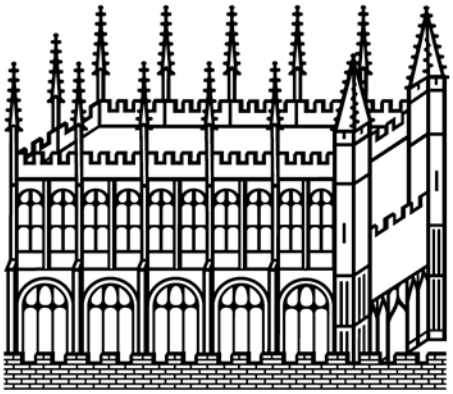

THE

EXAMPLE OF FRANCE

A

WARNING TO BRITAIN.

It is a certain though a ſtrange truth, that in politics all principles that are ſpeculatively right, are practically wrong; the reaſon of which is, that they proceed on a ſuppoſition, that men act rationally; which being by no means true, all that is built on ſo falſe a foundation, on experiment, falls to the ground.

SOAME JENYNS.

THE FOURTH EDITION.

BY

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ERRATA.

Page 10. lines 15 and 17, for affination, read *aſſaſſination*.—Page 21, line 17, for founded perſonal repreſentation, read founded *on* perſonal repreſentation.—Page 27, line 26, for accuſed, read *accurſed*.—Page 39, line 12, for Nangus, read *Nangis*.

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THE EXAMPLE OF FRANCE A WARNING TO BRITAIN.

THE writers who have publiſhed their ſentiments on the events which have paſſed in France ſince the Revolution, have been ſo laviſh of argument, ſo exuberant in theory, that they ſeem to have relied for ſucceſs with their readers, not ſo much on force of facts, as on ingenuity in weaving curious webs of reaſoning. We have had, on the one hand, panegyrics on Gallic freedom, with enthuſiaſtic calls to purſue the ſame ſyſtem in order to arrive at the ſame happineſs: on the other hand, every circumſtance of the Revolution, from the original wiſh for liberty, has been condemned and ſatirized with more wit than truth. To plain men theſe writers ſeem equally removed from that

examination, which, attending ſolely to facts, and their immediate and more remote conſequences, is not apt to truſt to the cunning of argument, but looks on every ſide for the more ſolid ſupport of experiment.

I am inclined to think the application of theory to matters of government, a ſurpriſing imbecility in the human mind; for men to be ready to truſt to reaſon in inquiries, where experiment is equally at hand for their guide, has been pronounced, by various great authorities, to be, in every other ſcience, the groſſeſt folly—why the obſervation ſhould not equally extend to the ſcience of legiſlation, will not eaſily appear.

My perſonal purſuit, for a long ſeries of years, has confirmed me in the habit of experimental inquiry: I have obſerved on ſo many occaſions the fallacy of reaſoning, even when exerted with great force of talents, that I am apt, whenever facts are not clearly diſcerned, to queſtion rather than to decide; to doubt much more readily than to pronounce; and to value the citation of one new experimented caſe in point, more than an hundred brilliant declamations. Having reſided a good deal in France during the progreſs of the Revolution, to which I was, for ſome time, a warm friend; having paſſed through every province of the kingdom;

dom; examined all her principal manufactures; gained much inſtruction, relative to the ſtate of her commerce, and attended minutely to the ſituation of her people, it was natural for me, on my return to England, to conſult with attention the legiſlative acts of the new government; and to procure, by correſpondence and converſation, with perſons on whom I could depend, ſuch intelligence as was neceſſary to enable me to ſatisfy my curioſity concerning the reſult of the moſt ſingular Revolution recorded in the annals of mankind. I ſhould conſider myſelf as a bad ſubject of Britain, if I did not uſe every endeavour to render the knowledge, thus acquired, of uſe to my countrymen; and it is ſolely with this view that I now throw together a few ſhort eſſays, inſerted originally in the Annals of Agriculture, ſomewhat improved in form, and with ſuch additions as the events of the period afford.

But in attempting to give expreſſions adequate to the indignation every one muſt feel at the horrible events now paſſing in France, I am ſenſible that I may be reproached with changing my politics, my " principles," as it has been called.— My principles I certainly have not changed, becauſe if there be one principle more predominant than another in my politics, it is the *principle of change*. I have been too long a farmer to be go-

verned by any thing but events; I have a conſtitutional abhorrence of theory, of all truſt in abſtract reaſoning; and conſequently I have a reliance merely on experience, in other words, on events, the only principle worthy of an experimenter.

The circumſtance of there being men who having been friends to the Revolution before the 10th of Auguſt, yet continue friends to it, proves clearly one of two things; that they are either republicans, and therefore approved of the Revolution before the 10th of Auguſt merely as a ſtep to the 21ſt of January, thinking, with Dr. Prieſtley, the Revolution of the 10th *neceſſary and* HAPPY;—or, that they have changed their principles. The Revolution before the 10th of Auguſt, was as different from the Revolution after that day as light from darkneſs; as clearly diſtinct *in* principle and practice as liberty and ſlavery; for the ſame man to approve therefore of both, he muſt either be uncandid or changeable; uncandid in his approbation before that period—changeable in his approbation after it. How little reaſon therefore for reproaching me with ſentiments contrary to thoſe I publiſhed before the 10th of Auguſt! I am not changeable, but ſteady and conſiſtent; the ſame principles which directed me to approve the Revolution in its commencement (the principles of real liberty), led me to deteſt it after the 10th of Auguſt.

Auguſt. The reproach of changeableneſs, or *ſomething worſe*, belongs entirely to thoſe who did *not* then change their opinion, but approve the *republic*, as they had approved the *limited monarchy*. Upon the ſure ground of experiment, it ſhall be my buſineſs, in the enſuing pages, to bring to the reader's notice ſome facts, proper to explain—

FIRST, the real ſtate of France: and,

SECONDLY, the cauſes of her evils; and I ſhall then apply her example to the landed, monied, commercial, and labouring intereſts of theſe kingdoms.

PRESENT STATE of FRANCE.

THE facts which will beſt explain this, concern—1. Government. 2. Perſonal Liberty. 3. Security of Property.

Government.

In all diſcuſſions relative to the new ſyſtem of conſtitution or government in France, it is neceſſary, firſt, to inquire, whether they have any other ſyſtem than that of anarchy. The circumſtances, to which I ſhall allude, tend very ſtrongly to prove that the Jacobin clubs, the general councils of the commons, and the nominal legiſlative convention,

appear ſo to divide the ſupreme power among them, while the mob, or *nation*, call it which you pleaſe, act ſo independently of all three, that, to compliment the reſult with the term *government*, would be truly ridiculous. To talk of the Rights of Man, or any other declarations or laws of the Conſtituent Aſſembly, is perfectly beſide all preſent queſtions; the heptarchy is not more out of date.—But let us examine facts, as reported by Jacobin authority.

The freedom of elections ſeems to be curiouſly attended to.——Reſolution of the Jacobin club of September 13, ſent to all the clubs of the kingdom: —" Let us not loſe a ſingle moment to prevent, by firm meaſures, the danger of ſeeing theſe new legiſlators oppoſe, with impunity, the ſovereign will of the nation. Let us be inſpired with the ſpirit of the electoral body of Paris, whoſe decrees expreſs, *that a ſcrutiny ſhall be made of the National Convention, for the purpoſe of expelling from its boſom ſuch ſuſpected members as may, in their nomination, have eſcaped the ſagacity of the primary aſſemblies.*" (*Polit. State*, No. 6. p. 449.) What a beautiful leſſon is this to the men who complain of our repreſentation in England, and wiſh it reformed.—Here is a delicious reform, and at the hands of republicans! The world, probably, never contained a proof of more determined confuſion;

ſion; this is truly a *digeſt of anarchy*. For members to be elected to the Convention, under the controul of the commons of Paris, whether they ſhall take their ſeat or not, is curious, and ought to give us the cleareſt conviction, that the Jacobins want no Duke of Brunſwick to be the avenger of the crimes of Paris. None can be ſuch adepts in national miſery, ſuch founders of national ruin, as the people themſelves, whoſe exertions are, with ſingular ingenuity, forming a ſyſtem, in which regulation ſhall produce diſorder, and decrees blood. That the people deſign to legiſlate perſonally for themſelves, cannot be doubted; they mean the Convention to have no power, but an initiative *to propoſe* to the Sovereign, who will accept or reject by the organ of clubs.

It is eaſy to gueſs at the obedience paid to a ſovereign body whoſe election is thus reſpected: the Convention decreed, that all elections ſhould be made by ballot: this was directly diſobeyed by Paris. "Of twenty-five Sections," ſays Barbaroux, Oct. 30, "that have returned an account of the election of a mayor, eighteen have violated that law; and the ſection of the Pantheon has propoſed, ſhould their preſident be called to the bar, to attend him armed."

October 5th, a deputation from that city, thus ſpeak at the bar, demanding the ſpeedy trial of the King. " The men of the 10th of Auguſt will never ſuffer, that thoſe they have inveſted with their confidence ſhall deſpiſe for an inſtant the ſovereignty of the people; courage is the virtue of a free people; and we will not depart from the principle, that if it is juſt to obey laws, it is juſt alſo to reſiſt deſpots, under whatever maſque they may conceal themſelves: we think it for our intereſt to make our elections *viva voce (a haute voix)*." The miniſter of the interior is forced to write the ſame day to the Convention, " I pray you to take meaſures to prevent being null and without effect all the demands and requiſitions which I daily make, IN THE NAME OF THE LAW, to the commons of Paris." The miniſter, in the name of the Convention, applied for law; but found the commons of Paris ſtronger than both. " I have ſeen," ſays Cambon, Sept. 25th, " theſe commons rob the national edifices of all their moſt precious effects, without the leaſt regiſter or note; and when we decreed that theſe effects ſhould be carried to the national treaſure, that decree remained without execution."

" The council general of the commons of Paris." ſays Barrere, Nov. 10th, " has ſought to depreſs, by every poſſible method, the national repreſentation,

ſentation. The legiſlative body ſaid, that *that germ of new revolutions ought to diſappear*, and the next day it was obliged to withdraw its decree. It ſaid alſo, *that the gates of Paris ought to be opened, that every man might travel freely through the interior of the empire*; but the council general ordered them to be ſhut. The legiſlature decreed, *that no more paſſports ſhould be neceſſary*. The council general directly ordered that none ſhould ſtir without a paſſport *." The conſtitutional dignity of the National Aſſembly," ſays Paine, " cannot debaſe itſelf." Paris is the beſt judge of the debaſement of that aſſembly.

That the municipalities are in a ſtate of real anarchy, appears clearly from different bodies aſſuming the ſame power; while the municipalities of Paris were demanding one ſum of the Convention, *le commune proprement dite*, or ninety-ſix commiſſioners of ſections were demanding another, which induced Kerſaint to exclaim—*In what anarchy is our adminiſtration plunged. Ought there to be two bodies of repreſentatives of the commons of Paris? the law prohibits it* †. This is curious; a legal veſtry meets in the church, and is oppoſed by another in an alehouſe kitchen, who term themſelves the veſtry, *properly called*; and one having a taſte of public plunder, the other petition alſo for the ſame thing; ſuch are the bodies that

* Moniteur, Oct. 28. † Ibid.

ſeize

ſeize and divide, under the epithets of confiſcation, adminiſtration, and ſale, the eſtates and property of emigrants.

The commiſſioners of the ſections of Paris, at the bar of the Convention, bully it in theſe terms: "The time preſſes—the ſtorm forms itſelf."—Thus overturning the government that had been formed on the Rights of Man, which, inſtead of yielding peace and tranquillity, produced ſtorms only, the eternal products of ſuch Revolutions; and the blood that had been ſo laviſhly ſpilled for the *public repoſe*, afforded ſo little, that the miniſter Rolland, writing to the commons of Paris, ſays, *I hear of nothing but conſpiracies, and projects of murder, and aſſination*. The wicked preached yeſterday; at the ſame moment, in different parts of Paris, pillage, and aſſination* †. And being ordered by the Convention to report the ſtate of Paris, his expreſſion is, *the adminiſtrative bodies, without powers; the commons deſpotic; the people deceived;—ſuch is Paris* ‡! But deceived and ignorant as they were, they thought their *lights* ſufficient to inſtruct the nominal legiſlature; as Marat and his gang were daily declaring, that cutting off heads was the *genuine employment of a people*, and denouncing ſo many members of the Convention in the Jacobin clubs, it was debated in

* Moniteur, Nov. 3. † Nov. 1. ‡ Oct. 30.

the

the Convention, whether a guard ought not to be drawn from all the eighty-three departments. On this project, the commiſſioners of the forty-eight ſections of Paris thus ſpeak (Oct. 19) to the Convention: "Proxies of the ſovereign! You ſee before you the deputies of the ſections of Paris. They come to make you underſtand eternal truths. No words—but things! It is propoſed to place you on a level with tyrants—to ſurround you with a diſtinct guard. The ſections of Paris weighing the principles on which the ſovereignty of the people reſides, declare to you that this project is odious and dangerous. We will attack in front ſuch a principle. What audaciouſneſs, to conjecture that the people will conſent to ſuch a decree! What! they propoſe to you conſtitutional decrees, before the exiſtence of the conſtitution! Wait till the law exiſts; and the people have ſanctioned it. Paris has made the Revolution. Paris has given liberty to the reſt of France. *Paris knows how to maintain it* *."

Here Paris expreſsly declares to the Convention, that their decrees were waſte paper, till the people ſanction them: ſuch is perſonal repreſentation; an aſſembly is ſo elected, and the people no ſooner poſſeſs ſuch repreſentatives, than, intoxicated with power, they declare their deputies things of ſtraw,

* Monit. Oct. 21.

and

and their decrees null, till ſanctioned by the people themſelves! What a leſſon! to the friends of reform! *In all the public places*, ſays Louvet*, *at the Thuilleries, in the Palais de la Revolution, and elſewhere, you hear them preach continually inſurrection againſt the National Convention.* The deputies of the department of Loire, tell the Convention at the bar, *Your ſcandalous debates are known in every corner of France. The afflicted people ſent you to make laws, and you know not how to make a regulation; they ſent you to render France reſpected, and you know not how to reſpect yourſelves; they ſent you to eſtabliſh liberty, and you have not known how to maintain your own. You tremble before theſe tribunes*†. "The nation is tired of beholding perfidious repreſentatives," ſay the forty-eight ſections of Paris at the bar ‡.

The National Convention, ſays Marat himſelf, *offers the moſt afflicting and ſcandalous ſpectacle. Could an American ſavage be brought into it, he would believe the French legiſlators an aſſembly of madmen and furies. Unworthy men! You are without knowledge, virtue, patriotiſm, or ſhame; and are led by a band of vile wicked raſcals, devoted to ambition, and trembling leſt their crimes ſhould be revealed* ‖.

* Monit. Oct. 29. † Jan. 10, 1793. ‡ April 11.

‖ *Journal de Marat*, Jan 16.

Paine

Paine is of an opinion directly contrary, " they ſprang not from the filth of rotten boroughs—they debate in the language of gentlemen—their dignity is ſerene—they preſerve the right angled character of man." We well know what their language is; and if a right angled character produces right angled actions, we know what thoſe are alſo. For the ſerenity of their dignity !!!—It is a fit ſubject for mirth, but not for argument. Such is the conſtitution eſtabliſhed by men, whom Mr. Chriſtie calls " Patriots, whom Athens would have adored, and of whom Rome was not worthy."

It is high time for us to know, ſays Cambon, *that the Convention is abſolutely deſpiſed*. Anarchy,* ſaid Baurere †, *is at its zenith:* and Barbaroux ‡, *Anarchy reigns around us, and we have done nothing to repreſs it. Thoſe who provoke to murder are yet triumphant. Anarchy is the cauſe of all our evils!* ſays the PRESIDENT OF THE CONVENTION to the deputation for the department of Indre and Loire ‖. The miniſter of the interior to the Committee of general ſafety; *every day, for a month paſt, they have talked of renewing the proſcriptions; I have, for many days, received and laid before you aſſurances of projects of maſſacre and murder, publicly preached* §.

* Monit. Dec. 29, 1792. † Oct. 30. ‡ Ibid.

‖ December 4. § January 16.

Theſe

Theſe are the accounts and the words of the members of the Convention openly delivered; but we have a reformer in England, who characterizes the French government with the epithets of—"the erect mien and heavenly dignity of aſpect—the fair and enchanting form—the viſion ſo delightful."—It is whimſical enough, that while the French find their government a mere anarchy of murderers and banditti, our Engliſh reformers ſhould delineate it as the peculiar diſpenſation of Providence ſhowering bleſſings on mankind. That while the adminiſtrators of the department of Calvados, tell the Convention, that Paris *is the focus of inſurrection, vengeance, and proſcription: that innocent blood has flowed, that villains who are the deteſtation of the nation, and will be the opprobrium of poſterity, ſtill calculate, in criminal ſilence, the life and death of citizens**, an Engliſhman can be found to declare ſuch a government ſo beneficent, that he can refer it only to the firſt great cauſe of all! †

"It is not among the leaſt of the evils of the preſent exiſting governments in all parts of Europe, that man, conſidered as man, is thrown back to a vaſt diſtance from his Maker, and the artificial chain filled up by a ſucceſſion of barriers, or

* Monit. Oct. 20.

† Major Cartwright to the Duke of Newcaſtle.

ſort

ſort of turnpike gates, through which he has to paſs. I will quote Mr. Burke's catalogue of barriers, that he has ſet up between man and his Maker; *fear* to God—*awe* to kings—*affection* to parliaments—*duty* to magiſtrates—*reverence* to prieſts—*reſpect* to nobility." One needs not put the name of Paine to this; he has a ſingular felicity in producing ſentiments on which events form the right comment. Here, for inſtance, he ridicules Mr. Burke, for repreſenting theſe virtues as a neceſſary tribute rendered by man to his Creator; but the maſter's pupils have been too adroit and too exact in reducing the theory of this doctrine to practice; for their actions have ſhewn, that *here* we are to ſeek the principle that was the guide of France! Theſe turnpike-gates of fear, awe, affection, duty, reverence, and reſpect, which he ſtigmatizes as the attendants of the old governments, moſt certainly are not to be found in the new ſyſtem of France. Her people have proved too clearly, to admit a doubt, that to their magiſtrates they pay no duty, and to their prieſts no reverence. Hiſſings, threats, and bullying, expreſs their affection for parliaments. They murdered their king, inſtead of having him in awe; and blaſphemed their God inſtead of fearing him. Thoſe turnpike-gates are levelled without the reading of one riot-act; Rights of Man proclaimed the work. Frenchmen will pay toll no longer—they have

have not wherewithal—the coin of affection, duty, and reverence, is current no longer—they have paper in their purſes, and in their hearts you will find terror, hatred, diſobedience, and gilt. You might as well aſk at your barrier for a louis d'or, as for juſtice, mercy, or truth.

From ſuch a polluted fountain, it is eaſy to ſuppoſe what ſtreams muſt flow; and that all parts of France have been ſcenes either of inſurrection, of plunder, or of blood; the inſtances of Marſeilles, Lyons, Avignon, Arles, Rouen, Caen, Bourdeaux, Nancy, Liſle, and a long liſt of other cities, are notorious: it may not be ſo generally known, that at Charleville the colonel commandant was murdered *. That at Creſſey all was riot and violence †. That at Cambray the lieutenant colonel Beſombre was murdered by the Gens d'armes, and captain Logros' head was on a bayonette ‡. That the rebellion of Poitou was of 10,000 ‖, and that of Chartres double. More ſingular than theſe is the caſe of D'Hoté, who being condemned to the ſtocks only for four hours, by the *jury de jugement*, for crimes that merited an hundred deaths, being expoſed on the Place de Grêve, demanded of the populace, *liberty or death*; the mob, in ſpite of the Gens d'armes, mounted the ſcaffold, cut

* Monit. Sept. 4. † Oct. 17. ‡ Oct. 10. ‖ Oct. 15.

the

the cords of the criminal, and carried him off in triumph. *When*, ſays the editor of the Moniteur, reporting it, *will the people feel the neceſſity of reſpecting the laws?* *

Marat will not be ſuſpected of a want of that ſtaunch republicaniſm and Jacobin ardour, which is inclined to admit no more evils in the new government, than are really to be found in it. What is his account? *Conſider the actual ſtate of France; the profound miſery in which the people languiſh; the enormous dilapidations of the public fortune; the rapid exhauſtion of its laſt reſources; conſider the monopolies, thefts, maſſacres, rapine, and diſorder of every ſpecies, which deſolate the kingdom. Never was the miſery of the people ſo ruinous; never was anarchy carried to ſuch exceſs; never was tyranny ſo devouring; never was there ſuch a contempt of law!!!* †

" No queſtion has ariſen within the records of hiſtory that preſſed with the importance of the preſent. It is whether univerſal civilization ſhall take place? Whether robbery ſhall be baniſhed from courts, and wretchedneſs from countries?" *Paine.* Vary the words a little, and you will approach the truth—It is whether univerſal rapine ſhall invade; whether robbery ſhall be ſanctioned

* Oct. 29. † *Journal de Marat*, Mars 1.

by conventions; and nations become the prey of repreſentative banditti?

What multiplied proofs of that fact, that without a King, and ſome *body* between the King and the people, where there is an indigent poor, all falls to confuſion. The Jacobin Rabbeau once knew this:—" Dans un grand empire il faut abſolumient des hommes décorés, ſans quoi l'etat tombera dans une vaſte popularité, dans une immenſe democratie, qui doit finir par l'anarchie, ou par le deſpotiſme ſelon que le prince ou le peuple ſeront l'un ou l'autre, le plus fort*."

The Nation, ſays Paine, *not Parliament ſhould reform abuſes: the idea of vitiated bodies reforming themſelves is a paradox.* Exactly in proportion then to a nation interfering and taking the remedy of abuſes into its own hands ſhould be the effect in wiping them out. Apply to France for a commentary on this text. Has it been ſo? As *ſhe* advanced in *reform*, did abuſes diſappear? Never was doctrine ſo belied by events as the doctrine of this great politician.

The event of the French conſtitution, as it appears in the government of the Convention, is

* *Conſiderations ſur les Interêts du Tiers Etat.* Par Rabbeau St. Etienne. 1788. 2d edit. P. 641.

probably

probably the completeſt tyranny that ever was in the world. That Aſſembly have united in one body the legiſlative, executive, and judiciary powers; and they have done this in direct conſequence of the principle, that all power originates from the people, which, by a very ſmall extenſion, becomes the maxim that no power ſhould exiſt independent of the people. If any perſon doubts the fact, let him conſider the eternal appointment and diſpatch of commiſſioners to the armies and the departments, with the powers theſe deputies are armed with, and the objects of their miſſion; and let him further conſider the conſtitution of that infernal court of juſtice or of blood, called the revolutionary tribunal *. The majorty of the aſſembly were ſenſible of the nature of that tribunal, but defended themſelves by the pretence of all tyrants, ancient and modern, *ſtate neceſſity*. Monteſquleu's expreſſion † is good: *Tout ſeroit perdu* when theſe three powers are united, whether in a ſovereign, in a body of nobility, or of the people.

* De Lolme juſtly obſerves, that if an Aſſembly has the power of appointing judicial commiſſioners, it is the ſame thing as exerciſing the judicial power itſelf. Book ii. chap. 9.

† I cannot name that great writer, without remarking two obſervations, ſtrongly confirmed by the French revolution; one is, that if the legiſlative body be always aſſembled, the executive can do nothing but defend itſelf. The other, that the moment the executive magiſtrate can be accuſed or judged, *il n'y auroit plus de liberté*.

" The executive government," ſays Paine, " is either a political ſuperfluity, or a chaos of unknown things." It ſhould ſeem that the Convention have thought with him, and have therefore aſſumed the executive power themſelves, diſtributing it among their own members, under the title of commiſſioners; but as they never proceed an inch, but under the cloak of " fraud and myſtery," they leave the executive council its name and ſalary, while they draw to themſelves the power and the functions. The people are the dupes, who are for ever complaining of tyranny, the origin of which they never underſtand; but they ſee the legiſlature ſplit into " parties ſcrambling under leaders;" they feel the evil, but have no idea of any other cure than that of their *ſacred duty of inſurrection*, which has been ſo often appealed to, that it is become a part of the conſtitution, as all ſacred duties ought to be. Such, indignant reader! is repreſentative government, when real and unreſtrained! Thanks to the *original purity* of our conſtitution, the monſter here has a rein in his jaws.

" Government, by precedent," ſays the ſame great politician, " is one of the vileſt of ſyſtems: it is a government hobbling on ſtilts and crutches." The French ſeem to work exactly according to the mode of his ideas. Precedent, heaven knows! make no part

part of their ſyſtem: it would puzzle heads more acute than his, to find in the annals of human depravity, a precedent for guilt like theirs. They daſh through blood—they fly at the objects of their rapine: while in a more humble courſe, governments, by precedent, hobble ſlowly, but ſurely, towards the great land-marks of individual happineſs andnational proſperity.—If ſtilts and crutches have brought us to that goal, we need not envy the ærial flight or inflammable wings of balloon philoſophers. "Government is but beginning to be known." *Paine.* Indeed! Why then dareſt thou to impoſe thy jejune theories, thy falſe concluſions, thy impudent aſſertions, for the maturity of wiſdom; thy froth of novelty, for the dictates of experience?

Such is the reſult of that conſtitution, founded on perſonal repreſentation, which has been boaſted as the pride and glory of legiſlation. Such are the effects that form the comment on ſo many hundred books and pamphlets publiſhed in praiſe of an edifice erected on the Rights of Man!—And of which we may ſay, with truth and moderation, that it has brought more miſery, poverty, devaſtation, impriſonment, bloodſhed, and ruin on France, in four years, than the old government did in a century. Such is the ſyſtem that has been contraſted by Paine to the *no* conſtitution of England. Every thing with us, according to

him, has a conſtitution except the nation; and if we had a conſtitution we ſhould be able to produce it. The French, on the contrary formed one which they could produce, printed on vellum, and bound in morocco; carried by every one in his pocket, as the charter of his Rights; but, unfortunately for theories of government, this great effort of legiſlation; this boaſt of French, and envy of Engliſh Jacobins; this maſter-piece of the metaphyſical ART of Abbé Sieyés; this quinteſcence of what *ought to be*, in oppoſition to *what is**; this fine machine pronounced by ſo many pens immortal: formed on the idea of Paine, *antecedent to government, and diſtinct from it*; this capital production of Gallic genius, endured ſcarcely two years. The freedom it afforded was not ſufficient for adepts in the Rights of Man; the exiſtence of a King became offenſive to the new lights by which they were illuminated: inſurrection was pronounced a ſacred duty;—revolt followed;—and the horrors that will for ever ſtain the annals of mankind—the *deep damnation* that enſued—are written in every heart from which Jacobiniſm has not eradicated all traces of feeling and humanity. Such has been the PRACTICE of the French Revolution; for its THEORY, go to *Rights of Man*.

* La phyſique ne peut être que la connoiſſance de *ce qui eſt*. L'art plus hardi demande *ce qui doit être* pour l'utilité des hommes.

Perhaps

Perhaps experience will juſtify us in aſſerting, that that government is beſt which is beſt calculated to ſtand ſtill; becauſe the thing wanted in government is not activity, but repoſe; and to do nothing is nineteen times in twenty better than readily to do any thing. The vetôs of different orders, or houſes, therefore muſt be good, as they are ſo many impediments to action. No government is ſo reſtleſsly active as a pure democracy, voting in a ſingle aſſembly; the mob being ſatisfied no longer than a torrent of events keeps them in breathleſs expectation. We ſee, in the caſe of France, that ſuch buſtle is the energy of miſchief, the motion of deſpotiſm. Their late ſucceſſes, ſo unlooked for and ſurpriſing, made them ſpeak commonly, in the ſtreets of Paris, of conquering Europe; ſhould farther ſucceſs attend their arms, they will infallibly attempt it. The leaders, who owe their importance to the preſent hurricane of events, would ſink too low in a calm, for ſuch men to allow the ſtorm to ſubſide.

The authority of future aſſemblies, ſays Paine, *will be to legiſlate according to the principles preſcribed in the conſtitution; and if experience ſhould ſhew, that alterations are neceſſary, they will not be left to the diſcretionary power of the government.* Before his book was well circulated, that future government pulled down the conſtitution. He goes on—*A*

government ariſing out of ſociety, cannot have the right of altering itſelf; if it had, it would be arbitrary. Here he levels point blank the ſyſtem he wrote five hundred pages to ſupport. Then the French government IS arbitrary.

Yet theſe infamies of abſtract and ideal perfection are not black enough to deter men from boldly, in the full face of government and of day, ſetting their names to ſuch ſentiments as theſe, in which the Britiſh conſtitution and its friends are thus characteriſed: —— "The mad councils of rage and deſperation."—"Maimed, mutilated, mangled, and wretched condition."—"Scanty fragments, loathſome offals, are all of freedom that the people of England taſte."—"Mendicants ſubſiſting on crumbs."—"Viſions of ſlaughtered citizens and a pillaged nation."—"Happy Frenchmen! How long will Engliſhmen endure the ſhame of ſeeing their houſe of repreſentatives a ſhocking contraſt to models ſo pure!"—Not even plauſible *conceſſion* will now, in my humble opinion, put the people off their guard, and *compromiſe* will be received as inſult. Their demand is their rights. They are taking their cauſe into their own hands. They want no patrons; and their friends will be their ſervants. Their operations are infallible, their ſtrength will ſoon be invincible."—"Among the diſcoveries of theſe pregnant times, it has been found

found out, that men may live and thrive without lords; that the ſun will ſhine and the dew will deſcend where there are none but equal citizens to partake of theſe bleſſings; and that even good laws can be made, and juſtice well adminiſtered, without either hereditary legiſlators or hereditary judges* !"—The people of England, *ſubdued by wretched artifice and juggling policy;—their violated rights and expiring liberty*—ſays Mr. Sheridan †. *Victims of venal and perfidious aſſociations*—ſays Mr. Grey ‡.

Would any perſon conceive it poſſible, that the paſſages here collected, expreſſive of the warmeſt deteſtation, were not applied to France, as being moſt peculiarly adapted to mark the ſtate of that kingdom, weltering in its beſt blood, rather than to one in ſo ſingular a ſtate of proſperity as England? When our deſtruction is threatened ſo openly—when ſo clear an explanation is given of the REAL meaning and intentions of the reforming ſocieties—and when the operations and ſtrength of the rabble are ſo ſoon to be INVINCIBLE, it ſurely behoves the government of this country to awaken to danger ſo imminent; to menaces ſo audacious; and to a licentiouſneſs of publication,

* Major Cartwright's Letter to the Duke of Newcaſtle.

† Declaration of the friends of the liberty of the preſs, p. 12.

‡ Ibid. p. 15.

which,

which, whatever be the intention, muſt, if unreſtrained, let looſe the dæmons of diſcord, the hell hounds of the mob, to the utter deſtruction of all that flouriſhes at preſent in this kingdom.

But Paine thinks differently of our *no* conſtitution.—" The country governs itſelf at its own expence, by means of magiſtrates, juries, ſeſſions, and aſſize;—what is called government, is only boundleſs extravagance." This is one of the falſe and flippant remarks of that endleſs prevaricator, who has not fact to ſupport him in more than one of a thouſand aſſertions. What are magiſtrates without the controul of ſeſſions, but tyrants? What would ſeſſions be without the King's Bench? What would the King's Bench be without a ſuperior? You can finiſh in none of theſe ſteps without tyranny being the conſequence. It is the gradation and controul of powers which forms the true balance. It is THE CROWN that keeps all theſe meaner ſtars in their reſpective orbits: there is no ſimilar power in France, and *therefore* all is confuſion and tyranny. The admirable utility of magiſtrates, ſeſſions, aſſize, &c. are felt and admitted:—you would have this without a ſupreme magiſtrate—that is, you would have attraction without matter, and ſolar heat without a ſun.

" The

" The generality of governments," ſays Dr. Prieſtley, " have hitherto been little more than a combination of *the few* againſt *the many*; and to the mean paſſions and low cunning of theſe few, have the greateſt intereſts of mankind been too long ſacrificed. Whole nations have been deluged with blood, and every ſource of future proſperity has been drained, to gratify the caprices of ſome of the moſt deſpicable, or the moſt execrable of the human ſpecies. For what elſe have been the generality of kings, their miniſters of ſtate, or their miſtreſſes, to whoſe wills whole kingdoms have been ſubject? What can we ſay of thoſe who have hitherto taken the lead in conducting the affairs of nations, but that they have commonly been either *weak* or *wicked*, and ſometimes both? Hence the common reproach of all hiſtories, that they exhibit little more than a view of the vices and miſeries of mankind. From this time, therefore, we may expect that it will wear a different and more pleaſing aſpect*."

The events which have paſſed ſince this paſſage was written, muſt make one ſmile in reading it. It now appears, that the combination of the *many* againſt the *few*, can alſo deluge a nation in blood, with a cruelty more accurſed, becauſe unneceſſary to the many: that ſources of proſperity can be

* Letters to the Right Hon. Edmund Burke, p. 144.

drained

drained without miniſters and without miſtreſſes; that weakneſs and wickedneſs can take the lead without kings; and that hiſtory will ſtill continue to exhibit the vices and miſeries of mankind.

Perſonal Security.

The ſtate of France, reſpecting the perſonal liberty of her citizens, is diſpatched in few words: THERE IS NO SUCH THING: the fact is ſo notorious, that an appeal to inſtances might by many be deemed unneceſſary; there are, however, a few circumſtances that merit noting, not ſo much to prove the violation of this firſt and moſt ſacred duty of government, as to ſhew that ſuch violations have been committed on *principles*; and perpetrated or permitted even by the legiſlature itſelf.

The declaration of the Rights of Man and of Citizens ſays, *no man can be accuſed, arreſted, or detained, except in caſes determined by the law, and* ACCORDING TO THE FORMS WHICH THE LAW HAS PRESCRIBED. Such is the letter: what is the practice? On complaints from Niort, againſt ſome counter-revolutioniſts, ſeized by a mob thirſting for their blood, but who wiſhed to have the flimſey cloak of a ſemblance of juſtice, the NATIONAL ASSEMBLY decreed, that all the criminal tribunals of the kingdom ſhould try,

try, without appeal, all crimes committed againſt the Revolution*." And, in order to indulge the ſame thirſt at Paris, which was not, with all its murders, ſatiated, they decreed the removal of the criminals, from Orleans to Paris; that is, from the legally eſtabliſhed judicature, where there was a chance of juſtice, to an illegal one, where there was no ſuch chance; and they did this in conſequence of ſuch addreſſes as theſe from the deputation of the commons of Paris. *It is time that the criminals at Orleans be transferred to Paris, there to receive the puniſhment of their crimes. If you do not agree to this demand, we cannot anſwer* for the vengeance of the people. *You have heard us, and you know that inſurrection is a ſacred duty!* Invited to the honours of the meeting!!! The fate of theſe priſoners is known to every one.

The declaration ſays, that *no man can be puniſhed but in virtue of a law eſtabliſhed, and promulgated prior to the offence, and legally applied.* The application, "diſobedience" in the colonies, "ſhall be regarded as high treaſon, and thoſe who ſhall render themſelves guilty ſhall be ſent to France to be tried, according to the rigour of the law." The liberty of the preſs was provided for in the declaration. Such the theory. The practice was ſilencing all that were not *Jacobin* papers, and be-

* Monit. 31ſt.

heading

heading the authors. No wonder that, under ſuch a ſpecies of government, priſons ſhould be emptied by maſſacre, and filled again by arbitrary arreſts. Sept. 16th, the miniſter writes thus to the Aſſembly: "The natural, civil, and political liberty of the nation is in queſtion; ſince the 5th above five hundred perſons have been arreſted, ſo that the priſons are as full as ever *; no ſatisfactory account is given of the authority; they have been impriſoned by orders given by the municipality, by ſections, by the people, and even by individuals: *empriſonnées par ordre, ſoit de la municipalité, ſoit des ſections, ſoit du peuple,* SOIT MEME D'INDIVIDUS; and the reaſons of very few of theſe orders are given."

The legiſlature thus informed of the abuſe, may be preſumed to be on the wing to remedy it. The progreſs of the buſineſs is curious:—Oct. 8. Decree—"The National Convention decrees, that citizens detained in houſes, which are neither priſons nor houſes of arreſt, ſhall be removed, within fifteen days, into legal priſons; after which time every citizen, againſt whom there appears neither warrant of arreſt, nor decree of accuſation, ſhall be ſet at liberty †." If any doubts could remain of

* Contraſt this with the SEVEN priſoners (four of them not *ſtate* ones), the whole number found in the Baſtile when forced by the mob!!!

† Monit. Oct. 9.

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the real tyranny under which France groans, ſuch a decree would be ſufficient to remove them:—the fact of citizens being thus illegally confined, without warrant, and not in legal priſons, is here admitted; and men SO treated may be kept fifteeen days longer before they are ſet free! Sept. 16, the Convention receive the notice officially, and Oct. 8, they decree a power of arbitrary impriſonment fifteen days longer!!—Nor does it end here; for, Nov. 11, complaint is heard in the Aſſembly, that *no report is made concerning the priſoners* *; and it merits great attention, that during this long period of the impriſonment of ſo many unhappy people, Paris was inceſſantly convulſed; and every day brought reaſon to expect, that impriſonment and ſlaugher would prove ſynonymous terms. To impriſon whom they pleaſed on ſuſpicion, as a method of taking off thoſe they dared not, or could not publickly accuſe, was a convenient mode of tyranny, not unworthy of the wretch, a member of their Pandemonium, who, ſpeaking to the queſtion of trying the unhappy King, aſſigned him to torments in the hearing of thoſe tribunes, who might ſoon be the executioners of his bloody wiſhes. *Moriſſon*, "the firſt and moſt natural of all my affections would be, to ſee that ſanguinary monſter (Louis XVI.) expiate his guilt by the moſt cruel torments †:"—and another

* Nov. 13. † Monit. Nov. 14.

(*Gonchon*,

(*Gonchon*, Dec. 12) ſays, *Kings will paſs away! but the declaration of rights and pikes will never paſs away. Here let the tyrant hear his condemnation.* Deputation of the Section of *Gardes Francoiſes*, "*The Section of Luxemburg has ſworn to poniard Louis XVI. if you do not condemn him to periſh on a ſcaffold; we were invited to accede to it* *." As if the declaration of rights were not laid in the duſt, when ſuch language could be ſpoken of a priſoner unheard; and amidſt *unanimous and reiterated applauſes!* The applauſes of thoſe whoſe pikes were ready. *What need is there that the Revolutionary tribunal ſhould ſtand upon formalities? If it has no material proofs it ought to deem probabilities ſufficient.* Julien.

In the full face of ſuch authentic facts, given on the authority of their own miniſters and friends, we read, in the *Political State of Europe*, printed by Jordan, and written by Paine and Co. No. 6. p. 435, that in Paris a reſpect is paid to the ſacred preſervation of property, and that the laws are *no where ſo univerſally reſpected and obeyed!!!* What will not Jacobin impudence reach!

The infamous Marat, deeper in the blood of the 2d of September than any other perſon, except perhaps Petion, ſeeks to prove it the act, not of a few, but of the people. *As to the maſſacres of*

* Dec. 29.

the

the 2d and 3d of September, it is an atrocity to repreſent them as the work of a gang of brigands. If ſo, the Aſſembly, the Miniſter of the Interior, and the Mayor of Paris, were the culpables; and nothing in the world can waſh them clean from the crime of not having prevented aſſaſſinations that laſted three days; but they will doubtleſs ſay, it was impoſſible, being equally the act of the national guards, the federates, and the people. Petion reſted tranquil at table, with Briſſot and his friends, and diſdained to quit the party even for receiving the commiſſioners ſent by the Aſſembly, to charge him to ſtop thoſe exceſſes *.

