opinion, and for the circumstances of the writer, it is but justice to say that the performance is materially, both in matter and manner.

"The following passage will serve as a specimen of the general style and conduct of this defence, and contains a curious fact:

"The man who is at liberty, can select his society; and if he trusts himself alone with a stranger of ambiguous character, or subjects himself to the misrepresentations of a perjured dependent, he must abide the consequences. But discretion is as impotent as innocence, to guard against the inventive malice of the being, who, armed with the warrant of a privy council, drags the victim from his home, and excluding him from all choice of society, and all guardianship of disinterested witnesses, can afterwards come forward in a court of justice, and deprive him of his life, by swearing to circumstances which, though they never occurred, are incapable of contradiction.

"But it is vain to cavil about particulars. If loose conversations are once admitted as evidences of treason, pretences can never be wanting to destroy the most innocent and virtuous of mankind.

"Yet, to the disgrace of an English court of justice—to the scandal of the British character—to the indelible reproach of that constitution, which those who have violated every principle of it, continue so extravagantly to applaud..."
plaud—at the close of the eighteenth century, in a prosecution for treason, is the feeble mass of accumulative and constructive charges bolstered by evidence of this contemptible nature.

For this purpose every tavern and coffee-house has been haunted, into which (rare visitant as I have been to places of that description) I may occasionally have put my head. My hours of conviviality have been attended by spies and sycophants, my doors beset with eve-droppers, my private chambers haunted by the familiar spirits of an infernal inquisition, and my confidential friends stretched on the rack of interrogatory, in order to extort from them the conversation which, in the unsuspecting hours of social hilarity, may have been uttered at my own table.

But it will not be believed—posterity will not credit the monstrous tale—that, unsatisfied with former arts—despairing of success, yet eager in the scent of blood, four or five days before my trial, the agents of this wicked prosecution should have sent, in the name of the privy council, for a person known to be one of my most familiar friends—known to be one of the witnesses subpoena'd on my behalf—known, also, to have been entrusted confidentially by my family, and my solicitor in the management of my defence; and after clapping a Testament to his lips, (let Mr. White or Mr. Ford contradict me, if this is false!) should interrogate him on the mode of my intended defence, on the evidence I had to contradict particular charges, and the subjects of those private conversations which, in the unsuspecting confidence of our souls, we had frequently indulged together.' p. 78.

The reader will perceive, that, with respect to Universal Suffrage, the Reviewers are not ready to agree with me, or admit the force of my arguments. As they have not, however, stated their objections, it is not possible for me to answer them. I shall satisfy myself, therefore, with announcing that this subject, in the course of a week or two, will be amply discussed in the Lecture-Room; and that, if I am not very much mistaken, (which in such a case is by no means improbable) every objection to a measure so consonant to justice, and equality of rights, will be answered and overthrown,—as far at least as those objections have come to my knowledge.
THE HOTTORS OF ROYAL AMBITION.

From the Battle of Barnet, a Poem in the Peripatetic.

(Continued from p. 168.)

O, frantic England! prodigal of blood!
What fhygian fury urg'd this impious mood—
To rend thy entrails thus?—while foreign foes
With grim delight behold thy savage woes—
See, with proud joy, thy own victorious sword
Turn'd on thy breast, with wilful fury gor'd,
While the gaunt spectre of thy Martial Fame
Fleets, like a Ghost, a wandering empty name,
Self-slain, and doom'd thro' all the desert land
To howl her guilt, and curse her frantic hand!

So, hapless Britain! in a later age,
I see thy Sword against they rights engage;
See thee, in mad delusion, blindly pour
Devoted armies on a foreign shore
To aid the cause of tyranny, and buy
Th' inglorious fetters freemen shou'd destroy:
Blind to the schemes by artful statesmen plann'd!
And British Freedom falls on Gallia's strand:
Self slain she falls, in wild, misguided zeal,
And German despots whet the fatal steel;
Then shout triumphant; to their legions call,
And hail the approaching hour of Britain's fall.

Nor yet content might Titled Rage appear,
Nor stop at Murder in her mad career:
In bolder Crimes their feudal Pride prevail'd:
Fair Faith is slain; and Heaven itself affai'd.
See: on the sword yet slain't with Yorkish blood,
The changing hero, in indignant mood.
Allegiance sweats to York's expiring cause,
And back to life the sinking faction draws:
While he who late, the white rose on his creft,
Gor'd struggling Lancaster's aspiring breast,
Now dips the blood; recals the fleeting breath;
And vows to York's proud race dismay and death.

Now, front to front, in threatening wrath, behold
 Those painted targets and those helms of gold,
 Erewhile whose proud devices, side by side,
 Throng'd the same field, in amity allied;
 And he who late o'er some half-vanquish'd friend
 Rush'd, the firm shield's protection to extend,

Now
Now barb'd with vengeance wings the thirsty dart,
Or bathes his falchion in the suppliant's heart.

No link of friendship binds; no kindred tie;
And oaths in vain their feeble aid supply:
Nor pious awe, nor bond of Faith controls;
(Limbs cas'd in steel, and adamantine souls!)
Again they change, their broken leagues restore,
And seal new perjuries in new streams of gore.
Their ready slaves with blind obedience turn;
Change as they change, and as they dictate burn:
In either cause with equal zeal destroy;
Pleas'd if their Lords the savage Fame enjoy.

Chief of these noble locusts in its rage
Sent by offended Heaven to scourge the age,
Stern Warwick, proud in brutal might, appears
Hemm'd round with slaughters, devastations, fears.
His raging breath, omnipotent in ill!
Is drawn toistle, and but flows to kill:
Tyrants to tyrants in succession rise:
His voice creates them; and his frown destroys.
Behold him now the cause of Edward own,
And lift the gaudy pageant to the throne;
That so the boy (whole vices speak his birth)
Sprung from the Imperial Spoilers of the Earth!
With England's treasures, and with England's dames
May soothe his follies, and indulge his flames.—
O'erwroughted Toils, extorted produce waste
In scenes of riot, and lascivious taste;
Tear from the aged Matron's widow'd side
(Widow'd perhaps to prop his regal pride!)
The virgin treasure of her daughter's charms,
To lie polluted in her daughter's arms:—
Or doom the husband, in the bloom of youth,
To mourn the pangs of unrewarded truth;
With guileless flame his branded forehead hide,
And mourn in widow'd sheets a living bride:
While the proud tyrant, whom his wealth sustains,
Feasts on his wealth, and riots in his pains.
But scenes like these the milder woes display
That mark the ravages of kingly sway:
And panting Britain, mark'd with slaught'ning toils,
Amid these humbler crimes indulgent finiles:—
Pleas'd the short ray of transient Peace to gain,
O'erlooks the princeely vices in her train,
And deems it blifs nought heavier to support
Than the lewd posttimes of a wafeful court.

But,
But, lo! in tears another Helen came;
With tears of oil to feed the dying flame,
Renew the wailing fires of Civil Rage,
And give to Slaughter’s reign another age.
The British Tartar leaves his wanton soul
(for what are Kings, if Reason will control!)
Tears of injured Nevil’s dangerous re
Half the fatal reign of an hour’s decree:
And Civil Discord hailed the Nuptial Fire.

