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from J. A. A. A.

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A REVIEW, &c.



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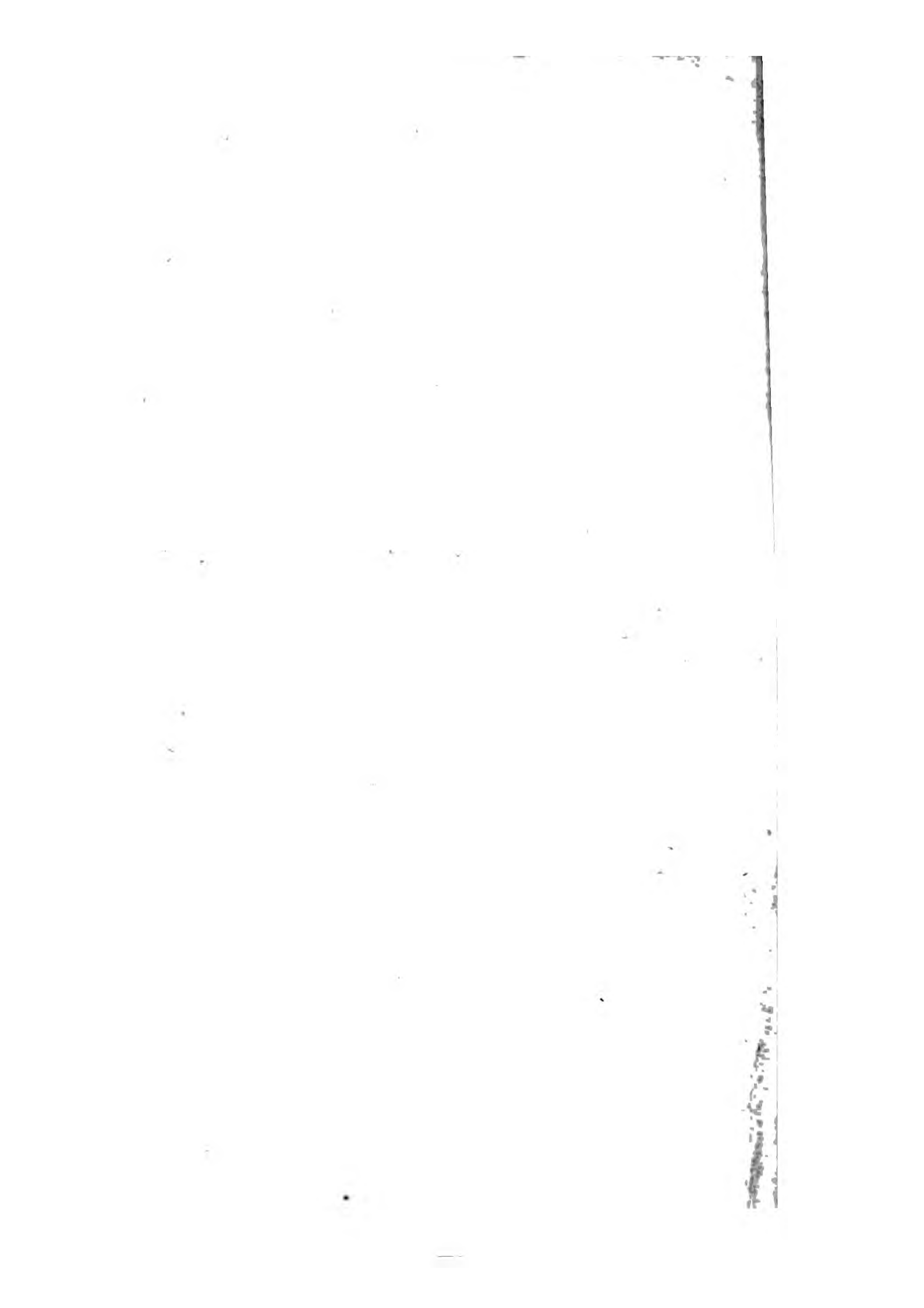


A  
REVIEW  
OF SOME OF  
THE POLITICAL EVENTS  
WHICH HAVE OCCURRED IN  
MANCHESTER,  
DURING  
THE LAST FIVE YEARS:  
BEING A  
SEQUEL TO THE TRIAL  
OF  
THOMAS WALKER, AND OTHERS,  
FOR A  
CONSPIRACY TO OVERTHROW  
THE  
CONSTITUTION AND GOVERNMENT  
OF  
THIS COUNTRY,  
AND TO  
AID AND ASSIST THE FRENCH, BEING THE KING'S ENEMIES.  
BY THOMAS WALKER.

LONDON:  
PRINTED FOR J. JOHNSON, IN ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD.

1794.

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## P R E F A C E.

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SINCE the events of the following narrative, Messrs. Hardy, Tooke, Bonney, Kyd, Joyce, Holcroft, Thelwall, Richter and Baxter, have been indicted and acquitted of High Treason, The offence laid to their charge was of the same nature with that imputed to Messrs. Jackson, Paul, Collier, myself, and others ; and the only difference of the two cases, was, that in the one, a Conspiracy was the crime alledged ; in the other, it was the means, by which the supposed crime of High Treason was to have been effected.—Both these charges have fallen to the ground. The enquiry, I trust, will produce much good upon the public mind ; and, so far, will, compensate the defendants for the anxiety, ill treatment, and injurious expence, which they have sustained.

Whether there be in law any precise definition of what is called a Conspiracy, I have not yet been able to learn ; but, from the

practice observed on these trials, it is of all others a species of accusation the most to be dreaded by an Englishman. The evidence permitted to be given, appeared to consist of every thing done, written, or spoken, at any time, or place, or by any persons whatever, who, by the ingenuity of the Crown lawyers, could be connected with the design of which the parties stood accused. For instance, suppose a member of a political society votes against any particular motion, and that he is in a minority : the question is, of course, carried against his opinion, as being the act of the society at large ; the result is, that such member may be tried for his life upon this very act, which he has thus endeavoured to prevent.— In answer, I know, it may be said, that a defendant has only to call the other persons present, in explanation of his conduct ; which is all very true and plausible, provided he knows before-hand the time, and place, and nature, of the fact alledged. But if, as in the case of the gentlemen above mentioned, the evidence is to begin for years before the day of trial, their papers seized, and themselves imprisoned, the chance of a defence is doubtful indeed ; as  
witnesses



P R E F A C E. ▼

witnesſes may be dead, or may have left the kingdom, or may have forgotten every circumſtance in queſtion, not thinking, at the time it happened, they ſhould be ever called to give an account of it ; which, as every one knows, is a very common anſwer in our courts of juſtice.

The delay of juſtice is a hackneyed topic ; but its uncertainty is a much more ſerious cauſe of complaint. Thus, in a criminal proſecution, it is pretended, that the accused, having a copy of his indictment granted him, he is made acquainted with the matter of it, and ſo enabled to prepare for his defence. The truth of this is worth ſome enquiry. Of all the incidents attending any tranſaction, time and place are the moſt eſſential, as tending to fix it with certainty. When a man is indicted, the law ſays, that both the time and place of the act he is charged with, ſhall be ſpecified ; and ſo it is upon the ſcroll of parchment, of which he has a copy allowed him for his information. But, when the cauſe comes to trial, the law is ſatisfied, *if any other day is proved*, to be that, on which the offence was committed ; ſo that the information given in the indictment, if erroneous, has only

one effect; viz. to mislead the accused, instead of instructing him. In the like manner, if the place proved, be different from the place laid in the indictment, it is all the same, provided both places are within the county where the assizes are held. In this state of things, therefore, I should be glad to know, how the accused is enabled with certainty to prepare for his defence.

With these trials are involved many other important questions: as connected with parliamentary reform, they are, also, of great public concern. Henceforward, it will not, I hope, be imputed to men as a capital crime, that they endeavoured to promote this object, because they thought it necessary to their country's liberty. This question was said by the Lord Chancellor, during the last session of parliament, to have been entirely laid at rest in the year 1782. But, how, and by whom? Did any committee of enquiry (which was Mr. Pitt's proposition) prove to us, that the representation of the people was not defective? Or, does the vote of a majority in the House of Commons against *any* enquiry into the state of their own body, prove to us, that that body  
is

is in health? And how, otherwise, did the public receive any satisfaction on the subject? For this question has been revived three times in parliament, since the year 1782. No man, however, can doubt but that it was intended to have been laid at rest in the year 1794, when the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended, and when so many innocent persons were committed under that suspension, in order to their being prosecuted for High Treason.— However, trial by jury was still left us, and their lives were preserved to the community. The consequences of an opposite verdict to that delivered, would have been dreadful indeed: they may easily be conceived; the system of terror being no novelty in the history of mankind.

Sir William Temple says, that, upon the first report of the Duke of Alva's expedition against the Flemings, "the trading people of  
"the towns and country began in vast numbers to retire out of the provinces, so, as  
"the Dutchess\* wrote to the King, that, in a

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\* The Dutchess of Parma, who had the government of the Low Countries before the Duke of Alva, under Philip the Second.

" few

“ few days, one hundred thousand men had  
“ left the country, and withdrawn both their  
“ money and goods, and more were following  
“ every day.” Had Messrs. Hardy, Tooke, &c.  
been convicted, that event “ would have made  
“ up a force, which nothing in England could  
“ look in the face with other eyes than of  
“ astonishment, submission, or despair.” \* The  
advocates of parliamentary reform would not  
have waited for warrants of apprehension, and  
a trial upon constructive treason, while a single  
vessel could have been procured, and their fami-  
lies conveyed to any land of safety. Parliamen-  
tary reform would then, indeed, have been little  
heard of ; and so far the question might have  
been laid at rest. Happily for those, whose  
minds are imbued with public principles, the  
life of an English subject is better protected  
in this age, than it was a century ago.—  
Jurors, it is plain, are now more enlightened ;  
and, in cases of treason, the Statutes of William  
and of Anne are powerful protections to brave  
and innocent men. During the reigns of

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\* Observations upon the United Provinces of the Nether-  
lands, p. 34.

Charles, and James the Second, it seemed, as if prosecution and conviction were synonymous. If, in the present times, knowledge is more widely diffused than formerly, so that individual improvement has promoted and preserved individual security, Why may we not expect that it should at length effect universal freedom ?

Without some new contrivance, hitherto unforeseen, and while the legislature shall permit us to enjoy a trial by our equals, it will not be possible to stifle opinions and principles, whether civil or religious. In prosecutions by the way of misdemeanour, some sacrifices may be made : by means of special juries, and *ex officio* informations, our prisons may sometimes be tenanted by those, who deserve a better fate. But, to conquer the minds of men, you must destroy the men themselves ; and this will not be found practicable while the voice of truth can be heard, and the provisions of justice shall remain in force.

For myself, I am willing to hope that the cause of reform has been for several years, and is at this moment, progressive ; because the

interest and honour of England as a nation, are deeply concerned in its accomplishment. Should this be attended with success, even in the last period of my life, I shall look with satisfaction on the injuries, which have been attempted against my person, my family and my property, considering, that the failure of those attempts may have had some share in promoting the general benefit. But were it possible, that, at the approach of the nineteenth century, the people of England should have wholly abandoned their national character, and, conveying the poison of corruption to their own lips, should sit down tamely under an established despotism, those few who have endeavoured to prevent so deadly a calamity, will, at least, have the consolation, “that as  
“ men employ the talents God has given them  
“ here, they shall accordingly receive their re-  
“ wards at the close of the day, when their sun  
“ shall set, and when night shall put an end  
“ to their labours.”

December 23, 1794.

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## ERRATA.

- P. 14, Note, last line, for *enact*, read *erect*.  
 P. 16, l. 18, for *earned*, read *learned*.  
 P. 23, Note, last line, for *uniwersa*, read *uniwersal*.  
 P. 54, l. 15, after the word *justice*, add, *he has lately left this country to settle  
 in America*.  
 P. 78, Note, l. 2, dele Comma after *individuals*, and for *that*, read *to*.  
 Ibid. l. 18, for *the*, read *this*.  
 Ibid. l. 19, for *every other parent and guardian*, read *the parent and guardian  
 of every other*.

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## A REVIEW, &c.

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**I**N the Preface to the Trial, which I published in the month of June last, I promised, if my health and leisure should permit, to lay before the public some facts, which should tend to prove, that the charge of CONSPIRACY would be more applicable to the conduct of the prosecutors, than of the defendants. I proceed now to fulfil my promise, as well as the caution of my adversaries, and the circumstances of the times, will permit: and, I hope, the detail will prove not unuseful, and therefore not uninteresting to the public.

History was formerly written merely to relate the quarrels of Kings and Princes among themselves, and to excite the reader to contemplate, with reverence and admiration, the characters and conduct of the great murderers of mankind. It was natural that those should write only for Kings and Heroes, who seemed to believe that the human species were created only for the service and the pleasure of Kings and Heroes. Hence a great, much the greatest part of history, ancient and modern, is occupied in details, which convey no instruction but to heads of armies, and which, in the mind of a benevolent reader, excite no sentiments but those of sorrow and execration.

Of late years, however, it has been suspected, that society and civil government either originally were, or ought to have been, inventions, intended to promote and render permanent the happiness of the individuals who thus connect themselves with each other: and that the rulers of states

either were, or ought to have been, persons appointed merely to frame and execute such regulations as were best adapted to this purpose. Hence a class of writers has arisen, who investigate history for the purpose of ascertaining, how far, and under what circumstances, the various forms of government, and the persons who have assumed the administration of them, have answered this supposed end of their creation: and the result of the investigation has been, that civil government and civil society, as they have been hitherto usually conducted, have rather defeated, than promoted their original purpose; and the miseries of the human species have kept pace with the vaunted progress of civilization. \*

This general position being now pretty well established, it has become important to ascertain, in what part of the experiment the people have been deceived, and by what means the presumed benefactors have become, in such numerous instances, the plunderers and destroyers of mankind. How the *few* have permanently contrived to live in affluence and luxurious indulgence, while the *many* drag on an existence laborious and miserable, in ignorance and vice, in pain and poverty! It is no great wonder that any set of men, should prefer their own interest and inclination to that of their neighbours, or be incited to benefit by the folly and pusillanimity of those, who submit to the yoke imposed on them, and consent to live, not for the advantage of themselves, but of their oppressors. But, though a melancholy, it is a very instructive problem, to ascertain, how it thus hap-

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\* Much light has been thrown upon this subject by, among other writers, Mr. Burke, in his *Vindication of Natural Society*: wherein, (through fear perhaps of shocking the ancient prejudices of his readers) he affects to treat as a paradox the side of the question he has espoused. But it is evident, that no man could pen the serious and weighty truths contained in that masterly publication, without feeling the force of them. Voltaire and Rousseau, who were his contemporaries, have incidentally touched on the same subjects in various parts of their writings; and Paine and Barlow have trodden the same ground.

pens, that the great mass, not merely of a community, but of mankind, should for ages have tamely submitted to this state of things, and that millions should so long have permitted themselves to be plundered and slaughtered, to gratify the avarice, the ambition, the revenge, or the caprice of a few worthless individuals.

So far as the fair conclusions, from known facts, have hitherto been deduced, it appears, that the causes of national evils arise principally from too much authority entrusted for too long a period, to persons not sufficiently responsible to the people. If there be one important lesson to be learnt from history, it is, that power should be lodged no where without responsibility. Force usually accompanies authority. Military bodies, ostensibly set on foot for the execution of the laws internally, and for external defence, have in reality enabled the rulers of nations to encrease gradually and indefinitely the authority originally committed to them, or subsequently acquiesced in. In most countries this authority, by mutual connivance, has been divided among two or three denominations of men, whose combination (notwithstanding their occasional quarrels) has hitherto kept the mass of the people in brutal ignorance, and in abject dependence.

Sometimes persons of superior talents and foresight have endeavoured to set bounds to the progress of power, and to emancipate their fellow citizens from the situation, in which they are usually found: and the struggles of the Friends to Liberty, on the one hand, and the abettors of ancient errors and sacred abuses, on the other, form the most instructive part of the history of mankind. We are now arrived at a period when the minutiae of these contests are, in no small degree, interesting. How the friends of arbitrary power have proceeded in their endeavours to crush the first efforts, and to overpower the dawning of Liberty—in what parts of their conduct they have succeeded—how far, and from what causes

they have failed—what errors the Friends of the People have been led into—what effects, upon the whole, their efforts have hitherto produced—and by what steps they are most likely to succeed in opposing the machinations of their enemies, the recovery of long lost rights, the eradicating of ancient prejudices, and the establishment of political government on the basis of political truth—these are enquiries, in the present day, of infinitely greater moment than the murderous details of Hannibal and Cæsar, of Jenghiz Kahn, or Louis the XIVth, of Frederick the Great, of Catharine, or of any other among the earthly demons of Almighty vengeance.

There is no accurate, there is no practical knowledge but from detail. The general outline of fact and observation, must be drawn from a careful consideration of the minute data, and the conclusions to which they lead. For this purpose, it is of importance, in momentous questions, that a summary of facts (however insignificant the persons to whom they relate) should be carefully registered and filled up; and though the conclusions they lead to, will not, perhaps, be obvious at first view, they will, ere long, be seen in connection; they will throw light upon each other, and their causes and uses will not fail to be developed. Hence, as the French narrators of court intrigues have, for some years past, been in the habit of publishing not histories, but memoirs, to assist the future Historian, I think the Friends of Liberty should take care to publish similar accounts of their experiments and endeavours, of their success, and their ill success, that there may be an ample supply of materials to establish the conclusions they would wish to impress on future generations; details that may put the good man on his guard, direct his efforts, and prevent the waste of time and trouble, and the unnecessary sacrifice of property and peace.

For the reasons, therefore, which I have already given, it is greatly to be wished, that we had complete accounts of the establishment and proceedings of the various societies in this country

country, which have contributed in any degree to accelerate or retard the progress of freedom. Even if they have had no influence of this kind, it would be of importance to ascertain their inefficacy in this respect. The societies, which go under the name of "Reeves's Associations," might on this occasion be mentioned, as, by promoting public discussion, they unwittingly, but materially, promote the cause of freedom.

Associations for the purpose of amending the present inadequate system of representation, have long ago been recommended by Mr. Burgh,\* (an able writer, endeared to me, as the instructor of my youth) and commenced and supported with the most deliberate and systematic spirit by the Chiefs † of  
that

\* Political Disquisitions, V. 3. P. 428 to 434.

† Extract from the Courier of July 12, 1794.—"After so much dispute about the letters of the Secretary of the Friends of the People; after the anxiety of the Society, and the laudable eagerness of the Members of that Society to prove the Committee of Secrecy of the House of Commons wrong, it is natural to conclude that those letters contain something of an inflammatory, seditious, or, perhaps, traitorous tendency. It has already been observed, that no Member of the Friends of the People has in the least disapproved of their contents; and as for the danger with which the Secret Committee may insinuate them to be fraught, What is it?—It is only, at most, an admission that a Convention of Delegates from the different Societies instituted for the purpose of obtaining a Parliamentary Reform, may be at some period a proper measure. Such a Convention, when connected with, and supported by, Corresponding Societies all over the kingdom, is, however, said to be dangerous and unlawful. If it is so, it must be proper to know who first set this dangerous unlawful example. Leaving the notorious conduct of Mr. Pitt and the Duke of Richmond out of the question, I will shew, that the very men who now condemn these measures, were the original promoters of them, and that while Mr. Pitt and the Duke of Richmond have been, by some unaccountable oversight, made the scape-goats on this subject, the real blame, if there is any blame belonging to it, attaches, where it seems to be thought least merited, to Mr. Burke, Mr. Windham, the Duke of Portland, Earl Spencer, and the other Whig Alarmists, who now so zealously support Government,

"In the year 1780, Associations were formed in most of the counties, cities, and towns throughout England, for the purpose of petitioning the House of  
Commons

that party, who are now attempting to stigmatize societies of this description by charges of sedition, and of treasonable practices.

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Commons to reform the expenditure of public money, and to reform Parliament. These Associations appointed Committees of Correspondence, (i. e. Corresponding Societies), some of which consisted of more than one hundred members; and they also voted for a National Association of Deputies, (i. e. a National Convention.) In illustration of the spirit and object of these meetings, I shall quote the speech of Mr. Baker at that of Middlesex, 7th January, 1780, who now votes for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, and is a bitter enemy to Conventions and Corresponding Societies. "He said, that to give a validity and success to this Petition, and that it might not be treated with insolent neglect, it was judged necessary to come to some further Resolutions, similar to those agreed to by the county of York. He said, the reason why the former Petitions of Middlesex and other counties had failed of success, was, that they had not followed them up, and given them support, either by Associations or Resolutions of some strong nature." He therefore moved—"for a National Association of Delegates, and a Committee of Correspondence, (i. e. a National Convention and a Corresponding Society,)" which motions were unanimously agreed to. (See Remembrancer, vol. ix. p. 108.

"Most of the other counties and towns came to resolutions substantially the same. The following is a copy of that passed in Westminster Hall:

"Resolved *nemine contradicente*, That this meeting do approve of a National Association, on legal and constitutional grounds, to promote a reform in the expenditure of public money, to reduce all exorbitant emoluments, to rescind and abolish all sinecure places and unmerited pensions, and to restore and secure to the people the freedom and independence of Parliament, as indispensibly necessary to the State." A Committee of one hundred and three was then appointed, among whom were the following Gentlemen, who accepted the office—that is, they became Members of the Westminster Corresponding Society, instituted for the purpose of procuring a Reform of Parliament, &c. by means of a National Convention, viz. Duke of Portland, Lord Temple, Lord Egremont, Lord Cholmondeley, present Lord Sydney, Mr. Burke, Lord Bulkeley, Mr. Baker, Mr. Hume, Mr. Almon, Mr. Adair, Mr. Thomas Grenville, &c.

"Mr. Burke was also a member of the Corresponding Society in Buckinghamshire, and the Duke of Portland was the most busy in promoting them all over the kingdom. Besides being a member of more than a dozen of these bodies,



The London Constitutional Society, having the same object, was, for a long time, connected with those county, and

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bodies, he was the Chairman of the Corresponding Society of the county of Nottingham.

“ These proceedings had not merely a Reform of Parliament for their object. They were taken with a view to reform all other branches of the State; and they were carried on in a tone far exceeding in boldness any thing of the present day.—The language then not only was, that Reform could never be obtained but by the efforts of the people themselves, but most of the Petitions to Parliament set forth, that it would be derogatory from the honour and integrity of the House of Commons, to grant the supplies till the grievances were redressed! The county of Middlesex unanimously resolved to instruct their Representatives to take the best measures for impeaching and bringing to justice the King’s Ministers; and many other counties resolved, not that it was their opinion that annual Parliaments, &c. would be good things, but they resolved that Parliaments shall be annual. “ The Rights of the People”—“ the Majesty of the People,” were then the fashionable expressions, and several Gentlemen went so far as to say, that Ireland had only obtained her independence by the force of 60,000 bayonets, and that if Parliament did not comply with their Petitions, it would be necessary to take the same means to enforce them.

“ Such was the temper of these Meetings, which not only formed Corresponding Societies, but sent Delegates to a National Convention. Of that Convention which met both in March, 1780, and March, 1781, and which passed numberless Resolutions in favour of Parliamentary Reform, I find by Mr. Wyvill’s last publication, that the following Gentlemen, among others, were Members: Mr. Windham, Lord Althorpe, now Earl Spencer, Mr. Baker, Mr. R. M. T. Chiswell, Mr. Thomas Grenville, Sir George Yonge, &c. &c.”

“ The following extract from a Protest entered by the Duke of Dorset, Lords Ashburnham, Hampden, &c. against the proceedings of the county of Surry, will shew that the very same objections were then made to those measures by the friends of Government, which are now brought forward against them by the very Alarmists who originally gave them birth.

“ And we do most particularly protest against the Resolutions of appointing a Committee of Correspondence, with the declared purpose of forming General Associations, apparently tending to over-rule the Legislature, ~~to~~ introduce

and district associations, \* which met for the purpose of exciting the people to require a parliamentary reform. Nor was any blame imputed, or any punishment threatened, to the individuals who composed these societies, at a period when their present persecutors were members of them. How far the principal alarmists in the ministerial aristocracy of the present day were connected with these meetings, and their proceedings, that consistent, persevering, and steady friend of reform, the Rev. Mr. Wyvill, † has very properly disclosed to the public; and it would be desirable, that his account should be completed from the earlier records of the Constitutional Society of London. This would contribute much to shew the tergiversation of pretended patriots, and disclose the political character and conduct of that set of men, whose trade it is to cajole the people, till they can spurn them.

The addresses to and from the societies of France, and the Revolution Society of London, the members of the last mentioned society have published at length, much to their honour, and much, as I think, to the credit of the persons who appear actuated by such sentiments of general philanthropy and mutual good will.

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introduce measures inconsistent with, and subversive of our present excellent Constitution, and leading to confusion and anarchy."

"After such authorities as these, it would surely have been very presumptuous in the Secretary of the Friends of the People to have condemned a Convention of Delegates either as illegal, or as improper at any time; and it was perhaps setting himself too boldly forward against the example of Earl Spencer, and Mr. Windham, even to say that such a measure would be rash at present; for when they were Members of a Convention, the country was in much more distress, the people were much more discontented, and consequently the danger was greater than at present.

" July 5, 1794.

A FRIEND OF THE PEOPLE."

\* Such as the Yorkshire Association, the Quintuple Alliance, &c.

† Political Papers, chiefly respecting the Reformation of the Parliament of Great-Britain, three Vols. Octavo, of which are already published.

The

The most detailed, however, though not a complete account, of the proceedings of the numerous patriotic societies, established and continued within these two or three years, the public owe to the labours of the Committee of Secrecy of the House of Commons, appointed in the present year, 1794, to examine and report upon the contents of the papers forcibly taken from the Secretaries, and others, belonging to those societies. In these reports, some papers are evidently omitted which the public would probably have been glad to have seen. But, in return, many of the extracts published by the Committee are clearly such as the foreness and irritability of government, would not have permitted any other set of men to have sent out into the world. The necessary attention to common prudence would have forbidden it.

I do not know which, among the bold and the very important truths contained in those reports, are meant to be regarded as treasonable: for it is evident, that there can be no such crime as treason, until some overt act expressive of the treason, shall make it manifest. The essence of libel consists in publication; and whether seditious and inflammatory sentiments be dispersed among the people, by A. or by B. seems immaterial; the crime, is, the dispersion of them among the people. How far the Gentlemen who have published these reports have played into the hands of their opponents, and pursued the line of conduct, which the presumed delinquents would most gladly have followed had they dared—how far they have been guilty of the very act they complain of, in the complaint itself, is not for me to determine. But surely it may be asked, if the sentiments they reprobate are improper to be published, why publish them? And if they are not improper to be published, why complain of them? At all events, however, we now know, and from the highest authority, what are the doctrines obnoxious to government; and the people are thus put into possession of facts and sentiments, of which they must form, for the present, their own opinion; while the future Historian will rejoice at a

circumstance which has enabled him to give a more complete account, and form a sounder judgment of the events of these times than he could otherwise have hoped for. What is wanting to make these reports complete, other persons of better information should endeavour to supply, so far as the circumstances of the times will authorize. Perhaps the doctrine of libel may relax a little from its present severity, and truth be permitted to shew herself among us, without being so frequently subject to the lash of the law.—Being desirous of contributing my share of information on these subjects (the result of dear-bought experience) for the benefit of those, who, influenced by the same motives, may become liable to the same persecutions, I have set down to relate some of the political transactions which have taken place at Manchester, of late years; and I hope, that the reader will find matter for much important reflection in the narrative I am about to give.

Since the years 1715 and 1745, remarkable for the attempts of the Stuart family to regain the throne, the sons of those, who at that time abetted the Pretender, had with their hopes of success given up all attachment to the remains of that degraded and wretched family. But the old doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance were not entirely renounced, and very many among the inhabitants of Manchester and its vicinity adhered with the usual bigotry to what are commonly called *High-Church* principles; principles, which, it is well known, most frequently descend with the names and properties of those who profess them. Persons who embrace these opinions, take for granted, that the religion and the politics of a nation must always go together: and if one set of men be disposed to a different form of worship from another, it is held as a thing impossible for the two to concur in a common form of government. Thus are fellow citizens set at variance in this world for opinions that relate to another.

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The established clergy, whose salaries and sinecures depend upon the continuance of the public error in this respect, take care that the people shall not be undeceived; and brand with heresy and innovation all those who express their doubts of a position, which, however vehemently asserted, has never yet been proved.

The commencement of party violence in Manchester may be dated from the year 1789, when the discussions respecting the Corporation and Test Acts occupied much of the public attention. In that year the Protestant Dissenters conceived that from the apparent liberality of all ranks of men in matters of religion, the times were sufficiently favourable for them to renew their applications to Parliament for a repeal of the Acts just mentioned, the majority against them on a former question being not more than twenty votes. The Clergy, however, either were, or pretended to be, alarmed; and, on a sudden, the fears of those who cried out, "the Church was in danger," became as wild and absurd as ever they were in the days of Sacheverell and his party. At last they became sufficiently enthusiastic in Manchester to call a meeting of those particularly attached to their own opinions, under the title of Members of the Established Church, in order (these are their own words) "to consider of and consult about the impropriety of the application to Parliament of the Protestant Dissenters to obtain a repeal of those salutary laws, the Corporation and Test Acts, the great bulwarks and barriers, for a century and upwards, of our glorious Constitution in Church and State." \*

The meeting held in pursuance of this advertisement was called a PUBLIC MEETING of the Members of the Established Church. The room, however, was nearly filled

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\* The requisition to the Boroughreeve and Constables to call this meeting was signed first by the *Churchwardens* of about half a dozen of the parish, and other churches in Manchester: a circumstance sufficiently evincing the activity of the Clergy upon this occasion.

by the adherents of the High Church party before any others could be admitted. To increase the solemnity, the Clergy attended in their gowns and cassocks. Some opposition was made to the manner, in which the meeting had been called, and the indecent stratagem by which the room had been previously filled; and it was particularly objected, that, according to the rule which the town had adopted in the year 1788, the Boroughreeve and Constables had no right to call any meeting of the inhabitants, except a general one. \* But the clamour of the High-Church men was violent beyond description. Resolutions prepared before-hand were put into the hands of the Boroughreeve, while he was in the midst of his speech, and explaining why he called the town together; and these resolutions, seconded even before they were read, were as hastily passed in the noise and confusion which prevailed. Till the next morning, when they were printed, it is probable that few of the persons present understood a syllable of what had been voted. †

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\* Upon the 8th day of July, 1788, the following Resolution was passed, at a numerous and respectable public meeting of the Inhabitants of the town of Manchester, viz.

“ Resolved,

“ That the Boroughreeve and Constables have no right to call any meeting of the Inhabitants of this Town, but a general one; and that the present Boroughreeve and Constables, Mr. George Barton, Mr. Nathan Crompton, and Mr. James Entwisle, have the very sincere and particular thanks of this meeting, for calling a general meeting of the Inhabitants upon this very great and important question.”

† Among the Resolutions voted was the following, viz.

“ That the religion of the State be the religion of the Magistrate, without which no society can be wisely confident of the integrity and good faith of the persons appointed to places of trust and power,”

If this be true, it ought to be carried further, and exclude from the Legislature all those who are not of the religion of the State. The situation of the maker of laws, is much higher than that of the Magistrate, who only administers them, and who is, or should be, accountable to the public tribunals for every misconduct. Surely, if there be no danger in a Dissenter being

A conduct like this gave extreme disgust to myself and others, who, without being partial to any body of men, wished to see those of every religious persuasion placed upon an equal footing. Religious differences would soon become

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being a Member of Parliament, there can be none in his being a Country Justice, an Alderman, or an Exciseman. But error is almost always inconsistent.

However, as the Resolutions themselves, with the stile of their introduction to the public, are fair specimens of the temper and principles of the High-Church party at that time, I here present them to the reader :

“ CONSTITUTION AGAINST INNOVATION.

“ *THE real Friends of this Town and Neighbourhood, Members of the ESTABLISHED CHURCH, and firm in the OLD CAUSE, have again an Opportunity of congratulating their Fellow Citizens (this Day) on the complete Overthrow of the*

“ PROTESTANT DISSENTERS.”

“ And notwithstanding the Legions of Dissenting Congregations, headed by their respective PASTORS of this Town and Neighbourhood (who so indecently *foisted* themselves, *uninvited*, upon the Meeting) they were ROUTED, and DISAPPOINTED in their MARKED VIRULENCE and RESTLESS OPPOSITION to the good ORDER and CONSTITUTIONAL PROCEEDINGS of the MEETING, as well as to that ORDER which ought EVER to prevail in the STATE.

“ THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND FOR EVER.

“ *Manchester, 3d February, 1790.*”

“ MANCHESTER, 3d FEBRUARY, 1790.

“ AT a MOST RESPECTABLE and NUMEROUS MEETING of the

“ Town and Neighbourhood of MANCHESTER,

“ Convened THIS DAY, at the HOTEL, by public Advertisement, inserted in both the Manchester Newspapers, and at the written Request of Seventy four Members of the Church of England, for the Purpose of *considering of, and consulting about, the Impropriety of the Application to Parliament, of the Protestant Dissenters, to obtain a Repeal of those salutary Laws,*

“ THE CORPORATION AND TEST ACTS.

“ *the great Bulwarks and Barriers, for a Century and upwards, of our glorious Constitution in Church and State,*” when the following Resolutions were moved, seconded, twice read, and carried by a very large Majority, although

become of little importance, if all men were left to go to Heaven their own way, without persecution or proscription for their opinions. These sentiments prevailed among a great number of the inhabitants, who adjourned the same day (Feb. 3) to a different house, and protested against these High-Church proceedings.

Until

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although the Protestant Dissenters of the Town and Neighbourhood, attended in a very large Body, in direct Opposition to the Requisition and Advertisements, which convened only Members of the Established Church.

“ RESOLVED,

“ I. That the Application to Parliament by the Protestant Dissenters for the Repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts, is in our Opinion improper; because we cannot but esteem such Repeal subversive of our Constitution in Church and State.

“ II. THAT an established Religion is the Basis and best Security of civil Society; and it is found expedient for the public Tranquillity, that the Religion of the State be the Religion of the Magistrate, without which no Society can be wisely confident of the Integrity and good Faith of the Persons appointed to Places of Trust and Power. Hence the Wisdom of our Ancestors in requiring some public Profession, some sacred Test of Conformity to the Establishment, for the due Exercise and Performance of Office, the Security of our Laws, and the Preservation of our Constitution.

