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**CHRISTIAN POLICY,**  
THE  
*Salvation of the Empire.*

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BEING A CLEAR AND CONCISE EXAMINATION INTO THE CAUSES  
THAT HAVE PRODUCED THE IMPENDING, UNAVOIDABLE

**National Bankruptcy;**

*And the Effects that must ensue, unless averted by the  
Adoption of this only real and*

**DESIRABLE REMEDY,**

WHICH WOULD ELEVATE THESE REALMS TO  
**A PITCH OF GREATNESS,**  
HITHERTO UNATTAINED  
*By any Nation that ever Existed.*

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BY THOMAS EVANS,  
*Librarian to the Society of Spencean Philanthropists.*

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## INTRODUCTION.



AT a dread crisis when a whole people are paralyzed and in danger, it becomes every individual of the community as a duty to use his best endeavours for the general safety, if he is persuaded he possesses the means of being any way serviceable. If rectitude of intention be meritorious, I hope that approbation will be awarded me that is due to the purest patriotic motives. To shew how far I am entitled to lay claim to disinterestedness, it will be sufficient to state who I am, and the sufferings I have already sustained, in endeavouring to arrest the march of that corrupt system that is now laying my country prostrate in ruin. I am not an author by profession; but one of those individuals who in the year 1798, incurred so much unjust odium and persecution, as reformers, "jacobins, and levellers." Being at that time secretary of the London corresponding society, I was seized on the authority of a general warrant (an arbitrary mandate of the Duke of Portland, an instrument of power declared



illegal in the courts of law) and after laying several days on the floor in Tothil-fields prison, was conveyed to the Bastile, and there confined many months in a cell, with the accommodation of a bag of straw, a blanket, and rug; denied books, pen, ink, paper, candle, and much of the time access to fire. Meanwhile my house, in the city of London, was taken possession of by a corps of Bow-street officers; who, after sending my wife and infant son to the Bastile, detained all persons calling thereat, (whatever their business) and sent them to prison; finally abandoning the house to chance. At the end of sixteen months' confinement in this Bastile, I was banished by authority of an act of parliament (passed for that purpose) to the gaol of Winchester, and there imprisoned in a cell twenty-one weeks, with the accommodation of a bag of straw, &c. as before; denied as before books, pen, ink, paper, fire, candle, &c. or society of any sort.\* Removed from thence to London, I was again banished to the gaol of Chelmsford, and confined under the same regulations and instructions, in company with three other per-

\* The written instructions to the gaoler, from this said Duke of Portland, directed him to take from my person any money, or other valuables in my possession; and to administer the same for my use, in such way as he (the gaoler) should think proper. This example cannot fail to convince the reader, that a suspension of the Habeas Corpus act puts any, and every Englishman, person and property, at the disposal of a minister of state.

sens already in that place similarly circumstanced. In all, two years and eleven months, was I immured on the vague and undefined charge of treasonable practices; and then discharged without trial, remuneration, or redress: my persecutors being unable to exhibit any charge of unlawful conduct for any thing done or said on my part, or any of the numerous persons so maltreated at that time. . Nay! Mr. Pitt and his colleagues acknowledged their own delinquency and violation of the laws, by procuring an *act of parliament* to indemnify themselves, and all others by them employed in these tyrannical proceedings. After being subjected to all this outrage, so contrary to existing laws, and chartered rights; having been seized, imprisoned, banished, and destroyed, for pursuing the claim once so loudly demanded by Mr. Pitt, for a reform in the Commons House of Parliament longer and more eagerly than the said Mr. Pitt approved; yet as it might be said this infliction arose from measures adopted by my own choice, from a desire of rendering my country some service, and as the exertion failed; I and those engaged with me silently submitted to the consequences, and made no appeal to the public for remuneration, otherwise than by petition to the Commons House of Parliament, which was disregarded. Nor is there an individual who can say he has rewarded me, with the value of one penny on that account. I trust, therefore,

that on this occasion, my motives will not be suspected of arising from any other feeling, than that by which I was actuated on the former occasion: viz. that of doing the duty of an honest citizen, who, by laying his opinions before the public, endeavours to avert the impending ruin, with which the present Pitt system threatens to overwhelm the whole empire.

But a patriot should never despair of his country; nor ought his exertions to relax, on account of any circumstances that may befall himself in the pursuit of those measures, which reflection and experience justify, and point out as duties to be performed. Whatever obloquy attached to the characters, who, at that season of persecution, were torn from their families and friends, and immured with unrelenting and unfeeling severity for weeks, months, and years in loathsome cells, at the caprice of men who had schooled them in those principles of freedom, which had been for ages the pride of the British nation; I hope they will not decline their duty now, when their country requires all the exertions of mind possible to extricate it, from the most perilous situation, in which a people can be placed.

It cannot be denied, that the persons then persecuted were men of intellect and ardent patriotism, possessing a solid reputation, that defied the calumny of their enemies; and in private life, adorning the domestic circles in

which they moved;—their principles, their practices, and objects were to avert the evils, which millions now suffer;—they commenced their exertions at the same period, and with the same views, which were promulgated and pursued by the greatest characters that embellish modern British history: characters, too elevated for the arbitrary interference of an apostate minister: characters, who appeared to be paralyzed by the savage barbarity with which he seized his helpless victims, and the many falsehoods he asserted, as reasons for such conduct. Had peace and reform then prevailed, on the principles of freedom and justice; would they not have prevented the calamities, that now hang over this devoted country, by putting an end to a war which has destroyed its resources and brightest prospects? France supplicated peace upon bended knees;—she would have conformed to just and reasonable restraints;—but goaded by the insolence of an upstart, she rushed to a contest which has required the whole of European means, in men and money, to resist. The object of this man's system has at length been accomplished; the Bourbons are restored, at the expence of the ruin of England. Is England so much in love with tyranny, folly, poverty, and wooden shoes; are they blessings so dear to England, that she should ruin herself to restore them to France? It is clear the French did not want them. Would bigotry, the inquisition,



and a cruel tyrant please the people of this country? The Spaniards did not want them. Would an army of begging lazaroni, a banditti of bravos, who let themselves for hire to commit assassination; and a man found incapable to govern Sicily, be an acquisition to this industrious nation? The Neapolitans did not want them. These, and many more of the like kind of blessings, that have been restored with this *excellent* race of the Bourbons have been the sole object of the war, and all that could be hoped to be gained by England, for her millions upon millions of debt spent in support of the Pitt system, to sustain him and his followers in corruption, that they might weather the storm of reform.—This man's father, the great Earl of Chatham, said, if the parliament did not reform itself from within, it would be reformed from without, with a vengeance. And will reform, with a vengeance, save the country? I think not; no, nor any other reform that is merely one of the representation. The people having been drained for twenty years by increasing taxation, are now wholly without property to do any business with; to provide the means of employment for labourers. The reform that is wanted, and that must take place is a revulsion of property into the hands of the people to promote consumption.

THOMAS EVANS,

No. 8, Newcastle-street, Strand.