Such has been the attention to perſonal liberty, under the reign of philoſophers, eſtabliſhed on the ruins of the mildeſt and moſt benignant government in Europe, our own only excepted; a government cruelly libelled in the character given by one of our reforming orators, who thus deſcribes it; "a ſpecies of government that trampled on the property, the liberty, and the lives of its ſubjects; that dealt in extortions, dungeons, and tortures: and that prepared, beforehand, a day of ſanguinary vengeance †." Expreſſions ſo ſingularly applicable to the fabric erected by the Revolution, that one can with difficulty believe it poſſible that they were meant for any other.

* *Journal de Marat*, No. 105.

† Mr. Sheridan's Speech.

Security of Property.

If I had not heard Jacobin converſation in England, there would have been little occaſion for this paragraph; to a reader that reflects, it muſt at once be apparent that where there is no perſonal freedom, there can be no ſecure property: It would be an inſult to common ſenſe to ſuppoſe, that a tyrannical mob would reſpect the property of thoſe whoſe throats they cut: arbitrary impriſonment and maſſacre muſt be inevitably followed by direct attacks on property. Contrary however to theſe plain deductions of common ſenſe, it has been repeatedly aſſerted, that the government of France has done nothing in violation of the rights of property, except with relation to emigrants, who were conſidered as guilty for the act of flying: but is it not palpable, that filling priſons on ſuſpicion, by arbitrary commitments, and emptying them by maſſacre—that the perpetual din of pillage and aſſaſſination—are calculated to fill men with alarm and terror—and to drive them to fly not through guilt, but horror? By your murders you drive them away; and then pronouncing them emigrants, confiſcate their eſtates! And this is called the ſecurity of property. The cry of ariſtocrate or traitor is followed by immediate impriſonment or death, and has been found an eaſy way of paying

paying debts. Upon my inquiring of a correſpondent what was become of a gentleman I had known at Paris, the anſwer was, that he was met in the ſtreet by a perſon conſiderably in his debt, who no ſooner ſaw than he attacked him as a traitor, and ordered him to gaol. No known maſſacre was committed in that priſon, but my aquaintance was heard of no more. It is eaſy to conjecture what became of the debt. Should the dæmons of diſcord effect a revolution in this kingdom, and bring Mr. Legiſlator Paine (tired of being called the punchinello of the Convention *) once more to Thetford, Sandwich, or Lewes, he would not find it difficult thus to ſatisfy all his creditors, however numerous—he would come well prepared with a French recipe for wiping off all their *ſcores*. In a country where ſuch things are poſſible, every tie that binds property is broken. To imagine its ſecurity, is a folly too groſs to be endured; and to aſſert it, is a falſhood that ſhould excite no emotion but contempt.

In a pariſh in the Clermontois (*Croté-le-Roy*), the ſteward of a gentleman reſiding at a diſtance. came to receive the rent of three conſiderable farmers. He was told that the Convention had decreed equality, and that paying rent was the

* The name given him in the *Journal de Marat*, March 5, 1793.

moſt

moſt unequal thing in the world; for it was a man who did much to receive a little, paying to one, who, receiving much, did nothing at all. The ſteward replied, that their joke might poſſibly be good, but that he came not for wit, but money; and money he muſt have: he was ordered inſtantly to depart, or to ſtay and be hanged. The proprietor demanded juſtice, but in vain; the municipality was applied to, and the only reſult was, that body (the veſtry) ordering the farmers to yield up the lands; they were taken poſſeſſion of by themſelves, in depoſit redeemable for the nation; and actually divided in portions among the labouring poor, that is among themſelves. What the event may be is nothing to the purpoſe: what becomes in the mean time of the Right of Property! The probable event however is, that the proprietor will be driven to emigration, for the mere convenience of retaining their plunder.

It can hardly be doubted but that robbery, even of land itſelf, muſt ſpread throughout the kingdom, when the Committee of General Security could thus report to the Convention:—*The national reſources may be augmented by impoſing contributions upon perſons of fortune,* perſonnes aiſées, *and the obſtinate, who wait, with tranquility at home, the event of the Revolution* *: Contributions impoſed

* Monit. Oct. 18.

on

on perſons for two reaſons; firſt, for the crime of being men of fortune; and, ſecondly, for remaining in tranquility! With ſuch a legiſlation can property be reſpected?

With ſuch a principle, recogniſed in the Convention, we need not aſk how taxes are levied.—The poor and ſmall proprietors of a few acres, who every where form the majority of each municipality, eſcape all taxation, but are vigilant in forcing thoſe of more conſiderable property to pay to the laſt farthing; and as all taxes are aſſeſſed and levied by the parochial vote, at aſſemblies, to which *all* reſort, the men without property order every thing at will, and have various ways, much more effective, for the diviſion of property, than a direct agrarian law would be.

Let the farmers of this kingdom repreſent to themſelves a picture of what their ſituation would be, if their labourers, their ſervants, and the paupers whom they ſupport by poor's rates, were all armed, and, in ſome meaſure, regimented, and in poſſeſſion of the veſtry, voting not only the money to be raiſed by rates, but the diviſion of it among themſelves; decreeing what the price of all the farmer's products ſhould be; what wages ſhould be paid to ſervants, and what pay to labourers. Under ſuch a ſyſtem of government, I beg to aſk,

what ſecurity would remain for a ſingle ſhilling in the pockets of thoſe who are at preſent in a ſtate of eaſe and affluence? And whether ſuch a tyranny would not be worſe than that of the moſt determined deſpotiſm at preſent in Europe?

While the farmer is thus expoſed to parochial oppreſſion at the mercy of thoſe who were ſo lately his inferiors, and who are even fed and ſupported by him, he is not exempted from attacks of a very different nature; to authoriſe the ſeizure of horſes and arms, was, in the National Aſſembly, a meaſure of violence and tyranny; but as it iſſued from the legiſlature *de facto*, it had the authority of admitted power; but the municipality of Paris have gone much further; September 13, the miniſter of the home department complains to the Aſſembly, that the commiſſioners of the municipality of Paris are ſent into the country with ſuch arbitrary orders, as are utterly inconſiſtent with his own reſponſibility; their orders are ſigned by four of the adminiſtrators of the public ſafety, for ſeizing ſuſpected perſons and precious effects—*Pour s'emparer des perſonnes ſuſpectes & des effets precieux* *. Seizing ſuſpected perſons and precious effects! A very pretty commiſſion in a land of liberty; and given, not by the legiſlative body, but by a corporation! The corporation of a town

* Monit. Sept. 14.

ſends

ſends commiſſioners, in other words, deſpotic monarchs, into the country, to arreſt and to plunder, and this under the eyes of the legiſlature. When the republican reader of Mr. Paine, on corporations in England, is well ſatiated with *rights*, it would do him good to take the actions of French municipalities as a comment on the text.

The abuſes and plunder in the ſale of the poſſeſſions of the emigrants, may be eaſily conceived from the complaint which Sillery makes in the Convention:—" The furniture of the chateau of Nangis, belonging to the Baron de Bretueil, was worth at leaſt 1,500,000 liv. and has produced ſcarcely any thing. Six tapeſtries of the Gobelins, which coſt 30,000 liv. in money, were ſold for 2800 liv. in aſſignats. A clock that coſt 24,000 liv. in money, ſold for 800 in paper*. Such is the virtuous adminiſtration of the *res-publica* among republicans!

Marat lets us into the ſecret of the wealth of members of the Covention, who were once as poor as himſelf.——*Barbaroux tenoit les cordons de la bourſe comme il tenoit la clef du bondoir* (he alludes to his being the lover of Madame Rolland), *at leaſt if we may judge by the facility with which he diſtributes aſſignats to the right and left. People*

* Monit. Dec. 31.

have been aſtoniſhed at the enormous expences of many members, who, like myſelf, have had no other patrimony than debts. Although married, theſe gentlemen keep girls, give great ſuppers, and their wives are always at the theatres.——Valaſſé is a royaliſt and ſpends enormouſly.——The father-in-law of Petion lives in a palace, dreſſes richly, drives his coach, keeps an excellent table, and bought the cellar of Egmont Pignatelli, which coſt him 23,000 liv.——A footman of Monteſquiou is colonel of the regiment of cavalry huſſards braconniers, and at the ſame time contractor for furniſhing them.——Gorſas, Dulaure, Poncelain, Rœderer, Caritat, Rabaud, all paid by Rolland, in the 100,000 liv. *pour former l'eſprit public* *.

" Reſources," ſays Paine, " are laviſhed upon kings, upon courts, upon hirelings, impoſtors, and proſtitutes." Experience extends our views: and here we ſee that the reſources of a nation, flowing through different channels, can expand in the ſame medium; and that the hirelings, impoſtors, and proſtitutes—to whom add the robbers and aſſaſſins of a convention—can devour the wealth, and depreſs the induſtry of a nation, with a rapacity that puts kings and courts to the bluſh.

* *Journal de Marat*, No 112.

The

The watch-word, from one end of France to the other, is *equality*; they join liberty with it, as mountebanks annex a favourite epithet to the noſtrum, whoſe only object is the money in the pockets of the credulous. But after all rank, title, nobility, and diſtinction have been aboliſhed, what do they mean by equality? They talk of equality, not becauſe they know what it means, but becauſe others have talked of it. Marat remarks, that the people follow one another like ſheep:—*C'eſt un terrible torrent que celui de l'exemple car tout peuple eſt naturellement moutonnier* *. The word equality is abſurd, if it attaches not to property, for there can be no equality while one man is rich and another poor. But the preceding facts ſpeak what the new equality is, in terms too clear to be miſunderſtood. *I am not aſtoniſhed to ſee*, ſays Buzot, *an arret come to us under the name of Momoro, whom I, as preſident in the department of Eure, heard preaching the diviſion of eſtates; but I am truly ſo to find ſuch a man preſiding in one of the ſections of Paris* †.

We hear it aſſerted in England, that property is not attacked in France: *there* you hear no ſuch aſſertions: on the return of the Commiſſioners, members of the Convention, from the riots at

* *Journal de Marat*, Jan 16. † Monit. Oct. 13.

Chartres,

Chartres, where they were nearly deſtroyed, it was aſſerted on facts, in the Convention itſelf, *that all the principles of an agrarian law were in agitation* mis en avance*.

Before we quit this ſubject of the ſecurity of property at preſent in France, let us examine ſhortly the caſe of that moſt intereſting portion of property, the crop in the hands of the farmer: we know well in England, from the conviction of long experience, that if this ſpecies of property is not ſacred, all the claſſes of the ſociety inſtantly ſuffer; it is a vital wound that affects the whole ſyſtem.

The late crop of 1792, in that kingdom, is ſaid to be plentiful; but natural plenty, under a government of anarchy, avails little; the mob prohibiting the free tranſport of corn, the immediate conſequence was ſo high a price in many diſtricts, that the people found it more convenient to *ſeize* the corn than to *pay* for it: this of courſe, added every where to the miſchief; for the farmers were not ready to carry their products into the jaws of plunder. Theſe diſtractions—theſe bleſſings of a government that had the power of converting even good crops into the means of famine—drew from the miniſter of the home department, threats even of violence; he wrote to a variety of cities, from

* Monit. Dec. 2.

all

all which papers it would be too tedious to give extracts. He thus expreſſes himſelf to Tours: "The municipalities ought to uſe all poſſible means of perſuaſion with the farmers, for engaging them to ſupply the markets: for I muſt tell you, that if the poſſeſſors of corn reſiſt theſe *paternal* invitations, MEANS OF EXTREMITY muſt be uſed againſt them: *on ſera bien contraint d'employer envers eux les moyens extremes**." It is worth the attention of Engliſh farmers to reflect well on the nature of this caſe: their brethren in France, content with a moderate and fair price for their corn, carry it freely to market; the operations of the people raiſe this price; and then, to revenge the reſult of their own violence, they plunder. Such a conduct is ſure to create, at leaſt, apprehenſions of famine; and to obviate it, the miniſter does not threaten the mob, from whom all the miſchief ariſes, but the FARMERS; he threatens them with EXTREMITIES, as a puniſhment for having been plundered by the rabble—by the *nation*. If the farmer, thus robbed, has the misfortune to be a proprietor, and particularly a large proprietor, he has firſt the oppreſſion of paying thoſe taxes which an armed populace will not pay; and, that he may be able to do this, his corn is ſeized by the conſumer, and he is threatened with extremities by the miniſter; as if any extremities

* Monit. Sept. 17.

could

could be greater than taking his crops by violence: if more, however, was not meant, the folly of the denunciation was equal to the knavery of it. Thoſe intellects which can ſee any difference between ſuch a government and the cudgel of a Turkiſh baſha, are much more acute than mine.

The ſame miniſter writes to the Convention, Oct. 15.—" I am informed that the overſeers of the military ſubſiſtences do not ceaſe to fly through the country, and to force, with arms in their hands, the farmers to furniſh their commodities. Such practices deſtroy every meaſure of order, and infinitely impede the free circulation of corn. I cannot diſſemble with the Convention, that this conduct of the military contractors tends to ſpread diſorder every where; and that if they continue to take by force, or at their own price, proviſion from the farmers, it will be impoſſible to inſure the ſupply of Paris."

Now this, if poſſible, exceeds every thing that Jacobin adminiſtrations, acting on the ideas of Jacobin liberty, could deviſe, to ſhew their perfect contempt of the whole farming race. He ſtates the glaring magnitude of the evil to the Convention; and what is his concluſion? Why, he tells them, that if ſuch things are allowed, it will *be impoſſible to ſupply Paris!!* There is the only evil;

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as to the poor plundered farmers, he allows, indeed, that robbing them is *a diſorder*; but when he ſums up to impreſs the legiſlature with the neceſſity of paying attention to the evil, he recurs ſolely to the ſupply of Paris! If Paris is ſupplied, all is well—as to the farmers they may take care of themſelves. Let thoſe who tell us in England, that the Revolution of France was favourable in the beginning to agriculture (particularly in tithes), conſider the value of a FREE MARKET; and then our farmers will not be long diſcovering, that no exemptions, no ſuch favours, will prove a recompence, for being forced, the pike or broad-ſword in hand, to ſell at the price offered by thoſe who brandiſh the weapon over their heads. No wonder that ſuch meaſures ſhould ſtarve the towns, as well as ruin the country; and that the commiſſioners of ſubſiſtence ſhould report, that *the penury of grain in the great cities is extreme* *.

In all theſe, and a thouſand other inſtances, we ſee the living and effective conſequences of Paine's doctrines; he expatiated on the luxury of great eſtates, and recommended their ſeizure; French practice realized the doctrine, and doubtleſs there were French farmers, who rejoiced at the ſpectacle of all the great properties in the kingdom being levelled by the nation; they did not however fore-

* Monit. Nov. 16.

ſee

ſee, that it would be their own turn next; that the principle of equality being once abroad, would infallibly level ALL property; and would give to the beggar, without a loaf, but with a pike on his ſhoulder, the means of levelling the enormous inequality between his own wallet, without a kernel, and the well-ſtored granary of a warm farmer. Let ours, therefore, never forget, that the ſame principle which attacks a property of 40,000l. a year, becauſe it is too large relatively to other properties, attacks alſo a farm of 200l. a year, for the ſame reaſon; nay, of 50l. a year, becauſe that alſo is large, when compared with the property of thoſe who have little. And let us all be well perſuaded, that the fearful events, at preſent paſſing in France, with a celerity of miſchief that ſurpaſſes equally all that hiſtory has to offer, or fancy to conceive, affords a ſpectacle intereſting to every man who poſſeſſes PROPERTY; and to none more than to farmers. The quarrel now raging in that once flouriſhing kingdom, is not between liberty and tyranny, or between protecting and oppreſſive ſyſtems of government; it is, on the contrary, collected to a ſingle point—it is alone a queſtion of property; it is a trial at arms, whether thoſe who have *nothing*, ſhall not ſeize and poſſeſs the property of thoſe who have *ſomething*. A dreadful queſtion—a horrid ſtruggle, which can never end but in the equal and univerſal ruin of all; in which, he who gains

by

by the loſs of his neighbour, gains but to loſe, in his turn, to ſome ſturdier robber, till riot, confuſion, and anarchy, render property but the ſignal of invaſion, and poverty the beſt ſhield againſt the attack and tyranny of the mob *.

Such being the ſtate of government, liberty, and property in France, I ſhall unite theſe facts in one general concluſion, and venture the aſſertion, that the Revolution has abſolutely ruined that kingdom. I may be told, perhaps, in reply, that ſhe carries no more appearance of ruin at this moment, than many months or years paſt. Her arms have even been victorious on every ſide.

The inquiry into that degree of depreſſion or violence, which properly conſtitutes national ruin,

* Purſue the declaration of rights through every article, and it will be found that there is not a ſingle one regiſtered as an impreſcriptible right of man, that has not been violated under circumſtances of the moſt odious and abominable cruelty.

An Engliſhman is proud of the idea of his houſe being his caſtle; ſee the practice of *Jacobin* government in this reſpect! "Decreed, that the municipalities are authoriſed to ſearch the houſes of all perſons for arms, and to take an account of horſes and carriages applicable to the war." And ſoon after their abſolute ſeizure decreed. This was ſounding the alarm bell, in order to give up the houſes of all the gentlemen in the kingdom to the plunder of brigands; and this by the legiſlature itſelf—elected by perſonal repreſentation.

If we were aſked what apology the tyrants of Paris have to make for their actions, their anſwer is STATE EXPEDIENCY; which an Engliſh reformer calls the *offspring of hell*.

would

would lead into an extenſive and unneceſſary diſcuſſion. If nothing merits that deſcription but foreign conqueſt, Morocco was in no ſtate of ruin under a barbarian, who put 40,000 men to death with his own hands; nor is Turkey ruined under the dominion of horſe-tails and bow-ſtrings. To every purpoſe of ſober argument, the danger of life and property is effective ruin.

Life and property in France are in this ſituation, if raiſed a ſingle point above the level of the populace; a gigantic and devouring deſpotiſm has levelled in the duſt all ſecurity to thoſe whoſe properties raiſe them above the mob. In one word, LAW does not reign; there is a power every where ſuperior: a deſpotic authority may fill the ranks of their armies, as the ſlaves of Algiers are made to arm and to fight, but the kingdom is as much ruined with victory attending her ſtandard, as if the German banners were flying at Paris, Marſeilles, and Bourdeaux.

The old government of France, with all its faults, was certainly the beſt enjoyed by any conſiderable country in Europe, England alone excepted; but there were many faults in it which every claſs of the people wiſhed to remedy. This natural and laudable wiſh made democrates in every order, amongſt the poſſeſſors of property, as well

well as among thoſe who had none. At the commencement of the Revolution, France poſſeſſed a very flouriſhing commerce; the richeſt colonies in the world; the greateſt currency of ſolid money in Europe; her agriculture was improving; and her people, though, from too great population, much too numerous for the higheſt degrees of national proſperity, yet were more at their eaſe than in many other countries of Europe; the government was regular and mild; and, what was of as much conſequence as all the reſt, her benignant ſovereign, with a patriotiſm unequalled, was really willing to improve, by any reaſonable means, the conſtitution of the kingdom. All theſe circumſtances, if compared with England, would not make the proper impreſſion. They are to be compared alone with what has ſince enſued; and her preſent ſtate may thus, with truth, be correctly deſcribed. Her government an anarchy, that values neither life nor property. Her agriculture faſt ſinking; her farmers the ſlaves of all; and her people ſtarving. Her manufactures annihilated; her commerce deſtroyed; and her colonies abſolutely ruined. Her gold and ſilver diſappeared; and her paper currency ſo depreciated, by its enormous amount of 3000 millions, beſides incredible forgeries, that it advances, with rapid ſtrides, to the entire ſtagnation of every ſpecies of induſtry and circulation. Her national revenue di-

miniſhed three-fourths. Her cities ſcenes of revolt, maſſacre, and famine; and her provinces plundered by gangs of banditti. Her future proſpect of peace and ſettlement, depending on a conſtitution that is to be *formed* by a convention of rabble, and *ſanctioned* by the *ſans culottes* of the kennel. It is not a few inſulated crimes on ſome undeſerving men; it is a ſeries of horrid proſcription, ſpreading far and near; pervading every quarter of the kingdom; it is the annihilation of rank, of right, of property; it is the deſtruction of the poſſeſſors of more than half France; it is the legiſlation of wolves, that govern only in deſtruction: and all theſe maſſacres, and plunderings, and burnings, and horrors of every denomination, are ſo far from being neceſſary for the eſtabliſhment of liberty, that they have moſt effectually deſtroyed it. In one word, France is at preſent abſolutely without government; anarchy reigns; the poniard and the pike of the mob give the law to all that once formed the higher claſſes, and to all that at preſent mocks with the ſhew of legiſlation. The mob of Paris have been long in the actual poſſeſſion of unrivalled power; they will never freely relinquiſh it: if the Convention preſumes to be free, it will be maſſacred; and, after a circle of new horrors, will ſink (ſhould foreign aid fail) into the deſpotiſm of triumvirs or dictators: the change will be from a Bourbon to a butcher!

" All

" All former Revolutions," ſays Paine, " till the American, had been worked within the atmoſphere of a court, and never on the great floor of a nation*;" unfortunately for this miſerable copy, ſhe worked on a floor broad enough; her baſis was the blood and property of France. The picture has no reſemblance in " the *inſipid* ſtate of hereditary government†." She found in " ſcenes of horror and perfection of iniquity †," what " man is up to†." It is eaſy to ſee what they have loſt; as to their gains, they have aſſignats, cockades, and the muſic of *ca ira*; it may be truly ſaid, that they have made a wiſe barter: they have given their gold for paper; their bread for a ribbon; and their blood for a ſong. Heaven preſerve us from the phrenzy of ſuch exchanges! and leave Revolutions for the " order of the day †," for " the morning of reaſon riſing upon man †" in France.

II.

Such are the conſequences of the French Revolution. Our next inquiry is, from what have theſe evils ariſen? They may be attributed to three prominent features in the new ſyſtem of their *ſoi-diſant* philoſophers.—1. Perſonal Repreſentation.—2. The Right of Man.—3. Equality.

* Rights of Man. † Paine.

If there is any one circumſtance to which all the horrors that have paſſed in France may be more properly attributed than to any other, it is the double repreſentation given to the *tiers etat* by Mr. Necker, directly contrary to every reſpectable authority *. The preponderancy of the people within the walls, united with the ſpirit of revolt without, was manifeſt in a moment; the court divided, and the King conſcientious and honeſt, were not arms to meet the preſſure of the moment. The mob triumphed; and all the world knows what followed. If a tree is to be judged by its fruits, we may fairly aſſert, that perſonal repreſentation, which gives to the loweſt of the people a direct influence in the government, muſt lead, in a great empire and a great capital, to abſolute anarchy, ſuch as has ruined France.

In any repreſentative government, if perſons only are repreſented—that is to ſay, if a man with-

* Paine ſays, that the parliament of Paris recommended it. He ought to have known better; they expreſsly recommended the contrary, and did not tend to the leaſt apparent change of opinion till the violence of the Paris mob threatened to drag them in the kennel. But Paine never touches on facts but to miſrepreſent them, p. 110. 111. firſt part, he makes the aſſembly meet in the tennis ground *after* the ſeance royal, but it was *before* it, their own houſe being ſhut up to prepare it for that ſeance: I was at Verſailles in that interval, while the houſe was ſhut up, and the deputies aſſembled in the church of St. Louis. His account of the fray at the palace is all falſe, from the beginning to the end.

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out a ſhilling deputes equally with another who has property, and if men in the former ſituation are ten times more numerous than thoſe in the latter; and if the repreſentatives, ſo choſen, ſit for ſo ſhort a time as to vote truely the will of their conſtituents, it follows, by direct conſequence, that all the property of the ſociety is at the mercy of thoſe who poſſeſs nothing; and could theory have blundered ſo ſtupidly, as to ſuppoſe for a moment, that attack and plunder would not follow power in ſuch hands; let it recur to France for *fact*, to prove what reaſon ought to have foreſeen.

The abſtract Rights of Man, the moſt prepoſterous of all ideas, which in fact have no *political* exiſtence whatever, have effected all the miſchief; ſince thoſe rights, which cannot be exerted, or become efficient without the deſtruction of other rights, and the rights of other men, equally admitted, are palpably viſionary—the children of playful brains—but impoſſible in practice. But the French had theſe dreams; they imagined that perſonal repreſentation would recognize and ſecure ſuch rights, and they eſtabliſhed their government accordingly:—they ridiculed the conſtitution of England for depending on a balance of powers; in which a *corporation of ariſtocracy* has a negative on the Rights of Man; and wove a web of theory from the phantaſy of their brains, to ſecure thoſe

rights from all controul. Is this a caſe in point? Is this a great political experiment on perſonal repreſentation? Let the works of Mr. Mackintoſh, Mr. Chriſtie, and many other able writers, who have printed warm panegyrics on the French conſtitution, anſwer this queſtion. They have anſwered it deciſively; for the faults found, if any, are, that the repreſentation was not perſonal enough; the reſult has ſhewn it *ſo* perſonal, as to have annihilated property; this part of the queſtion therefore is decided as ſoon as propoſed.

There is a party in this kingdom who call loudly for a reform in the repreſentation of the people, and who would have ſuch reformation give a right of election indiſcriminately to all mankind: I was myſelf in the number of thoſe who wiſhed a reform, but not of ſuch a complexion, nor at a moment like this; I wiſhed the middle claſſes of landed property had been better repreſented; and that a new member for every county might be elected by men who poſſeſs not leſs than an hundred a year in land, and not more than a thouſand; and an equal number of members deducted from the moſt objectionable boroughs. But I would live at Conſtantinople rather than at Bradfield, if the wild and prepoſterous propoſitions, founded on the Rights of Man, were to become effective in this kingdom. In other words, I have property;

and

and I do not chooſe to live where the firſt beggar I met, may, the ſabre in one hand, and *Rights of Man* in the other, demand a ſhare of that which a good government tells me is *my own*. But my idea of a reform is as ſpeculative as the reſt, and therefore merits not more attention: rotten boroughs are found, on experience, not dangerous; of what account then the objections of ſpeculatiſts?

The fact is, that the French conſtitution was founded *abſolutely* on perſonal repreſentation. By the letter of the law certain perſons were excluded, but by collateral parts of the ſame ſyſtem the mob was armed; and the authors of the Revolution might not perhaps foreſee the event, that elections made at the point of the bayonet, would be at the power of the bayonet. Examine not the letter of a viſionary code, but EXPERIMENT, in the hiſtory of Paris, Marſeilles, &c. from the firſt moment of the troubles.

That many who wiſh the reform, on popular principles, of that parliament, under the auſpices of which we enjoy the ſecurity which makes us every hour (of anarchy in France) the object of the envy of other nations—that many who wiſh this reform, do it on meritorious motives, I have not a doubt:—they think, on theory, that perſonal repreſentation may be conſiſtent with the

ſecurity of property; much as they are deceived in this idea, yet their error was once reſpectable*. They ſay to themſelves, ſo far I would go and no farther†; but they forgot, that by going ſo far they

* Of ſuch men, conſiſted many of the Conſtituent Aſſembly in France: but the abſolute folly of the idea is now a matter of experiment: that aſſembly made the trial. They formed a government on the *Rights of Man*, and the foundation they built upon was ſo ſlippery, that the whole edifice has tumbled about their ears in a ſingle year. I hardly know any thing more nauſeous than the converſation one now and then hears at preſent on thoſe fine theories, delivered pretty much in the ſame accents as a twelvemonth ago, when the Conſtituent Aſſembly was as much praiſed as it is now condemned; ſuch men forget that it is theory no longer: it is now a fact and hiſtory; the experiment was made; we have ſeen the reſult; it failed totally and completely; in the name of common ſenſe, let us, as farmers, regard experience only; and when theſe eternal theoriſts ſtill recur to new viſions of their heated brains, let us reply, *the thing is tried*; *that method of drilling has been experimented and found good for nothing*; *the crop did not anſwer*; the principles of farming are the principles of government; when you have experiment for your guide, will you reſort to theory? When experiment has damned half a dozen theories from the ſame quarter, will you ſtill liſten to new fancies, and go to work again, becauſe the ſame men tell you they have new imaginations for your employment? The leading concluſion, deducible from the French experiment, and written in characters, which he that runs may read, is this, IF PERSONS ARE REPRESENTED, PROPERTY IS DESTROYED. We know then what to think of the propoſals for reform hitherto made in this kingdom.

† The firſt leaders in the Revolution ſaid this, and they now feel the conſequence. Necker, who gave the *double tiers*, baniſhed, with the loſs of an hundred thouſand pounds; Siéyès, who ſaid *le tiers eſt tout*, in diſgrace; and Barnave, who aſked if the firſt blood

they have given the power from their hands, by which alone others are prevented from puſhing matters a little further; and that theſe again are impelled by a third ſet, who drive at the Rights of Man, and pulling down all that exiſts at preſent, with the temple of Dagon, by the Sampſon of the mob. However reſpectable, well-meaning, but wrong-headed, men may be for their motives, let it not be imagined for a moment, that there is any thing reſpectable in the levellers, your fellows of the Rights of Man, whoſe principles are not a jot better than thoſe of highwaymen and houſe-breakers; for the object of both is *equalizing property*.

Mr. Wyvil, in his late pamphlet, talks of *temperate reformation*, and of *pointing the zeal of the people to a moderate correction of grievances* (p. 89.)

blood ſpiled was ſo pure, in a dungeon; *le beau jour* of Bailly ſhines at preſent in a garrat at London; La Fayette feels in the priſon of Wezel, that inſurrection is not *la plus ſaint des devoirs*; had Mirabeau been now alive, his head would be ſoon on a pike; and the miniſter Rolland, who, in his impudent letter to the King, ſaid, that as *the voice of truth is not heard in courts, revolutions become neceſſary*, now, crouching under the uplifted pike, finds, in the diſpenſations of Jacobin juſtice, that the voice of truth is heard as little in conventions as in courts, and curſes the folly that called for revolutions; Petion pelted and hiſſed, Marat carried in triumph *, and Manuel with his throat cut, continue the revolutions of the wheel of retribution. See theſe changes admirably touched in various paſſages of *La Derniere Tableau de Paris*, par M. Peltier.

* *Le Patriote Francais*, March 11, 1793.

As

As if it was poſſible, after rouſing, by inflammatory publications, the mobbiſh ſpirit, that you could draw the line of *moderation*, beyond which the populace ſhould not paſs! You want to correct grievances by means of *the people*; who, with power to effect the purpoſe, muſt have power to do muh more. If they have that power, will they uſe it? Go to Paris for the anſwer.

But that ſomething more than temperate and moderate reform is really the object, we have an undoubted proof, in a work publiſhed the other day, by one of the heads of the reforming party *, who praiſes the French Revolution as not the *reformation* of a government, but its *utter deſtruction* (its *diſſolution*, in the author's own words); and erecting in its room THAT which proved, ſo ſoon after the author dated his letter, and before he publiſhed it, a MONSTER; and is now the bloodieſt and moſt deteſtable tyranny that has blotted the annals of modern Europe.

Power in the hands *of the people* by means of perſonal repreſentation, has ruined France. And the queſtion in England is, whether the farmers and land proprietors ſhall preſerve their property ſecure, by one and all conſidering the ſyſtem with

* Major Cartwright.

the

the horror it merits; or ſhall, by doubt and heſitation, unite with the enemies of public peace, and hazard all that we poſſeſs at preſent.

I cannot well underſtand on what principles republicans and friends of liberty can now give their approbation to this eventful Revolution. To be conſiſtent with their own doctrines, they ought to hold the actors, on the theatre of French affairs, as the moſt fatal enemies to human liberty the world has ever ſeen: they have not only ſhewn mankind in a new and hideous aſpect of ingratitude, paſt all example, but they have proved that liberty, in the abſtract and in theory, is unfit for the maſs of mankind, and even pernicious to their intereſts, and the intereſt of practical freedom. They have given a leſſon of tyranny to all the governments of the world; they have given a panegyric on the perpetuity of political darkneſs, and on the propagation of political ignorance.

Perſonal repreſentation in cities muſt be apt to fall into the hands of a few of the moſt daring, reſtleſs, and profligate of the mob: of this, we have an inſtance, ſtrangely remarkable, in the caſe of Paris; in that city there are about 150,000 voters, yet the number who have been brought to poll have varied from 9000 to 12,000; it is therefore evident, that the maſs of the inhabitants, finding

ing they could not vote freely and in ſafety, would not vote at all. What a ſatire is this on the univerſal ſuffrage of the mob, who regulate the right of their neighbours voting, as they diſtribute juſtice—by the pike! "Materials fit for all the purpoſes of government," ſays Paine, "may be found in every town." He certainly means the pike, for that is the chief material in the new ſyſtem.

"*It is well known,*" ſays the deputation of Finiſterre, at the bar of the Convention, "*that the ſections of Paris are held by at moſt fifty individuals, to whom all cede with a facility perfectly incredible; aſtoniſhed at ſuch a general deſertion, we have been careful to inquire the cauſe, and have been aſſured, that the only reaſon is, that none had the power of freely expreſſing their opinion without running the greateſt danger. We are ſhocked to think of ſuch a popular deſpotiſm**." The federates at the bar, January 13th:—"*The public force is diſorganized, and pomiards intimidate the good citizens. Spare not the liberticide members, who vote in favour of Louis, we devote them to infamy.*"—Marſeilles to the ſections of Paris. If perſonal repreſentation has, in the ſhort period of four years, given the government of France into the hands of the mob —with two legiſlative bodies in ſucceſſion moſt

* Monit. Dec. 26.

completely

completely devoid of property; and if the conſequence has been the deſtruction of property, and the delivery of it poſſeſſors to be butchered or baniſhed, we are ſurely juſtified in aſſerting, that THE EXPERIMENT OF PERSONAL REPRESENTATION HAS BEEN MADE AND TOTALLY FAILED *.

* The Jacobins boaſt the government of America too ſoon to have experiment for their ſupport, all countries fully ſettled muſt have a numerous and indigent poor; America, with immenſe deſerts of fertile land at command, has no indigent poor to govern; ſhe is, therefore, exempt from the great difficulty of all government—but the time will come when ſhe is no longer free from its preſſure—when ſhe has a numerous and indigent poor, poiſoned or enlightened by a licentious preſs, it will then be found whether her ſyſtem is ſo perfect as ſome pretend. "The truth is," ſays Dr. Wilſon, "that in our governments the ſupreme, abſolute, and uncontrouled power remains in the people, as our conſtitutions are ſuperior to our legiſlature; ſo the people are ſuperior to our conſtitutions. Indeed the ſuperiority in this laſt inſtance is much greater; for the people poſſeſs, over our conſtitutions, controul in act as well as in right." *Commentaries on the American Conſtitutions.* So able a writer, doubtleſs, is not miſtaken in this; but if the fact is true, anarchy and confuſion, and the concomitant deſtruction of property, will inevitably be the fate of the country, when indigence is found in the maſs of her people. If they are in truth paramount, they will paſs laws for their own relief, and how is that to be effected without attacking properties that will not want the epithets of unneceſſary, luxurious, or ariſtocratic, for a pretence? To ſuppoſe that the mob will poſſeſs the ſovereign authority *in act* as well as in right, and remain hungry, is a farce—and worthy only the theories with which we have been amuſed; and who has inſtructed us clearly in the importance of ſuch a character as General Waſhington keeping heterogeneous parts to one common centre?

It would ſurely be great folly in the people of England to be amuſed with the childiſh viſions and ſilly theories of I know not what ideal purity which our government ought to poſſeſs to make it conſiſtent with the projects of ſuch mad-men and mountebanks as Paine, whoſe jargon upon repreſentative goverment is the mere *ipſe dixit* of a preſumptuous individual. Excluding America, which ought always to be excluded for reaſons I have mentioned, that of France remains the only experiment ever made on perſonal repreſentation; and what has ariſen in her revolution that can juſtify any praiſes of that ſyſtem? A nation governed by a city; a legiſlature bribing the mob that bullies it; a government generating tyranny on legiſlation; a legiſlature begetting anarchy on government; a monſter, "never young, never old *," — "never in the cradle nor on crutches *," but always "breeched in the manhood" of villainy — in the maturity of blood and rapine—of liberty dealing nothing but the "cant *;" nor of legiſlation, but the "ſophiſtry *"—energic in expanding miſery; and liberal only in univerſality of ruin. Such is perſonal repreſentation in the only inſtance in which it has been thoroughly tried; and ſuch is the commentary of experience on the theory of Paine.

* Paine.

II.

The Rights of Man were the next pillar of the French ſyſtem, and proved, in this eventful experiment, as viſionary and miſchievous as perſonal repreſentation. The conſtitution was built on a declaration of theſe rights; and, as if every paragraph of the code had been formed only to be broken, practice has torn the whole into fritters, or trampled it under feet, with a contempt it never experienced in any other country: So that a man would go much readier to Conſtantinople than to Paris, for the exerciſe. Its commentator calls out for anſwers to his performance.—The French Revolution is an anſwer round and complete; there is not a page it does not reply to; there is not a poſition it does not damn; and the author has the daily mortification to ſee his marvellous efforts ſurpaſſed by his colleagues in the legiſlative banditti, who arrive at the ſame end by a ſhorter road; by engraving the Rights of Man, with poniards, dipt in the beſt blood of France.

When that prince of incendiaries, reviewing a train of his projects, aſks, with an air of triumph, after each, *would not this be a good thing? This ſurely would be a good thing!* In like manner, take

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the French declaration of the Rights of Man, and there is hardly an article to be found, to which the ſame writer, and an hundred others, would not annex the ſame queſtion, *is not this good? Can you deny this?* But concentrating the rays of right into one focus, and giving it in a declaration to the people as the impreſcriptible right of man—the right of reſiſtance againſt oppreſſion became the power to oppreſs; the right to liberty crammed every priſon on ſuſpicion; the right to ſecurity fixed it at the point of the pike; the right to property was the ſignal of plunder; and the right to life became the power to cut throats. ARE THESE GOOD THINGS? If declarations of right, and governments founded on them, are really good, the reſult muſt be good alſo. But theſe are the good things in practice, that flow in a direct line from the goods things of French theory.

The declaration of rights, ſays Paine, *is of more value to the world than all the laws and ſtatutes that have yet been promulgated. It ſtares corruption in the face. The venal tribe are all alarmed: from ſuch oppoſition the Revolution receives an homage. The more it is ſtruck, the more ſparks it will emit; and* THE FEAR IS IT WILL NOT BE STRUCK ENOUGH.—I copy this inſanity, to bring to the reader's recollection the confidence with which this charlatan predicted, in oppoſition to the predictions of Mr. Burke;

Burke; *whoſe ideas*, he ſays, *tumbled over and deſtroyed one another, for want of polar truth.* The polar truths, by which Paine ſteered acroſs the boundleſs and unfathomable ocean of the French Revolution, make one ſmile; he now finds, ſorely to the coſt of his reputed penetration, that all the polarity which guided him was a *will-o'-the-wiſp* meteor, that led his frail bark o'er rocks and quick-ſands:—yet ingulphed as he is, he ſays, *Mr. Burke takes a ground of ſand.* Events have amply told us which of them was upon ſand.