“ III. THAT the Legislature of this Country hath an indubitable Right to enjoin such Tests, as they think will best preserve our Religious and Civil Establishments; and we approve and admire the Wisdom of our Ancestors in enacting the Receiving the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper according to the Usage of the Church of England as a sufficient Test, and effectual Safeguard to our happy Constitution in Church and State.

“ IV. THAT the Corporation and Test Acts give Strength and Permanency to our excellent Constitution, and ought to be transmitted unimpaired to the latest Posterity.

“ V. THAT the Test Laws are in no wise intended to oppress the Dissenters from the Church, but as a Security against any Endeavours to overturn the Establishment, and that as the Dissenters from the Establishment, become such by their own free Choice, they have no just Ground of Complaint against these Barriers, which the Wisdom of the Legislature hath thought proper to enact for the Preservation of both Church and State.



Until this period the bickerings between the Friends to Liberty and the idolaters of authority in Manchester, were carried on with a spirit of opposition, indeed, but not of hatred. The Clergy, however, looked upon this liberality toward the Dissenters, as an act of open hostility against themselves. Sermons were every where preached against all who favoured the repeal of these acts of Parliament, much in the same way as of late they have been against what is called Sedition. This is a practice as pernicious as any that fanaticism or arbitrary power have ever employed: for the doctrines delivered to an ignorant multitude from the pulpit are not to be repelled by opposite doctrines, like fair public or printed arguments, but are like wounds in the dark which become fatal before a remedy can be procured.

Immediately after the Bill for the repeal of the Test Acts was thrown out, the party in Manchester who opposed that measure formed themselves into a body, which they styled the **CHURCH AND KING CLUB**. Their first meeting was held on the 13th of March, 1790, with solemnities as ridiculous as

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“ VI. THAT as we conceive the Dissenters to enjoy already a compleat and uninterrupted Toleration (which we are far from wishing to deprive them of) it becomes every Member of the Established Church to take the Alarm at their Conduct, to be ready to meet them in Parliament, and oppose with Vigour every Endeavour and undue Influence exercised upon the Parliamentary Representatives of this Country, especially at the Eve of a General Election, for obtaining a Repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts.

“ VII. THAT this Meeting are sensible of their high Obligations to all those Members of the House of Commons, who lately in Parliament so ably stood forward in Defence of our Constitution, by opposing the Repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts.

“ VIII. THAT the particular Thanks of this Meeting are due to the Chairman for his candid, upright, and impartial Conduct, and that the Chairman leave the Chair, and the Meeting be dissolved.

“ EDWARD PLACE, Boroughreeve and Chairman.”

any to be found in the history of toryism.\* They wore uniforms, with the representation of the *Old Church* at Manchester engraved on their buttons. They appointed a committee for the admission of members of suitable lives and conversations, and struck medals to commemorate the fact, that the motion for the repeal had been negatived in Parliament. Every thing said in favour of liberty or liberality, was to these gentlemen a declaration of war against the Constitution in Church and State. The standing toast of their club, and in their private societies, was, *Church and King, and down with the Rump*; and they seemed anxious to keep alive at their meetings the absurd prejudices which distinguished and disgraced their predecessors of the last century.

Some months after this, (during which time these gentlemen kept up their clamour without opposition) viz. in the beginning of October, 1790, several merchants and manufacturers in Manchester, together with some members of the learned professions, agreed to form another society of a character very different from the Church and King club. We met monthly under the name of the MANCHESTER CONSTITUTIONAL SOCIETY; and endeavoured, to the best of our power, to oppose the intolerant and slavish doctrines which were daily instilled into the people. The fundamental tenets of this society were expressed in certain resolutions agreed to on the 5th of October, 1790. Some time afterward (viz. in June 1792) one of the divisions of the Church and King Club also (for at this time there were several,) thought proper to publish their political creed. That the reader may have an op-

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\* Their Advertisement was as follows :

“ MANCHESTER, March 5, 1790.

“ The Members of the Church and King Club intend to dine at the Hotel on Saturday the 13th Instant, to celebrate the *glorious* Decision of the House of Commons on Tuesday last upon the great Constitutional Question, the Repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts.”

They were afterwards called by some wicked Wit, the TYTHE AND TAX CLUB.

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portunity of comparing and judging of the principles of these different societies, I have contrasted the two publications just mentioned, in the note. \*

To

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\* "MANCHESTER CONSTITUTIONAL SOCIETY,

"Instituted October, 1790.

"RESOLUTION I.—That in every civil Community, the legitimate authority of the *Governors*, can only be derived from the consent of the *Governed*.

"II. That the happiness of the people governed ought to be the sole end and aim of all civil government.

"III. That public honours and emoluments can only be due for services conferred on the State.

"IV. That every person, from the highest to the lowest, appointed to and accepting of any office or trust for the benefit of the Community, is ultimately responsible to the people for the complete discharge of the duties of it.

"V. That *Actions* only, and not *Opinions*, are the proper objects of civil jurisdiction.

"VI. That no Law or Statute can be fairly made, which is not enacted by and with the consent of a majority of the people, given either expressly by themselves, or by means of a full, fair, and adequate Representation.

"VII. That the People of Great Britain are not fully, fairly, and adequately represented in Parliament; and that the defective state of the Representation of this country, and the extended duration of Parliaments, require a speedy and effectual reform, and are objects to which the attention of this Society ought to be particularly directed."

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"THE CHURCH AND KING CLUB,

"Held at the house of Mr. Jonathan Foster, the Weaver's Arms, on Cockpit-Hill, Manchester, think it necessary, openly, in the following Declaration, to state their reasons for publishing their Principles.

"DECLARATION.

"This Society beholds with infinite concern the many dangerous plots and associations that are forming in different parts of this kingdom, for the avowed purpose of disseminating discord, and for subverting the order of one of the most beautiful systems of government, that the combined efforts of human wisdom has ever yet been able to accomplish.

To the Manchester Constitutional Society their adversaries imputed as a political offence never to be forgiven, that they approved of the French Revolution, and the then constitution of that country; and as we professed it to be the principal object

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“When we see such *deadly wounds* aimed at our glorious constitution, we consider it the duty of all good citizens, publicly to step forward, and express their abhorrence of the malevolent and most wicked intentions of those disappointed men, who are audaciously clamorous for a reform in parliament, but whose real object is to excite civil commotion in this our *happy* and well-governed state.

“We are far from believing, should they ever effect their purpose, (which Heaven forbid!) that the change would be for the better, but must always regard those persons as the bane of civil society, who have given so many proofs of an innate propensity for power, and of that restless ambition which has long been their most distinguished characteristic.

#### “PRINCIPLES OF THE CHURCH AND KING CLUB.

“It is a principle of this Society, to revere the Constitution and obey the King, according to the Laws of that Constitution.

“It is a principle of this Society, to reprobate the wild theories and seditious doctrines respecting the Rights of Man, which have been lately promulgated by the enemies of our most excellent constitution in church and state, as they are subversive of all civil authority; and that, if they were put in practice, would tend to nothing but anarchy and confusion, which is contrary to all order.

“It is a principle of this Society, that the Constitution of this country was renovated and fixed at the time of the glorious Revolution.

“It is a principle of this Society, that the Constitution has not since that time been essentially departed from.

“It is a principle of this Society, that the Legislature of this country ought ever to consist of King, Lords, and Commons.

“It is a principle of this Society, that all other modes of legislation, than by King, Lords, and Commons, has always been found, by experience, repugnant to the genius of Englishmen.

“It is a principle of this Society, that the Establishment in Church and State, is not to be altered but by the Legislature itself; consequently any other mode would be attended with extreme danger.

object of our wishes and pursuits, that there might be some speedy and effectual reform in the defective representation of the people of Great Britain, they urged this as a proof of our designs to overturn the constitution of our own country, and to introduce a state of anarchy and confusion.

These are now become the hackneyed topics of aristocratical calumny. They have come upon us, as they have upon all the worthiest and best men of the country; and if there be any crime in the case, we must certainly plead guilty. I believe nothing has yet happened which has materially altered our sentiments on these subjects.

In the affairs of France, we saw, as we thought, the most perfect and yet the most peaceful revolution to be found in

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“ It is a principle of this Society, that it is requisite in every good governed state, that there must exist an established Church, and that no one is to bear any office, either in church or state, but such as will conform, and be in communion with that church.

“ It is a principle of this Society, that the Corporation and Test Acts are the great bulwarks of our constitution in church and state, therefore ought never to be repealed.

“ It is a principle of this Society, that Toleration in religious matters is to be extended to Dissenters of every denomination.

“ Finally, it is the fixed determination of this Society, at all times and in all places, to avow and maintain the above principles to be truly constitutional.

“ Signed by Order of the Society.

“ W. NIGHTINGALE, President.”

“ Manchester, June 23, 1792.”

Those who wish to see a collection of the absurdities which have been publicly avowed by the adherents of *Church and State Politics*, in the enlightened kingdom of Great Britain toward the close of the 18th century, will do well to procure the Resolutions on the subject of the Corporation and Test Acts of the various meetings in support of those *bulwarks* of our constitution. They are collected and printed in octavo, for Mess. Rivingtons, St. Paul's Church-yard.

the history of mankind. The cruelties of the *Lettres de Cachet*, the injustice of the *Droit d'Aubaine*, the persecutions of the Protestants, the exactions of the Intendants, were repealed, disavowed, and stigmatized. Monopolies of all sorts, which bore so heavy upon the poor, were abolished, and they groaned no longer under the compulsory tax of the *Gabelle*, or the servitude of the *Corvées*. Heaps of barbarous and antiquated laws, differing from each other in the various districts of the country, were abrogated; and the innumerable convents of both sexes were forbidden to receive fresh sacrifices to that worst of superstitions. The hereditary judicature of the parliaments, by which justice was made a property in the hands of a few families, was commuted for trial by jury; and a system of representation was arranged for the whole country, with scarcely any opposition, and without any commotion.\* Comparing this  
state

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\* That the reader may be fully aware of the number and extent of the abuses which existed under the old government of France, I have added, as an appendix, the testimony of one who cannot now be suspected of much partiality in favour of the Revolution. Mr. Arthur Young, to whom I allude, published within one year his *Tour to France*, and *The Example of France a Warning to Britain*. The former full of democratic passages, and of invectives against the misery of the common people, and the insolence, ignorance, and oppressive conduct of the privileged orders of France. The latter work is of an opposite complexion; containing an abuse of the French Revolution, so violent, and so declamatory, as to disgust by its malignity even many of that class of readers who were prepared to admire it, and who might not otherwise have been disgusted at the shallow sophistry, so evident in every page of that weak and wicked performance.

How happens it, that, in the space of a few months, this extraordinary conversion, this public recantation of opinion, should have proceeded from a man who seemed so deeply impressed with the necessity of a change of government in France, and so querulous too respecting the neglect of the public toward his own supereminent abilities, and the enormous weight of taxes with which his slender patrimony was burthened, by the oppressive finance of his own country? How happens it, that the same name could appear to the 86th number of the *Annals of Agriculture*, the *Tour into France*, and the *Example of France a Warning to Britain*?

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state of things with the three long and lasting tyrannies of Louis XIII. XIV. and XV. was it criminal to look with delight and admiration on the prospect before us, of so many millions of men just restored to their rights from a condition of abject slavery, in which the nation had continued from the year 1614? In the year 1790, France appeared to have acquired a state of freedom equal to that of America, but without the same struggle. At the Confederation of Paris, July 14th, 1790, the King, the Army, and the great body of the People, accepted and ratified this Constitution. On the 14th of July following, the same ceremony took place, and the same harmony (notwithstanding the King's flight, in June) appeared between him and the people. These circumstances, doubtless, affected us in common with all other Englishmen, who looked back to and admired the acts of their forefathers. But the same sentiments and feelings were not to be expected from those, whose ancestors had favoured the families, and who themselves admired the maxims, of the house of Stuart\*.

On

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Some time *previous* to the last-mentioned publication, a Board of Agriculture was in contemplation, and a short time *after*, when the Board was formed, his Majesty was pleased to appoint Mr. Young the Secretary, with, I am told, a salary of 500*l.* a year. Sir John Sinclair, who, in the preface to his History of the Revenue, had complained most grievously of the illiberality of Mr. Pitt, but had afterwards found reason to vote with the Ministry, was made President of this new (may it prove an useful) institution.—“What makes all doctrines plain and clear?” &c. &c.

I do not mean to approve of all the extracts which I shall give as an appendix; for I think much more favourably of the general proceedings of the French when the extracts in question were penned, than even Mr. Young did: but I do not know so complete and interesting a detail, in the English language, of the abuses of the old French government as Mr. Young has there given.

\* I have left unnoticed the usual declamations about the calamities of Paris, the massacres of September, and the other horrors that are so frequently attributed to the French as a nation, and to the struggle for liberty as the cause of them. But I would ask, Which of these calamities took place before the con-

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On the 14th of July, 1791, the French Revolution was celebrated in London and other places. The Constitutional Society of Manchester advertised a dinner for the same purpose, taking precautions which very base and unmanly insinuations had rendered necessary.\* We particularly desired that no persons would wear about them, or say, any thing which might create animosity between us and those who were of opposite sentiments. We wished peace and harmony to prevail on all sides, and to leave opinions to find their own value. Not so our adversaries; for, on the morning before this, a most inflammatory

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cert of Princes; before the treaty of Pilnitz; before the well-known Manifesto by the Duke of Brunswick, on the part of our faithful ally his Majesty of Prussia; before the actual invasion of France by the continental Despots; and, finally, before the treacherous surrender of some important fortresses into their hands?

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“ June 15, 1791.

\* “ The MANCHESTER CONSTITUTIONAL SOCIETY have their Annual Dinner at the Bridgewater Arms, on Thursday the 14th day of July next, being the Anniversary of the French Revolution; at which time and place the company of the Friends of Freedom is requested.

“ GEORGE LLOYD,  
“ THOMAS WALKER,  
“ JAMES DARBISHIRE,  
“ THOMAS COOPER,  
“ GEORGE PHILIPS,  
“ THOMAS KERSHAW, } Stewards.

“ Tickets 3s. 6d. each, to be had at the Bar of the Bridgewater Arms, and at Mess. Falkner and Birch's, Stationers, in the Market-place.

“ Dinner at three o'clock precisely.

“ The object of this meeting being not only to commemorate the institution of the Manchester Constitutional Society, but also to celebrate, as a subject of exultation, the overthrow of despotism, and the establishment of civil and religious liberty in France,—the Stewards request that no gentleman will on that day move or introduce for discussion any question relating to the political parties or local concerns of this country; or wear any cockade, or other badge of distinction, which may give unnecessary offence to those of our fellow citizens who have not yet been led to feel as ardently upon this great event as ourselves.”

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hand-bill was distributed throughout the town, containing, amongst others, this sentence, that " if Englishmen had the " spirit they used to have, they would, on the 14th of July, " pull the house we assembled at over our heads; and the " brains of every man who dined there, would much be im- " proved by being mingled with brick and mortar."

Recollecting since the horrid transactions which passed on this same day at Birmingham, and the manner in which, and the description of persons by whom they were conducted, I have been somewhat surprized that nothing of the same kind was attempted with us. But the state of things was not favourable to such an attempt at that season, however desirous some persons might be of making it. I had in a considerable degree the police of the town in my own hands as Borough-reeve, \* and most probably could have prevented any mischief

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\* The town of Manchester has neither mayor nor bailiffs, nor any other officers of a body corporate. The regulation of the police is in three officers, viz. a Boroughreeve or Head-borough, and two Constables, who perhaps were a century ago sufficient to keep the peace among the inhabitants of their jurisdiction.

These officers are annually elected in October by a jury of the Leet summoned by the Lord of the Manor.

The Borough-reeve is considered as the principal officer, and in that capacity presides at public meetings, is applied to upon all public business, has the distribution of certain charities, &c. &c.

From the immensely increased population within the last few years, the Magistrates of the county have annually sworn in about two hundred additional Constables, who are called Special Constables.

If this were the proper place, I think I could shew that the town of Manchester owes much of its wealth and importance to its unincorporated character, and that, by the above-mentioned system, public order might be as fully maintained as it ever was in the best regulated corporations in England.

It has been observed with great truth, that towns where manufactures are most flourishing, are seldom bodies corporate, commerce requiring universal encourage-

chief by timely exertion. This was well known. The scheme therefore, if any was in contemplation, proved abortive, and the day passed over in the utmost tranquillity. But, from the experience of what the unhappy families at Birmingham suffered in their property, how narrowly some of them escaped with their lives, and from the symptoms of a persecuting spirit in the town of Manchester, which were betrayed by the hand-bill before mentioned, and from the way in which the account of the Birmingham riots was received and spoken of in this town, I determined to be upon my guard, if any occurrences of a similar nature should ever take place in Manchester.

The two newspapers usually published in that town, began now to refuse communications on the side of liberty. One of them (published by Harrop) had always been violently de-

encouragement, instead of exclusive privileges to the natives and freemen of a particular district. Those who first introduced the Cotton manufacture into Lancashire, were protestant refugees, who probably found small encouragement for themselves and their industry amongst the corporate towns of England. In the same manner, the Silk trade was established by the French emigrants of the last century, in Spital-fields, as being in the suburbs and without, what are called, the *Liberties* of the city of London.

In Languedoc, and other Protestant parts of France, there are persons who still talk of their relations in this country. Various Watch-makers, descendants of those who were persecuted for their dissent from the Catholic church and arbitrary government, are still to be found in the parishes of St. Anne Soho, and St. Martin's in the Fields, which, as is well known, were considered at that period as being out of the metropolis.

It is almost needless to observe that this country owes much of its commercial character and prosperity to the freedom it was supposed to possess; that the Woollen manufacture was principally established in consequence of the superstition and cruelty of Philip the Second of Spain; and that we are equally indebted to the extreme folly and wickedness of that French Monarch who revoked the Edict of Nantz for several valuable manufactures besides the Silk and Cotton. These ideas, though not immediately connected with what I had to say respecting the Borough-reeve, so naturally occurred at this moment, that I could not pass on without laying them before the reader.

voted to the High-Church party, and the other (Wheeler's) was easily induced to adopt the same conduct.\* Some members of the Constitutional Society, therefore, proposed to Mr. Matthew Falkner, a member of that Society, to commence a new paper, under the name of the Manchester Herald, which was begun on the 31st of March, 1792, and continued to the 23d of March, 1793, with a degree of spirit and reputation that will not soon be forgotten in this neighbourhood.

On the 13th of April, 1792, Mr. Cooper and Mr. James Watt, jun. on the part of the Manchester Constitutional Society, presented an Address to the Society of Jacobins at Paris, which, on the 30th of the same month, produced a most virulent invective from Mr. Burke, in the House of Commons. On the 8th of May, the Manchester Society published translations of the Address and the Reply to it; for which, and for a defence of their proceedings on this occasion, I refer to "Cooper's Reply to Burke's Invective," a publication which, from the very favourable acceptance of the public, was certainly worthy of an answer, but to which Mr. Burke has not yet condescended to reply, either from want of inclination, or, more probably, from want of argument.

As the Manchester Constitutional Society was now brought forward very conspicuously before the public, it became the object of much conversation and calumny. To prevent

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\* There is not a more formidable enemy to political error than a newspaper impartially conducted. All parties in this country are aware of this. Hence the tax upon paper, the tax upon newspapers, the penalty on lending papers, the threats and inducements used toward the publicans throughout the kingdom, to reject some and take in others. Hence the prosecutions which have been carried on against the Argus, the Morning Chronicle, the Manchester, the Sheffield, and the Leicester papers. Hence, in many public-houses throughout the kingdom, you see none but such contemptible papers as the Sun and the True Briton.

The same spirit has laid a very heavy tax on imported books, and granted a bounty on their export.

mistake and misrepresentation, the members thought it necessary about this time to publish the following declaration of their views and intentions :—

“ *Bull’s Head Inn, Manchester, May 15, 1792.*

“ At a Meeting of the MANCHESTER CONSTITUTIONAL SOCIETY,

“ Resolved,

“ That the great object of this Society is, and always has been, to effect a reform in the present very inadequate, and corrupt state of the Representation of the people.

“ That as the defective state of the representation of the people has introduced into the constitution of this country all the abuses which deform it, this Society earnestly invite their fellow citizens to a serious and dispassionate consideration of this most important subject, which, they are happy to learn, will be brought before the House of Commons in the next Session of Parliament.

“ That the following Declaration be laid before the Public :—

“ DECLARATION.

“ The views of the Manchester Constitutional Society having been lately much misrepresented, we think it necessary to state to the public the general principles, on which our association is founded; and the purposes, which we aim at accomplishing.—The political maxims, in which individually and collectively we agree, are—

“ That the power vested in every government is derived from the people—That the persons who exercise it are ultimately responsible to them—and that the happiness of the people should be the sole end of every government.

“ We disclaim any intention of endeavouring the overthrow of the British Constitution—OUR AIM is to restore the constitution to its original purity, by removing the corruptions and

and abuses that deform it, and which render its practice at perpetual variance with its applauded theory. We are particularly anxious, that the House of Commons should be in reality, what it is in name, and pretension, the Representative Body of the Commons of Great Britain; and that the members of that House should owe their seats to the good opinion, and free suffrage of the people at large, and not to the prostituted votes of venal and corrupted boroughs. As it is the boast of our constitution, that it combines the advantages of three separate estates, it is essential to its purity that the rights of the Commons should be preserved inviolate; and that neither the King, by his Ministers, nor any Peer of the realm, should influence the choice of those who are the ostensible representatives of the people. It is a matter of notoriety that TWO HUNDRED and FIFTY-FOUR members of the House of Commons, are elected BY LESS THAN SIX THOUSAND PERSONS,\* and that a great number of the boroughs which return these members are at the disposal of the Peerage, or under other unconstitutional influence.

“ We are farther desirous, that the most effectual means should be adopted of securing to the people the integrity of their representatives. For this end, the duration of parliaments, so unconstitutionally extended to seven years, ought to be contracted; in order that the exercise of the right of appointing their representatives may more frequently revert to the people; and that the members of the House of Commons, knowing that the renewal of their trust must depend on an honest discharge of it, may feel it their interest, as well as their duty, to do the business of their constituents with fidelity. On the subject of the corrupt influence which exists in the government of this country, we are happy to use the authority of Mr. Burke, who, on presenting some years ago to the House of Commons, “ A Plan for the better Se-

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\* The most numerous meeting of the Commons, in our recollection, was 502 members.

“ curity of the Independence of Parliament, and the œconomical Reformation of the Civil and other Establishments,” made this animated declaration,—“ *What I confess was uppermost with me, what I bent the whole force of my mind to, was the reduction of that corrupt influence, which is itself the perennial spring of all prodigality, and of all disorder; which loads us more than millions of debt; which takes away vigour from our arms, wisdom from our councils, and every shadow of authority and credit from the most venerable parts of our constitution.*” The testimony of the House of Commons may also be quoted to the same purpose, which adopted, not many years ago, the following resolution, which was supported by Mr. Burke, viz.—“ *That the influence of the crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished.*” We cannot believe that this corrupt influence is since diminished; for it appears that even some of those whom it formerly alarmed, are now drawn within its vortex.

“ As the present tumultuary mode of electing the members of the House of Commons, is disgraceful to a well regulated society, and fatal, in its consequences, to the morals, and, sometimes, even to the lives of our fellow citizens, we conceive it highly necessary that this defect should be remedied, and that a peaceable, and, at the same, time an effectual plan, should be established for collecting the sense of the public on such occasions.

“ Instead of endeavouring to excite sedition, we are solicitous, by a timely and well directed reform of abuses, to remove all pretences for it; and we are convinced, that by acting on such principles, and steadily adhering to such objects, we give the best proof of our regard to the constitution, and to the peace and happiness of this country. We cannot agree with those, who, affecting a blind veneration for the defects as well as excellencies of our government, strenuously oppose every attempt to eradicate evils long felt and complained of. The seasonable removal of

abuses would be the surest pledge of public tranquillity; whilst their continuance may eventually provoke popular indignation, and endanger even the existence of the British Constitution.\*

“ Though we rejoice at the Revolution which has lately taken place in France, we do not pledge ourselves to an approbation of all the measures which have been there adopted; with the particular reasons of some of them we are not sufficiently acquainted; and we most sincerely deplore any calamities with which the change of the French Constitution may have been attended; neither would we at all insinuate that such a revolution as was made necessary by the wickedness of the former government of France, is requisite for the very different circumstances of Great Britain: But without comparing the wretched state of the one country with the happier condition of the other, we rejoice as Men, that so many millions of our fellow creatures, formerly debased by slavery, are at length emancipated from it: and that a nation, whose government was once busied in creating projects for the destruction of the human race, has displayed to the world the glorious example of renouncing all schemes of ambition and conquest, and avowing a system of UNIVERSAL BENEVOLENCE.

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\* Mr. Burke has expressed himself in a manner so appropriate to our purpose in his Speech of February the 11th, 1780, from which we have already made an extract, that we cannot do better than use his own words on this occasion:—  
 “ I do most seriously put it to administration to consider the wisdom of a timely  
 “ reform: Early reformations are amicable arrangements with a friend in  
 “ power: Late reformations are terms imposed on a conquered enemy:—  
 “ Early reformations are made in cool blood: Late reformations are made  
 “ under a state of inflammation. In that state of things, the people behold in  
 “ government nothing that is respectable: they see the abuse, and they  
 “ will see nothing else: they fall into the temper of a furious populace,  
 “ provoked at the disorder of a house of ill-fame: they never attempt to  
 “ correct, or regulate: they go to work by the shortest way—they abate the  
 “ nuisance: they pull down the house—This is MY OPINION with  
 “ regard to the TRUE INTEREST OF GOVERNMENT.”

“ Such

“Such are our PRINCIPLES, our WISHES, and our DESIGNS. We have no SELFISH VIEWS—no PARTIAL INTERESTS to promote.—We are conscious of no motive but the public good; and we can have no interest but in the public welfare.—The claims which we assert are guaranteed to us, not only by reason and justice, but by the CONSTITUTION ITSELF.—The necessity of an equal Representation of the people in Parliament is admitted by the enlightened, and good of EVERY denomination; and as this is the GREAT OBJECT of our Association, we call upon our fellow-citizens to co-operate with us in the prosecution of our design, which may truly be called THE CAUSE OF THE PEOPLE.

“Signed by order, and on behalf of the Manchester Constitutional Society.

“THOMAS WALKER, President.

“SAMUEL JACKSON, Secretary.”

Within a week after the publication of this paper, his Majesty's Ministers issued a Proclamation against seditious writings, publications, and correspondencies; a state paper so curious, that even well known as it now is, I think it right to give a copy of it to the reader in this place, more especially as it is here necessary to illustrate some other proceedings of the Societies.

“From the LONDON GAZETTE.

“Tuesday, May 22, 1792.

“By the KING, a PROCLAMATION.

“GEORGE R.

“Whereas divers wicked and seditious writings have been printed, published, and industriously dispersed, tending to excite tumult and disorder, by endeavouring to raise groundless jealousies and discontents in the minds of our faithful and loving subjects, respecting the laws and happy constitution of Government, civil and religious, established in this kingdom; and endeavouring to vilify and to bring into contempt the wise and wholesome provisions made at the time of  
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the glorious Revolution, and since strengthened and confirmed by subsequent laws for the preservation and security of the rights and liberties of our faithful and loving subjects: And whereas divers writings have also been printed, published, and industriously dispersed, recommending the said wicked and seditious publications to the attention of all our faithful and loving subjects: And whereas we have also reason to believe that correspondencies have been entered into with sundry persons in foreign parts, with a view to forward the criminal and wicked purposes above mentioned: And whereas the wealth, happiness and prosperity of this kingdom do, under divine providence, chiefly depend upon a due submission to the laws, a just confidence in the integrity and wisdom of parliament, and a continuance of that zealous attachment to the government and constitution of the kingdom, which has ever prevailed in the minds of the people thereof: And whereas there is nothing which we so earnestly desire as to secure the public peace and prosperity, and to preserve to all our loving subjects the full enjoyment of their rights and liberties, both religious and civil: we, therefore being resolved, as far as in us lies, to repress the wicked and seditious practices aforesaid, and to deter all persons from following so pernicious an example, have thought fit, by the advice of our privy council, to issue this our royal proclamation, solemnly warning all our loving subjects, as they tender their own happiness, and that of their posterity, to guard against all such attempts, which aim at the subversion of all regular government within this kingdom, and which are inconsistent with the peace and order of society; and earnestly exhorting them at all times, and to the utmost of their power, to avoid and discourage all proceedings, tending to produce riots and tumults; and we do strictly charge and command all our magistrates in and throughout our kingdom of Great Britain, that they do make diligent enquiry, in order to discover the authors and printers of such wicked and seditious writings as aforesaid, and all others who shall disperse the same: and we do further charge and command all our sheriffs, justices of  
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the peace, chief magistrates in our cities, boroughs and corporations, and all other our officers and magistrates throughout our kingdom of Great Britain, that they do, in their several and respective stations, take the most immediate and effectual care to suppress and prevent all riots, tumults and other disorders, which may be attempted to be raised or made by any person or persons, which, on whatever pretext, they may be grounded, are not only contrary to law, but dangerous to the most important interests of this kingdom: and we do further require and command all and every our magistrates aforesaid, that they do from time to time, transmit to one of our principal secretaries of state, due and full information of such persons as shall be found offending as aforesaid, or in any degree aiding or abetting therein; it being our determination for the preservation of the peace and happiness of our faithful and loving subjects, to carry the laws vigorously into execution against such offenders as aforesaid.

“ Given at our court at the queen’s house, the twenty-first day of May, one-thousand-seven-hundred-and-ninety-two, in the thirty-second year of our reign.

“ GOD save the KING.” \*

About

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\* Curious as this proclamation is, it is not singular :

The following general warrant was issued by Chief Justice Scroggs—and it is a circumstance not unworthy of notice, that he was afterwards impeached by the Commons for this, amongst other reasons.

“ Whereas there are diverse ill-disposed persons, who do daily print and publish many seditious and treasonable books and pamphlets, endeavouring thereby to dispose the minds of his majesty’s subjects to sedition and rebellion; and also infamous libels, reflecting upon particular persons, to the great scandal of his majesty’s government. For suppressing whereof, his majesty hath lately issued out his royal proclamation; and for the more speedy suppressing the said seditious books, libels, and pamphlets, and to the end that the authors and publishers thereof may be brought to their punishment :

“ These are to will and require you, and in his majesty’s name to charge and command you, and every of you, upon sight hereof, to be aiding and assisting

About this time (viz. May 24th, 1792,) commenced the patriotic, and on the 6th of June, 1792, the Reformation Society of this town. As these were afterwards connected with the Constitutional Society, and still more, the objects of

assisting to Robert Stephens, messenger of the press, in the seizing on all such books and pamphlets as aforesaid, as he shall be informed of, in any bookfeller's or printer's shops, or warehouses, or elsewhere whatsoever, to the end they may be disposed as to law shall appertain. Also, if you shall be informed of the authors, printers, or publishers of such books, or pamphlets, as are above mentioned, you are to apprehend them, and have them before one of his majesty's justices of the peace, to be proceeded against according to law. Dated this 29th day of November, 1679.

“ To Robert Stephens, messenger of the press, and to all mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs, constables, and all other officers and ministers, whom these may concern.

“ WILLIAM SCROGGS”—State Trials, vol. vii. p. 484.

There is also a curious passage respecting a similar proceeding of Charles the 2d in Hume's life of that monarch.—Vol. viii. p. 16.

“ Soon after the prorogation, there passed an incident which in itself is trivial, but tends strongly to mark the genius of the English government, and of Charles's administration, during this period. The liberty of the constitution, and the variety as well as violence of the parties, had begotten a propensity for political conversation; and as the coffee-houses in particular were the scenes, where the conduct of the king and the ministry was canvassed with great freedom, a proclamation was issued to suppress these places of rendezvous. Such an act of power, during the former reigns, would have been grounded entirely on the prerogative; and before the accession of the house of Stuart, no scruple would have been entertained with regard to that exercise of authority. But Charles, finding doubts to arise upon his proclamation, had recourse to the judges, who supplied him with a chicane, and that too a frivolous one, by which he might justify his proceedings. The law which settled the excise, enacted, that licenses for retailing liquors might be refused to such as could not find security for payment of the duties. But coffee was not a liquor subjected to excise; and even this power of refusing licenses was very limited, and could not reasonably be extended beyond the intention of the act. The king, therefore, observing the people to be much dissatisfied, yielded to a petition of the coffee-men, who promised for the future to refrain all seditious discourse in their houses; and the proclamation was recalled.”

virulent abuse and persecution, I have given the fundamental resolutions and declarations of these Societies, that the reader may judge how far they deserved the obloquy and reproaches of the people of Manchester or the ministers of government.\*

On

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“ Manchester, May 24, 1792.

\* “ At a Meeting held at the WINDMILL, in DOLEFIELD.

“ Resolved, first, That this Society be denominated the Patriotic Society.

“ Second, That the following be our declaration, which shall be signed by the President and Secretary; published in all the Manchester newspapers, and sent to the Constitutional Societies in London, Manchester, Sheffield, Norwich, Glasgow, and any other places where similar societies are, or may be, formed.

“ DECLARATION.

“ The people of this country not being fairly represented, the object of this Society is to endeavour to gain by *constitutional means* a fair and adequate representation in parliament; and till we have gained this point, we do declare that we will never cease, or relinquish our well meant endeavours, and that we are determined to proceed with firmness in defence of our own and our country's rights.

“ Reformation and not Revolution, as some would wish to insinuate, is our object: all ideas of the latter we utterly *disclaim*, as we *abhor* every thing that bears the slightest semblance to tumult or disorder. The arms of reason are our only weapons, and with those we hope to conquer; those of force may assist despotism, but are not necessary to the cause of truth. Though we pay implicit obedience to the present form of government, yet still we have the undeniable right of pointing out our grievances, and of endeavouring by constitutional means to get them redressed; we do therefore declare:

“ I. That as government derives its origin from the people, they ought to be fairly and adequately represented in parliament.

“ II. That till this is the case the people of England cannot be said to enjoy perfect freedom.

“ III. That the sole object of government ought to be the prosperity and happiness of the people.