TO THE  
*People of the United Kingdom*

Fellow Countrymen,

**T**HESSE nations are arrived at a crisis the most tremendously awful to contemplate; brought upon us by the mistaken policy of our rulers, the avarice of our landholders and merchants, the influence of a corrupted press, hired, terrified, and induced by all manner of means to deceive the great body of the people; while they have been drained by taxation, of their rightful share of national property, the only source of power. By want of foresight in our rulers, they have allowed themselves to be flattered by needy courts to squander among them unsparingly our wealth, not perceiving that wealth is power, in a nation as well as in an individual, and that when they were transferring our wealth to foreigners, they were actually transferring our power to them also. It was thus that Napoleon by gathering our wealth raised himself to power, and now by the same means we have raised Alexander in his place, fearfully gigantic.

Our wealth, our remittances, together with the spoils of France have given him power, by putting him in possession of capital. The ministers have dissipated our substance over the whole Continent, and provided each state with the means of improvement in agriculture and manufactures at our expence; leaving us almost wholly without, notwithstanding our unremitting industry. So that to the utter astonishment of the unreflecting, all that Mr. Paine advanced twenty years ago, in his treatise on the Decline and Fall of the English System of Finance is realized; for the means of continuing our industry (from want of capital) being paralyzed, the nation is bankrupted beyond the possibility of prevention.

What new event has so unexpectedly brought us to this CRISIS, this indubitable end of the prevailing funding system? A question agitating all classes of society, but which is very inadequately treated, and imperfectly explained by all our political writers. The great cause of our present situation is the destruction of the corn monopoly so lately confined all over the world exclusively to the command of the British merchants, which the following remarks will clearly demonstrate. The war having given great extension and facilities to our commerce by our command of the ocean, it was soon, very soon discovered as it proceeded, that the export and dealing in grain was the most lucrative branch

of trade, as it wanted no manufacturing at home, or warehousing abroad to wait for a market. This produced the blockading system and orders in council, captures and detention of Americans, to secure the trade as a monopoly exclusively to British merchants; and a most lucrative one it has been, though till now most effectually disguised. For example, it afforded a quick return and facility of raising money by loans to the government; a quick consumption of what was left on hand to encourage the farmer, and promote agriculture; a means of enlarged revenue to the landholder, by increase of rent; and consequently, a support to the funding system, by an increased means of depositing savings, as fortunes for junior branches of families. But all these means of greatness on which the support, the strength, and almost the existence of the empire depended, are passed away as it were in a moment, never to return.

Such has been the effect of the impolicy of putting down Napoleon, to elevate Alexander. What have we gained? Napoleon was a mere pigmy to Alexander, his boasting served to talk about, but he could have been managed and guarded against. Alexander is a still, steady, man of business; laying firm hold of all he can get, and relinquishing nothing, nor is there any power now that can compel him.

Let us look at this corn monopoly, and consider it attentively, and then we shall be able to judge. For now we find that while the monopoly of trade has provided the means for the ministry to embroil one country after another in the contest, and add one colony after another to extend trade, it has not added one shilling to the capital of the country; for all the advantages of this industry have been given away in loans and subsidies to foreigners, to enable them to fight their own battles, and ultimately to establish themselves at our expence and ruin; with the addition of our capital of one thousand millions constituting the national debt, amusing us with the supreme felicity of doing the business of all the world, and giving away all the profit at the same time, together with all the cash capital into the bargain; it being asserted by our best informed politicians that the government have expended during this twenty years war among foreign powers, and given away, one thousand five hundred millions worth of the national property. the fruit of our industry, during that period.

That it is the loss of the corn monopoly before described to which we owe our present condition and nothing else. do but recollect the great exertions made by Napoleon to destroy our manufacturing branches by driving us from the market of the continent; call to mind the great quantities of colonial produce we had lying in our warehouses, bonded, waiting for a market, and was there at that time such distress as now? Is not this all sold, and the market open to us every where? And can our manufactures have a

worse market now than when Napoleon's continental system was in full vigor? So that the present situation of the country does not arise from the ordinary circumstances of general trade, but from the failure of this one branch in particular, and that it has ceased for ever is certain.

The government from want of foresight have been looking to France only as a rival, and instead of making terms with Napoleon as they could have done, and good ones too, determined on her destruction by raising a civil war in her bosom, if possible to check and put a stop to her agriculture and manufactures, in which they have hitherto failed, whereas true policy should have dictated conciliation, and the closest affiliation, to raise a barrier against that regularly encroaching and overwhelming power—Russia. What has Russia gained by the war? The whole of the Caspian Sea and ten provinces of Persia; the best half of Sweden, viz. Finland, nearly the whole of Poland. Yes, Poland is conceded! Poland that country from whence we have these twenty years drawn such a mine of wealth, whose whole growth was at our command, and could be purchased under forty shillings per quarter, and often sold again at one hundred and fifty. This granary of Europe in the hands of Russia, with the growth, industry and enterprise of America, must convince the most sceptical, to form such a competition we cannot meet in the market of the world, so lately all our own: nor can any bounties on exportation, or any other expedient afford permanent relief. We must have a radical change of system before any good can be effected. I shall in this work submit a plan for that purpose, compleatly to remedy the evils the nation is now subject to, and to prevent a recurrence. Something must be done since the nation has like a rich gambler, dissipated the active principle, capital; and raised every where powerful competitions to her industry, possessing her capital, while she is wholly without, and overwhelmed with debt.

Trade, foreign and domestic is extended in proportion to the extension of consumption; an industrious nation by acquiring capital, and that spreading through all ranks of society enabling every body to supply their wants, by increasing consumption, creates an active domestic trade; which cannot exist longer than such capital remains afloat among the people, as it is the consumption of the great body of the people that makes trade. Taxation, by drawing the capital out of the possession of the people puts a check upon consumption, and if the produce of the taxes is given to foreigners, it can only be drawn back by a decreased consumption at home, and increased exportation abroad. This increased exportation holding out the means of the recovery of decreasing capital, causes the government and people to supply the want of real capital with credit, which so long

as the trade continues, answers as a substitute from necessity; but if the trade should fail, and that suddenly, all is distress and confusion. Witness our present situation: our rivers and canals have carried our produce of industry in the usual manner to the ports, our docks, quays, granaries, warehouses, &c. &c. are loaded with every commodity ready for sale to foreigners. We are all in debt to one another and have no money to buy for our own use, and if we cannot sell abroad, we must starve and go naked at home in the midst of the real wealth of empires rotting in our stores, for want of consumption. Is this as it ought to be? What is the best remedy? Let every man turn his thoughts to that, there is talent, patriotism, and virtue enough among us, to rise superior to any difficulty with proper application. This country is now feeling the same situation of distress that has long been inflicted on Ireland, who from the annihilation of her parliament, and the establishment of a military government has been compelled without appeal to submit to exist almost entirely on that one part of her produce, potatoes; and export the most valuable, the linen, wool, beef, pork, butter, and grain, without importing any articles of consumption for subsistence; which I conceive must prove the premises I have advanced of our extensive exportation of the necessaries of life. Thus the Irish people have been forced under the influence of the bayonet, reluctantly to starve, and go naked in the midst of the plenty produced by the toil of their hands; and allow it to be torn from them to feed foreigners for the sake of revenue wherever a market could be found, like the feudal vassals of Poland. And to what Ireland now is, England is fast approaching.