" For a nation to love liberty, it is ſufficient that ſhe knows it; and to be free, it is ſufficient that ſhe wills it." Theſe, ſays Paine, are *ſoul animating* ſentiments—whereas Mr. Burke's are dry, barren, and obſcure; " muſic in the ear, but nothing in the heart." Before we were enlightened by events, this ſentence was at beſt but pert theory; now we know it to be barren nonſenſe, containing as many falſehoods as words. We need not inquire whether France has *known* or *loved* liberty: but this we are well aſſured of, that *willing to be free* ſhe became enſlaved. She ſought the ſpirit of legiſlation in the terſe ſentences of modern maxim-mongers, but found that the ſilly antitheſes of theory, could become tyrannies in practice. Not muſic in the ear, but daggers in the heart.

The madneſs of transferring ſuch rights to Britain belongs to the mechanics and labourers at Stockport *—who, complaining that the uſeful ſcience of politics is *neglected*, aſſemble to diffuſe it; they reſolve that all men are born equal in their rights, that the ſovereignty of every nation ought to be inveſted in the people as their birth-right; who have the chief right to poſſeſs all that labour produces: and it is a very curious circumſtance in theſe reſolutions, that though they reſolve that the liberty of the preſs ought to be inviolable, yet do they not give one atom of a reſolution, that any man has a right to property, except the right of the mechanic, and the labourer to all that labour produces. Theſe are reſolutions perfectly congenial in their purview, to that degree of ſecurity to property which the Revolution produced in France. Theſe labourers and mechanics may tell us, that *they deteſt riots*; but as they are ſo deep in the *ſcience* of politics, they ought to know that their object and their reſolutions tend pointedly and directly to the utter ruin and deſtruction of all government, peace, and ſecurity of either life or property. So alſo in the reſolutions of a ſimilar ſociety at Derby †, they ſpeak of *temperate and honeſt diſcuſſions*; and call on other ſocieties to act with *unanimity and firmneſs, until the people be too wiſe to be impoſed upon*; *and their influence in the government*

* Mancheſter Herald, Sept. 1. † *Ibid* Auguſt 18.

be

be commenſurate with their dignity and importance. Can any perſon, warm from the recital of the horrors committed by the " ſwiniſh multitude" in France—by the moſt enlightened of all the mobs of France—who have moſt ſtudied the *ſcience of politics*, and moſt frequented ſocieties ſimilar to theſe—can any man of property, acquainted with theſe abominations—read ſuch reſolutions without indignation? *Temperate and honeſt diſcuſſions!* Why, the diſcuſſions of the Jacobins were doubtleſs once temperate; their honeſty is another queſtion. But let us not be deceived by ſmooth words at the outſet. Theſe men demand THAT which they cannot have without poſſeſſing the power of ſeizing our property and cutting our throats—they aſſociate and combine, in order to attain their end. To ſuppreſs at once, by vigorous and deciſive meaſures, ſuch hot-beds of ſedition and plunder, is the firſt duty of parliament; reſolutions leſs offenſive than theſe began the buſineſs in France; we have ſeen the event. *Temperate reſolutions* were the theory; plunder, rapine, and murder the practice.

Give us our rights, is an expreſſion which has been uſed with ſingular emphaſis; the reply once proper, was an abſtract reaſoning on the nature of thoſe rights: we have now ſomething much ſurer to direct our judgments; and can anſwer, with ſtrict reference to the facts that govern the queſ-

tion, " you have your rights; you are in poſſeſſion of every right that is conſiſtent with ſafety to the life and property of others—to give you more will endanger both—to give you *much* more will infallibly deſtroy them, and eventually yourſelves. You have, therefore, ALL your rights; for you have all that are conſiſtent with your happineſs; and thoſe who aſſociate to gain more, ſeek, by means which they know to be the high road to confuſion, to ſeize what is NOT their right, at the expence of crimes ſimilar to thoſe that have deſtroyed the firſt kingdom of the world."

It is common to hear it aſſerted in France, that the ruin of the conſtitution, eſtabliſhed on the Rights of Man, was owing only to the *perfidy* of the court, and not to thoſe *Rights*; which is a wretched ſophiſtry; theſe men do not perceive that that perfidy was a part of the conſtitution which included a court: if courts can be perfidious, you are to ſuppoſe they will be ſo; and if you have not ſo provided as to turn that perfidy to the benefit of the people, you confeſs at once that your conſtitution is viſionary; and if you muſt deſtroy it, THE EXPERIMENT FAILED. The ſecond experiment, which is now in execution, fails equally; for there is no proviſion whatever to ſecure to the repreſentatives of the people the obedience of the people; and we accordingly find, that all is anarchy,

anarchy, on their own Jacobin authority; in the firſt experiment, there was no ſecurity againſt the perfidy of a court; and in the ſecond, none againſt the violence of the people; to get rid of one evil they plunge into another, till, in the accumulation of oppoſite miſchiefs, there is no better relief than Marat's grand ſpecific of cutting off 150,000 heads. In this argument, I take the Jacobin ground of ſuppoſing the court perfidious; which is an impudent lie, for a priſoner deprived of his rights, cannot be perfidious.

Perhaps it will be ſaid, the preſent experiment is not finiſhed; and that, when a better executive power is eſtabliſhed, things will go well; but this is abſolutely inadmiſſible: for the whole force and colour of Jacobin argument in England is, that the legiſlative power is too weak, and the executive too ſtrong; and that the remedy of this evil is to let the Commons be really the repreſentative of the people: now this *is* the caſe in France—and what is the evil? Why, preciſely, that the people will not obey the men choſen by themſelves; they do not love the Convention enough to have confidence in it; this is an incurable evil, which no modification of the executive can effect; it ſtrikes at the heart of perſonal repreſentation—the mob elects, and the mob does not know how to chuſe, and ſtill leſs to obey.

As the Revolution matures, the hope leſſens of a better ſyſtem eſtabliſhing itſelf. Confuſion thickens; tyranny deepens its colours; the legiſlative aſſumes every day more and more the executive and judiciary powers, which is, of all circumſtances, the moſt definitive of deſpotiſm: and even in the new project, preſented by the conſtitutional committee, to which Paine's name among others is affixed, we ſee no effective attempts made to keep theſe powers abſolutely diſtinct. They expreſsly direct the deliberations of the legiſlature to be public; yet offer not a word againſt meeting at Paris; two points that clearly ſhew they plan, project, and build, as architects of anarchy only. It was a late obſervation, I think, of Mr. Sheridan, that he *had read of deſpotiſm continuing for ſeveral hundred years, but he had never read but of temporary anarchies*—but in what have thoſe temporary anarchies ended? Regularly (it may almoſt be ſaid unexceptionably) in deſpotiſm. To anarchy, therefore, are to be aſſigned, in addition to the temporary horrors peculiar to itſelf, the durable ones that belong to deſpotic power.

III.

As to equality, the laſt ſupport of the French ſyſtem, it is too farſical and ridiculous to merit a ſerious obſervation—it is worthy only of Monſieur *Egalité!* who has waſted three hundred thouſand pounds a year, in order to ſtand on record the firſt fool in Europe, and to give the better part of his countrymen occaſion to call that aſſumption great impudence; for he who was below all, could be *equal* to none. A genius, who ſacrificed the firſt property of any ſubject in Europe, and the name of Bourbon, to become the ſubject of debate in an aſſembly of taylors, ſtaymakers, barbers, and butchers, whether he ſhould not be baniſhed from that country which he has diſgraced by his crimes *!

The equal right of all citizens to equal laws was declared in the firſt conſtitution:—Equality of right to equal juſtice—that in the law all are equal;—this equality was decreed by the Conſtituent Aſſembly, and clearly aſcertained to be the law of the land; the new declaration of equality muſt therefore mean ſomething more, or it meant nothing; if equality of rights were only in contemplation, why call the year 1792 the firſt year of equality? the fourth of liberty, and firſt of

* And ſince ſent, pinioned like a galley ſlave, to Marſeilles, 1793. And ſince beheaded to the ſhouts of that mob, he ſpent his fortune to corrupt, 1794.

equality? A clearer proof cannot be deſired, that the equality of 1792 was not the equality of 1789; let the writers and ſpeakers, who aſſert the term in the two points to mean the ſame thing, reconcile the abſurdity if they are able. To the apprehenſion of common underſtandings, property was glanced at; that the French populace ſo underſtood it, there is abundant proof indeed, for propoſitions were immediately made for the equal diviſion of wealth, and received in a manner that left no doubt of the meaſure being perfectly to their taſte; and theſe propoſitions have been carried into execution much more than commonly admitted in England; the peaſantry paying no taxes, while they force their richer neighbours to pay to the laſt ſhilling, is directly in point.

But the curſe of theſe principles of equality is, that they never can allow tranquility to be the inheritance of a people; ſuppoſing it poſſible for a country, infeſted with ſuch doctrines, to be well governed, ſuch good government will infallibly generate wealth and inequality; and by conſequence the neceſſity of new civil wars and confuſion to reſtore the equality, which would for ever tend to variation; thus, under ſuch fine-ſpun principles, peace could never inhabit; tranquility would be baniſhed, even by the merits, ſuppoſing there were any, of the ſyſtem; and new arrangements

ments of property muſt be periodically made, at the caprice and tyranny of thoſe who, poſſeſſing nothing, would look to confuſion as their ſupport, and to anarchy as their birth-right.

Such have been the three leading principles of the French Revolution; perſonal repreſentation, the rights of man, and equality; and the queſtion for us to decide upon (a greater queſtion never was before a nation) is this—ſhall we imitate the example of France, and, by tampering with that conſtitution to which we owe all our proſperity, hazard ſo immenſe a ſtake of happineſs? There are men to be found who demand this, and even ſocieties aſſociated to enforce

Reform.

As the queſtion has been diſcuſſed to ſatiety, the obſervations that follow ſhall be brief:—it is not uncommon to hear the expreſſion of *reſtoring the conſtitution to its original purity*.—Two words on this purity will not be entirely miſplaced. This is an expreſſion we often meet with in the writings and ſpeeches of men, who apparently are not very intimately acquainted with the ſtate of repreſentation in former periods. It tends ſtrongly to give an idea to the ignorant and unwary, that the conſtitution has declined, and is at preſent in a worſe ſtate,

ſtate, for the liberty of the people, than it was in former periods; and that the evils now complained of were not to be found in its practice or principles at times alluded to. There is no man, acquainted with the hiſtory of England, who does not know that this is a groſs error; and that the circumſtances now moſt complained of, ſuch as inequality of repreſentation and burgage tenures, took place ages before the Revolution, and were eſtabliſhed before we had any regular conſtitution at all. Let us throw a rapid eye over a few inſtances, which will be ſufficient to ſhew, that there never was, even in idea, ſuch a principle as equal repreſentation, and that as to the practice, no reformer has yet been able to ſhew its exiſtence.

Camden, who wrote in Queen Elizabeth's reign, ſpeaking of Dunwich, ſays, *that it lies in ſolitude and deſolation.* Orford, he ſays, was *once* populous. At Eye, he finds nothing but the *rubbiſh* of an old monaſtory, and the *ruins* of a caſtle. He ſays of Caſtle-Riſing, *it is ruinated, and as it were expiring for age.* Yet this place had its charter to ſend members in the laſt year of Philip and Mary; and Eye, in the 13th of Elizabeth. This looks very little like any attention to give places of conſequence or of *conſideration*, as aſſerted by the author of *Peace and Reform*, 1794, only that privilege. Camelford, in Cornwall, he ſays, *is a little village.* Leſtwithiel *is a little town, and not at all populous.*

populous. St. Germains, he calls *a ſmall village, of nothing but fiſhermens huts*, yet this charter was no older than Elizabeth.

I have not time at preſent to ſearch for the ſtate of many boroughs in a former age, but theſe inſtances are ſufficient to ſhew, not only that the conſtitution ſtood in this reſpect on as rotten a foundation in the reign of Elizabeth as at preſent, but that charters for ſending members to the Houſe of Commons were actually granted to places of no kind of conſideration. To what period then are we to look for that ideal perfection in this part of the conſtitution, which is not to be found in it at preſent?

Hiſtorians are agreed as to the Parliament of 1265, ſummoned by a uſurper, being the origin of the Houſe of Commons*: the Earl of Leiceſter ordered the attendance of repreſentatives from ſuch places only as he thought proper, that is, from ſuch as were known to be in his intereſt. The legal monarchs followed this example, and gave the power of election to whatever towns they thought proper, and ordered, in many caſes, in whom the right of election ſhould reſide. What reforming writer has preſumed to ſhew a period, in the number of centuries that have elapſed ſince, in which there ever exiſted, for one moment, an

* See Appendix.

equal

equal or a *perſonal* repreſentation of the people? What then but empty factious nonſenſe is meant by the original purity of that ſyſtem which was gradually formed in times of ſtorm or deſpotiſm; and never deſerved the name of ſettled freedom till the Revolution. I ſpeak only of facts; as to the *principles* of the Conſtitution before that great æra they are juſt what every writer pleaſes to call them; to term them *pure*, is *gratis dictum*; they may be pious or beautiful, or whatever the theory pleaſes; it is not theory we demand, but PRACTICE.

It is not difficult to perceive that the advocates for reform rely much more on what they pretend to be *the principles* of the conſtitution, than upon any clear idea of its ſtate in antient times. When once the viſion of repreſentation has got hold of an ill-regulated imagination, and the actual conſtitution of the kingdom is compared with that ideal ſtandard; *things as they are*, appear worthleſs, and then works the ſpirit of reform to change them for *things as they ſhould be*—to ſquare the legiſlature that governs fifteen millions of people to the diſtempered fancies of ſpeculative individuals. But nothing can be more futile, than preſuming to lay down the principles of any complex conſtitution. Principles may be deduced from extremes, but not ſo eaſily from intermediate compounds. The principle of a deſpotiſm may be

be ſaid to be *ſlavery*; the principle of a democracy may be called *anarchy*; but what is the principle of various ariſtocracies, mixed republics, and limited monarchies? Suppoſe a government (without entering into details) to be in general good, the principle of it is *liberty:* but there is Swiſs liberty, Dutch liberty, American liberty, Engliſh liberty: attempt the analyſis, and draw the principle of each, and what is the reſult, but the confuſion of vain theories, as numerous and contradictory as the heads that dream them? But if the rage of ſpeculation will have principles, every man will draw his own; and my concluſion would be, that the property of a kingdom ſhould be the baſis of repreſentation. This appears to be fairly deducible from practice, in every age of our government, from Alfred to George: but perſonal repreſentation never exiſted for a ſingle moment; from what facts then is any principle deducible that tends to it? What but preſumption can call for changes in a legiſlature, that has taken five hundred years to mature itſelf into a ſyſtem of liberty, unequalled on the globe, on no better foundation than the vague theories of ſuch principles, drawn by reformers, at the inſtigation of poverty or ambition? Perſonal repreſentation has laid France in the duſt; but it has given the plunder of a kingdom to the vileſt of mankind. Who can doubt our having ſuch men in England, wiſhing

anxiouſly

anxiouſly for ſimilar events, as the ſure road to ſimilar plunder?

Some men are ſo ſtrenuous in their ideas of reform, that they would extirpate all that is derived from the *feudal principle* *. Such attribute the imaginary evils of our conſtitution to *the infernal feudal principle which ſubdued and ſtifled the genuine equalizing ſpirit of our conſtitution.* What is this *ſpirit* of the conſtitution? If, inſtead of ſpeaking of principles and ſpirit, men would deſcend from the clouds, and talk of practice, we ſhould underſtand them. But whether you have the ſpirit or the practice, certainly neither were *equalizing* in any period whatever of our conſtitution. In all antient times, it knew of nothing but the domineering *ſuperiority* of regal or ariſtocratical tyranny; the commonalty of the realm, ſlaves—villains—boors—cattle; unprotected, unrepreſented. Whence then the ſpirit of equality? Thus it is with the eternal round of *principles* and *ſpirit*; they all reſolve into declamation, theory, and faction.

The York petition, in 1785, ſets out with ſaying, *that, ſenſible of the* ORIGINAL EXCELLENCE *of the conſtitution, they wiſh to have it maintained upon*

* *Speech on the Reformation of Parliament*, by William Jones, Eſq. p. 12.

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the GENUINE PRINCIPLES *on which it was founded.* If that meeting had been aſked, what thoſe genuine principles were? not a man of them could have anſwered the queſtion. What are Dr. Johnſon's definitions of the word *principle?*

1. *Element.*—Vary then the queſtion; of what elements were the Houſe of Commons compoſed, when firſt founded? Of knights elected by the tenants holding of the Crown in *capite*; of deputies ſent by boroughs, to whom the Crown granted the privilege of chuſing. Do you find your original excellence here?

2. *Original cauſe.*—What was the original cauſe of the Houſe of Commons? The Crown. Is this your original excellence?

3. *Operative cauſe.*—What was the operative cauſe of the Houſe of Commons? The Crown. Is here your original purity?

4. *Fundamental truth.*—What was the fundamental truth on which the Houſe of Commons was founded? That the Crown had the power to found it. Is this original excellence to your mind?

5. *Ground of action.*—What was the ground of action* in founding the Houſe of Commons? A

* "If we conſider the influence the King had in demeſne towns, he might as well have been abſolute with a parliament, as without; and the *parliament at firſt, ſo far as it conſiſted of commoners, was intended as a ſupport to prerogative.*" *Ruffhead Pref. Stat.*

com-

commiſſion from the Crown. Will this original excellence ſuit your purpoſe?

Can any thing be ſo completely futile and paltry, as recurring, at this period of the meridian ſplendour of national liberty, to the original faint twilight—the crepuſculous glimmering of freedom, amidſt the iron ſway of feudal ariſtocracy!

Such writers are ſo occupied with the idea of what the conſtitution ought to be, that they overlook what it is. Abundance of this ſort of ſtuff is to be found in the writings of Price, who never had any other view than to blow up the people into a civil war. According to this incendiary, if in ſpeculation there could be deviſed a better ſyſtem of legiſlation than is enjoyed by this kingdom, *the people* have an inherent right to pull down the government, and build up what they think a better. "*In every free ſtate, every man is his own legiſlator. Government is an inſtitution for the benefit of the people governed, which they have power to model as they pleaſe; and to ſay that they can have too much of this power, is to ſay, that there ought to be a power in the ſtate ſuperior to that which gives it being**." What a paraphraſe on this text has been the whole of the French Revolution; that people were convinced,

* *Obſerv. on Civil Liberty*, p. 6. 12.

by

by ſuch politicians as this reverend fire-brand, that they had a right to model their legiſlature as they pleaſed, and that they could not exerciſe too much of this power; and, by ſo doing, they proved, *that there ought to be a power in the ſtate ſuperior to that of the people*—who never become actively omnipotent, but to their utter ruin and deſtruction. No conſtitution or government could exiſt, while the people had the power to model it at pleaſure; for they never had ſuch a power, without being in its perpetual exerciſe; and a conſtitution perpetually changed, is not government, but anarchy. So utterly contemptible are all theſe theories of liberty, when brought to the teſt of practice! But deſpicable as they are, in the eyes of well-informed men, they are calculated to miſlead and inflame the vulgar; hence the miſchief of a licentious preſs. A free preſs may be properly exerted to detect a miniſter; but when it is allowed to vomit forth the poiſon of ſuch infamous doctrines, levelled point blank againſt a conſtitution, the ſafe-guard and protector of a nation, rendered GREAT and HAPPY by the benignity of its influence—in ſuch a caſe the *freedom of the preſs* becomes the *ſlavery of the people*.

Thus the capital error in the writers who have treated of the Britiſh conſtitution, is that of ſtating the repreſentative ſyſtem *to be in fact* what they *in*

theory ſuppoſe good: this is the caſe alſo with both Monteſquieu and De Lolme. One would imagine, from various paſſages in thoſe writers, that the people governed themſelves by their repreſentatives; that the repreſentatives voted according to the pleaſure of the people, which is the apparent theory of the repreſentative government; but we know that this is not the caſe in any repreſentative government, and Rouſſeau ſaw it ſo, or he would not have declared a man a ſlave the moment he choſe a repreſentative. In England, a portion of the members of the Houſe of Commons is influenced by the Crown and by the Lords; another portion elect themſelves: and the remainder, though elected by the people, yet conſider themſelves as not bound by inſtructions, and purſue that conduct generally, which to themſelves alone ſeems good: all this influence is poiſon in the eyes of reformers—but to men who are governed entirely by facts, and who conſequently deſpiſe theory, this influence appears to be coëval with our freedom, if not the ſole cauſe of it. Fact therefore juſtifies it; and the counter experiment of France has proved, that repreſentation uninfluenced generates tyranny. But, at the ſame time that the repreſentation of the people in England is really influenced in this manner, truth allows us to declare, that this influence goes but to a certain degree; it is an influence to induce the Commons not

not to act like turbulent tribunes, but to perform their real duty to their country. With power in that body at any time to overthrow the conſtitution, influence is exerted to induce them to reſpect it; and why has it this happy effect, ſince ſo many of the members are really choſen by the people? Becauſe the property of the kingdom is in the hands of thoſe members, for the moſt part; and ſuch a ſtake is the beſt pledge againſt their embarking in deſigns dangerous to the public repoſe.

All but Jacobins admit, that with this ſyſtem of influence, which ſeems corruption to the eye of ignorance, the liberties of the people have been to the preſent hour conſtantly improving; and for a century paſt have very far exceeded any other ſyſtem of freedom the world ever ſaw. If influence were as miſchievous as ſome viſionaries would make us believe, how could this be ſo? We are happy under the government of influence, how then can it be bad? It is in truth an influence to engage men to their duty. They have the power of miſchief in their hands, and influence craves them not to uſe it.

But influence may be exerted to ſway men to miſchief, and even to deſtroy the liberties of the people.

Not while the property of the kingdom is in the hands of the members—for they have palpably a ſtronger motive to guard them againſt ſuch extremes, than any that can be exerted againſt the national welfare; men of property may be influenced to do good, but does it therefore follow that they would be influenced to do evil? To ſell the fee ſimple of their own importance? While the government of the kingdom is in the hands of thoſe who have property, tempered as it is on one ſide by popular election, and on the other by the legal rights of the Crown, all muſt be ſafe. But where would be our ſecurity if the Houſe of Commons were filled with the demagogues of provincial mobs; whoſe firſt recommendation was poverty, and their ſecond innovation? Our ſecurity *would be*, where that of France *is*.

Thus it is with reports of committees—of our "friends"—ſections of aſſociations, for ſpreadiug diſcontent—off-ſets of ſedition, who detail the parliamentary influence of the Earl of Lonſdale, Lords Elliot, Edgecumbe, &c. and who take great pains to ſhew that a ſmall number of voters, compared with the number of the people at large, elect the Houſe of Commons. Well; you ſtate the fact; but the fact ſimply ſtated means nothing—leads to no concluſions. Have you preſumed to ſtate what

what was the caſe 100 years ago—200 years—300 years paſt? in order to ſhew that the people once poſſeſſed ſomething which they have now loſt? No: you know what would be the event of that nquiry, and *therefore* you are ſilent! You ſtate, that in the conſtitution of England 2600 perſons return 320 members. What then? You might alſo have ſtated, that in the ſame conſtitution the King returns the whole Houſe of Lords. You ſtate a fact; but do you prove that fact an evil? How are we to know whether it be really an evil or a benefit? Are we to rely on our own experience for an anſwer, or ſhall we come to your theory for the deciſion? The queſtion is in a nutſhell. We feel that we are free under this conſtitution; that you want us to mend with French aſſiſtance. We know that Engliſh practice is good—we know that French theory is bad.—What inducement have we, therefore, to liſten to your ſpeculations, that condemn what all England feels to be good—and approve what all France experiences to be miſchievous?

The fact is, that the preſent conſtitution of England was gradually extorted, ſword in hand, from feudal ſovereigns, deriving *their* rights from the ſword of a conqueror: nobly extorted; but derived from no other right. It is now legally eſtabliſhed, and has the ſanction of ages to give

it the veneration that, with wiſe men, belongs to antient eſtabliſhments; and thoſe perſons who demand the conſtitution of ſome preceding age (which they ought to demand, when they ſpeak of *purity*, greater than that of the preſent age), as a ſyſtem better than what we enjoy, are bound to name the period, when the liberty of the ſubject was in theory better defined, or in practice better protected.

There is indeed a period to which our reformers allude with ſingular pleaſure, and which is in their contemplation oftener than they name it;—the republic in the middle of the laſt century;—there was the *purity* admired by ſo many; a period that bore ſome reſemblance to the preſent in France. The parliament, which met in 1640, are termed, by a female hiſtorian, "Patriots, whoſe number, virtues, and abilities, were greater than had ever been convened in any age or country." If ſuch men were guilty of enormities and tyranny, it muſt ariſe from the ſituation, and not from the peculiar ſtructure of their boſoms. Two words will diſpatch their actions: they paſſed a triennial bill, and ſat themſelves 13 years. They quarrelled with the King for levying 200,000l. a year illegally, and in five years they raiſed, by their own ſingle authority, FORTY MILLIONS, fully equal to one hundred millions at preſent.—They were accuſed

by

by one of their own party of dividing 300,000l. among their own members—An accuſation highly probable, when it is upon record, that in the aſſeſſments of thoſe infinite burthens they laid on the people, their own members were exempted, ſo as to be taxed only by one another—They inſtituted country committees, with power to fine, ſequeſter, impriſon, and corporally puniſh, without appeal, and without law—They put an imprimatur on the preſs—and they aboliſhed the trial by jury againſt their own accuſations—They preſſed men into their armies, and then paſſed ordinances for puniſhing them if they ran away—The King and Parliament had never yet fixed an exciſe on BREAD, fleſh, and every conſumable commodity; but the Parliament alone did it without compunction. If this manual of tyranny is good, we ſhould do wiſely to repeat it. The whole ended, as might have been foreſeen, in a pure deſpotiſm, as the preſent copy of it will do in France.

There cannot be a more ſerious, or a more awful ſubject for Parliament to enter upon, than that of any *alterations* in the conſtitution: that there could not be a better one, nobody will aſſert; it may be poſſible, that a nation might enjoy the ſame bleſſings at a leſs expence; but to give us a *change* under the name of an *improvement*, is a dangerous experiment. What is called a real repreſentation of

the people (that is, an equal repreſentation) and biennial Parliaments, would certainly be a *great* change; property now has the power of this realm; and under ſuch a change, population would have the power; in ſome governments of America this is the caſe; but America has no indigent poor, or at leaſt very few, ariſing from plenty of land; thus America is no example applicable to us. We ſee very exactly in France, what is the caſe of an indigent poor poſſeſſed of power. So great a change, as taking the government of the kingdom from property, and giving it to population, is not *reſtoring* principles of purity, but eſtabliſhing *new* ones; an abſolutely untried experiment any where but in France. If it is once admitted that property ought to poſſeſs the power, it is of very little conſequence whether the election is by burgage tenures or any other mode, as the men of the greateſt property will find themſelves in the houſe; and as to the Crown, Orford and Harwich ſhew that it is as likely to loſe a borough as to gain one. The queſtion, however, is of ſuch importance, that reaſoning ought not to be admitted; the FACT is, that property poſſeſſes the preponderancy of power at preſent in the Houſe of Commons; the changes propoſed, all tend to remove it from property to population; this is not a *reſtoration*, but an abſolute *novelty*.

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There are men pretending to be moderate, who argue for, and are ready to declare, their approbation of the Engliſh conſtitution, as fixed in King, Lords, and Commons, conſidering the Commons as the repreſentatives *of the people*; and they contend that as the Commons do purport to be a repreſentation of the people, they wiſh for no other alteration in the government than to make that Houſe *really* that which it purports to be. This is the moſt rational ground that any reformer can take, becauſe here is a ſemblance of propriety. Very few words will be neceſſary to ſhew *from facts* that it is only a ſemblance.

I contend, in reply, that it is mere theory to ſuppoſe that the Houſe of Commons purports to be the repreſentatives of the people, if by repreſentation is meant *choice*. Being once choſen by the few, they repreſent the many *. They *purport* to be nothing more than what they *are:* and they are nothing more than this—men ſitting in a ſenate, and forming a third branch of the legiſlature, choſen by certain bodies, who, by the conſtitution, have the privilege of electing them. They may

* " Every member of the Britiſh parliament, though choſen by one particular diſtrict, when elected and returned, ſerves for the whole realm. For the end of his coming thither is not particular but general; not barely to advantage his conſtituents, but the commonwealth, and to adviſe his Majeſty, as appears from the writ of ſummons." *Blackſtone.*

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be accurately deſcribed without uſing the word, or referring to the idea of repreſentation. To call them the repreſentatives of the people, is a very inaccurate mode of expreſſion; they ought never to be called by any other name than the Houſe of Commons, to diſtinguiſh them from the Houſe of Lords. If they were *really* the repreſentatives of *the people*, they might in theory be good, or better; but they would be ſomething elſe than what *they are*, and conſequently different from that which has rendered us a great, a free, and a happy nation.

But there is not the leaſt reaſon to think that they were ever deemed the repreſentatives of the people; certainly not the Knights, for the 40s. qualification of electors, the value of money conſidered, was nearer 40l. of preſent money. The notion of repreſentation and delegation of rights and privileges from the electors, has vitiated and turned to confuſion ſo many ideas on the ſubject, becauſe writers and parliaments themſelves, to ſuit the purpoſes of a moment, have thought it for their intereſt to be eſteemed ſomething different than what they really are. The electors of members of parliament do not delegate powers, nor entruſt privileges, if, by delegation, is meant the transfer of ſomething poſſeſſed by thoſe who depute; for the electors have neither thoſe powers

nor

nor thoſe privileges, and therefore cannot delegate them. But the members when elected, and in combination with the other branches of the legiſlature, aſſume, and poſſeſs, and give themſelves ſuch powers and privileges, which thoſe did not poſſeſs who ſent them. Hence, then, the ſeptennial act was juſt as conſtitutional as the biennial.

But, on the other hand, ſuppoſe a nation in any period of confuſion or anarchy of all conſtituted powers, ſhould, by univerſal conſent and ſuffrage, elect a convention or parliament, for the purpoſe of declaring what in future ſhall be the *National Will*; here you have palpably all the ideas of repreſentation realized, and ſuch deputies ought to ſpeak the direct voice of the people, but ſuch a republic (for it could be nothing elſe) is a government as diſtinct from that of England as Algiers is; and our Houſe of Commons has not the ſmalleſt reſemblance with ſuch an aſſembly in its origin, its progreſs, or its functions. It is not neceſſary to characteriſe ſuch a government, the caſe of France is directly in point.

If the Houſe of Commons were ſuch repreſentatives, and renewed in ſhort parliaments, they would be guided by the paſſions, folly, and madneſs of the people; we ſee in France what that leads to: at preſent they are guided by their own wiſdom.

wiſdom. *But they are corrupt and bribed.* If they are bribed in order to act wiſely it is an argument directly againſt you, and tends to prove that there is ſomething on the verge of danger in all numerous aſſemblies, which if not controuled by prerogative or influence, would hazard the public peace. We know, on experience, that they do act wiſely, for nothing but a wiſe government can make a happy people. If the nature of ſuch an aſſembly demands to be corrupted, in order to purſue the public good, who but a viſionary can wiſh to remove corruption? Government certainly would have been carried on cheaper if honeſty alone had induced our Houſe of Commons to act as it is ſaid corruption has induced them; but if the vices of mankind can, by a well poiſed conſtitution, be made to contribute to their good government, would it not be inſanity to change the ſyſtem, and imitate the French, who depend only on their virtues?

Examine the Houſe of Commons in whatever light you will, and it will be found to poſſeſs, in the power of the purſe, ſo enormous an authority *, that the

* "In theſe days, when every thing is rated by pecuniary eſtimation; when gold is become the great moving ſpring of affairs; it may be ſafely affirmed, that he who depends on the will of another man, with regard to ſo important an article, is, whatever his power may be in other reſpects, in a ſtate of real dependence. This is the caſe of the King of England: he has, in that capacity, and

the other branches of the legiſlature are abſolutely at its mercy: what prevents it from ſwallowing them up? Is it good to prevent it? Is it neceſſary even for the liberty of the people? If it is neceſſary, how beſt done? Would the beſt way of effecting it be popular repreſentation and ſhort parliaments, a ſyſtem in which all corruption, or even influence, would be impoſſible? The obvious reply finiſhes the chain of reaſoning from fact, and proves the utter abſurdity of ſuch propoſitions. But grant for a moment the expedience of the experiment, and ſuppoſe that you have ſuch a Houſe of Commons, on what will you then depend? On their moderation and virtue; but this moderation and virtue have not been tried. If the theory of what moderation may do, and the ſpeculation of what virtue may effect, are as juſt grounds to build on as fact and experiment; in ſuch caſe I am ready to agree, that we may, without impropriety, exchange the poſitive poſſeſſion of what we enjoy at preſent, for the hope and expectation of ſomething better; and to fix here, you have only to prove

and without the grant of his people, ſcarcely any revenue." *De Lolme*, p. 75. The truth is obvious, and ſtrikes both foreigners and natives in the ſame manner. Let an unpopular Prince of Wales, on his coming to the throne, meet, by means of perſonal repreſentation, a republican Houſe of Commons—and monarchy would either be extinguiſhed, or the kingdom filled with blood and rapine; but in either caſe, anarchy would enſue, and lead once more to deſpotiſm.

that

that theory is as ſatisfactory as practice. To which fine inquiry I leave you as one fairly on a par with the philoſophy of France.

Still the advocates for a reform return to the charge, and aſſert, that parliament, as elected at preſent, does not ſpeak the will of the people, and that a Houſe of Commons ought to ſpeak that will. The argument is a good one for thoſe who reliſh theory. But I contend, on the contrary line of fact, that the proſperity and happineſs we have enjoyed for a century, and never ſo great as at preſent *, is owing preciſely to the Houſe of Commons NOT ſpeaking the will of the people; and I am founded in the fact, ſo notorious to all the world, that ſuch proſperity has grown to its preſent height under the influence of a Houſe elected not by perſons, but by property If a parliament, ſpeaking

* It is remarkable, that the changes which have taken place in our conſtitution, clearly in favour of the national liberties are, by our reformers, lamented as being inimical to freedom. If there is one leading poſition in M. De Lolme's Treatiſe on the Engliſh Conſtitution, more clearly proved than another, by reference to many governing facts in hiſtory, it is that of the importance of having but one legiſlative aſſembly in a kingdom; yet in full oppoſition to a truth ſo manifeſt, Mr. Grey, in his ſpeech on reform, May 6th, 1793, ſtated the union with Scotland to be a meaſure that had dangerouſly increaſed the power of the Crown. If there is any truth in the obſervation of that ingenious foreigner, the union ought, on the contrary, to be conſidered as one of the moſt important events in favour of liberty.

therefore

therefore the voice *not of the people*, has made us what we are, and if National Aſſemblies, ſpeaking the voice of the people, have brought France to her preſent ſituation, I have a double experiment to ſupport me in the aſſertion, that reforming or changing the conſtitution of our Houſe of Commons, ſo as to make it ſpeak ſome new voice, untried in this kingdom, would be a procedure on theory, and worthy of theoriſts only.

If corruption and influence have given a century of happineſs to this kingdom, and if purity and patriotiſm can in four years ſo completely ruin an empire, as they have ruined our neighbour, I beg for one, that the *vices* of England may govern me, and by no means the *virtues* of France; the vices of our government have wealth, eaſe, and proſperity in their train; the virtues of theirs, operating by equal repreſentation, biennial elections, and uncorrupt majorities, have brought with them bloodſhed, anarchy, and ruin. The contraſt carries deciſion in the front.

A word, however, might be ſaid on the point of perſonal repreſentation rendering the real will of the people ſupreme. The futility of the idea is demonſtrated in the conduct of the Aſſemblies ſo choſen in France; their firſt merit on Jacobin principles is that of ſpeaking the ſovereign will of the

the people, by which expreſſion is always underſtood *the majority:* but ſo trulty abominable is this ſyſtem of government, that there has not been a ſingle inſtance of great and marked importance, in which the minority, and commonly a very ſmall minority, has not, by means of terror, carried all before them. The Conſtituent Aſſembly acted in defiance of their cahiers, which were the inſtructions given them by their conſtituents; and they did this with a mob raging at their doors, in their gallery, and even on their benches, and in the chair of their preſident. I mean in the fundamentals of the conſtitution, ſuch as maintaining the monarchy, &c.; in many ſecondary objects of importance, the Conſtituent Aſſembly obeyed their cahiers, as I have ſhewn in another place. What that Aſſembly did that was good, is however of the leaſt poſſible conſequence, for the plaineſt of all reaſons; they formed, at the ſame time, a conſtitution that could not ſupport itſelf, and conſequently the good things they did were committed to the winds. Whatever has appeared reſpectable in repreſentation in France, was in that firſt Aſſembly; the ſecond was mob; and for the third the kennels were ſwept. The ſecond, at one ſtroke, knocked down all that was built by the firſt. It remains yet to be ſeen, whether the third will not do the ſame by the ſecond; every ſtep they have hitherto taken has been a page from the

code

code of anarchy. The National Aſſembly acted under the dominion of the pikes of Paris; witneſs that memorable vote, conſecrated to eternal infamy, when 280 voices, having driven, by menaces, and blood, and maſſacre, the majority to abſence or ſilence, dethroned the King, and aboliſhed the conſtitution, which all France had ſworn to live and die with. The Convention, which has aſſembled ſince, have exhibited the ſame ſpectacle; have been inceſſantly bullied by the mob in the galleries; have voted with a pike at their throats, and exiſted in the hourly expectation of being allowed to exiſt no longer; murdered their prince by a majority of *five* voices, though their law required three-fourths at leaſt for declaring guilt, or for pronouncing death; and the majority obtained by the menaces of the aſſaſſins paid by *Egalité*. The conſummation of political infamy! The murder of the beſt prince that ever ſat upon the throne of France: the only monarch that country ever knew, that was a real friend to liberty, or that ever ſincerely wiſhed to render his people truly happy. A great and awful leſſon to all the princes of the world:—not a leſſon teaching mildneſs; attention to complaints; an ear to the friends of innovation; a protection of arts, and literature, and philoſophy; not an inſtruction to enlighten; not a call to teach the ignorant; not a wiſh to ſoften power into perſuaſion, or to change the ſtern dictates of authority

for the mild voice of humanity and feeling. NO: this great abomination demands other ſentiments; and ought to generate (for the real felicity of the human race) a tighter reign in the jaws of that monſter, the worſt and moſt hideous caricature of human depravity, the metaphyſical, philoſophical, atheiſtical, Jacobin republican;—abhorred for ever, for holding out to all the ſovereigns of the earth, that the only prince who ever voluntarily placed bounds to his own power—DIED FOR IT ON THE SCAFFOLD, and ruined his people while he deſtroyed himſelf. He gave ear to thoſe who told him of abuſes; he wiſhed to *eaſe* his people; he ſought popularity; he allowed the liberty of the preſs, and would not reſtrain even its licentiouſneſs; he cheriſhed the arts, to produce a David; and nouriſhed, in the boſom of protected ſcience, a Condorcet *; he would not ſhed the blood of traitors, conſpirators, and rebels †; he liſtened to thoſe who

* That is to ſay, the virtuous meritorious character, of whom we have peers who have publicly declared themſelves *proud of his correſpondence*. Let thoſe, who would wiſh to know him well, read his character in *La Methrie Journal Phyſique*, and the memoirs of the aſſaſſination of the Duke de la Rochefoucauld.