“ IV. That

On Monday the 4th of June, 1792, (*his Majesty's birthday*) a meeting was held in Manchester to address the king on the late proclamation. On the Saturday, Sunday, and Monday morning before the meeting, the following address was

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“ IV. That the original intention of government was to protect, and not to annihilate the rights of man.—

“ The people of this country, especially the middle and lower classes, have been kept in the dark with respect to the abuses of government, and have been constantly told that they ought not to meddle with the affairs of administration, because those in office would ever have their interest at heart. This mode of arguing, ridiculous as it is, has nevertheless had its desired effect: the people thinking that this was really the case have shut their eyes to their own *interest*, and have desisted from making any enquiry; yet, alas! how have they been deceived, during a late rumour that this country would be involved in a war with Russia, the people in general were averse to it. And in the House of Commons where their sentiments ought to have been spoken, there was a very great majority in favour of the ministers impolitic measure. This will frequently be the case till the people of this kingdom are equally represented in parliament. As this country owes much of its greatness to commerce, the people who have *contributed* the most to its present grandeur, and who contribute the most towards the maintenance of its government, certainly ought to have their sentiments spoken by men of their own choosing, for as long as placemen, pensioners, and others have it in their power to buy their seats in parliament for a few thousand pounds, the prosperity, happiness, and liberty of this country will stand on a very tottering foundation.

“ We must confess that we have little expectation of any effectual reform being carried into execution by the House of Commons of itself, for as *often* as the question of an equal representation in parliament has been agitated, so *often* has it been negatived; and still more so as some of those who formerly pretended to be warm advocates for the measure, are now amongst the most violent of its opposers.

“ We see with pleasure that similar institutions to ours are forming in many towns in this kingdom, and we congratulate our country that men of the first rank and abilities have had liberality sufficient to form themselves into a society for obtaining a more adequate representation in parliament; and, especially as several distinguished members of the House of Commons are on the list of the members of that society, we intreat our fellow-citizens to follow our example, and not let themselves be any longer deceived by any party of

was distributed on the part of the Constitutional Society, which will sufficiently evince their desire of preserving the peace and harmony of the town, and their disinclination to any species of contest but that of fair and free discussion.

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men, for the ministry and opposition have generally but one thing in view, which is their own *individual interest*; and while Englishmen continue to repose an implicit confidence in either party, they must never expect to obtain an effectual redress of their grievances.

“ Signed by the order of the Society,

“ WILLIAM SPAKEMAN, President.

“ SAMUEL TENNANT, Secretary.”

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“ Manchester, June 6, 1792.

“ At a Meeting held at the Old Boar’s Head, Hyde’s Cross, it was resolved, that this Society be called

“ The REFORMATION SOCIETY.

“ That the following be our declaration which shall be printed in the Manchester papers, and sent to similar Societies in this kingdom.

“ We behold with pleasure societies forming in different parts of this kingdom, for the purpose of obtaining a *Parliamentary Reform*; we beg leave to unite our humble endeavours to theirs, by forming ourselves into a society, to co-operate with them in so excellent an undertaking.

“ The study of civil government so important to the happiness of man, though in itself plain and simple, has, by the arts of despotism been wrapt up in darkness and obscurity. If we suffer from any thing before we can apply the remedy, it is necessary to know the *cause*, to point out the springs, and to shew the height to which it has risen. The best means of pointing out our grievances, and getting them redressed, is by having men *chosen* by the *majority of the people*; acting according to the wishes of their constituents in an *equal representation of the people in parliament*.

“ Resolved,

“ I. That the people of Great Britain are *not* fully, fairly and adequately represented in parliament—and that the defective state of the representation of this country and the extended duration of parliaments, require a speedy and effectual REFORM, and are objects to which the attention of this society is particularly directed.

“ II. That

“ The Manchester CONSTITUTIONAL SOCIETY, fully satisfied that the voice of reason is seldom heard amidst tumult and confusion—that the true friends of the people are also the truest friends of peaceable demeanour, and patient investigation—that the advocates of a timely and temperate reform in the abuses of government, require no assistance but from argument, and that their adversaries have no resource but in violence and abuse, the common refuge of a cause that can be no otherwise supported—*think it their duty* to reply by their actions to the calumnies of their enemies, and to step forward at this moment of public perturbation, in support of peace, and order, and law.

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“ II. That the happiness of the people governed, ought to be the sole end and aim of all civil government.

“ III. That every person from the highest to the lowest appointed to, and accepting of any office or trust for the benefit of the community, is *ultimately responsible to the people* for the compleat discharge of the duties of it.

“ We also beg leave to thank his Majesty for his royal proclamation, wherein are the following words: “ And whereas there is nothing which we  
“ so earnestly desire as to secure the public peace and prosperity, and to pre-  
“ serve to all our loving subjects the full enjoyment of their rights and  
“ liberties, both religious and civil.”

“ We are far from countenancing any thing that leads to anarchy and confusion. REASON and TRUTH are the only arms that we will unitedly wield against those who may oppose us, and with them we shall in the end prevail. We are willing to bring every thing to the test of reason, and of truth;—then by their own merits or demerits, they must stand or fall.

“ We renounce and disclaim all riots and tumults. And we declare that we will, to the utmost of our power, at the command of the magistrates, assist in suppressing and quelling any such which may arise.

“ Signed by order of the society,

“ JOHN ROBERTS, President,

“ JOHN CHEETHAM, Secretary.”

“ Hitherto

“ Hitherto the people of England have supposed the statutes of this realm, duly executed, were sufficient of themselves to prevent or to punish offences against the state, and that if the laws were inadequate to their purpose, it was the duty of the legislature to remedy the defect. Hitherto the people of England have supposed that the peaceable discussion of the errors and abuses which time may have introduced into the constitution under which they live, was not only their privilege, but their right—not merely a matter of expedience, but in justice to themselves and their posterity, their bounden duty.

“ The proclamation, which his Majesty’s ministers have so unadvisedly issued, found the people thus happily persuaded: neither distrusting the laws of their country, nor involved in any riotous meetings or tumultuous discussions. Using, but not abusing their right of investigating the principles of government, and the conduct of their public servants, by the peaceable means of reason and argument. The true friends of their country have been grieved, to see this state of the public mind so materially disturbed by the late Proclamation—the obvious tendency of which is to create alarm where none existed before—to sow the seeds of mutual discord and suspicion among the people—to excite distrust of the laws, the magistrates, and the government of the country—and to give existence to those very “ *proceedings tending to produce riot and tumult,*” which it professes to guard against. Nevertheless a public meeting is proposed to be held in the town of Manchester, on Monday next, “ to consider of a proper address to his Majesty,” in consequence of this very proclamation.

“ In the present agitated state of the public mind, the impropriety of such a meeting cannot be doubted; and the *obvious tendency,* of a multitude of people, of various and opposite sentiments assembling to discuss a public measure of a violent nature, and containing the most dubious assertions,  
and



and the most personal allusions, is too glaring to be mistaken. By violence and tumult—by intemperate debate and public confusion, the cause of the people must inevitably be injured. This is the game for their enemies to play; and there is reason to believe the opportunities will be eagerly fought for.

“The Manchester Constitutional Society will never relinquish their principles, or lose sight of an effectual reform in the representation of the people; but they renounce and disclaim such means of effecting their purpose, or promoting their cause.—They do therefore most earnestly exhort the Members of their own and similar societies in this town and neighbourhood, and every true friend to the rights of the people, to evince themselves the true friends also of public peace and good order, by abstaining from the meeting of Monday next; which, however upright the motives of the persons who have called it, has a direct tendency *at the present crisis*, to endanger the harmony and tranquillity of the town and neighbourhood.

“Signed by order, and on the behalf of the  
Manchester Constitutional Society.

“THOMAS WALKER, President.

“SAMUEL JACKSON, Secretary.

“*Manchester, June 2, 1792.*”

This precaution was but too necessary; for in the evening of Monday a considerable number of people assembled in St. Ann's-Square, in Manchester, to see some illuminations exhibited by two of his Majesty's tradesmen, when the croud became very tumultuous, and assaulted several peaceable spectators;—they proceeded to tear up several of the trees growing there, one of which was carried with great triumph to the Dissenters chapel, near the square, and the gates attempted to be forced open, with violent cries of “Church and King—Down with the Rump—Down with

it, &c. &c." Another tree was carried in the same riotous manner, and with the same exultations to the Unitarian chapel in Mosley-street; fortunately, however, the doors withstood the attacks made upon them, the people were persuaded gradually to disperse, and about one o'clock in the morning the streets became quiet without any further damage.

About this time (June 26th, 1792,) one of the divisions of the Church and King Club thought fit to support the proclamation of his Majesty's Ministers by a declaration of their principles in an Address,\* which I have already given in contrast with the resolutions of the Constitutional Society; and, I apprehend, the reader has not been at a loss to form a judgment upon these two compositions.

The meetings that were called, and the resolutions that were entered into, in almost every part of the kingdom at this period, under pretence of supporting the constitution, are well known. The High Churchmen were not behind hand, on this occasion, in their professions of loyalty: all the bad passions of party were let loose, and political rancour against the friends of *reform*, became a virtue of the first magnitude. †

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\* Page 17.

† This was not unforeseen by a writer in the Manchester Herald, who thus expresses himself:

“ Manchester, June 2, 1792.

“ SIR,

“ The public have been not a little surprized at the appearance of a proclamation, the most extraordinary perhaps that the annals of this country has produced, and singularly well calculated to produce the alarm which it is apparently meant to allay.

“ By hints and insinuations—by ambiguous expressions—by general assertions, the astonished reader is taught to expect some unknown evil, which he attempts in vain to discover from the proclamation itself. Seditious writings are complained of without being described; broad hints are given that correspondencies have been undertaken for criminal purposes with sundry persons in foreign parts, without

A few months after this proclamation, a tax-gatherer, and some other persons, went round the town of Manchester to all the inn keepers and publicans, advising them, as they valued themselves, to suffer no societies similar  
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without the slightest fact being stated upon which this belief is grounded, without any particulars of the subject of correspondence, or the persons corresponding, or the foreign nations alluded to. It insinuates attempts at the subversion of all regular government, without venturing to specify any particulars for public information. It directs magistrates to depart from the line of their practice to turn informers and transmit secret accusations against individuals to persons, before whom the offence is not regularly cognizable.

“ In the beginning it asserts, that seditious writings have been printed, published, and industriously dispersed—afterwards, as if doubting its own assertions, it commands magistrates to enquire after the authors, printers, and dispersers of such writings, who, if the former assertion be true, ought to be well known already, and if not well known, the assertion ought not to have been made.

“ But if seditious writings have been published, Why not venture to point them out? If not, Where is the propriety of this proclamation? If illegal correspondencies have been undertaken, Why not publish the fact, produce the proof, and inflict the punishment? If none such have taken place, Why make so groundless an insinuation?

“ In truth this proclamation (which is not the act of his majesty, who has neither the power nor the inclination to do wrong, but of his ministers who may have both) is in its whole tenor and composition, a direct attack upon the conduct of government. Why permit any occasion to exist for such a proclamation? Why have not these writings (if any such there are) been suppressed, and their authors and publishers proceeded against according to law? Are the laws ineffectual? Why not amend them?—Are they sufficient already—Why have they not been enforced? Indeed I am astonished that ministers for their own sakes will thus publish to the world that, having been remiss in their duty until this time, they will take more care in future.

“ I am grieved to see the respected name of our gracious sovereign annexed to a publication so evidently open to these animadversions; and I hope the advisers of this indiscreet measure will shortly be impeached for promoting a proclamation so flagrantly calculated to excite jealousies and alarms among the people, where none existed before. Very different indeed the case would have been, if any writings or correspondencies after being publicly condemned

to ours (the constitutional) to meet at their houses. The publicans thought their licenses of more value than our custom, and would receive neither the constitutional, the patriotic, nor the reformation societies any longer. In thus acting they for the moment probably consulted their interest, but the mode of their doing it, was too descriptive of the temper of the high church party at that time \* to be omitted.

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by the verdict of a jury as seditious and inflammatory, and thus clearly ascertained and pointed out to the people, were maintained or published and dispersed. In that case there would have existed a specific offence, the object would have been unambiguous, and the proclamation would have acted as a mild and salutary caution. At present there is room to doubt upon every sentence of this proclamation; and what is worse there is also room to apply it where it may not have the most distant allusion. Involved as it is in darkness and ambiguity, dealing in fears without specifying the foundation, and creating suspicions without removing them, each man is tempted to ask his neighbour, Who are the persons? Where are the meetings? Which are the writings? The evil spirit of criminal conjecture is let loose upon the public, by authority, to stab the reputation of the innocent; and the malignant passions of private pique and public prejudice, have now full play and ample gratification.

“ But after all, Why this general anxiety among ministers to stop the progress of knowledge and cut off the sources of political information? Why this dread lest the people (the *Swinish Multitude*, as their friend, Mr. Burke, calls them) should think too much and reason too much on their own rights and their own interests? Lest the deep veil of mystery which state-craft has thrown over the science of government, should, perchance, be withdrawn, and the transactions of court politics be exposed to the prying eye of an astonished multitude? If the foundations of these gaudy superstructures be unfound, this conduct is easily explained: but if government and ministers do actually mean well, if their principles and conduct will bear examination, why do they shrink from enquiry? Why give room to apply the observation that “ Men love darkness rather than light—because their deeds are evil.”

“ SYDNEY.”

“ *Manchester, Sept. 13, 1792.*

\* “ We whose names are hereunto subscribed, being licensed innkeepers and ale-housekeepers, within the towns of MANCHESTER and SALFORD, justly alarmed

The Constitutional Society having now no regular place of meeting, in consequence of being thus excluded from public houses, I offered them the use of my house at Manchester until

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alarmed at the *treasonable* and *seditions* conduct of a *well-known* set of daring MISCREANTS, who have called a public meeting to be held on Tuesday next, at the *Bull's Head inn*, in *Manchester*, for the *avowed* purpose of *assisting* the FRENCH SAVAGES, as well as with a SINCERE DESIRE of *introducing* similar calamities to the inhabitants of this HAPPY and PROSPEROUS COUNTRY, as *those* that now exist in *France*, take this very *necessary* opportunity of publishing to the towns of MANCHESTER and SALFORD in particular, and to the whole kingdom of GREAT-BRITAIN in general, our detestation of such *wicked and abominable* PRACTICES.

“ And we do hereby solemnly declare, that *we will not suffer* any meeting to be held in our houses, of any CLUBS or SOCIETIES, however *specious or plausible* their titles may be, that have a tendency to put in force what those INFERNALS so *ardently and devoutly wish for*, namely the DESTRUCTION OF THIS COUNTRY; and *we will be ready* on all occasions, to cooperate with our fellow-townsmen in *bringing to justice* all those who shall offend in any instance, against OUR MUCH-ADMIRED AND MOST EXCELLENT CONSTITUTION.”

Signed by 186 Inn-keepers and Alehouse-keepers.

The preceding advertisement was published in consequence of the following proposal:

“ The friends to the liberties of mankind resident in this town and neighbourhood, are desired to meet at the Bull's Head, on Tuesday next the 18th instant, at three o'clock in the afternoon, to set on foot a subscription for the relief of our brethren in France, who are at present suffering all the calamities of war, in consequence of a most cruel combination of *disasters*, against the dawning liberty of *that* country, and which may eventually be employed, and with the same reason, to the destruction of our own.”

*Manchester, 12th September, 1792.*

Another instance of the indecent length to which falsehood and calumny were carried, appears in Harrop's Manchester Mercury of Tuesday the 13th. of November, 1792. Some persons had been taken up (in London, I believe,) on a charge of unnatural practices; this circumstance gave rise to the following paragraph in the paper last mentioned.

until they could accommodate themselves elsewhere. As I mostly resided five miles from Manchester, in a house which I then rented at Barlow;\* it caused no interruption or inconvenience

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“ The exposure of the *Catamites* has given rise to a comparative enquiry into the characters which compose that Society, and the characters which compose the *Cataline* Societies that meet in the various parts of this town; when it is clearly found that the latter (many of whom are of the *Catamite* fraternity also) are by far the more dangerous in society. Nature, ever perfect, powerful, and repulsive, will protect her own laws. Her imperative voice calls out, and the universal hand is lifted against the execrable monster that inverts her sacred purposes: but the *Catalines*, whose dark and villainous machinations work upon the credulous and weak minds of imperfect men, should become the peculiar objects of national attention and resentment. It is impossible to offend the laws of nature with impunity—those of nations are too often subverted without punishment. All who love the harmony of order in society—all who venerate the best of constitutions—all who admire and love the best of Sovereigns; in short, every liberal and manly nature should unite in the exposure and condemnation of those conspirators who meet in public, and private houses, and who, dissatisfied with regular national prosperity and happiness, would, if possible, consign their country to all the miseries of public and private anarchy!—”

\* This house belongs to Mr. Egerton of Tatton, one of the present members for Newcastle, in Staffordshire. On the 10th day of January, 1792, Mr. Egerton called upon me, and a conversation, of which the following dialogue is a part, passed between us:

*Mr. Egerton.* I have been very uneasy, and my uneasiness has prevented me from sooner coming to Barlow.

*Mr. Walker.* I am sorry you have had any uneasiness, and still more so, that it has prevented you from coming here, according to your repeated promises.

*Mr. Egerton.* From the decisive part which you have taken in public affairs, I have been very much afraid that your house would have been pulled down.

*Mr. Walker.* Sir!

*Mr. Egerton.* I mean my house.

*Mr. Walker.* I am really at a loss to know what you mean.

venience to myself or my family. The high church party having thus failed of routing the jacobins (as the friends of civil and religious liberty were now termed all over Europe) their animosity was principally directed against me for having furnished the place of meeting for the society, to which I belonged. On the 1st of December, 1792, his majesty's ministers issued their second proclamation, and on the 11th, the friends to high church principles in Manchester resolved to follow the example, which seems to have been held out at London as a pattern for the whole kingdom by what is called Mr. Reeves's association. The newspapers at Manchester, particularly Harrop's, had long teemed with inflammatory paragraphs against the friends of freedom or *jacobins* as it then was, and still continues to be, the fashion to call them. Thus in Harrop's paper of December 4th, 1792, just a week before the riot, there appeared the following passages.

*Mr. Egerton.* I think it right to be explicit, and to say that I have been very apprehensive from the part you have taken, that my house would have been pulled down. *In fact, I know, it was intended to pull your houses down.*

*Mr. Walker.* To me you appear much mistaken, for I think the people begin to know better than to treat their real friends in the manner you seem to insinuate. But, as I think you right in being explicit, and as I admire plain dealing, I will follow your example, and tell you that if you expect, I should regulate my opinions by yours, you will be very much mistaken. The part I have taken I have not adopted without mature deliberation, and without being perfectly convinced it is right. I will, not therefore, suffer any man to dictate to me.

*Mr. Egerton.* I do not expect it, but my property is in danger.

*Mr. Walker.* Whilst I live in your house I shall not permit it easily to be pulled down, as independently of my property I have a very great stake in it, my wife and six children.

*Mr. Egerton.* Sir, property is every thing to me.—

“ The metropolis \* of Great-Britain having so decidedly  
 “ given its opinion in respect to the conduct of those level-  
 “ ling societies which would pull down the glorious fabrick  
 “ of the constitution, no doubt can be entertained that  
 “ every corporate body and every town, county, and bo-  
 “ rough in the kingdom will follow so laudable an example ;  
 “ and thus at once crush those insidious vipers who would  
 “ poison the minds of the people, level all distinctions and  
 “ *all property*, † and make one general wreck of the happiness  
 “ of the empire.”

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\* Alluding to the resolutions of the Common-Council of the City of London, upon the 27th and the 29th of November, 1792. Signed, Rix. Sanderfon, Mayor.

† The word Equality has been of great use to the High Church party, who have not failed to seize every opportunity of *wilfully perverting* it from the sense in which the defenders of Liberty and Equality have constantly used it. In Manchester the constant misrepresentation of our principles on this subject, induced the friends to Freedom to publish and disperse the following hand-bill, first printed I believe at Liverpool.

#### “ EQUALITY.

“ The perverse sense imposed on the word EQUALITY, by the folly or the fears of some of our countrymen, is as dangerous as it is absurd ; and they may probably see the day, when they may repent of having infused into the minds of the people a notion, that the EQUALITY to be contended for is an *Equality of wealth and possessions*. If by continually repeating this idea, the *uninformed*, or as they are now *arrogantly styled*, the SWINISH MULTITUDE, should take it into their heads, that they are justified in *enforcing* such a system, the consequences will rest on those, who by a perversion of terms, have wickedly or foolishly propagated so dangerous a doctrine. The equality insisted on by the friends of Reform is AN EQUALITY OF RIGHTS, or, in other words, that every person may be *equally* intitled to the protection and benefits of society ; may *equally* have a voice in the election of those persons who make the laws by which he is affected in his liberty, his life, or his property ; and may have a fair opportunity of exerting to advantage any talents he may possess. The rule is not “ *Let all mankind be perpetually equal*”—God and nature have forbidden it. But “ *Let all mankind start fair in the Race of life.*” The *inequality* derived from labour and successful



“ The following remark made in a very modern publication on the “ Happiness and Rights of Man,” is levelled  
“ with

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ceful enterprize, the result of superior industry and good fortune, is an inequality essential to the very existence of Society; and it naturally follows, that the property so acquired, should pass from a father to his children. To render property insecure would destroy all motives to exertion, and tear up public happiness by the roots. Such are the truths acknowledged and avowed by the Reformers of the present day, and Where, but in the wild workings of a disordered imagination, do their enemies find the dangerous doctrines with which they daily alarm the public? Are they acknowledged by the government of America? Are they to be discovered in the code of the French nation? Have they been avowed by ANY CONSTITUTIONAL SOCIETY in this kingdom? Or, Are there any traces of such doctrines in the WORKS OF ANY MODERN REFORMER?—Again, Are the Reformers of the present day less interested than their abusers in the prosperity of their country? Are Mr. GREY and his NUMEROUS coadjutors men without property? Let the opposers of Reform come forward and answer these questions—Or let us hear no more of LEVELLERS and LEVELLING SYSTEMS; nor let an odium be thrown on GREAT AND UNCHANGEABLE TRUTHS from the wilful perversion of a WORD.”

The Reformation Society also repeatedly published the following resolutions:

“ REFORMATION SOCIETY.

“ The Manchester Reformation Society, finding that the meaning of the word Equality has been much misrepresented by their enemies, (who have asserted that the people wanted an equal Partition of Property) and this Society being chiefly composed of manufacturers, mechanics and labourers, who have been principally accused of wishing to divide the property of their neighbours amongst them, think it their duty, as men, to step forward, and flatly to deny this false accusation: they do therefore unanimously declare,

“ I. That what they want is Equality of Rights, and not of Property.

“ II. That by the word Equality, they understand, that a man (let him be ever so poor, provided he is a good citizen,) has as just a claim to an equal Partition of Rights, Liberties and Privileges, as the richest.

“ III. That the idea of Equally dividing Property is absurd and ridiculous, for was property equal one hour, it would be impossible to prevent its being unequal the next.

“ IV. That

“ with so much truth and justice against that *affedation and*  
“ *willainy* which characterize some desperate promoters of  
“ revolutions, as to deserve the approbation of all who are  
“ not yet completely blinded by their mischievous anarchi-  
“ cal doctrines. As for those who, with premeditation,  
“ preach up the equalizing principles, without believing  
“ them to be just, and merely to answer their own private  
“ purposes, they can only be ranked with that class of men,  
“ whose crimes call loudly for a *Gibbet*.”

The minds of the people were thus incessantly irritated, and the poorer class gradually prepared for the scenes that were to follow. In this same week (on Dec. 7th) a meeting was held in Salford, (the town immediately adjoining to and connected with Manchester) to address his Majesty upon the last proclamation: at this meeting the same Harrop \*

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“ IV. That every Government which gives Rights and Privileges to vicious people, because they are opulent, and lets poor deserving merit starve and sink into oblivion, is not adapted to preserve the happiness and welfare of the people. A Government so constructed is consequently bad, and ought to be reformed.

“ V. That as all men come into the world alike, and go out alike; the sun shines upon all, and the rain falls equally on all; we wish to see the *slave* rise to the dignified character of man, and let the most haughty tyrant *know* that he is but a man.

“ VI. That we should not have thought it necessary to declare our sentiments on this occasion to the public, had not our enemies (those contemptible Apostates, who formerly pretended to be the friends of Liberty and Equality, but whose tongues have been tied by a long list of places and pensions) misinterpreted our meanings, and thereby attempted to make us appear, in the eyes of the world, as men who ought not to be trusted.

“ Signed, by order of the Society,

“ SAMUEL TENNANT, Secretary.”

\* I do not know whether Joseph Harrop, the father, or James Harrop, his son, is the proprietor of the Manchester Mercury; but the fact is, that it belongs to one or both of them; one of them is, likewise, a distributor of stamps under Government, and was lately appointed to the lucrative office of Postmaster of the town of Manchester.

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who owned and conducted the paper, in which were inserted the preceding paragraphs, presided; when the following resolutions were passed, in which the same calumnious accusation was kept up:

“ *Court House, Salford, December 7, 1792.*

“ At the most numerous meeting ever remembered on any former occasion, of the inhabitants of this town, convened by public advertisement, the following resolutions were unanimously agreed to:

“ JOSEPH HARROP, Boroughreeve, Chairman.

“ That sensible of the many blessings we enjoy, under the mild and auspicious reign of our most gracious Sovereign, and wishing to hand down our glorious Constitution, unimpaired, to the latest posterity, as good and loyal subjects, we cannot behold, without the utmost horror and detestation, the attempts of a set of daring and seditious men; who, under the specious pretence of reformation, wish to introduce a system of anarchy and confusion, similar to that experienced in a neighbouring nation, and tending to destroy every religious and civil establishment in this country.

“ That it is the duty of all good subjects, to promote and maintain, both by their example and influence, the efficacy of the laws, and the interests of public peace and tranquillity.

“ That it highly becomes the friends of our happy Constitution, at all times, but more especially at the present crisis, to employ their best efforts to suppress all seditious meetings, and to discountenance and prevent the propagation of all seditious and treasonable publications; and be ready to *co-operate* with Government, in adopting such measures, as may be thought expedient for the security of the state, and the preservation of peace and good order.

“ That an association be immediately formed, by the present meeting, the more effectually to promote the important ends

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above-mentioned: and that the concurrence of all the loyal and well-disposed inhabitants of this township, be earnestly requested.

“ That a Committee be immediately appointed, to carry the resolutions of this meeting into effect; who will be ready to confer and correspond with such associations as may be established for similar purposes, which have no other object in view but the PUBLIC GOOD.

“ JOSEPH HARROP, Boroughreeve.”

Not contented with this meeting at Salford, another was now called, for the same purpose, at the Bull's Head Inn, in Manchester, for the 11th of the same month. Previous thereto, a Member of the Manchester Constitutional Society penned, and, with the concurrence of some of his friends, printed an Address containing the following, amongst other observations: \*

“ W A R !

“ Such appears to be the determination of the British Court, by their voluntary, unrequested interference in Dutch politics; by the proclamation offering bounties to Seamen, and by the sudden equipment of ships of the line. With such hostile preparations, the *internal* tranquillity of the country, can have no connection.

“ On Tuesday next, the 11th of December, a meeting is to be holden of the inhabitants of this town, for the purpose of preparing a dutiful and loyal address to his Majesty, on his late proclamation. Three proclamations have been issued; the one to prohibit political discussion, another to embody a few of the militia, and a third offering *Bounties to Seamen*.

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\* This is the substance of the paper alluded to in the Second Report from the Committee of Secrecy of the House of Commons, in the proceedings of the Society for Constitutional Information in London. See Appendix C. of that report, 14th and 21st of December.

“ By such addresses, Government evidently means to feel the pulse of the people ; and if it can procure these loyal and dutiful approbations of our present happy Constitution of perjured electors, and pensioned representatives—of *five* millions of tythes, and *twenty* millions of taxes—it may safely conclude, that no absurdity can be too gross for the people to swallow, and no burthens too heavy for them to bear.

“ Inhabitants of Manchester ! pause a while on behalf of your own interests, and consider what class of ye can be benefited by WAR.

“ Will funded property become more valuable ? Will landed property be increased by it ? Will it diminish the excise, or the land tax, or the house tax, or the window tax, or the commutation tax, or any of the long, long catalogue of taxes, which lie so heavy upon this devoted country ?

“ Will the home trade be encreased by War ? By war, which will add to these numerous taxes—which will enhance the price of all the necessaries of life—and which will lessen the consumption of manufactures of every kind.

“ Will the exporter benefit by war, which will encrease the risk of exportation—the price of insurance—and the prime cost of almost every material ? By war, which will delay the execution of foreign orders, by depriving our merchants of their seamen—and put in jeopardy the most material part of our trade ?

“ Have we forgotten our streets filled with untenanted houses, during the greatest part of the American war ? What a war occasioned then, a war may again occasion ; and again the prosperity of the country may be put upon the cast of a die.

“ A war with France, (which seems at present meditated,) will deprive us of the French, the Dutch, the Austrian and

the German markets: for, all these nations will be engaged in it. Our East and our West India possessions will again be in danger, for sooner or later they must be involved in the contest. And as the French assisted the Americans to obtain *their* freedom, the latter may think it right to return the compliment. And thus may the ignorance and bigotry of *Church and King Politics*, deprive us at a stroke of every market for our manufactures which the world affords.

“ Suppose for a moment that the rich and opulent manufacturer can support this—What will the little maker, the country dealer, say to such a crisis of affairs? who has no credit to give; whose profits maintain his family but from hand to mouth; and who with difficulty procures the necessary supply of cash for his weavers at home.

“ And, What will the Weaver say to this? who already finds his wages fallen, his reeds called in, and employment scarce. Should a war be the consequence of these time serving addresses, where is employment to be found? and how are the families of the poor to be maintained? If a decent subsistence cannot even now be obtained but with unwearied labour and painful exertion, what is to be done when employment ceases, when wages are sunk, and provisions rise?—Look to it, ye loyal addressers, ye hood-winked politicians——for should your courtly effusions be the stalking horse for intended hostilities, to you, and to you alone, the starving people will have a right to look for subsistence.

“ Ye numerous speculators in building land, in Manchester, and its vicinity, are ye advocates for War? how much per yard will it add to the value of your property? how much will it diminish the price of building? what additions will it make to the number of sub-purchasers? or how will the covenants you, or they may have engaged in, be more advantageously fulfilled, under the pressure of this national calamity?

“ What

“ What will the industrious tribe of brickfellers and timber merchants—of brickmakers and bricklayers, and carpenters and joiners, and smiths, and plumbers, and workmen employed in building, of all denominations, say to this fatal measure? To the projected multitude of new buildings, they have reasonably looked for constant employment and comfortable subsistence. Should war be the consequence of your loyalty, what will they do?—Or where are they to go?

“ The POOR have seldom time to attend to these public meetings; they are seldom permitted to come to them, they seldom understand the purport of them, or foresee the effect of them upon their own interest. As therefore they are not likely to attend for themselves, it will become your duty to think at least for a moment, what is to become of them.

“ Ye know, or ye ought to know, that justice is never to be obtained without expence, and that the poor cannot afford it. Ye know, or ye ought to know, that various laws, like the game laws, and the combination laws, are expressly made against the Poor—that *they* are liable to be torn from their families by the violence of the press-gang, while the rich and the luxurious repose in peace upon their beds of down.

“ Headlong promoters of self-destruction, look round upon the habitations of misery, and pause for a few moments on the consequence of your proceedings, to the wretched possessors of them!

“ Ye well know, (or ye ought to know) that the present politics of every court in Europe, lean to *War with the French?*—Ye are apprised of the hostile preparations making in *this* kingdom, and can ye be blind to the purpose of them?—Again, consider, if a war *should* happen, what will become of the poor, or whose property will be safe?

“ You

“ You are now forewarned—the consequences are with yourselves, and the blood upon your own heads. The Friends of the People hear with pity, and bear with patience the hourly calumnies to which they are exposed. They entertain, however, no personal enmities, no aversion but to the enemies of the people, and no disrespect of the Constitution, but where it has become hostile to the rights of the people.

“ Would ye do good by your meeting, address his Majesty that he would be graciously pleased to remove from his Councils all Ministers hostile to the peace of the country, and take such measures as are most effectual to prevent the dangers of impending War.\*

“ December 10, 1792.

“ SYDNEY.”

The writer of the above was Thomas Cooper, to whose character I feel myself unable to do justice. I, for many years, enjoyed his friendship. He was truly a man, whose time and whose labours were ever at the command of the injured and the unfortunate; whose talents and whose learning, which were very considerable, were uniformly devoted to the great interests of mankind.

The forewarnings of my friend had, however, no effect. The meeting which was called for the 11th, was held about twelve o'clock of the same day. Soon after it broke up, I was informed that there prevailed a *report of a riot that was to take place in the evening*, but looking upon it as an idle report, I paid no attention to it. Soon after dark I was informed, that the people were encouraged and irritated, by various persons, to raise violent outcries against the *Jacobins* and Presbyterians. These, I should observe, are convertible

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\* It is much to be lamented, that this masterly Address was not equally fortunate with the Manchester RESOLUTIONS on the intended War with Russia, in April 1791, so as to have assisted in preventing the calamities inseparable from our present measures.



terms amongst the Tories of Lancashire, and several other counties of England; they call Dissenters of all denominations Presbyterians. This went on for about two hours, when the people were, by liquor and other means, sufficiently inflamed for any mischievous undertaking. Every thing now seemed to wear the appearance of a preconcerted scheme. The same contrivances were used as at a contested election. Parties were collected in different public houses, and from thence paraded the streets with a fiddler before them, and carrying a board, on which was painted CHURCH *and* KING, in large letters. In the Market-place, at Manchester, resided the Printers of the two Newspapers before mentioned; the one a Ministerial paper, called the Manchester Mercury, printed by Harrop, the other one of a different description, the Manchester Herald, printed by Falkner and Birch, now driven to America.\* These were each of them Bookfellers and Stationers shops, where people resorted for news in much the same manner as is the custom in London. In the former shop, and in the newspaper there published, the friends of freedom were the subject of constant abuse, under the usual appellations of Jacobins, Levellers, &c. while in the latter shop, and in the Manchester Herald, more liberal sentiments prevailed.

About seven o'clock in the evening, the mob collected before the last mentioned Bookfellers, and attacked the shop and house with stones and brick bats, till the windows were almost entirely destroyed and beat in at the front of the building.

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\* The sale of this paper became so extensive, and the information it contained so important, that, in the then temper of the times, it was not likely to pass long unnoticed. Previous to the departure of these worthy, but unfortunate men, to America, there were five *ex officio* informations and six indictments against each of them, at the suit of the Crown. As the purse of the Treasury is more than a match for that of an individual, whose riches consist in his labour, and who, from the intolerable expence, would be sure to fail in the contest, they preferred a voluntary exile to imprisonment.