England and Scotland have exported at the same time at least half of their produce to procure revenue, while all the grain to be sold in the world was at our command to buy and sell at our own prices, and this trade produced incalculable sources of revenue, extracted from other countries. But now this trade is thrown open by the peace, how changed is our condition! This was the stay of our greatness, once destroyed we are humbled to the dust. This country has never been able to provide during this long war for her great expenditure from means within herself, nor can she now, and he must be a wise man indeed that can point out the source of supply. Parliament is said to be omnipotent, they may vote sixty millions of taxes, but it will put their omnipotence to the test to raise it. When this corn trade, this productive monopoly was in full vigor and had inflated our nominal capital, (for it was but nominal,) and our pride to the highest pitch, it did not yield quite seventy millions with all the war taxes. Now contrary circumstances, viz. despondency, and capital already nominally reduced one half, can by no means be made capable of yielding more than half the sum of taxes. Can then government extract this

year more than thirty millions of taxes? I assert they cannot: all they will get beyond this sum must be by seizing on capital, as Mr. Western shews they have already done last year by the increase of executions and extents; or they must compel the Bank instead of paying the public creditor nine millions, as they have engaged to do by their contract for a loan to that amount, to pay the whole forty-five millions interest of the public funds, in their precious paper currency (*that represents nothing*) on their own account, and then Mr. Cobbett and those that think with him, I hope will have paper enough.

Nor will this be of any consequence to the Bank if the public are satisfied, it cannot make them worse than they are, as they have been declared insolvent since the year 1797: when they stopped payment, and the public instead of enforcing the statute of bankruptcy against them and making a dividend of effects, took the guarantee of their great friend the government, for the bills they might issue, or were out-standing against them. And as in most such cases both fail together, notwithstanding their mutual accommodation; this national accommodation has produced a nation of bankrupts, with an exorbitant quantity of unsaleable commodities on hand, agricultural produce in particular; for having been in the habit of selling one half of our produce to pay the wages of labourers to enable them to purchase the other for consumption, and now having few foreign customers, the proprietors are surrounded with it in bulk, staring at each other and pretending not to know what is the matter. Meanwhile the people are starving in the midst of that plenty their industry has produced, deceived, and amused by all the means falshood can invent. — But the mice and rats that have preserved their natural rights; nay, the fowls, hogs, and cattle that are subjects, may feast and enjoy if they can break through and steal, without fear of the gallows or bayonet. But what is the condition of the people, the poor people, Mr. Burke's swinish multitude? How are they to be treated? Must they be subjected to sanguinary laws, to be henceforward executed under the death-awing influence of the bayonet? Why they should be contented certainly! As three ways are preparing to put an end to their miseries.—viz: Mr. Malthus's just, natural, equitable, merciful, Christian, quiet mode of starvation, for as their usual employers must give all they have to the government they cannot pay them for their labour, and if they cannot find a market for their labour, quoth Malthus, "they have no claim of right to the smallest portion of food, and in fact, have no business to be where they are"! If they agree with this philosopher, they will quietly retire to their heavenly father and leave the produce of the earth to rot, or to be disposed of as the government and other proprietors shall think fit—but should they, being rea-

nable creatures follow the example of the dumb brutes (knowing so much better, and not having the same instinct) be caught pilfering, they will be handed over to the hangman, to get their just deserts, agreeably to those laws, they have consented, should be made, by their *real Representatives*; or if, as God forbid, they should be so wicked, being instigated by the devil, as riotously to assemble to satisfy their lustful appetites by invading the lawful property of the present legitimate, natural, and right-divine lords of the soil, they must take the consequence of their temerity, and have their throats cut as a just reward for refusing such *wholesome philosophic and humane* advice, and disregarding such *just and necessary* laws, and Lord have mercy on their souls, when they shall cease to exist in a bodily form, under the natural guardianship of *Parish Officers, Hangmen and Soldiers*.

Enough of this you will exclaim, so I will leave it to that giant in argument Mr. Cobbett, to whom however I will presume to say a word or two on his complaint of withdrawing paper from circulation optionally in the absence of cash, a thing in itself impossible, as may easily be shewn, and therefore he labours under a mistake, or purposely blinks the matter, for he has not, nor can he shew how this is to be done. The great circulator of medium, cash or paper, is commerce. The goods going out and coming in at the ports are represented by merchants' bills to factors or agents, and if for grain they pass on to the farmers, who to convert them into cash for small sums to pay labour, &c. have need of a bank near them to discount: the same of other commodities, a continually increasing demand from abroad increasing the prices, continues to swell the quantity of medium in circulation; our great trade, therefore, caused our great circulation to represent it, hence country banks; for be it remembered, that it is commerce and trade that produce the circulating medium, and not the circulating medium, commerce and trade. Contrary circumstances, viz. a decline of commerce and reduction of prices, represented by fewer bills, less small sums being wanted, country banks are destroyed from the depreciated value of their paper in circulation, which in many instances (where bankruptcy has taken place) has been returned to the issuers under half a crown in the pound. All paper in circulation, of whatever description it may be, is the representation of debt, and the country bankers, from a decline in their trade of lending paper at five per cent. are unable to pay their debts of paper demands outstanding against them, and the government has not become guarantee for them; this it is that has given room for the paper of the bank of England, which possessing more of the public confidence (from the guarantee of the government, and not from any superior intrinsic value) becomes of greater and superior consideration, being looked upon now as government paper, and as commodities in trade must be represented by a

medium, so long as this agent of the government continues to discount, the sum wanted will be had; however few the persons may be, through whose agency it is procured, and should the Bank refuse to discount at all, their notes (being now the only circulating medium) would not return to the Bank, other great capitalists would collect and use them for the purpose of discounting in their stead.

But whatever our situation may be at home, it cannot be considered without relation to connections abroad, how do we stand with regard to external relations, are we not of minor influence, now Napoleon is put down, what is there on the Continent to engage the attention of the different powers and divert them from a crusade against ourselves, now we are becoming poor, if we do not yield a ready compliance to their wishes? Are we, can we, call ourselves free, if we are under the influence of the Vienna congress of kings?—Our prince is but one of the members, for us a fearful minority. Can he, then, be considered a free agent, the unbiassed, the independent first magistrate of a free people? Or shall we consider our ministers the ministers of the congress? Our generals (now on the Continent) the generals of the congress? Nay, our country may be under the government of the congress like Spain and France. To whom are the deeds of all the Bourbons since their restoration attributable but to the congress?—If the congress protect the agents that commit the horrid deeds, is it not the same in effect as if they ordered the execution? And must, and shall England too, submit to this?—Shall her people and government be brought in collision with each other?—Shall her parliament be shut up?—Shall her merchants and trade be put down to establish a military feudal despotism, like Spain, and France, and Russia, at the mandate of a congress of kings? Look to it, a system of Jesuitism may be established by this congress in more ways than one, and our ministers have given sufficient proof they belong to the corps. And has the precious Pitt-system brought us to this? Is the sun of Britain's glory setting for ever? Shall this noble, generous, industrious nation expire, writhing and agonized at every pore, under the torturing domination of the Pagan flesh-mongers of the Continent?—This nation, to whom the modern world owes so many, and such great obligations—the parent and nurse of liberty, civil and religious—the radiance of whose brightness has pierced all corners of the earth, extending a knowledge of the blessings of freedom; all the present enlightenment of mankind emanates from this small spot, this England, as from a divinity. What nation supported and established the reformation of the church against the Pagan influence of the Pope, the inquisition, and Philip, receiving into her bosom and adopting the persecuted, the oppressed, of all nations? England. Who protected and established the liberty of the Dutch? England. From whence proceeded the freedom of America? From England. In what country was the dawning liberty of France hailed with enthu-



siasm? In England. Who assembled the cortes of Spain to promulgate their glorious constitution? England. And all this, and much more, and for what,—to enslave ourselves? Look at what we are: despots were ever enemies of liberty, and we have retrograded in influence in exact proportion to our connection with them, and if we do not intend to be cozened, cajoled, and *protected* out of our liberty, like Spain, and France, and Holland, and Italy, and Naples, we must give up the connection. England cannot exist but in defiance of despots. If we withdraw our armies and leave them to themselves, we shall be safe; attack us then they dare not, such would be our influence, that the whole Continent would be at our command, if we willed it to be free, despotism would be destroyed in an instant. There have already been three great eras from which to date the liberty of the world, that of Moses, that of the Christian, and that of Alfred, and a new one has arrived.