Stern Warwick heard, as from the Gallic shore
His prosperous tail the plumage renews bore;
He heard, and like a thunderbolt he came,
That strikes some reverend Abbey’s Gothic frame,
And while convulsive Nature rocks around
Lays it a smoking ruin on the ground.
(In flitting feng, its pageant trophies torn,
And all that different ages vainly revere.)
While prostrate crowds the wail in the quire,
Cradled in the hallowed shock, with unheard goshs expire.

Behold, again, from Pever’s polluted seat,
The vain, ungrateful libertine he came;
While monk in Henry, with his haughty queen,
(Wanting her heart, and insolent her rein!)
This call’d from exile, that the dungeon’s gloom,
Again the sickle shedsn his flame,
And his friend with grateful transport hail
Who might’d in oath their lingering faction pale.

Poor groaning land, whom equal ills betray,
Beneath an idiot’s or a tyrant’s sway!
Thy people slaves; a proud but powerless throne,
Propp’d by the nobles’ force, and not its own;
Those nobles, hith, as all vain nobles are
To every liberal patriotic care!
Honour the exorbitant name with which they grace
The pompous victors of their foolish race!

Scorning the crowd upon whose necks they ride!
Dead to each feeling, but baleful and giddy pride!
For them in war our wealth—our blood we show—
And what Wariance, their Luxuries devour!
Their gaudy crimes how long shall Britain brook,
Ere her bold offspring lay the galling Yoke?
Their swords again the Edicts Barons draw—
“Swords and strong arms their confidence and their law!”

For faithless Edward still a host attends,
Whole interests, or whole passions are his friends:

Here,
THE TRIBUNE.

Here, to this spot—whose guilty turf appears
Man'd with blood, and wet with orphans' tears;
And still where hovering ghofts with boding strain,
To Fanch's ear of cruel Fate complain,
That urg'd them, for Ambition's ruthless strife,
To flight each foul regard of social life;
To leave untopp'd a parent's hoary age,
In some proud chieftain's quarrel to engage;
For midnight marches and the din of arms,
To fly the virgin's yet untal'd charms;
Or leave the widow o'er her babe to mourn,
And weep for joys that never must return!
While they (what furies human bosoms tear!)—
Bled for the chains the rising race should wear.—
—Here, to the spot, the rising squadrons throng,
While kindred hate drives each fierce host along,
And banner'd omens, gleaming through the air,
The direful issue of the day declare:
Two raging doLyans, flattering plagues and death,
Flame in their van, and scorch the blazed heath;
This, darting far, its corruptions tends,
And all around destroys—or foes, or friends
With like contagion strikes the ravenous fire,
Till all extinct the fatal flame expire:
While that, still raging, with infatiate blaze,
Pours, in collected wrath, its blustering rays;
Shakes o'er the foe its red destroying hair,
That sheds infectious horror and despair;
Exhale's flames with pestidential fire,
And too is the entangled field with one wide-wasting fire.

Such the dire omens through the lowering sky,
That o'er the hostile legions wave on high:
For thus, while Death shrieks out the hideous yell,
And hovering furies chant the air's hell spell,
Grim o'er their looms the fatal flers weave,
And fiends of Havock the dire webs receive;
Then haste, and, shrieking, with tremendous glare,
O'er their stern ranks the threatening signals bear;
Sound the loud blast; the general carnage hail;
And wait the incense of the tainted gale.
Ten foim, alas! that tainted gale shall rise,
Blot the stri'd air, and blot the weeping skies!
For, lo! they meet: wounds answering wounds, they deal,
Stung the tough Yew, and drench't the martial shed:
Thro' kindred bands the fire—'tis, the faction new;
Loud broke, rebound, and dying groups pursue:

Stones,
Stones, spears, and darts in slaughter's tempests rain,
And helms and hauberks sheath the ranks in vain,—
Heralds in vain the trophied target supply,
Cleft shields and broken lances useless lie,
While roll promiscuous o'er the trampled plain,
Steed, arms, and men—the dying and the slain.
The martial Spirit of Britannia's isles—
(Whose brandish'd lightnings aid the patriot toils—
Whole steady hand, when Truth contends with Might,
Uplifts the balance of eternal right:
And, when in awful panoply array'd,
Indignant Freedom claims her guardian aid,
Descends in terrors to the warrior maid:
With Heaven's own thunders aids the sacred cause,
And proud ambition's tyrant bofom awes!)
Shock'd with a scene where Violence and Pride
And Perjur'd Guilt alone for empire vied,
In darker folds her sea-green mantle spread,
And veil'd the beaming glories of her head;
Call'd from the impious scene her bands away,
And left to warring fiends the doubtful day:
(As though to scourge the faction's race inclin'd,
And leave a dread memorial to mankind!)
The warrior cherubim her call obey;
Their flaming falchions sheath, their wings display,
And seek the realms of empyrean day:
Yet, lingering, oft, with backward glance, deplore
The long-protected haunts of Albion's rocky shore.
With clouded radiance, and abated fires,
Wellward meanwhile the flickering sun retires;
Involves his brow to shun the slaughtering light,
And Night and Chaos threat the closing fight—
When now blind Chance, not Justice lifts the scales;
And Edward's fortune in the strife prevails;
For Warwick, bent with one decisive blow
To strike deep terror in the yielding foe,
Calls his choice band, who yet inactive lay
To watch the changing fortunes of the day
With sudden aid his phalanx to sustain,
Inspire the drooping, and replace the slain;
When, lo! the banners flaming in the rear,
And thouts loud echoing in the startled ear,
(Thro' clouds of dust while doubtful meteors gleam)
To the gall'd ranks a hostile ambush seem:

[To be continued.]
Delivered at the Lecture Room, Beaufort Buildings, September 9th, 1795.

Citizens,

The last Lecture that I delivered in this place was the commencement, or rather indeed the continuation of a report of the state of popular opinion. I endeavoured to state, as far as my means would enable me, (and candidly to shew you what my means have been), the progress of popular opinion, since I had the honor of meeting this company; and I concluded with observing, and giving you, such reasons as appeared to me necessary to shew that there was a considerable increase of the democratic principle in this country. I proposed then, on a future evening, to enter into the causes of this increase, and to endeavour to point out the particular conduct of government to which we are indebted for this increase.

But, before I enter into the particular causes, it is necessary that I should give some explanation of my terms; because words of almost every description, are considerably abused in disputes between contending parties; those, to which I allude, in particular. It frequently happens, that appellations, of the highest virtue and excellence, are used by the enemies of liberty, as terms of the most contemptuous reproach.

When we consider the use of the word Democracy, we find that there are two interpretations to be given to it.—The Aristocrats are very fond of fixing an interpretation to it, which the word never did,—nor ever can, bear in this or any other language.

There are, however, two distinct senses, in which an Englishman may naturally be expected to use this word. If we look back to the real meaning of the term, we shall find it to be a government by the great body of the people. No. XXV.
Now, a government by the great body of the people, taken in its strict and original sense, does certainly describe a pure republic. Nay, more, it describes a republic without any intermediate order, such as we now call a representative assembly. But this is a system whose advocates, in the present day, if any, are extremely few; for the improvement of political science has enabled us to discover very considerable defects in all the ancient forms of government: and it has been found that a democracy, purely and simply considered, can never exist, save, only, in a small country, confining, perhaps, of a single city and a few miles of territory around it: Nor even in such a state, can this species of government exist long, without occasional tumult and disorder. Modern legislators, therefore, have invented what is called a representative democracy; which is, in reality, if you adhere to the strict definition of terms, no democracy at all; because, if the representatives are vested with the complete and full powers of the state, I think I shall be able to state to you, that this is the only thing which really, justly and properly, can be called an aristocracy.