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During this time many persons of respectable situations in Manchester, expressed their dislike of these proceedings, and endeavoured to interest those, whose duty it was to suppress them. But this, so far from having its proper effect, produced nothing but encouragement to the mob. One of the persons applied to was a Deputy Constable\* of the name of Unite (then in Harrop's shop) who answered, "They are loyal subjects, let them alone; it is good to frighten these people;" or words to that effect. Afterwards he went to the mob, and clapping some of them on the back, he said, "Good lads, good lads;" and perceiving some headles present attempting to do their duty, he said to them, "Come away, damn the house, don't come near it." A Gentleman remarked, in the hearing of a Reverend Magistrate, not then in the execution of his duty, "What scandalous work this is!" "Not at all, Sir," replied the other; "and if I was called upon, I would not act against them." One of the special Constables was heard to say, in another part of the town, "I'll give you a guinea for every one of the Jacobins houses you pull down!"

Messrs. Falkner and Birch expecting their house would be pulled down, sent one of their friends, Mr. Allen Jackson, to the senior Constable, desiring his protection. His answer was, "Unite has orders how to act:"—The Constable explained this by saying, that he had desired Unite to get together as many persons as he could to oppose any riot, should there be one, and that he could do no more.—Mr. Jackson, however, dissatisfied with this answer, was going away; but several persons came out of the parlour, who, after they had learnt Mr. Jackson's business, treated him with insult. One of them cried, "Kick him out of doors;" another, "They have brought matters to this, let them take the consequence." Mr. Jackson, finding no prospect of justice amongst these Gentlemen, returned to Messrs. Falkner's and Birch's, and informed them of what had passed.

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\* A Constable who is principally employed by the Borough-reeve and the two chief Constables.

This, however, was not the only application to the proper peace officers, as will appear by the declaration hereafter given, which together with the two following letters will give a better account of the proceedings of the mob at Mr. Falkner's, and till they came to my house, than I can. They were sent voluntarily by the writers.

Mr. FALKNER,

*Manchester, Dec. 13, 1792.*

SIR,

“ Though I differ from you in political and religious sentiments, I wish always to be found an advocate for truth and justice. I shall, therefore, state to you (and to the public, if you should think proper to publish it,) what I know and what I am ready to attest upon oath if required, concerning the riot that happened at your door on Tuesday night last. Being down in the Market-place, a little after dark, I observed a number of men of the lowest order, crying out most violently, “ Church and King,—Damn Tom Paine,” &c. and every now and then “ Huzza! huzza!” but they were then so weak even in numbers, that little was to be apprehended from them, so I left them and went into an adjoining public house.

“ While I was there I heard the noise still increase, and said to some gentlemen present, I am afraid mischief will be done this night.

“ A gentleman (a staunch friend to the king and constitution as any man in Manchester,) went immediately to Mr. Harrop's, and in his shop he found the Deputy-constable, Unite, to whom he said, Why don't you go and quell yon mob at Falkner's door? Depend upon it, there will be some mischief done, and though I am no friend either to him or his principles, yet I would not have his property hurt. The deputy's answer was, Oh! let them alone, they are loyal subjects, let them frighten him a bit!! When he came into the house and told us what had passed, adding that the mob

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was

was then breaking Falkner's windows, I went out amongst the people, and told some of them on the outside (for I did not go into the middle of them) that I would take the first man into custody that I saw throw a stone at the windows, be he who he would (for I heard the crash of the glass, but saw no one individual throwing.) I went round to the other side of the mob and stood against your shop window to make observations, and whilst I stood there the two beadles of the town came up to me; I said to them, What are you about that you don't do your duty?—Their answer was—we don't know what we have to do. Seeing two men knocking violently at your door with one hand, and with the other waving their hats and shouting, I observed the deputy constable (Unite) go up to them, and tapping them on the shoulder, I heard him distinctly say—*Good lads, good lads!* and turning to a tall gentleman present, he said (smiling) I can keep them quiet by giving them good words! then turning towards me I spoke to him, but he gave me no answer; but seeing the beadles standing beside me near the window, he said to them with an angry tone, loud enough to be heard by me as well as the mob—come away from the house! don't come near it! After they were gone, reflecting on the perilous situation in which I stood, and seeing no person disposed to second me in an attempt to reduce them to peace and good order, I left the place and went home, determined to give you and the public an impartial account of what I had seen and heard. Let them take the shame to whom it belongs. I am not afraid nor ashamed to subscribe myself, &c. &c.”

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“ SIR,

“ Being drawn by my business to Manchester last Tuesday, I had for the first time an opportunity of seeing (in great part) the rise, and too much of the brutal progress of an ignorant mob. My previous knowledge of mobs being entirely conjectural, I had always conceived them to be composed of men unprincipled, unlettered, and destitute of property:  
but

but experience makes men wise. The first of these qualities will unequivocally apply, but the two latter (though true in part) will by no means admit of an universal application. I had demonstrative evidence that a mob consists of two parts, viz. the managers and the actors; or it may be compared to a puppet-show, which exposes to view and urges to action the senseless images, while the crafty agents lurk behind the scene! I had previously thought, likewise, that *plunder* was generally the sole object for which mobs accumulated and operated. But I now know with certainty that blind party zeal and personal hatred may be extremely influential in a riot!

“ The unthinking and imprudent part of the populace having got plenty of liquor, which qualified them to execute the meditated mischief of their malicious prompters, they soon assembled in the street before Mr. Falkner’s shop; their number increased, as also that of the spectators; evening came on, and no material opposition being offered by the civil officers, they evidently construed this into a tacit invitation to the commission of unrestrained depredations. I followed them several hours, and was astonished to see them go on in their mad career from hour to hour *uninterrupted*, when I sincerely believe, half a dozen resolute men were sufficient to have dispersed them; and I am of opinion, that the rioters would have dispersed themselves a long time before they did, had they not been repeatedly reanimated by persons of *respectable appearance*, who went among them whenever they seemed to droop, and applauded and cheered them; sometimes with whispers, sometimes with “ Church and King for ever, lads, down with the Rump,” &c. &c.

“ I was an eye and ear witness to these things.—The mob confined their attention principally to the destruction of Mr. Walker’s and Mr. Falkner’s houses; I was in St. Mary’s church-yard when the rioters came to Mr. Walker’s the fourth time: they had broken many windows before, and now

began to break the windows again, and attempt to force open the door with uncommon fury. Mr. Walker informed them he would fire upon them if they did not desist; they treated his admonition with the utmost contempt; he then fired over their heads: upon which a few from the skirts of the mob dispersed; but the bulk of them after a very short pause, finding they were not fired at, nor injured, misconstrued Mr. Walker's lenity, and fell upon the house with increased fury, when Mr. Walker, or they who were in the house with him fired again. The mob then retreated to some distance, and no mischief was done afterwards.—A neighbouring magistrate, Mr. Bentley, came soon after the firing and harangued the rioters upon the impropriety of treating a fellow citizen in such an illegal manner, who, he said, had been so great a friend to the town and trade of Manchester. His voice was soon stifled with "Down with the Rump," &c. &c.—I then followed the rioters to Mr. Falkner's where I saw a continuation of their former madness and brutality. Some peaceable citizens exclaimed against the impropriety and illegality of such proceedings, and often thereby endangered their own lives. I chanced to say, that such behaviour was very unfair; when one of them said Mr. Falkner's house ought to be pulled down to the ground, and damned them who did not think so too, and told me further, that he would knock me down that moment if he knew me to be of the same way of thinking with Mr. Falkner!—The mob dispersed between one and two, as near as I can judge, on Wednesday morning, and if I may be allowed to give my judgement on the circumstances, it might with little trouble have been dispersed at six o'clock the preceding evening!"

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" DECLARATION of ———

" Says, he recollects, the riots at the houses of Falkner and Birch, and of Mr. Walker upon the 11th of December, 1792. Says, that being intimately acquainted with Mr. Birch, he  
went

went on the evening of the first riot with an intent to assist Falkner and Birch in defending their shop: Says, he saw the Reverend Mr. Justice Griffith among the mob, a quiet spectator of the riot: Says, he ran to fetch Mr. Birch that they might apply to Griffith to read the riot act: Says, on their return they could not find Griffith: Says, they went to Griffiths' house for the like purpose and were told that Griffith was not within: Says, that he and Birch then went to Mr. Bentley's (a magistrate in Newton-lane) about a mile from Manchester to desire he would come and read the riot act: Says, Mr. Bentley at first objected on account of the number of magistrates who were in Manchester, and said he was going to bed; but he soon afterwards consented to come with them: Says, Mr. Bentley, Mr. Birch, and this examinant went to the house of Mr. Nath. Milne, the clerk of Mr. Bentley, and to several other magistrates, the clerk to the police of the town of Manchester and a coroner for the county: Says, Mr. Milne told this examinant and Birch, that it was a scandalous, shameful, abominable business, to call out a magistrate on such a trifling piece of business as the breaking a few windows: That he and a party of constables had just been at Falkner's and Birch's shop, and all was very quiet: That there were only a few windows broken by a few *chance* stones: Says, on his telling Milne, that the Birmingham riots began in the same manner, Milne said, "they (the constables) could keep the town quiet without a magistrate:" Says, he told Milne that one of the constables, had been called upon in the afternoon several times to inform him, that there was likely to be a riot, and when Mr. Allen Jackson had called upon the Constable in the evening to suppress the riots, he was threatened by some of the company there to be kicked out of doors: Says, Mr. Milne, said, he wondered how this examinant dared to speak ill of an officer of the town, and upon this examinant saying, he thought he had a right to speak the truth, Milne said—"Get out of my house."—Says he went out of Milne's house, and Birch soon followed him, leaving Mr. Bentley at Mr. Milne's.

Milne's. Says, this examinant, and Birch, went to Falkner and Birch's shop, and found the mob pelting the windows with stones as hard as they could: Says, he called at Mr. Walker's house and found a number of persons assembled with a few firelocks to defend the house against the mob: Says he staid only a few minutes: Says, about eleven o'clock at night he went home: the mob was not then dispersed; but there were he thought a sufficient number of persons to defend Falkner and Birch's shop: Says, the evening following he went to Mr. Walker's house, another riot being apprehended: Says, one of the chief constables was there and said if Mr. Walker would promise not to use fire arms, he would protect Mr. Walker's and Mr. Falkner's houses and property: Says, that he, this examinant, immediately advised Mr. Walker not to trust to the constables, for they had not given their assistance when applied to on the preceding evening: the Constable said, he had some company, and intimated that they had drank a little. Mr. Walker desired this examinant to say no more. Walker said, "the Constable was convinced of his error—he is sorry for it, we can depend upon him tonight."—Says, in his opinion, the civil power prevented a riot on this evening the 12th of December, 1792."



During this time (about seven o'clock) a party of the mob came to my house, and having broken some windows, they went away. Expecting their return, which afterwards happened, and having been informed of the treatment that Mr. Allen Jackson had met with, I determined to defend myself. A gentleman from the country had dined with me; the Constitutional Society, on whose account all this mischief seems to have been prepared, had met at my house that evening, and fortunately, for the *first* time, several members of the Patriotic and Reformation societies were likewise there. Foreseeing the danger I was exposed to, these gentlemen very kindly agreed to assist me in defending my house



house and warehouses, in which my brother and I had manufactured goods and unwrought materials to a very large amount. I then set about preparing my arms, and I was soon free from any apprehension of what might follow, even though I should be left unprotected by the civil power.

However little I might expect from its assistance, I was determined to give notice that I wished for the interference of its authority; and, therefore, prevailed on Mr. George Wakefield to go to the senior constable, and to represent to him what was going forward. Mr. Wakefield took the market place in his way, the better to judge of the riot. When Mr. Wakefield got to the constable's he met with the same party, and, in some degree, with the same treatment as Mr. Allen Jackson. Mr. Wakefield received the same answer, namely, "Unite had orders how to act." One of the company insisted there was no riot; and another said, upon Mr. Wakefield's representing what had taken place at Falkner's, "I wish to God they would raze the house to the ground, although it is my own." Upon this, Mr. Wakefield returned to me, and from his information I was convinced, that to prevent the scenes of Birmingham from being repeated in Manchester, and to save our houses from being burnt and plundered, it was necessary to look for safety to ourselves alone.

The mob soon returned a second time to my house, broke some more windows and retreated. The same happened a third time; when I attempted to expostulate with them, but in vain. The clamour was too loud for me to be heard. During these attacks, which took up some time, none of the town magistrates came to my assistance, neither the Boroughreeve nor the two chief constables, nor the special constables, consisting as I have stated of near two hundred. We were left to ourselves, just in the same manner as Doctor Priestley, Mr. Ruffel, Mr. Humphries, &c. &c. were at Birmingham. A regiment of dragoons was in the town: they got booted and under arms, both officers and men; and, as I am informed, were ready to disperse the rioters, but no measure was taken  
of

of that or any other kind. About ten o'clock the mob returned to my house the fourth time. Their rancour was now much increased by additional encouragement and liquor (which was given to them at several places in the town) and not being molested in their proceedings by persons in authority, it was natural for them to regard it as a tacit approbation of their conduct. Fearing lest some of my friends might be too hasty, I locked up all the arms I had, giving the key of the room they were placed in to a gentleman, on whose coolness I could depend. While the mob kept at a distance and contented themselves with destroying my windows, I was under no apprehension from their drunken fury. But, at last, they shewed a resolution of entering the house, breaking the inner shutters of a room on the ground floor, and attempting repeatedly to force the street door. I tried a second time to pacify them, but all was to no purpose; at last, a stone struck me on the head: I then fired into the air. Upon this they retreated a little, but afterwards they returned to the attack. Several muskets were then fired over their heads, upon which they all ran away: whether any persons were hurt I have not been able to ascertain; I hope, and believe, not, as the industry of our enemies would not have failed, in that case, to have made their names public.

About eleven o'clock, when all was quiet at my house, one of the chief constables, Mr. Joseph Hardman, with several special constables, appeared for the first time; some of the mob again returned. In company with Mr. Hardman was Mr. Bentley, the neighbouring magistrate, already mentioned. I reproached these Gentlemen with what I considered as most negligent conduct, at least, when our manufactures and warehouses were in danger of being destroyed, and the lives of ourselves and families left to the mercy of an unruly mob, just as the case was at Birmingham. The gentlemen answered but little to this expostulation, but were extremely anxious we should fire no more. They said, that if the mob should return again (that was a *fifth* time) to my house, I should be protected by the civil power. I assured them, that

so long as that should be the case, nothing was farther from my thoughts than to hurt any one of the multitude, whom I could not help considering, as being the mere instruments of men with much baser minds, and of much more sordid views, although in superior stations of life. With this promise on my part, the magistrate and Mr. Joseph Hardman went away; and during that night I was molested no more. The next morning (December 12th) some hundreds of people assembled in St. Mary's church-yard before my house. Amongst them was a man haranguing, and reading the contents of a printed paper. What it was I did not hear, nor, could I collect the purport of his speech; but I have since repeatedly been told, that he urged them strongly to pull down my house,\* or to set it on fire; and that the paper was of a most inflammatory nature.

Not having any dread of an English mob, when they are sober, as these people then seemed to be, I went out to them, and expostulated on the proceedings of the last night. When I first went out, I was received with the cry of "Jacobin, damn the Jacobins, damn Tom Paine, down with the Rump," but after a short address to them on the impropriety of their conduct on the preceding evening, and a declaration, that I should, under the same circumstances, defend my house in the same manner again, if it was again attacked, I went away with little exclamation on their part, and no molestation. About two hours after this, the two chief constables, with several of the inhabitants, came to my house, and repeated the proposal made by the magistrate upon the preceding evening.

In the evening of this day, (Dec. 12th) a large party of people collected in the streets, and there was some reason to apprehend a repetition of the former outrages. Several of my friends, therefore, staid with me. Those who came to me upon such an occasion, were not likely to be much attached

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\* Compare this with the conversation in the note, p. 44.

to High-Church principles. During the course of the evening, one of the most respectable characters of the town of Manchester came to me, as from authority, and told me, that, among the persons in my house, were some very obnoxious to the populace; and that, while they staid with me, it was impossible to answer for the safety of my house and warehouses; but, if they were dismissed, I might be assured the peace-officers would be able to protect me. The suggestion of turning out of my house any of those friends, who, from personal regard to me, and at a personal risque to themselves, had come to assist in my protection, I did not comply with.

As from the preparations I had made for self-defence, the rioters were in much more danger, than myself, the evening (notwithstanding the multitudes of people who assembled with their usual cries of, "Church and King," &c.) passed off without any attack upon my premises; and the civil power prevented the mob from approaching my house. But, they went into other quarters of the town, where the same precautions, which I had taken, were not used; and they destroyed, without interruption, the windows and furniture of a house in Great Newton-street, (William Gorfe's) where the Reformation Society had been accustomed to assemble. On the 12th and 13th appeared the two advertisements inserted in the note, \* which, I cannot help thinking, furnish matter for doubt and reflection upon the contents, and the motives of them.

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\* *Committee Room, Bull's-Head, Dec. 12, 1792.*

\* "Whereas, at a meeting of the inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood of Manchester, assembled by public advertisement *yesterday*, for the purpose of presenting an address to his Majesty, in consequence of his late gracious Proclamation, it was *unanimously agreed*, that an Association should be formed for the purpose of *preserving Liberty, Order, and Property*, when a Committee was appointed; which Committee, having assembled at the Bull's Head this morning, declare that the first object of this association is to support the Laws, to protect the inhabitants of this country from every kind of violence—to discourage,

them. Upon occasion of these riots I thought fit to publish the following address, which produced the correspondence subsequently inserted :

“ *To the INHABITANTS of MANCHESTER.*

“ I have for a long time regarded the various calumnies so industriously circulated against me by the enemies of Liberty with the contempt they deserved. As they never disturbed  
my

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courage, by every means in their power, any attempt to break in upon the good order of society : Such Committee, therefore, take the earliest opportunity of *declaring* the concern they feel, that any persons should have been induced, by any motive whatever, to attempt to commit violence against the person or property of some of their townsmen, as they understand was the case last night, and they are determined to support the *Boroughreeve and Constables*, in preventing any such attempts *in future* ; they, therefore, *invite* all their fellow townsmen to unite in promoting so laudable a design, and to exert themselves in preventing every meeting of others, that is likely to produce riot and disorder.

“ They think it necessary, also, to inform the public, that any damage done to the property of others, must be paid by the Hundred, to which every individual must contribute his share. The persons of individuals are **EQUALLY** protected by the **Laws**, and they **THANK GOD**, that by the happy form of our Government, no man is, or can be, punished for any crime, unless he is convicted by a Jury of his countrymen.”

This advertisement was signed by the Boroughreeve and Constables, and several of the principal inhabitants of the town. It is singular, 1st, that they are resolved to prevent such attempts *in future* ; and secondly, that on the very night when the association for the protection of **LIBERTY, ORDER, AND PROPERTY** was formed, my house, Mr. Falkner's, and Mr. Collier's, should be most riotously attacked ; and, on the subsequent night, when this advertisement was issued, William Gorfe's house was attacked, and his property destroyed.

“ **MANCHESTER ASSOCIATION COMMITTEE**, for preserving the Peace and good Order of the Town, assembled at the Bull's Head, Thursday, Dec. 13, 1792.

“ **RESOLVED,**

“ That the thanks of this meeting be given to the gentlemen of this town, and particularly the special constables, who gave their assistance last night in pre-  
serving

my peace of mind, I never thought it worth while to trouble my friends or the public with a refutation of them. But, since the violent and unjustifiable attacks upon my person and my property, to which I have been exposed for some days past, it has become absolutely necessary to make some appeal to the public on my own behalf.

“ I purposely omit (at least for the present) the many circumstances preceding the attempt upon my house on Tuesday evening last, except, that I and all my friends, (so far as I know) for the sake of peace, purposely absented ourselves from the meeting held that day to address upon the late Proclamations. But having sustained the fury of the mob in three several attacks—having had the greatest part of the windows in front of my house broken—and an inside shutter on the ground floor forced by a stone—having spoken to the people, and discharged a musquetoon, in the air, to warn them against persevering in a fourth attack, which they had then commenced with increased violence—having, during the whole of this long continued scene of confusion, heard nothing from the Civil Power, but a verbal message, (by means of a friend whom I sent) that directions had been given to the Deputy Constable—there remained no other possible means of preventing the rioters from forcing themselves into my dwelling, but to fire. This was done from a perfect

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erving the peace of the town; to the inhabitants in general for their peaceable behaviour; and to those few, who had collected from motives of curiosity, for their readiness to disperse, upon being applied to for that purpose.

“ AND THIS MEETING REQUEST, That every friend to the town will shew his desire to support the laws, and preserve good order, by bringing forward to the constables any person, who shall endeavour to excite tumult.

“ NATHAN CROMPTON, Chairman for the Day.”

The persons thus thanked for their peaceable behaviour surely are not the mob, who *would have pulled my house down, and who did destroy William Gorse's!*

conviction of the *necessity* of the measure; and however harsh the remedy, it proved effectual on the occasion.—Three or four persons, I have been told, were slightly hurt, but I cannot hear certainly whether it be so or not.

“ This was *past* ten o'clock at night. *After* this discharge of fire arms, a Magistrate and some of the Constables came to my house, and took much pains to disperse the rioters; and on their engaging to protect my person and property, I engaged to fire no more, unless in consequence of their being unable to perform their promise, and on the pressure of the most imminent necessity. This promise I faithfully observed. Since Tuesday night, I and my family have been kept in constant anxiety, and at my present writing (Thursday evening) some danger is yet apprehended. Much, indeed, I should have undergone, but for the vigilance, spirit, and warm attachment of my numerous friends both within my house and out of it, to whom I owe much more than it is possible for me to express.

“ For myself, and for the cause of the people, I thank God, that no charge of riot, or tumult, or disaffection, or sedition, has ever yet been made with the slightest plea of reason, against those, whom I have the honour to call my Friends—the Friends of the People: otherwise, I doubt not, most eagerly would the pretext have been seized.

“ Why, then, have I been insulted?—Whom have I injured, or what offence have I committed? What concealment has there been in any part of my public conduct? If there be no charge against me, why have I been thus attacked?

“ If it be a crime to endeavour to enlighten the minds of the People respecting their just rights, I have been guilty of this crime, and to the end of my days I shall live in the commission of it.

“ Is

“ Is it a crime to glory in the title of being the Friend of the Poor? I am guilty of it, for I do, and shall, ever glory in a title so respectable.

“ Is it a crime to wish the more indigent members of society eased from some of the numerous taxes, which they pay in the purchase of every necessary of life? To wish them better lodged, and better fed, and *better instructed*? I am guilty of these crimes.

“ Is it a crime to wish the British Constitution restored to its original purity, and the whole System of Representation freed from Perjury and Corruption?—Of this too I am guilty.

“ Of every good wish to mankind and to my country—I am guilty. If the laws of the land have been violated by my conduct, let me be punished ACCORDING TO LAW; but let not the character of the British Nation be stained by the base and illiberal persecution of one of its most sincere well-wishers.

“ THOMAS WALKER.”

“ *Manchester, 13th Dec. 1792.*”

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“ SHEFFIELD SOCIETY FOR CONSTITUTIONAL  
“ INFORMATION, &c.

“ *Committee Meeting, Jan. 11, 1793.*

“ Resolved unanimously, that the Letter of Condolence transmitted from this Committee to Mr. Thomas Walker, of Manchester, on the occasion of the late violent attack on his person and property, and which received the approbation of all the different Districts of this Society, at their last fortnight meetings, together with his answer thereto, be inserted in the public newspapers.

“ DAVID MARTIN, Chairman.”

“ *Committee*



*“ Committee Meeting, Dec. 19, 1792.*

“ Impressed with unfeigned sorrow, and actuated by the most affectionate esteem and respect, this Committee think it their duty at this time to express their sentiments of condolence to Mr. Thomas Walker, of Manchester, on an occasion when the Laws of their country—when Liberty and Justice have been rudely violated, in the wanton and unprovoked attack made by a lawless banditti on his person and property, on Tuesday evening the 11th instant.

“ It is not only for their patriotic brother, and friend (whose only offence has been a steady attachment to the cause of freedom) that they feel the sensations of sorrow and regret: they feel also for their country—their liberties—and they feel for their dark and deluded countrymen, whom they believe to be the tools of an arbitrary faction, intent on the destruction of those who dare boldly and openly avow themselves the firm advocates of Civil and Religious Liberty.

“ The Committee request Mr. Walker to accept this as a tribute of their applause and approbation, sentiments which they are convinced prevail throughout the whole body of their society, of his intrepid and manly perseverance in defence of the glorious cause of Freedom, and the insulted Rights of Englishmen.

“ They also beg leave to assure Mr. Walker, that though they regret the disagreeable necessity of his firing on the rioters, yet they perfectly approve and justify his conduct on the doctrine of self-defence.

“ By order of the Committee,

“ MATTHEW DODWORTH, Chairman.

“ JAMES HORSFIELD, Secretary.

“ To Mr. Thomas Walker, Manchester.”

MR.

## MR. WALKER'S ANSWER.

*“ Friends and Fellow Citizens,*

“ I have received with the most heart-felt satisfaction your affectionate condolence on the late outrageous and unprovoked attack upon my person and my property, by a deluded, ignorant, and lawless banditti, instigated and encouraged, I have great reason to believe, by those who should have known better. No little pains have been taken to represent the late outrages, as a consequence of the general disapprobation of the conduct and proceedings of the advocates for a Reform in the present inadequate state of the Representation of the People; but this, I am very confident, is by no means the fact. The people, if not warm advocates for Reform, are decided enemies to that levelling system of anarchy and confusion, which was commenced against Mr. Falkner and myself, and which, had it succeeded, I am equally convinced, was intended to have been carried into execution against the Friends of Freedom generally.

“ To whatever lengths it might have been the intention of the mob to have proceeded, the friends of Despotism have little cause for exultation, if in such a cause it is possible to exult, when they reflect upon the paucity of their numbers compared with the population of this town and neighbourhood.

“ How striking is the contrast between the conduct of the Enemies of Freedom in Manchester, and the Friends of Liberty in Sheffield!

“ Had I fired at a much earlier period than I did, I should have been perfectly justifiable; but at the time I was compelled to have recourse to that severe remedy, I applied it to intimidate the rioters, and not either to maim or to kill;

looking upon the misguided multitude, not as my enemies, but as wretched tools, in the hands of a more wretched and most unprincipled faction.

“ Of this be assured, that unless the people cease to entertain a proper sense of their own interest, no trial to which it is possible for a man to be exposed, shall ever make me relax my efforts to promote the prosperity of my country, and the happiness of the human race.

“ In the firm persuasion that truth will prevail, believe me,

“ Friends and Fellow Citizens,

“ Most sincerely and most affectionately,

“ Yours,

“ THOMAS WALKER.”

“ Manchester, Dec. 25, 1792.

“ To the Sheffield Constitutional Society, &c.

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*Copy of a Letter addressed to Mr. Walker, by the Boroughreeve and Constables, through the Channel of the three Manchester Newspapers.*

“ Manchester, Jan. 25, 1793.

“ MR. THOMAS WALKER,

“ Sir,

“ Your Letter of the 25th December, 1792, addressed to the Sheffield Society for Constitutional Information, having appeared in all the Manchester newspapers of last week, We, (as Boroughreeve and Constables of the town of Manchester, and solicitous for the discovery and punishment of all instigators of riot, disorder, and faction,) conceive ourselves entitled to some explanations on the following passages of such letter.

“ The lawless banditti, as I have great reason to believe,  
“ instigated and encouraged by those who should have  
“ known better.”

How, and by whom were they instigated and encouraged?

“ And if it had succeeded, I am convinced it was *intended*  
“ to have been carried into execution against the friends of  
“ reform in general.”

“ This *intention*, of which *you are convinced*, is manifestly  
ascribed to those who should have known better.—The public  
have a right to know, and we ask, what is the existing  
evidence of such intention?

“ Looking upon the misguided multitude, not as my  
“ enemies, but as wretched tools in the hands of a more  
“ wretched and most unprincipled Faction,” &c.

“ Of whom does this Faction consist? For the honour of  
those who are not implicated in the indiscriminate charges of  
your Letter, and for the sake of public justice, we trust the  
preceding Queries will be satisfactorily answered.

“ Signed

“ JAMES ACKERS, *Boroughreeve*.

“ JOHN LEAF,

“ JOSEPH HARDMAN, } *Constables.*”

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Mr. WALKER'S ANSWER.

“ MR. JAMES ACKERS, *Boroughreeve*.

“ MR. JOHN LEAF,

AND

“ MR. JOSEPH HARDMAN,

} *Constables.*

“ *Gentlemen,*

“ I sincerely hope that you did not perceive the very im-  
proper tendency of your joint letter to me; and that the  
public

public is rather to think it inconsiderate, than designing.—  
 “ *Solicitous for the discovery and punishment of all instigators of riot, disorder, and faction;*” your present exertion is only calculated to obstruct the injured, and to warn the guilty; to baffle enquiry, and to interrupt the pursuit of that evidence, which, I thank God, the negligence of malice, however cautious and cunning, will enable me to obtain.—As men in official situations, you ought to know, that it is neither customary nor legal; as gentlemen you ought to see, that it is neither fair, nor honourable, to call upon a man to produce what evidence he possesses against the instigators of a riot, the object of which was the destruction of his property, and of his life, before his friends and his counsel have judged it expedient to produce that evidence either at the bar of the public, or before a jury of his country.

“ I am truly glad to understand, that you are “ *solicitous for the discovery and punishment of all instigators of riot, disorder, and faction,*” because I am satisfied no gentlemen can have better means of information. It would, indeed, have been as well, if this solicitude had appeared in an earlier stage of this serious business; and it remains with you to state to the public, how it has happened that the Boroughreeve and Constables of Manchester, “ *solicitous for the discovery and punishment of all instigators of riot, disorder, and faction,*” have not taken *one single* rioter into custody, when it is notorious that many persons tumultuously assembled together three successive nights, and committed acts of outrage upon each of those nights, by attacking the houses either of Matthew Falkner, William Gorfe, Joseph Collier, or myself.

“ It will not be easy, gentlemen, to compensate for your supineness, where it was your duty to be active, by your officiousness, where it is your duty to be quiet; nor can you now, by harrassing me in my endeavours to obtain justice, atone for your former lenity towards the disturbers of the public peace.

“ Denying your right to put interrogatories to me in any manner whatever, I shall not give you “ the existing evidence” upon which my conviction was founded, that if the *levelling* system of anarchy and confusion commenced against Mr. Falkner and myself had succeeded, it was intended to have been carried into execution against the Friends of Reform in general; but for the satisfaction of the public, I shall prove I was not singular in that opinion, by giving the extract of a letter from a man, highly respectable for his abilities, his property, and his integrity; and in justice to myself, I may also add, that I have received many other letters from various parts of the kingdom to the same purport, and from men of the above description.—The extract to which I allude is as follows—

“ Though I have but a moment’s time, I cannot address you without expressing my concern for the unmerited anxiety you have lately been put to, by the bigotry and very blameable conduct of some of your townsmen—but in truth they need my sympathy more than you do, as your proper, spirited and commendable behaviour, under the circumstances you were in, must be a satisfaction to all your friends, and deserves the thanks of both parties; of the friends of liberty for the prevention of a wide spreading mischief that might probably otherwise have befallen them; and of the offending party, for putting an early stop to enormities that would for ever have disgraced them.”

“ You ask—“ of whom does that faction consist,” which I have reprobated as wretched and unprincipled, “ for the honour of those who are not implicated in the charge?”—I will freely tell you of whom it does *not* consist. It does *not* consist of the honest, the generous, or the brave; of the liberal, or the well-informed; it does *not* consist—of those who abhor persecution, rancour, and malignity; it does *not* consist—of men who are incapable of writing and propagating anonymous slander, or of encouraging spies and informers. Having  
 now

now done with you, gentlemen, I shall embrace the opportunity which you have afforded me, of addressing myself

“ TO THE PEOPLE,

“ Requesting their attention to the present interesting, and truly critical situation of public affairs, and recommending to them to examine coolly and impartially, the writings, but above all the *actions* of those, who lay claim to the title of their friends, and who are on that account branded with every epithet that misrepresentation and the foulest slander can invent. I shall request them to examine with that seriousness which the subject demands, whether in the conduct of the Friends of Freedom, either here or elsewhere, there is any thing which is not directed to promote the prosperity of this country, and the happiness of mankind.

“ *First, with respect to a Parliamentary Reform,*

“ The necessity of which is so obvious, and the advantages, which would result from its attainment so self-evident, that I shall confine myself to the explanation of my meaning upon this very important subject.

“ By a Parliamentary Reform, I mean a RADICAL and EFFECTUAL REFORM in the Representation of the PEOPLE; that obtained, I for one shall be satisfied, nor have I any further views, nor any design, as has been falsely and industriously insinuated, to attempt to alter or to destroy the Constitution of this Country; my sole object, and that of every man with whom I have the honour to think, to act—and to correspond upon this great object, is not to *innovate*, but to *renovate*, and to restore the Constitution to its ANCIENT PURITY.

“ *Secondly, with respect to the Liberty of the Press,*

“ The preservation of which is so essential to our very existence as a free People, that I should have conceived it impossible

impossible that any man, or set of men, would have been weak enough, or wicked enough, to have made any serious attack upon so sacred a right at the close of the 18th century. However, it is with pleasure far greater than I can express, that I see a standard erected for its preservation by men the most distinguished for integrity, ability, and property in this country; a standard, which I am confident every disinterested and unprejudiced man will eagerly fly to, and around which, even the timid and the cautious may with the utmost safety rally. Annexed is an extract from the declaration agreed upon at a Meeting of the Friends of the Liberty of the Press, which was held upon Saturday the 19th instant, at the Crown and Anchor in London.\*

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\* “ The press, therefore, as it is to be affected by Associations of individuals, that fetter its general freedom, wholly unconnected with any attacks upon private character, is a very different consideration. For if the nation is to be combined to suppress writings without further describing what those writings are, than by the general denomination seditious; and if the exertions of those combinations are not even to be confined to suppress and punish the circulation of books already condemned by the judgments of courts, but are to extend to whatever does not happen to fall in with their private judgments—if every writing is to be prosecuted which they may not have the sense to understand, or the virtue to practice—if no man is to write but upon their principles, nor can read with safety, except what they have written, lest he should accidentally talk of what he has read—no man will venture either to write or to speak upon the topics of government or its administration; a freedom which has ever been acknowledged by our greatest Statesmen and Lawyers to be the principal safeguard of that constitution which liberty of thought originally created, and which a free press for its circulation gradually brought to maturity.