† And this humanity called on his memory the abominably unfeeling remark, which I have ſomewhere read, in the regiſter, I ſuppoſe, of ſome night cellar, that *the phyſical pain he ſuffered in his execution was leſs than the ſlow torments of La Fayette*. Did the *innocent* Louis declare that *inſurrection*, by which they both fell, to be

who petitioned for a REFORM.—We also have thoſe who demand a REFORM—and when the legiſlature of this kingdom, unwarned by this great example, ſhall liſten to the doctrines that have drenched France with blood, we alſo may ſee ſpectacles too horrid now to think of; did not the late tragedy tell us, that no iniquity is too black for republican reformation.

This damned event, deep written in the characters of hell, has thrown a ſtupor over mankind: when the princes and legiſlators of the world recover from it, the obſervation of Machiavelli, will not probably be forgotten: *Perchè con pochiſſimi eſſempi ſarai più pietoſo, che quelli li quali per troppa pietà laſciano ſeguire i diſordini onde naſchino occiſioni o rapine.*

It is well enough amongſt men, who never ſee a remote cauſe, when an immediate one is before them, to attribute this deep ſtain in human annals to the butchers who are in the Convention; in like manner the ambition of Cromwell was the direct cauſe of the death of Charles I.: but theſe are not the firſt cauſes; they are rather the natural reſult

be *the moſt ſacred of duties?* And are the children of the author of that ſentiment clinging to the knees of a father leading to execution? The more Jacobiniſm we read, the more amiable it appears.

of preceding events. It is not Roberſpiere and Egalité that have murdered Louis, it was Necker with his *double tiers*; it is PERSONAL REPRESENTATION to which this horrible crime, preceded (and which will be followed) by ſo many others, is alone to be attributed. And ſhould ever ſimilar deeds again blot the national character of this kingdom, it is not the wretches who ſhall form ſome diſtant convention of anarchy, to whom the miſchief ſhould be attributed, but to our REFORMERS; to our Jacobin advocates for *improving* our repreſentation; for doing that here which has deluged France in her beſt blood. Such is perſonal repreſentation; ſuch is the ſovereign will of a mob; ſuch is the majeſty of the people; ſuch is liberty, when founded on Equality and Rights of Man! Repreſentation deſtroys itſelf; and generates, with infallible certainty, an oligarchy of mobbiſh demagogues, till, of all other voices, that leaſt heard is the real will of the people: 280 voices declare the will of 745 in the legiſlature; and 11,000 voices in Paris are the organ of 150,000 voters!!! Bad as you may make rotten boroughs, are they as bad as this?

"Hereditary legiſlators," ſays Paine, "are as abſurd as hereditary wiſe men; and as ridiculous as an hereditary poet-laureat." You ſhall make them

them juſt what you pleaſe, provided you do not open the door of a convention: What are REPRESENTATIVES, ELECTED BY THE GENERAL SUFFRAGE OF A NATION? Of what is the preſent Convention of France compoſed? Of the loweſt, pooreſt, moſt profligate, and moſt worthleſs of the people—of the ſcum of gaols, of their gallies, and of our hulks —of robbers, and cut-throats, without character, without fortune, without a hope under any ſyſtem but that of anarchy—and of perſons of a deſcription not quite ſo low, but of characters, if poſſible, more blaſted than thoſe of butchers or taylors can be. What is Condorcet, Paine, Briſſot, Rabbeau!!! What are they but men who prove, that ſome education, ſome knowledge, ſome talents, are neceſſary to ſink mankind into its loweſt and baſeſt ſtate of depreſſion and guilt? Who can doubt of our having men of all theſe deſcriptions in England? Some have been ſedulous to regiſter their names on the tablets of that Convention.—Empty our gaols—ſtop the ſhips that are ſailing to Botany Bay—and who can queſtion that, with the aſſiſtance of our reforming ſocieties, we could form a Britiſh Convention, that might rival in merit the Aſſembly at Paris? Men in ſufficient numbers might be found, and of ſufficient poverty, who would conſider a ſeat in a National Convention of England, with boundleſs power to

rob and murder, as the conſummation of human happineſs. CAN SUCH MEN BE FRIENDS TO THE PRESENT WAR? No, aſſuredly. It blots their proſpects—it brings perdition to their hopes. Powerfully as they are inſtigated to deprecate a war—juſt in that degree are all honeſt men, the friends of law and order, bound to bleſs the wiſdom of government, that has awakened to the dangers that threatened us, and taken the effectual means of WAR to ſecure to us our houſes, our properties and eſtates, our laws, our religion, and our lives. A war in ſuch a cauſe, founded in ſuch motives, was never before a queſtion in Britain. Will you have a municipality in your hall, and a pike in your boſom, with what ſome men call peace? or will you keep French aſſaſſins at a diſtance, and Engliſh Jacobins amenable to Engliſh law, by a WAR?

To return from this digreſſion—the abſolute nonſenſe of all that Paine ſays on the diſtinct natures of a conſtitution and a government, applied not to a fœderation of independent republics as America, but confounded, as he confounds it with the new conſtitution of France, was glorioufly exemplified in the National Aſſembly, (which was the *government)* deſtroying the conſtitution; demanding of the people (that is of anarchy) to make a new one. Here the fact clearly is,

that

that an equal repreſentation, ſitting in one houſe, and in a great city, had the power to deſtroy a conſtitution eſtabliſhed and ſworn to by all France; and the concluſion is, that, let the next conſtitution be what it may, it will be equally in the power of the government of the day, aſſembling at Paris, to deſtroy that alſo.

An argument I have heard much urged is this—that ſomething ſhould be granted to moderate men, in order to ſeparate them from the *republican* party. It is urged, that the obſtinacy of the legiſlature, granting nothing, drives moderate men to aſſociate with others not equally moderate in their views; but if a temperate reform were to be effected, or even commenced by the legiſlature, all who are at preſent with reaſon diſcontented, would be detached from the reformers, and the violent party would ſink for want of notice.

In replying to this common objection, I do not mean to aſſert, that all innovation ſhould always be rejected; I would only bring to the recollection of moderate men certain circumſtances which it is fair to weigh.

The clubs, aſſociations, and ſocieties, who aſſemble with views of enforcing reformation, on certain plans projected by various writers, ſome

moderate, ſome violent, have publiſhed repeatedly to the world the principles on which they would found the national freedom, and the multifarious changes they would make in the conſtitution; theſe very generally go to great lengths. While imaginations are heated by the example of France; while the moſt unlimited panegyric is profuſely laviſhed on the Revolution; while the demands made are of a nature that threaten the entire overthrow of our government; while thoſe Rights of Man, which have deluged France in blood, are openly profeſſed as leading principles in the improvements called for here, it may ſurely be admitted in candour, as a fair reply to the moderate—that to give a little, when a great deal is demanded, does not ſeem the way to quiet clamour; and when, by a thouſand publications and reſolutions, it is declared, that PERSONAL REPRESENTATION is the penacea for all our evils (though under a hundred various names), and demanded even with threats and menaces, it muſt be palpable to every conſiderate man, that ſmall conceſſions to ſatisfy the moderate would be loſt in the agitation of the moment—deſpiſed as the conceſſions of timidity, wreſted from fear, not granted by conviction. They would be made a vantage ground for new demands; and clamour, inſtead of being ſilenced, would vociferate with renewed vigour.

All

All demands, therefore, that come under the theory or practice of perſonal repreſentation, ſhould be reſiſted, on principle, with firmneſs; and a determined reſolution never to take that firſt ſtep to anarchy, confuſion, bloodſhed, and Jacobiniſm, which, in one word, ſums up all that is atrocious in political depravity. This ought to be conſidered as the only line of demarcation clearly defined, that ſeparates moderation of ſentiment from inſanity of innovation.

"When the right," ſays Paine, "to make a conſtitution is eſtabliſhed in a nation, there is no fear that it will be employed to its own injury. A nation can have no intereſt in being wrong." But here, as in every page of his work, the practice of France is the reply to the theory of his ſedition. That kingdom *eſtabliſhed* ſuch right; and what was the conſequence? Why it proved no more than the right to cut her own throat. It was employed to much more than her injury, for it was employed to her utter deſtruction. That a nation can have no intereſt in being wrong, is a trueiſm; but in contradiction to her own intereſt, ſhe choſe never to be right. What is the force and worth of ſuch a writer's eternal ſtrings of aſſertion, when brought to the teſt of French experiment!

The

The principle of our conſtitution is the repreſentation of property; imperfectly in theory, but efficiently in practice; by means of apparent defects, but which, perhaps, are diſguiſed merits, the great maſs of property, both landed, monied, and commercial, finds itſelf repreſented; and that the evils of ſuch repreſentation are trivial, will appear from the eaſe, happineſs, and ſecurity of all the lower claſſes, hence poſſibly virtual repreſentation takes place, even where the real ſeems moſt remote.

If virtual repreſentation is good, would not real repreſentation be better?—No, replies experiment; it has been tried in France, and failed entirely; real perſonal repreſentation is not a people well governed, but the government of the people; that is to ſay, anarchy and ruin. If parliamens acts from the immediate impulſe of the people and it can act no otherwiſe with perſonal repreſentation, the wiſdom of the community is governed by the folly of it. While experience gives the living and energic ſanction to this principle, in the cleareſt and moſt unqueſtioned proſperity that any nation ever yet enjoyed, would it not be inſanity to riſk this fair inheritance, this rich poſſeſſion, on the crude deductions of new theories; on ſuppoſitious improvement; ideal benefits, and ſpeculative reformation? Yet this is pleaded for by the

advocates

advocates for Rights of Man. On grounds of ſuch pure theory, a prudent farmer would not change the culture of a turnip field; yet theſe reformers, on no better foundation, call for alterations in a government that has given proſperity to a great empire.

It is ſaid, that *every commoner in England, who does not vote for a member of parliament, is a ſlave, becauſe they are governed by rulers whom other men have ſet over them* *. The French were exactly of the ſame opinion—they adopted this theory—and it became in *practice*—what?—*There are*, ſays the ſame writer, *in England, one million two hundred and eighty thouſand male ſlaves**. So acute a calculator ſhould tell us how many ſlaves there are in France; he may firſt count all except the Convention, and when he enters the holy temple of that virtuous aſſembly, he may aſk which are the maſters, the members who obey, or the tribunes who command?

Nor let us forget that theſe men have been equal friends to the French Revolution from the beginning, and they are ſteadily ſo at this moment; under the Conſtituent Aſſembly, they approved, and publiſhed panegyrics on the annihilation of orders: under the next aſſembly, they re-

* *The People's Barrier*, page 11.

joiced

joiced at the demolition of royalty; and under the Convention, all the horrors we have ſeen are inſufficient to remove their approbation. Does not this conduct prove clearly, that when theſe politicians tell us they mean, and wiſh moderate and temperate reform only, they inſult our underſtandings? If they really deſired any thing ſhort of the total overthrow of our government, would they continue to enliſt, to ſpeak, and to write, under Jacobin banners? Would they exalt the deſtruction of the old government of France, as the greateſt event of hiſtory? Would they glory in French events, effected as they have been by proſcriptions and maſſacre? You want only temperate reform—I will tell you what you want, by the company you keep—if you are a party in aſſociations, you want THAT for which thoſe aſſociations combine—if you call for perſonal repreſentation, you call for THAT which perſonal repreſentation has given to France—if you demand a popular Aſſembly, ſubjected to popular phrenzy, you demand the effects which ſuch an Aſſembly produced with our neighbours. You would go only certain lengths—but you herd with thoſe, and give them your countenance who you know would puſh events much further; have we not, therefore, reaſon for judging directly from your actions, that you *mean* more than you think political to *avow?*

It is curious to remark the conduct of certain men, calling themſelves moderate, who make the tour of reforming ſocieties, but quit them when they *go too far*. There are ſuch now clamorous amongſt the *Friends of the People*, who have ſtruck their names out of the *Conſtitutional Society*, as they found its views too bold: this is the exact miniature of a Revolution; the firſt inſtigators want, perhaps, a moderate reform of abuſes, and when their companions drive at more, they ſeparate; but ſuch companions do not ſtop their purſuit for want of moderate men, who, by their countenance, brought the ill-deſigning into conſequence, and it is then no longer in their power to ſuppreſs them. Thus the *Conſtitutional Society*, though quitted by the reſpectable, were not therefore ſilent, but at the bar of the Convention of France, hail the coming Convention of England: the men who quitted the Conſtitutional Society will quit the *friends of the people*: when they have nurſed up the miſchievous into a ſociety of importance, they will be driven out if they refuſe to go all lengths, and will find that the only reſult, of their moderate views, has been to promote, and bring into efficacy, the immoderate deſigns of thoſe who think our conſtitution the temple of Dagon; and that to level it in the duſt is a duty, in order that out of its ruins may ariſe the "heavenly form" and "delightful viſion" of a French Convention. What is the concluſion?—

That

That the firſt lines of diſcontent are in fact the moſt dangerous; that moderate reform, or any reform at all, *on principle*, is a ſure ſtep to all that followed reform in France; Jacobiniſm, anarchy, and blood.

The preſent anxiety, real or pretended, for the true *principles*, *purity*, and *ſpirit* of the conſtitution, is an extraordinary proof how far imaginary evils can prevail amidſt real bleſſings. The people are free, but they are anxious to know the principles of their freedom: they are happy, but they muſt know in what conſiſts the ſpirit of their happineſs: they are ſecure, but they muſt have their ſecurity analized. Do they find that their bread fails to nouriſh them, becauſe they do not underſtand the diſtinct qualities of its conſtituent parts—its ſtarch, its ſaccharine, and its glutinous particles? Does roaſt beef loſe its nutritive qualities, becauſe they know not the hidden operation by which graſs is converted, through the chemiſtry of nature, into the fleſh of an ox? There are men, in every poliſhed ſociety, whoſe education, fortune, habits, and ſtudies, enable them, by long and diffiult experiments, to bring to light the hidden works of nature; but it would be folly to imagine that the maſs of mankind can make themſelves maſters of ſuch knowledge: yet this is eaſier to acquire, than to underſtand the difficult ma-

chinery

chinery of a complex government. Liberty may be the general reſult, and felt by the moſt ignorant of the people; but to know what are the effects of every movement; what would be the reſult of withdrawing a wheel, or of adding a ſpring; in what manner the general harmony would be affected; theſe are inquiries to which the maſs of mankind are abſolutely inadequate. The beſt informed and moſt enlightened perſons vary in their opinions; a proof that experiment is the only ſure guide:—but to extract from hiſtory thoſe facts that bear upon the queſtion—to ſeparate theory from practice—and to draw from experience the caſes that are in point—is a buſineſs which demands education to inſtruct, and leiſure to reflect. The important queſtion is not, who *are* fitted for the inquiry? but, who *are not?* and it is ſimply impoſſible that the people ſhould be ſo. It would be abſurd to ſuppoſe, that the town of Nottingham can produce 2500 men fitted for ſuch inquiries; who, demanding changes in the conſtitution, can know what the effect of thoſe changes would be. It is palpable, therefore, at the firſt ſight, from their mere number, that they petition for they know not what. *Yes; we know well that we are not repreſented, and we want to be ſo.* Was your father repreſented? *No.* Was your grandfather repreſented? *No.* Were any of your anceſtors repreſented? *No.* Why, then, you demand a novelty

velty: you demand that people ſhould be repreſented, who never were repreſented. That is a change in the government. Do you know what would be the reſult of that change? *No.* Why then go home and make ſtockings, but do not pretend to fabricate governments *.

* Methinks I hear a reformer, of a higher claſs, and therefore more miſchievous, exclaim—*A pretty dialogue! why is* no *put in his mouth? He might have anſwered yes: I know well the reſult; corruption would be baniſhed from the conſtitution.* But the anſwer to this gentleman reformer is juſt as deciſive. If he baniſh ſomething, it implies that that ſomething at preſent exiſts in the conſtitution; and it cannot exiſt in it, without being a part of it; it may be a bad part, but it is a part. Thus you take from a complex machinery a wheel:—Do you know how the machine will *go* when that wheel is removed? what is the anſwer but THEORY?—In comparing the conſtitution to a machine that has *gone* well for an hundred years, perhaps it is indifferent whether *influence* (which theſe reformers call corruption, and they might call it adultery with as much truth) be termed the oil or the duſt of the machine, for if it has gone well for a century, and ſeems, while certain wheels are half covered with duſt, to go better than formerly; I would no more allow the duſt to be bruſhed away, than I would permit the oil to be removed. I might perhaps conclude, that the engineer had made an error in calculating the delivery of the oil, which the duſt corrected; and the *going* of the machine would never fail to tell me when it wanted cleaning. Influence, however, is not the duſt, but the oil of the machine. The conſtitution never went for a moment without influence; and to remove it would be taking away the oil which has given a century of ſmoothneſs. And may not the obſervation be applied with double force, when I ſee a neighbour who has been ſo buſy in bruſhing, and cleaning, and oiling, and taking ſprings out, and putting wheels into his machine, that the whole is tumbled about his ears?

" For

"For ſome time after the ſettlement of the Saxons in England, their ſlaves were in the ſame circumſtances with their horſes, oxen, cows, and ſheep, except that it was not faſhionable to kill and eat them. The truth is, theſe unhappy men could not ſo much as call their lives their own, for theſe might have been taken from them by their maſters, with perfect impunity, and by any other perſon, for paying their price to their owners." *Henry*, vol. iii. p. 332. Now I would wiſh to know, whether theſe petitioners for reſtoring the conſtitution to its original purity (which purity is explained by ſo many reformers to allude to Saxon times) are deſirous of exchanging their preſent liberty under George III. for that which their anceſtors enjoyed, under the Etheldreds and Ethelwolfs of Saxon dynaſties? The ſituation, rights, privileges, and enjoyments of Engliſh free-men, are inſufficient;—They count, among the one million, two hundred and eighty thouſand ſlaves, regiſtered by a reformer, and therefore they deſire to go back to the pure diſpenſations of Saxon equality, when he who knocked the poor people on the head, paid the fine of ſo many buſhels of wheat, provided they belonged not to him. This is literally and correctly the demand of thoſe workmen and labouring poor, who now aſk for the original purity, principles, or ſpirit of the Engliſh Conſtitution. Not contented with roaſt

beef, they petition for a Saxon cudgel on their backs; and indeed the object of their deſires would be not ill adapted to their deſerts. The lower the claſſes are in ſociety at preſent, the leſs reaſon have they to be diſſatisfied; and the more prepoſterous are their complaints relative to any original purity of government, not enjoyed by them at preſent. The anceſtors of men in the higher claſſes might poſſibly have been more free; or, if not more free themſelves, at leaſt had more power over all below them; but as to the lower orders of ſociety at preſent, their anceſtors muſt either have been in a better ſituation, loſt by their own folly (an evil no government can cure), or in as mean a one in ancient times; in which caſe they were the ſlaves, villains, and bondmen of land-proprietors: at all events, therefore, the working poor of this age have the leaſt poſſible reaſon for complaint, *on this principle of reaſoning and compariſon.*

The revolutions that have changed the relative poſition of families, in the long courſe of eight hundred or a thouſand years, have been ſo great, that there are now very few land proprietors, whoſe anceſtors were Saxon Thanes: the great maſs of all the higher claſſes of ſociety at preſent, are probably deſcended from the villains and ſlaves of that period, or from emigrants from the reſt of Europe.

Europe. And we may firmly aſſert, without apprehenſion of a rational contradiction, that (comparing the preſent age with any preceding one) there is not a ſingle claſs, order, or ſet of men (country gentlemen of ſmall eſtates alone exeepted) who are not in a better ſituation at this moment, than their anceſtors at any former periods. And if the compariſon be made between this age, and the early ones of our conſtitution, that is, the time of the Saxons, or the three firſt centuries after the conqueſt, no claſs whatever have experienced ſo great an amelioration as that of the labouring poor, of whatever denomination; as might eaſily be ſhewn, were this the proper place for it; for the other claſſes were *free* in thoſe early ages, but theſe were SLAVES.

If any attempts, at ſo perilous a ſeaſon, to reform the conſtitution, muſt be attended with ſuch unqueſtionable danger, reaſoning as we may juſtly do on the experiment of France, it will follow, that EVERY INTEREST in this kingdom is bound to reſiſt, with the utmoſt ſolicitude, ſuch miſchievous projects, the execution of which amongſt our neignbours, has deluged a great kingdom with univerſal ruin.

THE LANDED INTEREST is immediately and moſt eſſentially concerned; for the poiſon of

equality in principle, and in French practice, tends directly to their ruin: the fate of landlords, in France, is too well known to want repetition; their eſtates ſeized; their chateaus plundered and burnt; their wives and daughters violated; and themſelves either murdered or driven into exile; and this to an almoſt incredible extent. I have ſeen details which ſhew that the landed property of more than half the kingdom has changed hands. The farmers have not much more to boaſt of, for they have paid dearly for their exemption from tithes in the violent attacks made on the ſize of farms and conſequent diviſion; the hard ſilver which, under the *old* government, was the price of their products, is become paper depreciated to half its value under the *new*; and even this wretched ſubſtitute they are not allowed to receive at a fair market; their treatment in this reſpect has been already detailed; out-voted, and conſequently cheated in taxation; at market plundered by the mob; at home plundered by the military. Are theſe facts to make our Engliſh yeomanry and farmers wiſh to try their ſkill at mending the conſtitution? Are they calculated to give us any reſpect for clubs and ſocieties, whoſe object is the reform of that conſtitution which has rendered our ſituation directly the reverſe of France? Do ſuch facts give us reaſon to love the men who want to convert your plough-ſhares into pikes, and your coulters into daggers?

daggers? Who would recommend you to change your ſickles for the ſabres of a company of patriot contractors? Gentlemen who have ſhewn themſelves exceedingly adroit in cutting down fields of French corn. I wiſh you to make experiments in huſbandry, but do not let them be of this complexion: do not let other men, and eſpecially reformers, make experiments on your property, your bread, and your blood; three objects upon which many experiments have been tried in France, and we have ſeen that the ſucceſs has not been ſuch as gives us reaſon to try our hands at the ſame work: for, in one word, their property is gone; for bread they have the bark of trees; and as to blood, it is the only manure the fields of France have ſeen from the firſt moment ſhe liſtened to reformers. Is ſhe then to us an example or a warning?

Traders and manufacturers can preſently convert their wealth into money, and fly with it on paper wings wherever property remains ſecure; but the farmer is chained to a ſpot; his property is inveſted in the ſoil he cultivates; he has no power of movement, but muſt abide the beating of the ſtorm, be it pitileſs as it may.—To him, therefore, the new fangled doctrines of equality ought to appear in all their native deformity; for they are doctrines that tend directly to his deſtruction; and from whoſe peſtilential influence he cannot, like others, fly.

THE MONIED INTEREST, in moments of convulſion, have ſome advantages, from the more portable nature of their wealth; but the warning of France may inſtruct, that nothing can eſcape the depredations flowing from the Rights of Man. Their national debt, amounting to 300 millions ſterling, has been treated not altogether with the delicacy ſhewn to the public creditors of England, for every ſort of bankruptcy, but a nominal and declared one, has been committed; and the intereſt on funds and mortgages paid, has been in aſſignats: if a man ſells ſtock, he receives aſſignats; and though aſſignats are portable, what is their value on the exchange of London, or the Stadthouſe at Amſterdam * ?—Of ninety millions ſterling

* The aſtoniſhing and daily coinage of aſſignats, by the Convention, muſt have effects which they do not ſeem clearly to foreſee; from their readineſs to iſſue paper, it ſhould ſeem that they expect a poſſible continuance of the ſame facility, but in this they will certainly find themſelves deceived. The amount in circulation much exceeds what is known. The number of forgers of falſe aſſignats, now in their gaols, proves this fact; but the great deluge is not by men within their power. The Princes, the Duke of Brunſwick, and all the enemies of France in every place they came to, left in circulation immenſe quantities: and what is ſtill worſe, their own ſucceſſes in Flanders, and on the Rhine, had the ſame effect; no town was taken that was not well provided: though depreciated, this currency made good plunder for ſoldiers, who were hardly at the trouble of plundering in order to procure it. This exceſſive introduction was probably the reaſon for the countrymen abſolutely rèfuſing to take them. Dans le Belgique, les habitans des campagnes ne veulent pas recevoir d'aſſignats;

ling of former currency, eighteen-twentieths have diſappeared. The monied men have, therefore, loſt ſtock and caſh; the want of credit has followed; ſo without funds, credit, or caſh, and nothing ſeen in the immenſe vacuity but aſſignats, the monied intereſt of France muſt flouriſh marvellouſly. Is there any thing in this picture that ſhould make the monied intereſt of England fond of revolutions?

Unite theſe circumſtances with the horrible deficiency of the preſent year's revenue; the expence they are at in hard caſh, for purchaſing foreign corn, to prevent their ſtarving; the immenſe efforts they muſt make for the next campaign; the growing habit of the people not to pay taxes; and the univerſal decline of both manufactures and commerce; it muſt then be apparent to every eye that their gaſconading decree of war againſt the conſtitu-

d'aſſignats; ce diſcredit vient de ce que les emigrés en ont repandu un multitude de faux. Monit. Dec. 14.——They have their own *conventional* forgeries as well as others, for it is a curious circumſtance, that the new aſſignats are iſſued without being numbered, and conſequently may be by *milliards* inſtead of millions: this has been aſſerted in the Convention, and yet uncontradicted. Of the ſame complexion is the fact, that in the Moniteur, the National Gazette, the price of the louis d'or in aſſignats has not been publiſhed for ſome months paſt, which was always regularly done before.——Debt reported by Chabot, Monit. 3d March, 8,034,898,980 liv.—Intereſt, 367,844,949 liv.—Arrears of taxes, according to Claviere, 647,827,896 liv.

tions of all their neighbours, is an effort of deſpair. Should rebellions fail them—ſhould they miſs the ſafety which Paine beſpoke for them—" when France ſhall be ſurrounded with Revolutions, ſhe will be in peace and ſafety"—they will find internal ruin of every ſort diſſeminating too faſt to be ſupported—the people will find themſelves in a ſituation helpleſs, proportioned to their ſucceſs; for their paper, on the frontier, is not of half the value it bears in the interior of the kingdom. This is their real ſource of weakneſs, and it is abſolutely irremediable; nor will the farmers continue to cultivate the ground for more than the phyſical neceſſaries of their families, if paid only in a currency continually depreciated—annual famines enſue; in a word, the ſeeds of ruin lie ſcattered ſo thickly, that the moſt careleſs attention muſt recognize them. The nation, feeling ſeverely that equality means but equal miſery, and that the Rights of Man produce only the right to be ſtaved, will revolt, and call in their lawful ſovereign as the beſt and readieſt mean of ſafety.

Paine is fond of running parallels, and ſo are moſt men of genius; but he is rarely happy in them:—" The generality of the people in America," ſays he, " eſpecially the poor, are more able to pay taxes than the generality of people either in France or England." And he unites with

with this, the " cruelty" of a civil liſt of a million ſterling, which he compares with the civil liſt of America, which is only 300,000 dollars. One muſt ſearch many writers with talents to find one who can compreſs ſuch multitudes of falſehoods and blunders into the ſame ſpace with this captain-general of mountebanks.

The ability to pay taxes does not depend on a people being at their eaſe—that is, having few or no indigent poor. This aſſertion will ſeem a paradox to the ignorant only. That ability depends on the quantity, number, and rapidity of *money exchanges*; in other words, on CONCENTRATED CIRCULATION. The eaſe, the plenty, and happineſs of the people having nothing to do in this buſineſs; for give a man a thouſand acres of rich land, which produces beef, mutton, pork, wheat, wool, hemp, flax, &c. to profuſion; let the family that poſſeſs it live in the utmoſt conceivable plenty, there does not reſult from this outline the capability of paying one ſhilling of taxes. Even taxes on ſolid property, like land-taxes, muſt be paid by *caſh in circulation:* land does not pay a land-tax, but *money*. It is not, therefore, the *eaſe* of the people that enables them to pay, but the *money* ſuperfluity that goes beyond that eaſe. In the conſumption of a thouſand pound's-worth of products forming the eaſe, the phyſical " ability," mentioned

mentioned by Paine, what is the taxable amount? Poſſibly not a penny beyond the conſumption of foreign wine, coffee, ſpices, &c. I uſed the expreſſion *concentrated* circulation; America, if ſhe wanted heavy taxes, would feel what it means: let a ſettler in the woods, two hundred miles from a city, ſell his hemp or his wool to a ſtore-keeper for money, there is a ſtep in circulation where the State might levy a tax; but in a wild country it would coſt ten times more to levy it than the tax would be worth. We know what diſtilleries are in the Highlands of Scotland; the Americans have that tax alſo, but they can levy it in peopled diſtricts only; nay, there are diſtricts in America, where the land-tax will not pay for the collecting!! It would be eaſy to purſue theſe obſervations to demonſtration; and to ſhew, that the reverſe of his propoſition is true, and that the people of England and of France (before the Revolution, for nothing ſince has circulated but blood and rapine) are infinitely more able to pay taxes than thoſe of America, for this plain reaſon, that they have a circulation infinitely more rapid.

When I conſider the boundleſs wealth of this kingdom; its enormous conſumption; its rapid circulation of 40 millions ſterling, in gold and ſilver, and of paper to an infinitely greater amount; its exportation and importation, which, if valued truly

truly, would exceed 50 millions ſterling; the facilities of movement, exchange, transfer, of life, if I may uſe the expreſſion, ariſing from the ſize of our cities, and the maſs of our circulation; I ſhould think it a moderate calculation to ſay, that, in caſe of any unforeſeen emergency of the ſtate, that called for ſome great exertion, it would be eaſier to raiſe, by taxation, in Great Britain, five pounds a head on the people, than it would be to raiſe 5s. a head in America: for in taxation, ſpeaking at large of a nation, the quantum *paid* is not ſo much the object to regard, asthe quantum *left* after taxes are paid. Suppoſe the people of one country pay 20s. a head, and the people of another country 40s. (not very far from the fact of England and France)—what does this prove? Juſt nothing. What is left in their pockets after the tax is paid? There is the inquiry; and in the Engliſhman's pocket you will find a purſe of guineas and ſhillings*; in the Frenchman's, the *maladie de la poche*, vacuity. Perhaps the happieſt and moſt enviable people in America, the *comfortable* freeholder, in the back country, is, of all the men in Europe or America, the one leaſt able to pay taxes. What do I deduce from this?

* The maſs of our taxes is not ſo great an evil as their inequality; the burthens paid by a country gentleman, of ſmall eſtate, are hideous, and leave him, like the Frenchman, with empty pockets.

That

That the compariſon of the Engliſh civil liſt of 898,468l. *, amounting to 1s. 7½d. a head, is not at all unreaſonable, when compared with the American civil liſt of 300,000 dollars (66,000), or 5½d. a head. But no compariſon can be drawn juſtly, between a new country that did not form itſelf and an old one that did, and now pays the expence of forming that new one. Let the American account be charged with the expence of the war of 1756, or one hundred millions, and then compare taxation.

" I ſee, in America, the generality of people living in a ſtile of plenty unknown in monarchical countries." Hence the plenty of America, and the poverty of Europe, are derived, the one from the abſence, the other from the preſence of a king! What a politician! A million of ſquare miles, of unoccupied fertile land, which precludes the exiſtence of an indigent poor, is not the cauſe of this plenty; it is entirely ariſing from the want of *metaphors* in America, *ſhewn for ſixpence or a ſhilling!*

" The hordes of miſerable poor, with which old countries abound, are the conſequence of what, in ſuch countries, is called government." Here again he makes government the cauſe of poverty;

* Sir John Sinclair's Hiſtory of the Public Revenue, vol. ii. p. 76.

and

and, in a hundred paſſages, he makes repreſentation its cure; but, unfortunately for his argument, there are poor, and even ſlaves, in America; and no country upon which the ſun ſhines is ſtruck with more poverty than France. Suppoſe all the taxes under an old government annihilated (which has been pretty much the caſe in France), would the poor become rich? Do the *poor* pay the bulk of taxes? The poor in France now pay *no* taxes; do they grow rich in conſequence? or are they ſtarved, and driven to deſtroy their children, rather than truſt them to the mercies of repreſentative government?

THE COMMERCIAL INTEREST of France has been completely laid in the duſt. Her colonies, by far the greateſt ſource of her trade, have been totally ruined. Equality and the Rights of Man have, to the ſugar of America, been as propitious as to the wheat of France. Aſſignats ſtruck with a palſy all the imports of the kingdom, and her exports, after the deſtruction of St. Domingo, were a handful. The horrible convulſions in the great towns, drove the merchants and maſter-manufacturers, with the remnant of their wealth, into other countries, or ſunk them in ruin at home.

We have been told, indeed, with ſome degree of confidence, that the French fabrics are not at preſent

preſent in ſuch a ſtate of depreſſion as ſome have repreſented. As I have very late intelligence from that kingdom, and on which I can rely, I may venture to aſſert with confidence, and I could confirm it, by referring to many repreſentations made to government by the municipalities of the manufacturing towns, that every fabric wrought from foreign materials, ſuch as the whole buſineſs at Lyons, and a conſiderable portion of the woollen fabrics, are in abſolute ruin; the maſters and undertakers, bankrupts, or fled; and the workmen begging in the ſtreets, ſubſiſting by charity, or wandering vagabond banditti—the *brigands* that infeſt the country, endeavouring to wring from the peaſantry a portion of that bread they are unable fairly to earn; ſuch is the lot which the new doctrines of equality have produced for Lyons, the ſecond city in France, as well as numerous other places that once were flouriſhing. The governing party in ſuch towns have nothing to give the people, but the flattery of equal rights; they ſtarve on equality, till the number in the ſame deſperate ſituation becomes great enough for their *ſacred duty* of inſurrection; then they riſe, knock their governors on the head, and are themſelves *elected* into their places; but this cures the evil ſcarcely for one in a thouſand; the maſs remains ſtill poor; and muſt neceſſarily remain ſo, for ſuch convulſions do not re-eſtabliſh manufactures:

knocking

knocking brains out does not ſet looms a going; nor does the exerciſe of the pike, in the body of a mayor and his aldermen, bring Italian ſilk to Lyons, or Spaniſh wool to Louviers.

In the manufacturing towns which work up native commodities, the miſery is not equally great, becauſe there is ſome employment that ſtirs; but let us examine a little more cloſely the nature of this circulation. I am informed, and common ſenſe will tell one it muſt be ſo, that the only motive which induces maſter manufacturers to continue their buſineſs is that of *getting rid of aſſignats*; they ſold their ſtock in trade when paper was a better commodity, and accumulating, by degrees, what grew every day worſe and worſe, alarm incited them to do any thing rather than keep in their poſſeſſion ſuch a depreciated currency; dreading the inevitable moment when it would be worth nothing, they feared to keep what a breath might diſſipate; they regarded it as an object of terror, and employed their workmen to get rid of what they knew carried a value merely nominal; and paid readily what they kept inſecurely.

There is a paſſage in Swift's Drapier's Letters, which accounts fully for gold and ſilver ſo abſolutely diſappearing in France; I change only *Wood's pence for aſſignats*.—" For my own part I

am

am already reſolved what to do; I have a pretty good ſhop of ſtuffs and ſilks, and inſtead of taking *aſſignats*, I intend to truck with my neighbours, the butcher, and baker, and brewer, and the reſt, goods for goods; and the little gold and ſilver I have, I WILL KEEP BY ME LIKE MY HEART'S BLOOD, TILL BETTER TIMES, till I am juſt ready to ſtarve, and then I will buy *aſſignats*."

Turn your eyes from France to view the commercial ſtate of England. Contemplate the immenſe—language cannot ſwell beyond the magnitude of reality—the gigantic fabric reared on the induſtry of this kingdom: throw into one vaſt amount, the public funds—the paper circulation of every ſpecies—the gold and ſilver, whether money or plate—the manufacturing eſtabliſhments that have raiſed new cities, as it were by enchantment—the capitals inveſted in roads, canals, and other public works—the ſhipping, magazines, and mercantile wealth of a thouſand kinds, and ſpread throughout the globe. How would this enormous total, which, in England, has been nurſed to maturity by the fond tenderneſs of parental protection—how would it ſupport the ſtorm which the Rights of Man have kindled in France? Mortal would be the blow. To touch on ſuch a ſuppoſition is enough; every reader can picture the univerſal ſcene of ruin that would blot ſo fair a canvas.

But

But how has this prodigious capital, riſing much above five hundred millions ſterling, been formed? BY THE SECURITY WHICH THE BRITISH CONSTITUTION GIVES TO PROPERTY; not by equality, perſonal repreſentation, Rights of Man, Jacobiniſm, and the vile theories by which poor profligates, wanting to be rich rogues, become practical robbers. Such were not the paths of the commercial proſperity of Britain!

THE LABOURING INTEREST; the perſonal intereſt of the labouring poor has been attacked in an inſtance, the more remarkable as it was a ground of accuſation againſt the old government. Thoſe who recollect the complaints againſt it, on account of countrymen being enrolled for the militia, and conſequently liable to be called into ſervice, have probably read much, in the public prints, of the number of *volunteers*, which flock from all parts of France to the armies on the frontiers. Until theſe few days, I was ignorant and fooliſh enough to believe that theſe were *really* volunteers; but an Engliſh labourer, returning from a farm in France, to which I had ſent him, has explained to me the nature of this voluntary ſervice. All the men in the pariſh, able to ſerve, were enrolled, and then drew lots to ſee who ſhould go to form the number demanded; and,

though an Engliſhman, my informant himſelf drew. Such is the mode of calling forth VOLUNTEERS! ſo groſsly are we deceived by names, which under a ſemblance of freedom, cover the ſevereſt tyranny that can diſgrace a people, and preciſely in thoſe articles, which, under the old government, were made the ſubject of the loudeſt complaint. When we ſhall read in future of the *eagerneſs* with which citizens *fly* to the frontiers, *l'empreſſement avec lequel tous les citoyens volent aux frontiers*, we ſhall know what it means, May not ſuch wretches aſk, " What inducement has the farmer, while following the plough, to lay aſide his peaceful purſuits, and go to war with the farmer of another country* ?

At firſt ſight it ſhould appear that a Revolution in England, in favour of principles of equality, would be moſt favourable to the poor claſſes, the labouring part of the ſociety—and yet, perhaps, in fact, being ſtill governed by the experiment of France, there is no claſs in the ſtate, the great landed poſſeſſors alone excepted, to whom it would prove ſo completely miſchievous. There is every reaſon to have confidence in the honeſty, moral feelings, and good intentions of the great maſs of our lower and poorer claſſes, and to be rationally certain, that in caſe of general confuſion, like that

* Paine.

which

which has ruined France, they would abſolutely refuſe to become cut throats, blood hounds, and aſſaſſins: the maſs in France were honeſt alſo, but they were driven like ſheep by forward determined wretches, who, getting together in arms, ſeized on the power which they pretended to aſſign to the people; plunder followed this, and the great body of the nation found, dreadfully to their coſt, that they had only changed maſters; but this change, from a king to bands of ruffians, brought with it fruits of ſore digeſtion; money abſolutely diſappeared; the rich, who formerly gave employment, were hunted down and deſtroyed like wild beaſts; the convulſions of the moment baniſhed the rich merchants and manufacturers; EMPLOYMENT, which converted labour into bread, was dried up with the ſprings that fed it. Amidſt the mockery of pay, if the poor workman cannot eat his aſſignats he ſtarves—he has but one reſource—he dips them in blood; with pike in hand he attacks the corn deſtined to ſatisfy the hunger of others; and the tragedy, ſo often acted in that miſerable kingdom, is again performed, till equality ends, as every where elſe, in equality of ruin. "The manufacturers make nothing; nothing is bought; commerce is alive only in ſoldiers. I ſee nothing in trade but our imprudence and our blood. Nothing will ſoon be ſeen in France but miſery and paper *." This

* St. Juſt Monit. Dec 1

from the mouth of a Jacobin in the Convention! Can any doubt remain *?