Aristocracy, in fact, originally meant a government of the wiser: and who can have so great a right to be deemed the wiser, as those who, for their wisdom and supposed integrity, have been selected, by the great mass of mankind, to be their rulers and governors. This representative democracy is the real essence of what was formerly, theoretically, called aristocracy;—the realization of the visions of sublime philosophers, who, in their attempt to discover how an aristocratic government ought to be constituted, were never able to hit upon this project. They foresaw, indeed, as every one would, that a country ought to be governed by the wiser; and were, therefore, anxious to establish a government of the wiser; Plato in particular, considered an aristocracy—as the best government in the world.

But how was this wisdom to be discovered? Why, forsooth, a few philosophers, among the dusty cobwebs that hung about their cells, were to dictate, by a sort of divine right, to the rest of the world, and, like the priests of the deluded multitude, were to triumph by a sort of superstition, of which they, themselves, were the authors, and from which they, alone, could be expected to receive any advantage.

Having
Having given these two definitions of democracy, I think I shall be enabled to prove that every Englishman ought, in reality, to be, in a certain sense of the word, a democrat. I think I shall prove to you, that, what I shall call constitutional democracy, ought to animate every breast; ought to glow in every bosom; ought to dictate to every intellect; and that it is only by cherishing this glorious constitutional democracy—this emanation arising from the principles, not from the corrupt practice, of our constitution—that we can ever expect to relieve ourselves from the burden of inmoderate taxation, and to attain the peaceful and quiet enjoyment of the fruits of our talents and industry.

Let me then, Citizens, put to your consideration this question:  

**WHAT IS THE CONSTITUTION OF BRITAIN?**

If we consider the external forms of our government, we shall find that it consists of a Chief Magistrate and a Senate of two chambers—the one elective, and the other hereditary. If we consider the description of this government which the spirit of our constitution has dictated, we shall find it to consist of King, Lords, and Commons in parliament assembled.

Now, Citizens, to substantiate the assertion I have made, that every true lover of the British Constitution ought to be at heart a Democrat. it is only necessary to consider the meaning of the plain, simple word—Commons.

I should suppose, Citizens, notwithstanding the variety of abusive epithets that have been invented to obscure the real meaning of this phrase, (such as wretches, rabble, swinish multitude, and the like)—that it is still impossible for any individual to be so dull, as not to know what the word Commons means. There is no man, not even Mr. Burke, himself, in the very paroxysm of his frenzy, who can mistake a human being for a swine. No man can be so ignorant of the English language, as to suppose that the word wretch is a description of a class, or order of beings. There are wretches enough, indeed, in this country; and woe to the wickedness of that aristocracy, which has made them so wretched! There are miserable beings, indeed; but it ill becomes those, who have plunged us into this misery—this swinish ignorance, to reproach us with their crimes, and to think that their present usurpations are a justification for usurpations still more abominable and atrocious.
cious, The fact is, that the word, Commons, carries its own meaning with it. Every body, when you talk of the king, as one of the constituent parts of our government, knows very well, that you mean the chief magistrate of the country, invested with certain powers and authorities; by the constitution, for the benefit of the people.—Yes, for the benefit of the people. This is the express condition of his power: and the chief justice Eyre, himself (who did not seem very anxious to make acknowledgments to the friends of liberty) was obliged to declare in the outset of his speech, that it was only for the protection, advantage and happiness of the people, that the laws of the country had raised particular fences around the person of the king, and attempted to make him inviolable from the attacks of common incendiaries, or individual violence, which revenge might dictate, or ambition lead to. The king, then, is the chief magistrate,—the executive power; and he, our constitution tells us, is one, and only one, branch of the constituted authority. By the Lords we very well know what is meant; though it would be difficult to find what is the meaning of some persons being made lords, who have got that title. It is, however, very well known that, by Lords we mean a certain number of individuals walking, like other men, upon two legs; but, unlike other men, decorated with stars and garters, and such other ornaments, as you might have seen represented in gingerbread, a few days ago, at Bartholomew Fair. They are called Peers, that is, the companions, equals and counsellors of the King; for such is I believe the original meaning of the word, and the constitutional sense in which it is to be taken; because every peer of the realm has a right to demand, whenever he chuses, an audience of the king, and has a right to give him his counsel and advice:—leaving it to his wisdom whether that advice shall be followed or not.

Thus, then, having found out that king means the only person we call king in the country, and Lords the whole of the persons called Lords in the country, I shall conclude, that Commons means all those persons who do not presume to be considered as either kings or lords, or any thing else than mere common people.

It is true, there are some amphibious animals who are in one sense Commons, but who are called Lords by courtesy; and Mr. Windham and Mr. Burke, by their metaphysics, might prove, perhaps, that there are uncommon men who may
may be called commons by courtesy, also. But if they pos-
sesses the capacity, the shape, and other attributes common
to mankind, I conclude that they are entitled, at least, to
be considered as common men; and, consequently, that by
"Commons in parliament assembled" we mean the demo-
cracy of the country, who by their representatives are
(ought to be I mean) represented in the commons house of
parliament.

Thus, then, Citizens, the constitution of Great Britain
may be properly defined a democracy, admitting some mi-
ture of aristocracy in its legislature, and adopting an hered-
itary Chief Magistrate, to be responsible for the execution
of the laws, and who is called the King.

Citizens, Modern theorists—for modern theorists we
have had in abundance, who have been very anxious, by
general denunciations against modern theories, to abuse
themselves; Mr. Burke, Mr. Windham, Mr. Wilde, and some
other champions of the fallen cause of chivalry, are a little
confounded at the old constitutional language which law-
yers of two or three hundred years ago were accustomed
to use. They do not like to hear of the British Common-
wealth: for commonwealth and republic are they know
fynonymous; and, therefore, they have hunted for new
theories and new coined phrasè, and have chosen to use a
very curious phrase, mixed monarchy.

Now, if these gentlemen, instead of studying metaphys-
cics, had chosen to study their dictionaries a little, they
would not have made use of sononcentical a phrasè. Mon-
archy means a government in which the supreme power
and authority are vested in one person. How that can be,
and yet, Lords and Commons have a right to share that
power and authority with him, is a paradox that will re-
quire all the subtlety of these metaphysicians to explain.

The fact then is, that, instead of talking of a mixed mo-
narchy, we ought to call our government a limited or re-
strained democracy; the theory and the maxims of our go-
vernment teaching us, that it is for the sake of the demo-
cracy (that is the great body of the people) that all our laws
and institutions are made; and that all constituted func-
tionaries are, in reality, as they always must be in practice,
whenever practice is called for, subordinate to the grand
object, the welfare of that great body from whom all power is
derived, and for whom all power ought to be exerted.
How, then, came this government to be called a mixed monarchy?—or how can a monarchy be mixed? Lately, indeed, they seem disposed to get rid of the mixture, and the chief justice Eyre, in plain and direct terms, calls the government of this country a monarchy. "To pull down and subvert that glorious fabric the British Monarchy," are his plain and unqualified words. Let me ask this learned lawyer, Who made it a monarchy? Not the ancestors he talks of. They made it not a monarchy; — a despotic government of one. They vested, indeed, in the hands of one man the executive power; but the real sovereignty, the right of making and altering the laws, they vested—or, if their language be supposed an image of their hearts, they meant to vest, in the great body of the people, by their representatives by them chosen: imagining, that their councils would be rendered the more wise, by having a house, filled with men well educated and of superior knowledge, which they called a House of Peers. But little did they foresee, that in some future period not at the close of the 18th Century; it will undoubtedly be the 19th before it takes place. — Little did they foresee that, in some future period, boxing and brutality were to be the qualifications of the ermine robe: and that pimps and parasites were to be decorated with those ornaments, which, if they are to be worn at all, ought to be the badges of honor, virtue and actual service.