“ We will, therefore, maintain and assert, by all legal means, the sacred and essential privilege of every other parent and guardian. We will maintain and assert the right of instructing our fellow-subjects by every sincere and conscientious communication which may promote the public happiness, and while we render obedience to government and to law, we will remember at the same time, that as they exist by the people's consent, and for the people's benefit, they have a right to examine their principles, to watch over their due execution, and to preserve the beautiful structure of their Constitution,  
by



“ The declaration and proceedings of that day are what every man ought to read; and to engrave deeply upon his heart the principles there so manfully and so ably inculcated.

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by pointing out as they arise, those defects and corruptions, which the hand of time never fails to spread over the wisest of human institutions.

“ If in the legal and peaceable assertion of this freedom we shall be calumniated and persecuted, we must be contented to suffer in the cause of freedom as our fathers before us have suffered. But we will, like our fathers also, persevere until we prevail.

“ Let us however recollect with satisfaction, that the law, as it stands at this very moment, thanks to our illustrious patriot Mr. FOX, is amply sufficient for the protection of the Press, if the country will be but true to itself. The extent of the genuine Liberty of the Press, on general subjects, and the boundaries which separate them from licentiousness, the English law has wisely not attempted to define. They are indeed in their nature undefinable, and it is the office of the jury alone, taken from the country, in each particular instance to ascertain them, and the trust of the Crown where no individual is slandered, to select the instances for trial, by its Ministers responsible to Parliament.

“ This system appears to us amply to secure the government, while it protects the subject. But if this selection is to be transferred to self-constituted assemblies of men, agitated and inflamed by a zeal, however honest, the press must be broken up, and individuals must purchase their safety by ignorance and silence. In such a state, we admit that the other liberties which we enjoy under the laws, might, nevertheless, continue as long as government might happen to be justly administered; but should corruption or ambition ever direct their efforts against them, the nation would be surprized and enslaved—surprized by the loss of their wakeful sentinels, whom they had shot for only being at their posts, and enslaved from the loss of their armour, which their adversary, under the pretence of a treaty, had cajoled them to throw away.

“ But these evils become not only greater, but absolutely intolerable, when extended to the stimulation of spies, to stab domestic peace, to watch for the innocent in the hours devoted to convivial happiness, and to disturb the sweet repose of private life, on the bosom of friendship and truth.

“ It

“ The Friends of Freedom have always proved themselves the enemies of anarchy and confusion, and I am confident they are too well informed and too well disposed ever to act contrary to their principles. At the same time, they will do well never to lose sight of that *union, perseverance,* and FIRMNESS which are essential to insure success even to the cause of truth itself. “ It is into the heart and spirit of man you must look for reformation, else all is vague and useless.”

“ It may not be improper here to remark upon the present uncertainty of what in this country may now be deemed “ seditious.” REEVES and his associations may perhaps deem that to be seditious, which our fellow citizens in Scotland and in Ireland would consider as the purest patriotism—and it is possible that a man might be indicted in England, for an act, which in Ireland, the virtuous citizens of that country would highly approve, nay even for the very act which at this moment is sanctioned by the Irish Legislature itself.

“ *Thirdly, with respect to War,*

“ What has been the conduct of the friends of Freedom, in every part of the British empire, upon this impending calamity? What, but to point out the evils inseparable from war, and to endeavour to avert as far as in them lay, an

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“ It is justly observed, by the celebrated Judge Forster, that words are transitory and fleeting, easily forgotten, and subject to mistaken interpretation.

“ Their very existence at all, and their criminality, as depending upon context, or sequel, or occasion, all is to rest upon the oaths of hired informers.

“ Is this in the end of the 18th century, to be the condition of our chearful country? Are these to be our chains? And are we, after we have broken them on the heads of Tyrants, in former ages, to sit down to forge them again for ourselves, and to fasten them upon one another?”

event

event which cannot but be particularly injurious to the trade and commerce of this country, and fatal to the property, to the happiness, and to the lives of many thousands of their fellow creatures? What interest have they, distinct from the poorest of their fellow citizens?

“ Is it a crime to rejoice in the emancipation of so many millions of the human race from the yoke of the most degrading slavery?—Is it probable that so great a good could be obtained without some excesses being committed? But in return, Is it not right to consider—whether those evils which *justice* must condemn, and which *humanity* must deplore, did not arise more from the *opposition to the good*, than from the pursuit of it?

“ Having now concluded all I have to observe at this time, I shall for the present take leave of the public, with that respect which I have always professed for them, and which I trust I have always shewn; and shall only add, that to their opinion, when *fairly* and *impartially* taken, I shall always submit; and [doing violence for a moment even to possibility] supposing that the *majority* should ever become advocates for the *slavish* doctrines of *divine right*, *passive obedience* and *non-resistance*; I should upon my own principles, not oppose their WILL. But if the people of Great-Britain are, what I take them to be, the *true* descendants of their illustrious ancestors, no hazard of my person or of my property shall ever deter me from supporting to the utmost of my abilities, *the RIGHTS of the People*.

“ THOMAS WALKER.

“ *Manchester, Jan. 31, 1793.*”

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“ TO THE PUBLIC.

“ Mr. Walker's Letter, in the Manchester Herald of the 2d instant, which he calls a Reply to our Queries of the 25th January last, upon the subject of his unexplained *Imputations* in

In a former Letter, has necessarily obliged us to trouble the public with the following Observations.

“ Whatever may be the opinion of Mr. Walker or his Counsel, we (“ for the sake of public Justice”) should be equally “ thankful if the charges complained of were fully substantiated by that Evidence which the negligence of malice, however cunning and cautious, might enable Mr. Walker to obtain.—

“ But after assertions in the shape of facts, highly, yet indiscriminately impeaching the inhabitants of this Town, unaccompanied by any intimation of legal proceedings, and even without any previous *Information to the Civil Officers* (who have no means of obtaining it, except from Mr. Walker, whose base Insinuations they despise) are *industriously* published to the world, we have yet to learn that it is *illegal*, unfair, or dishonourable in such officers to call upon the publisher, to point out those pests of society, against whom his accusations are intended, that they may have their deserts, and the public injury be repaired through the *only legal mode* of a criminal prosecution—On the contrary, our silence at this moment must have been a crime not to be atoned for.

“ The *assumed candour* and patriotism of Mr. Walker led us to expect the most unequivocal and satisfactory explanations; but shrinking from this duty, he turns again to the malevolence of accusation, and reprehends our conduct in the late unfortunate tumult.

“ It is unnecessary to tell the public, because they know the fact, whether it was by the vigilance, activity, prudence, and perseverance of the Peace Officers, *under the immediate direction of the Magistrates*, or by the violent prowess of Mr. Walker, (*who fired upon the people WITH SLUGS,\* not to maim or kill, but merely to intimidate*) that the disorder at length happily subsided.

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\* This is false.

“ Mr. Walker, or his Counsel, cannot doubt *any man's right*, as well as that of a Peace Officer, to *apprehend* offenders when in the actual commission of outrage.

“ The state of the persons assembled (in a town of extreme population) did not, however, in common prudence, warrant such a proceeding, but the more lenient and efficacious one adopted—otherwise Mr. Walker's “ numerous friends without” would certainly have exercised *this right of apprehension*.—

“ The reply to our second Query is an evasion unworthy the liberal and well informed. He (Mr. Walker) denies the Right of putting Interrogatories—refuses the existing *Evidence* of his *Conviction*, and in an instant stumbles upon the Truth, by *changing* the importance of *Conviction* into a mere unfounded *Opinion*, which, by the way, he is anxious to free from singularity, by an extract of a Letter—but when, by whom, and (which is infinitely more material) upon *whose* and *what Representation of Facts* this Letter was written, the public must be kept entirely ignorant.—

“ Is this consistent with the professions of an *ingenuous* patriotic man, *whose Actions* are always *open* and undisguised, and *who asserts nothing without proof*?

“ As an Answer to the third Query, viz. Of whom does this Faction consist? We are told “ it does not consist of the honest, the generous, or the brave, of the liberal, or the well-informed; “ it does not consist of those who abhor Persecution, *Rancour*, “ and *Malignity*, nor of men who are incapable of writing and “ propagating anonymous Slander, or of encouraging Spies “ and Informers.”—

“ Do these *Negatives* amount to any discriminative Intelligence, or are they not *unblushingly* intended as additional Insults to the Honour and Justice of the People?—They are

indeed Truifms not to be controverted; for in this mighty collection of Words, nothing more is literally expreffed (*whatever may be the intent*) than that a good man is not a bad man, or vice verfa.

“ Mr. Walker may exult in the ufe of fuch paltry Subterfuges (*as the happy iffue of a Week's Preparation*) to elude the moft plain and proper Questions, but the Public (*and not Mr. Walker*) are now to decide, under all the Circumftances, whether thofe Questions ought not to have been fully and fairly answered, and whether our Meafures deferve their Cenfure, or Approbation.

“ Leaving this Gentleman to his favourite Aberrations from the point in queftion, by every *modest Affumption* of popular Friendfhip and unbounded Patriotifm, and alfo to *his Monopoly* in the Difcernment and Guardianship of the *effential* Rights of the People, we muft apologize to the Public for this involuntary Engagement of their Attention, with the *firmest Determination* however of troubling *them no more* upon any thing which the *inventive Faculty* of Mr. Walker can poffibly inftituate, or produce.

“ In the fullert confidence that *Truth will prevail,*

“ We are the Public's moft faithful,

“ Respectful and obedient Servants,

“ JAMES ACKERS, Boroughreeve,  
“ JOHN LEAF, }  
“ JOSEPH HARDMAN, } Conftables, } of Manchester.

Manchester, 4th February, 1793.”

*Salford, February 8, 1793.*

“ JAMES ACKERS, Esq; Boroughreeve.  
“ Mr. JOHN LEAF, } Constables.  
“ Mr. JOSEPH HARDMAN, }

“ *Gentlemen,*

“ The public requisition you have made to Mr. Thomas Walker, for an explanation on certain passages contained in his Answer to a Letter of Condolence from a Society (calling themselves the Constitutional Society) at Sheffield : Your just, manly and spirited Rejoinder to his vague, illusive and ridiculous Reply to such Requisition, justly entitles you to the warmest applause of every inhabitant.

“ At a Meeting of the Constitutional Association for protecting Liberty and Property from Republicans and Levellers, established at the Crown and Cushion, in Salford, held this day,

“ It was unanimously resolved,

“ That the Thanks of this Association be presented to you, for your zeal and attention to the public welfare, your constant exertions for the preservation of peace and tranquillity, but more especially for defending the inhabitants of this town from the false calumnies and malignant imputations thrown out against them, and the method you have pursued against the restless and evil disposed author thereof.

“ By Order of this Association,

“ R. BRIDDOCK, Chairman.”

“ *Manchester,*

“ *Manchester, February 15, 1793.*

“ At a Meeting of the Associated Loyalists, held at Mr. Matthew Green’s, Blackmoor’s Head, Old Church-yard, for the purpose of supporting our present Constitution against its Enemies, the Friends of Anarchy and Murder :

“ JAMES ACKERS, Esq; Boroughreeve.

“ Mr. JOHN LEAF,

“ Mr. JOSEPH HARDMAN, } Constables.

“ *Gentlemen,*

“ Unanimously resolved;

“ That the Thanks of this Society be presented to you, for your late Exertions to preserve the Peace and Tranquillity of this Town in your official capacities; and also for your just and spirited Answers to Mr. Thomas Walker’s false, infamous, and ridiculous Charge; and for defending of this Town from the gross and invidious imputations which have been basely thrown out against the true Supporters of the present happy and glorious Constitution.

“ JOHN COOPER, President.”

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Upon the spirit that dictated these advertisements (which appeared in the Manchester newspapers,) and upon the facts and reasonings in the foregoing Correspondence, the reader must make his own comments.

The riots at Manchester, so similar in their origin and progress to the disgraceful proceedings at Birmingham, were too important to the public tranquillity to remain unnoticed by the legislature of the country. Accordingly they were mentioned in due terms of abhorrence by Mr. Fox and Mr. Grey, in the House of Commons, on December the 17th, 1792.

In reply to the observations of Mr. Fox, Mr. Windham made a speech, of which the following is an extract :—

“ Mr.



“ Mr. Windham replied to Mr. Fox. The House had di-  
 “ rected no prosecutions on either side, and, therefore, could  
 “ not be charged with partiality. The law was equally  
 “ open in all cases. The indignation excited against Mr.  
 “ Walker, was much more fairly imputable to his political  
 “ opinions, than to his being a Dissenter. It was natural,  
 “ and even justifiable, for men to feel indignation against  
 “ those who promulgated doctrines, threatening all that was  
 “ valuable and dear in society ; *and if there were not means of*  
 “ *redress by law, even violence would be justifiable.* But we had  
 “ laws, therefore violence ought to be punished ; and on this  
 “ ground he defended the Associations, as tending to pre-  
 “ vent violence by giving vigour to the law.”

*Debrett's Parliamentary Register, Vol. XXXIV. Page 165.*

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I hope the reader will indulge me while I make some re-  
 marks on the preceding extract. Mr. Windham is now in  
 the Ministry : he is the Minister at War : he is re-elected for  
 Norwich. Important as the situations are, which he now fills,  
 it is important also for the same reasons, that the public should  
 be apprized of the principles and practice of the man, whose  
 character and conduct have induced his Majesty to raise him  
 to the post he now occupies.

“ *The House had directed no prosecutions on either side, and there-  
 “ fore could not be charged with partiality.*” Mr. Windham has  
 the reputation of being a most acute reasoner ; a great logician ;  
 but to me, a man of plain and common understanding, this  
 observation affords a bad specimen of his reputed abilities.

It was stated to the House that my dwelling was repeatedly  
 attacked ; that other persons also at Manchester had suffered  
 in their habitations and their property, by means of a lawless  
 Mob, unrestrained by the Civil power till the mischief was  
 done. There was no complaint on the part of the Mob, or  
 of

of the Civil power at Manchester: there was no fact stated by which it appeared that I had even hurt one human creature in defending myself. The facts and complaints were all on one side. How, therefore, could the House direct prosecutions on both? They might have directed an *enquiry* to take place; but surely it would have been hard to have directed the injured to be prosecuted by the Law, after having been thus persecuted by the Mob. Such, however, was Mr. Windham's notion of Impartiality!

Again: Prosecutions were directed against the Rioters at Birmingham—Why not therefore against the similar Rioters at Manchester? Some slight suspicion of partiality might surely arise upon this tender concern for the one town, and carelessness about the other.

“*The Law was equally open in all cases.*” “The Law,” (it has been frequently said in charges to Grand Juries, and it is a favourite sentiment) “is alike open to the poor and to the rich;” “and so,” (said Mr. Horne Tooke on some occasion) “is the *London Tavern*; but they will give you a very sorry welcome, unless you come with money sufficient to pay for your entertainment.”

I have no scruple to say, from dear-bought experience, that *there is no law in this country for the poor man.* The expence of attorneys, and the expence of counsel, and the expence of witnesses, and the expence of Stamps to the Government, and fees to the Law Officers, the expence of time, and of trouble, the neglect of business, and the anxiety of mind, are beyond calculation to those who have not had melancholy experience of the fact. Neither is there certainty of justice even to those who are able and willing to afford the expence of a prosecution, if the minds of Jurors can be warped on the day of trial from all impartial considerations, by incessant falsehood and invective, from pulpits and printing-houses, and parish associations. I have a right to complain of the expence of law, when I can inform the reader, with truth,

that the expences of the Trial, to which this is a Sequel, including the prosecution of Dunn,\* amounted to nearly *Three Thousand Pounds*.

I have a right to complain of the uncertainty of justice, after the trial of Benjamin Booth at Manchester; after having perused the trials of Mr. Winterbotham; after having seen the verdicts of a Warwickshire jury, and compared the compensations, with the losses of the Birmingham sufferers.

I know not in what tone of voice, nor with what cast of countenance, Mr. Windham pronounced that "*the law was equally open in all cases:*" but it was a cruel and malignant sarcasm: and Mr. Windham could not but know that it was untrue when he uttered it. The law is indeed open to those who have the key of the treasury to unlock it—it was open even to Thomas Dunn of infamous notoriety—

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\* Dunn was tried at the autumn assizes 1794, upon an indictment containing no less than ten several perjuries, which he had sworn, upon the trial against Mr. Walker and others.

To prove the falsehood of the facts sworn to by Dunn, various witnesses were called; and first, as to his reading and writing. The Rev. Mr. Griffith, (the Magistrate before whom Dunn's informations were taken, and who upon them issued warrants against Mr. Walker, Mr. Paul, Mr. Jackson, and several others, for high treason) swore, that he had attested informations signed by Dunn in his presence, and that he had no doubt of his being able to read and write. This was confirmed by Mr. Griffith's clerk, Mr. Paynter, who had seen Dunn write his name, and had also seen letters which he believed to have been written by him.—Two other witnesses deposed to the same effect.

Mr. Jones and Mr. Ridgeway, two gentlemen of great worth and respectability, stated that they saw Dunn at the house of Mr. Walker's brother, on the 18th of March; that Dunn fell upon his knees, and begged Mr. Walker's pardon; said, that he had injured his character; that *he had accused him falsely*, and that he had been *bribed* to do what he had done; and that when Mr. Walker refused to be alone with him, Dunn threatened Mr. Walker, and said, that it should be worse for him. Several other witnesses were called, who proved the other facts in the indictment.

The Jury found Dunn guilty; and the sentence of Mr. Justice Rooke was, that he should stand once in the Pillory, and be imprisoned for two years in Lancaster Castle.

Perhaps it would be open also to Mr. Windham—from the tender mercies of whose recommendation in this instance, heaven defend the injured poor!

“ *The indignation excited against Mr. Walker, was much more fairly imputable to his political opinions, than to his being a “dissenter.”* This indignation (it must be remembered) broke out into acts of violence and outrage: into attempts upon my property and my life. And this is *fair*, I suppose, according to Mr. Windham, against a man who thinks for himself upon the subject of public abuses, and who cannot in conscience subscribe to Mr. Windham’s political creed. Such is the mode of argument recommended by this logical reasoner. Which, it must be confessed, is of a piece with his recommendation on the subject of the French war: a war to be pursued according to him and Mr. Burke *usque ad internecionem*, to extermination—till revenge shall be satiated with slaughter, and till there be no victims to slay—and till Jacobinical arguments shall be unanswerably confuted by the complete destruction of every man whom they are pleased to call by the name of Jacobin: an æra which we may safely say, will never arrive. I sincerely wish, however, that this may perpetually remain the characteristic distinction between the enemies, and the friends to freedom.—May the former appeal to force, and the latter to argument!

“ *It was natural and even justifiable for men, to feel indignation against those who promulgated doctrines, threatening all that was valuable and dear in society;*” Mr. Windham did not state, because Mr. Windham could not state, what doctrines I have ever promulgated of this description. I think I may venture to say that I have never propagated any doctrines but the doctrines of peace and good will toward men: I have never ventured like Mr. Windham, “threatening all that was valuable and dear in society,” to justify acts of violence against my neighbour—because he differed from me in political *opinion*. Mr. Windham, like his friend  
Mr.

Mr. Burke, deals in assertion. Proofs are not his fort: if he has them I challenge him to produce them; and I now say to Mr. Windham, *it is false*, that I ever promulgated doctrines threatening all that is valuable and dear in Society.

“ *And if there were not means of redress by law, even violence would be justifiable.*” One would have thought it more becoming a Legislator to have said, if there are not means of redress by law, in God’s name, let us hasten to enact the law, which shall give redress. Not so this Member of the British Senate, this Law-maker of the Nation—who standing up in his place and character as a Legislator, unblushingly recommends a system of force and violence, rather than propose the means of peaceable reparation. Surely, if there be any doctrine which “ threatens all that is valuable and dear in Society,” it is the justification of a recurrence to forcible instead of peaceable means of redressing supposed injuries: This is even worse than at once destroying all the bonds of Society, and turning mankind loose again into a state of savage nature, for savages, never punish mere differences of opinion; they confine their revenge to real not to fancied injuries.

“ *But we had laws, therefore violence ought to be punished;*” If there be laws, against the crimes of which Mr. Windham insinuates I am guilty, Why did he not move for my punishment?—And if violence ought to be punished, Why did he defend the rioters who used it?

“ *And on this ground he defended the Associations, as tending to prevent violence by giving vigour to the Law.*” Mr. Windham should have recollected that the cry of the rioters, and the cry of the Associators is one and the same: Church and King, and Down with the Jacobins, is equally in vogue amongst these worthy coadjutors. Exhilarated by the music of these vociferations, Mr. Windham’s respectable Clients

proceeded to attack the persons and destroy the property of peaceable citizens, and thus do they tend to prevent violence and give vigour to Law !

I have taken for granted the accuracy of this speech of Mr. Windham, as reported in the Parliamentary Register : because that book is notoriously a compilation of authority, and the account appears with Mr. Windham's name at length to it. When Mr. Windham shall disavow the text, I shall disavow the comment on this specimen of the right honourable Gentleman's logical acuteness and legislative humanity.

Upon the 20th of December, 1792, the Manchester Constitutional, Patriotic, and Reformation Societies, published the following address on Mr. Fox's speech therein mentioned.

“ MANCHESTER CONSTITUTIONAL, REFORMATION, *and*  
PATRIOTIC SOCIETIES.

“ The Manchester, Constitutional, Reformation, and Patriotic societies have read with much satisfaction the reports in the public papers of Mr. Fox's speech in the House of Commons, on the 13th instant, on the subject of the address.

“ They congratulate the people of Great Britain, that the distinguished talents of this very able man have been thus honourably employed—in refutation of the calumnies which the enemies of liberty have most industriously propagated—in vindication of the public right of political discussion—in supporting the manifest expediency of a redress of grievances—and above all, the absolute necessity of “ that one thing needful” to our political salvation, a parliamentary REFORM.—To this single point are the efforts of the Manchester societies directed; nor do they wish to overturn any part of the British constitution, but the present inadequate and corrupt system of parliamentary representation;

tion: when the will of the people shall be fairly expressed in the House of Commons of Great Britain, by means of representatives equally elected, and under the *due* controul of the electors—when no doubt can reasonably remain but that a vote of the House of Commons shall be the voice of the nation—then, and not till then, will the Manchester societies be satisfied—then, and not till then, will they relax their efforts in this public cause.

“ They have observed with infinite satisfaction the numerous *associations* of the pensioned friends of government, against republicans and levellers no where to be found—against *seditions* writings and meetings, and correspondencies which these enemies of freedom either cannot, or dare not point out—against the advocates for equalizing property, of whom these societies have never heard, whose propositions they have never seen, whose publications, if existing, they have never perused. For the equalization of *rights* amongst members of the same community, they are advocates; to the equalization of property (were it even possible) they are decided enemies. Knowing by hard-earned experience the difficulty of obtaining property by the sweat of their brow, under the burthen of the numerous taxes which oppress them, they can have no inducement to become the advocates of a measure, so inconsistent with the first object of Society.

“ But to these Aristocratic Associations, the Manchester Constitutional, Reformation, and Patriotic societies, feel themselves infinitely indebted. At a time when timid surmises, and legal doubts, and courtly obstacles were thrown in the way of societies convened for the purpose of political enquiry and constitutional discussion, these friendly associates have publickly met for the very purposes hitherto complained of: they have voluntarily obtruded themselves in the gap of danger: they have brought with them the privilege of law, and the countenance of Government: and  
having

having taken under their own protection *one side* of a Political question, they have fairly sanctioned their antagonist societies, in the free discussion and public defence of the other.

“ The Manchester Societies do therefore exhort their fellow citizens to meet peaceably, but firmly, on every convenient opportunity, for the purpose of investigating the principles, the advantages, the defects, and the abuses of the Constitution under which they live; that public ignorance and ancient prejudice may no longer stand in the way of salutary reformation; and that every friend to the rights of the people may be fully instructed upon those questions, which may hereafter require his suffrage and support.

“ The Manchester, Patriotic, Reformation, and Constitutional Societies, are further desirous of expressing their approbation of the Address to the public, from the Society of the Friends of the People, met at Freemason's Tavern, the 15th instant; that Address the Manchester Societies have read with great pleasure, and hope the Friends of the People will never cease their endeavours in the cause of freedom, till a full, complete, and adequate reform be adopted, in the representation of the Commons of Great Britain.

“ The Manchester Societies at this period of public agitation cannot close this address, without submitting to the public some brief observations on the subject of an impending war between Great Britain, and France.

“ They wish their fellow-citizens to consider, what class of them (courtiers and contractors excepted) can possibly be benefited by such a measure? Whether their debt will be diminished, their taxes lessened, credit supported, or commerce extended, by war? Whether the ridiculous pretext of the opening the Scheldt be the true motive, and  
whether



whether the trade and manufactures of Great Britain will not be most evidently benefited, if the port of Antwerp be restored to its pristine state? In these questions the trader and the manufacturer are much more deeply interested than the statesman; and the traders and manufacturers of whom the Manchester Societies are composed, cannot feel any impropriety in addressing these queries to their fellow-citizens. And as sincere friends to the genuine principles of freedom, they scruple not to avow their anxiety, that this country may not be induced by any courtly machinations whatever, to join the band of continental despots, now leagued against the liberties of mankind.

“ Signed, by order, and on behalf of, the Manchester Constitutional Society,

“ GEORGE WAKEFIELD, President,

“ SAMUEL JACKSON, Secretary.

“ Signed, by order, and on behalf of, the Manchester Reformation Society,

“ JOSEPH COOPER, President,

“ JOHN CHEETHAM, Secretary.

“ Signed, by order, and on behalf of, the Manchester Patriotic Society,

“ THOMAS CARPENTER, President,

“ GEORGE M<sup>c</sup>. CALLUM, Secretary.

“ *Manchester, Dec. 20th, 1792.*”

I recollect no public act of the Societies subsequent to the above date: the Reformation Society being prevented from meeting at William Gorse's, whose house was nearly destroyed by the mob, this Society as well as the Constitutional and Patriotic Societies met at my house and warehouse till about the beginning of June, 1793. At which time commenced the proceedings against the Members of these Societies, of which the trial before published contains an account. I proceed, there-

therefore, now to lay before the public some documents to shew, why I have termed the proceedings "*a conspiracy*" on the part of the prosecutors.

The paper signed Sydney, with the word WAR as the title, had so struck many of the people of Manchester, that (as is said) several of them joined to print a new edition of it, adding a kind of introductory advertisement. In June 1793 a member of the Patriotic or Reformation Societies, Benjamin Booth, was taken up by warrant from the Rev. Mr. Justice Griffith, jun. for distributing this paper. The outline of his treatment I have already given in the Appendix to the Trial, No. 19; the detail of which, from compunction of conscience, he voluntarily sent to me: it is in his own words, as follows:

*Manchester, June 20, 1793.*

" SIR,

" I am happy to inform you, that I was yesterday liberated, until the sessions, by the bail of Mr. Allen Jackson and Mr. Roberts; the crime, for which I have been imprisoned, is cursing the King, of which I am sure I am innocent; but, How shall innocence itself escape, when a man is permitted, in a state of very great intoxication, to swear whatever he pleases, or whatever he may be instructed? As this was actually the case with Dunn, when he swore against you, Mr. Jackson, Mr. Paul, myself, and many others. I can prove this from the witness of the task-master of the New Bailey, Dunn's own wife, and one Peter Ogden, a private of the third regiment of dragoons.

" The crime alledged against you, is, for cursing the King, training men to the military exercise, for the avowed purpose of assisting the French, and to dethrone the King. Every effort has been used to make me join evidence with Dunn; I was told all the friends of freedom in Manchester were arrested. Mr. Griffith promised every thing that lay in his power; and Mr. Joseph Hardman, said, so far as

the town of Manchester could support me it should; he spoke this as a representative of the town. Parker has been employed five or six days, for the direct purpose of separately intimidating and encouraging myself and my wife: every gentleman, that could be thought on, came to forward me by their support, Mr. Brandt, Mr. Crompton, and some of the officers of the Yorkshire militia: at the same time that the counsel who came from London on purpose to examine Dunn's evidence, threatened, I should be tried.

"Being put to what shift I could make to save myself, I enquired of Dunn, What evidence *he had given*, and though false as I know it is, I said the same, three very young children and a wife's distresses being continually held up to my view. However, comfort yourself and *forgive me*; I was a prisoner when I said this. If it be possible, they will get one Oliver Pearfall to join Dunn's evidence. I have this day drawn out minutes of their treatment towards me, which when you see or hear, you will admire, *condemn*, and, I hope, pity me. I am at the house of a friend, but shall be removed.

" BENJAMIN BOOTH.

" *Mr. Thomas Walker, Bate's Hotel, Adelphi, London.*"

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#### MINUTES OF BENJAMIN BOOTH.

" June 5. Wednesday. Half past seven, evening. I was arrested on oath of John Taylor, by Mr. Unite, for a paper intitled, WAR, with the preface, and brought to Mr. Paynter's office, where Mr. Griffith, jun, was waiting for me. As soon as I saw him I thought he was intoxicated. He said he was sorry to see me; I had got among a very bad set; and it would be much better if I would give them up; he wanted to know who was the author or printer. I replied, I knew nothing about it. He said he was surpris'd that I should wish to excite discontent in the public mind; my brother was as loyal, and as well respected as any man in the town; and before this time I bore an excellent character; all the time

speaking in an encouraging stile for me to come into his measures; but finding I was not at all inclined so to do, he bid me remark he had made me no promises; he then said he should demand respectable bail for 50l. each. I sent to my brother, who was out: Mr. McCallum stepped up to bail me for one, he being present. Mr. Griffith immediately raised it to 150l. each, and replied, Now let Mr. Walker and Mr. Cooper bail you: you know them, I suppose: I replied, I did, but I did not care for them any more than for any other gentleman that I knew.

“ I was then conducted by Mr. Unite through the most public streets in our way to the New Bailey, though I desired to the contrary several times. He kept discoursing to the crowd, that it was such people as me who had occasioned the war, and he would expose me, wishing at the same time we were all hanged: this was his continual language. Now and then the rabble shouted. We arrived at length at the New Bailey, where I staid all night. A charge was given to the turnkey, that no one should see me, unless Mr. Unite was present. About half past six the next day Mr. Unite took me to Mr. Griffith's, my wife following me.

“ When I arrived there, I staid in the lobby; the parlour door was opened, that a number of gentlemen, Mr. Hulme, sen. Mr. Hulme, jun. Mr. Withnall, Mr. Paynter, Mr. Griffith, sen. and some others, might look at me. Mr. Hulme, jun. came out, and took me to a corner of the lobby; said, he was sorry to see me, as we had, he believed, been school-fellows; said, I was of a respectable family, all of whom he knew very well; begged I would not stand in my own light; begged I would not hurt myself for Mr. Walker, whom he cursed, and said I was worth fifty Mr. Walkers; Mr. Walker had been the destruction of Mr. Matthew Falkner, Mr. Birch, and would be of many others. I replied, I thought Mr. Walker a very worthy and respectable gentleman. He then left me. Mr. Griffith,  
jun,

jun. then asked me, if I had bail ready: I said I could procure it soon. I sent out my wife; and in about ten minutes Mr. Cheetham, hatter, of Salford, came for one. My father-in-law, Griffith, refused; Cheetham sent for a friend of his. Cheetham went out; and Paynter said, by his (Cheetham's) looks, he was of the same kidney; and he thought any person who entertained the same principles should not be allowed to be bail for me: I said, I thought he was competent to the sum.

“ Griffith said he should not take my word; and any person who would be bail with me, must give twenty-four hours notice to Mr. Unite; and then it was as he pleased whether he would grant bail before the Wednesday following, which was next court day. The gentlemen all said, then, that the crowd which was gathered would pull me to-pieces: I said I did not fear them. Mr. Hulme, jun. as I was going down the steps, shouted out, “ Expose him to the fury of the populace.” I turned my head, and said, “ thank you, Sir.” I was then conducted by Mr. Unite down Hydes Cross, Hanging-Ditch, Old Mill-Gate, through Market-Place, St. Ann's-Square, Toll-Lane, up Dean's-Gate, and down Dolefield; Mr. Unite discoursing in the same manner he had done the preceding evening, and the boys shouting. We arrived at length at the New Bailey. My commitment being made, I was conducted to the Governor, and it being about eight o'clock, I was locked up in my cell, and went to bed.

“ June 7. This day I worked at pulling candlewick, thinking it useless to resist, I did it cheerfully. About nine in the morning my attorney, Mr. Dennett, came to see me, took what circumstances he could down; said he would try for bail for me on the morrow.

“ June 8. About half past nine, Mr. Dennett saw me; told me he would procure bail for me this day, if he could; said

the people who had been asked would be bail for me in any thing else ; but in this case they were afraid of hurting themselves by being my bondsmen.

“ June 9. At locking up, the Governor said, he had received a charge, that in the morning I should be locked up two hours longer than the rest, be separately confined during the time I was allowed to stay up, and be put to bed two hours before the rest. This plan was pursued some time.

“ June 10. Monday. I was separately confined all day.

“ June 11. Tuesday. I was separately confined all day. My attorney came about ten o'clock : I wanted to speak in private with him, but was not suffered. The Governor shewed him the charge he had received ; I saw it myself ; it was signed “ John Griffith.”

“ June 12. Wednesday. I was confined separately this forenoon. About one o'clock I was called into court, and liberated by the bail of Mr. Eadon and Mr. M'Callum for 150l. each, and myself in 300l. As soon as I got home with my friends, we were informed by Dunn's wife, that her husband was called up at four o'clock in the morning, and made to drink, by two Irishmen, (one, O'Callagan, a pensioner,) who having got Dunn sufficiently intoxicated, seized him along with Mr. Parker and Mr. Shepley, who were waiting for the purpose at the White Hart, Bank-top ; from thence they conducted him to Paynter's, where he drank a bottle of sherry, and kept saying, he would tell them more, if they would give him more to drink. He was at Griffith's the same day, I believe, where he drank a bottle of shrub : (both Griffith and Paynter told me, after, of this very liquor.) Shepley said, Dunn repeatedly said I was innocent ; but he knew, and if they would give him more liquor, he would tell them more.