Nov. 26, at the bar, the deputation from Loire and Eure tell the Convention: *The laws are without energy, and without vigour. The price of bread renders it inacceſſible to the poor.* MISERY IS AT ITS HEIGHT. *If the dearneſs continues, the greateſt misfortunes may be expected.* With troops marching about the country to force the farmers to ſell their corn *at half* the current price, and yet that half paid with aſſignats, nay, who ſeize it at any price. —" Illegal troops of men, in many departments, ſeize the corn in the markets, without paying for it †." " At Louviers 5 or 6000 workmen aroſe to

* The price of wheat now, in many of the departments, is 4l. 10s. a quarter Engliſh; but as that price is paid in aſſignats, men not well informed may imagine that the poor being themſelves paid in paper, might be proportionably able to buy; but the reverſe is the caſe; the paper, while it has raiſed the price of bread, has deſtroyed both manufactures and commerce, and is now attacking agriculture itſelf; the people are abſolutely without employment, and have no more the means to procure an aſſignat than a louis. This degree of miſery is not yet of a year ſtanding, for manufactures were active in ſome parts of France laſt ſpring (1792). The affairs of that kingdom demand an attention that never ſleeps, or we are ſure to be deceived. The operation of the paper-money has been very ſingular, for, to a certain period, it appeared to be beneficial; but *the line once paſſed*, every thing has been rapidly declining.

† The Miniſter of the Interior to the Convention, Nov. 28. Moniteur.

force

force the magiſtrates to go at their head, to ſeek corn in the granaries of the farmers. Laſt week, at Paſſy, they ſeized all that was in the market, while 600 others ſpread devaſtation through the foreſts *."

The ſtate of the roads (under the old government the envy of Europe) is ſuch as would alone, without other addition, very much impede the tranſport of corn, and add to the ſcarcity in many ſituations. I am informed, by a perſon who lately travelled acroſs the kingdom, that no repairs whatever have been done for three years paſt, and that he was informed, on inquiry, in ſeveral diſtricts, that the people abſolutely refuſed to contribute either money or labour to mend them. The miniſter of the interior, Jan. 6, complains to the Convention, that they are in a ſhocking ſtate of ruin; *dans un etat delabrument epouvantable.* In a ſtate of anarchy, the object of roads may be thought ſmall; but it ſhews, that in a point where the people themſelves are ſo intimately concerned, government for every purpoſe of doing good is abſolutely at an end, and that it remains for evil only. You aboliſh tithes, and feudal payments; the next ſtep is, the people will not pay the land-tax, and then will not repair the roads hat are for their own uſe. Such is the ſtate, and there are

* Monit. Jan. 9.

politicians in England who tell us, all will end well in France, as if it were poſſible to remedy ſuch evils by new experiments. The abſolute and unequivocal reſtoration of the old government, with terrors in its train, not the beneficence of Louis XVI. ſeems now to be the only remedy. IT WAS NOT THUS UNDER THE OLD GOVERNMENT; but they were not content. The next day the miniſter of the interior writes to the Convention, complaining of the Commons of Paris, *in the midſt of abundance we are ready to periſh with famine. Such is the fruit of eternal declamation to heat the people. Adminiſtration is neglected: it is all a horrible diſorder.* "Our food," ſays St. Juſt, "has diſappeared, in proportion as our liberty has extended *." There, in two words, is the evil and the cauſe. *The people triumph and ſuffer*, ſay the Jacobins, in their addreſs to their brother ſocieties, *during four years of miſery, and four months of continual outrages.* †

The deputation of the department of Loire and Cher, at the bar of the Convention, Nov. 26, declare an inſurrection of 25,000 men, on account of the high price of corn.—They aſſert, however, that there is corn enough in the country for a year, but the operations of the people, occaſion ſuch

* Moniteur, Dec. 1.

† *Lettres de Roberſpiere a ſes Commettans.* No. 8. 386, 387.

diſtreſs,

diſtreſs, that a poor woman of the pariſh of l'Hovital, went three times to the market of Romorentin for corn, but not being able to get it, ſhe went home, and, driven to exceſs of hunger, ſhe killed her infant, for which ſhe was ſince hanged*. This ſurely merits ſome attention from the labouring poor—from thoſe claſſes of ſociety, amongſt whom our Jacobin reformers diſtribute their poiſon of equality and Rights of Man. Theſe rights have produced delicious fruits in France, where the poor are driven to the gallows for KILLING THEIR OWN CHILDREN, TO PREVENT THEIR DYING OF FAMINE, *with corn enough in the country!!!* "By means of revolutions," ſays Paine, "civilization will be left to the enjoyment of that abundance, of which it is now deprived." The abundance produced by revolutions is a text for Frenchmen to preach on. And is it for theſe rights, for ſuch equality, for this fine ſyſtem of French philoſophy and NEW LIGHTS; this moon-ſhine of theoretical benefit, that our poor are to give up all their preſent comforts! To change what Old-England gives them, whether good or bad, for *rights* that drive them, by famine, to kill their own children, amidſt Jacobin plenty; and then be hanged by that law which would have ſuffered them to die of hunger! Oh, John Bull! it is not thus that thy government treats wild beaſts.—

Thou mayeſt be ſhut up in the tower, John, but thou wilt not be made to eat thy children! "*We ſee every day in the ſtreets, and even at the doors of the ſanctuary of the laws, wretches who want both bread* and cloathing.*"—"Our ſituation is ſuch," ſays a member of the Convention, "that tyranny will ſpring with victory and vengeance from popular commotions; and if the Rights of Man ſhall continue to exiſt, they will be written with the blood of the people on the tomb of liberty. The aſylum of our farmers will be violated; the hope of future harveſts deſtroyed; and our nation become the jeſt of Europe †." *This city, illuſtrious, but miſerable,* ſaid the mayor of Paris, at the bar of the Convention, Jan. 3d. *Oh! were the good citizens to rally, we ſhould ſee conſpirators repulſed in darkneſs, as on the* 10*th of Auguſt.* Thus calling for new revolts—for new maſſacres——The Rights of Man are WRITTEN IN THEIR BLOOD! This, the preſent language of Frenchmen, even in the National Convention. Here is experience of what thoſe bleſt rights are which our Engliſh reformers are ſo deſirous of eſtabliſhing in this kingdom as the beſt boon of heaven!

To contraſt this with the ſituation of the working poor, in the manufacturing towns of England, would be an inſult to your underſtandings. You

* Monit. Dec. 11. *Manuel.* † Saint Juſt. Monit. Dec. 1

know,

know, and, what is much better, you feel, that induſtry here meets its reward; that you are paid in hard caſh every Saturday night; that you have ſomething better, for your Sunday dinner, than an aſſignat; that a warm houſe covers you better than a branch of the tree of liberty; that a good coat, or ſtout pair of ſhoes, would be ill exchanged for a three coloured cockade; and, laſtly, that whatever evil you have to complain of would be very ill remedied by any meaſures that tended ſooner or later to change your beef and pudding for frogs and ſoup meagre; your coal fires for the pillaged ſticks of a national foreſt; your ſhuttles for a hatchet; or your hammer for a pike; and the ſhillings and guineas of Old England for the paper aſſignats of Jacobin philoſophers.

Before I finiſh the detail of that unhappy and ruined country, it will not be unamuſing to contraſt the *regal evils* of France with the *republican cures*.

Land taxes, the *evil*;——*cure*—ſeizing the land that paid them.

Feudal quit rents, paid by the eſtate of the people, the *grievance*;——*remedy*—ſeizing the eſtate itſelf of the nobility and clergy.

A deficit of fifty-ſix millions in the revenue, the *misfortune*;——*covered*—by a new deficit of three hundred millions.

Ten

Ten millions of royal paper, the *complaint*;——three thouſand millions of aſſignats—the *cure*.

A national debt of 300 millions, the *malady*;—one of 9000 millions, the *remedy*.

Marie Antonietta *condemned* for the follies of a necklace.——Mademoiſelle Theroigne *applauded* for leading priſoners to ſlaughter.

The arbitrary government of Louis XVI.——*changed*—for the deſpotiſm of Marat.

Drawing men for the militia, the *cruelty*;——forcing them into volunteer corps, the *favour*.

Lawyers and ſuits, the *misfortune*;——*cure*—the ſummary juriſdiction of the lanthorn.

Twenty-five millions, the expence of one king, the *burthen*;——one hundred and fifty millions, the charge of ſeven hundred kings, the *eaſe*.

Seven priſoners in the Baſtile, the *grievance*;——ſeven thouſand in the municipal dungeons, the *cure*.

Trial by jury, *inſtituted*;——and 1200 throats cut in one night. in trial by pike.

Militia.

Militia.

In the preceding pages I have ſaid little of innovation: to declare againſt any meaſure, becauſe an innovation, is a conduct worthy of children: there are, in every period, moſt valuable innovations; Mr. Grenville's bill for trying conteſted elections was an innovation; the *habeascorpus* was an innovation; the Houſe of Commons itſelf was an innovation. The queſtion now is not general; it is not for or againſt all innovation; but what the nature of the innovation ſhall be? There are ſome unqueſtionably wanted;—while the ſpirit of equality is abroad—while all property—while life itſelf is menaced—can it remain a doubt what thoſe innovations ſhould be? Exiſts there a man of property ſtupid enough to queſtion whether the innovations of this period ſhould not be directed to its ſecurity? Whether, inſtead of bringing forward the many-headed monſter into clubs of riot*,

* It is ſcarcely worth a note, to obviate the palpable objection that clubs have met without riot, and aſſociations aſſembled without confuſion:—ſo they did once in France, but what did they end in? The moderate well-meaning men inſtituted ſome of thoſe clubs, and ſaw themſelves puſhed out or trampled down, by new comers, who had nothing of moderation in their views. It will be ſo in all aſſociations, into which men without property are admitted; they muſt always be moſt numerous, and the moſt violent propoſitions ever moſt to their taſte: they think that they have nothing to loſe—there is the pivot on which ſuch meetings turn, from perhaps original good intentions to ultimate deſtruction.

and

and aſſociations of confuſion—whether inſtead of nurſing a ſpirit, and cheriſhing a principle that has laid France in the duſt, we ought not to meditate innovations, that ſhall provide a mound againſt the billows when they ſhall flow—a ſhelter againſt the ſtorm when the hurricane ſhall come? The innovation we want, and ought with one voice to call for, is a MILITIA, RANK AND FILE, OF PROPERTY.

Popular tyranny is a catching phrenzy, that will ſurely ſpread, if effective meaſures be not taken in time to prevent it. Every country in Europe depends, in the laſt reſort, on a ſoldiery taken from the dregs of the people, whoſe imaginary intereſt is to join inſurgents of whatever complexion. Such a reliance is, to the plaineſt apprehenſion, prepoſterous, and muſt, in the nature of things, fail in the long run. While danger, too manifeſt to queſtion, and too formidable to palliate, preſents itſelf on every ſide, nothing but infatuation can prevent ſome deciſive and efficient meaſure from being embraced; ſome ſyſtem of defence and ſecurity to property.

Were ſuch a militia eſtabliſhed, property would be ſecure; and thoſe who poſſeſs it might view, with a more calm patience, the attacks, whether inſidious or open, of men who, deriving nothing from

from the arts of peace and tranquillity, ſeek public confuſion, and to kindle the ſtorm on which to mount by the fall and ruin of others.

After all that can be ſaid, this idea of the diviſion of property is ſo ſweet a medicine to the great maſs of mankind, that it will find enthuaſtic followers in every country, and no where more than in the ranks of an army; hence the neceſſity of property ſecuring itſelf, by being armed in a militia. A regiment of a thouſand cavalry in every county of moderate extent, juſt diſciplined enough to obey orders and keep their ranks, might be enrolled and aſſembled in companies three days in every year, and in regiments once in ſeven, at a very moderate expence to the public: ſuch an eſtabliſhment would give certain and permanent ſecurity againſt the miſchievous example of France, and the equally miſchievous propagation of principles in England, which tend to the ſame anarchy, civil war, and bloodſhed, that has reduced our neighbour to her preſent deſperate ſituation.

It has been ſaid, that ſuch a militia is impracticable; I will not reaſon on a caſe abſolutely new, but we may venture to aſſert, that a law which legalizes and regulates the mode in which all the land proprietors in the kingdom, who do not deſire the overthrow of the conſtitution, under the pretence

pretence of its improvement, may inſtantly aſſemble, armed, in troops and regiments, ready to oppoſe the friends of anarchy; I ſay that a law which prepares the means of ſecurity and *defence*, while the rage of *attack* unites and electrifies the enemies of peace and order, muſt be good, and may be eſſential to the ſalvation of the community. All reference to former militia laws is beſide the queſtion—it was not of capital conſequence whether executed or not, but the preſent moment is perilous, the danger is too imminent to be trifled with; while anarchy is at our doors, determined meaſures can alone preſerve us.

Aſſociations.

Next to the eſtabliſhment of ſuch a militia, the preſent ſpirit of aſſociation amongſt the friends of the conſtitution, is a noble and genuine effort truly worthy of Britons. There is no real friend to his country, that does not rejoice to ſee this electric ſtroke of true patriotiſm ſpread with vital energy through the empire: it carries confuſion to Jacobiniſm; it gives confidence in a juſt cauſe, and ſecuriry to every generous boſom. Rapidly as the effort has ſhot, with genial influence through our countries, it could not be expected that the views would be uniformly directed to the ſame determinate objects. In a little time the ſcope and meaning

meaning will be well impreſſed, and then it will doubtleſs be found neceſſary to fix on places of rendezvous, to which honeſt men may reſort when the wicked are abroad. The national ſpirit is at laſt rouſed; it has ſeen long enough the deſperate and abominable aſſociations of thoſe who *do* wiſh, and did openly demand, the overthrow of our excellent conſtitution, under pretences of Jacobin reformation: we have ſeen the danger—we have been ſhocked at the inſolent threats of "invincible mobs," we have ſought the right means of ſafety; with a vigour of defence equal to the malignity of attack, a great nation will prove that ſhe is not to be inſulted with impunity. Had ſuch aſſociations exiſted in France, or any thing tending to them at the early ſtage of the Revolution, all the horrors that flowed from it might have been prevented; but the higher orders of ſociety knew not their danger.—Here the caſe is directly contrary.—We are inſtructed by their calamitous experience—and of all effective means to be ready to meet a ſtorm, this of aſſociation is (next to a militia of property) the moſt direct.

It may be ſaid with truth, that a moment never yet occurred, which demanded equally the united, firm, and determined aſſiſtance—the heart and hand of men, friends of peace, to prevent, while yet it is poſſible to prevent, the horrors that ſo lately

lately awaited us. It is a moment that ought to bring political agitation to every boſom.——The queſtion concerns not empires, kings, and miniſters alone—it comes home to our fortunes, our houſes, our families. Will you, by the nerve and vigour of your meaſures—by the broad baſis of univerſal property, on which you build the aſſociations—by the prudence of the reſolutions, and the energy of their execution—will you avoid the miſeries of France? Liſten not to the inſidious pretences of Jacobin reformers—there is no medium in moments like theſe.—With the example of France in full diſplay, propoſitions of reform, which in that kingdom produced conflagration and maſſacre, will, in this, have the effect of putting the nation on its guard againſt men, who ſo openly profeſs a readineſs to ſtake all we enjoy, on the deſperate throw of a new Revolution. This is the queſtion that ought to collect the enemies of Jacobiniſm, and which ought *to have a ſeaſonable influence on all the orders of Society, by which they may know and learn that we ſhall ever rally round the conſtitution**, uncontaminated by *reforms*, or the *tree of liberty*, the true ſymbol of confuſion. The danger has leſſened ſince government has awakened to the nature of the preſent criſis, and ſince the admirable ſpirit of the people has manifeſted itſelf, the enemies of

* Mr. Fox's Speech to the Whig Club.—RIDGWAY'S.

the

the public peace will not dare now to profeſs thoſe Jacobin tenets, which, till lately, met us in ſuch a multitude of ſhapes: they will put on the garb of more moderate and more temperate meaſures—they will now appear merely in the character of reformers—a character more dangerous, perhaps, becauſe more maſked and inſidious: not leſs pointed in effect to equality and ſedition; for theſe men know ſufficiently by the great experiment of France, that an equal perſonal repreſentation of the people would infallibly produce here, as it did there, the abſolute ruin of all legal authorities. This character of a reformer ought, therefore, to be an object of as much jealouſy and diſtruſt, as that of a profeſſed Jacobin; and the aſſociations ſpreading ſo laudably through the kingdom, ſhould be on their guard equally againſt them and their doctrines. The proſperity of England, as neutral, is an eye-ſore to the Jacobins, and, as an enemy, an object of terror, The queſtion, then, is the means theſe cunning leaders are taking to ſpread the ſame confuſion through this country, that has ruined theirs; moſt aſſuredly they will not open ſhops, and write JACOBIN over the doors—No; they know their buſineſs better—they find materials much more to their purpoſe; they find half their work done to their hands by our *Oppoſition* men, and our *reformers* of the conſtitution. Seeing that the *reſult* of the labours of ſuch men

anſwers exactly their own *views*, they chime in, and cry reform! with a more energetic vociferation than ever they did *a la lanterne* in France. Their views, and this union of the Jacobin deſtroyers with the Engliſh reformers, ought to open the eyes of honeſt men, and make them, one and all, unite, in the firmeſt aſſociations. Not in faint declarations of loyalty*, that mean any thing

* In great numbers of the aſſociations, there ſeems to have been a marked attention in drawing up their declarations of loyalty and veneration for the conſtitution, either to uſe phraſes of equivocal meaning, or that might be palateable to reformers, as if it were a wiſh to include all deſcriptions of men, whatever their political ſentiments: if ſuch management had been carried a little further, declarations would have been produced, which direct Jacobins would have ſigned; but the original intention was wrong, and tended ſtrongly to weaken the force and vigour of aſſociation. In the rational terror of a perilous moment, when ſtruck with a common ſenſation of common danger, men fly to aſſociation, to ſecure themſelves againſt the attacks of men already aſſociated to deſtroy them: at ſuch an inſtant, what can be ſo futile, what can be ſuch imbecility, as to ſeek, by an ill-timed complaiſance of candour, ſo to expreſs their feelings, that aſſociators of a direct contrary complexion, men who profeſſedly ſeek to change the conſtitution on French principles (for there has not been a ſingle propoſition of reform that is not on thoſe principles), that ſuch men may be induced hypocritically to unite with you? The weakneſs of ſuch a proceeding is inexcuſable. On the contrary, all theſe declarations ought to have been ſo framed, as expreſsly and purpoſely to exclude a union with men ſo dangerous, as thoſe who would not a feel a horror at the idea of tampering with the conſtitution, at ſuch a ſeaſon as this:—by ſuch an excluſion, it would be found, that, however numerous the reformers were before the

thing or nothing, and will be forgotten in ſix months, but in the moſt vigorous oppoſition to every idea of reform, on principles of giving more power

10th of Auguſt, that at preſent not one man in a thouſand would liſten, with patience, to hear the word Reform ſeriouſly pronounced; nor fail to deprecate the idea, as pregnant with national ruin.

There is one object in aſſociations which has not been thought of, but which would, perhaps, be as uſeful and effective as any other, and that is, for aſſociators to reſolve againſt dealing with any ſort of Jacobin tradeſmen: if the atrocity of attempts to alter a conſtitution, which ſo effectually protects property, as that of England does, on compariſon with any other that Europe ſees, be well conſidered, the ſupineneſs of mankind, in giving encouragement to thoſe whoſe utmoſt efforts are aimed at its deſtruction, will ſurely appear the moſt marvellous ſtupidity. Who, acquainted with the *complexions* of men, in any town in England, does not ſometimes hear the wealth of the diſaffected made a boaſt of? If you name the danger of political principles of certain men to property—you hear it exclaimed, *How? Do you conſider the wealth of ſuch and ſuch perſons? Are they not rich? Have they not a ſtake?* Yes; they have a ſtake; commonly as moveable as their perſons, and therefore the readineſs with which they hazard public confuſion. But whence this boaſt of property? Becauſe, probably, the landed-men in their vicinity, and the monied-men of other principles, have, with this groſs blindneſs, which I at preſent allude to, been for years in the habit of aſſiſting ſuch diſaffected republican Jacobin reformers, to accumulate that wealth which is now ready to be employed to their own deſtruction: they have been paying their incomes into the hands of men who are ready to convert the intereſt they make upon it to the eſtabliſhment of a Convention in England, to conſiſt of brother citizens of equality; to ſubſcribe money, food, cloaths, and arms for the aſſaſſins and regicides of France, to enable them, by ſucceſs at

power to the people:—Here lies our danger in the preſent moment; it is not the rank Jacobin, with bare and bloody arms, pike in hand, and ready for your throat: it is his gentleman uſher, your modeſt reformer, who, meaning a great deal, aſks a little, and knows how to make that little much. But be not ſo cajoled—reſiſt ALL CHANGES in that conſtitution, which gives you the means of wealth, and protects you in the enjoyment. Come to reſolutions declaratory of the abhorrence of changes; and for every propoſition for them that does not originate in the legiſlature; and petition parliament to render illegal all meetings and clubs, whoſe object is to make experiments on Britiſh happineſs; to diſcover rights better than thoſe of an Engliſhman; to change your laws, religion, and government; and give you, in lieu of them, the NEW LIGHTS OF FRENCH PHILOSOPHY.

If any man doubts whether I have reaſon for theſe aſſertions, let him conſider the addreſſes that have been preſented to the National Convention

home, to ſubdue *the vices of the Britiſh Conſtitution by a radical reform.* This ſupine inattention, which turns a man's money to his own deſtruction, is highly reprehenſible. Let thoſe who are real friends to the conſtitution, expend their income with men whoſe principles are known—and not become, unthinkingly, promoters of ſedition, and encouragers of republicaniſm. Go amongſt ſectaries of various denominations, political and religious, and examine if the individuals are not attentive to this point.

of

of France, from ſocieties of reformers in England; here follow a few extracts:

The Friends of the People and Conſtitutional Society of Newington*, thus addreſs the Convention:—*It is with the moſt profound ſenſibility that we behold the ſucceſs of your arms, in your undertaking to deliver from ſlavery and deception, the brave nations which border your frontiers: how holy is the humanity which prompts you to break their chains.*

Signed, J. F. SKIPPER.
F. PEACOCK.

The Revolution Society of London.—*Above all we rejoice in the Revolution of the* 10*th of Auguſt, ſo neceſſary to ſecure to you the advantages which the former had taught you to expect. We feel an agreeable ſenſation, that the right of inſurrection has been ſo ſucceſsfully exerciſed.*

Signed, J. TOWERS.
—— COOPER.

The Friends of Liberty and Equality at Belfaſt. —*For the glory of humanity, may your declaration of rights be every where put in practice.*

* Legacies left by the late Dr. Price, for the good of his country;—perhaps, the *worſt citizen*, ſpeaking politically, that has lived in it of late years; but there are doubtleſs nobles that can boaſt of his friendſhip.

The volunteers of Belfaſt.—*The ſucceſſes of the French ſecure liberty to the neighbouring nations* *.

The united ſocieties of London.—*An oppreſſed part of mankind, forgetting their own evils, are ſenſible only of yours; and beholding the preſent events, with a diſturbed eye, addreſs their moſt fervent prayers to the God of the univerſe, that he may be favourable to your cauſe, with which theirs is ſo intimately connected. Degraded by an oppreſſive ſyſtem of inquiſition, the invincible, but continual encroachments of which quickly deprived the nation of its boaſted liberty, and reduced it almoſt to that abject ſtate of ſlavery from which you have ſo glorioufly emancipated yourſelves.* FIVE THOUSAND *Engliſh citizens, fired with indignation, have the courage to ſtep forward to reſcue their country from that opprobrium which has been thrown upon it by the baſe conduct of thoſe who are inveſted with power. Frenchmen, our number will appear very ſmall, when compared with the reſt of the nation; but know, that it increaſes every day; and if the terrible and con-*

* That is, French bayonets are to reform the Iriſh conſtitution. They doubtleſs recollected the expreſſions of their correſpondent Mr Wyvill: *A happier ſcene is juſt ready to open upon Ireland.—The* VIGOUR *of the Iriſh people—ſubſtantial reformation—*RADICAL *reformation—let them be firm—the volunteers will* COMMAND *ſucceſs. (Collection of Letters.* 4to. *York.* p. 24.) The tendency of theſe ſcattered expreſſions were well underſtood by theſe Iriſhmen, as it is plain from the fruit already produced.

tinually

tinually elevated arm of authority overawes the timid—if falſehoods, every moment diſperſed with ſo much induſtry, miſlead the credulous—and if the public intimacy of the court with Frenchmen, avowed traitors to their country, hurry away the ambitious and unthinking, we can, with confidence, aſſure you, Freemen and Friends, that knowledge makes a rapid progreſs among us. You are already free, but Britons are preparing to be ſo.

Signed, M. MARGAROT.
T. HARDY.

Conſtitutional Society of London.—*Innumerable ſocieties of the ſame ſort are forming in every part of England. After the example given by France, Revolutions will become eaſy; reaſon is about to make a rapid progreſs, and it would not be extraordinary if, in a much leſs ſpace of time than can be imagined, the French ſhould ſend addreſſes of congratulation to a National Convention of England.—Other nations will ſoon follow your ſteps in this career of improvement; and, riſing from their lethargy, will arm themſelves for the purpoſe of claiming the Rights of Man.*

Signed, SEMPILL.
D. ADAMS.
JOEL BARLOW.
J. FROST*.

* Preſented the 28th of November; and therefore approbation direct of the 2d of September.

The Preſident's anſwer was a real declaration of war againſt this kingdom.—*The ſhades of Penn, of Hampden, and of Sydney, hover over your heads; and the moment, without doubt, approaches, in which the French will bring congratulations to the National Convention of Great Britain.*

Of the ſame complexion was the declaration, December 15th, of the Convention.—That *it will treat as enemies the people who, refuſing or renouncing liberty and equality, are deſirous of preſerving their prince and privileged caſts, or of entering into an accommodation with them.*

Let thoſe men (not Jacobins) who condemn the war, or who think it might have been avoided, ſeriouſly conſider theſe extracts of the direct communication of Engliſh republicans with French cut throats. Can any perſon, not abſolutely bereft of reaſon, conceive it poſſible that ſuch men, thus machinating the deſtruction of our conſtitution, could continue their connection with the French Convention, which peace gave a boundleſs power of doing, without our running the moſt imminent hazard of every thing that government and law ſecure to us—that is to ſay, life and property.

The "*Proceedings of the Aſſociation of the Friends of the Conſtitution*, Dublin, the Duke of Leinſter!!

ſter!! in the chair," is a publication that deſerves notice; becauſe it proves, too clearly to be doubted, that our dangers are not at an end. Jacobiniſm hardly ſleeps, in ſpite of all our aſſociations; the enemies of law and of order never relax their efforts; Ireland is their favourite ground; and ſhould theſe new principles of equality, the new French "lights," be there eſtabliſhed, it will not be long before they are raging in our own vitals. Theſe "friends" call on the people to "SUBDUE the corruption." "the infamy," "the fouleſt acts under the fouleſt names," which form the "regular ſyſtem of government," by "a RADICAL REFORM;" by a body of "repreſentatives, an integral and eſſential part of the conſtitution, derived from the people by GENERAL election." —The Engliſh language could ſcarcely, in an equal number of words, paint in ſtronger terms the fire-brands of ſedition. To call on the people not to crave, or pray, or petition, but to SUBDUE the errors of government—to SUBDUE them by a RADICAL reform, and GENERAL repreſentation, is, in other words, to demand a Convention, the King at Tyburn, the Lords annihilated, and property the reward of new Roberſpieres, Briſſots, and Marats. But theſe expreſſions are too remarkable to be accidental; they coincide too exactly with the threats of the Jacobins in France, to allow us, for one moment, to believe that there is not a clear intelligence and union between them.

The

The miniſter of the marine, to the friends of liberty and equality in the maritime cities: "Will the ENGLISH REPUBLICANS SUFFER the King and his Parliament to make war? Already theſe free men teſtify their diſcontent and their repugnance to carry arms againſt their French brothers. Well; we will fly to THEIR ASSISTANCE; we will invade that iſle, and ſend 50,000 caps of liberty to plant the SACRED TREE, and to offer our open arms to our REPUBLICAN BROTHERS, to PURIFY Engliſh liberty, and REFORM the vices of the government." Here the Jacobins threaten *to purify our liberty, in conjunction with Engliſh republicans, and to reform our vices with* 50,000 *bayonets*. What is this but to *ſubdue us by a radical reform!!!* If any doubt could remain of the tendency of the operations of our reformers, ſurely ſuch declarations are ſufficient to remove them. To open our eyes to the horrible ſituation we ſhould be in, if our legiſlature were abſurd enough to liſten to ſuch incendiaries, or weak enough not to take effective meaſures to controul their treaſonable practices. This is the *glorious conqueſt of reform, gained by the Iriſh people over the Britiſh miniſtry* *. Our Jacobin reformers never ſpeak of liberty, but it ſuggeſts ideas of conqueſt on one hand, and of ſubjection on the other. We are to be CONQUERED by reform, and SUBDUED to equality!

* *Declaration of the Friends of the Liberty of the Preſs*, p. 14.

It

It has been ſaid, even in Parliament, ſince government was ſufficiently alarmed to call out the militia, and put the nation on her guard, that the King's Miniſters ought to be impeached for their conduct. Can any one doubt whether the men who ſent theſe infamous deputations, and the men who compoſed them, would not avow directly the ſame opinion? But let the people at large know, by theſe abominable facts, the unqueſtionable reality of their danger. Let them here diſcover—their intellects muſt be weak indeed, if they cannot diſcover, in this deputation, what thoſe men mean who drink equal liberty to all mankind—NATIONAL CONVENTIONS EQUALLY EVERY WHERE!! is the ſentiment of their boſoms, and would have been ſung about the ſtreets, had government ſlept ſix weeks longer. Who can read without horror the following Addreſs to the Volunteer Corps of Ireland, from an Iriſh ſociety of the ſame complexion, ſo lately as Dec. 20. "Citizen ſoldiers to arms. When your country has been declared in danger, we conjure you by your glory to ſtand to your arms, and in ſpite of a police, in ſpite of a fencible militia, to maintain good order: it is only by military array that you can obtain the ſpeedy reſurrection of liberty and equality." Here is abundant proof that we are far diſtant from entire ſafety; and that the leaſt relaxation in that aſſociated preparation, which

which is now our only ſalvation, would give new animation to theſe ſocieties of deſperate men with deſperate views; to theſe enemies of government, of order, and of property. *Had Dumourier,* ſays Roberſpiere, March 10, *entered Holland three months ago, as he demanded, the Revolution would, by this time, have been made in England.* Yet have we men on the benches of Parliament who aſſert, that all our dangers were imaginary. The Jacobin leaders know better, and declare it.

Our enemies never reſt—in peace they celebrated the victories of France; now they view, with horror, the probable ſucceſſes of England—with crocodile lamentations, and an affectation of regret, they can whine over the miſchiefs they have ſpent their lives in generating; can come forward, in the moment of hoſtility, in the true garb of the republican Price, ſtrenuous to exhilarate the national foe, and to depreſs the national energy, by repreſenting that war as *odious and deteſtable* which the PEOPLE of ENGLAND hail as JUST AND NECESSARY; brooding over the diſtempers of a jaundiced imagination; ſtirring up, Medea like, the cauldron of their own incantations, *popular effervescence—the fermenting ſpirit of diſcontent—tendency to violent change—the annihilation of the conſtitution, by inveterate abuſes—an abuſed*

*abuſed people, ſick of the war of Kings**.——What eſſential difference is there between this mummery of diſcontent, and the red hot Maratiſm of the miſcreant Society who tells us, they *wiſh only the reſtoration of the* LOST *liberties of their country*†?

While the ſpirit of the people is alert and animated with due zeal in defence of their lives and properties, both may be ſafe: but this exertion is not likely to be durable; and ſhould that languor and indolence, the children of a fooliſh ſecurity, once more ſlacken the tenſion which reſults from the preſent impreſſion, the courage of our enemies will revive; and thoſe execrable ſocieties, whoſe aim is plunder, and the means confuſion, will reſume the ſame pernicious activity in miſchief that has effected the ruin of France, and had brought England almoſt to the brink of the ſame precipice down which her neighbour has been hurled. To guard againſt a neglect ſo fatal, becomes the firſt and greateſt duty of government. It is firmneſs, energy, and vigour, againſt our domeſtic foes that can alone preſerve the conſtitution uncontaminated by Jacobin reform; moderation, lenity, and the mild virtues of one man, have deluged France in blood; ſuch are not weapons

* *Letter to the Right Hon. William Pitt.*

† *Addreſs of the London Correſponding Society to the other Societies of Great Britain*, p. 7. Signed Margarot and Hardy.

with

with which to combat in an hour like this: while the lamp-poſt, or the pike, is the imprimatur on the preſs in France; while ſuſpicion fills the priſons, and maſſacre is the gaol delivery—if the legiſlature of England does not take effective precautions, but truſts too much to private efforts, we may, in the event, amidſt confuſion and terror, have reaſon to regret a want of policy, which an example ſo pregnant ought to have inſpired.

A great lawyer ſays, that on the ſubject of aſſociations, *the ſtatutes and precedents of law are ſilent*; but that they are *doubtful in law, unconſtitutional in principle, and wholly unneceſſary* *. To declare at the opening of his ſpeech, that the aſſociations were unneceſſary, was completely begging the only material queſtion between him the orator, and the people of England, who thought and felt them to be neceſſary:—He treats the ſubject in the direct line of legal enquiry, never for a moment as a politician, the only fair light to view a queſtion in, upon which *law* and *precedent* are ſilent.

What then is the pivot upon which the queſtion turns? Moſt clearly the political neceſſity. The kingdom ſwarmed with Jacobin and republican aſſociations, in direct correſpondence with the National Convention, for the AVOWED purpoſe of eſ-

* *Declaration of the Friends of the Liberty of the Preſs*, p. 4.

tabliſhing

tabliſhing liberty, equality, and a Convention in England: aſtoniſhed at the daring attempt, and the rapidity with which the miſchief ſpread, government ſtood aghaſt with horror—but where law and precedent were ſilent (I thank the gentleman for an admiſſion, which completely defeats his argument)—it became miniſters to be ſilent alſo. With the crown thus conſtitutionally inactive, the people ſaw their danger; they felt a great ſtate neceſſity;—by aſſociation deſtruction was coming with gigantic ſtrides—and by aſſociation they repelled it. Were the conſtitution, the freedom, the property of England to be ſwept away in a whirlwind of republicaniſm, while lawyers conned the *analogies of accuſation**, and the *anomalies of juſtice* †? No:—a better ſpirit animated the boſoms of Engliſhmen; and all that is calm in the preſent ſecurity of good men—all that is venomous in the diſappointment of bad ones—proves that the ſtep was political, juſt, and neceſſary.

What is the great objection? That the aſſociations ſubſcribed money for bringing the publiſhers of libellous and ſeditious writings to juſtice—admitting, on compariſon, at the ſame time, the propriety of ſimilar aſſociations againſt ſwindlers and poachers, *becauſe they are bottomed on crimes which are injurious to individuals as ſuch.* It

* P. 4. † P. 6.

ſeems

ſeems very whimſical to approve of aſſociating for avenging a crime, which muſt in its nature be practiſed on an individual, and for whoſe protection the law is in daily practice fully competent to protect him; but wrong to aſſociate for the puniſhment of a crime *not* levelled at an individual, but at *ſociety in the maſs*, and for the puniſhment of which the law is NOT in the practice either of puniſhing or preventing. In other words, that men ſhould aſſociate for caſes to which they are individually competent; and that they ſhould not aſſociate for caſes to which they can be competent by means of aſſociation only. They ſhould aſſociate to tranſport a ſwindler, or fine a poacher, becauſe thoſe crimes are in the habit of being duly puniſhed; but they ſhould not aſſociate againſt libels on the conſtitution, and calls to ſedition, becauſe theſe are in the habit of being diſtributed without puniſhment!

But while aſſociations, with ſubſcriptions for puniſhing libels, are thus branded, by our eloquent lawyer, as unconſtitutional; aſſociations, with ſubſcriptions for *promoting the liberty of the preſs*, are declared to be perfectly conſtitutional *. The former are miſchievous, becauſe a court of juſtice might be *infected by a general prejudice* †. But may it not be aſked, if ſuch a court could not

* P. 21. † P. 7.

be

be equally *infected* by the prejudices of a Jacobin aſſociation? And if, *when ſubjects perſecute one another by combination, they may not combine for their common defence* *? To PROMOTE the liberty of the preſs! Such an object is really curious at this time of day! The preſs is not free enough; it is too modeſt, and timid, and bluſhing, and wants to be encouraged, and countenanced, and protected: the eloquent lawyer is kind enough to take this coy virgin by the hand, and perſuade her to aſſume a proper aſſurance on coming into company. *We will*, ſays he, *maintain and aſſert the right of the people to point out the defects and corruptions of the conſtitution* †; the preſs has not been free enough in doing this, and it therefore wants the aſſiſtance of this egregious aſſociation *to promote its liberty*. Strip the object of the garb which legal cunning and eloquent ſophiſtry know ſo well how to arrange, and the plain unvarniſhed propoſition is proper only to be laughed at; and, without any doubt, has been the butt of private ridicule among theſe wits who aſſemble in public in due dignity of woe. There is indeed a reaſon—they are not yet yet honoured with THOSE STATIONS OF EMINENCY ‡, which their leader on that day, by a lapſe of the

* P. 11. † P. 9.

‡ P. 14.—The meeting underſtood the expreſſion in its palpable meaning, as I do, and commented on it accordingly.

tongue, promiſed them. The expreſſion was remarkable, and ſhewed, with ſufficient clearneſs, that there are views, certainly better and more worthy views, than opening a ſhop for conſtitutional corruptions, and for impunity in the diſpenſation of Jacobin remedies—for bringing into play the *divine energy of Engliſhmen*, in oppoſition *to the forms of the conſtitution**, that they may have *virtue to practiſe* † the doctrines which aſſociations regard as ſeditious:—for a lawyer of great eminence in his profeſſion to quit the field of legal enquiry for ſo bold a recommendation as this, is coming very near indeed to the *practical* doctrine of the pike and the lanthorn; in perfect analogy with the *glorious conqueſts* ‡ of Iriſh Jacobins, *ſubduing* the vices of our conſtitution with the *divine energy* of a *radical reform*.

All Jacobins are well acquainted with the importance of the preſs; and hence the aſſiduity with which the Engliſh ones aſſemble in aſſociations for preſerving its liberty, and the earneſtneſs with which they publiſh and diſperſe their *declarations*. They cannot perform the one or the other more ſtrenuouſly than their brethren did in France, till they found a riſing diſpoſition to employ their favourite engine in defence of legal government. But from that moment where was its liberty to be

* P. 16. † P. 8. ‡ P. 14.

found?

found? And in like manner we may ſafely reſt aſſured, that ſhould our government be overthrown in favour of a Jacobin Convention, that party which now roars for the freedom of the preſs, would break the tools, burn the houſes, and hang the printers that worked for any party but their own. This is one among the innumerable points on which the French Revolution has ſet the ſeal of experiment.