But these learned men, happening to understand more of languages than principles, and being able by the use of these languages, to confound together the words King, Rex and Monarch, therefore, endeavored to make you believe that a kingdom, a government by a Rex, and a monarchy are one and the same thing.

But let us enquire the meaning of the word King; and we shall find it to be of a very different signification from the words rex and monarch; as a learned etymologist informs me — for I professed myself to be but a plain man, and neither etymologist nor scholar. I want to discover the truth; and a truth of six minutes old is as much revered by me, as a truth that has the flamp of 6000 years. Words and derivations, therefore, have little to do in deciding my principles. I will use, however, when I can, the knowledge of others to any good purpose. King, then, is an old Saxon word, or rather a contraction of an old Saxon word. It is derived from the word tonning, which was sometimes pronounced
pronounced kenning, and sometimes cunning—and from cunning or kenning—ken and King.

Thus, then, in reality, King means the cunning man.

You will please to remember, however, Citizens, that I do not mean to “call the King a Solomon” again. I have been once tried for High Treason for calling the King a Solomon already. Mr. Groves, you know, alias Mr. Powell, after saying that I spoke in the most contemptuous and reproachful terms of his most sacred Majesty, when he was asked by the judge what he meant by contemptuous and reproachful terms, said he had “heard me call the “King a Solomon!” You have heard the old proverb, that the burnt child dreads the fire. I am determined, therefore, never to call the King a Solomon again; being very well convinced that it is as high treason to call the King a Solomon, as it would be a high absurdity to call any of his ministers by that name.

However, Citizens, to be a little more grave, the plain and simple fact is, that Kings, according to our ancient Saxon constitution, and according to the original meaning of the word, were persons of eminence, chosen to fill the office of fir magistrates, on account of their superior wisdom—real or supposed. I say chosen: for notwithstanding the boads made by the supporters of divine right of lineal descent from the God Woden, or the devil knows what other gods, or godlings I will venture to affirm that, legally speaking, the crown of this country never was hereditary, till the revolution in 1688; and that at this very time it is only hereditary, under certain restrictions: that is to say, upon condition of a strict compliance, on the part of the House of Brunswick, with the compact and terms under which the crown was granted.

Citizens, it is very true that our Saxon ancestors had a notion (so ancient, and consequently, so venerable is prejudice!) that wisdom is confined to particular families; and, therefore, they always chose their King or their cunning man from one particular family; but that they did choose him is evident to every one who has read the history of his country. They did not always take the eldest son, in preference to the younger. An infant or idiot was never suffered to reign upon the throne; and, if they had the misfortune to be mistaken in their first choice, they repaired the evil by setting him aside, and putting up another. This
This was the practice of our Saxon ancestors; and I defy any historian to contradict the assertion, and bring facts of history to support his contradiction.

What was the practice also, after the invasion by that band of plunderers called Norman conquerors? How did they succeed?

Did the bastard of a woman-servant at an inn succeed to the throne of Great Britain by the divine right of lineal descent? Certainly not: he seized the throne by power; and conscious, even in that barbarous age, that power was not principle, and that possession is but an unquiet state without some semblance, at least, of right he assembled the states of the country, and procured himself to be formally elected: upon certain conditions it is true, with which he did not afterwards conceive that the faith of regular go
vernment obliged him to comply.

After his death, did his crown descend to his eldest son? No, with the consent of the states of the kingdom he bequeathed his crown to his second son. That second son was succeeded by his third, in violation of what is now foolishly called the right of primogeniture. And in fact, if you trace the whole line of kings, from the time of the Norman invasion to the period of the revolution, in 1688, you will find that there never were more than three persons of the same family, who, from father to son, took the crown in regular descent, and held it during the period of their natural lives. Some circumstance or other (sometimes real election, sometimes pretended election, and sometimes usurpation and violence, under colour of election) deposed one and set another upon the throne. Nay, to take no notice of Henry VII. who could claim no sort of descent from any family whatever; being a bastard—and of course, according to the perfection of wisdom, as revealed in the orthodox code of our law, being no sort of relation either to his father or his mother. Setting him aside, we find Henry VIII. *(convinced of this truth which I am now enforcing) occasionally consulting his parliament (He also had a tolerably obsequious parliament!) to get them to settle the descent of the crown on the head of one or other of his children just as his caprice happened to dictate or his passions prompt.

Thus I think my position is proved; and I could enter into a longer detail if it were necessary, which it is not,
as every individual can satisfy himself by referring to
history, that till the revolution of 1688, there was no such
thing as a legally established hereditary succession to the crown
of this country.

For what then was the revolution in 1688 made?—
Every man who pretends to be an admirer of the consti-
tution of this country, as then established, must acknowl-
edge that it was made, not for the purpose of enslaving,
but of further emancipating the people. Well, then,
what is the reasoning that results from this? Our re-
volutionary ancestors had found that certain inconvenien-
cies, and very great ones too, resulted from this species
deed of elective succession. They perceived, and rightly, that
a crown, such as it has always been held, is much too
great a temptation for ambition, much too important an ob-
ject to be made subject to what is called election; but what,
under circumstances of such strong temptation, must con-
duct to, or found itself upon, civil war, rebellion, or intel-
tine commotion. But citizens, though they established an
hereditary throne; under certain restrictions, which it is
not now necessary for me to dwell upon, they certainly
did not mean to abandon the Democracy. This part of
the constitution they proposed to leave entire.

I believe, if they had thought a little more deeply,
they would have found that the only way to keep it en-
tire was to introduce an immediate reformation into it;
to destroy the subterfuges of corruption, by means of
which that representation may be so debilitated as to be
rendered a mere nullity—a phantom—or, to speak more
properly, a fiend-like instrument of oppression, veiled in
in the angelic semblance of Liberty. To prevent this,
they would, I believe, if their attention had been suffi-
ciently directed to this object, have restored the people to
their natural and unalienable right (confirmed by the spirit
of their constitution,) the right of annual parliaments and
universal suffrage.

Well then, citizens, if it be true, that originally the
democracy was the basis and foundation of the British
constitution; if it be true that the revolution in 1688,
was not made for the purpose of weakening Liberty, but for
the purpose of strengthening it, I have a right to con-
clude, that democracy is of right; the basis of our govern-
ment; and that we ought to consider the government of this
country, as a representative democracy, admitting at the same
No. XXV. Hh time
time, the check and control of an hereditary aristocracy, called a House of Lords, and vesting the executive government in a person whom we call, not a Monarch, but a King.

This then is a sense in which the word democracy is not only justifiable, but proper; and to vindicate the democracy is equally legal, equally constitutional, as it is consistent with the fundamental principles of justice and of reason.

In this sense, and in this only, I beg the audience will understand me, when I recommend the purification and support of the democracy of this country, and a zealous attachment to the principles of that democracy.