“ About

“About eleven o'clock this same evening, I was again arrested at my own door, charged upon the oath of Dunn with cursing the King, and wishing it was in my power, I would guillotine him; which was ever far from my thoughts; likewise with lending him (Dunn) the Address to the Addressers. This pamphlet Dunn took from my house on Sunday, June 2d, without permission, but in my sight. I was took by Mr. Parker, who had many attendants, from whom I afterwards learnt I was picked out of many that Dunn had accused, and Griffith ordered my warrant to be served this night. We went down to the New Bailey, where I staid in the Star Chamber all night.

“ June 13. Thursday. About eight o'clock this morning the task-master came into the Star-chamber, and said, “What! are you here again? I answered, yes. He said, what are you come for now? I answered, for a most false and scandalous lie, upon the oath of a drunken man. He said, What! the man who came last night? I said, his name is Dunn; and he answered, yes; he said, why he was drunk when he came here! I said, are you sure? He answered, yes, I will take my oath of it. This was all in the presence of Peter Ogden, a private in the third regiment of dragoons, now lying in Manchester, who was in the Star Chamber for taking a recruit to another regiment. I should here mention, the task-master said, that Griffith gave orders that Dunn should lie in a good bed, have whatever he pleased, and go wherever he chused within the gates, and be treated with all the civility he could be.

“ I this afternoon saw my wife, who told me Mr. Richard Walker said I should be bailed in the morning. About six o'clock, Mr. Dennett came, said, I must make myself easy for a few days, as Mr. Griffith refused to bail me, until Wednesday next. My wife likewise told me Mr. Thomas Walker was sent after to London, Mr. Jackson was run away, and many others had done the same; and there were  
warrants

warrants against M<sup>c</sup>Callum, Smith, Cheetham, Mitchell, Paul, Barrett, and as many as were known to be members of any of the Societies.

“ My heart was very low: about ten o'clock, Mr. Parker came into the Star-chamber, related, that my brother was almost fretted to death upon my account. As he (my brother) and himself (Parker) had heard Mr. Griffith say he would refuse to take bail for me upon any account. He said, if I would step forward and declare all I knew of the business he would be bound himself, nay, he would even bring Mr. Joseph Hardman to give me his bond, that the whole town of Manchester would support me. My wife and family should be well provided for by the town, myself respected and supported in every thing I wished to undertake, and himself and my brother would, if I owed any thing, pay it for me. He told me, Mr. Griffith was waiting for me: I then followed him into the Turnkey's apartment, where was Mr. Griffith, Mr. Joseph Hardman, Mr. Paynter, and several others. Mr. Griffith then asked me if I had any bail. I answered, I thought I should have in the morning, but it was very late. He said “ Oh! well then,” and immediately signed my commitment. Mr. Joseph Hardman then said, he hoped, I should consider the situation I was in; he was sorry to see me in it; said, if I would step forward, and declare what I knew, he would support me as far as he was able for my families sake. Mr. Griffith said, he would do the same most willingly, but my confession must be free, and I should not consider what Mr. Joseph Hardman and he had said as any promises. I told him, I had supported what I thought was right, and it should be conviction only should make me change sides. I would hear what any one had to say upon the subject, and I would consult with my wife and other relations. It was granted, that my wife should see me the next day, as also my brother; he then gave the Task-master orders to treat me civilly.

Friday,



“ Friday, June 14. This forenoon I was separately confined. At noon the Governor let me have the liberty to walk in the front of his office: Parker had been with me alone in the forenoon: he said, Cheetham, Mitchell, and M<sup>r</sup> Casland, were joined in evidence with Dunn, and I had but a few hours to determine whether I would suffer myself, or save from infamy and destruction my three children, my wife and myself, and leave those, whose property would defend them, to take care of themselves. Mr. Hill advised me to do the same. The Task-master, likewise my brother, Mr. Withnall, who is an attorney, declared that the crime of which Walker and Paul were accused, was High Treason, and, therefore, every one present, where High Treason was, were all principals, there could be no accessaries: begged I would save myself, and said all the town would respect and support me.—I then saw my wife, and wrote a letter to Mr. Griffith, signifying if indemnification would be granted, I would come forward as evidence, support the King and Constitution, and our most excellent form of Government, and do my utmost to bring to justice any one who should either openly or secretly oppose the same.—This letter was took by the Task-master, who returned, that no indemnification could be granted, “ but if I was to be hanged, he (Griffith) would be hanged for me,” struck his breast, and said poor man! poor man! being seemingly convinced that my conscience accused me of having done wrong before time. This was the report which the Taskmaster gave me.

“ About nine o'clock Mr. Griffith, Mr. Joseph Hardman, Parker, and Mr. Paynter came; as we were in the Task-master's parlour some wine was brought in two decanters; we drank the King and Constitution; Griffith asked me very many questions about a bit of paper, which Mr. Walker had in his hand, tore it, and said, “ I would as soon guillotine him as tear this bit of paper.” This I positively denied ever having heard or seen: he replied, No, no, Dunn gives a very full evidence.—Mr. Joseph Hardman

man bid me recollect, if I could not remember a transaction of that kind. I answered I never remembered any such a circumstance. Many other questions against Paul and Walker were put to me. Mr. Griffith said he wanted the great men; he wanted "to pick his birds."—Hardman seeing the perplexity of my mind desired Griffith to go home: both Griffith and Paynter seemed to be intoxicated: Griffith said I had said nothing at all; I knew more, and he would not be trifled with: (though I said more than what was true) they then departed, and left me to a night of the greatest anguish of mind I ever had experienced.

"Saturday, June 15th.—After a sleepless night, I rambled, having permission, round the gardens, till about ten o'clock; when Parker came, who told me my brother and Hallows set off the evening before to Liverpool, when no doubt they would take McCallum and Smith. Mr. Richard Walker, he said, set out about twelve o'clock at night to London; Mr. Thomas Walker was in custody in London: it would be a very nice matter to get myself admitted evidence, he represented; as Mr. Griffith was in no wise satisfied with what I said: he was convinced I screened Walker, and he expected my evidence to be as full as Dunn's, as Dunn said, I knew more than he did: he then said how much interested Mr. Joseph Hardman, Mr. Paynter, Mr. Withnall, himself, and very many gentlemen were in my favour, now they saw I should prove myself a loyal and honest man to my King and Country; told me, to recollect every circumstance I could before the evening, when Mr. Griffiths and others would come down, and if my account pleased, my pardon should be wrote for.—This day I had permission to see my wife; (but he had talked to her before, as I understood afterwards) whom, however, I must not speak to, unless he was present, and no whispering was allowed; about eleven o'clock a person who I understood was Counsellor Hay, or some name like it, came: he heard what Dunn said, then what I said; said Dunn and me should not be allowed to communicate our depositions

tions to each other: but this counsel was not followed. Griffith and another gentleman was present.—Counsellor Hay looked at the papers, books, and pamphlets; wanted to know how many constituted the meeting, and how many men in Walker's employ were there the first night: not being certain, we conjectured fifteen members; he said very little: as soon as he was gone, Parker and my wife came, to whom as before I must say nothing in private. Parker went up with my wife, to see what was in McCallum's trunks.

“About half past nine Griffith and Paynter came: (Parker and my wife came before) I told them, I was very eager to support them. I had desired Parker to stop McCallum's trunks, and, if any body directed them, he and Smith might be found by that means. Desired them to send to Sheffield, and search Gales's shop, and I was sure they might have something against him, and also to attack Mr. William Camage, who I said was Secretary to the Constitutional Society, and if he, his books, &c. could but be got, they would open a vast field of information to them.

“My pardon was sent for this night; I did not read the letter, but Griffith told me it was for it, and I saw him sign it. Seeing me so zealous in their cause, I was ordered to board with the Task-master, to have a moderate allowance of drink, but not to make Dunn jealous.—This was Mr. Griffith's order, who related when Dunn was at his house, he drunk a whole bottle of shrub except one glass. Paynter said, he had drunk the *same day* a bottle of sherry at his house, and the Task-master remarked “it was no wonder he was so very drunk that night then.” Griffith replied, laughing, “But I believe he had drunk all day and began very early.” Paynter said, Yes. Griffith said, I had not come up to Dunn's evidence: I must think on something more; it was of no use what I had said. After a deal of common discourse, they went away about twelve o'clock, and I immediately went to bed.

“ Sunday, June 16. I walked round the gardens almost all forenoon : about four o'clock, Mr. Joseph Hardman, Mr. Brandt, and many others came ; Hardman told them, I would now be an honest man.—Brandt said I had served him ; I was an honest servant, but too stiff. I said I was stiff enough at sometimes : he said it might be easily looked over when a man was honest ; he had no other fault to find with me ; Hardman said I should gain a deal of respect by acting the part I did. They then went away.

“ Parker then came (said my wife and sister, whom he had seen would visit me this evening, but as it was very wet, I did not see them this day.) He staid tea and we all drank it together, Parker, Dunn, myself, and the Task-master, and family : he departed soon after, and I went to bed soon : his (Parker's) discourse was the old over again.

“ Monday, June 17.—Parker was with me by ten o'clock, said, Mr. Griffith was convinced I screened Walker ; he told me, I was doing myself an injury by so doing : they did not want to take Walker's life ; but something which would subject him to fine and imprisonment ; as they knew it was him and others like him, who had led the ignorant astray, and they did not wish to hurt any poor man : he bid me remember what I could to criminate Walker, and repeated again they did not want to touch his life ; he reminded me of the advantages I should reap, and of the dangerous situation I should leave myself in, if I could not declare what would be thought sufficient to form an evidence for the crown.

“ Tuesday, June 18.—This morning, very soon, Parker came down : he particularly desired me to be serious : told me I should see a person, who I had never seen before ; said upon the account I gave my life depended.—The Task-master came to me ; and said, if I did not declare to the full extent of my knowledge I most certainly should be hanged, as

my pardon was denied, and a person was come down, sent for the purpose by Government, to examine Dunn's evidence, and hear what I had to say.

“ I now applied to Dunn to know what evidence he had given; who said that he had declared that the Societies were formed for the purpose of learning the manual exercise, to assist the French to erect a form of Government on a fresh foundation, and to abolish Kingly power. He had sworn against Walker, that he had said he would as soon guillotine the King, as tear that bit of paper; this he said Walker had in his hand, when he made the expression, and had been discoursing on the effects of war to this country; said, that he had sworn likewise, that at Walker's, men learned the manual exercise, to assist the French, should they land: and that from seven to twenty every meeting, at least, up to the six weeks last past, did learn it for that very purpose: and that Oliver Pearfall was the first, who did learn it them; and if I would not join his evidence, Oliver Pearfall must be sent for. Against Paul, he swore, that when the address from the united Irishmen addressed to the people of Scotland was read, he (Paul) did say how much he paid for an estate there, and said it was to support the Lord Lieutenant, who was King, and had 3000l. per annum, that he curs'd the King and all Kings, and said, if Scotland would join Ireland, it would take the soldiers, and if the French landed he would assist them. Against Mr. Jackson, George McCallum, Smith, Barrett, and myself, he swore, that we cursed the King, and wished to guillotine him.

“ Here the person spoke of, appeared with Griffith; he examined Dunn. Whilst he was doing so, the Task-master, who I believe did it out of charity to me, exhorted me, “ for God's sake, and my family, to join Dunn's evidence,” as did also Parker, who went into the parlour again. When Dunn's examination was finished, I was called up; the person said he would tell me his opinion; which was, he thought I should be tried, but if I chose to say any thing, he would take it down; but it

would neither do me good nor harm.—I then said I would let him know what I had to say upon the business.—Here he wrote down what I said, which if it never appears I hope my friends will excuse my relating, and if it ever does, I declare it was the extorted efforts of a poor man to save himself and family, as I thought then, from shame and misery; encouraged thereto by the promises of persons, whom even then I held in abhorrence, but thought I had no refuge else; I accidentally saw Mr. Paul, who assured me I should be supported. I almost blessed my imprisonment, and I am convinced, it was the Almighty's doing, that I might acquaint my friends of what they were accused; and by having alone stuck to truth, in the minutes I have penned, I hope the counsel for myself and friends will be able to defeat these vile machinations.

“Wednesday, June 19.—This day about noon I was liberated until the Sessions by the bail of Mr. Allen Jackson and Mr. Roberts. But so anxious are those agents of the devil who would wish for the gratification of their revenge even at the expence of perjuring the accusers, and taking away the life of the innocent, that I am informed, constables stopt every bridge to take me for some new crime of which I know nothing.

“BENJAMIN BOOTH.”

“Manchester, June 21, 1793.”

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The detail of the treatment of Oliver Pearfall has already been given in the Appendix to the Trial No. 18. \* I have only to add, that the Deputy Constable therein mentioned, who informed Pearfall of one person who had received twelve guineas for his testimony, and was gone home again, was Kinnaston, the joint witness with Dunn upon the trial.

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\* It would be unnecessary to enlarge, in this publication, on any circumstances, or particulars, that have already been related in the TRIAL, or in the APPENDIX to it.

And

And that Callaghan therein mentioned has declared, that he had been applied to, to join Dunn's evidence, which he would have done, had it gone only to fine and a little imprisonment; but that when he found there was meant to be blood in the case, he would have nothing to do with it.

Some time about this period was sold in the streets of Manchester the following hand-bill, in which the reader will remark the *merciful* intention of the concluding paragraph:—

“ *Some PARTICULARS relating to a NEW DISCOVERY, which contains an ACCOUNT of the ACCOMPLICES of TOM PAINE'S JOURNEYMEN, who were taken by Warrant, and committed to Prison on Friday last.* ”

“ The great number of bills that have been circulated in Manchester, since the apprehending of Tom Paine's Journeymen, has given rise to a suspicion, that a Constitutional Society of this town must have had some concern in it, therefore it was thought necessary (in order to preserve peace, and in future prevent such proceedings,) to investigate the society; in which were found some books and papers, which were immediately seized, and yesterday several of the members were taken into custody, and committed to prison.

“ The charges to be brought forward against them, are, it is believed, of a very serious nature.—The affair has caused much conversation in the town, and no small bustle with those concerned in it, as measures are pursuing that will bring the business to a speedy conclusion, and, it is expected, to the satisfaction of the public at large.

“ From this circumstance, there is reason to suspect that the COOPER (who was lately in such full business) will now be out of employ; also the black cat be driven from the family; and the two famous WALKERS (who are also related

related to the above) be shortly overtaken; and should either of these pedestrians meet with an antagonist whose abilities are superior, so as to hurry them from this stage of life, no expence will be spared to have them interred in a manner suitable to their character, as a PAUL is already got, and a room is to be upholstered with black paper."

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Benjamin Booth being indicted and tried at the Manchester Sessions in July, 1793, was convicted on the sole testimony of Thomas Dunn, of damning the King. His testimony was directly contradicted by Booth's sister. As the examinations of Dunn and of this woman contain some curious facts I here present them to the reader.

THOMAS DUNN,

*Cross-examined by MR. LLOYD.*

Q. What are you ?

A. A weaver.

Q. Where did you come from ? What part of Ireland ?

A. From Athlone in the county of Westmeath.

Q. How long have you been in Manchester ?

A. About three years.

Q. What was your business in Ireland ?

A. A weaver.

Q. Did you leave a wife in Ireland ?

A. She came after me a few weeks.

Q. Did you leave one wife in Ireland ?

A. She followed me some time after.

Q. Was



Q. Was you ever employed by the East India Company ?

A. No.

Q. Was you ever employed as a crimp ?

A. No.

Q. Not to pick up foldiers ?

A. No.

Q. I believe you are not a Protestant ?

A. No—yes—I was a Roman Catholic.

Q. Was you excommunicated from the Roman Catholic church ?

A. No, I defy any person to prove it.

Q. How long have you been acquainted with Booth ?

A. Seven or eight months particularly.

Q. Who were present at his house with McCallum and Smith ? Were his wife and sister in the room ?

A. Yes.

Q. You went there at six o'clock ?

A. Yes.

Q. You sent for Burton ale ?

A. Yes.

Q. This Burton ale is very strong. You drank freely of it ?

A. Yes.

Q. You never have been baptiz'd ? \*

A. No.

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\* Vide the Trial, to which this is a Sequel, page 16. where Dunn swore that this question had never been asked him.

Q. You

Q. You joined in wishing the French success ?

A. Yes—and am sorry for it.

Q. You were no friend to Kings, then ?

A. No, but have changed my principles.

Q. How long have you lived in the New Bailey ?

A. Six weeks.

Q. You surely was not accused of any crime: Did you stay in prison by your own consent ?

A. No. I was taken up for circulating a seditious paper on War, an Address to Manchester, signed Sydney.

Q. At that time you loved a little sedition ?

A. Yes.

Q. I am told you were not very shy at that time in speaking. Did you bring these principles from Ireland ?

A. No.

Q. You don't recollect how much you had drunk from six to twelve o'clock ?

A. No.

Q. You fix the precise time the words were spoken, about ten o'clock, and staid drinking till twelve ?

A. Yes.

Q. Was the previous conversation about the Fast day ?

A. I don't recollect, I drank Thomas Paine's health: we disapproved of the Fast day.

Q. What was you charged with, when you was taken up ?

A. With circulating the war paper, and was taken before the magistrate.

Q. And

Q. And you immediately gave information—did you drink some shrub and wine ?

A. I did not drink shrub and wine, but some good porter; it was the next day I drank shrub.

Q. Did you send for the porter yourself ?

A. No.

Q. Did you drink the porter before you turned evidence ?

A. Before and after I turned evidence—I had it from the man who took me up.

Q. Had you a good deal of porter ?

A. Pretty well of it.

Q. How long after you were taken up, did you turn evidence ?

A. Immediately on my being taken up I turned evidence, I had resolved to do it a month before I was detected.

Q. Was you drunk when you fully resolved to turn informer ?

A. No. After I turned informer, I got pretty forward in liquor; at most times I am fond of liquor.

Q. You was then brought here ?

A. Yes.

Q. And have been confined ever since ?

A. Yes, seven weeks next Wednesday.

Q. Has there been any promise made you that you should be released, if Booth is convicted ?

A. No.

Q

Q. Have

Q. Have you been confined in the cells ?

A. I have been three or four times in the council chamber.

Q. Was you fet to watch the bridge ?

A. At the time Mr. Paul was here, to see who came to see him, and who would not.

Q. Then you had the custody of Mr. Paul ?

A. No.

Q. Though you say you had no promise, don't you expect to be let out if Booth is convicted ?

A. No.

Q. When was you discharged ?

A. Mr. Griffith there (pointing to the bench) desired me to stop, and said I was no prisoner.

Q. Do you know M<sup>c</sup>Callum's dog ?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you get any thing by that trick ?

[Here Mr. Lloyd was interrupted by the Counsel for the Prosecution.]

Q. Did you drink wine at Mr. Paynter's ?

A. I don't recollect any thing of it.

MARY BOOTH,

*Cross-examined by MR. TOPPING.*

Q. Was " God save the King " sung that night, or what were the songs ?

A. I don't recollect.

Q. When did you mention any thing of these transactions?

A. Last Thursday.

Q. Where was it you told Mr. Dennett these words?

A. I went to Mr. Dennett, because Dunn had said these words on the Fast day, and I had heard Dunn had sworn them against my brother, and Mr. Parker told me Dunn had sworn the contrary—that was contrary to the truth.

Q. When?

A. On Saturday afternoon, Parker came to my house the Saturday afternoon, the second time after my brother was taken up, and told me, Dunn had sworn against my brother, and that it would go very hard with him, and desired I would strain my memory to assist my brother, for to say something against Mr. Walker, that would either hang him, or drive him the country, and said, that was all they wanted, and he was sent up from the justices at the New-Bailey.

Q. Who was present when this conversation took place?

A. Mr. Parker and myself.

### JOHN PARKER.

*Examined by MR. JUSTICE BAYLEY.*

Q. When was *Benjamin Booth* apprehended?

A. On Wednesday the 12th of June.

Q. What did you do, or where was you on the Saturday afterwards?

A. A few days after I went to Booth's sister, to desire her, if she knew any thing respecting the business of *Benjamin Booth*, to relate it.

Q<sub>2</sub>

Q. Did

Q. Did you mention any thing respecting *Mr. Walker* ?

A. *Something was said, but I don't recollect what.*

Q. Did you desire her to recollect—telling this woman to strain her memory ?

A. No.

Q. Did you tell her, that you was ordered by the magistrates to say any thing to her ?

A. No.

Q. Did you say that her testimony might have an effect to drive *Mr. Walker* out of the country ?

A. No.

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Mr. *Thomas Butterworth Bayley*, the chairman of the Manchester Sessions, gave strength to *Parker's* evidence in his own favour, by declaring, after *Parker* had been examined, that he knew him very well, and that he (*Parker*) was as respectable a man as any in *Manchester*; which declaration I understand had great weight with the Jury. A gentleman who was present whilst *Booth* was tried, and who had a very indifferent opinion of *Parker*, asked Mr. *Bayley*, during the sitting of the court, what knowledge he had of *Parker*; Mr. *Bayley* replied, *he knew nothing of him, but from often seeing him in that court, and that he appeared to be an active special constable.\**

The Rev. Mr. Griffith, junior, told a person, through whom it comes to me, that *Dunn* was a long time before he would say any thing, but that, he (*Griffith*) put out with a decanter of strong *Hollands gin*, or shrub, and made the dog drunk, and then he began to open: that he shewed him (*Dunn*) his

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\* Soon after *Parker* gave this evidence, he became insolvent; and under circumstances which were very far from justifying the character so publicly given him by Mr. Justice *Bayley*.

examination when he came to himself, and that he had always stood to it since. The same person has also heard the reverend magistrate declare that he would not leave Walker a pair of shoes—he would ruin him. In conformity to this, Griffith, junior, has also declared in the presence of other persons, his readiness to stab Walker, and that he would hang him if possible. His treatment of Dunn is farther corroborated by the following declaration.—

William Robinson, Task-master, at the New Bailey prison, says, when Thomas Dunn was placed under his care by the Reverend John Griffith, his orders were to humour and indulge him in any thing he had a mind to drink : he, therefore, let him have wine, rum, Hollands, beer, porter, &c. his orders were also that he should dine at the Task-master's table, have a good bed, &c. and Dunn's wife frequently lay with her husband in the said prison; says, Dunn frequently got drunk, and at that time always wanted more liquor than he thought proper to give him : Dunn would then be exceedingly abusive, and frequently got liquor from the Turnkey. Dunn boarded with the Task-master from the 13th of June to the 6th of August, 1793, nearly the whole of which time he says, Dunn considered himself a prisoner; says, Dunn borrowed of the governor, Mr. Furnival, eleven shillings, in the name of John Griffith, but don't know whether the governor has been paid again or not. Robinson says, Dunn wanted him to charge two guineas a week for his board and liquor, and to give him a share of the overplus money; says, Dunn did not receive the prison bread. Griffith gave Robinson orders to let him have at least four or five pints of beer or porter besides other liquors per day. Dunn had also ten shillings in money of Robinson, which were paid him as part of the said bill for Dunn's board and liquors, also for wine, eating and liquor for Parker, Dunn and Booth, and for Dunn's and Booth's wives, amounting in the whole to £. 10. 6s. 6d.

## COPY of the BILL.

“ The Rev. Mr. John Griffith, Dr. Manchester.

“ In account with Wm. Robinfon, Task-master.

	£.	s.	d.
“ To board wages for Thomas Dunn, from June the 13th, to August 6, 1793 - - -	7	16	0
“ Ordered for Mr. Parker, Mrs. Booth, &c. to wine - - - - -	0	5	0
“ To porter - - - - -	0	4	6
“ To victuals for Mrs. Booth - - - - -	0	2	0
“ To ditto for Mr. Parker - - - - -	0	2	0
“ To small beer, paper, and candles - - - - -	0	1	0
“ To Benjamin Booth's board four days - - - - -	0	10	0
“ To wine for Booth's, Dunn's, &c. wives - - - - -	0	2	6
	<hr/>	9	3
“ On Dunn's account to be added - - - - -	1	3	6
	<hr/>	10	6
	<hr/>	10	6

“ *New Bailey, Aug. 7th, 1793.*”

Wm. Robinfon was paid the above account, in a check upon Peel's bank, by Mr. Simpson, in Brown-street, “ Treasurer of an Association for preserving Constitutional Order and Liberty, as well as Property, against the various efforts of Levellers and Republicans, entered into at Manchester, the 11th day of Dec. 1792.”

Robinfon says, when he first saw Dunn, it was at John Griffith's, and Dunn was then drunk. Griffith told Robinfon, that Dunn had then drank a bottle of shrub, or sherry, but he don't remember which. Dunn told Robinfon, he thought of going to America, and they had disappointed him, otherwise he should not have done any thing of this kind, meaning, swearing against Walker, Paul, or others: he then said, he wished he was dead: he also told Robinfon he was to have had his place as Task-master at the New Bailey, but for his having to appear



in evidence against Walker, Paul, Collier, Jackson, and others, and that it would look bad if he had it. Robinson says, Dunn hurt his fingers, and desired his wife to give him a little rum to bathe them; she brought out a bottle nearly full; but Robinson being called away, Dunn stole the rum, and drank it. As soon as Mrs. Robinson missed the rum, she went into Dunn's room, and accused him with stealing the rum, and asked him, if he was not afraid it would kill him; he answered, he wished it would, for he wished he was dead. Dunn was not well for two or three days after. Robinson says, his face seemed inflamed and red the next day. As Robinson was ordered to indulge Dunn in every thing, he had leave to go with him to Blakely Rush-burying, or wake. Dunn ordered five shillings worth of liquor, and placed the reckoning to John Griffith. Robinson thinks the landlord's name is Travis, but is not sure; it was a publick house on the left hand side. Robinson enlisted Dunn at that house to cause others to enlist; says, he enlisted two other men, but Griffith let them off. Robinson was, and is, a recruiting sergeant, (that is, he has beating orders,) but at this time, was also Task-master at the New Bailey prison.

It appears, however, that Dunn had other resources than his friend the Rev. Justice. He applied one time in particular at Mr. Joseph Hardman's (then one of the chief constables of the town, and the person so frequently mentioned in Booth's narrative) for a little money, and said, he could do with ten guineas for the present. Whether he had it or not I do not know, as Mr. Joseph Hardman was at that time in London.

The activity of this Reverend Magistrate seems to have obtained him much credit with the High Church Party in Manchester, and its neighbourhood: some of whom, in testimony of their approbation, published the following advertisement in Harrop's Manchester Mercury of July 9th, 1793.

“ Salford,

*“ Salford, July 5, 1793.*

“ At a meeting of the Society for protecting Liberty and  
“ Property from Republicans and Levellers, held at Mr. T.  
“ Hardman’s, Crown and Cushion,

“ It was unanimously resolved,

“ That the thanks of this Society be transmitted to the  
“ Reverend J. Griffith, M. A. one of his majesty’s justices  
“ of the peace, for his laudable exertions in bringing to  
“ justice those who in any wise offend against our most ex-  
“ cellent form of Government, and that the following letter  
“ be printed in both the Manchester papers, and signed by  
“ the chairman.

“ Sir,

“ Truly sensible of the many blessings we enjoy under our  
“ present established form of Government, and likewise  
“ being fully persuaded of the advantages and utility, which  
“ must naturally ensue from the Magistracy being properly  
“ supported.

“ As a Society which is founded on true Constitutional  
“ principles—Permit us, Sir, to testify our acknowledge-  
“ ment to you, for your very able, spirited, and laudable  
“ exertions in bringing to light the hidden views of the in-  
“ veterate foes of this country, and by your indefatigable  
“ exertions have almost entirely rooted them out.

“ We think it our duty, thus publicly to declare our  
“ sentiments, and acknowledge that through your activity  
“ and justly admired spirit, the factious crew of evil de-  
“ signing men, plotting to subvert our much admired Go-  
“ vernment, and substitute Anarchy and Confusion, have  
“ been entirely frustrated, and their vile and wicked de-  
“ signs brought to light.

“ We

“ We are ready on all occasions to step forward and support the Magistracy, and bring to justice all those who wickedly, and maliciously, offend against our most excellent form of Government.”

“ JOHN GILLER, Chairman.”

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During all these proceedings, although the Reverend Doctor Griffith, also a Magistrate, the father of the Justice so often mentioned, did not take a very public, he certainly did not take a very idle part. He has been heard to declare, that if they (meaning his party) could but get Buller (meaning Judge Buller) down, they should get some of them (meaning myself and the other defendants) hanged.

The warrants issued against myself and some of the other defendants, whose Trial I have already published, being for high treason, it is reasonable to conclude, that the Reverend Magistrate, in the common course of his duty, \* would transmit an account of the business to his Majesty's Secretary of State.

That he did so is presumable from Mr. Shelton the clerk of the Arraigns † being sent down to Manchester to take depositions. Mr. Secretary Dundas, at least, could not be

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\* Vide Burn's Justice, Article Treason.

† Mr. Shelton was, I am informed, at Mr. Nathaniel Milne's, one of the agents for the prosecution against myself and the other defendants, during his (Mr. Shelton's) stay in Manchester; and, I understand, Mr. Shelton blamed Mr. Griffith very much, and made a report of Dunn's evidence by no means favourable to the further prosecution of the proceedings against us. Mr. Griffith, indeed, has confessed that “ they could not convict *Walker* of high treason now, because “ they had lost the evidence of *Booth*, who was bailed, and “ they had only one witness; but as they had begun, he thought they should “ go on.” Mr. N. Milne once observed, it was very extraordinary indeed, that, although he had a list of several hundred Democrats, he could not procure another evidence.

ignorant of what was going forward, as appears by my letters to him, and the conversation he had with Mr. Wharton on the subject of my application.\*

In additional proof of this communication, the Reverend Mr. Griffith has declared, that he is indemnified by Government; and that at one time having only a verbal promise he was very uneasy, but that he had obtained a written indemnification that morning: i. e. the morning he made this declaration.

Immediately previous to the trial at Lancaster, of which I have given an account, there was a kind of apprehension amongst some of the High Church Party, whether well or ill founded I know not, of Dunn's running away from compunction of conscience, or some other reason. One of the zealous adherents of the Church and King club, just before the trial, dispatched the following notice from Lancaster, which was stuck up at Mr. Brierley's, the Golden-cross Tavern in Manchester, to cheer the drooping spirits of the friends to the good old cause.

“ Sir,

“ I am truly happy to say that Dunn is this moment arrived, and is now in this house: let my clerk shew this  
“ postscript at Mr. Harrop's shop for the satisfaction of the  
“ friends of the King and Constitution.”

How the trial terminated, the public already know; but the reader will naturally enquire, by what means the prosecutor Dunn, who was not worth one farthing, should be able to bear the expence of an unsuccessful prosecution, of which the pecuniary burthen fell so heavy on the defendants who were acquitted?

I do not know who paid Messrs. Milne and Serjeant, the Manchester agents for the prosecution, nor can I yet tell at  
whose

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\* Vide Appendix to the Trial, p. 107—115.

whose command, and at whose charge, Mr. Shelton first came down from London.

If individuals have taken all this trouble, borne this heavy expence, it is singular they should remain unknown; and it is hard, for their sakes, that conjecture should be busy in pointing out the persons, or should balance upon the motives of private hatred, party rancour, and public spirit.

If the public have defrayed this expence, if the Officers of Government have it in their power to apply the purse of the nation to institute suits against individuals, whose opposition to public abuses may render them obnoxious, there is an end of the liberty of speech, the liberty of the press, and the liberty of the subject. There is no standing against the forms and fictions of the law, when put in motion by the purse of the Treasury. Of what consequence is it, whether a man be imprisoned in a jail for life, because he cannot pay a thousand pounds as the expence of a law-suit, or a thousand pounds as a fine? How many innocent and worthy men are there, whom the defence of the accusations against us \* would have compleatly ruined! Gold may be bought  
too

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\* The expence and trouble attending the prosecutions in which I have been involved, form a part only of the injuries which I have sustained for venturing to be a friend to the rights of the people. The proofs I have of the insidious and systematic, though unsuspected, attacks upon my character and credit as a merchant, both at home and abroad, by those who expected, and perhaps wished that I should be overwhelmed by the prosecutions against me, are numerous. But were I to pursue the offenders by legal means, my whole life would be spent in litigation.

There are, indeed, some individuals, whose generous and decided conduct on the occasion of this trial has made an impression upon my mind, which will never be erased; but the general treatment I have experienced has been such as I have stated. On other occasions, besides the present trial, the course of justice has been obstructed, on account of my real or supposed political principles.

too dear, and so may justice: I should be glad to obtain it, but I cannot afford it.

Such are the facts, which I have thought it right to submit to the consideration of the public. The reader will draw his own conclusions from this narrative. My own experience has perfectly convinced me,

1st, That of all the corporations (the privileged orders) of this kingdom, the CLERGY are the most sore upon the subject of reformation. The political corporations, in general, seem to confess, that they might possibly bear some slight excision by the hand of a dexterous but delicate operator; but the Clergy, cling with the utmost pertinacity to the whole and every (even the minutest) part of their system: it is a "*noli me tangere*;" it will bear no reform: they seem decidedly convinced, that it would die under the operation of amendment. I believe the borough of Old Sarum will be much sooner given up than the Athanasian Creed.

2dly, The ancient conservators of the peace were elected by the people. These have been superseded by Justices of the Peace nominated by the influence of the Crown. Next to the Clergy (very many of whom are also Justices) this set of men have been the most active against political discussion and reformation, and the most prominent and obsequious agents of

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I do not quite understand upon what authority letters, such as the following, were *unsolicitedly* sent by the Under-Sheriff to some of the Jurors summoned upon our trial for a conspiracy:

" SIR,

" The Sheriff will excuse your attendance on the Jury at the next Affizes.

" Your obedient servant,

" JOHN PILKINGTON."

" *Presten, 24th March, 1794.*"

ministerial

ministerial alarm. The severities of the Turkish oppressor of millions are little felt by the multitude, in comparison with those of the petty delegates of superior tyranny, who swarm throughout that despotic empire. Nor is the weight of tythes and taxes in this country a burthen so heavy upon a neighbourhood, as the affected loyalty of a few upstart, thorough-paced, ministerial Justices of the Peace. When the day of reformation shall come, (as come it must) it is to be hoped the people will reclaim their ancient privilege of electing these magistrates themselves. Too many of them of late days have been recruiting officers for the war, instead of Justices of the Peace.

3dly, That there is little or no dependance to be placed upon those, who zealously mix religious with political questions, or who only from sectarian motives join in political societies. The Dissenters of this kingdom have been at the commencement of almost every subject of liberal discussion of late years. But, however consistently and disinterestedly many of them have acted, they have, as a body, constantly fallen short of their own principles; they have excited opposition, which they have never compleatly supported; and through fear, or some other motive, they have been so strongly the advocates of an overstrained moderation, that they have rather been the enemies than the friends of those who have ventured the most, and effected the most for the rights of the people.