The queſtion is, does the freedom of the preſs —or ought that freedom to extend—to an unlimited permiſſion, for the pen of every man who wiſhes public confuſion, to vilify, abuſe, and bring into contempt, with ignorant people, that glorious conſtitution, which is the inheritance and the pride of Britons? *The Friends of the Liberty of the Preſs*, in the inflammatory ſpeech, which they heard with tribunitial applauſe, and diſperſed with Jacobin induſtry, aſſert their right to publiſh *the corruptions of the conſtitution*, in other words, *to write it down*. It is at iſſue between that conſtitution and the people whom it renders happy on one ſide, and thoſe gentlemen on the other, whether they have this right or not. The licentiouſneſs we complain of is not of old ſtanding; it was unknown, except in its juſt puniſhment before the preſent reign; and I will never acknowledge among the benefits of a period, in which liberty has been conſtantly progreſſive, this relaxation of that conſtitutional

rein, which government, in every preceding period, held with a commendable firmneſs for the good of ſociety, order, and peace. To whoſe indolence and timidity ſuch a groſs evil is to be attributed I know not, but if we would preſerve our conſtitution from Jacobin *improvements*, it muſt be corrected with vigour, and the ſooner the buſineſs is done, ſo much the more ſalutary will be the cure. Government ought to be ready to proſecute; to puniſh, reſts with juries, who will doubtleſs feel the duty and importance of ſtopping a peſtilence, which threatens the annihilation of all conſtitutional authority.

To return—neither government nor the public ought to be driven from their purpoſe by the anſwer not uncommonly heard, which accuſes the aſſociators of going to the contrary extreme, and endangering the liberty of the people by profeſſions of loyalty; this accuſation may be conſidered as the laſt effort of diſappointed ſedition: the men who feel, with the deepeſt chagrin, the ſecurity ſuch aſſociations give to the conſtitution, as at preſent eſtabliſhed, have nothing left during the vigour now exerted, but to retort accuſations—and to tell us, that we mean, or act as if we meant, to render the King abſolute: but ſuch aſſertions ſcarcely merit attention: thoſe men, if there are ſuch, who wiſhed before to change our govern-

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ment to a deſpotiſm, certainly wiſh it now; but that aſſociations directly declaring a determination to maintain the conſtitution *as it is*—free as it is now—mean really an intention to overturn it, is too prepoſterous to be credited—and worthy of the reforming quarter only from which it proceeds.

But neither a militia, aſſociation, nor any other meaſure to be deviſed would yield ſecurity, were the licentiouſneſs (not the liberty) of the preſs to be permitted to ſo ſhameful and deſtructive a length, as we have of late years experienced in England. It will probably be found, after this period, that no conſtitution, whether good or bad, can poſſibly exiſt againſt a licentious preſs. The old government of France was ruined unqueſtionably by inattention to this engine: the new tyranny eſtabliſhed there is well aware of that momentous truth, and hath accordingly converted it, like the lanthorn, into an engine of Government. Where the licentiouſneſs of the preſs is in any degree allowed, the general inſtruction of the lower claſſes muſt become the ſeed of revolt; and it is for this reaſon that the friends of reform, and zealous admirers of French equality, are ſtrenuous for ſunday and charity ſchools.

The gentlemen who conſider Paine *as a conſpicuous friend of mankind, and an admirable writer* *,

* Mr. Cooper's Reply to Mr. Burke's Invective, p. 75.

would have a ſyſtem of National education eſtabliſhed, in which every perſon may become informed what are the *rights of a citizen* *; what *privileges* they are *deprived of* †, and how to bring *capabilities into action*, by a *glorious career of* improvement. The French have been wonderfully well inſtructed in all this; they have indeed brought their capabilities into action; they have not been wanting in *leiſure, unremittingly employed*, or in *beſt endeavours exerted to haſten* ‡ improvement. Since aſſociations are found to diſtribute treaſon and ſedition, to teach the exertion of capabilities, and to point out the glorious career of France as an object of imitation for England—the poiſon thus expanded, does not render the vehicle more reſpectable. I do not find on my farm, in the village, or its vicinity, that thoſe are the beſt ploughmen and carters who are the deepeſt adepts in the Rights of Man. If there muſt be hewers of wood and drawers of water, why preach equality? Will not French horrors tell us, that to teach, is to bewilder; that to enlighten, is to deſtroy?

* P. 75. † P. 76.

‡ Mr. Cooper ſays of the approach of the Revolution he looks for in England, the *dawn of a glorious day* (p. 12.): "my leiſure "ſhall be unremittingly employed, and my beſt endeavours exerted "to haſten its approach." p. 77. Doubtleſs well prepared for the buſineſs by his converſations with Mademoiſelle Theroigne, of whom he ſays, "I have ſeldom met with views more enlarged, "more juſt, more truly patriotic."

But,

But, contrary to all this, with a preſs regulated for the benefit of ſociety, and not vomiting forth poiſon for its deſtruction, the lower claſſes cannot well be injured by inſtruction: what a duty then devolves on government, to guard againſt abuſes, the neglect of which may be attended with danger, and even ruin to the whole community*?

I feel but one great objection that may probably be made to the general concluſions I have drawn from the example of France; it may be ſaid that

* There are ſo many reſpectable perſons, who are friends to Sunday-ſchools, that I know the opinion I have ventured will give offence; but, on mature conſideration, I ſee no reaſon to change it. There would be no queſtion, if the Bible, or books of morality and devotion only, came into the hands of the poor:—in ſuch a caſe, every one who means well muſt be of the ſame opinion; but will you educate the poor, in order that they may ſtudy *Rights of Man?* or the ſeditious tracts of ſo many of our modern reformers? Will reading the *Soldier's Friend* improve the ranks of your army? When you examine the queſtion reſpecting the utility of theſe ſchools, is the miſchievous induſtry and zeal conſidered, with which our republicans print, diſtribute, and give away cheap editions of their *inſtitutes* of diſcontent, confuſion, and treaſon? Are the friends of theſe ſeminaries clear, that of the 150,000 copies of Paine, which are ſaid to be in circulation (thanks to the horrible ſupineneſs of adminiſtration), that there are not many thouſands in the hands of thoſe who read him in conſequence of a charitable education? I will not aſſert as a fact, what I have received only as general information, that the ſectaries of this kingdom, whoſe tenets are the moſt hoſtile to our government, as at preſent eſtabliſhed, have been amongſt the moſt active and zealous friends to Sunday-ſchools:—if this is true, it does not make me the more favourable to them.

my reaſoning goes too far, becauſe, if juſt, a nation however enſlaved, and however miſerable, ſhould ſubmit to all evils, rather than attempt the greater evil of a Revolution. The argument is common, and, diſſected by reaſoning, would lead on both ſides into a diſcuſſion that would here be miſplaced. But reaſoning is endleſs, and facts are few; one motive, were there no other, for preferring them.

In the former revolutions of the modern world, whether in Sweden, Switzerland, Portugal, Holland, or England, the people ſoon ſettled into a form of government nearly reſembling that which they had enjoyed before the troubles; they never dreamed of making new experiments *on principle*. Even in the caſe of America the fact holds true in almoſt every inſtance; for there is not now in the world a conſtitution ſo near the Britiſh as that of the United States; I think, *ſince the events in France*, that it is inferior, for the plain reaſon of not providing ſo well againſt the danger now moſt to be aapprehended, *popular power:* the deſpotiſm of a monarch was every where the object of a rational apprehenſion; it is ſo no longer: a worſe monſter has ſhewn itſelf in the world, that carries a venom in its fangs more *rabid* than the canine. In all former revolutions, therefore, the people reaſoned in argument, and felt in fact, that whatever

ever might be the event of the ſtruggle, it could ſcarcely place them in a worſe ſituation; and this with exception only to America. Experiment therefore juſtified the nations which felt themſelves oppreſſed, in the attempts they made to effect a revolution.

Reverſe the medal, and let us aſk how this great queſtion ſtands at preſent: the principles of equality and Rights of Man are afloat, and an *experimentum crucis* tells us, that a nation, though under a very bad government, may change for one a thouſand times worſe. This great and diſaſtrous event will give men, let their rank be what it may —the honeſt workman equally with the prince—a horror at the idea of revolutions; will teach men rather to bare the ills they have, than fly to others that they know not of; and conſequently has done more againſt the cauſe of that real and ſafe liberty, which was gradually pervading the world, than any other event in the power of miſchief to effect. A reflection that ought to make us loathe a Jacobin, with the ſame deteſtation as noxious animals of hideous deformity.

Take the worſt of the German military governments, and compare the ſituation of the people, in any point whatever, and it may be aſſerted truly, that they are in a happier and better ſituation

tion than the French, under the anarchy given them by the Rights of Man: to anſwer that this anarchy may ſubſide, and produce a good government at laſt, is ſo completely beſide the queſtion, reaſoning on facts, that I am aſtoniſhed to hear it ſo often recurred to; the experiment of the new government in France was complete—it was finiſhed—decreed and accepted—It is farſical to ſuppoſe that Louis XVI. had more power to ſap or deſtroy it than any other King: if it could not go on with him, it could not go on at all, and therefore was rotten at heart. It had made a thouſand proviſions againſt a difarmed king, but had made none againſt an armed mob: this mob broke into the ſanctuary and kicked the conſtitution out of doors. Maſſacres followed, till no man felt his head more ſafe on his ſhoulders than the ſubjects of Achen or Algiers; and, as to property, it was given to the winds: where are the ſubjects of a German deſpot whoſe ſituation matches this? And as to the *hope* of ſeeing ſomething better, the hope of the German is more likely to be realized than that of the Frenchman, who has nothing in perſpective but new evils, and new revolutions to cure them. A German, therefore, would be wiſe to renounce the thoughts of liberty, rather than purſue the idea of it through a revolution ſimilar to that of France. Time and a happy coincidence of events may give them ſuch an oppor-

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nunity as France, worſe than loſt. They have her example to inſtruct them.

The plain concluſion to be drawn is this; nations ſhould proceed as individuals; rely only on experimented cafes. When philoſophers adviſed the French to ſeek ſome ſyſtem of freedom better than experiment *(Great Britain)* offered, they adviſed a truſt in theory; and at this moment, when Jacobins and reformiſts adviſe us to *improve* our conſtitution, is it not a queſtion directly in point to aſk them, whether the experimented freedom we enjoy at preſent, ought to be hazarded on projects of theory? An unequal repreſentation, rotten boroughs, long parliaments, extravagant courts, ſelfiſh miniſters, and corrupt majorities, are ſo intimately interwoven with our practical freedom, that it would require better political anatomiſts than our modern reformers, to ſhew, on fact, that we did not owe our liberty to the identical evils which they want to expunge. In France none of theſe are to be found, a repreſentation equal, no burgage tenures, biennial parliaments, no court, miniſters of ſtraw, and majorities corrupted only by themſelves; but with theſe envied bleſſings is France free?—Here is an equal repreſentaaion of the people—an experiment complete—and the reſult "heavenly" in the eyes of Engliſh reformers; but not ſo in the mouths even

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of Jacobins in the Convention—THEY tell you that it is anarchy, bloodſhed, and famine. " The abolition of formal government brings ſociety cloſer together," is one of Paine's mountebank maxims; his theories ſhould always be brought to the teſt of French practice; this compreſſure, this contact of ſociety, is there well underſtood; it is the pike of one man in the belly of another. And leſt you ſhould miſunderſtand what he means, he ſays,—" The Revolution of France has thrown a beam of light over the world, which reaches *into* man." It is not the beams of light *illuminating* man; or *ſurrounding* him; or *guiding* him; but it goes INTO him; plump into his body; in the language of the ſtreets, *day-light is let into him.* Is this ſo very encouraging as to induce an imitation in England? Such things, however, are not ſufficient to ſatisfy thoſe who demand a reform; no ſlight reaſon for ſuppoſing they look further—and that, through the obſcure of ſuch a foreground, there is a proſpect behind, bright enough to fix attention, and allure hope—the proſpect of copying in England the example of France; the regal, noble, eccleſiaſtical, national properties, the ſpoil of *equal citizens!*

There is, in Monſ. Mounier's laſt admirable performance, an obſervation which merits great attention; that when once a kingdom poſſeſſes a free aſſembly,

aſſembly, with the power of the purſe, the real apprehenſion is not for liberty, but for the exiſtence of the crown. And again, "in England the number of repreſentatives of the people is very unequally divided: ſimple boroughs, which contain few inhabitants, have, from cuſtom the right of deputing; while diſtricts, very populous, do not participate in elections. This irregularity appears contrary to many inconteſtible principles; but it could not be rectified without augmenting the force of the democratical part of the government, without danger of breaking the equilibrium, which has been ſo well preſerved for a century; and if ever they conſent to render the repreſentation more equal, it would be indiſpenſable to ſtrengthen the other two branches. Inequality of repreſentation, above all, produces this advantage; that a great part of the people *identify* themſelves much leſs with the deputies of the commons, and the public opinion is leſs corrupted by the paſſions that may agitate the lower houſe*." There is deep ſenſe in this remark: the author, who is one of the beſt of men, and moſt honeſt of politicians, who was a leader in the conſtituent aſſembly, and marked, with great acumen, their errors, felt the truth he here delineates, and ſaw the overthrow of their conſtitution in the eagerneſs with which

* Recherches ur les Cauſes qui ont empêché les Francois de devinir Libres, 1792, tom. ii. p. 272.

the people, incorporated as it were with the deputies, till thoſe without talents became as corrupt as thoſe whoſe only talent was corrupting the hearts of others. What fact, what experiment, do our reformers pretend to, on which to ground the certainty, that if thoſe apparent defects of the conſtitution were removed the power of the people, without property, would not, in conſequence, gain enough——to enable them to gain more——and to advance, by means of thoſe ſteps——till they gained *all?* The caſe of the French Revolution is much ſtronger in the affirmative than any other to be produced in the negative; but to ſpeak of caſes is abſurd with the reformers, for they proceed abſolutely on theory and Rights of Man; thoſe well adapted foundations for a republic in Bedlam.

It appears to me, that there would be a ſingular propriety in the aſſociations which are at preſent ſpreading through the kingdom, petitioning parliament to paſs an act to declare all clubs, aſſociations, ſocieties, and meetings of men, that aſſemble for the purpoſe of obtaining changes in the conſtitution, illegal, and that no meeting can legally correſpond, either in their own name or in the names of their ſecretary, or other officer, with any foreign body or government, unleſs ſuch meeting is ſanctioned by charter. The friends of

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order and good government are now collected; the time is precious, and ought not to be loſt; and while we are threatened with the horrors of anarchy, it behoves us to have as much activity and energy in our defence as the violators of all human rights have exerted in their attack: for men to tell us, in ſuch a moment as this, and ſituated as we are with the enemy of mankind on one ſide, and the torch of revolt lighting in Ireland on another ſide —that they are not Jacobins, but moderate men, wiſhing *reform*, is as impudent as it would be for a thief to ſay, that he is not an aſſaſſin, becauſe he only holds a candle while another cuts my throat.

That government cannot be improved, and that legiſlation ſhould be the only ſcience to ſtand ſtill, by no means follow: experiment proſcribes only great changes; ſmall and gradual advances, in times of ſerenity—ſuch advances as put nothing to hazard, muſt be good. It is eaſy to lay the finger on grievances in England, which every honeſt and moderate man would wiſh removed; but it is not when much is demanded, that litt'e ſhould be given; for the plain reaſon, that the little will not THEN ſatisfy.

I ſhall not be ſuſpected of thinking tithes a light grievance: but they are a grievance that would be

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ill remedied by the loſs of the crop that pays them; the enormity of the taxes I pay is known to every man that reads the tracts I publiſh; heavy as they are, let them remain rather than be changed for a *contribution fonciere*; the little left me is my own, which might not be the caſe under the pure diſpenſations of Jacobin equality. Evils certainly exiſt in our ſyſtem, and they are ſuch as will, I truſt, be remedied, gradually, by the legiſlature, acting from its own impulſe; and not from the influence of clubs and reforming ſocieties.

It was an old obſervation, that a rebublic could ſubſiſt on the trappings of a monarchy. The French have ſet the ſeal of experience here, as in every other caſe, and have ſhewn, that citizen Roberſpiere, and citizen Roland, can out-do *Emperor Joſeph* and *King George* in extravagance; the moſt enormous expences, that ever any nation was deluged with, are the preſent in France; a ſingle month's DEFICIENCY is 176 millions, or 7,700,000l. ſterling; this is ſpending at the rate of 90 millions a year. Paine ſays, "It is cruel to think of a million a year to a king;" but it is not a breakfaſt to an aſſembly of citizens. There is a great deal in the civil liſt of England that does not concern *trappings*. The payment, for the ſupport of thoſe trappings, do not probably amount to ſixpence a head upon the population of Great-Britain,

tain, for which ſixpence every man has the ſupport of a chief conſtable, that keeps all the other conſtables to their duty. Inſtead of ſixpence a head paid for tranquillity, the French *now* pay five ſhillings a head for keeping a gang of cut throats, and an aſſembly of mad dogs. A ſplendid imperial court might be ſupported out of ſomething worſe than trappings of the French republic.

Monarchy, ſays Paine, *is a ſilly contemptible thing, I compare it to ſomething kept behind a curtain, about which there is a great deal of buſtle and fuſs, and a wonderful air of ſeeming ſolemnity; but when, by any accident, the curtain happens to be open, and the company ſee what it is, they burſt into laughter.* He has ſince, in the character of a legiſlator, had rueful occaſions of witneſſing, that *repreſentation* can exhibit ſcenes more burleſque, and to the full as laughable, as any in monarchy; and that the legiſlators of the Convention, determining priority of ſpeaking by boxing (a kick for a *trope*, a black-eye for a *metaphor*, and the deſcent from the tribune that of being tumbled or hurled upon the benches), to the ſhouts, clappings, and hiſſings of the galleries, have upon a thouſand occaſions preſented ſpectacles admirably adapted for moving the riſible faculties of ſpectators; not forgetting the nickname of our Thetford ſtaymaker—the

punchinello of the Convention. "This tribune," ſays Danton, "is become an amphitheatre for gladiators*."

If France ſhould ever again poſſeſs the precious moment of improving her government without convulſions, which opportunity ſhe had, and loſt; or if any other great country, having an indigent poor, ſhould meet ſuch a moment——experiment ſpeaks to them but one language.——TAKE THE BRITISH CONSTITUTION, not becauſe it is theoretically the beſt, but becauſe it is practically good; but take ſpecial care not to miſtake that conſtitution, and give the poiſon of perſonal repreſentation; for, in ſuch an error, your import of Britiſh liberty would become the eſtabliſhment of French anarchy.

The concluſion may be compreſſed in a few lines: the danger of the moment is great indeed; and only to be guarded againſt by the moſt unremitted diligence and activity:—exert that diligence, and bring that activity into play by an unanimous ſupport of the adminiſtration, entruſted at preſent with the public ſafety: the queſtion is not, whether you are a friend or an enemy of that adminiſtration; you are certainly a friend to the lives and properties of mankind. Join in aſſoci-

* April 11.

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ations for our defence, againſt banditti, cut throats, and Jacobins; join againſt an enemy more ſubtle, and therefore more dangerous, the friends of reform; the aſſociators who would plant the tree of equal liberty; the mountebanks who have a French noſtrum, and Birmingham daggers, for the diſeaſes of our Engliſh conſtitution. Guard againſt ſuch miſcreant attempts by pointed reſolutions; and call, with one voice, on the legiſlature to ſuppreſs, by vigorous and deciſive laws, the clubs of ſedition; the aſſociations that call themſelves our "conſtutional" inſtructors and our "friends;" whoſe leſſons are inſtitutes of anarchy; and whoſe friendſhip—ſhould their tenets prevail—would cement with our beſt blood, that National Convention of Britain with which thoſe ſocieties have ſo lately threatened us *.

Queſtion

* I know not how other men feel at reading the regiſters of meetings of *Jacobins, reformers, friends of the conſtitution, friends of the liberty of the preſs*—but to me they appear half farſical, half diſguſting; a ſtrange jumble of ſpeeches, and drinking, and ſinging; one is doubtful whether the proper retribution would be to conſider them as traitors, and ſend them to the Tower; as madmen, and convey them to bedlam; or as diſturbers of the peace, and ſweep them all to the round-houſe. There is no government upon earth, or that ever exiſted in the world, this alone excepted, that would permit aſſemblies, the profeſſed purport of which is to pull it in pieces: whoſe object is to declare their own diſcontent, and to render the people as unhappy as themſelves. To conſider the epithets they give one another, and the toaſts they drink, a

Queſtion of a War.

Every reflecting man muſt, on conviction derived from long experience, be an enemy to war; and muſt be of opinion, that that ſyſtem of policy ought, at this time, as well as at all other periods, to be embraced, which promiſes us the longeſt duration of peace, for the fifty next years to come.

bye ſtander would ſuppoſe the kingdom had been for ſome time in a ſtate of utter ruin—and that the liberties of the people were rendered the ſport of tyrants——He would imagine that the preſs had been under an *imprimatur*, but removed by the zeal of an individual: that the people owed all their *rights* to another member: that all *repreſentation* in parliament hung on the lips of a third: and that the property of England would be at the mercy of *exciſes*, were it not for the exertion of a fourth. And, attending to the ſpeeches delivered, he would find, to his ſurprize, that the people of England did not owe their happineſs to their government, but were *cajoled* into proſperity; that they were *victims*, viewing with envy the *glorious conqueſts* of Iriſh reformers. Such a bye-ſtander, not well-informed of facts, would certainly conclude, that Engliſhmen were more miſerable than any nation on the globe, and particularly than Frenchmen. Speculative arrangements of ſtate offices are ſometimes amuſing—let us ſuppoſe one of theſe orators a ſecretary, another a ſecretary's ſecretary, another a treaſurer of the navy, a fourth paymaſter, a fifth ſecretary at war, and a ſixth attorney-general: what, in ſuch a caſe, would at once become of all this ruin? Where, alas! would be found the rights of the preſs, the rights of the people, the rights of repreſentation, the rights of no exciſe? A magic wand is waved over the iſland, and evils fly off like the evaporation of an ethereal miſt—the atmoſphere clears—the ſun ſhines. This is not ſuppoſition, or theory: it is FACT, deduced from a thouſand EXPERIMENTS—It is *hiſtory*, *experience*, and *man*.

This

This ought to be the only rule of a ſtateſman; and if, by avoiding hoſtilities with theſe new deſtroyers of mankind at preſent, we had any chance of preſerving peace, my weak voice ſhould urge our miniſters to guard it with the moſt ſedulous precautions; but if, on the contrary, preſerving peace at preſent be only whetting the ſwords, ſtoring the magazines, and diſſeminating the principles, which are by and by to be employed againſt us, with tenfold effect; and, above all other points, planting and nouriſhing thoſe principles among us by every inſidious art; if ſuch ſhould be the conſequences of peace at preſent, it muſt be ſufficiently apparent to every reaſonable man, that on the long account, every year of war, at this criſis, will probably ſecure ten years of peace in its train; and conſequently, that the policy of permanent peace is, of all others, that which moſt clearly calls for temporary war.

Such a coincidence of circumſtances, as produces this ſingular ſituation, has very rarely happened. In almoſt all the former wars, in which this kingdom has been engaged ſince the revolution, our government, or the oppoſition to government, has looked at its own intereſts only, and but ſeldom at thoſe of the nation. The war of 1744, was a war abſolutely without an object, and brought on by the oppoſition in parliament, raiſing a cla-

mour againſt Sir Robert Walpole. The war of 1756, was a commercial war, for the preſervation of colonies. The American war was to retain thoſe colonies in obedience; a war, partly of commerce, partly of government, and partly popular. But, on true political principles, all thoſe three wars, to which we owe nearly the whole of our national debt, were ill-judged, and ought to have been avoided: the attainment of the object in view was not worth an hundred part of the expence, much leſs the *chance* of attaining that object. If the object before us now were of no greater magnitude, God forbid that any honeſt man ſhould have pleaded for hoſtilities! Had the French contented themſelves with the domeſtic arrangements of their own government, what would have been our concern in their tranſactions? None. Nothing either in policy or pretence. Whether their edifice were philoſophical, atheiſtical, or metaphyſical;—whether their parliament aſſembled in one or two houſes; whether they purſued the rights or wrongs of Man, all were the ſame to us: and accordingly our government, greatly to its honour, was a mere ſpectator, not an indifferent ſpectator; but rather friendly than otherwiſe. But when the new Revolution, of the 10th of Auguſt, brought other principles into play;—when the republicans, who then mounted aloft in the ſtorm of their own raiſing, proclaimed princi-

ples

ples directly offenſive to the government of every country around them—and, in effect, declared war againſt them, in the famous decree of ſupport to all rebels who wiſhed for French freedom*; when theſe hoſtile declarations were found to ſpring from the victories that attended their arms—when they were accompanied with the moſt buſy, impudent, and intruſive interference in the parties and diſcontents of theſe kingdoms, and that in a tone and manner equally inſidious and dangerous: when all theſe circumſtances combined to fill our government with the utmoſt alarm, what condemnation would have been adequate to its demerit, had it acted on any other plan than what it has purſued? It is not a queſtion, whether there ſhould be a war or not—but whether a war in 1793 or in 1796? War with an enemy powerfully attacked by others? or with the ſame enemy after ſhe hath conquered others? Shall it be war in St. Domingo and Martinique, or in Ireland and Suſſex?

Thoſe who have attempted to perſuade us, that we are in danger in this war, from the ſtrength and vigour of *republican* France, have their motives for ſuch an opinion; but, according to all the ap-

* The Convention declares, in the name of the French nation, that it will grant aſſiſtance to all people who wiſh to recover their liberty, and charges the executive power with giving the neceſſary orders to the generals for giving ſuccour to ſuch people. Nov. 19. ordered to be printed in all languages.

pearances on which human foreſight can build, the idea has little of juſtice for its ſupport. The dangers that threaten at preſent, are thoſe that threaten France; they have orators, it is true, who perſuade them, that they are invincible, but when you examine the circumſtances of the force relied on, they muſt make any reaſonable man ſmile.—*Does the pay of our troops require money? Our harveſts and our vintages, our raw materials and manufactures; will they be leſs abundant, becauſe a crown of ſix livres is worth more or leſs than a crown in aſſignats? Frenchmen will be fed, cloathed, lodged, warmed, armed, and encamped ſo long as they have a fertile ſoil; and our territory is very much increaſed ſince the beginning of the war.*——Cloots, February 5.

Such are the marvellous politics of the orator of the *ſans culottes*; for nothing rich enough to wear breeches merits the epithet *human*, in the claſſification of this ſyſtem of natural rights. This ſpeech, received with applauſe, ſhews ſufficiently, what are the hopes and reſources of the Convention. They have extremely rich land in Auvergne, and therefore they will fight very well in Flanders! The banks of the Garonne yield great crops of hemp, conſequently their fleets will be effective friends to Tippo Saib. Money is neceſſary to Kings, but republicans know how to do without it! The very

firſt lines, the firſt rudiments of political ſcience, are all eraſed in ſuch ideas: this orator, the powers of whoſe mind go no further than giving fluency to nonſenſe, ſpeaks in common with many other members of their pandemonium, of all France *riſing* and marching to the frontiers. I do not conceive it poſſible that any perſon, in this enlightened country, can be ſo ignorant as to be deceived by ſuch ſtuff: one or two obſervations, however, will not be thrown away, rather than the principles of natural force may be better underſtood, than for the confutation of the Pruſſian orator.

Guiding myſelf by their own authorities, I may ſtate their extra reſources, from the regal and eccleſiaſtical plunder, at four *milliards*, that is 175,000,000l. ſterling: their laſt accounts ſtate the value of the poſſeſſions of 70,000 emigrants at 4,800,000,000 liv.: here, therefore, are at leaſt eight *milliards*, or 350,000,000l. ſterling, in Cloots' ſolid real wealth; the wealth of rich land and fertile crops; they have had beſides, if you will believe them, an annual revenue of 600,000,000 liv. above 25,000,000l. ſterling. Now what has been the reſult of all this? They have coined paper to the amount of 3,000,000,000 liv. (131,000,000l. ſterling); and, after all, they have, within theſe few days, coined 800,000,000 liv. more of paper; about

about 36,0:0,cool. ſterling*!!! Thus proving a direct negative to all this egregious politician's doctrine. No government that ever exiſted in the world, came into the poſſeſſion, or rather into the plunder, of ſuch ſolid wealth; and yet it is of ſo little conſequence, that they are now driven, after a ſingle, and that a triumphant campaign, to the

* "The taxes in France, under the new conſtitution," ſays Paine, "are not quite 13s. a head." There never was one ſyllable of truth in this, even at the time he wrote. The fair account of their taxes is thus to be calculated—the ſums actually raiſed, and the diſcount on the aſſignats, deducting the arrears ſtated by Claviere, from four years taxation, the remainder will be about 1,400,000,000 livres—60 per cent. on 3,800,000,000 livres is 2,280,000,000 livres—in all 3,680,000,000 livres—which divide by 4, and the reſult is 920 millions—40,250,000l. ſterling per annum; or about 34s. 6d. a head, extorted from a people without trade, manufactures, or induſtry; inſtead of leſs than 20s. a head, paid under the old governmert, with every branch of induſtry animated and flouriſhing! In how ſhort a ſpace of time *can a repreſentative* government convert the calculations of this great politician into a refutation of every one of his arguments! What monarchy is "up to this?" My eſtimate cannot be exact, but it is probably under the fact, as will appear, by comparing the debt, as ſtated by Chabot in one period, and by Necker in another. The moment is not arrived to allow us to reckon the whole of aſſignats as a tax: it ſeems, however, faſt advancing, for the courſe of exchange with England is † at 9¼, having ſunk for three months paſt, nearly in the ratio Mr. Playfair foretold; and the creation of 1200 millions more, lately ‡ ordered to be iſſued, will, without doubt, continue the depreſſion, and ſpeedily involve their government in inextricable confuſion.

† May 21, 1793. ‡ In May, 1793.

extremities

extremities of adding 800 to 3,000,000,000 of paper! paper! paper!!! "It would be impoſſible, on the rational ſyſtem of repreſentative government, to make out a bill of expences to ſuch an enormous amount as the deception of monarchy admits," is the aſſertion of the great politician Mr. Paine, who now has hourly means of receiving the conviction of his own falſehoods, and of ſeeing, in common with all Europe, that no monarchy, which ever exiſted on the globe, ever made out ſuch *a bill* as that "concentration of knowledge in a ſtate of conſtant maturity *," the repreſentative tyranny of France. With the rich land and abundant harveſts of three-fourths of France in their power, they are ſo poor, ſo ragged, and ſo hungry, that half the regiſters of their aſſembly is occupied with cries for raiment, demands for food, complaints of famine; a nation without bread, and armies without breeches.

"Repreſentative government," ſays Paine, "poſſeſſes a perpetual ſtamina, as well of body as of mind." The error here is ſmall, the perpetual ſtamina is of paper. "It exiſts not by fraud *." No, gentle reader, it is mere honour, faith, and honeſty to heap the paper Pelion on the paper Oſſa; and, when at 60 per cent. diſcount, to decree *death* as the puniſhment of doubting its

* Paine.

pa

par value. This is repreſentative purity, that "admits not a ſeparation between knowledge and power*," but runs "parallel with the order and immutable laws of nature*."

Such are the facts;—they (a noble Lord in England is of the ſame opinion) were too ignorant to know, that ſuch would inevitably be the reſult;—and this orator of the *human race* continues ignorant, in ſpite of all their experience. He might, however, have known, that rich land and the wealth which, in home conſumption, may be called ſolid and real, cannot be brought into effect in a war at a diſtance, but by means of a circulating ſpecie of ſuch credit, as to command commodities. Aſſignats, before a livre of this 800,000,000 is circulated, have created a famine, and raiſed the price of wheat to 50 liv. the ſack, or 100 liv. the quarter (4l. 7s. 6d.); the new iſſue will increaſe this ſcarcity, and throw a proportionable impediment in the way of every operation of government. Great diſcontents, and even inſurrections, have been frequent in various parts of the kingdom; what will be the conſequence of adding, in ſucceſſive campaigns, to this enormous amount of circulating miſchief—of injecting into all the veins and arteries of the political body, not blood but poiſon? The value of rich land, of harveſts,

* Paine.

and

and vintages, will ſoon be found, when the ſilver wings which ought to convey them, with vital efficacy, to the frontiers, become paper at 100 per cent. diſcount. It is taxes paid in ſpecie, or in ſomething as good as ſpecie, that enables the public to avail itſelf of private wealth. If eight *milliards* of *real* wealth leave them beggars, for want of MONEY, the experiment is ſurely complete and finiſhed, for all except *convention* politicians!

" While Mr. Burke," ſays Paine, " has been talking about the Bankruptcy of France, the National Aſſembly has been paying off the capital of its debt. Not a word has either Mr. Burke or Mr. Pitt ſaid this ſeſſion on the French finances. The ſubject *begins to be too well underſtood, and impoſition will ſerve no longer.*—The finances of the new government will place France in a ſituation worthy the imitation of Europe." The author of the hodge-podge called Rights of Man, ſays, in the ſame paſſage, that Mr. Burke talks *like a dreamer of dreams.* What are theſe viſions, Mr. Paine, if they are not dreams? The *elevated mind of France** has proceeded with the ſame *mightineſs of reaſon** in finances, as in every other branch of adminiſtration—reform and re-generation the theory—paper, poverty, and bankruptcy the practice.

* Paine.

The

The object of the war being a durable peace, attained by the deſtruction of a combination of reformers, who, not content with operating on the baſis of their own country, proclaim *improvement* and hoſtility againſt all their neighbours—ſuch being the great object, the principle of ſelf-defence, which inſtigates the war—it is but of ſecondary moment what the immediate event of our military operations may prove. Our proſpect however has nothing to alarm: the ſtate of the French Weſt Indies is ſuch, that a Britiſh fleet has only to appear and meet the greeting of friends. The Rights of Man and Equality have proved too ruinous to be liſtened to after the flag of real freedom appears in thoſe ſeas; this is the expectation in the Convention itſelf; and their recompence is the idea of giving freedom to Peru!

If there is truth in the repreſentation I have given of our danger—if the field of that danger is at home—and if in this war with France we have to fight, not through ambition or for conqueſt, but for the preſervation of our lives and properties againſt foreign and domeſtic foes, combined for our deſtruction; it then ſurely behoves every man that wiſhes well to his country, to give firmneſs and vigour to that government by which alone we can hope for defence and ſecurity; by as great unanimity as our enemies will admit—by rejecting,

ing, reprobating, and holding up to abhorrence, every idea of altering, reforming, or tampering, at ſo dangerous a criſis, with the conſtitution to which we owe the proſperity that is ſo hateful an object to the Jacobins of France; by exerting our ſelves, every man in his individual and collective capacity, with all vigour, to promote the views of government in an energic conduct of the war, by which alone we can hope for a continuance of thoſe bleſſings which belong to us as Britons. The public conduct which the government of this kingdom at preſent holds, promotes the deareſt intereſts of the people, and ought to render it popular and reſpected. Succeſs under God depends on the people bearing the burthens, which the neceſſity of war may impoſe on them, with patience and chearfulneſs; convinced as they muſt be, that the war is not only juſt, but abſolutely and eſſentially neceſſary to the ſalvation of all that makes life deſirable; the peace of families—the ſurety of dwellings—the ſafety of life—the ſecurity of property;—they will conſider its expence as the ſacrifice of a little, for the preſervation of the whole.

I am old enough to remember diſtinctly the whole courſe of the war of 1756; to have reflected on the events of that, and of the American war; and though I felt as an Engliſhman ought to feel for the honour of his country's arms, yet the events

made

made no deep impreſſion on my mind—nothing perſonal created the leaſt anxiety in my boſom. In the preſent conteſt there is none of this want of intereſt—the rapid conqueſts of the French, in the laſt campaign, filled me with apprehenſion and gloom; I ſaw, with horror, the elevated creſts of our own Jacobins—I marked the meditated miſchief, and felt, that all for which I wiſhed to live had received a ſhock. The late events, which gave hope of a turning tide, revived my ſpirits;—my houſe became more my caſtle—I viewed my farm as more my own—I began to feel the ſoil firmer under my feet—and that the ſun of Britiſh freedom might yet ſhine with beams unblotted by deeds of horror. What were victories in Heſſe, or defeats in America, to the perſonal feelings of a farmer in Suffolk? alike to him or conqueſt or defeat.—Not ſo in this conteſt, eventful to every human feeling—that comes *home to men's buſineſs and boſoms*; in which defeat will rob him of his patrimony, his friends, his life, his children; convert his country to his gaol, and raiſe the hand he may have ſupported to acts of plunder and of death. He who does not feel his property more ſecure, and the lives of his family more ſafe, in conſequence of every ſucceſs gained againſt that band of cut throat wretches, that uſurp the government of France—has a boſom touched by vibrations in no uniſon with mine. It is a war of

humanity

humanity againſt the ravagers and deſtroyers of the earth; and the period of it might have given one the horrible proſpect of ſeeing men (the members even of this proſperous and happy ſociety, tempted by vile ambition, or inſtigated by the poverty of profligacy—marking power as the offſpring of confuſion, and plunder the reward of anarchy)—of ſeeing ſuch men repining at victories that fill every honeſt boſom with joy, and glorying in defeats diſaſtrous to the cauſe of humanity. The victories of this war tend to preſerve liberty on the firm baſis of the Britiſh conſtitution; property on law; and life in the pure diſpenſations of unſuſpected juſtice. But to what tends defeat? Let the French ſyſtem eſtabliſh itſelf, and there ſets the ſun of England's liberty—there flies, as before a peſtilence, all that renders life ſweet, or property deſirable:—plunder, rapine, blood, ſucceed.

Petition of the Jacobin Society, called Friends of the People, praying a Reform.

THIS petition, which fills a pamphlet, and was fabricated by the ſame perſons who hatched the other *libels*, alſo called petitions—refers, in its firſt line, to the *ſpirit* of the conſtitution; leſt the Houſe, or the reader ſhould miſtake the intention which produced and pervades the whole performance, that of abuſing and vilifying the conſtitution, *as it is*, in favour of what it ideally *ought to be*, in the *opinion* and *theory* of the petitioners.

They ſet out farther, with aſſerting, that "the wiſdom of our anceſtors contrived to render the conſtitution beneficial to the ſecurity and happineſs of the people"—thus referring to what the conſtitution has been in former times; *contrived by wiſdom, and happy in its reſult.* They finiſh many of their paragraphs with, "and this your petitioners are ready to prove;"—why did they, with ſo much ſolicitude, tack thoſe words (a mere parody on Paine's *is not this a good thing?*) to every period where the aſſertion is ſo futile, that, whether it be true or falſe, is not of the leaſt conſequence, but omit it wherever a bold aſſertion, of ſome leading fact, is puſhed forward, on which to found the main buttreſſes of their argument?

When

When they aſſert the wiſdom, ſecurity, and happineſs of former periods, and deny them all in the preſent period, why not add here alſo, *and this your petitioners are ready to prove?* Becauſe a miſchievous and deceptious cunning is a conſtituent ingredient in Jacobiniſm; theſe men know and feel that they could prove no ſuch thing. They will cover your table with proofs, that thirty-five places, by burgage tenure, ſend ſeventy members; but not an iota of proof do they offer to ſupport their aſſertion, that that conſtitution which is now "a grievance," was once "pure." What frivolous childiſh trifling is this!—It is like talking theory in a debate of two days and then dividing 40 members, who ought all, if their arguments were good, to repreſent counties; inſtead of which there were but ſix county "friends" among them!!!