But, Citizens, it has been observed by Hume, and he brings a great number of facts to support this part of his observation, that the government of this country, which for a long while before had been running strongly towards a sort of democracy, had, when he wrote, that is to say, fifty years ago, for a considerable time been setting very strongly in towards absolute monarchy: and this man, who calls himself a Briton, has the degeneracy of mind to declare, that absolute monarchy is not only the natural tendency of the government of Britain, but the desirable end to which the constitution ought to arrive.

But while theorists of one description are talking of promoting the power of the crown, and increasing the monarchic authority; and while theorists of another description are talking of supporting the dignity of the democracy, by vesting larger powers in the House of Commons, the plain and simple fact is, that the government of this country, practically speaking, is no longer either a democracy, or a monarchy, nor a mixture of monarchy and democracy; but a usurped oligarchy, constituted by a set of borough-mongers, who have stolen at once the liberties of the people, and abused the prerogatives of the crown.

To these men every species of reformation, every species of discussion, seems equally abhorrent and frightful. To them, the democracy which I described in the first instance, and the constitutional democracy which I described in the second, were equally dreadful. Every thing that should have a tendency to give any way or influence to reason, or to throw any authority into the hands of the people, appeared so formidable, that they looked with equal malevolence and hatred upon the most moderate reformer and the most violent revolutionist.

This was evident from the commencement of the revolution in France:—a revolution which, I will be bold to say, till it was disturbed by the intrigues of foreign despots—till it was counteracted
counteracted by the machinations of Pitt and his coadjutors, conducted upon principles so philosophical, with a humanity so astonishing, and with a benevolence so enlivening, that it has almost lifted one's ideas of the human species beyond the ordinary level upon which we have been used to contemplate them, and painted to us that regenerated country as a nation of philosophers indeed!—or rather of a guardian genii dropped from the skies, to restore peace, wisdom, and happiness, to every quarter of the globe. Oligarchic usurpers dreaded, however, the appearances of such a revolution: they dreaded it more than they would have dreaded even the sanguinary proceedings which, by their artifices, have since taken place, and upon which they have openly boasted their hopes of a renovation of that system, which would be friendly to the continuation of the orderly regular governments of tyranny and corruption, among the nations of the continent, and to the system of rotten boroughs, by which the people of this country have been so long oppressed, taxed, and insulted.

Men who dread the truth, and who have a cause to support, whose most characteristic attribute is a rottenness at the very core, always attempt to calumniate those who enter into discussion. And I remember a couple of little anecdotes of this kind, which perhaps will form some degree of parallel to the ravings of Mr. Burke and his followers. The former of these is from an "Essay on Demoniac Possessions," printed in a recent volume of the "Transactions of the Manchester Society," in which there is a quotation from an old book, written by a pious divine of the church of England, one of those inspired gentlemen, whose holiness may be discovered by their lawn sleeves, and who are vulgarly called Bishops. This venerable and right reverend book was written to prove the existence of witches ghosts, and hoboobins; and the holy man who wrote it ventures to say, that, if you begin once to doubt the existence of witches, ghosts and hoboobins, farewell to all hopes of the salvation of your wicked soul: for "as it is a well-known maxim, that they who are for no Bishops are for no King; so it is equally well known, that they who are not believers in ghosts and witches, cannot be believers in God."—The other anecdote has come to me only in a traditionary way: you must not therefore expect chapter and verse. But I am told that one Mr. Toplady, in one of his sublime and terrible orations, laid down a maxim equally clear and demonstrative of the damming dangers of investigation,
and the consequent necessity of making a wide gulp, and swallowing down the whole of the established creed at once, without any chewing. According to him, if once you begin to waver and enquire, you are lost; and the steps to perdition are these: from Calvinism you go to Arminianism, from Arminianism to Arianism, from Arianism to Socinianism, from Socinianism to Deism, from Deism to Atheism and from Atheism to the Devil.

In the same way argues that mirror of political orthodoxy Mr. Burke—for intolerance, religious or political, is the same in principle; and must consequently appeal to the same mode of reasoning. If these enquiries, says he, in essence, at least, if not in words—if these enquiries are permitted to go on in the world—if political reformations are tolerated by the regular governments of Europe, from overthrowing the despotism of France, they will begin to reform the corruptions of rotten boroughs in Britain:—from reforming the corruptions of rotten boroughs, they will attack places and pensions; and from attacking places and pensions, they will proceed to grumble at enormous taxes;—from grumbling at enormous taxes, they will attack the enchanted castle of the British Constitution itself, overthrow the venerable remains of feudal necromancy, break down the magic tripos of ancestral inspiration; and hurl the great magician from his chair; throw all things into anarchy, and thence fall headlong into political perdition.

In the pious hope therefore of saving us from this calamitous fall, he wrote the most raving and fantastical, sublime and scurrilous, paltry and magnificent, and every way most astonishing book ever sent into the world. A book, I will venture to say, which has made more democrats, among the thinking part of mankind, than all the works ever written in answer to it; or all the labours of those, who according to the cant phrases, and nonsensical jargon of our minister and his agents, organise anarchy and establish confusion, in every corner of the world.

Yes, I will venture to say, that it is impossible for any thinking man, really meditating upon the consequences of the facts and principles which every now and then escape from the pen of this Burke, even in this very publication, and marking the shallow pretences upon which his favors—
favourite doctrines are built—it is impossible for any man, be his prejudice ever so strong, to read that book without being convinced, that Mr. Burke is entirely in the wrong; and that the truth lies on the side which he is so eager to calum-
niate. I confess for my own part, that this was the impres-
sion the book made upon me. I had like many others, been educated in the high veneration of certain high-founding words, and could not think that any thing could possibly be wrong in so glorious and happy a constitution as that en-
joyed by this most favoured corner of the world, where felici-
city blossoms like the primrose under every hedge, and hap-
piness towers like the lofty oak in every forest. But when I came to read Burke’s book (and I had a profes-
sional reason for reading it with very serious attention) I was astonished to hear the man talk of the revolution in 1688, as of an act by which the privileges and liberties of the people were taken away! as an act by which our ancestors relinquished for ever a natural and imprescrip-
tible right, to which formerly he seems to admit we might have laid some claim.

When I found him him laying down theories so con-
tradictory to sense and history; and when I found him in order to throw unmerited calumny on the friends of li-
berty, representing a woman whose monstrous vices would have rendered her an object of disgust, but for the particular situation in which the accident of birth had placed her, as a star descending from heaven upon the earth, to warm, illuminate, and cheer mankind—when I found him laying down principles which destroy his own conclusions, and asserting facts which destroy his own principles—when I found him, in the same breath denying the right of a people whom he calls free, to judge of the conduct of their rulers, and rejecting with disdain the supposition that such rulers ought to consult the feel-
ings and stand in awe of the opinions of the people, and yet contending that it was impossible for the mem-
ers of the constituent assembly of France, to effect their purpose of giving freedom to France, because “To se-
cure any degree of sobriety in the propositions made by the leaders in any public assembly, they ought to respect “in some degree, perhaps to fear, those whom they conduct:—“To be led any otherwise than blindly, the followers “must be qualified, if not for actors, at least for judges;”
that is say, the people must either be driven like wild beasts, or else they must enabled to judge for themselves; and how are they to be enabled to judge, but by that very diffusion of information, the very mention of extending which to the Swinish Multitude, throws Mr. Burke into such paroxysms of frenzy!—"To be led otherwise "than blindly," says he, "the followers must be qua-" lified, if not for actors, at least for judges; they must "be judges also of natural weight and authority;"—not the factious authority of tyranny and wealth—but "NA-"TURAL WEIGHT AND AUTHORITY!!"—

When I found in this farago, every part of which, that is not founded in gross falsehood and misrepresenta- tion, militates in principle against his own conclusions, nothing (to speak in Johnsonian phraseology) but the frenzies of sublimity, the contradictions of reason, and the tor- tuosities of sophification, could I avoid suspecting, that there was "something rotten in the State of Denmark," which this State Juggler wanted to conceal from view; and that there was in reality something so excellent in the principles espoused by the French Revolutionists, that it was impossible for a man even to write against them without promoting them? The fact is, that nothing can be fatal to truth but silence (or commotion). Do but write or speak, no matter how absurd the principles you set out upon, and it must triumph. Nay, perhaps the best way to promote it, in an enquiring age, is to write away against it as fast as you possibly can.