4thly, That in all political societies, beside due caution in the admission of members, all the proceedings ought to be conducted on the supposition, that they may, at one time or other, or by one mean or other, be made public, commented on, and even perverted, by the adversaries of the principles they may contain. It is evident, that the habit of expressing with accuracy and forethought the sentiments intended to be conveyed, is of very great importance to the future safety, as well as the reputation, of such societies. The want  
of

of this, which education contributes so essentially to supply, has been the great stumbling block of the societies which have been formed amongst the poorer classes of the people.— They have not wanted integrity, good meaning, or good sense; but they have failed in the phraseological caution necessary in critical times, and to persons whose proceedings would infallibly be attacked by every quibble of legal ingenuity.

5thly, That almost all the attacks upon individuals, which the enemies of Liberty have directly or indirectly ventured upon, and which have kept in the back ground so many men of good intentions, but whom an excess of caution, or a timid kind of prudence has prevented from acting, has been owing to the want of steadiness and concert amongst the friends of Liberty themselves.—The timid desert the bold, till the bold become cautious of supporting each other with their presence, and unable to do so with their property.

Neither the Birmingham riots, nor the Manchester riots, nor the Nottingham riots, nor the prosecutions, public or private, which have taken place, would have happened, had not the timidity and want of union amongst the friends of freedom, emboldened their enemies. Temper and moderation are truly valuable; but the professionally temperate and moderate men, have been the first deserters from, and have uniformly done infinite mischief to, the rights of the people.

6thly, That men who mean to do good, must not look for their reward, or the effect of their exertions, during the existing generation. Such an effect they may, indeed, live to see, but it cannot be counted upon. Those who are not capable of acting upon this hazard, are not the men, upon whom the public can fully depend; or who can pursue a great plan of public utility with satisfaction to themselves.



7thly, That the sum and substance of all the hazard which the friends of freedom run, of all the evils which the people suffer, and of all the political iniquity, past, present, and to come, is founded upon, and comprized in, the want of a complete and universal system of public education.

Why are the mass of the people, the poorer classes, the swinish multitude, as Mr. Burke contumeliously terms them, so generally adverse to their friends, and so blindly the dupes of their oppressors?

Because they are ignorant.

Why do the middling class, the more informed amongst the public, hesitate upon self-evident propositions, wherein they are so materially interested?

Because they are at best but half informed—because they have been in the habit of believing that men, who are often more ignorant than themselves, have the exclusive monopoly of political knowledge.

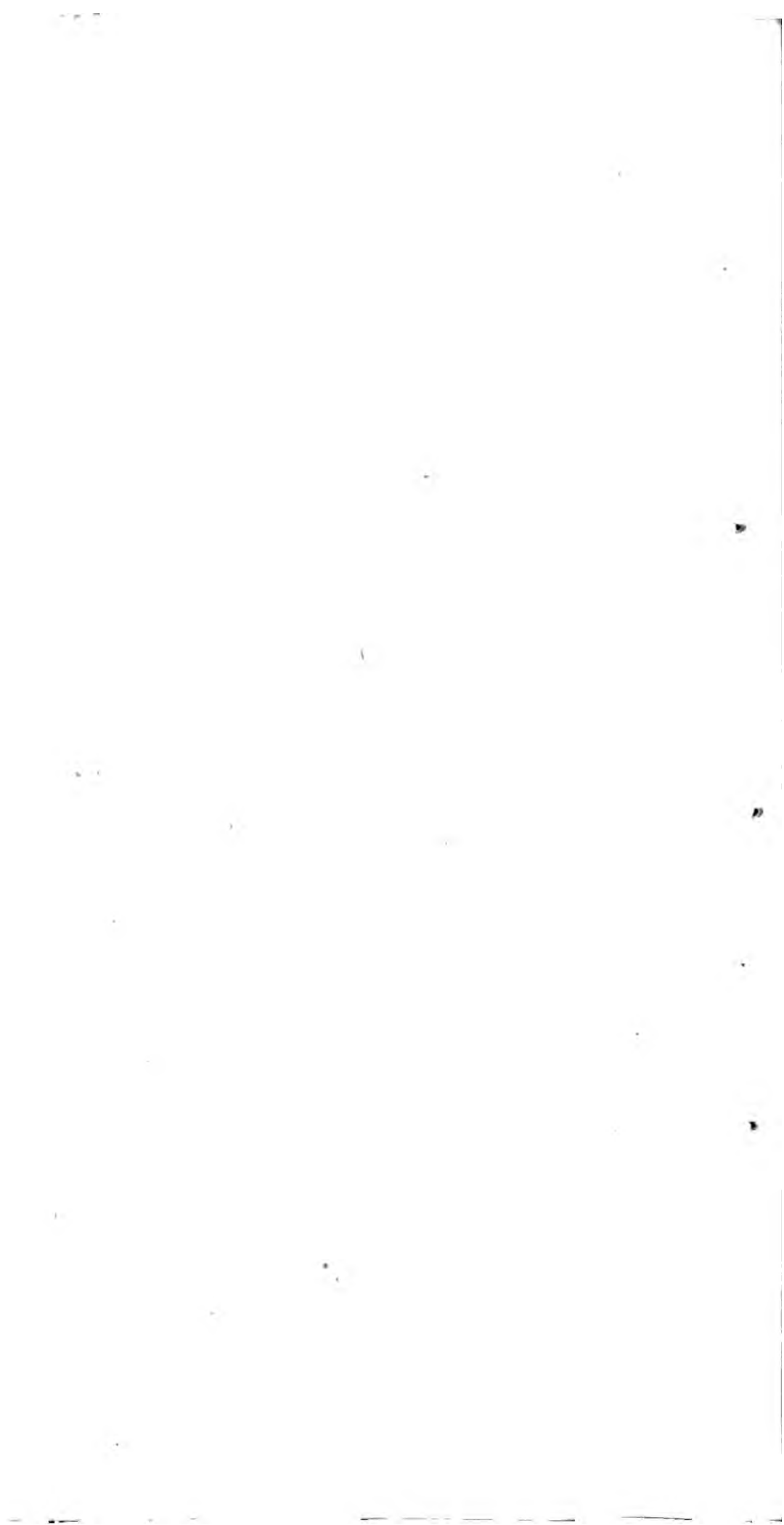
Why do the efforts of the most ardent and enlightened men of the nation, upon political subjects, become gradually weak, careless, ineffectual, unsuccessful?

Because they know and feel the difficulty of persuading men who are ignorant of, and therefore dead to, their own interests—they know that the seed of knowledge is sown upon barren ground; they doubt of its growth, they despair of seeing any effect from their exertions; and they are unwilling to become the victims of those, whom they are labouring to serve.

Ignorance—Public Ignorance is the sole cause of Political Evil, and the great Bane of Human Happiness.

THOMAS WALKER.

APPENDIX.



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## A P P E N D I X.

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### EXTRACTS *from* Mr. ARTHUR YOUNG'S TRAVELS *in* FRANCE,

During the Years 1787, 1788, and 1789.—p. 532 to 546, &c. Chap. XXII.  
*First Edition.* 1792.

#### ON THE REVOLUTION OF FRANCE.

“ THE gross infamy which attended *Letters de Cachet*, and  
“ the Bastile, during the whole reign of Louis XV. made them  
“ esteemed in England, by people not well informed, as the  
“ most prominent features of the Despotism of France. They  
“ were certainly carried to an excess hardly credible; to the  
“ length of being sold with blanks, to be filled up with  
“ names, at the pleasure of the purchaser; who was thus able,  
“ in the gratification of private revenge, to tear a man from  
“ the bosom of his family, and bury him in a dungeon, where  
“ he would exist forgotten, and die unknown! \*—But such  
“ excesses

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\* “ An anecdote, which I have from an authority to be depended on, will  
“ explain the profligacy of government in respect to these arbitrary imprison-  
“ ments. Lord Albermarle, when Ambassador in France, about the year  
“ 1753, negotiating the fixing of the limits of the American Colonies, which  
“ three years after produced the war, calling one day on the Minister for  
“ Foreign Affairs, was introduced, for a few minutes, into his cabinet, while  
“ he finished a short conversation in the apartment, in which he usually re-  
“ ceived those who conferred with him. As his Lordship walked backwards  
“ and forwards, in a very small room (a French Cabinet is never a large one)  
“ he could not help seeing a paper, lying on the table, written in a large  
“ legible hand, and containing a list of the prisoners in the Bastile, in which  
“ the first name was Gordon. When the Minister entered, Lord Albermarle  
“ apologized for his involuntarily remarking the paper;—the other replied,

“ excesses could not be common in any country ; and they  
 “ were reduced almost to nothing from the accession of the  
 “ present King. The great mass of the people, by which I  
 “ mean the lower and middle ranks, could suffer very little  
 “ from such engines ; and as few of them are objects of  
 “ jealousy, had there been nothing else to complain of, it is  
 “ not probable they would ever have been brought to take  
 “ arms. The abuses attending the levy of taxes were heavy  
 “ and universal. The kingdom was parcelled into generalities,  
 “ with an intendant at the head of each, into whose hands the  
 “ whole power of the Crown was delegated for every thing,  
 “ except the military authority ; but particularly for all  
 “ affairs of finance. The generalities were subdivided into  
 “ elections, at the head of which was a *Sub-delegué*, appointed  
 “ by the intendant. The rolls of the *Taille*, *Capitation*,  
 “ *Vingtiemes*, and other taxes, were distributed among dis-  
 “ tricts, parishes, and individuals, at the pleasure of the  
 “ intendant, who could exempt, change, add, or diminish, at  
 “ pleasure. Such an enormous power constantly acting, and  
 “ from which no man was free, must, in the nature of things,  
 “ degenerate, in many cases, into absolute tyranny. It must  
 “ be obvious, that the friends, acquaintances, and dependents  
 “ of the intendant, and of all his *Sub-delegués*, and the friends  
 “ of these friends, to a long chain of dependence, might be

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“ that it was not of the least consequence, for they made no secret of the names.  
 “ Lord A. then said, that he had seen the name of Gordon first in the list,  
 “ and he begged to know, as in all probability the person of this name was a  
 “ British subject, on what account he had been put into the Bastile. The  
 “ Minister told him, that he knew nothing of the matter, but would make  
 “ the proper inquiries. The next time he saw Lord Albermarle, he informed  
 “ him, that, on inquiring into the case of Gordon, he could find no person  
 “ who could give him the least information ; on which he had had Gordon  
 “ himself interrogated, who solemnly affirmed, that he had not the smallest  
 “ knowledge, or even suspicion, of the cause of his imprisonment, but that  
 “ he had been confined 30 years ; however, added the Minister, I ordered  
 “ him to be immediately released, and he is now at large.” Such a case  
 wants no comment.

“ favoured in taxation, at the expence of their miserable  
 “ neighbours; and that Noblemen in favour at Court, to whose  
 “ protection the intendant himself would naturally look up  
 “ could find little difficulty in throwing much of the weight  
 “ of their taxes on others, without a similar support. In-  
 “ stances, and even gross ones, have been reported to me, in  
 “ many parts of the kingdom, that made me shudder at the  
 “ oppression to which numbers must have been condemned,  
 “ by the undue favours granted to such crooked influence.  
 “ But without recurring to such cases, What must have been  
 “ the state of the poor people paying heavy taxes, from  
 “ which the Nobility and Clergy were exempted? A cruel  
 “ aggravation of their misery, to see those who could best  
 “ afford to pay, exempted because able!—The enrolments  
 “ for the militia, which the *Cabiers* call, *an injustice without*  
 “ *example,* \* were another dreadful scourge on the peasantry;  
 “ and as married men were exempted from it, occasioned in  
 “ some degree that mischievous population, which brought  
 “ beings into the world in order for little else than to be  
 “ starved. The *corvées*, or police of the roads, were annually  
 “ the ruin of many hundreds of Farmers; more than 300  
 “ were reduced to beggary in filling up one vale in *Lorraine*;  
 “ all these oppressions fell on the *tiers etat* only; the Nobility  
 “ and Clergy having been equally exempted from *tailles*,  
 “ militia, and *corvées*. The penal code of finance makes one  
 “ shudder at the horrors of punishment inadequate to the  
 “ crime. † A few features will sufficiently characterize the  
 “ old government of France:

“ 1. Smugglers of salt, armed and assembled to the number  
 “ of five, in *Provence*, a *fine* of 500 liv. and *nine years gallees*;  
 “ —in all the rest of the kingdom, *Death*.

“ 2. Smugglers

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\* “ *Nob. Briey*, p. 6. &c. &c.”

† “ It is calculated by a writer (*Recherches et Consid. par M. le Baron de*  
*Cormeré*, tom. 2. p. 187.) very well informed on every subject of finance,  
 “ that, upon an average, there were annually taken up, and sent to prison, or

“ 2. Smugglers armed, assembled, but in number under  
“ five, a fine of 300 liv. and three years gallies. Second offence,  
“ Death.

“ 3. Smugglers, without arms, but with horses, carts, or  
“ boats, a fine of 300 liv. if not paid, three years gallies. Second  
“ offence, 400 liv. and nine years gallies.—In Dauphiné, second  
“ offence, gallies for life. In Provence, five years gallies.

“ 4. Smugglers, who carry the salt on their backs, and with-  
“ out arms, a fine of 200 liv. and, if not paid, are flogged and  
“ branded. Second offence, a fine of 300 liv. and six years  
“ gallies.

“ 5. Women, married and single, smugglers, first offence,  
“ a fine of 100 liv. Second, 300 liv. Third, flogged, and  
“ banished the kingdom for life. Husbands responsible both in fine  
“ and body.

“ 6. Children, smugglers, the same as women.—Fathers and  
“ mothers responsible; and, for defect of payment, flogged.

“ 7. Nobles, if smugglers, deprived of their Nobility; and  
“ their houses razed to the ground.

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“ the gallies, Men 2340. Women 896. Children 201. Total 3437.—  
“ 300 of these to the gallies, (tom. 1. p. 112.) The salt confiscated from  
“ these miserables amounted to 12,633 quintals, which, at the mean price of  
“ 8 liv. are,

- - - - -	101,064 liv.
“ 2772 lb. of salted flesh, at 10 s. - -	1,386
“ 1086 horses, at 50 liv. - -	54,300
“ 52 carts, at 150 liv. - -	7,800
“ Fines, - - - - -	53,207
“ Seized in houses, - - - -	105,530
	<hr/>
	323,287”

“ 8. Any

“ 8. Any persons in employments (I suppose employed in  
“ the salt works or the revenue,) if smugglers, *Death*. And  
“ such as assist in the theft of salt in the transport, *hanged*.

“ 9. Soldiers smuggling, with arms, are *hanged*; without  
“ arms, *gallies for life*.

“ 10. Buying smuggled salt to re-sell it, *the same punishments*  
“ *as for smuggling*.

“ 11. Persons in the salt employments, *empowered if two,*  
“ *or one with two witnesses, to enter and examine houses even of*  
“ *the privileged orders.*”

“ 12. All families and persons liable to the *taille*, in the  
“ provinces of the *Grandes Gabelles* inrolled, and their con-  
“ sumption of salt for the *Pot and Salerie* (that is the daily  
“ consumption, exclusive of salting meat, &c. &c.) estimated  
“ at seven pounds a head per annum, which quantity they are  
“ forced to buy whether they want it or not, under the pain  
“ of various fines according to the case.

“ The *Capitaineries* were a dreadful scourge on all the  
“ occupiers of land. By this term is to be understood the  
“ paramountship of certain districts, granted by the King, to  
“ Princes of the blood, by which they were put in possession  
“ of the property of all game, even on lands not belonging to  
“ them; and what is very singular, on manors granted long  
“ before to individuals; so that the erecting of a district into  
“ a *Capitainerie*, was an alienation of all manerial rights to  
“ game within it. This was a trifling business, in comparison  
“ of other circumstances; for in speaking of the preservation  
“ of the game in these *Capitaineries*, it must be observed that  
“ by game must be understood whole droves of wild Boars,  
“ and herds of deer not confined by any wall or pale, but  
“ wandering, at pleasure, over the whole country, to the de-  
“ struction of crops; and to the peopling of the gallies by the  
“ wretched

“ wretched peasants, who presumed to kill them, in order to  
 “ save that food which was to support their helpless children.  
 “ The game in the *Capitainerie* of Montceau, in four parishes  
 “ only, did mischief to the amount of 184,263. liv. per  
 “ annum.\* No wonder then that we should find the people  
 “ asking, “ *Nous demandons à grand cris la destruction des Capi-*  
 “ *tainaries & celle de toute sorte de gibier.*” † And what are  
 “ we to think of demanding, as a favour, the permis-  
 “ sion—“ *De nettoyer ses grains de faucher les prés artifi-*  
 “ *ciels, et d’enlever ses chaumes sans égard pour la perdrix*  
 “ *ou tout autre gibier.*” ‡ Now, an English reader will  
 “ scarcely understand it without being told, that there were  
 “ numerous edicts for preserving the game which prohibited  
 “ weeding and hoeing, lest the young partridges should be  
 “ disturbed; steeping feed, lest it should injure the game;  
 “ manuring with night soil, lest the flavour of the partridges  
 “ should be injured by feeding on the corn so produced;  
 “ mowing hay, &c. before a certain time, so late as to spoil  
 “ many crops; and taking away the stubble, which would  
 “ deprive the birds of shelter. The tyranny exercised in  
 “ these *Capitaineries*, which extended over 400 leagues of  
 “ country was so great that many *Cabiers* demanded the utter  
 “ suppression of them.§ Such were the exertions of arbitrary  
 “ power, which the lower orders felt directly from the royal  
 “ authority; but, heavy as they were, it is a question whe-  
 “ ther the others, suffered circuitously through the nobility  
 “ and the clergy, were not yet more oppressive? Nothing

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\* “ *Cabier du tiers etat. de Meaux*, p. 49.

† “ ————— *de Mantes & Meulan*, p. 38.

‡ “ *Ibid.*, p. 40.—Also *Nob. & tiers etat. de Peronne*, p. 42. *De trois ordres de Montfort*, p. 28.

§ “ *Clergé de Provins & Montereau*, p. 35.—*Clergé de Paris*, p. 25.—*Clergé de Mantes & Meulan*, p. 45, 46.—*Clergé de Laon*, p. 11.—*Nob. de Nemours*, p. 17.—*Nob. de Paris*, p. 22.—*Nob. de Arras*, p. 29.



“ can exceed the complaints made in the *Cabiers* under this  
 “ head. They speak of the dispensation of justice in the  
 “ Manerial Courts, as comprizing every species of Despo-  
 “ tism: the districts indeterminate—appeals endless—irrecon-  
 “ cileable to Liberty and Prosperity—and irrevocably  
 “ proscribed in the opinion of the public \*—augmenting  
 “ litigations—favouring every species of chicane—ruining  
 “ the parties—not only by enormous expences on the most  
 “ petty objects, but by a dreadful loss of time. The judges  
 “ commonly ignorant pretenders, who hold their courts in  
 “ *Cabarets*, and are absolutely dependent on the Seigneurs. †  
 “ Nothing can exceed the force of expression used in paint-  
 “ ing the oppressions of the Seigneurs, in consequence of  
 “ their feudal powers. They are “ *Vexations qui font le plus*  
 “ *grand fléau des peuples.* ‡—*Esclavage affligeant.* §—*Ce regime*  
 “ *desastreux.* ||—That the *feodalité* be for ever abolished.  
 “ The countryman is tyrannically enslaved by it. Fixed  
 “ and heavy rents; vexatious processses to secure them; ap-  
 “ preciated unjustly to augment them: rents, *Solidaires*, and  
 “ *Revenchables*; rents, *cheantes*, and *levantes*; *sumages*. Fines  
 “ at every change of the property, in the direct as well as  
 “ collateral line; feudal redemption (*retraite*;) fines on sale,  
 “ to the 8th and even the 6th penny; redemptions (*rachats*)  
 “ injurious in their origin, and still more so in their exten-  
 “ sion: banalité of the mill, ¶ of the oven, and of the wine

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\* “ *Rennes*, art. 12.

† “ *Nevernois*, art. 43.

‡ “ *Tier etat. de Vannes*, p. 24.

§ “ *T. Etat. Clermont Ferrand*, p. 52.

|| “ *T. Etat. Auxerre*, art. 6.

¶ “ By this horrible law, the people are bound to grind their corn at the  
 “ mill of the Seigneur only; to press their grapes at his press only; and  
 “ to bake their bread in his oven; by which means the bread is often spoil-  
 “ ed, and more especially wine, since in Champagne those grapes which,  
 “ pressed immediately, would make white wine, will, by waiting for the  
 “ press, which often happens, make red wine only.

“ and

“ and cyder-press; *Corvées* by custom; *Corvées* by usage of  
 “ the fief; *Corvées* established by unjust decrees; *Corvées* ar-  
 “ bitrary, and even phantastical; servitudes; *prestations*, ex-  
 “ travagant and burthensome; collections by assessments  
 “ incollectible; *aveux*, *minus*, *impunissimens*; litigations ruin-  
 “ ous and without end: the rod of Seignorial finance for  
 “ ever shaken over our heads; vexation, ruin, outrage,  
 “ violence, and destructive servitude, under which the pea-  
 “ sants, almost on a level with polish slaves, can never but  
 “ be miserable, vile, and oppressed.\* They demand also,  
 “ that the use of hand-mills be free; and hope that posterity,  
 “ if possible, may be ignorant that feudal tyranny in Bre-  
 “ tagne, armed with the judicial power, has not blushed,  
 “ even in these times, at breaking hand-mills, and at selling  
 “ annually to the miserable, the faculty of bruising between  
 “ two stones a measure of buck-wheat or barley.† The very  
 “ terms of these complaints are unknown in England, and  
 “ consequently untranslatable: they have probably arisen  
 “ long since the feudal system ceased in this kingdom.  
 “ What are these tortures of the peasantry in Bretagne,  
 “ which they call *Chevanchés*, *quintaines*, *soule*, *faut de poison*,  
 “ *baiser de mariés*; *chansons*; *transporte d’œuf sur un charette*;  
 “ *silence des grenouilles*; § *Corvée a misericorde*; *milods*; *leide*;  
 “ *couponage*; *Cartelage*; *barage*; *fouage*; *marechaussée*; *ban vin*;  
 “ *ban d’aout*; *trouffes*; *gelineage*; *civerage*; *taillabilité*; *vingtain*;  
 “ *sterlage*; *bordelage*; *minage*; *ban de vendanges*, *droit d’accapte*.¶  
 “ In passing through many of the French provinces, I was  
 “ struck with the various and heavy complaints of the farm-

\* “ *Tiers etat. Rennes*, p. 159.

† “ *Rennes*, p. 57.

§ “ This is a curious article: when the lady of the Seigneur lies in,  
 “ the people are obliged to *beat the waters* in marshy districts, to keep  
 “ the frogs silent, that she may not be disturbed; this duty, a very op-  
 “ pressive one, is commuted into a pecuniary fine.

¶ “ *Resumé des Cabiers*, tom. iii. p. 316, 317.

" ers and little proprietors, of the feudal grievances with  
 " the weight of which their industry was burthened; but  
 " I could not then conceive the multiplicity of the shackles  
 " which kept them poor and depressed. I understood it  
 " better afterwards, from the conversation and complaints  
 " of some grand Seigneurs, as the Revolution advanced;  
 " and I then learned, that the principal rental of many  
 " estates consisted in services and feudal tenures; by the  
 " baneful influence of which the industry of the people  
 " was almost exterminated. In regard to the oppressions  
 " of the clergy, as to tythes, I must do that body a jus-  
 " tice, to which a claim cannot be laid in England.  
 " Though the ecclesiastical tenth was levied in France  
 " more severely than usual in Italy, yet was it never ex-  
 " acted with such horrid greediness as is at present the  
 " disgrace of England. When taken in kind, no such  
 " thing was known in any part of France, where I made  
 " enquiries, as a tenth: it was always a twelfth, or a  
 " thirteenth, or even a twentieth of the produce. And in  
 " no part of the kingdom did a new article of culture  
 " pay any thing: thus turnips, cabbages, clover, chico-  
 " ree, potatoes, &c. &c. paid nothing. In many parts,  
 " meadows were exempted. Silk worms nothing. Olives  
 " in some places paid—in more they did not. Cows no-  
 " thing. Lambs from the 12th to the 21st. Wool nothing.  
 " Such mildness in the levy of this odious tax, is abso-  
 " lutely unknown in England. But mild as it was, the  
 " burthen to people groaning under so many other oppres-  
 " sions, united to render their situation so bad, that no  
 " change could be for the worse. But these were not all  
 " the evils with which the people struggled. The admi-  
 " nistration of justice was partial, venal, infamous. I have  
 " in conversation with many very sensible men, in different  
 " parts of the kingdom, met with something of content  
 " with their Government in all other respects than this; but  
 " upon the question of expecting justice to be really and  
 " fairly administered, every one confessed there was no such  
 " thing

“ thing to be looked for. The conduct of the parliaments  
 “ was profligate and atrocious. Upon almost every cause  
 “ that came before them, interest was openly made with the  
 “ judges; and woe betided the man, who, with a cause to  
 “ support, had no means of conciliating favour, either by  
 “ the beauty of a handsome wife, or by other methods. It  
 “ has been said by many writers, that property was as secure  
 “ under the old Government of France, as it is in England;  
 “ and the assertion might possibly be true, as far as any  
 “ violence from the King, his ministers, or the great was con-  
 “ cerned: but for all that mass of property, which comes in  
 “ every country to be litigated in courts of justice, there  
 “ was not even the shadow of security, unless the parties  
 “ were totally and equally unknown, and totally and equally  
 “ honest; in every other case, he who had the best interest  
 “ with the judges, was sure to be the winner. To reflecting  
 “ minds, the cruelty and abominable practice attending such  
 “ courts are sufficiently apparent. There was also a cir-  
 “ cumstance in the constitution of these parliaments, but  
 “ little known in England, and which, under such a govern-  
 “ ment as that of France, must be considered as very singular.  
 “ They had the power, and were in the constant practice of  
 “ issuing decrees, without the consent of the crown, and  
 “ which had the force of laws through the whole of their  
 “ jurisdiction; and of all other laws, these were sure to be the  
 “ best obeyed; for as all infringements of them were brought  
 “ before Sovereign courts, composed of the same persons  
 “ who had enacted these laws (a horrible system of tyranny!)  
 “ they were certain of being punished with the last severity.  
 “ It must appear strange, in a Government so despotic in  
 “ some respects as that of France, to see the parliaments in  
 “ every part of the kingdom making laws without the  
 “ King’s consent, and even in defiance of his authority.  
 “ The English, whom I met in France in 1789, were sur-  
 “ prized to see some of these bodies issuing arrets against the  
 “ export of corn out of the provinces subject to their jurif-  
 “ diction, into the neighbouring provinces, at the same time  
 “ that

“ that the King, through the organ of so popular a minister  
 “ as Mons. Necker, was decreeing an absolutely free trans-  
 “ port of corn throughout the kingdom, and even at the  
 “ requisition of the National Assembly itself. But this was  
 “ nothing new ; it was their common practice. The parlia-  
 “ ment of Rouen passed an arret against killing of calves ; it  
 “ was a preposterous one, and opposed by administration ;  
 “ but it had its full force ; and had a butcher dared to offend  
 “ against it, he would have found by the rigour of his pu-  
 “ nishment, who was his master. Inoculation was favoured  
 “ by the court in Louis XV’s time ; but the parliament of  
 “ Paris passed an arret against it, much more effective in  
 “ prohibiting, than the favour of the court in encouraging  
 “ that practice. Instances are innumerable, and I may  
 “ remark, that the bigotry, ignorance, false principles,  
 “ and tyranny of these bodies were generally conspicuous ;  
 “ and that the court (taxation excepted,) never had a  
 “ dispute with a parliament, but the parliament was sure  
 “ to be wrong. Their constitution, in respect to the ad-  
 “ ministration of justice, was so truly rotten, that the  
 “ members sat as judges even in causes of private pro-  
 “ perty, in which they were themselves the parties, and have,  
 “ in this capacity, been guilty of oppressions and cruelties,  
 “ which the crown has rarely dared to attempt.

“ It is impossible to justify the excesses of the people on  
 “ their taking up arms ; they were certainly guilty of cruel-  
 “ ties ; it is idle to deny the facts, for they have been proved  
 “ too clearly to admit of a doubt : *but is it really the people*  
 “ *to whom we are to impute the whole ? or to their oppressors,*  
 “ *who had kept them so long in a state of bondage ?* He who  
 “ chuses to be served by slaves, and by ill-treated slaves, must  
 “ know that he holds both his property and life by a tenure  
 “ far different from those who prefer the service of well-treated  
 “ freemen ; and he who dines to the music of groaning suf-  
 “ ferers, must not, in the moment of insurrection, complain that  
 “ his daughters are ravished, and then destroyed ; and that his

“ sons throats are cut. When such evils happen, they surely  
 “ are more imputable to the tyranny of the master, than to the  
 “ cruelty of the servant. The analogy holds with the French  
 “ peasants :—the murder of a Seigneur, or a chateau in flames,  
 “ is recorded in every news-paper : the rank of the person who  
 “ suffers, attracts notice ; but where do we find the register of  
 “ that Seigneur’s oppressions of his peasantry, and his exactions  
 “ of feudal services from those whose children were dying around  
 “ them for want of bread ? Where do we find the minutes that  
 “ assigned these starving wretches to some vile pettifogger, to  
 “ be fleeced by impositions, and a mockery of justice, in the  
 “ Seignorial Courts ? Who gives us the awards of the Intend-  
 “ ant and his *sub-delegués*, which took off the taxes of a man of  
 “ fashion, and laid them with accumulated weight on the poor,  
 “ who were so unfortunate as to be his neighbours ? Who has  
 “ dwelt sufficiently upon explaining all the ramifications of des-  
 “ potism, regal, aristocratical, and ecclesiastical, pervading the  
 “ whole mass of the people ; reaching, like a circulating fluid,  
 “ the most distant capillary tubes of poverty and wretchedness ?  
 “ In these cases, the sufferers are too ignoble to be known, and  
 “ the mass too indiscriminate to be pitied. But should a philo-  
 “ sopher feel and reason thus ? Should he mistake the cause for  
 “ the effect ? and, giving all his pity to the few, feel no com-  
 “ passion for the many, because they suffer in his eyes, not in-  
 “ dividually, but by millions ? The excesses of the people can-  
 “ not, I repeat, be justified ; it would undoubtedly have done  
 “ them credit, both as men and christians, if they had possessed  
 “ their new acquired power with moderation. But let it be re-  
 “ membered, that the populace in no country ever use power with  
 “ moderation ; excess is inherent in their aggregate constitu-  
 “ tion : and as every government in the world knows, that vio-  
 “ lence infallibly attends power in such hands, it is doubly  
 “ bound in common sense, and for common safety, so to conduct  
 “ itself, that the people may not find an interest in public confu-  
 “ sions. They will always suffer much, and long, before they  
 “ are effectually roused ; nothing, therefore, can kindle the  
 “ flames but such oppressions of some classes or order in the  
 “ Society,

“ Society, as give able men the opportunity of seconding the  
 “ general mass: discontent will soon diffuse itself around; and  
 “ if the Government take not warning in time, it is *alone* an-  
 “ swerable for all the burnings, and plunderings, and devasta-  
 “ tion, and blood that follow. The true judgement to be  
 “ formed of the French revolution, must surely be gained, from  
 “ an attentive consideration of the evils of the old Govern-  
 “ ment: when these are well understood, and when the ex-  
 “ tent and universality of the oppression under which the  
 “ people groaned—oppression which bore upon them from  
 “ every quarter, it will scarcely be attempted to be urged,  
 “ that a revolution was not absolutely necessary to the wel-  
 “ fare of the kingdom. Not one opposing voice \* can with  
 “ reason be raised against this assertion: abuses ought cer-  
 “ tainly to be corrected, and corrected effectually: this could  
 “ not be done without the establishment of a new form of  
 “ government; whether the form that has been adopted  
 “ were the best, is another question absolutely distinct. But  
 “ that the abovementioned detail of enormities practised on

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\* “ Many opposing voices have been raised; but so little to their credit,  
 “ that I leave the passage as it was written long ago. The abuses that are  
 “ rooted in all the old Governments of Europe, give such numbers of men a  
 “ direct interest in supporting, cherishing, and defending abuses, that no  
 “ wonder advocates for tyranny, of every species, are found in every coun-  
 “ try, and almost in every company. What a mass of people in every part  
 “ of England are some way or other interested in the present representation of  
 “ the people, tythes, charters, corporations, monopolies and taxation! and  
 “ not merely to the things themselves, but to all the abuses attending them;  
 “ and how many are there who derive their profit, or their consideration in life,  
 “ not merely from such institutions, but from the evils they engender! The  
 “ great mass of the people, however, is free from such influence, and will be  
 “ enlightened by degrees; assuredly they will find out, in every country of  
 “ Europe, that by combinations, on the principles of liberty and property,  
 “ aimed equally against regal, aristocratical, and mobbish tyranny, they will  
 “ be able to resist successfully that variety of combination, which, on  
 “ principles of plunder and despotism, is every where at work to enslave  
 “ them.”

“ the

“ the people required some great change, is sufficiently ap-  
“ parent; and I cannot better conclude such a list of de-  
“ testable oppressions, than in the words of the *Tiers Etat* of  
“ Nivernois, who hailed the approaching day of liberty with  
“ an eloquence worthy of the subject.