But "grievances!"—Theſe petitioners are hardy enough to urge grievances; and when they are aſked for their grievances, they produce the conſtitution! There is the only grievance they name. Inſtead of bringing forward real grievances, which they would do if they could find them*, they deſcribe

* Of which a notable inſtance occurred, in a formal accuſation brought forward in parliamentary reform, againſt his Majeſty's miniſters, for keeping the ſuſpected domeſtics of Egalité—and the noted Dr. Maxwell ſome hours on board a packet, as contrary to

ſcribe the conſtitution; they are "jealous of whatever appears to vitiate its purity." But where are your "grievances?" None are to be found.

It is ſcarcely poſſible to believe, that men of talents could exert themſelves ſo much to produce this artful petition, in which they allude perpetually to grievances, and not ſee, while they were fabricating it, what bugbears they were dreſſing up to catch the eye of the ignorant, and to ſerve the purpoſe of *that* which they, in vain, endeavoured to find. The *national debt!* certainly an evil; but Mr. Fox, in the ſpeech printed with this petition*, expreſsly ſays, that that evil has not been owing to a defective repreſentation; and he ſays truly. What next? *Bribery and corruption at elections.* This is perfectly droll: theſe friends of the people come forward as their champions; and the plea is, that the people are bribed and

law and conſtitution. What a panegyric on this glorious country! that men tremblingly alive, and reſponſive to the faineſt and almoſt imperceptible vibrations of diſcontent——of evil, could it be found; ——upon the hunt——*beating* for their game, can find none—— and are forced to confeſs, that they can find none, by pouching flies and maybugs for their quarry.

* I read the petition in the pamphlet printed by Debrett—*Speeches of Pitt and Fox; to which is annexed, &c.* 8vo. "In ſome of the petitions on the table, the accumulation of the public debt was imputed to the defect of the repreſentation, and he was ſorry to ſee ſuch an abſurdity in them." P. 54.

corrupt!!

corrupt!! Indeed? And you petition the Houſe of Commons to cure it! By what means? By multiplying voters amongſt men who now complain of their own corruption; becauſe the corruption of "fifteen thouſand" voters is an evil, give us the corruption of 60,000! Such is the reaſoning of the people's *friends*.——Well; proceed with your grievances. *The expence of conteſted elections tried by committees of the Houſe of Commons.*

This is the moſt curious article of the whole, and ſhews the compoſition of thoſe men, who come forward as *friends* of the people. An impartial committee, choſen by ballot, giving forty days attendance to a trial, is ſtated as a grievance!! I remember being in the gallery to hear a debate on Mr. Grenville's bill, when General Burgoyne uſed the remarkable expreſſion (alluding to the former method of determining conteſted elections)—*would you, Hottentot-like, return to your guts and garbage?*——Theſe friends of the people are lovers of the "purity of conſtitution enjoyed by our anceſtors;"—the guts and garbage of former times. But the conſtitution might be ſo framed, ſo altered, ſo improved, ſo *reſtored* to *original purity*, that conteſted elections could not be tried. I have no doubt of it: we ſee it juſt ſo in France; no committee of the Convention has yet

ſat to try a conteſted election. The conteſt is previouſly decided by the pike; and the "elective franchiſe" is ſo valuable and ſo free, that of 150,000 voters in one city, 9000 only appear at the huſtings: were the 141,000 others to offer to poll, it muſt be in battle array, or their vote would be their death warrant. Here then is great ſimplicity of election, and no expence, and no election committees, and no "wrangling of lawyers;" nothing of all this;——but there are things which you have not named—the pike, the axe, and the halter; three engines of wonderful efficacy in purifying elections.

Such is the liſt of modern "grievances."—There ends the budget of evils: all the reſt of the petition is made up of a deſcription of the conſtitution: places elect where the voters do not exceed 50—where they do not exceed 100—where they did not exceed 200—and ſo on; all which the "petitioners are ready to prove." The only circumſtance that demands a moment's attention, is their repreſenting theſe facts of the conſtitution as grievances. They have no real ones to complain of, and therefore make the conſtitution itſelf a grievance—this is but a haſh of Tom Paine, who ſaid we had no conſtitution; and that the bill of rights was a bill of wrongs. Theſe men knew that they muſt attempt, in ſome way or other, to

ſhew,

ſhew, that the preſent mode of election is an evil, on compariſon with preceding times; and as doing this fairly and honeſtly is utterly impoſſible, they recur perpetually to the "principles" and "ſpirit" of the conſtitution, which they are cunning enough to know admits of torturing at pleaſure. They make no diſtinction between a government, and the principles of that government; which is, neither more nor leſs than nonſenſe. But nonſenſe, when flowing from ſedition, is not apt to be without a meaning;—and here the meaning evidently is, to ſink the conſtitution and raiſe its principles.—We know what the former is, but who knows what reformers would ſubſtitute for it, under the name of principles? Theſe gentlemen never ſeem to ſee an object clearly, but when they have involved it in a miſt; they conjure up the principles of the government, and confound them with the government itſelf, in order that the unwary may not know one from the other; may not be able to diſtinguiſh the conſtitution, from the monſter they would palm upon us for it. In the ſame ſpirit they aſſert, that public happineſs depends on the "third eſtate being created by, repreſenting, and reſponſible to, the people themſelves;" a paſſage containing as many errors as words; for it is to be remembered, that by the expreſſion *the people*, theſe reformers mean always the whole maſs of the people: the Houſe of

Commons was not created by the people, but by the crown; never did repreſent the people in any period of our hiſtory; and is not reſponſible to the people. What wretched ſtuff are theſe eternal aſſertions, without fact, without ſupport, without proof; yet do theſe petitioners preſume to ſay, that they lay before the Houſe "not general ſpeculations, deduced from theoretical opinions, but poſitive truths, ſuſceptible of direct proofs." Bravo! To the ſame factious purpoſe they go on;—"Your honourable Houſe is not an adequate repreſentation of the people; and therefore contrary to the ſpirit of the conſtitution." An *adequate* repreſentation! What is an adequate repreſentation? Do they offer to ſtate what that means? No. Do they ſhew the inadequacy, by the weight and number of grievances they quote? To what ſhould the repreſentation be adequate, if not to the "ſecurity" and to the "happineſs of the people?" Do they ſhew the unhappineſs of the people? Their poverty and diſtreſs, compared with other nations; in their employment, wealth, comforts, their dwellings, cloaths, and food? Do they ſhew the inſecurity of the people? The oppreſſions by the Crown, or its miniſters, the danger from the military, deficient juſtice, or corrupt judges? Nothing of all this. If the Houſe of Commons, then, is adequate to the happineſs of the people, it is adequate to the ſpirit of the conſtitution; and

changing

changing it for a much-envied and eagerly wiſhed-for convention, would not be a cure for the evils of the people, whatever gratification it might prove for the ambition of their demagogues.

But further—" The preſent complicated rights of voting," the " caprice," " obſcurity," " confuſion," " intricate qualifications," " ſtrange diſtinctions," " are regulated by no uniform principle of voting" When were they regulated by a uniform principle? In what period of " purity" was ſuch uniformity to be found? Never!——No—not for a ſingle moment. Why then aſk it at preſent? Becauſe in theory a conſtitution might be better than that of Britain. Very good this! The people of England are to give up that order of things, which has eſtabliſhed national happineſs as the inheritance of a great nation, in exchange for the theory of forty FRIENDS!—— Fill up that blank with an epithet adequate to the ——— modeſty——of ſuch a propoſal.

They go on and tell the Houſe, that the want of ſuch uniformity has deprived the people of all participation in that privilege, the free exerciſe of which affords the only ſecurity they can poſſeſs for the protection of their liberties and properties."—This is expreſsly declaring, that every man who has not a vote is a ſlave; this is the doctrine which makes

makes one million one hundred and eighty thouſand ſlaves in this kingdom: he who wants the *only ſecurity* that can render liberty and property ſafe, has no liberty or property but at the pleaſure of others, *i. e.* he is a political ſlave. This paſſage merits great attention, as a commentary on thoſe ſpeeches from the oppoſition benches, in which *perſonal repreſentation* was declared to be an abſurd idea. Here perſonal repreſentation, by univerſal ſuffrage, is demanded expreſsly; for if they aſſert, that their liberty and property are inſecure, if they have not perſonal repreſentation, they moſt effectively demand ſuch repreſentation. When, therefore, Mr. Fox, in his ſpeech of that day ſaid, that only one of the petitions demanded univerſal ſuffrage; he meant ſuch an aſſertion as a pleaſantry, but could not be ſerious; the fact is, they every one demanded it, in words as ſtrong in their import as if they had expreſsly named it. The Friends of the People can therefore hold one doctrine in ſpeaking, and another in penning petitions. It is good at leaſt to know this, that the conſiſtency of thoſe ſhould be underſtood who urge the inconſiſtency of others.

A Right Honourable gentleman, who ſupported the petitions, is reported to have ſaid, in his ſpeech on that day, "it had been ſaid that French principles were facinating. Would any man now

ſay

ſay that French principles were fac nating? What then had we to fear from what no man in his ſenſes would wiſh to copy?"—Turn over a few pages of the ſame ſpeech, and you meet with the following words, which I ſuppoſe were meant as a comment on the text of that paſſage—" It was ſaid, that a Houſe of Commons, ſo choſen as to be a complete repreſentative of the people, would be too powerful for the Houſe of Lords, and even for the King, they would aboliſh the one, and diſmiſs the other. If the King and the Houſe of Lords were unneceſſary, and uſeleſs branches of the conſtitution, let them be diſmiſſed and aboliſhed, for the people were not made for them, but they for the people." Thoſe who were preſent on that day know whether ſuch words were ſpoken or not—I take it for granted they were not—and that no man in the firſt claſſes of ſociety, who has filled the firſt offices of the State, and expects again to fill them, would talk ſuch language: I have no doubt but the Right Honourable member is miſrepreſented in the publications which give, under his name, the ſentiments, not of a Britiſh legiſlator, but of a French Jacobin; of a Convention incendiary—one of the ſhameful conſequences of allowing the ſpeeches of the members to be publiſhed. However, whether ſuch words were or were not ſpoken, they are printed and diſperſed; and I conſider them not as the opinions of a great and reſpectable

ſpectable ſenator—for that is impoſſible—but as ſentiments I find in a pamphlet, belonging no matter to whom; and examining them with this view, I may remark, that the latter paſſage is a complete anſwer to the firſt; for French principles muſt be very faſcinating indeed to allow ſuch declarations to be made in a Britiſh Houſe of Commons: theſe *are* French principles—they are principles that would not have had exiſtence in this age had republican horrors been unknown in France; they are ſentiments borrowed from the tribune of the Convention, generated in French boſoms, and tranſlated from French expreſſions. Can it be needful to point out the tendency of ſuch language? It is not a queſtion whether in the laſt reſort, in the expiring ſtruggles of civil anarchy and confuſion, there be truth in ſuch opinions, the truth of the ſentiment (ſuppoſing for a moment that there were truth in it*) is the laſt enquiry; but

* Thoſe who aſſert, that the king and nobility of England were made for the people, do not ſeem to have any juſt recollection of THAT which *made* the people of England: ſuch has been the foſtering and parental tenderneſs of this government, that the conſtitution of England, formed by the Crown and the nobility, may, with great truth, be ſaid to have produced *the people*: Beyond all heſitation, the Crown and the nobility made the conſtitution; and the people, properly ſo called, never thoroughly interfered, on their own account, but to deſtroy it; the caſe, in 1640, when *their* operations produced what they are always ſure to do, firſt anarchy, and then deſpotiſm. *The Crown and the barons* laid

but to ſpeak ſo lightly of events, which could not take place but in the midſt of horrors, of carnage, and univerſal ruin: to talk of the abolition and diſmiſſion of two branches of a legiſlature, that is known in the eſtabliſhment of felicity only; in the diffuſion of proſperous freedom alone; is in the ſame ſpirit as that which ſcatters firebrands and poiſon, careleſs alike of property and life. *For the good of the people, aboliſh the Lords, and diſmiſs the King!* Why, this is the identical theory and practice of France! It is the pernicious jargon that has ſpread devaſtation and blood from Calais to Marſeilles. With the kingdom ſwarming with Jacobin ſocieties, leſs noiſy, but not leſs numerous than before the war, is this a moment to familiarize

laid the foundation of *that* which, at the Revolution, was, *by the nobility*, matured into the preſent conſtitution; by making that conſtitution, they made all the conſtitution has generated; that is, wealth, felicity, the people, the nation. By making liberty, they made Engliſhmen—Nurſed their infancy, eſtabliſhed their manhood. By converting enſlaved villains into a free peaſantry, by giving the bleſſings of a good government, they gradually produced a great, a happy, and a free nation; a nation SO free, that it now ſees, in the licentiouſneſs of liberty, members in its family (or vipers in its boſom) ready to turn againſt the hand that fed them, and to repay, with a mortal ſting, the maternal warmth that nouriſhed them. What then can be ſo prepoſterous, as to aſſert, that the crown and the nobility were made for thoſe who were created by their influence, who were faſhioned by their hands? What groſs abſurdity, to ſtart ſuch queſtions at all? to bring into ſpeculation inquiries ſo futile, as whether a father is made for the benefit of his ſon; or the ſon for that of the father.

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the ears and minds of the people with changes of this dreadful import—to leſſen the horrors felt by mankind at the idea of ſuch convulſions; to connect the good of the people, even in imagination, with ſuch deſperate theories* ? While men, even great men, can ſpeak ſuch language, or not ſpeaking it, can allow it to paſs under their names, is this a moment for aſking whether French principles faſcinate any longer? Yes, in truth, they *do* faſcinate; they thrive; they ſpread; they grow with freſh vigour—they renovate in vernal profuſion.

The ſame men who ſpeak ſo lightly of aboliſhing the Lords, and diſmiſſing the King, *for the good of the people*, tell us alſo, that the war is miſchievous, and peace the only policy; they repreſent the danger from French principles, and French power, to be at an end, and that our miniſters ought to make peace. The inſidious art and miſchievous deſign with which that opinion is now attempted to be propagated amongſt the people; the duplicity with which every evil in the kingdom is attributed to the war, down to the com-

* The hypotheſis the *if* by no means extracts the danger of this ſentiment; for it ſeems to eſtabliſh in the opinion of the ſpeaker, that there is no impropriety in thinking of ſuch abolition, provided the previous queſtion in the mind is decided that they *are* uſeleſs: Is not this an encouragement to our Jacobins and Republicans, to decide the propriety of ſuch *abolition*, having previouſly determined their opinions of the *uſeleſſneſs*?

mercial

mercial failures of men who, on the credit of thouſands, were ſpeculating on borrowed millions, ruined alike whether in peace or in war, and inſolvent before a gun was fired, marks the REAL danger of the preſent moment.

What was the object of the war? Let this point be aſcertained clearly in every rational mind, for it is the polar ſtar that can alone guide us through the confuſion of arguments with which Jacobin oratory entangles the queſtion for the deception of the people. That object was the preſervation of the Britiſh conſtitution againſt the attacks—avowed or concealed—open or inſidious—by cannon in Flanders, or by Jacobin clubs in England—of French principles. Every friend of his country ſaw to conviction, that if the French ſyſtem, the French republic, eſtabliſhed itſelf on *principles and declarations of Rights of Man*, equally applicable to all mankind, that every government but their own was in the moſt imminent danger; their impudent declaration of aſſiſtance to all the rebels of the world was but reducing inevitable conſequences to the form of a declaration; the conduct, the reſult flowed of neceſſity from their ſyſtem, and the danger to their neighbours ſprung from the eſtabliſhment of a mob government in France, whoſe intereſt led them to the deſtruction of every other government.

What

What then is the queſtion of war and peace? Is the end anſwered for which hoſtilities were commenced? Is France ſo arranged, by the defeat of Dumourier, as to give ſecurity to her neighbours? Nothing leſs. The republicans, Jacobins, and regicides, are in power as much at this moment as when we began the war; and to ſuffer ſuch a gang of banditti and cut throats to eſtabliſh themſelves the maſters of ſuch an empire, is as dangerous to every country around, as it would be to my flock of ſheep to allow a breed of wolves to ſettle and propagate in one of my woods. The object of the war is to eſtabliſh ſuch a government in France as ſhall be conſiſtent with the ſafety of her neighbours. Is that effected?

But our Jacobins, all to a man, abhor the war, and cry for peace—they are conſiſtent in ſo doing—their ſagacity is unqueſtionable—they know that a peace would tend to eſtabliſh the republic of France—and that is the firſt and ſureſt ſtep to a republic in England; thus the inducement of our reformers to call for peace is identically the motive, with every real friend of his country, to perſiſt in continuing the war.

But while our Jacobins are conſequent to their own principles in the cry of peace, their cunning quits them when they cover the table of the Houſe

of

of Commons with petitions for reform and perſonal repreſentation; and yet, in the ſame breath, tell us that our danger is over, and that French principles faſcinate no longer: thoſe petitions are the cleareſt proof that our danger, ſo far from being over, is great as ever; ſince theſe petitions are the ſpawn of thoſe principles, and while a republic exiſts in France, to which Engliſh republicans can look for ſupport, that danger, in its full extent, will continue freſh and alarming: what greater reaſon can be given for continuing the war with vigour? *Give us peace, aboliſh the Lords, and diſmiſs the King.* Without doubt thoſe demands are rightly coupled; for what receipt ſo ſurely to produce the abolition of all but Jacobin anarchy, as to have peace, intercourſe, and fraternization with the regicides of France! With whom treat? Power, in that wretched country, changes hands as quickly as human depravity can bring forward villains of a blacker dye than their predeceſſors. What ſecurity has Marat, and his gang, for their power, except that of being truer blood-hounds than Petion, and his crew? And let a darker band ariſe than Marat's, and where would be his authority? The terms of a treaty would be kept or broken at their pleaſure; inviolate in their diſtreſs, but trampled under their feet, ſhould ſucceſs again attend their arms, againſt enemies not ſo eaſily duped as England.

In this critical and dangerous criſis of the fate of Europe, every man that does not wiſh to ſee a republic eſtabliſhed in England, muſt be, on all the principles of ſelf-defence, a friend to the war; and a determined enemy to thoſe propoſitions that tend to leave a republic eſtabliſhed in France—for the ſimpleſt of all reaſons, becauſe ſuch a government, fixed on the principles upon which alone it can now be fixed, is abſolutely inconſiſtent with the exiſtence of any regular government among its neighbours; it is the eſtabliſhment of eternal hoſtility againſt all real liberty, and conſequently againſt that of Britain. The inſidious peace which Engliſh Jacobins now pant for, would lead, with infallible ſteps, to a future war, a thouſand times more terrible, and that could end with nothing but utter deſtruction and conqueſt; or the immediate eſtabliſhment of a republic, founded on perſonal repreſentation, equality, and Rights of Man; in other words, on anarchy raging in the vitals of the kingdom.

Our ſtocks may be low—our manufactures diſtreſſed—our commerce impeded—and our gazettes filled with bankruptcies, inſtead of victories; the charged picture of our ſituation ſhall be accepted from the Jacobin benches; but what would all theſe be, were we to liſten to their crafty calls, and, by making peace with the regicides of France,

France, eſtabliſh the Rights of Man, that is, the laws of anarchy, within the ſight of our coaſt; fraternize with thoſe who deſire nothing better than to fraternize with us; and who, but the other day fraternized us to the very brink of a revolution. Where then would be our ſtocks, our manufactures, and our commerce? What would be the employment of our gazettes? Would paragraphs, that gave us the regiſter of Citizen Fox, Citizen Grey, and Citizen Sheridan at the tribune, the London municipalities at the bar, and a mob, with pikes, in the lobby, demanding the trial of the King—would theſe pay us for the change? Low ſtocks, and a checked induſtry, are *bad* things —but is a Jacobin government a good one? Gazettes of bankruptcies are bad alſo—but would ſuch gazettes as theſe be better? Let us, then, regard the calls to peace, that come from Jacobins, with the contempt they merit: we underſtand them well; our "friends" muſt thicken the flimſey veil with which they attempt to hide their views——their aim is ſeen—their intention known. We know what is *covered* by the expreſſions "a war of kings and deſpots," and the "bleſſings of peace," that would be reſtored by "a pure parliament."

"If there was ever any danger to this country, from the propagation of French principles, or

from the increaſed dominion of France, that danger, unqueſtionably, is completely at an end." "Involved in a moſt RUINOUS WAR, the whole commercial credit of the nation is ſhaken; and we have ſunk, from the zenith of our proſperity, into the moſt NECESSITOUS and DISTRESSED SITUATION. In this CALAMITOUS STATE, with reſpect to credit at home, and war abroad, nothing could tend ſo much to deliver the country from theſe DREADFUL EVILS, as to have a pure and uncorrupted Houſe of Commons, emanating freely and fairly from the people *." This hideous caricature of our ſituation, is found in a ſpeech uſhering into the Houſe the petition of the people's "friends," and referring to and defending its tenets; that is, univerſal ſuffrage. Thus the honourable member manifeſtly holds out to us perſonal repreſentation—to which ſeveral added, in the ſame debate, "ſhort parliaments"—as the cure for theſe "dreadful evils," that reſult from our government preſuming to defend the Britiſh conſtitution againſt the attacks of French Jacobins. Such a "pure" parliament would ſoon put an end to this "ruinous war."—How? By making an immediate peace with the regicides, and acknowledging the republic of France. This is what we are thus told a "pure" parliament would give us. The gentleman knows

* Mr. Grey's Speech. *Star*, May 7, 1793.

that

that ſuch a parliament, ſo choſen and ſo fitting, would give us all this inſtantly; and I believe that the honourable gentleman alſo knows, that it would give us abundantly MORE. It would eaſe us of the "ruinous war of kings," for it would ſoon eaſe us of the expence of a king; and it would entirely diſſipate the "dreadful evils" of a Houſe of Lords, and the "calamities" of a nobility. There would be a whole croud, a hoſt of evils, and neceſſities, and calamities, that would be diſſipated with the breath of ſuch a parliament: it would be effectively the government of THE PEOPLE; and we did not want the French Revolution to tell us what this is: the new truth, brought to light by this great event, is, that perſonal repreſentation is the government of the mob. And what is the concluſion? That property poſſeſſes the government at preſent, and ought to keep it; and that when a coarſe and fierce Jacobin tells us, that THE PEOPLE WILL HAVE what Jacobins petition for—it is in the ſame ſtrain as telling us, that the people will ſoon be INVINCIBLE: all theſe expreſſions, ſo daring, offenſive, and hoſtile, and which touch the verge of treaſon, ſhould convince reaſonable men, more than a thouſand arguments, that our danger is not over; that French principles yet faſcinate; that ruin and reform are ſynonimous; and that, with Jacobins, war is the true means of ſafety.

1794.

The progreſs of Jacobiniſm in England, ſhews, too clearly to be miſtaken, what is the real object aimed at by thoſe who are the moſt violent for reforms of various kinds :—to level property, has long been the *real*, but it is now the *declared* object; and the people of Britain ought to know the lengths to which Jacobiniſm can, in the full face of day, march in this country.

The progreſs of unreſtrained liberty of writing and ſpeaking, is more rapid in its paſſage, from common errors and abſurdities, to the groſſeſt and moſt ſhocking tenets, than many perſons may be willing to believe. The depraved vitiated appetites of a public, pampered with the luxury of ſedition, will ſoon demand the higher ſeaſoned treats of blaſphemy and treaſon. Many ſeditious writers prepared the palate of the mob for the productions of Paine; but, after the appearance of his works, the inflamed imaginations of men, who could admire him, demanded, in future, opinions more paradoxical; bolder aſſertions; morals more depraved; and impudence more unbluſhing.

Fortunately for the taſte of ſuch readers, a man * has appeared in diſſenting ranks, well qualified to put down the modeſty of Paine, by the extremities

* Mr. Godwin.

to

to which an unbridled licence of publication, could carry the ſpirit of reform.

A croud of writers, from ſimilar ſeminaries, had called for various reformations in our government, which ſeemed to bear hard againſt the conſtitution of the kingdom; but generally under the cloak and pretence of a reſpect for the *principles* of it. And men who meant well, could not eaſily unravel the difficulties palpable in attempting to reconcile praiſes of the French Revolution, which aboliſhed monarchy, with an affected approbation of a King in England. An author has appeared, who has explained the whole; withdrawn the thin veil that formed thoſe ſeeming enigmas, and given a detail of the perfection of political juſtice, in a diſh peppered high enough for palates caſe-hardened by the ragouts of revolution kitchens. Paine declared monarchy an impoſture; this writer copies the expreſſion *; but, improving on the ſentiment, and adapting it to the "progreſs of mind," he adds, that "the objections to limited monarchy, are as great as to deſpotic ones †."

Many reforming writers have contended againſt the ſeverity of our penal laws; but in this age of philoſophical light, the opinion muſt be improved and advanced. This writer condemns, in the ſe-

* P. 423. † P. 44. vereſt

vereſt terms, all puniſhment and coërcion: the paſſages are too long and numerous to quote, but he ſays—"There is no criterion of duty to any man, but in the exerciſe of his private judgment. Whatever attempts to preſcribe to his conduct, and to deter him from any courſe of action, by penalties and threats, is an execrable tyranny *." Whatever this opinion may be, it is, without queſtion, conſiſtent with the principle of admitting anarchy and maſſacre to be leſs evils than government:—he who murders acts better than the law that puniſhes the murderer. It is thus that reformers proceed; when we hear objections to the juriſprudence of England, and propoſitions for change, who can be aware of the ſyſtem that is ſoon to be founded on the firſt conceſſion? You would not hang a man for ſtealing a ſheep? No to be ſure. What is the next ſtep?—Nor for cutting the throats of men.

When a gentleman ſaid—"If the King and the Houſe of Lords were unneceſſary and uſeleſs branches of the conſtitution, let them be diſmiſſed and aboliſhed for the people were not made for them, but they for the people,"—who doubted but ſuch ſentiments would find admirers and imitators, who could, by following a ſimilar train of thought, arrive at ſtill greater ſublimities? The ſpeaker did

* P. 699.

not

not talk of correcting, or mending, or purifying the regal office, but of diſmiſſing the King. How congenial with the author of *Political Juſtice*;—"A king is the well known and ſtanding appellation for an office which has been the bane and the grave of human virtue: why attempt to purify what is entitled only to execration? Kings and Lords ſubſiſt only under favour and error of oppreſſion *."

It muſt give a great orator much pleaſure to ſee ſuch principles followed, and dilated into the "perfectibility of man," flowing from the energy "of anarchy;"—"the mental improvement and tranquil virtue" that ſprings from maſſacres;—the rent-roll of England aboliſhed;—and the wives and daughters of gentlemen the "right of the poor in the commonage of nature." All theſe "perfectibilities" flow in a direct ſtream from principle, from that which diſmiſſes a king and aboliſhes a houſe of parliament for the good of the people.

Many writers have arraigned an eſtabliſhed church, admitting, at the ſame time, the utility of a clergy; this ſublime reformer will not admit the uſe even of virtue itſelf, ſo taught:—"The moſt malicious enemy of mankind could not have invented a ſcheme more deſtructive of their true

* P. 458, 460.

happineſs

happineſs, than that of hiring, at the expence of the ſtate, a body of men, whoſe buſineſs it ſhould ſeem to be, to *dupe* their cotemporaries into the practice of virtue *. In like manner he ſays, that " reform muſt not be *ſtolen* on the community, but reſult from general energy †." It is not the *object* of reform, liberty, or a good conſtitution, that is deſirable, but the *means*; the energy; which he explains to be anarchy and maſſacre. Hence, by fair and direct concluſion, religion is *vice*; but the writer does not leave ſo important a diſcovery to be drawn by implication. The belief of the exiſtence of a God, and of providence, is, it ſeems, inconſiſtent with the " perfectibility of man." Here are his words,—" It is an extreme error to ſuppoſe, that the courſe of nature is ſomething arbitrarily adjuſted by a deſigning mind."—" Oaths take for granted the exiſtence of an inviſible governor of the world, and the propriety of our addreſſing petitions to him; both which a man may deny, and yet continue a good member of ſociety ‡." He whoſe *theory* teaches the merit of atheiſm, will never be far from the *practice* of congenial *virtues:* the French Revolution had already given us the connection of irreligion and anarchy; of atheiſm and maſſacre; Mr. Godwin brings them together, for the benefit of England. He is the profeſſed panegyriſt of anarchy;—" It

* P. 607. † P. 221. ‡ P. 635.

awakens

awakens the mind, and diffuſes energy and enterprize. It is accompanied with a ſpirit of independence. It diſengages men from prejudices and implicit faith; and, in a certain degree, incites them to an impartial ſcrutiny into the reaſon of their actions." And, in the following paſſage, after deſcribing all the horrors of maſſacre, he aſks,— " Suppoſe that the inevitable conſequence of communicating truth, were the temporary introduction of ſuch a ſcene as has juſt been deſcribed, muſt we, on that account, refuſe to communicate it?"

Such is the natural and inevitable progreſs of the ſpirit of reform, aided by the liberty of the preſs: the imaginations of the mob are firſt flattered with the idea of perſonal repreſentation, and being told, as this writer tells them, that " every member of the community ought to have a ſhare in its adminiſtration;" and as ſuch democratical confuſion can generate nothing but anarchy, anarchy is then ſhewn to be a ſmall evil, and maſſacre itſelf not to be conſidered as an obſtacle to the " perfectibility of mind and truth." The train of ſentiment is like the ſeries of events in revolutions; they begin with moderation; but what is reform in the commencement, becomes maſſacre in the concluſion: thus ſedition ſlides into treaſon, and generates tenets from which every honeſt heart revolts with horror.

But

But what direct and real object can be in view, when a man gives vigour to the baſeſt depravity; ſanctions murder; proſcribes puniſhment; and would hurl the Deity from the throne of heaven; ſpeculations elaborating from "mind," the fumes of hell? The object is palpable, and even avowed, from the firſt page to the laſt of this bulky emanation of "mind,"—LEVELLING PROPERTY. "It is a ſimple propoſition, that all republicaniſm, all equalization of ranks and immunities, ſtrongly tend towards an equalization of property *." Nothing more true. He makes this equality the object of all improvement:—"Republicaniſm is not a remedy that ſtrikes at the root of the evil. But what ſhall ſtop the progreſs of ardour and improvement, where the monopoly of property is unknown †?"—"No right to property beyond food, ſhelter, and raiment."—"The rent-roll of England the moſt formidable penſion-liſt. Hereditary wealth is a premium paid to idleneſs; an immenſe annuity paid to retain mankind in brutality and ignorance." Here then is the motive which actuates the writer;—equalizing property will be convenient to him, in order to get what he does not poſſeſs at preſent. anarchy may pervade the land, and the ſtreets flow with blood; no matter, "truth" and "mind," will triumph, and the "perfectibility of man will flouriſh.

* P. 188. † P. 822.

There

There have been French philoſophers that have preached the benefits of an agrarian law; but this new light of the reforming world, carries the principle to all property; even to property in women. He urges, ſtrenuouſly, that they ſhould be common, that the "rich may not deprive the poor of the commonage of nature *." "Marriage," ſays he, "is law, and the worſt of all laws; it is an affair of property, and the worſt of all properties. The abolition of marriage will be attended with no evils †." "It cannot be definitively affirmed, whether it be known, in ſuch a ſtate of ſociety, who is the father of each individual child; but it may be affirmed, that ſuch knowledge will be of no importance. It is ariſtocracy, ſelf-love, and family pride, that teach us to ſet a value upon it at preſent. I ought to prefer no human being to another, becauſe that being is my father, or wife, or my ſon; democracy will ſoon give us the abolition of ſurnames ‡."

I believe in truth, that if ſuch writings are allowed freely to be circulated, democracy will effectually aboliſh every thing that has hitherto been reſpected in the world; all tangible property, and all moral good; it will aboliſh every poſſeſſion, and eradicate from the heart and mind of man every feeling that does honour to his nature, and

* P. 37. † P. 850. ‡ P. 852.

every

every ray of knowledge that raiſes him above a brute. It will baniſh all that decorates his mind; and, turning retrograde Mr. Barry's admirable tablets of the civilization of man, re-conduct him from Grecian taſte, and modern elegance, to a ſtate of nature; fit him once more for the cave; clothe him in ſkins; and ſtring his boſom for daſhing his infants againſt the ſtones *, as if their bodies had no more feeling than his own relentleſs and remorſeleſs heart. Then, according to theſe miſcreant paradoxes, will he arrive at " perfectibility of mind; which, by degrading man into a beaſt, is, according to this marvellous genius, to render him ſleepleſs and immortal!!!—" Why may not man be one day immortal: but we muſt baniſh ſleep, which is a diſtempered ſtate of the faculty of thought †." " We are ſick, and we die, generally ſpeaking, becauſe we conſent to ſuffer theſe accidents ‡."

Dr. Johnſon, ſpeaking of Whitehead's being ſummoned before the Lords, for his poem, called *Manners*, adds, " Whitehead, who hung looſe upon ſociety, ſkulked and eſcaped; but Dodſley's ſhop and family made his appearance neceſſary." I ſhall not enquire whether the author of Political Juſtice hangs on ſociety, or will be hanged *by* it;

* See Mr. Byron's Narrative—the Indians of South America.

† P. 862. ‡ P. 869.

but

but that a conſiderable bookſeller could be found to hazard his *ſhop* and his ears may be thought ſurpriſing. If the adminiſtrators of any government in the world imagine, that conſtituted powers can remain ſafe while ſuch works are propagated, they are in a moſt fatal deluſion, and will inevitably betray all the property of the community; to divide it, is a doctrine that will find many abettors; and why ſuch miſchievous tenets, that ſhock every moral feeling, ſhould be allowed to poiſon the minds of the people, is a queſtion hard to be reſolved by law.

This work, and there will be many more ſuch, is one of the fruits of the French revolution. The author is admired and applauded by thoſe who praiſe that revolution. He is the very good friend of our reformers; who, though they do not profeſs to go quite ſo far, adopt principles that, by analogy, carry them equal lengths. Without any doubt, the author is a violent enemy to the preſent war, and will be as warm as the foremoſt of oppoſition to beat up for petitions and remonſtrances againſt it. Theſe opinions coaleſce and melt into each other. He tells us that "France is the moſt refined nation in the world, and will lead to revolutions *." France, however, falls ſhort of his idea of perfection, which is manifeſtly

* P. 224.

that

that of the abſence of all law and all government, with " conſcience the only tribunal*;" a fine tribunal in that mind, that can declare " gratitude no part of virtue†." " To be ſubject to a King," ſays he, " is to tarniſh and undermine the altar of virtue‡." But an aſſembly is almoſt as bad; " a National Aſſembly introduces the evils of a fictious unanimity; the minority muſt aſſiſt the execution of the will of the majority;—nothing can more directly contribute to the depravation of the human underſtanding and character; rendering mankind timid, diſſembling, and corrupt‖." " The exiſtence of national councils pernicious." " The deciding upon truth, by caſting up numbers, is an intolerable inſult on reaſon and juſtice§." Do not all theſe extravagancies prove the real nature of reform? That if a firm ſtand is not ſomewhere made there is no end of the ſchemes of improvement which will be called for; the government aſked by the Friends of the People, will be a tyranny to the Conſtitutional Society; the ſyſtem demanded by that body will be hideous to another; and theirs again deſpiſed as ſhort of " truth," by the author of Political Juſtice. Where then ought the ſtand to be made? At the threſhold. Yield not a jot to him who brings, at whatever diſtance, " perfectibility of mind" in his train.

* P. 127. † P. 84. ‡ P. 451. ‖ P. 569. § P. 571.

Mr.

Mr. Godwin was ſucceeded by another writer, who, under the title of *Peace and Reform*, has uſhered into day ſentiments which, though not equally daring in the expreſſion, ſpring palpably from the ſame ſource. Though publiſhed ſo lately as the winter 1793-4, it contains a laboured defence of the French and their principles.

Their attrocities are by this author extenuated into popular commotion and temporary confuſion. —*The beſt of governments cannot always prevent popular commotions.—Wrong to apply the crimes of individuals, or the temporary accidental confuſion and miſchief, to the principles which actuate the maſs of the people*, p. 22. What care and attention the author has given to repreſent the *principles* of the French as pure and virtuous! How juſt the obſervation of Monſ. Mounier—Dans leſquelles on parloit encore de la bonté du peuple, ou l'on donnoit le nom d'erreurs à des actions d'antropophages.—While revolutions are the *end* in view, the *means* that have déluged France in blood are but *commotions* and *accidents*. How congenial with the declaration of another Jacobin in England, who prints in the face of day, *That a revolution is not dearly earned, though a whole generation periſh in the conteſt*, p. 30.

The deteſtable ſcenes that have diſgraced France, not cauſed by the ſpirit of reform and revolution, but forced on the virtuous French by the miſerable people they have deſtroyed.——*It was a few profligate emigrants that provoked, &c.* p. 24.—*It is the reſiſtance of the rich to the eſtabliſhment of liberty*, p. 26.—*Treacherous and incendiary agents have prevented the undiſturbed operation of French principles*, p. 28.—*Whatever may be done in France ought not to be aſcribed to the principles or rapacity of the people, but to the exigency of the times*, p. 35.—*The awful confiſcation of property, not occaſioned by a deſire to plunder property, but by the folly, weakneſs, or wickedneſs of thoſe who have ſuffered*, p. 36.

Who can read theſe baſe calumnies on the miſerable and innocent ſufferers in that kingdom, without feeling ſuch ſentiments delivered in cold blood to be almoſt as attrocious as the perpetration itſelf, by the vultures and harpies of reform.

Property not violated in France—*The Duc de Penthievre a direct notorious proof that the property of an eminent nobleman is not violated*, p. 34. French horrors move with ſo rapid a progreſs, that the panegyriſts of the revolution have had in every period of it little ſecurity, that thoſe facts which

which ſeemed to ſupport them while writing, would befriend them while printing; or that what paſſed uncorrected from the preſs, would not ſlip from beneath them before publication. In like manner who can avoid ſmiling at the confidence manifeſted in the following paſſages of another apologiſt of the French revolution? "The National Aſſembly of France have accompliſhed their great work——the labours of its members are terminated. They have proved true to their truſts and to their oaths. The conſtitution is finiſhed; and it can only be altered by a new aſſembly choſen by the people at large for that expreſs purpoſe." *The French conſtitution, with Remarks, by B. Flower*, 8vo. p. 8.—"The French monarch is no no longer ſurrounded by a nation of ſlaves, but a nation of friends. He is no longer tormented by an inſolent ariſtocracy. He is united to his people by the cloſeſt ties, and his felicity is inſeparably connected with theirs." *ib.* p. 214. Thus it is in the preſent inſtance—the only caſe this writer could produce which ſeemed to mark a ſingle great eſtate unſeized, makes no longer for his argument. What did he ſay to that inſtance within one week after he publiſhed it! But this author ſpeaks very cooly, and with a ſort of approbation of theſe ſeizures, by remarking, that they do not amount to an agrarian law.——*Should the*

government ſeize a part of the effects of the wealthy, that will not give reaſon to expect an agrarian law, p. 35.—*It is an impoſture not to notice the decree that made the propoſal of an agrarian law death,* p. 35.

Such expreſſions, after the profligate attacks that have been made on property in that kingdom, are, it muſt be confeſſed, amuſing. Facts in the knowledge of every one form the beſt reply. Monſ. Briſſot is much more candid. "There are men, who for the perpetuation of their own power, finding it neceſſary to perpetuate diſorders, have divided ſociety into two claſſes; thoſe who have ſomething, and thoſe who have nothing; the *ſans culottes* and the *men of property*, who have excited one of theſe claſſes againſt the other; who, in order to ruin the latter claſs, wanted to have an army compoſed excluſively of perſons all of the former claſs, and *paid compulſorily* by the latter, and this army has been decreed." *Briſſot*, p. 22.