The writing of this book was certainly one of the first active causes of the growth of democracy in this country. Discussion was no doubt considerably promoted by the immortal writings of Thomas Painr, Joel Barlow, Thomas Cooper of Manchester, James Mackintosh, and many other enlightened men, who took up the pen to vindicate the revolution of France: little imagining that because they had thus vindicated the French revolution, persons in this country, some of whom had never read their books, were to be tried for high treason for that which they had written.

But however these books assisted, and undoubtedly they did very considerably assist the progress of the cause of Democracy, it is to be observed, that they owed their existence to the publication of Burke; and therefore we
we are to look upon him as the great father and first propa-
gator of the principles of democracy in this country.

But mark the step that followed!—It was thought that
the reading of these answers would be a very pernicious
thing indeed. It was never attempted to prevent persons
from reading the book itself: for you know there is no
harm in reading or inquiring upon on side of the question—
but to attempt to examine both—O 'tis most horrible! and
on 'the opposition side, all regular governments will agree
that the press ought to be shackled, as much as possible.
Shackled, therefore, it was resolved it should be; and the
Diabolus Regis (as in ancient times the king's Attorney Gene-
ral was called)—the Diabolus Regis, that is the King's Devil
was instructed to launch forth the subterranean thunders of
his legal Pandemonium. Proclamations were immediately
issued to forbid the people to read or think but the devil was
in the people (not the King's Devil, but Tom Paine's Devil,
or a devil of some other description) and the more they were
forbidden to read or think, they did but think and read the
more. These proclamations instead of preventing their ca-
cer of enquiry, made them enquire with more avidity,
and judge with greater profundity: and I understand it was
very common, on market days, in little country towns, for
the country, people who had never heard of Paine's name
before, to go to the little book-shops, and, not knowing any
other way to ask for it, to make themselves understood by
saying, "Why Master, we want that there book we
" maunt read." Thus were proclamations against Demo-
crats, a second effective cause of promoting the principles
of democracy.

Proclamations not succeeding, the next thing was to
proceed to prosecutions: accordingly we find, that men
have been prosecuted by wholesale, some for writing books,
others for having published them, and others for having
read them. For my part, my case was a little singular;
for I was prosecuted, and that to the jeopardy of my life,
for not having read them. Joel Barlow's book, in particular,
which was one of the things from which large extracts
were read upon my Trial, I had never seen till after my
acquittal. Since, indeed, I have read and admired it very
much: for I thought it necessary, as I had been in danger
of being hanged for it, that I should know what it con-
tained.

That
That excellent and worthy citizen, Frend, was also to be persecuted in the university of which he was so ornamental a member, for having written a book professedly with a view of reconciling the contending parties, and preventing the excesses which he and every man foresaw that the mad extravagances of the minister were plunging us into. Winterbottom for preaching sermons in which nobody can discover what were the passages that were called seditious, was thrown into Newgate; where he is to lie four years; and Holt, the printer of the Newark Herald, while the Duke of Richmond and Mr. Pitt are the principal members of the cabinet of this country, is actually persecuted, condemned, and imprisoned, for re-publishing the letter, which the Duke of Richmond; Mr. Pitt's patriotic coadjutor so industriously diffeminated throughout the country, as containing the best and only means of restoring our constitution to its ancient vigor and purity.

But it was not enough to prosecute men for books. Perjured spies, men known to be inflamed with the utmost rancour and hatred against the parties, were permitted to swear in courts of justice, from their loose recollections of conversation still more loose and unpromediated; and, upon such evidence, men were condemned for indiscreet and idle words: words which, not being deliberatelyspoken, ought to be considered, as all haughty and unpromediated words must be in the view of candour and reason, as perfectly innocent.

Breillat was condemned for expressions of this kind, alleged by his prosecuters to have been uttered almost a year before the time of his prosecution. In the hour of inebriation, in a coffee-house, the master of which gave the information, poor Ho gson was taken into custody, crammed in a vile dungeon; and now forsooth lies in jail, for laughing over a bargain, which no good man will approve; — made between the Prince of Heife Caffel and the Elector of Hanover, respecting the sale of their subjects at £30 per man; and having therefore called his most sacred and august majesty "A Hog-butcher!" What is majesty if it can be wounded by a nick-name? — And who ever heard of any prosecution commenced against that most infamous flanderer Edmon de Bur e, for calumniating the still more sacred and august majesty of the people by calling them a Swinish Multitude? Yet for this foolish piece of levity and buffoonery
buffoonery, (while the spectacled buffoon of St. Steven's is yet at large) is poor Hodgson, forsooth, also, confined in Newgate, with a fine upon his back, in violation of the constitution of the country, Magna Charta and the Bill of Rights, which expressly say that no judge shall, at his peril lay unconscionable fines upon any man, which must weigh him down for ever. There he lies loaded with an enormous fine, evidently for the express purpose of keeping him a prisoner for life: because those who imposed the fine, know that neither he nor his connections are worth the sum of money fixed upon his head.

The case of poor Frost was still more wicked. He had been drinking with his friends at a coffee-house, in a private room; and was retiring to his home, when a man stopped him as he was going through the coffee room: "I think "you are Citizen Frost"—"Yes, I am"—"You have been "in France lately?"—"Yes, I have."—"How do you find "things going on in France?"—"Oh very gloriously, "every thing goes on just as it ought."—"Oh you are a "liberty man; you are for liberty and equality I think."— "Yes, I am for liberty and equality."—"What for liberty "and equality and no king?"—"Yes Sir, for liberty and "equality and no king."—"What are you for liberty and "equality and no king in England?" Vexed and indignant as every one must feel, under such circumstances, he replied, 'Yes, Sir, I am for liberty and equality and no "king in England.'

I was present in the court when this cause was tried: and I heard this Diabolus Regis, fulminate such a volume of horrible denunciations, and opprobrium against the culprit, that one would have imagined, if one had only heard his speech, and not known the particular crime for which the man was tried, that he had absolutely endeavoured to murder the king, put his sons to the torture, and violate the purity of his daughters.

Indignation and not fear was stirred by these proceedings; and men became more and more democratic, when they saw the violence and injustice with which those who were the enemies of democracy proceeded.

The next step, however, instead of being a milder was of a more severe description. Men for speaking their sentiments in a convention—sentiments, many of which may be traced to the glorious Alfred himself, the founder of our liberty—sentiments which, at the period of the re-
volution, would have been thought to be the boast and the glory of Englishmen. Britons—Men for speaking these sentiments, under that constitution which pretends to be the same as was established at the Revolution in 1688, were transported, like felons, to Botany Bay.