From the date of the first, when Moses established his agrarian republic, to this hour the struggle of despotism has never ceased in endeavouring to reduce mankind again to universal slavery; but now it cannot succeed, it is so well understood, universally public opinion rejects it, and that is the lever with which the world is moved. The divine laws promulgated through the interposition of Moses, command the establishment of an agrarian common-wealth, a republic. The Israelites were every one of them to have a possession in land for ever—not to have kings like the people they displaced, as they were the cause of all manner of wickedness, nor lords like the Philistines, for if not quite so bad, they were much too bad, God is said to have declared. But they were to live on a footing of *equality*, every one under his own vine, and under his own fig-tree, brothers and equals, pledged to each other for the fulfilment of this law, which if it be the revealed will of God, why is it not done? These laws, written and promulgated among a whole nation, and the basis of general education, has preserved them to this day, through all changes and vicissitudes, on account of their justice and excellencies—but what has become of the records of empires, what remains of their laws, the fleeting mandates of emperors and kings, execrated while living, and only remembered in proportion to their detestable devastating and cruel oppressions when defunct? And the Christian epoch was ushered into the world on the broadest republican principles, the church has all along; and every where been administered on the principle of a republic. The Roman-catholic church, the Greek church, the reformed church, and all others emanating from them, more or less retain the principles and policy of the first Christians. Their ministers and functionaries remain elective, and their real or permanent property is held in common—in partnership, like a joint-stock company. I repeat it, for it cannot be too often repeated, that their lands and buildings are the property of the church, and **not of indivi-**

duals ; nor is there, nor has there ever been any hereditament in the property of the church ; and what the members do not occupy they let, and divide the rent among them, and this is the policy admitted to be a revelation from the deity. God in all his commands, has been most explicit in declaring, whoever shall oppose this, his just system of policy, are his enemies, from whence it follows, that all the land and all the buildings in a Christian community should be the declared property of all the people (who are equally members of the church, brothers and equals in the sight of God) and should be let on their account, and the rents equally divided among them, to every man, woman, and child. The territory of a nation is the people's farm, provided for them by their great Creator, who, when he sends an individual into the world, sends an equal to those already there,—a partner,—a proprietor ; and whoever set themselves up to withhold, set aside, or oppose this claim, this, his just system of policy, are declared enemies of God, and not Christians. I ask the present pretended proprietors of the world, how came it their's ? Did they make it, and the people they call their subjects ? If not, did the Maker of it give it to them, with the people it contains ? Judaism and Christianity assure us to the contrary ; and in the most positive and unqualified terms give us to understand, that God gave the earth we inhabit, equally for the use of all the human race ; and both these institutions instruct us to believe, that God, the Creator of the world, has commanded the observance of laws founded on equality, justice, and fraternity ; in whose policy are not to be found kings and subjects, lords and slaves, landlords and paupers. Courts, and kings, and lords, and landlords, and slaves, and oppression, and war, and priests, and ignorance, are the produce of paganism—they were pagan in their origin, and they remain pagan still. Idolatry was their parent, and it is observable with what pertinacity they adhere to it even now. In which of their dwellings will not be found the pictures, the statues, the busts, of their Jupiters, Junos, Apollos, Dianas, Venuses, &c. &c. ? Tyrants, and pomp, and monopoly, and cruelty, and all and every proceeding for ages, and at the present day, are the direct reverse of Christianity. There is but one sect of Christians extant, viz.—the Moravians, who make common stock of what they possess. And what is the cause we find things so different to what they were ordained to be ? The question is easily solved,—corruption and paganism. History informs us the first Christians, as they were the conquered slaves of the Romans, and being Jews could not enjoy their laws by possessing land, made common stock of all the effects they could acquire ; which system continued among them till the time of the emperor Constantine, who, by joining the church to the government, corrupted its leaders, divided its members (till then brothers and equals) into clergy and laity, made the clergy the depositaries of the joint-stock property of

the church to be from that time administered for their use, no longer as a *right* but as a *charity*.

From this appointment proceeded the connection of church and state—of Christianity and paganism : the convert to Christianity was no longer required to surrender his property to the church as a necessary qualification to become a Christian ; the clergy were contented to receive his professions of faith only with an offering to themselves ; allowing kings to become Christians by profession, and retain all their pagan power, cruelty, and oppression ; and also the nobles, and retain all their feudal domains, slaves, and exactions—Christians by profession, pagans in practice ;—the cause of all the evils humanity has to deplore, wars, proscriptions, famines, massacres, and every species of destruction ;—the sword of the state, the anathema of the church ;—extermination on one hand, persecution on the other ;—the tyranny of the government, the blazing faggot of the priest. The true, genuine, practical Christian who adhered to its policy, has every where been hunted down with the cry of heresy, by this monster, compounded of pride and cruelty. All the bonds of society broken asunder, a chaos of confusion has succeeded, of neither paganism nor Christianity.

Turn, O, turn, to the page of history, and judge from thence if that good and virtuous man, Jesus Christ, did any thing more than endeavour to enforce an observance of the laws of Moses as a divine system of policy, to re-produce that harmony and brotherhood so necessary for the well being of society. Was it not the pagan Greeks, that made this man a divinity, and not his first followers, the Jews ? They had for ages been in the practice of deifying men, but it is well known the Jews were commanded to deify no man.\* This epoch, then, of Christianity, was a renewal of Judaism ; arising from the dispersion of the Jews in the Roman colonies, and thereby an extended knowledge of the written, equitable, laws of Moses, whose policy was so directly at variance with that of paganism, and

\* This man, a Roman slave, crucified as a slave, (the mode of execution peculiar to Roman slaves) for preaching the seditious doctrine that God was the proprietor of the earth, and not the Romans ; that all men were equal in his sight, and consequently ought not to be slaves to one another, nor to the Romans ; for which he was crucified by the Romans. His Hebrew name was Joshua, being a Jew. His name as given us is Greek, being Jesus, for Joshua, and Christ for the Anointed, meaning, in the compound, Jesus Christ, for Joshua the Anointed. Our account of him is also Greek ; the first council, called by the emperor Constantine, having destroyed all the Hebrew writings, to put down the laws of Moses, and introduce a new theology agreeable to the court, by whom they were overawed, and under whose influence they were induced to adopt the Greek or pagan gospels, or writings, and reject the Hebrew ; and this is easily accounted for, the court being Greek. Thus a new God, or idol, was added to the pantheon of their deities, in the effigy of the cross, and their pagan rites of devotion, the idolatrous ceremonies of fanaticism superseded the just, simple, and divinely equitable institution, intended for the happiness of mankind.