He makes the grand intention of the French to be the felicity of the human ſpecies. *The objects of the French people, the eſtabliſhment of the liberties, the peace and the happineſs of mankind are good,* Peace and Reform p. 23. But unfortunately they have been impeded

impeded in the operations of their philanthropy by their enemies—*The Duke of Brunſwick's manifeſto produced the* 10*th of Auguſt, the loſs of Longwy the* 2*d of September, the war with England deſtroyed the King, and the taking of Valenciennes and Toulon occaſioned the death of the Queen*, p. 27. It is pity the writer did not extend this chain of cauſe and effect, and ſhew us how one victory of the Auſtrians occaſioned the reproaches caſt on the revolutionary tribunal for attending to *forms* of juſtice in their trials of ariſtocrates; and that another advantage gained by the Pruſſians ſhould meliorate the ſyſtem of juriſprudence, by directing the judges to pronounce ſentence of death as ſoon as the jury declared themſelves ſatisfied, and without waiting for the priſoners defence. Such *improvements* in the practice of courts of juſtice, ought to ariſe from the *attacks of foreigners*, or the *profligacy of emigrants*; and certainly ſuch a humane uſe of unlimited power cannot fail of proving the writer's poſition, that the *object* of the French is ſolely the *happineſs of mankind!* Juſt ſuch national felicity may be expected in this kingdom, when our reformers, whoſe operations are at preſent in a ſubterranean paſſage, ſhall have power to give us in full practice the bleſſings of their theories.

" *Enquiry pervades the nation with the ſwiftneſs of wildfire, and will*, THOUGH AT PRESENT TAKING

A SUBTERRANEAN PASSAGE, *in deſpight of every effort to prevent it, burſt forth with a terrible exploſion, when and where it is leaſt expected.*" *Yorke's Reaſon urged againſt Precedent*, p. 51. And this exploſion is to come we are told by another, *when the priſons let forth their captives to ornament and benefit mankind*, p. 56. Who can doubt the amiableneſs of ſuch ornaments? or the humanity and juſtice that would flow from ſuch luminaries of legiſlation?

Thus alſo the author of *Peace and Reform*—" Reform will be made with indignation and vengeance*."

" In the ſanguinary volumes," ſays another, " of European juriſprudence, we can trace much law but little juſtice†."

" The deluded commonalty ought to determine on ſome immediate change—had they managed for themſelves they would have been happy‡."

" The dens of lions and nurſeries of tigers, do not furniſh ſuch frightful inſtances of cruelty and havock, as the hiſtories of kings and prieſts‖."

* P. 158.

† *Reaſon Urged againſt Precedent*, by Henry Yorke, p. 10.

‡ P. 11. ‖ P. 29.

" The

" The French have ruſhed at once into liberty, and exhibit a brilliant aurora to an aſtoniſhed world*."

Who can doubt that all theſe opinions flow from the ſame ſource, and tend to the ſame end?— *A Convention in England.*

* P. 40.

APPENDIX.

WHATEVER repreſentation took place, in *antient* times, was of property, never of perſons. "The ſupreme power in the mycel-gemotes, or folkmote * (p. 171.), was ever lodged in the collective body of the free PROPRIETORS OF LAND," ſays Dr. Squire, afterwards Biſhop of St. David's, in his *Inquiry into the Engliſh Conſtitution*. "The Wittenagemote, compoſed of the King's companions, or Thanes, the governors of counties, biſhops, and dignified clergymen of large property. *Ib.* "Without five hides of land, a ceorl could not be put upon the rank of a King's Thane." *Ib.* "A hide of land from 500 to 600 acres." *Hume*, vol. i. p. 203.

NOTHING can be more falſe, than the notion of ſome writers, that the tyranny found in England, after the conqueſt was introduced by the Normans; for it appears by Doomſday Book, that England was full of villains and bondmen in

* *Henry* makes the folkmote the county court. Vol. iii. p. 349.

the

the time of Edward the Confeſſor. *General Pref. to Brady's 2d Vol.*

THE laſt, and perhaps the beſt, of our hiſtorians (Henry), unites with all other unprejudiced men,—" As ſoon as any of the ceorls acquired *five hides of land, with a church, a bell-houſe, and manor* place, they were declared thanes or nobles, and members of the wittenagemote. This qualification was gradually raiſed, till, in the reign of Edward the Confeſſor, it was fixed at forty hides." (Vol. iii. p. 371. *Wilkins' Leges Saxon*, p. 70, 71. *Hiſtoria Elienſis*, cap. 40.) Though great efforts have been made to prove, that the ceorls, or ſmall proprietors of land, were repreſented in the wittenagemote, by their tithingmen, or borſholders,; and the inhabitants of trading towns, by their aldermen or portreeves; it muſt be confeſſed, that of this there is not ſufficient hiſtoric evidence remaining (*Tyrrel Introd.* p. 95. *Squire*, 244.). It is, however highly probable, that many ceorls and burgeſſes, who dwelt in or near the place where a wittenagemote was held, attended it as intereſted ſpectators, and intimating their ſatisfaction, with its reſolves, by ſhouts of applauſe. On ſome great occaſions, when there was an uncommon concourſe of ſuch ſpectators, their preſence and approbation is recorded in ſuch terms as theſe " *omnique populo audiente et vidente*

(and

(and all the people hearing and looking on) *aliorumque fidelium infinita multitudo qui omnes laudaverunt* (and a prodigious crowd of other people who all applauded) they frequently aſſembling in the open air, in ſome extenſive plain." *(Spelman Concil,* p. 625. 350. *Henry.)* The circumſtance of the great body of mechanics, artizans, and labourers being ſlaves, if there were no other point to refer to, ought alone to decide the queſtion: how ſhould *the people* be repreſented when *the people* were ſlaves? That they were ſo, ſee *Henry*, vol. iii. 8vo. p. 320. 323.

DR. BRADY hath taken the pains to collect all the accounts given in old chronicles of the great councils or parliaments of this nation, in the Saxon times, and hath ſhewn very clearly, that the common people, or inhabitants of burghs, never had deputies in any of them, nor were they in a proper condition of freedom to be capable of chooſing repreſentatives to ſit in ſuch an aſſembly. Sir Henry Spelman, after carefully examining into the conſtitution of an hundred parliaments, held from the Norman conqueſt to the 49th of Henry III. pronounces, that the boroughs never were repreſented in any. Sir W. Dugdale, and all other judicious and unprejudiced writers, verſed in the diction of the times, and in the antiquities of their country, agree with him in this opinion. *Carte*, vol. ii. p. 257.

IF in the long period of two hundred years, which elapſed between the conqueſt and the latter end of Henry III. and which abounded in factions, revolutions, and convulſions of all kinds, the Houſe of Commons never performed one ſingle legiſlative act, ſo conſiderable as to be once mentioned by any of the numerous hiſtorians of that age, they muſt have been totally inſignificant: and, in that caſe, what reaſon can be aſſigned for their ever being aſſembled? Can it be ſuppoſed that men of ſo little weight or importance poſſeſſed a negative voice againſt the King and the barons? Every page of the ſubſequent hiſtories, diſcovers their exiſtence; though theſe hiſtories are not writ with greater accuracy than the preceding ones, and indeed ſcarcely equal them in that particular. The Magna Charta of King John provides, that no ſcutage or aid ſhall be impoſed, either on the land or towns, but by the conſent of the great council; and for more ſecurity, it enumerates the perſons entituled to a ſeat in that council, the prelates, and immediate tenants of the Crown, without any mention of the Commons: an authority ſo full, certain, and explicit, that nothing but the zeal of party could ever have procured credit to any contrary hypotheſis. *Hume*, vol. ii. p. 119. In oppoſition to ſuch authorities, Lord Littelton is ſo zealous as to rely on a petition from St. Alban's, which implies a preceding right;

right; yet he himſelf confeſſes that it contains two groſs falſehoods. A pretty Houſe of Commons, whoſe exiſtence is to be proved by the implication of a few words in a lying petition: and this in the teeth of Magna Charta!!

THE firſt ſummons of burgeſſes to parliament (except in the 49th of Henry III.) was in the 23d of Edward I. "To clear this point beyond all doubt or cavil, we may look back to the 18th of this King, and ſee what the ſtile of parliament was. In that year there is a bundle of writs directed to the ſheriffs, to chuſe two or three knights, but no citizens or burgeſſes. This parliament gave the King a 15th of all their moveables. The title of the grant is, *a 15th granted by the archbiſhops, biſhops, abbots, priors, earls, barons, and all others of the kingdom,* OMNES ALIOS DE REGNO. This is the very ſame ſtile that was uſed in the reigns of King John and Henry III. before the commons or community of counties were repreſented by knights choſen by them. *Omnes alios de regno* were therefore the military tenants *in capite* of the ordinary rank."—*Brady Hiſt Treatiſe of Boroughs,* p. 26. and in other paſſages repeated ſimilar inſtances. It was hardly poſſible to produce more deciſive proof, that theſe expreſſions, which ſeemed, according to the ideas of this age, to include the people, to have really included

cluded what then was eſteemed the nation, viz. the nobility—the great land proprietors;—as to what we now mean *by the people*, they were not in contemplation.

Dr. Brady further proves, by records, that on ſummoning the burgeſſes to parliament, an alteration took place, not only in the writ of ſummons, to enable them to act ſeparately from the knights, but another alſo in the writ of commiſſion, appointing taxors and collectors, by the addition of *Et cives, et burgenſes, et alii probi homines de dominicis noſtris civitatibus et burgis, &c.*; by which it is clearly proved, that theſe men were different from thoſe before included by *alii de regno* in former writs. And the concluſions drawn by this great antiquary, who has examined the records with an unrivalled induſtry, are not founded on a few ſcattered inſtances, but on an immenſe ſeries of examples, ſufficient to force the aſſent of all but ſuch as are voluntarily hoodwinked.

RUFFHEAD ſays, that Brady wrote *with an illiberal view but with great learning and acuteneſs* *. What his views were is nothing to the purpoſe, as he founds his opinion every where on the authority of unqueſtionable records, which he quotes, and none have detected him of unfairneſs:

* Pref. Stat. at Large, vol. i. p. 10.

but

but there is one paſſage in which Ruffhead himſelf gives up the queſtion. " The 25th of Edward I. which confirms Magna Charta, ſays, that it was made by the *common aſſent of all the realm*; *and the 15th of Edward III. ſpeaks more ſtrongly, that Magna Charta was made par le Roi, ſes piers & la communalte de la terre, and the judgment of thoſe early times is more to be regarded than the partial conſtruction of modern interpreters.*" This is deciſive of the queſtion; for it PROVES, *by the judgment of thoſe early times*, that the expreſſions, *the common aſſent of all*, and the *commonalty of the land*, meant to deſcribe thoſe who really made Magna Charta; and that great record tells us us expreſsly and minutely who made it, viz. the prelates and immediate tenants of the Crown, without any mention of the Commons, or the inſertion of expreſſions that might, by implication, include them. This ſhews therefore, with a clearneſs that leaves nothing to doubt, that the expreſſions ſo weakly relied on, *populorum totius regni—populo—gentz de commune, &c. &c.* mean, in reality, what, in thoſe barbarous times, was conſidered as all the people, the whole commonalty of the realm; that is to ſay, land poſſeſſors holding by military tenure; all beneath were of no more account, in great national aſſemblies, than the cows, ſheep, and hogs of the kingdom. While the deſpotiſm of the Stewarts was attacking the liberties of the kingdom, there

was

was a merit in ſeeking for the origin of our liberties in high antiquity, and to give them all the luſtre flowing from that or from any other circumſtance; but the queſtion is now on another ground: the Jacobin ſpirit, more accurſed than Stewart principles, now threatens our freedom from the oppoſite quarter; and the friends of that freedom ought to repel the unworthy deſign with every weapon that every age can furniſh.

IN antient times, and at the firſt inſtitution of repreſentatives for counties, none had any vote in the election of knights, but ſuch as owed ſuit to the county court, *i. e.* ſuch as held immediately of the Crown; for all that held lands of meſne lords, owed ſuit and ſervice to their lord's courts. What contributed to the alteration of the conſtitution in this reſpect, was a ſhameful indolence in country gentlemen, who procured privileges, allowing them to appear by proxy; and it was one of Simon de Montfort's ways, of engaging the favour of the gentry, by making ſuch privileges general. The proxies deputed by the gentlemen, were generally ſome of their own freeholders, who, by this means attending at county courts (though not in their own right), came, in proceſs of time, to be put on Juries, &c. It doth not appear, however, that theſe freeholders, under meſne lords, ever had a ſhare in the election

tion of knights of ſhires, till the tumultuary parliament, in the 1ſt of Henry IV.; and thence aroſe the grievous complaints, made by the commons in parliament, of *outrageous and exceſſive numbers of people pretending a right* to attend elections.* Henry IV. thinking theſe inferior freeholders convenient for his purpoſe, eſtabliſhed their right of voting by an act in his 7th year: this act, the firſt of its kind that was ever made: the rights of electors having ever ſubſiſted on preſcription, paſſed in the ſame ſeſſion, wherein, by a like novelty, he took upon him to alter the courſe of ſucceſſion and deſcent of the Crown, as if a new modelling of parliaments was neceſſary to ſupport his uſurpation. *Carte*, vol. ii. p. 699. What then becomes of a modern reformer's *conception*, that the ſtatute of the 8th of Henry VI. *out off the rights of nineteen in twenty of the people*; inſtead of a cutting off, it was an extenſion *in matter of right*.

THE origin of knights of the ſhire is thus ſhewn by Carte (ſee alſo vol. ii. p. 250.), to have been ariſtocratical—a mere method, by repreſentation, of eaſing the leſſer barons in their appearance in the great council—thoſe who had a right to chooſe had a right to ſit in perſon, but craved

* Stat. 8 Hen. VI. c. 7. 7 Hen. IV. c. 15. 6 Hen. VI. c. 4. 10 Hen. VI. c. 2.

the

the exemption; it was a ſeries of *abuſes, contrary to the original purity of the conſtitution*, that gave this right of election, firſt to men not holding by noble tenure, and then to 40s. voters. I have read, with attention, Lord Littelton's moſt unſatisfactory endeavours to prove the contrary (Life of King Henry II. vol. iii.), which Mr. Hume puts down with his uſual eaſe and perſpicuity, Hiſt. vol. ii. p. 509.

Modern writers, who love ſyſtem better than truth, have been fond of ſuppoſing the expreſſion *free men*, to have had, in antient times, a ſignification ſimilar to the acceptation at preſent—but Dr. Brady ſhews in the cleareſt manner, from records, the infinite difference, and that *liberi homines* were tenants *in capite*, who had villains under them, of whoſe eſtates they had partly the diſpoſal. *Animad. on Jani Ang. facies nova.* p. 221.

The more remotely this buſineſs is examined, the more deciſively every thing in our government traces back to the Crown, and to an ariſtocracy created by the Crown*. Where is your original

* May 6, 1793, in the debate on Mr. Grey's motion for a parliamentary reform, Mr. Erſkine thus expreſſed himſelf; "all the privileges which we now poſſeſſed had been won for us by the commons; all our liberties had been wreſted by them from the Crown." *Star*, May 7. The honourable member knew our hiſtory too well to look for a Houſe of Commons among the Saxons.

PURITY? In the woods of Germany?—— The purity of the conſtitution, in a period when the Commons, though ſummoned to parliament, were ſo inſignificant, that their aſſent, as Ruffhead obſerves, was not, for a long time, held eſſential to the enacting of laws: when they were even omitted by the ſheriffs at pleaſure*: when the King made laws of his own authority†; and at other times, in the writ of ſummons, expreſsly named the repreſentatives which the ſheriffs were to return‡: when the Commons were not ſo much as named—the caſe of moſt of the antient ſtatutes§; and long after their eſtabliſhment, their aſſent was ſo far from being indiſputably eſtabliſhed in practice, that we find it diſputed, ſays Ruffhead, in the moſt eſſential points, and even

* 23d Edward I.—No mention is made of knights or burgeſſes, in the 23d Edward I. m. 8. *dorſo*; nor in 27th Edward I. m. 17. *dorſo*. We find the like omiſſion in ſeveral other inſtances. In one ſummons of the 23d Edward I. the barons only are mentioned. See likewiſe the Commons' petition, 13th Edward III. *Cotton's Abridg.* n. 23. Alſo 5th Richard II. Stat. 2. c. 4.

† 10th Edward II. Stat. of Gravelet.—*It is provided by our Lord the King and his juſtices, &c. without any mention of Lords or Commons. That laws, in theſe early times, were made by the ſole authority of the King, without the concurrence of any other legiſlative branch, is further evident from the Mirroir des Juſtices; the author of which complains, "that ordinances are only made by the King and his clerks; and by aliens and others, who dare not contradict the King."* *Ruffhead Preſ. Stat.*

‡ See Cl. 45. Ed. III. m. 2. *Dorſ.* § *Ruffhead.*

over-

over-ruled *. The inſtances which that writer produces are too numerous to quote here. There is no inquiry into their *right*; but I demand what was the *purity* of the conſtitution in thoſe periods, that could admit the poſſibility of ſuch irregularities? Yet theſe are the periods to which our factious reformers ſend us back to ſearch for the principles, the ſpirit, and the original purity which is wanted in the reign of George III. !!!

IN all diſputes on the origin of a branch of the legiſlature in any country, where there is a queſtion of its exiſtence, its being a queſtion at all is *prima facie*, a ſtrong argument againſt ſuch ex-

* 51 Edward III.—An impoſition laid without the conſent of the Commons; and the ſame King, in his laſt year, claimed the right of doing ſo in caſes of great neceſſity. Rot. Parl. 51ſt Edward III. nu. 25. In the firſt year of Richard II. money was raiſed without aſſent of Parliament. *Madox*. As a proof that acts were often paſſed without the concurrence or aſſent of the Commons, we find, in 6th of Richard II. an act made in the laſt parliament revoked; and the cauſe aſſigned is, becauſe the ſaid ſtatute was never aſſented to, nor granted by the Commons. It is obſervable, nevertheleſs, that the act of the 6th Richard II. was never printed, as Lord Coke aſſures us; and the ſtatute of the 5th, *though paſſed without the aſſent of the Commons*, was, as it is ſaid, put in execution, and continued in force, till it was repealed by 1ſt Edward VI. c. 12. and 1ſt Elizabeth, c. 1. See *Rot. Parl.* 6th *Richard* II. nu. 52. And *Cotton Abridg.* p. 354. Where there are ſeveral inſtances of acts paſſed without the aſſent of the Commons. See alſo the extraordinary difference of acts, as they paſſed the Commons, and as they became laws on the ſtatute rolls.

iſtence, and therefore the *onus probandi*, ought to be on thoſe who preſume it. It would be an utter abſurdity to make any queſtion of the exiſtence of an ariſtocratical wittenagemote, before the Conqueſt, or of a Houſe of Barons after it; their exiſtence is palpable in every page of the hiſtorians, and after the Houſe of Commons was really inſtituted, the exiſtence of that alſo was manifeſt in legiſlative acts. But to pretend to a legiſlature *incog.* is a farce; if it effectively exiſts, it muſt ſhew itſelf in a thouſand different ways, and not want to be dragged from the lurking hole of dark expreſſions in old muſty charters, ſome *tranſlated*, the originals loſt, and others proved to be forgeries. The attempt thus to prove the exiſtence of a legiſlature is alone, without looking further, a ſtrong ſuſpicion, that it had no exiſtence. It is worthy only of Lord Littelton, who tranſlates the expreſſion, *omnes de regno*, in an age of feudal barbariſm, by *the whole commonalty of the realm*, he might as well have included the ſwine as the men who drove them, for they were in that age of as much account: it is like his making the expreſſions *principes*, *ſatrapæ*, *optimates*, *magnates*, *proceres*, mean the people*: by thus torturing words from

* "The northern nations, who were perpetually in arms, put a high eſteem upon military valour; and, to diſtinguiſh the military from villains, called thoſe noblemen, or knights, who nobly defended

from that meaning, which holds of the character and manners of an age, ſuch writers deduce—— what? Not ſome trifling point, which might eaſily, from its nature, have been clear or confuſed ——but the exiſtence of a Houſe of Commons!!! And our reformers are very glad to join them, in order to ſhew the *original purity of the conſtitution*, flouriſhing amidſt the rapin, blood, and death that followed the footſteps of tartar barons; amidſt the barbarity of feudal monarchs, and enſlaved villains; ſcenes of miſery, to which the people of England are now bid, by the vile tongue of Jabin faction, to look back to with eyes of envy and regret!

IN a pamphlet, called the *People's Barrier*, it is ſaid that the Commons were repreſented in the parliaments of the Saxons, and this is taken from the works of the Rev. Samuel Johnſon: his *Eſſay concerning Parliaments at a certainty* now lies before me, and there you find much of Saxon parliaments, but without one word of proof that they

defended, &c."——" This being the true baronage of England, it is no wonder that they were called *nobiles*; the MOST EMINENT among them *magnates, principes, proceres*; and ſo numerous, that they were eſteemed *multitudo infinita*." It is ſufficiently plain, that this author conſidered all theſe expreſſions as deſcriptive, not only of nobility, but alſo of the *moſt eminent* of the nobility: and will any reformer except againſt the authority?——that of Algernon Sidney! *Works*, p. 429.

were ſo compoſed: thoſe parliaments were merely ariſtocratical, and the expreſſions, in the *mirror of juſtice*, much of which was written in Edward the Second's time (and therefore no Saxon anthority), convey no determinate idea: *Le Roi aſſembler les comittes*; again, *le commun aſſent de Roy & de ſes countes*— now for the explanation—*comittes* and *countes*, mean counties, counties mean free-men, free-men mean the mob—*ergo*, all the world were repreſented under the Saxons; very well deduced Mr. Samuel Johnſon: this is all he offers for Saxon times—the next word he jumps to Edward the Firſt: but he would afterwards make out, that a Saxon *folkmote* was a parliament, yet he expreſsly ſays, *I do not really know what that folkmote is* (p. 287). He admits, however, that Sir Henry Spelman's is "the learnedeſt gloſſary that ever was writ;" and that learned antiquary is directly againſt him, and proves that a folkmote was not a wittenagemote; and how the coronation oath of Richard the Second is *direct proof*, will puzzle a plain man to diſcover. Let the reader conſult Mr. Hume's firſt appendix, and various paſſages in Dr. Henry, and the authorities cited, he will there ſee the utter folly and abſurdity of looking for the Commons in the wittenagemote or for the *people*, not freeholders, in the county and hundred court.

The

The queſtion whether parliaments were annual, has been as much miſtaken: Blackſtone (a favourite authority with many reformers), ſays, " not that the King is, or ever was obliged, by theſe ancient ſtatutes, to call a *new* parliament every year, but only to permit a Parliament to ſit annually." The above-quoted Johnſon, has a chapter to ſhew, that they were held *freſh and freſh:* but all he ſays amounts to no more than an inquiry into who ſhould bear their expences, if they ſat longer than forty days? For he ſays expreſsly, that *the true reaſon of abrupt diſſolution was, that their ſitting, after the given time, muſt be at the King's charge*; which, in one word, explains the reaſon of ſo many new parliaments, and completely overturns the whole argument of the chapter.

When the Houſe of Commons, in Charles the Firſt's reign, gave in *the Petition of Right*, what might be called a hiſtory of their own importance in the legiſlature, and began with the ſtatute of Edward the Firſt, to ſhew that the conſent of knights and burgeſſes was neceſſary to the levy of a tax—is it poſſible to conceive that they would not have gone farther back, had they been able to do it upon unqueſtioned authority?

But to drop all reference, and to reaſon on the comparative ſtate of ſociety in the time of the

Anglo-Saxons and the preſent age—an obſervation very obvious is, that the power of the ariſtocracy, which admitted ſuch men as Harold, Godwin, Leofric, Siward, Morcar, Edwin, Edric, and Alfric, muſt have been ſo great, that whatever inſtitutions could throw a weight into the ſcale of the people, were a right and neceſſary counterpoiſe:—after the Conqueſt the Crown was omnipotent; the ſame maxim held; but after the people became predominant, brought their king to the ſcaffold, and trampled on the peerage—after liberty became firmly fixed, and the crown was left abſolutely at the mercy of the Commons for every ſhilling of its revenue—is it for ſuch an age to look back to periods ſo totally different; and to call for rendering ſuch a popular government ſtill more popular, becauſe thoſe laws (ſuppoſing their exiſtence) were good 800 years ago!! Every principle, not of politics only, but of common ſenſe, muſt be given to the winds before ſuch reaſoning can be admitted. This ſpirit of faction ſays, give us our antient laws, our antient rights—have not the Crown and the nobility an equal right to reply?—*granted—take them—but reſtore to us what we at the ſame time poſſeſſed.* Like true tyrants (and no ſpirit of tyranny matches the republican) they buy their poſſeſſions, and then, keeping the purchaſe, demand back the price. Do you urge, in reply, the *ma-*

jeſty

jeſty of the people?—The majeſty of the *ſans Culottes?* Go to France.

If any one doubts what our reformers rea'ly look for, let him reflect on a paſſage in the *People's Barrier*; the author is contending for univerſal ſuffrage in the election of repreſentatives—" By the word repreſentatives, I by no means intend to deny or derogate from the right of *the Commons at large*, for that the original power and authority reſide in them, is implied in the very word itſelf." Here repreſentation is cut up by the roots, in the very language of the tribunes in the National Convention;—the conſtitution contended for is profeſſed to be mob and anarchy!!

" Had a Houſe of Commons, *freely choſen by all the people* exiſted, could Charles have been a tyrant, Cromwell a protector, or King William have ſuſpended the *habeas corpus*, &c. &c.?" *People's Barrier.* Anſwer: Such a Houſe of Commons exiſts in France, and has cauſed enormities fit only for republicans. The experiment is tried; and 25 millions of people ruined, the reſult.

I hold it, ſays Blackſtone, *ſufficient that it is generally agreed, that in the main the conſtitution of Parliament, as it now ſtands, was marked out ſo long*

long ago as the 17th of King John, A. D. 1215, in the great charter, wherein he promiſes to ſummon all archbiſhops, biſhops, abbots, earls, and greater barons perſonally; and all other tenants in chief under the Crown by the ſheriff. This is whimſical;—to refer to Magna Charta to prove the conſtitution then to be in the main as it now ſtands, while it affords the moſt poſitive proof of the direct contrary fact, and even in the very words here quoted. *The tenants in chief under the Crown* were a part of the ariſtocracy; here is an expreſs excluſion of every elementary atom that could form a *Houſe of Commons*, in the words from which the falſe deduction is made, that *in the main* the conſtitution was the ſame as at preſent—if ſo, Venice and the Griſons are under ſimilar governments.

There is another paſſage in that celebrated lawyer, which, in my humble opinion, deſerves a reconſideration.——" The two houſes naturally drawing in two directions of oppoſite intereſt, and the prerogative in another ſtill different from them both, they mutually keep each other from exceeding their proper limits—like three diſtinct powers, in mechanics, they jointly impel the machine of government, in a direction different from what either, acting by themſelves, would have done; but at the ſame time in a direction partaking of each and formed out of all; a direction which conſtitutes

conſtitutes the true line of the liberty and happineſs of the community." I do not conceive that this is either the theory or the practice of our conſtitution.—Three diſtinct powers in mechanics, acting equally in contrary directions, would arreſt all motion and the machine would ſtand ſtill, which is not the caſe. The theory ſeems to be one preponderating power, abſolutely overcoming the two oppoſite ones, and having them both at its mercy; theſe in conſtant danger unite for ſelf defence: this is the Houſe of Commons on paper, in theory: but in practice the Crown by *influence*, in union with the *influence* of the Lords, and with that of honeſt men, in the aſſembly itſelf, gently perſuades and beſeeches, as well as it can, the Commons to uſe this enormous power with moderation *. It has ſometimes happened that this could not be done; at ſuch moments the leaders of that Houſe have contented themſelves with ſeizing the adminiſtration of the executive power, without attacking the power itſelf; but ſuppoſe

* The author of *The Patriot* has written very ably on influence; but I do not view it altogether in the ſame light as that well informed writer, who conſiders it as a proper conſtituent part of a ſyſtem of freedom: on the contrary, to me it ſeems to be, in the Britiſh conſtitution, a corrective in practice of a bad theory; and I ſhould be apt to conſider its neceſſity as a defect in the plan of our government, thus effectively ſupplied. It would, however, probably be found, in this inſtance, as in ſo many others, that a greater degree of perfection than what we now enjoy would be, if not ideal, at leaſt attended with evils not in contemplation at preſent.

ſuch

ſuch an altercation was made in elections, in repreſentation, in the duration of parliaments, as gave *the people* ſuch a power over thoſe leaders as to force an attack on the executive itſelf, inſtead of its adminiſtration—what would be the conſequence? It is ſufficiently clear, to the moſt careleſs obſerver, that the conſtitution would be levelled in the duſt—the Houſe of Commons, acting by the impulſe of the loweſt of the people, would be irreſiſtible—the Crown and the Lords would ſink together. With a good and a popular King, ſuch things are unlikely, but what is a conſtitution good for that depends on the perpetual exiſtence of what is not to be looked for in the continued duration of many centuries? Suppoſe a weak and unpopular King. Do not theſe conſiderations give us ſome reaſon for queſtioning the juſtice of the learned judges' deſcription? Do they not rather lead us to believe that the theory of our conſtitution is really bad; that the practice is the beſt part of it, and that to which we are really indebted for whatever we enjoy? There are men who tell us, that a virtuous Houſe of Commons, though at the command of the people would act virtuouſly;—this reſolves itſelf into a dependence on the virtue of a mob—the men who wiſh to place us in this dependence, muſt either be fools, who ſee not the danger, or rogues that know it well, and therefore are earneſt to involve us: but at all events theſe ideas,

ideas, of I know not what mechanical contradictions and counter conſtitutional powers are apparently erroneous, and therefore ought to be well conſidered before they are acquieſced in.

DR. TUCKER gives a reaſon of very great weight againſt any repreſentation on grounds of equality of any kind. In ſuch a repreſentation, London would have an 100 members at leaſt, and always on the ſpot. *Treatiſe on Civil Government*, p. 258. What a novice in politics muſt he be, who does not ſee the infinite evils that would reſult—and this under a general ſyſtem, that gave more importance to mobs than they have at preſent! What infatuation! One hundred London members backed by a London mob: a very amuſing idea.

THE able and eloquent Count de Lally Tolendal, in his ſecond letter to Mr. Burke, contends, that it was *neceſſary* to give the double repreſentation to the *tiers*. Let any perſon read his ſtate of the kingdom, p. 15, and then aſk, if more powerful—more deciſive reaſons could poſſibly be brought *againſt* that meaſure? For if the mob were dragging parliaments in the kennel, for demanding ancient forms, what had a politician reaſon to expect from making that mob omnipotent!! Charles V. Guſtavus, and the Barons of England

England (p. 17.), knew how to keep the popular party within bounds—but did Louis XVI.? Was his perſonal character, which had relaxed every rein of government, to be overlooked in ſuch a queſtion? With the government in ſuch hands, what ſecurity againſt the three houſes coming together; ſeeing there had been precedents even for that?

THE point of religion, *politically* conſidered, is a great and arduous queſtion, which demands talents, fully to examine and arrange, greater perhaps than any other branch of legiſlation. The ableſt men of the age, ſeem rather to ſplit on this rock than to eſcape it. When I read in a tract, a complaint of the author, that, *becauſe he objects to particular religious tenets, he has been repreſented as an enemy of order and of government*; and in the ſame tract meet with the aſſertion, that, *the revolution of the 10th of Auguſt was a happy and neceſſary completion of that of the 14th of July*, I ſee an inſtance which affords a proof of this. The latter ſentiment makes one's blood run cold, for it implies more than it profeſſes. Freezing with its effect, I turned haſtily to the end of the work, to ſee if it was not explained (as the publication took place after the death of the King) in a chapter of additions and corrections; but no ſuch matter. The queſtion comes ſurely with force; is ſuch a man

man repreſented as an enemy of government, on account of his *religious tenets*, or on account of his *political opinions?*

When ſuch ſentiments are abroad, and even gloried in, and found moſt wonderfully connected, one knows not how, with religious tenets, infinitely difficult becomes the buſineſs, I will not ſay of toleration, but of the whole ſyſtem of legiſlation, ſo far as it connects with religion. Would you have a unitarian take a ſeat on the bench of biſhops? Religious reaſons have not yet been given why he ſhould not. But would you have a man there who publicly declares, that the revolution of the 10th of Auguſt was a HAPPY one? No; moſt aſſuredly. Hence then, in the *repeal* of teſts and ſubſcriptions, are they to be conſidered as levelled againſt heterodox doctrines of religion; or, as political ſecurities, that the power and emoluments of the church ſhall be lodged with men whoſe opinions do not tend to the utter deſtruction of our admirable conſtitution IN STATE? And further, if there are any particular ſects of religion, whoſe profeſſors are generally tinctured with republicaniſm and Jacobiniſm, will any man of common ſenſe ſuppoſe the non repeal of teſts and reſtrictions perſiſted in merely on religious motives?

I ſhall,

I ſhall, from this fearful epoch of the French revolution, have many doubts in political maxims, which have been very generally ſubſcribed to for theſe laſt twenty years; and, among others, on the queſtion of toleration, *for thoſe countries in which it has not been either the law or policy of the ſtate.* The tolerating ſpirit of the old government of France was one of the chief engines of its deſtruction; and ſhould the nobleſt ſyſtem of government the world ever ſaw—that of Britain—receive a mortal wound—that wound will have its origin in the ſame cauſe. Were I a Spaniſh miniſter, I might adviſe my maſter to regulate the inquiſition; but I would not adviſe him to aboliſh it—*thanks to Jacobiniſm.*

THE END.

To ARTHUR YOUNG, *Eſq*; *Bradfield Hall, near Bury.*

Crown and Anchor, March 18, 1793.

SIR,

I AM deſired by the Committee to communicate to you the incloſed Reſolutions, which they came to laſt night. It is their wiſh, not only to pay the tribute they think due to ſo excellent a performance, but to call the attention of the public to a work which cannot fail of making great impreſſion on all who read it.

I join moſt heartily in the ſentiments of the Committee; and I hope the ſtep they have taken will be approved by you.

I have the honour to be,

SIR,

Your moſt obedient, and very humble ſervant,

JOHN REEVES, Chairman.

Crown and Anchor, March 15, 1793.

At a Meeting of the General Committee, this Day,

RESOLVED,

THAT the thanks of this Committee be given to ARTHUR YOUNG, Eſq; for his excellent Pamphlet, intituled, "*The Example of France a Warning to Britain:*" in which he has ſucceſsfully oppoſed the teſtimony of facts and experience to the hazardous ſpeculations of viſionary theoriſts in matters of government.

RESOLVED,

That the ſaid reſolution be inſerted in the newſpapers.

To ARTHUR YOUNG, *Eſq.*

Milford, April 7, 1793.

SIR,

I AM deſired by the Committee of the Aſſociation of Loyal Inhabitants of the Hundred of Babergh, to tranſmit to you the following Reſolution:

" That the beſt and moſt cordial thanks of the Committee be given to ARTHUR YOUNG, Eſq; for his excellent Pamphlet, ſo particularly uſeful at this criſis, intituled, " *The Example of France a Warning to Britain*;" and that the Secretary be requeſted to communicate them, by a letter addreſſed to him at Bradfield-Hall."

I feel the greateſt ſatisfaction in ſending you the above reſolution, becauſe it affords me an opportunity of informing you, that it paſſed not merely with unanimity, but with the ſtrongeſt expreſſions of approbation and applauſe. Permit me to add my acknowledgments for the pleaſure and inſtruction I have received from a publication, which, while it gives you a juſt claim to the eſteem, reſpect, and gratitude of every friend to the conſtitution, will, as its next beſt reward, ſubject you to the cenſure and calumny of all the enemies to order and good government.

I am, very reſpectfully,

Sir, your moſt humble ſervant,

CHARES EDWARD STEWART.

To ARTHUR YOUNG, *Eſq.*

Hoxne Hall, Suffolk, April 16, 1793.

SIR,

AS Chairman of the Loyal Aſſociation of the hundreds of Hoxne and Hartſmere, I have the honour to tranſmit to you the warmeſt thanks of the Committee, which met laſt Thurſday at Eye, for your incomparable Pamplet, intituled, "*The Example of France a Warning to Britain.*" And I beg leave to add my own in particular, for the ſingular ſatisfaction I have experienced from the peruſal of that publication.

I am, Sir,

Your moſt obedient humble ſervant,

THO. MAYNARD.

To ARTHUR YOUNG, *Eſq.*

Hadleigh, May 8, 1793.

SIR,

I AM deſired by the Committee of the Aſſociation for the Hundred of Cosford, and vicinity of Hadleigh, to tranſmit to you the following Reſolution, which was this day paſſed unanimouſly:

" RESOLVED,

THAT the ſincere and earneſt thanks of this Committee be given to ARTHUR YOUNG, Eſq; for his admirable publication, intituled, " *The Example of France a Warning to Britain:*"—a work which ſhould be treaſured in the mind of every Engliſhman, who wiſhes not to ſee the foundations of order and good government overturned, and the comely edifice of our envied conſtitution, erected on thoſe foundations, tumbled into ruins."

Allow me to add the ſatisfaction I have individually received from the peruſal of the foregoing pamphlet, which ſo ably ſupports its point, by the moſt unanſwerable of all teſtimony, facts and experience. An abſtract of it cannot fail of being generally uſeful.

I am with much eſteem,

Sir, your very faithful humble ſervant,

G. WATSON.

To ARTHUR YOUNG, *Esq.*

Halesworth, Suffolk, June 10, 1793.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour, as Secretary to the Loyal Association of the Hundred of BLYTHING, to transmit you a copy of a vote of thanks, which passed at the last meeting of our Committee, for your late publication—"*The Example of France a Warning to Britain.*" And I cannot help taking the liberty of adding my own, as an individual, for the obligation you have conferred upon the Public, by placing the Question in so clear a point of view. I am, Sir,

With the greatest respect,

Your most obedient humble servant,

P. JERMYN.

BLYTHING LOYAL ASSOCIATION.

At a Meeting of the Committee of this Association, held by adjournment at the Three Tuns, in YOXFORD, *on Wednesday the 22d day of May*, 1793,

RESOLVED UNANIMOUSLY,

THAT the thanks of this Committee be given to ARTHUR YOUNG, Esq. for his late judicious publication, intituled, "*The Example of France a Warniug to Britain*;" and that a copy of this resolution be transmitted to him by the Secretary.

By the Committee,

P. JERMYN, Secretary.

To ARTHUR YOUNG, *Eſq.*

Red-Houſe, Suffolk, June 7, 1793.

SIR,

I AM ſorry I have not been ſooner able to tranſmit to you the Thanks of the BOSMERE and CLAYDON, and STOW Aſſociation, for your very excellent work, "*The Example of France a Warning to Britain*," as voted on Tueſday laſt. Permit me to aſſure you, that no one more heartily joins in the vote of approbation than,

Your obedient humble ſervant,

MILESON EDGAR.

HUNDREDS OF BOSMERE AND CLAYDON, AND STOW ASSOCIATION.

At a Meeting of the Committee of this Aſſociation, held by adjournment at the King's Head Inn, in NEEDHAM-MARKET, *this 4th day of June*, 1793,

MILESON EDGAR, Eſq. in the Chair.

RESOLVED,

THAT the thanks of this Society be tranſmitted by the Chairman to ARTHUR YOUNG, Eſq. for his excellent work, intituled, "*The Example of France a Warning to Britain.*"

By order of the Committee,

JOHN MARRIOTT, Secretary.