However what is the consequence? How ignorant must those men be who think opinions will be beaten down by persecution. Are they ignorant of the history of their country? Are they ignorant of the history of that Christianity, which they profess, but which they disgrace by their conduct? Do they not know that, when opinions are persecuted, if they have but the least portion of comparative truth, they will grow ten times stronger in consequence of that persecution.

Men who never troubled themselves with the investigation before, felt their blood boil within them at this treatment, and stepped forward to shew that they were not ashamed of being the advocates of men thus cruelly treated: and from being advocates of the men, they became advocates of the cause. Though they would not have been so but for their injustice with which those opinions were persecuted.

Well, finding every thing they had done to prevent the progress of liberty had only increased its progress—what was the next object? Blood! Blood! Blood! Ferocity could no longer be restrained. Those beings whose glaring eyes, rolling like hends, and convulsive lips, quivering like beasts of prey, with savage expectation, exulted over those beings whom they thought they had in their power, and thus made a place, which ought to be the seat of wisdom and of humanity, a sort of bear-garden by their ferocity— and who treated the persons who were brought before them like reptiles until to be looked at— these wretches—persuaded me if I am too warm in my expressions. Humanity cannot always bear with patience the recollection of such inhuman brutality, as I have encountered! These beings attempted to take away the lives of men for protecting in doctrine they themselves had set at afloat; and on the stream and current of which they had failed into the port of power.

In the midst of their ferocity, however, they were cowards. They did not dare to act a wicked part like men; and no wonder to fortify themselves against the consequences of this illegal an act, they seduced persons, who, till that time, were supposed to have some little character, to join them,
them, and make a most unnatural coalition, and Whig and Tory joined together in a faction so heterogeneous, as was never before thought of; that thus by their united power they might venture to destroy a few plain, simple, fortunate, unconnected men, who had dared to tell their fellow citizens that they ought to be free, and that the principles which were true when these men were out of power, continued still to be so now they are in. Hence came forward, from the same cowardly spirit, the assainin-like attempts of toad-eating scribblers and hired journalists. A pamphlet was published by Mr. Reeves's Bookseller, the very title of which treated us as if we were already convicted; speaking of the treason committed by the persons now in custody upon a charge!

What affirm that a treason was actually committed, and lend these affirmations in heaps to every corner of the country, while the men remained yet untried; and the minister and all the lawyers around him had not found out what specific crime to charge upon the warrant! What, was this prejudication to be permitted in this land of liberty? Yes and more flagitious prejudices still.

Sir John Rose, the Recorder of London, and one of the commissioners, by whom we were afterwards to be tried, if the papers recorded justly his speech on that occasion, stood up in his judicial capacity upon the swearing in of the new Sheriffs, and accused us, as though we had been men already convicted, of having conspired against the life of the King. "Gentlemen, you will have in the discharge of your functions, duties of peculiar importance to fulfill. You will have to take charge and custody over men who have had the profligate audacity to lift the arm of treason against the sacred life of the King."

These are our Judges!!! O Britons! Britons!—What is our situation if upon such Judges, and such witnesses as those who sent us before such judges thought fit to provide, the pure administration of justice is to depend.

But Citizens, these continual calumnies and prejudices would not do; these are attempts which the passions of men cannot endure. These are attempts which even the perverted judgments of Aristocrats will not approve. They had stretched the cord till it broke: and the men whose lives they sought, found glorious champions among the foremost leaders at the bar; they wanted not the assistance
assistance of honest men in another branch of the profession; and they found a glorious asylum in that port and harbour of British liberty—[AN INDEPENDENT JURY! which all the arts (and arts enough were appealed to) of courtiers and ministers could not corrupt.

This attempt broke the charm of popular infatuation. The furious Aristocrats hid their heads in confusion; and I am happy to say, the Democrats had the virtue and the wisdom not to abuse their triumph. Instead of becoming more furious, they became more moderate; and shewed the genuine excellence of their principles, by not falling into that intemperance which the enthusiasm of weak minds is too apt to produce, but which must be always injurious to the cause of truth and virtue!

But citizens, there is another way in which these persecutions served the cause of liberty. It was pretty universally believed, that one of the terms of agreement made with certain parties when they came into the Grand Cabinet Coalition, was, that the minister should absolutely prove us to have been guilty of High Treason, and convict us accordingly.

Having found with what security and confidence he could promise and vow in the name of a House of Commons, without the trouble of a previous consultation, the minister was ready to offer himself as godfather also for a British Jury: but a British Jury is not a British House of Commons; and that which he promised in their names, they did not think, when they came to meet, that themselves were bound to perform.

The country perceiving two such strong and mighty factions, became so weak and so impotent, that they were obliged to combine together in this extraordinary manner, and to adopt such extraordinary measures, against a few simple unconnected men, began to enquire what the reason of this could be; and they immediately found that the real reason was corruption—that these virtuous Whigs finding they had no longer any chance of having all the loaves and fishes to their own share, very prudently consented to take half the loaves and fishes, rather than have none at all!

This then destroyed all confidence in party: and confidence in party has always been found the greatest enemy to the principles of liberty, and the genuine rights of mankind. It is in principles only that you can confide; and
and no man can be entitled to countenance or affection, but as he is subservient to those glorious principles upon which the rights and happiness of mankind are built, and upon which alone those rights and that happiness can be supported.

The enormous taxation with which the people are burdened is another of the operating causes: and when they found themselves, by the multiplication of places and pensions, burdened with additional loads, this led them to consider a little more deeply the principles of that democratic branch of the constitution, without which the constitution of this country would be worth nothing at all. When they found that not only aristocrats but opposition men had places and pensions; when they found that not only the Tory Pitt and the Tories that adhered to him, but the Whig Stormont, now Mansfield, and other Whigs held places of some thousands a year, paid by the toil and industry of the people—when they found that illustrious ornament, in point of intellect, to the country in which he lives—that man of powerful mind whose exertions have contributed alone to furnish any respectability to the Whig Party during the last half century—that even Fox, though in truth he his no more secure place, has spent the money for which he sold one: and that therefore he himself bound to contend that patent places are property so sacred that you must not venture to attack them; not even in the shape of taxation; when they found all this was it possible for them not to see through the juggle of the present system, and to wish for an assembly in which the democracy should be purely and truly represented?

In this then it is palpable, that both parties are agreed. Administration and Opposition are in harmonious concert: when Mr. Harrison brought forward a motion for laying a tax upon the places of persons receiving favors from the Crown Mr. Pitt thought it impossible any honourable gentleman could suppose the honourable gentleman to be in earnest. No, no, he could not suppose the honourable gentleman could mean anything but a joke. Astonishing assurance! as though he should have laid in direct language, "What does the honourable gentleman suppose, after we have been grasping at power so long and so successfully—after we have devised so many expedients to turn that power to our own advantage—after we have laid such burdens upon the shoulders of the people, in orde
der that we may fill our own coffers—after we have taken
such pains to secure to ourselves the plunder of the coun-
try, does the honourable gentleman suppose us to be so
weak and inconsistent, as, that we will now suffer by our
own free will and consent, any part of that plunder to be
taken away from us!"

Thus, then, whatever disagreement there may be be-
tween Whigs and Tories, as to who ought to have the
largest share of those places and pensions, and the like,
it is evident that they are perfectly agreed, that no part
of this sacred property shall be touched for the purpose of
lightening the burden of the people. Nor is John Bull
to blind as not to perceive the juggle: and hence an ad-
ditional reason for wishing the restoration of that true
Democratic House of Commons by which alone this jugh-
ing can be put an end to.