though, by this means, they became grossly corrupted with pagan superstition, yet their promulgation had the effect of destroying the principles that combined, and thereby dissolving the power, of that almost universal, imperial, pagan despotism, founded at Rome; that claimed the whole earth as its inheritance, deluging countries with blood, and selling the inhabitants for slaves. Yes, it was the promulgating these laws by the founders of Christianity among pagan nations, enforcing the natural and divine precept, that "God gave the earth to the children of men," and created them brothers and equals; that freed the bodies of men from slavery, from being bought and sold in markets like cattle, and being life and limb at the disposal of their masters or owners; from time immemorial the policy of pagans: and they can be nothing else that continue it now, let their professions be whatever they may. Whoever was the founder, or founders of Christianity, they were truly the saviours of the world; to them we owe freedom, learning, and every blessing and improvement. If ever the policy of the first Christians shall be understood and universally acted upon, then mankind will be happy, and free as air, they will enjoy a millenium indeed; not that spiritual millennium expected by dreamers and fanatics, but a political millennium; for Christianity being founded in natural justice, is more a political than a spiritual institution: the spiritual part being introduced as an auxiliary to effect the establishment of the political. Christianity, is, in fact, true philosophy, and philanthropy.\* And what produced the present enlightened, free, and improved state of European society? The exertions of another great, good, and virtuous man, who, like the former, had been witness to the sufferings, the people endured from the effect of paganism, war, rapine, and exactions; and being happily furnished with the preceding examples, while opportunity favoured his philanthropy, again to renew and bring into use their only powerful antidote,—the laws of Moses. Yes, it cannot be denied that Alfred the Great, Alfred the Good, whose

\* I challenge, nay, I defy refutation, that Christianity, such as I have described it, (a just system of policy by participation of right in the gifts of nature) would produce that brotherhood and harmony in the world, so emphatically described by the simile of the lion laying down with the lamb, as kings would be harmless, and people innocent; then might they beat their spears into pruning hooks, and their swords into ploughshares, as the cause of war would be removed. The Moravians and Quakers are striking examples of this assertion, for what kind of hostility do they promote? Or who ever heard of one individual of these institutions ever having been executed for crime, or so much as convicted of a capital offence, although subject to the same general policy and pressure of circumstances as other people, and surrounded with bad examples? From what other cause can this difference of morals proceed, but their Christian principle of considering all the members of their communities brothers or friends, and administering their property for the benefit of the whole society? Then, let me ask, what would be the situation of society if such a system were generally established?

name will never be forgotten while that of Moses shall remain, not because he was king of England and subdued the Danes ; but because he was a philosopher, a philanthropist, and law-giver, who, guided by justice, again established in this island the agrarian common-wealth, rooting out that enemy to mankind,—paganism ; by destroying feudality in the soil, (its only support,) and dividing the land among the people, assigning to every ten families a certain portion as an inheritance for ever. This corporation or community, called a tything, had for its administration an officer or tything-man. Ten of these tythings constituted a hundred, containing a court for the recovery of debts, &c. ; all the land within their boundary belonged to the hundred, and as the tythings increased, the waste was to be taken in by those who might want it, with the consent of the whole. These hundreds, federated into counties, had (like the towns,) elders, with a fixed portion or allotment of land attached to their office of administration for their support, and were agents for communication with the king ; and the king reserved for his revenue, forests, chases, and the like, not necessary for cultivation. These elders, or eldermen, are what is now called aldermen of towns, and earls of counties. The community constituting a county, was pledged to one another by what was called frank pledge, to prevent damage of any sort among themselves, or to strangers passing through or trading with them. If an individual was robbed, or attacked, or received damage of any sort in any county, hundred, or tything, and the officers and people did not take means to secure the offender, by assembling at the hue-and-cry of the person aggrieved, or the call of the tything-man and other officers, they were answerable themselves for such damage, and liable to be taxed, or amerced, to make it good. This Mosaic diffusion of the natural property of the nation among the people, and the security of persons and property in the institution of trial by jury, produced (we are informed by historians) the most free, the most virtuous, and happy state of society, the world ever experienced.

The excellencies of this establishment, exceeding all others ever known as a monarchy, consisting of a patriarchal king, and government of elders, of the true Mosaic order, the people one family, the territory of the nation their farm, established by common consent of king and people, if granted to be a CONSTITUTION, is the only one England ever had ; nor is there any other to be found, and I defy the producing, explaining, or propounding any other, made, consented to, written, or unwritten, at any time, or place, its date or existence, if by constitution be meant an agreement of the nation to an instrument drawn up, consisting of articles and sections, like that of America ; (the only one now remaining in the world) that of the republic of France ; the cortes of Spain ; and the Jewish by Moses ;—defining the powers and forms of government—the

rights of the people—the security of their persons and properties. I say again there is no such instrument extant, and if any thing is meant by the *glorious constitution of OLD ENGLAND*, it must mean this **GLORIOUS CONSTITUTION** of the third saviour of the world,—**ALFRED**.

All governments not so regulated, are governments of *assumption*, expediency, and caprice; variable, unsettled, and insecure, producing all the misery the world is subject to, but mankind now begin to understand what is meant by **CONSTITUTIONS**, that they are written, solemn compacts of agreement, that bind all the members of a state. And this long, this cruel, and sanguinary war of pagan, assumed despotism, against liberty; has been carried on for no other purpose than to prevent the promulgation of the freedom of mankind by the establishment of constitutions. America beware! Your constitution is the only remaining barrier to prevent the universal assumption of despotism, and, by military coercion, the subjection of the world, once more, if not for ever, to feudal slavery. For the great struggle is between the opposing principles of despotic, lawless, undefined, pagan assumption; and the defined, written, constitutional, free, common-wealth system, introduced by **Moses**, and acknowledged to have emanated from the **Deity**. The supporters of assumption and undefined power evince, by their actions, a total disregard and denial of God, and are atheists in the true sense of the word, as they set up men to be worshipped in his place, in the persons of emperors and kings, and are always ready to do any thing, however atrocious in support of their idol—on the contrary, the advocates of justice, and equal participation in the blessings and elements of nature, secured to every individual by written, defined, constitutional, unoppressive laws, are the ministers of the will of God, and the only true Christians, however they may be stigmatised with the appellations of infidels, jacobins, atheists, &c. &c. &c. by their enemies. And such we know are the recorded opinions of the founders of Christianity, witness this expression of St. Justin: “He that is virtuous is a Christian, though he be otherwise an atheist,” and their choice and election of Synesius to be bishop of Ptolemais, in the fifth century, though he was a philosopher, and denied the dogmas of Christianity.\* Thus I say again, Alfred was the third saviour of the liberties of the world; his constitution was a written one, that could always be referred to in the Bible, and like that of Moses, could never be forgotten; all the tyranny of the pagan Norman conquest, could not obliterate it, the people of this country, like the Jews, have continued to struggle for its re-attainment, and much of its privileges, laws, and forms, have been restored by partial grants, charters, and immunities, wrung from despots by a never-ceasing succession of patriots

Vide Heivetus on Man, section ii. chap. 16.