“ Les plaintes du peuple se font long-temps perdues dans  
“ l'espace immense qui le sépare du Trône: cette classe la  
“ plus nombreuse et la plus intéressante de la société;  
“ cette classe qui mérite les premiers soins du gouvernement,  
“ puisqu' elle alimente toutes les autres; cette classe à la-  
“ quelle on doit et les arts nécessaires a la vie, et ceux  
“ qui en embellissent les cours; cette classe enfin qui en  
“ recueillent moins a toujours payé davantage, peut-elle  
“ apres tant de siècles d'oppression et de misère compter  
“ aujourd'hui sur un sort plus heureux? Ce seroit pour  
“ ainsi dire blasphémer l'autorité tutélaire sous laquelle nous  
“ vivons que d'en douter un seul moment. Un respect  
“ aveugle pour les abus établis ou par la violence, ou  
“ par la superstition, une ignorance profonde des condi-  
“ tions du pacte social voila ce qui a perpétué jusq' à  
“ nous la servitude dans laquelle ont gemi nos pères. Un  
“ jour plus pure est près d'eclorre: le roi a manifesté le  
“ desir de trouver des sujets capables de lui dire la vérité;  
“ une de ses loix, l'edit de création des Assemblées provin-  
“ ciales du moi de Juin 1787, annonce que le vœu le plus  
“ pressant de son cœur sera toujours celui qui tendra au  
“ soulagement et au bonheur de ses peuples: un autre loi  
“ qui a retenti du centre du royaume à ses dernières ex-  
“ tremités nous a promis la restitution de tous nos droits,  
“ dont nous n'avions perdus & dont nous ne pouvions  
“ perdre que l'exercice puisque le fond de ces mêmes droits  
“ est inaliénable et imprescriptible. Osons donc secouer le  
“ joug des anciennes erreurs: osons dire tout ce qui est  
“ vrai, tout ce qui est utile; osons réclamer les droits essen-  
“ tiels et primitifs de l'homme: la raison, l'équité, l'opinion  
“ générale,



“ générale, la bien faisance connue de notre auguste souverain  
“ tout concour à assurer les succès de nos doléances. •

“ Having seen the propriety, or rather the necessity, of  
“ some change in the Government, let us next briefly in-  
“ quire into the effects of the Revolution on the principal  
“ interests in the kingdom.

“ In respect to all the honours, power and profit derived  
“ to the nobility from the feudal system, which was of an

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TRANSLATION OF THE DECLARATION OF THE *TIERS ETAT*  
OF NIVERNOIS.

“ \* The complaints of the people have long been lost in the immense space  
“ which separates them from the throne: this class the most numerous and  
“ the most interesting to society; this class, which merits the first care of  
“ government, since it supports all the others; this class to which they are  
“ indebted for the articles necessary to life, as well as those which embellish  
“ courts; this class, in short, which having reaped the least, has always paid  
“ the most. May it it after so many ages of oppression and misery reckon to  
“ day on a more happy lot? It would be, in so many words, to blaspheme  
“ the guardian power under which we live, to doubt it only for a moment. A  
“ blind respect for abuses, established either by violence, or by superstition;  
“ a profound ignorance of the conditions of the social compact, are the cir-  
“ cumstances which have perpetuated to the present moment, the servitude  
“ in which our fathers groaned. A purer day is about to open on us: the  
“ King has expressed a desire of finding subjects capable of telling him the  
“ truth; one of his laws,—the edict for the creation of the Provincial As-  
“ semblies, of the month of June 1787, announces that the wish nearest to his  
“ heart, will always be that which shall tend to the comfort and happiness of  
“ his people: another law, which has resounded from the centre of the  
“ kingdom to its extreme boundaries, has promised us the restitution of all  
“ our rights; which we have not lost, and which we cannot lose, except in  
“ the exercise, since the foundation of these same rights is inalienable and  
“ imprescriptible. Let us dare therefore to shake off the yoke of those antient  
“ prejudices; let us dare to speak all that is true, every thing which is use-  
“ ful; let us dare to reclaim the essential and primitive rights of man; rea-  
“ son, equity, public opinion, the known beneficence of our august Sove-  
“ reign—every thing concurs to assure us of the success of our mournful  
“ complaints.”

“ extent

“ extent in France beyond any thing known in England  
 “ since the Revolution, or long parliament of 1640, all is  
 “ laid in the dust, without a rag or remnant being spared : \*  
 “ the importance of these, both in influence and revenue,  
 “ was so great, that the result is all but ruin to numbers.  
 “ However, as these properties were real tyrannies ; as  
 “ they rendered the possession of one spot of land ruinous  
 “ to all around it—and equally subversive of Agriculture,  
 “ and the common rights of mankind, the utter destruction  
 “ brought on all this species of property, does not ill de-  
 “ serve the epithet they are so fond of in France ; it is a  
 “ real regeneration of the people to the privileges of hu-  
 “ man nature. No man of common feelings can regret the  
 “ fall of that abominable system, which made a whole parish  
 “ slaves to the Lord of the Manor. But the effects of the  
 “ Revolution have gone much farther ; and have been at-  
 “ tended with consequences not equally justifiable. The  
 “ rents of land which are as legal under the new Govern-  
 “ ment as they were under the old, are no longer paid  
 “ with regularity. I have been lately informed (Aug. 1791,)  
 “ on authority not to be doubted, that associations among

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\* “ It is to be observed that the orders of knighthood were at first preserv-  
 “ ed ; when the National assembly with a forbearance that did them honour,  
 “ refused to abolish those orders, because personal, of merit, and not heredi-  
 “ tary, they were guilty of one gross error. They ought immediately to have  
 “ addressed the King, to institute a new order of knighthood—**KNIGHTS OF**  
 “ **THE PLOUGH.** There are doubtless little souls that will smile at this, and  
 “ think a thistle, a garter, or an eagle more significant, and more honourable ;  
 “ I say nothing of orders, that exceed common sense and common chronology,  
 “ such as St. Esprit, St. Andrew, and St. Patrick, leaving them to such as  
 “ venerate most what they least understand. But that Prince, who should first  
 “ institute this order of rural merit, will reap no vulgar honour : Leopold,  
 “ whose twenty years of study, and well-earned Tuscan fame gives him a  
 “ good right to do it with propriety, might, as emperor, institute it with  
 “ most effect. In him, such an action would have in it nothing of affectation.  
 “ But I had rather that **THE PLOUGH** had thus been honoured by a free As-  
 “ sembly. It would have been a trait, that marked the philosophy of a new  
 “ age, and a new system.

“ tenantry.

“ tenantry, to a great amount and extent, have been formed,  
 “ even within fifty miles of Paris, for the non-payment of  
 “ rent; saying, in direct terms, we are strong enough to  
 “ detain the rent, and you are not strong enough to enforce  
 “ the payment. In a country where such things are pos-  
 “ sible, property of every kind, it must be allowed, is in a  
 “ dubious situation. Very evil consequences will result from  
 “ this; arrears will accumulate too great for landlords to  
 “ lose, or for the peasants to pay, who will not easily be  
 “ brought to relish that order, and legal Government,  
 “ which must necessarily secure these arrears to their right  
 “ owners. In addition to all the rest, by the new system  
 “ of taxation, there is laid a land-tax of 300 millions, or  
 “ not to exceed four shillings in the pound; but, under  
 “ the old Government, their *wingtiemes* did not amount to  
 “ the seventh part of such an Impost. In whatever light,  
 “ therefore, the case of French landlords is viewed, it will  
 “ appear, that they have suffered immensely by the revolu-  
 “ tion.—That many of them deserved it, cannot, however,  
 “ be doubted, since we see their *Cabiers* demanding steadily,  
 “ that all their feudal rights should be confirmed: \* that the  
 “ carrying of arms should be strictly prohibited to every  
 “ body but noblemen: † that the infamous arrangements of  
 “ the Militia should remain on its old footing: ‡ that break-  
 “ ing up wastes, and inclosing commons, should be prohi-  
 “ bited: § that the nobility alone should be eligible to enter

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\* “ *Evreux*, p. 32.—*Bourbonnois*, p. 14.—*Artois*, p. 22.—*Bazas*, p. 8.—  
 “ *Neversois*, p. 7.—*Poitou*, p. 13.—*Saintonge*, p. 5.—*Orleans*, p. 19.—  
 “ *Cbaumont*, p. 7.

† “ *Vermandois*, p. 41.—*Quiefnoy*, p. 19.—*Sens*, p. 25.—*Evreux*, p. 36.  
 “ *Sejanne*, p. 17.—*Bar sur Seine*, p. 6.—*Beauvais*, p. 13.—*Bugcy*, p. 34.—  
 “ *Clermont Ferand*, p. 11.

‡ “ *Limoges*, p. 36.

§ “ *Cambrai*, p. 19.—*Pont a Mousson*, p. 38.

“ into the army, church, &c.\* that *Lettres de Cachet* should  
“ continue: † that the prefs should not be free: ‡ and, in  
“ fine, that there should be no free corn trade. §

“ To the clergy, the revolution has been yet more fatal.  
“ One word will dispatch this inquiry. The Revolution was  
“ a decided benefit to all the lower clergy of the king-  
“ dom; but it was destructive of all the rest. It is not easy  
“ to know what they lost on the one hand, or what the  
“ National account will gain on the other. Mons. Necker  
“ calculates their revenue at 130,000,000 liv. of which only  
“ 42,500,000 liv. were in the hands of the *Curées* of the  
“ kingdom. Their wealth has been much exaggerated: a  
“ late writer says, they possessed half the kingdom.¶ Their  
“ number was as little known as their revenue; one writer  
“ makes them 400,000, || another 81,400; \*\* a third  
“ 80,000. ††

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\* “ *Lyons*, p. 13.—*Touraine*, p. 31.—*Angoumois*, p. 13.—*Auxerre*, p. 13.  
“ The author of the *Historical Sketch of the French Revolution*, 8vo. 1792,  
“ says, p. 68, “ the worst enemies of nobility have not yet brought to light  
“ any *Cabier*, in which the nobles insisted on their exclusive right to military  
“ preferments.—In the same page, this Gentleman says, it is impossible for  
“ any Englishman to study four or five hundred *Cabiers*. It is evident, how-  
“ ever, from this mistake, how necessary it is to examine them before writing  
“ on the Revolution.

† “ *Vermandois*, p. 23.—*Chalons-sur-Marne*, p. 6.—*Gien*, p. 9.

‡ “ *Crepy*, p. 10.

§ “ *St. Quentin*, p. 9.

¶ “ *De l'Autorité de Montesquieu dans la Revolution présentée*, 8vo. 1789,  
“ p. 61.

|| “ *Etats generaux convoqués par Louis XVI. par M. Target, prem.*  
“ *suite*, p. 7.

\*\* “ *Qu'est-ce que le Tiers Etat*, 3d edit. par M. l'Abbé Siéyes, 8vo.  
“ p. 51.

†† “ *Bibliothèque de l'homme public, par M. Condorcet, &c.* tom. iii.

“ The

“ The clergy in France have been supposed by many per-  
 “ sons in England, to merit their fate from their peculiar  
 “ profligacy. But the idea is not accurate: that so large a  
 “ body of men, possessed of very great revenues, should  
 “ be free from vice, would be improbable, or rather impos-  
 “ sible; but they preserved, what is not always preserved in  
 “ England, an exterior decency of behaviour.—One did not  
 “ find among them poachers, or foxhunters, who having  
 “ spent the morning in scampering after hounds, dedicate  
 “ the evening to the bottle, and reel from inebriety to the  
 “ pulpit. Such advertisements were never seen in France,  
 “ as I have heard of in England:—*Wanted a Curacy in a good*  
 “ *sporting country, where the duty is light, and the neighbourhood*  
 “ *convivial.* The proper exercise for a country clergyman,  
 “ is the employment of agriculture, which demands strength  
 “ and activity—and which, vigorously followed, will fatigue  
 “ enough to give ease its best relish. A sportsman parson  
 “ may be, as he often is in England, a good sort of man,  
 “ and *an honest fellow*; but certainly this pursuit, and the  
 “ resorting to obscene comedies, and kicking their heels in the  
 “ jig of an assembly, are not the occupations for which we  
 “ can suppose tythes were given.\* Whoever will give any  
 “ attention to the demands of the clergy in their *Cabiers*,  
 “ will see that there was on many topics, an ill spirit in that  
 “ body. They maintain, for instance, that the liberty of  
 “ the press ought rather to be restrained than extended: †  
 “ that the laws against it should be renewed and executed: ‡  
 “ that admission into religious orders should be as formerly

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\* “ Nothing appears so scandalous to all the clergy of Europe, as their  
 “ brethren in England dancing at public assemblies; and a bishop’s wife en-  
 “ gaged in the same amusement, seems to them as preposterous as a bishop,  
 “ in his lawn sleeves, following the same diversion would to us. Probably  
 “ both are wrong.

† “ *Saintonge*, p. 24.—*Limoges*, p. 6, &c.

‡ “ *Lyons*, p. 13.—*Dourdon*, p. 5.

“ at sixteen years of age: \* that *Lettres de Cachet*, are useful  
“ and even necessary. † They solicit to prohibit all divi-  
“ sion of Commons; ‡ to revoke the edict allowing in-  
“ closures; § that the export of corn be not allowed; ¶  
“ and that public granaries be established. ||

“ The ill effects of the Revolution have been felt more  
“ severely by the manufacturers of the kingdom, than by  
“ any other class of the people. The rivalry of the En-  
“ glish fabrics, in 1787, and 1788, was strong and success-  
“ ful; and the confusions that followed in all parts of the  
“ kingdom, had the effect of lessening the incomes of so  
“ many landlords, clergy, and men in public employments;  
“ and such numbers fled from the kingdom, that the general  
“ mass of the consumption of national fabrics sunk perhaps  
“ three fourths. The men whose incomes were untouched,  
“ lessened their consumption greatly, from an apprehension  
“ of the unsettled state of things: the prospects of a civil  
“ war suggested to every man, that his safety, perhaps his  
“ future bread, depended on the money which he could  
“ hoard. The inevitable consequence, was, turning abso-  
“ lutely out of employment immense numbers of workmen.  
“ I have in the Diary of the Journey, noticed the infinite  
“ misery to which I was a witness at Lyons, Abbeville,  
“ Amiens, &c.—And by intelligence, I understood, that it  
“ was still worse at Rouen: the fact could not be otherwise.  
“ This effect which was absolute death, by starving many

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\* “ *Saintonge*, p. 26.—*Montargis*, p. 10.

† “ *Limoges*, p. 22.

‡ “ *Troyes*, p. 11.

§ “ *Metz*, p. 11.

¶ “ *Rouen*, p. 24.

|| “ *Laon*, p. 11.—*Dourdon*, p. 17.

“ thousands of families, was a result, that, in my opinion,  
 “ might have been avoided. It flowed only from carrying  
 “ things to extremities—from driving the nobility out of  
 “ the kingdom, and seizing, instead of regulating, the whole  
 “ regal authority. These violences were not necessary to  
 “ Liberty; they even destroyed true Liberty, by giving the  
 “ Government of the kingdom, in too great a degree to  
 “ Paris, and to the populace of every town.

“ The effect of the Revolution to the small proprietors of  
 “ the kingdom, must, according to the common nature of  
 “ events, be, *in the end*, remarkably happy; and had the  
 “ new Government adopted any principles of taxation, ex-  
 “ cept those of the *Oeconomistes*, establishing at the same time  
 “ an absolute freedom in the business of inclosure, and in the  
 “ police of corn, the result would probably have been ad-  
 “ vantageous, even at this recent period. The committee  
 “ of Imposts \* mention (and I doubt not their accuracy,) the  
 “ prosperity of agriculture, in the same page in which they  
 “ lament the depression of every other branch of the Na-  
 “ tional industry. Upon a moderate calculation there re-  
 “ mained, in the hands of the classes depending on land, on  
 “ the account of taxes in the years 1789, and 1790, at least  
 “ 300,000,000 liv.; the execution of *Corvées* was as lax  
 “ as the payment of taxes. To this we are to add two years  
 “ tythe, which I cannot estimate at less than 300,000,000  
 “ liv. more. The abolition of all feudal rents, and  
 “ payments of every sort during those two years, could  
 “ not be less than 100,000,000 liv. including services. But  
 “ all these articles, great as they were, amounting to near  
 “ 800,000,000 liv. were less than the immense sums that  
 “ came into the hands of the farmers by the high price of  
 “ corn throughout the year 1789; a price arising almost en-

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\* “ *Rapport le 6. Decembre 1790, sur les moyens de pourvoir aux dépenses*  
 “ *pour, 1791, p. 4.*

“ tirely from Mons. Necker’s fine operations in the corn  
 “ trade, as it has been proved at large ; it is true there is a  
 “ deduction to be made on account of the unavoidable di-  
 “ minution of consumption in every article of land produce,  
 “ not essentially necessary to life : every object of luxury, or  
 “ tending to it is lessened greatly. But after this discount is  
 “ allowed, the balance, in favour of the little proprietor  
 “ farmers, must be very great. The benefit of such a sum  
 “ being added, as it is to the capital of husbandry, needs no  
 “ explanation. Their agriculture must be invigorated by  
 “ such wealth—by the freedom enjoyed by its professors ;  
 “ by the destruction of its innumerable shackles, and even  
 “ by the distresses of other employments, occasioning new  
 “ and great investments of capital in land : and these lead-  
 “ ing facts will appear in a clearer light, when the pro-  
 “ digious division of landed property in France is well  
 “ considered ; probably half, perhaps two-thirds, of the  
 “ kingdom are in the possession of little proprietors, who  
 “ paid quit-rents, and feudal duties, for the spots they  
 “ farmed. Such men are placed at once in comparative  
 “ affluence ; and as ease is thus acquired by at least half  
 “ the kingdom, it must not be set down as a point of  
 “ trifling importance. Should France escape a civil war,  
 “ she will, in the prosperity of these men, find a resource  
 “ which politicians at a distance do not calculate. With  
 “ renters, the case is certainly different ; for, beyond all  
 “ doubt, Landlords will, sooner or later, avail themselves  
 “ of these circumstances, by advancing their rents ; acting  
 “ in this respect as in every other country, is common ;  
 “ but they will find it impossible to deprive the tenantry  
 “ of a vast advantage, necessarily flowing from their eman-  
 “ cipation.

“ The confusion, which has since arisen in the finances  
 “ owing almost entirely to the mode of taxation adopted  
 “ by the Assembly, has had the effect of continuing to the  
 “ present moment (1791,) a freedom from all Imposts to  
 “ the



“ the little proprietors, which, however dreadful its general  
“ effects on the National affairs, has tended strongly to en-  
“ rich this class.

“ The effects of the Revolution, not on any particular  
“ class of cultivators, but on agriculture in general, is with  
“ me, I must confess, very questionable; I see no benefits  
“ flowing, *particularly* to agriculture (liberty applies equally  
“ to *all* classes, and is not yet sufficiently established for  
“ the protection of *property*;) except the case of tythes;  
“ but I see the rise of many evils; restrictions and prohi-  
“ bitions on the trade of corn—a varying land-tax, and  
“ impeded inclosures, are mischiefs on *principle*, that may  
“ have a generative faculty; and will prove infinite draw-  
“ backs from the prosperity, which certainly was attain-  
“ able. It is to be hoped that the good sense of the As-  
“ sembly will reverse this system by degrees; for, if it is  
“ not reversed, AGRICULTURE CANNOT FLOURISH.

“ The effect of the Revolution, on the public revenue,  
“ is one great point on which Mons. de Calonne lays  
“ considerable stress; and it has since been urged in France,  
“ that the ruin of 30,000 families, thrown absolutely out  
“ of employment, and consequently out of bread, in the  
“ collection of the taxes on salt and tobacco only, has had  
“ a powerful influence in spreading universal distress and  
“ misery. The public revenue sunk, in one year, 1795  
“ millions: this was not a loss of that sum; the people to  
“ whom assignats were paid on that account lost no more  
“ than the discount; the loss, therefore, to the people to  
“ whom that revenue was paid, could amount to no more  
“ than from five to ten per cent.\* But was it a loss to

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\* “ Since this was written, assignats fell, in December 1791, and Ja-  
“ nuary 1792, to 34, to 38 per cent. paid in silver; and 42 to 50 paid in  
“ gold, arising from great emissions; from the quantity of private paper issu-  
“ ed; from forged ones being common, and from the prospect of a war.

“ the

“ the miserable subjects who formerly paid those taxes ;  
 “ and who paid them by the sweat of their brows, at the  
 “ expence of the bread out of their childrens mouths, af-  
 “ fessed with tyranny, and levied in blood? Do they feel  
 “ a loss in having 175 millions in their pockets in 1789,  
 “ more than they had in 1788? and in possessing other  
 “ 175 millions more in 1790, and the inheritance in future?  
 “ Is not such a change ease, wealth, life, and animation to  
 “ those classes, who, while the pens of political satirists  
 “ slander all innovations, are every moment reviving, by  
 “ inheriting from that revolution, something which the old  
 “ Government assuredly did not give? The revenue of the  
 “ clergy may be called the revenue of the public:—those  
 “ to whom the difference between the present payment of  
 “ 140 millions, and the old<sup>d</sup> tythes, are a deduction of all  
 “ revenue, are, beyond doubt, in great distress; but what  
 “ say the farmers throughout the kingdom, from whom the  
 “ detestable burthen of those taxes was extorted? Do not  
 “ they find their culture lightened, their industry freed,  
 “ their products their own? Go to the Aristocratical po-  
 “ litician at Paris, or at London, and you hear only of  
 “ the ruin of France—go to the cottage of the *Metayer*, or  
 “ the house of the farmer, and demand of him what the  
 “ result has been—there will be but one voice from Calais  
 “ to Bayonne. If tythes were to be at one stroke abolished  
 “ in England,\* no doubt the clergy would suffer, but would  
 “ not the Agriculture of the kingdom, with every man  
 “ dependent on it, rise with a vigour never before expe-  
 “ rienced?”

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\* “ It is an error in France to suppose, that the revenue of the church  
 “ is small in England. The Royal Society of Agriculture at Paris, states that  
 “ revenue at 210,000l.; it cannot be stated at less than five millions  
 “ ste. ling. *Mem. présentés par la S. R. d'Ag. à l'Assemblée Nationale, 1789,*  
 “ p. 52.—One of the greatest and wisest men we have in England, persists  
 “ in asserting it to be *much less*, than two millions. From very numerous  
 “ inquiries, which I am still pursuing, I have reason to believe this opinion  
 “ to be founded on insufficient data.”

*Young's Travels*, p. 550.

“ The means of making a Government respected and be-  
 “ loved are, in England, obvious ; taxes must be immensely  
 “ reduced ; assessments on malt, leather, candles, soap, salt,  
 “ and windows, must be abolished or lightened ; the funding  
 “ system, the parent of taxation, annihilated for ever, by  
 “ taxing the interest of the public debt—the Constitution,  
 “ that admits a debt, carries in its vitals the seeds of its de-  
 “ struction : tythes \* and tests abolished ; the representa-  
 “ tion of Parliament reformed ; and its duration shortened ;  
 “ not to give the people, without property, a predominancy,  
 “ but to prevent that corruption, in which our debts and  
 “ taxes have originated ; the utter destruction of all mo-  
 “ nopolies ; and among them of all charters and corpora-  
 “ tions ; game made property, and belonging to the possessor  
 “ of one acre, as much as to him, who has a thousand ; and,  
 “ lastly, the laws, both criminal and civil, to be thoroughly  
 “ reformed. These circumstances include the great evils of  
 “ the British Constitution ; if they be remedied, it may enjoy  
 “ even a Venetian longevity ; but if they be allowed, like  
 “ cancerous humours, to prey on the nobler parts of the  
 “ political system, this boasted fabric may not exist even  
 “ twenty years.”

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\* “ The exaction of tythes is so absurd and tyrannical an attack on the  
 “ property of mankind, that it is almost impossible for them to continue in  
 “ any country in the world half a century longer. To pay a man by force  
 “ 1000l. a year, for doing by deputy what would be much better done for  
 “ 100l. is too gross an imposition to be endured. To levy that 1000l. in  
 “ the most pernicious method that can wound both property and liberty, are  
 “ circumstances congenial to the tenth century, but not to the eighteenth.  
 “ Italy, France, and America, have set noble examples for the imitation of  
 “ mankind ; and those countries, that do not follow them, will soon be as  
 “ inferior in cultivation as they are in policy.”

*Young's Travels*, p. 556.

“ The gross abuse which has been thrown on the French  
“ nation, and particularly on their assemblies, in certain  
“ pamphlets, and without interruption, in several of our  
“ newspapers, ought to be deprecated by every man who  
“ feels for the future interests of this country. It is in some  
“ instances carried to so scandalous an excess, that we must  
“ necessarily give extreme disgust to thousands of people,  
“ who may hereafter have an ample opportunity to vote and  
“ act under the influence of impressions unfavourable towards  
“ a country that, unprovoked, has loaded them with so  
“ much contumely: for a nation groaning under a debt of  
“ 240 millions, that deadens the very idea of future energy,  
“ this seems, to use the mildest language, to be at least, very  
“ imprudent.”

Very important hints these! How admirably Mr. Young  
has attended to them, may be seen in *The Example of France  
a Warning to Britain!*

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*Young's Travels*, p. 565. April 26, 1792.

“ In the last moment which the preparation for publica-  
“ tion allows me to use, the intelligence is arrived of a de-  
“ claration of war on the part of France against the House  
“ of Austria. The Gentlemen in whose company I hear  
“ it, all announce destruction to France; *they will be*  
“ *beat; they want discipline; they have no subordination;* and  
“ this idea I find general. So cautiously as I have avoided  
“ *prophetic* presumption through the preceding pages, I shall  
“ scarcely assume it so late in my labours; but thus  
“ much I may venture, that the expectation of destruction to  
“ France has many difficulties to encounter. Give all you  
“ please to the power of field evolution—depending on the  
“ utmost strictness of discipline—you must admit, that it  
“ bears

“ bears only on the question of battles. But guarded as  
“ France is, by the most important frontier fortresses the  
“ world knows, why hazard battles? Undisciplined troops  
“ behind walls and within *works*, are known on experience  
“ to be effective; and where are the resources to be found  
“ that shall attack those strong holds 700 miles from home?  
“ I was at Lisle, Metz, and Strasbourg; and if the mili-  
“ tary intelligence I had was accurate, it would demand  
“ 100,000 men, completely provided with every thing for a  
“ siege, three months, to take either of those towns, sup-  
“ posing them well provided and well defended. We know,  
“ on positive experience, what the Austrians and Prussians,  
“ led by some of the greatest men that have existed, were  
“ able to do in sieges, when undertaken at their own doors;  
“ what will they effect against places ten times as strong,  
“ and 700 miles from home? It is a matter of calculation;  
“ of pounds and shillings; not of discipline and obedience.

“ But many depend on the deranged state of the French  
“ finances; that derangement flows absolutely from a vain  
“ attempt at preserving public credit:—the National Assem-  
“ bly will see its futility; misery; ruin; the NATION must  
“ be preserved.—What, on comparison, is *public credit*?

“ The divisions, factions, and internal disturbances, offer  
“ to others the hope of a civil war. It ought to be a vain  
“ hope. During peace, such difficulties fill the papers, and  
“ and are dwelt upon, till men are apt to think them terri-  
“ ble; in war they are TREASON, and the gallows sweeps  
“ from the world, and the columns of a Gazette the  
“ actors and the recital.

“ Oil and vinegar—fire and water—Prussians and Austri-  
“ ans are united to carry war amongst twenty-six millions of  
“ men, arranged behind a hundred of the strongest fortresses  
“ in the world. If we are deceived, and Frenchmen are not  
“ fond of freedom, but will fight for despotism—something

“ may be done; for then France falls by the power of  
“ France; but if united but tolerably, the attack will be  
“ full of difficulties in a country where every man, woman,  
“ and child is an enemy, that fights for freedom.

“ But, suppose this idea erroneous—suppose an impression  
“ made—and that the German banners were flying at Paris—  
“ Where is the security of the rest of Europe: Is the division  
“ of Poland forgotten? Is an unforeseen union of two or three  
“ great powers to protrude through Europe, a predominancy  
“ dangerous to all? Gentlemen, who indulge their wishes  
“ for a counter-revolution in France, do not, perhaps, wish  
“ to see the Prussian colours at the Tower, nor the Austrian  
“ at Amsterdam. Yet success to the cause might plant them  
“ there. Should real danger arise to France, which I hold  
“ to be problematical, it is the business, and direct interest  
“ of her neighbours, to support her.

“ The revolution and anti-revolution parties of England,  
“ have exhausted themselves on the French question,—But  
“ there can be none, if that people should be in danger;  
“ we hold at present the balance of the world; and have but  
“ to speak, and it is secure.”

I have fought in vain for this last quotation in the SECOND EDITION of Mr. Young's Travels.—

Many other passages equally excellent might be selected from Mr. YOUNG'S WORK, which I should with pleasure have presented to the reader, and contrasted with, *The Example of France a Warning to Britain*. But I forbear—Major Cartwright, that honest man, and steady friend to freedom, is preparing a work for the press, which, I understand, will include some remarks on the inconsistencies of Mr. Young.

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As the evils attendant on the present calamitous war were clearly foreseen by the friends to Reform, and as they made every effort,

effort, in their power, to prevent this country from engaging in so absurd and ruinous a contest, it may not be improper to conclude this work with laying before the reader the following documents, in which these important facts cannot pass unobserved: 1st. That the expences of the year 1794 exceeded those of the year 1793 nearly seven millions sterling; and, 2dly, that in the year 1794, whilst our expences were increasing, our revenue (excluding the sum paid by the East-India Company) was diminishing; which is the more to be lamented, as we formerly had weekly accounts given of the excess of the Revenue above the expenditure.

Similar observations were made during the war with America; the truth of which we now feel by the annual payment of taxes to the amount of considerably more than five millions sterling, in consequence of that unwise, unjust, and unnecessary undertaking. What additional burthens we shall be compelled to bear from the expences of the war in which we are at present engaged, it would be difficult to state. This, however, may with truth be asserted, that enormous as the expences of the year 1794 appear, they will be found to have greatly exceeded the estimate. What the expences of the next year will be, the mind can scarcely form an idea of; a bargain *being already concluded*, for a loan of twenty-four millions; eighteen millions of which are for this country, and six millions for *one* of our allies, the Emperor of Germany.

Enormous as these sums are, and heavily as the additional taxes will be felt, which must be laid for the payment of the interest, yet the unconstitutional manner in which this bargain has been made, by the question of war being determined *before* the meeting of Parliament, ought to be matter of more serious alarm to every thinking mind. But, were I to proceed, I should enter on a subject so serious and extensive, that I should only begin where I mean to end; more especially

cially were I to take into consideration the numerous evils under which the commercial interest of this country labours; but, I fear, they are so grievously felt, that even had I leisure, any observations upon that subject would be superfluous.

I shall only add, that in the year 1775, at the commencement of the American war, our national debt was one hundred and thirty-eight millions. I am informed, and from the most respectable authority, that, including the *unfunded* debt, it is now nearly three hundred and twenty millions, and were peace to be concluded to-morrow, it would be found upon the settlement of the public accounts, that in less than the last twenty years our national debt has been increased two hundred millions, which have burthened the people of this country with additional taxes to the amount of nearly ten millions sterling annually.



## BUDGET IN 1793.

INCOME.	EXPENDITURE.
Permanent taxes, including stamps, excise, customs, and incidents . . . . . 14,284,194	Charges on the consolidated fund for civil list, payment of principal and interest of debt, &c. &c. . . . . 12,072,626
Land and malt tax, taken at 2,750,000	Deficiency of grants . . . . . 222,325
17,034,194	Deficiency of land and malt tax 350,000
Deficiency, made up by a loan of 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ millions of 3 per cents. . . . . 4,520,642	Navy debt . . . . . 3,971,915
£. 21,554,836	Army and militia 3,968,558
	Ordnance . . . . . 793,568
	Miscellaneous services 175,844
	8,909,885
	£. 21,554,836

## BUDGET IN 1794.

INCOME.	EXPENDITURE.
Permanent taxes . . . . . 13,974,000	Charges on the consolidated fund for civil list, payment of principal and interest of debt, &c. &c. . . . . 11,797,000
Land and malt tax, taken at 2,750,000	Deficiency of grants . . . . . 474,000
East India Company . . . . . 500,000	Deficiency of land and malt tax 350,000
17,224,000	Exchequer bills, in addition to those already issued . . . . . 2,000,000
Deficiency, made up by a loan of 11 millions of 3 per cents. 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ millions of 4 per cents. and £. 62,791 13s. 4d. per ann. Long Annuities . . . . . 11,013,000	Addition to the Sinking Fund . 200,000
£. 28,237,000	Navy . . . . . 5,525,000
	Army . . . . . 6,340,000
	Ordnance . . . . . 1,345,000
	Miscellaneous services 206,000
	13,416,000 *
	£. 28,237,000

\* The Peace Establishment from 1786 to 1792 was on an average 5  $\frac{1}{4}$  Millions annually.

DEBT CONTRACTED SINCE DECEMBER, 1792 ;

(That is, in Two Years only)

*Supposing the different Stocks in which it has been funded to be converted into Three per Cent. Consolidated Bank Annuities.*

	Stock in the 3 per Cents.
17 $\frac{1}{4}$ Millions 3 per Cents. borrowed in the beginning of the years 1793 and 1794 .....	17,250,000
2 $\frac{1}{2}$ Millions 4 per Cents. borrowed in the beginning of 1794 .....	3,634,600
£.62,792 per Ann. Long Annuities, borrowed in the beginning of 1794 .....	1,949,600
18 Millions in the 3 per Cents. proposed to be borrowed in the present month of December....	18,000,000
6 Millions in the 4 per Cents. ditto .....	7,929,900
£. 112,500 per Ann. Long Annuities, ditto .....	3,492,900
	52,257,000

N.B. The three last articles are to make up the present intended loan of EIGHTEEN MILLIONS STERLING.

£.1,949,330 Navy Bills funded in the 5 per Cents. this year, which converted into 3 per Cents.....	3,144,000
Proposed Loan to the Emperor, of 6 Millions <i>Sterling</i> , guaranteed by Parliament, and most probably to be ultimately paid by this country, converted into 3 per Cents. ....	9,677,400
	65,078,400

The *increase* of the *unfunded* debt should be also added to this sum, which will, no doubt, make it to exceed 70 Millions !

In the course of the last eight years about 14 millions of three per cent. Stock have been redeemed—and this has been done, not by any surplus of Revenue, but by a Loan of one Million by the way of Tontine—by collecting the arrears of taxes in the receiver's hands, by the assistance of Lotteries,—of the arrears due from the East-India Company—of cash remaining in the Exchequer in the beginning of the year 1786—of imprest monies—of unclaimed dividends in the Bank and South Sea Annuities, &c. &c.

N. B. Upon the 11th of March 1793, the House of Commons having resolved itself into a Committee of Supply, Mr. Pitt, in his speech “observed, that after every other resource, there  
“ would be wanting a Loan of 2,900,000*l.* He had not  
“ then made any proposals as to the terms of the Loan,  
“ BECAUSE HE CONSIDERED IT AS A PREVIOUS  
“ DUTY, TO SUBMIT THIS STATEMENT TO THE  
“ PUBLIC, IN ORDER TO AVOID ANY THING,  
“ WHICH MIGHT HAVE THE APPEARANCE OF DE-  
“ CEPTION.” *New Annual Register for 1793, p. 78.*

*December 15, 1794.*

F I N I S.