Citizens, I am afraid I shall not be able to go through
all the subjects I proposed this evening. I believe I shall
not be able to enter at large into the blunders, the ridi-
culous professions, the bravadoes and boflings with which
the present war has been attended. Suffice it to say, the
people have opened their eyes, and, having discovered
the real objects of the war, are dissatisfied with its con-
tinuance. They have begun to enquire how this war
came to have been undertaken; and they perceive it to
have been undertaken, in consequence of their having no
organ to represent their interests in the national Council
—and they begin to think also that the man who earns
every thing, whose labour creates all the wealth of the
country, has almost as much right to have some voice in
naming the representatives by which the country is to be
governed, as those who produce nothing but consume the
whole.

Something too towards opening the eyes of the people, has
been done by the imbecility with which this war has been
conducted—which began with bullying, was carried on with
absurdity, and is likely to terminate with disgrace. This war
and this conduct of the war has tended to a considerable de-
gree to open their eyes: and blunders and disgraces, tho' they
have not made the Minister a whit wiser, have had some
effect upon the people; and, if I am not much mistaken, he
will find that they are somewhat wiser than they were.

I hope they will be wise enough; that whatever they attempt
they will attempt by peace, reason and justice: not by tumult
and
and violence. Commotion and coercion are the game of the Minister; enquiry and reason are the game for us: because we have truth on our side, and if we once persuade the great multitude of the people (and soldiers are people as well as we are)—if we can once convince the great body of the people that they have rights; and persuade them peaceably and firmly to demand their rights, I should like to see the four or five hundred men, or the four or five thousand, who would have the impudence (not to say the courage) to stand against the congregated voice of the nation. It is the very nature of men, who are wrong, who feel they are convicted of wrong, and are confronted by millions having truth on their sides, to blush and retire; and violence is only rendered necessary by the intemperance of those who have not patience enough to wait for the peaceful operations of human reason.

Citizens, there is one very important thing however which the present war has taught us, it has taught us the absurdity of the idea that one Englishman can beat half a dozen Frenchmen. It has taught us that if Englishmen, formerly, had any advantage over Frenchmen, it was only because the English were more free than the French: for that liberty and enthusiasm are every thing, and climate, feature, and complexion nothing at all.

The infatuation of Ministers however still continues. They have rummaged all the universe almost to find out persons, who would accept of pensions, commonly called subsidies, in order to support the alliance; and having ranged almost the whole of this terraqueous globe, I suppose the next step will be to subsidize the Prince of the infernal regions himself, and get him to become their ally; as being a fit—perhaps the fittest agent for their purpose.

Nay, there are strong symptoms of some negociation of this sort already; for they have lately acquired an Ally who may be supposed, by some, to have dealings with that great personage—and to be in no small degree in his confidence; and I should not be at all surprized if Mrs. Williams, of Store Street, who so timely stepped forward to boast her loyalty to the King, and acquaintance with the Queen of this country, and dedicated her work to her, foretelling that Louis XVIII. would be restored to the Crown of France; that the Stadtholder would be restored in Holland, and that the arms of Britain (in defiance of the false prophecies of Brothers) would be triumphant, and the house of Brunswick preside upon the British throne for ever—I should not be at all surprized if this august
august personage should by and by produce her formal credentials, and take upon herself the character of Minister Pleni-
potentiary from his Sooty Highness: and then both the Pope
and the Devil may have their Ambassadors at Court; and the
atheistical practice of burning them in effigy on the 5th of
November, disgrace the country no more!

But there is one reason why, perhaps, an alliance of this
kind might not so very much contribute towards increasing
the spirit of democracy among us as some other alliances
have: for we are informed that spirits neither eat nor drink;
and that the Devil has wealth enough in Pandemonium al-
ready. He will not, therefore, want either subsidy or loan;
and it will not be necessary to send our bread and beef to the
lower regions to feed these new allies. This, however, we
are obliged to do for our other allies, and the common people
finding themselves reduced to misery and starvation, as in the
most fertile parts of this country you may, if you chuse, see
that they are reduced!—I say, the common people finding
themselves so reduced, for the sake of supporting the princi-
pies of aristocratic domination and usurpation, is it not natural
that they should be repelled with disgust from principles the
maintaining of which cost them so dear; and be led to en-
quire whether the cheaper dominion of pure justice and free
equal representation is not to be preferred to the expense of
aristocratic corruption?

Citizens, I cannot part from you without saying a few
words relative to the condition of the lower orders of society.
You who listen to me are most of you persons who are raised,
in some degree, above the misery which I have been con-
demned to view: but do not suppose, because you are a few
steps higher on the ladder of society, that the lower steps can
be broken away without securing your destruction.

Citizens, in the Isle of Wight, where Nature seems to
have poured her beauties, her sublimity and her fertility with
the most lavish hand, where the common average of produc-
tion upon every acre of land is a third part more than the
average of the other parts of Britain—in the midst of this
fertility, in the midst of this abundance, in the midst of all
the sublime beauties and romantic scenes which that enchant-
ing country presents, how often has my heart ached to behold
the beggared misery of the great body of the people.—Great
body! No, there is no great body of people there. Popula-
tion is waiting away. Turn wherever you will, you see cot-
tages falling into ruin; you see mansions of luxury rising, the
fine
The feelings of whose matters cannot endure the sight of wretchedness: and who, therefore, permit not a cottage to rise within their vicinity. There you may see the little farm-house turned into the summer house of some gentleman of lady of quality; the grounds upon which the farmer lived turned into Ferme Orne's, where the produce is grasped by the luxurious individual who has laid out the country for his pleasure and amusement. It is true it is better that they produce corn there than that they should lay it out entirely in articles of pleasure and luxury. But what is the consequence? The wealthy individual hoards up the grain. He has no calls for rent; he has no particular necessities to compel him to do justice to society, and bring his corn to a fair market; and therefore he speculates, and waits for an opportunity to take advantage of the artificial distresses of mankind: and to such a height are these speculations carried, that corn in the Isle of Wight has been sold this summer at 20l. and 24l. a load, standing on the ground: though in the memory of the oldest man alive in that island it was never 12l. before.

Citizens I have not concluded the picture. It happens that this island produces in one year, as is admitted by all the historians, as much grain and cattle as would maintain the inhabitants ten. It produces, also, the greatest abundance of shell fish, particularly crabs and lobsters, which are sent to the London market. The markets, also, of Portsmouth, Gosport and Southampton are supplied with vegetables from this spot—and boats, and even large vessels, are built in the ports and creeks. Yet with all this, except in a few particular spots, the country is almost a Desert in point of population; and sometimes they are reduced to the greatest distress to get in their harvest.

You will suppose then, that the peasantry being so few, live in happiness and comfort; that they have decent apparel, decent education, eat a little meat twice or three times a week at least. But, alas! No such thing. Their wages are not sufficient for bread. Their children run in barefoot beggary in groups, at the chariot wheels of their oppressors; and they will run for miles to get a halfpenny by opening a gate to let you pass through; save your servant the trouble of dismounting, as if the curse of Canaan had fallen upon them that servants unto servants they should be. And thus is the universal condition of the peasantry of that country. I have been grieved at my heart to see human beings thus brought up in ignorance. I have