of **SIDNEYS, RUSSELLS, and HAMPDENS**; but the great desideratum, the only source of freedom to a people, has been all along and is still withheld,—the possession of the land. Freedom cannot be secured by any expedient or form of government, however good, but by justice, and the security of this public and natural property in the possession of the people, the whole people; so clearly pointed out by divinity, by philosophy, and all those social relations that acknowledge the natural equality of men. Without the restoration of the land, the gift of God to the people, reforms, and revolutions, are unavailing; they are but mere struggles for power, effusions of madness, which rise like a mob, and subside, or are put down like a mob, and the oppression continues, or returns with redoubled force. While this pagan monopoly of land by individuals shall continue, no permanent relief can be administered; the people in all countries will be miserable, must starve in the midst of plenty, produced by their own labour. What their industry extracts from the soil, the grain, the meat, the clothing, will continue to be exported for the use of foreigners; or extravagantly dissipated in the palaces, the castles, the halls, the villas, of their unfeeling masters; allowing them the scraps and offal, the true condition of slaves: and true it is there is no remedy for all this, but the return to the first principles of Christianity. All the land, the waters, the mines, the houses, and all permanent feudal property, must return to the people, the whole people, and be administered in partnership, like that of the church. With Christian professions, institute Christian policy, and all the happiness society is capable of, will ensue. The East India company is an example what partnerships are capable of, and the social bias of the human mind is calculated to produce this kind of association, witness, corporations; trading, mining, shipping, canal, and other companies; all of which are like the church, joint-stock associations, proved by long experience to be the most *natural, unchangeable, peaceable, just*, and consequently desirable state of society; then why not a national partnership by federation, beginning with parishes? Nothing is more easy, as the plan I intend will shew; to do justice is always easy: it is injustice that requires management, policy, and expediency in its support. What says divinity:—“Cursed is he that removes his neighbour’s land-mark.” What say despotism and feudality? The land is mine. What says divinity? God gave the earth to the children of men, to all mankind in common, commanding them to be fruitful and replenish it with inhabitants, to live in amity, sociality, and brotherhood, positively commanding—“Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour’s house, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor any thing that is thy neighbour’s.” But what say despotism and feudality? The land, the waters, the houses, the corn, the cattle, nay, every thing upon the face of the earth, even the persons of men, women, and children, are mine; in defiance of the laws of God, and all

rights, human or divine. Landlords, then, and landlords only are the oppressors of the people; they set themselves up for divinities, the dispensers of life and death; they covet whole parishes, towns, and counties, nay, whole countries would not suffice; fire, blood, and rapine, are their instruments to procure the inheritance of the earth, and infamous laws to secure it. God and nature give to all an increase in proportion to their industry, but these harpies seize it, they store it up, hedge it round with edicts, make what waste they please, or convey it to distant regions in exchange for what their souls lust after; thus the national property, the people's farm, for the management of which they must toil, must build, must till, must defend, not for themselves as designed, but for the feudal lord, the landlord, who assumes to himself to exclaim to his fellow men, "The land is mine, bow down to me, you vassal slaves; know ye not, that if I choose to let my wide domains lie barren and uncultivated, you must die? Yes; die miserably—perish with hunger. I am your lord; by my will you live, move, and have your being." Thus landlords, the remains of paganism, supersede the power of the Divinity—his laws—his commands. While they deny the majesty of the throne any part of this inheritance with them, for they make the king and his family their pensioners at so much a-year, as though they were only agents for the execution of their abominable mandates; and for the needy, the widow, and the fatherless, they build prisons, and call them workhouses; by which to dispose of their victims of misery and oppression. But the sacred records declare, that such establishments shall not endure in peace, and the awful visitations arising therefrom in our own days are evidence, that till we put away the abomination of desolation, paganism; and return to a just administration of that property which is equally the natural right of all, by abolishing lordship in the soil, the earth will be filled with violence, will continue to be deluged with blood. Christian policy would make this world a paradise. the prevailing pagan system constitutes it a hell: both are now fairly and truly before you, reader, choose for yourself. The time is come that something must be done, then let that something be effectual; remember, that had the French people established a partnership in the land, (instead of selling it to individuals as national domains,) no imperial tyranny ever could have raised its head in that country, nor could the present pagan restoration have taken place; no, the change has been effected by landlordism, the republican government destroyed itself by the sale of domains, by selling that which no man can have a right by nature to buy or sell. This has been the destruction of France; the agents of her government, and the generals, by contributions at home and in foreign countries, acquired wealth, bought large estates, (truly fields of blood,) raised an individual to empire, that he might secure them in the possessions



acquired, ennoble their families, drive the great mass of the people back into subjection, and conclude with a mere change of persons, and making enemies of surrounding states; those enemies, by a powerful combination, had only to remove the persons exercising the functions of government in France, and the old regime came into establishment as a matter of course. But, fear not: paganism has received a deadly blow, from which it can never recover; it is exposed, the veil is removed, the mask is fallen off, and it stands confessed in all its horrid deformity. Ignorance, that magic spell with which she bound the nations, is fast dissolving before the bright rays of knowledge, every where bursting into birth, to illumine the road to justice, the real standard of happiness. Mankind will be free, will order their associations in conformity with nature, and that bias to affiliation, constantly operating in all their general concerns. A partnership in the land is strictly just; it would remove the cause of wars among kings and landlords for acquisitions of territory—of law-suits, contentions, and ruin, among communities, families, and individuals, about titles and inheritance; would lay the foundation of peace, happiness, and security; would establish all that the scriptures command; all that religion enjoins; all that the established Christian church, by their policy, practice and enjoy. If our divine institutions, our real constitution, established by our pious Saxon ancestors, was destroyed by the tyranny of the Norman conquest; that again introduced paganism, (the feudal system) which has lasted eight centuries, is it not time it should be wholly abolished? If conquest gives right, and is the best title to possession of land, as our laws allow, and our lawyers contend, and the doomsday book, made by William the Norman, is the most ancient and efficient record to which our courts of law think proper to refer; now is the time to cancel this record, to call upon these proprietors and possessors by conquest for a restoration. They are not the nation, but the masters of the nation, and to retain their situation as such, and to defend themselves in that character they have sold their conquest, their estates, back again to the nation, by borrowing of it, one thousand millions of money on mortgage on this conquest, these feudal estates, being their full value. As they have no longer the means to pay the interest, their title ceases, and it is a fair, a legal, a just proposition to make, and one to which none but a tyrant can object, to propose, that the debt should be cancelled, and the national estate restored to the people; that these dignified and titled stewards of the public should, in lieu of this claim, to the land of the whole of the three nations constituting England, Scotland, and Ireland; be content in future to receive pensions in proportion to their rank, out of the rental as payment for their agency to do the public business, like the king and his family, the officers of state, of the army and navy, the clergy, the magistrates, &c. &c. &c. This is our

natural situation, all our improvements lead us towards its accomplishment, it arises out of our old Saxon institutions, and the part, the very small part, re-captured as it were from the conquest at different times and on different occasions; yes, this small re-capture, this freedom by scraps, has enabled us to take the lead in the world as a nation, and enlighten all mankind. This new era, then, is the influence of public opinion to obtain constitutions, and England wilt thou not be its champion, its pilot, when freedom is the cause? All eyes are turned on thee,—to thee the suffering nations turn their mournful looks—from thee arose the knowledge of freedom—thou hast been the tutor of the world. Hope every where expected from thee assistance—why then enmity? Thou who hast been boasting so loudly of thy glorious constitution—wouldst thou that none should be free but thyself? Where is thy generosity? Is it extinct, or art thou bereft of sense, and thy energies paralyzed by the dominating phalanx of Pitt? Well might the last ejaculation of that enemy of the human race be, “Oh, my country!” That country once so free, once so hospitable, once so noble, once so generous, once so social and happy, reduced to a nation of swindlers, to satisfy pride and ambition on one part, and dire necessity on the other. Then dream no longer, shake off this lethargy, and be thyself again. At least be free thyself. Remember freedom made thee what thou hast been—recollect it is recorded, and that truly,

“A time there was ere England’s griefs began,

“When every rood of ground maintain’d its man.”

And then thou hadst a constitution, which is no where to be found now. I have lived long enough to witness the effect of enclosure after enclosure, and tax after tax; expelling the cottager from gleaning the open fields, from his right of the common, from his cottage, his hovel, once his own; robbing him of his little store, his pig, his fowls, his fuel; thereby reducing him to a pauper, a slave. A slave! Aye, more a slave than the poor African in the plantations; the African’s master is bound to feed him though he be unemployed, but the law-making landlords after robbing the poor of their all, wish to bind themselves to nothing. They have rewarded a wretch, they every day extol, for writing a book to shew that the labouring classes have no right to exist, but at the will of these monopolizing landlords; no right to the smallest part of the fruits of the earth, if these monopolists do not choose to employ them, though their labour produces every thing; no right even to propagate their species, unpossessed of property to support them; if they do, they and their children ought to be left to perish, as the earth given by God to the human race, of right belongs to these landlords, and of course the people to boot, and such he says “are the laws of nature which are the laws of God.” Yes, my reverend philosopher,—yes, priest of paganism, your principles are in full operation; all that you said ought to be, now is; your whole work is but an excuse for the effect of measures

long acted upon ; for while these taskmasters, like those of Pharaoh, have been enclosing, engrossing, and monopolizing the land, and thereby its produce, they have continued exclaiming, "Ye are idle ! ye are idle ! work and pay taxes, double taxes, triple taxes, quadruple taxes, as when you had land ; there are markets enough for your industry. What do you want ? What is the land to you ? Are not we the stewards of the public, continually engaged in opening new channels to your industry, till you are become the workshop of the world ; and ought we not to have the land for our care and management ? To be sure we ought, aye, and all the profits of your labour also in taxes, to divide among us, or do with as we think proper. We know best, leave all to us, no grumbling, do your work, or we will make you ; You talk about reform ! " You have nothing to do with the laws but to obey them."—If you can get victuals and drink that is enough for you—and when you can work no longer, have we not provided you an asylum in the poorhouse to keep you from starving ?" Thus, O ye thinking people of England, have you been duped and swindled out of your natural inheritance by a few landlords, and made to pay all the taxes out of the produce of your labour. Labour is now your only inheritance, and if foreigners refuse to employ you, by refusing to purchase the produce of your labour, Malthus, the mighty Malthus ! the great philosopher Malthus !! the church of England divine Malthus !!! the hireling of pagan landlords, Malthus !!! tells you " you have come into a world already possessed," *lawfully possessed*, and therefore if you cannot find labour you must die ; the possessors are not bound to employ you, to feed you, no, not so much as to bestow on you the smallest charity ; " at nature's mighty feast there is no vacant cover for you." You cannot place the soles of your feet but on some lord's ground, you are trespassers in the world, which nature has bestowed on feudal, pagan landlords ; who as matter of right, can and ought, to treat you as they may think proper. " You are deservedly at the bottom in the scale of society, the brownest bread, with the coarsest and scantiest apparel, is the utmost which you should have the means of purchasing," says Malthus !! You cannot return to your land to employ yourselves, you have not to expect a return of your commons, your gardens, your cottages, your freeholds, &c. &c. that you have relinquished for the benefits of labour, of working to pay taxes. But now ye cannot pay taxes, all the fruit of your industry is given to foreigners, and they know how to use it. Your merchants cannot sell your commodities on better terms than a loss of twenty-five per cent. in any market, when you want a hundred per cent. profit, to enable you to pay the interest of the mortgage of one thousand millions ; for which your whole national estate is pledged, to all appearance its full value. Fifty millions yearly interest of money, to be raised by your labour, five pounds a year for every man, woman, and child, to work

for to pay stocklords, interest of this mortgage, interest of money given by Pitt and Co. to buy slavery and chains ; to set up paganism and the feudal system ; to pay evidently for fighting against God ; to abrogate his will, his laws ; to destroy the essence, the foundation of Christianity ; to plunge the world into darkness that it may be divided by pagan feudal despots. Oh, England ! England ! How hast thou deceived thyself ! What wilt thou do with this debt, this precious legacy of Pitt, that is now crushing thee to the earth ? Will not a few months bring as great distress in the funding market as that of the trading ? Most assuredly it will. From what source can be drawn the surplus capital to buy up the loans contracted, and to be contracted for ? Is it the *profits* of trade, foreign or domestic, every where attended with *loss* ? Is it the usual savings of the holders of land, unable to obtain rent from their tenants ? Is it to be the receivers of the interest of the debt, by refunding what they receive ? How many of these are rentless landlords, that will have nothing else to live upon, and annuitants ? Will it be the officers of the army and navy from their shares of captures and prizes ? Or the agents of government who share the taxes among them as their *just wages* for doing the business of the nation ? Or the sinking fund, set apart out of the taxes for that purpose, amounting to about twelve millions ? Can any of these, or all of them put together, keep afloat government paper ; exchequer, navy, army, and victualling bills ; and buy up loans, old and new, of twenty-eight or thirty millions ; with all the stock that shall be offered for sale in the market ? Or is it the great resources to be collected through Mr. Rose's plan of saving-banks ; to fund all the surplus wages of the labouring classes, now they are starving from want of employ ? If these resources should fail ; and the complection of things at present shews that they must ; will it not be as hard to find a purchaser in three or four months for stock as it is now for land, when the only certain purchaser is exhausted, viz. the commissioners of the sinking fund ? Any person that is not mentally stone blind, must see that this is the true state of the case, whatever is offered to the contrary, yet a proper use made of this so apparently bad situation, would make this country the most powerful, happy, free, and glorious nation in the world, or that ever was in the world ; but a continuation of bad policy will subject it to the first daring enemy. The poor are always deserted, and a nation that has given away its wealth and exhausted all its credit, is not likely to have friends long. If the industry of the nation should continue to retrograde all is lost. It is industry, and industry alone, that is strength, and wealth, and happiness, by emulation in useful pursuits, which when perverted, or checked by any cause, produce riots, rebellions, wars, and disorders. The only thing needful, then, is to untrammel our industry by doing away with debt and taxation. How insufficient, how weak, how puerile, are all the

arguments in and out of parliament on this great national concern. All is crafty shuffle and cut, management; and expediency, to keep the danger out of sight, but come it will. Nothing but the sale of the corn will do, and that too at a good price, it must fetch a hundred and fifty shillings per quarter; half prices will not do, the payment must come from foreigners as usual, and in the same quantities; the people cannot buy till they get money. I say, the corn, the beef, the pork, the butter of Ireland, together with our own surplus produce, must go abroad to get the money, or money's worth, or no transfers can be made, or dividends received at the Bank for any great length of time. The end is come, and a new era arrived; let it be hailed as a jubilee, to cancel the great debt, restore the land to the people, and establish a written constitution, defining the forms and powers of government, the rights of the people, the security of their persons and properties; that is to say, establish Christianity and abolish paganism.

All governments, of whatever denomination they may be, are but a committee or agency to do the business of the nation; and their paramount duty is, to the utmost of their power, by laws and regulations to remove the obstacles to, and provide the means for, the exercise of the people's industry; to insure to them the means of being well fed, well clothed, well lodged, and well defended; they are the people's servants appointed to that end, and in proportion to their fulfilment of those duties will they be approved, or condemned; supported, or detested; but if on the contrary they assume to do what they please, to be the people's masters, to neglect their welfare, dissipate their property, impoverish them, take their substance by force, render them miserable, and thereby force them into crime by oppression; any such government is to all intents and purposes a tyranny, a band of conspirators and robbers, a scourge to the human race, a thousand times worse than the plague. The plague destroys, but subsides, while a vile government (and all those derived from paganism are vile) has no end to its ravages, it drives the people from their homes, saps their industry by exactions, leaves them neither house, nor goods, nor clothes, nor food; drives them to crime, and murders them by thousands, a thousand different ways; and then perhaps claims a right from God for exercising such abominable authority, thereby establishing hell upon earth. Judge, reader, what sort of a God must they mean: it cannot be the God of the Jews, of the Christians, a good God; no, it must be Mammon, or Moloch, or Baal, or Jupiter, or Woden, or Thor, or Pluto. This nation has nothing standing in the way of a full development of its genius, its greatness, its full meridian glory, but the remains of the conquest, of paganism, of feudality. Imagination is incapable to conceive what the full powers of this nation would produce, unfettered from these remains of superstition and tyranny. Then might we abolish taxation, all pauperism would cease, our manufac-

turies, commerce, and agriculture unshackled would flourish, and we should exhibit to the astonished world, that like a phoenix rising from its ashes, in conjunction with the best principles of government, we possessed a country capable of yielding the utmost possible freedom, comfort, and happiness. A national partnership of the territory, allotted by nature to a people on the principle of the policy of the Christian church, of dividing the rents as profit among all the people, like the profits of a trading company to all the partners; or the dividends of the interest of money lent, like the subscribers to the national debt; or the dividends of the East India company, which are on this principle, for the company let all the conquered land in the East Indies, to the natives, and after paying all the expences of their numerous establishments very liberally, they divide in Leadenhall-street what remains of such rent and profits of trade among the proprietors. Such national partnership is the natural, the indefeasible, the inalienable rights of all mankind, and is what makes Christianity so much superior to Judaism, viz. the more just and equitable mode of dividing the rent or produce of land, than that of dividing land itself. The great philosopher and lawgiver, Moses, as the projector of a system to put mankind in possession of the land, nature intended for their use, is venerated as the servant of God; but Joshua, the son of Joseph and Mary, who is said to have established this division of the rents of the land, (which the church practise) as an improvement in the world more equitable, and easy of practice, as well as more natural; is esteemed a divinity, as the son of God himself, sent down from heaven for that purpose. And my intent in writing this book is to inspire my countrymen, and all mankind if possible, with the consideration of this system of policy, which viewed in whatever light it may, is strictly just, is justice itself; would render the world a paradise, a heaven upon earth; would destroy war, oppression, and misery. There is no case in which justice, humanity, religious benevolence, brotherly love, charity, or goodness of any kind can be practised, that such a system does not embrace, as it combines the essence of all that is divinely good, or deservedly immortal. For how many ages from the elevated temple of justice have we viewed with delight, on shining pedestals of immortality, the images of Moses, Lycurgus, the founders of the Christian church, and the greatest of monarchs, Alfred. If, then, these characters in the practice of justice, under all manner of disadvantages, have gained such immortality, how happy, great, and glorious must be the nation, that shall adopt, and establish this plan of pure and unallayed justice, on a permanent basis of practice—how immortal will be that king, or legislature, under whose auspices it shall be established.

Thus, fellow countrymen, I have endeavoured to present to your view and consideration, what constitutes this country of so much consequence to the world, and my intention is to urge

you to make it of much more real consequence by completing the triumph of defined constitutional principles, over the arbitrary and assumed principles of the Norman conquest. These two opposing principles in our government have operated the frequent changes since the conquest, constantly vacillating from the heterogeneous elements of which they are compounded, admitting of no reconciliation from which a constitution could be formed, but promoting contention from age to age, without ever arriving at a rational conclusion, as a resting place for a permanent and happy establishment. View our history of the frequent civil wars, struggles between these principles in their action and reaction, for the recovery of our Saxon freedom on one hand, and the rights of the conquest on the other. What have they produced? The deposing and executing of kings; the sacrificing of the nobility; the slavery, degradation, and oppression of the people; keeping alive the bad passions, and allowing no time for cool and temperate consideration: all along a government of expediency, and not that legitimate one we have fondly imagined, founded on the will of the people, clearly and unequivocally expressed. The thing wanted both by king and people is a constitution, to secure them in their rights and possessions; the want of which has compelled our kings, on many occasions since the conquest, for their safety against the feudal barons (always their masters) to grant charters to towns as bodies corporate, trading communities, and the like, for protection in the people, (the life of a king being always unsafe in a community purely feudal) and by opening to the people possession of property from industry, to balance the influence of the crown with that of the feudal lords; till the time of the revolution of 1688, when they completely triumphed over the crown.

The parliament in destroying Charles the First without establishing a constitution, added a property and influence to the people they could not recal, and was found to be too powerful for a return of the feudal system on the restoration. And what did these feudal lords and possessors of the soil (from the conquest) do in consequence? Why, finding the crown unwilling to be their tool, or too feeble for their designs, they stripped it of its hereditary claims, its share of the conquest, banished its agents, its possessor, and brought over and established a foreigner, a Dutchman, as their hired tool at so much a year to be their commissioner for executing the functions of royalty. Thus having secured the power and influence of the crown from opposing them, they have never ceased, through the agency of law, to engross and monopolize to themselves the wealth and influence of the people; in which they have completely succeeded. Both king and people now find themselves paralyzed and subjected to one of the most unfeeling powers that can exist, namely, an oligarchy, that degrades the crown by granting or withholding at their pleasure, and questioning,

calling upon, and compelling its agents to account for every shilling in its expenditure ; while they engross, possess, and enjoy the country, uncontrolled and unlimited in their acquisitions, destroying the people by their exactions to gratify their lust of power, corruption, and oppression, wallowing in wealth, and grasping at the command and plunder of the world. But softly, my high and mighty lords, you who compose the cabinet—who represent yourselves in the upper house—whose influence returns a majority in the lower house—who can make an act of parliament without the consent of the king, and restrict at pleasure, the person exercising the functions of royalty\* who, without restraint, can raise your rents of land and houses, double, triple, or fourfold, and thereby engross the whole property of the people, and starve them to death at pleasure—who have borrowed a thousand millions of money to give away for the promotion of war, and destruction of the human race in all quarters of the world, that you might tax the people to pay you interest, for all the surplus savings of your rentals deposited in the funds—who are the great funded proprietors, as well as the landed—who for the increase of revenue to yourselves, have filled the streets with houseless prostitutes, the jails with criminals, the workhouses with paupers, the land with misery, and the world with blood. Softly, I say, have you no compunctions,—is not this going too far ? Will not the impending, the inevitable national bankruptcy, brought upon us by your conduct, produce some alteration in your circumstances, some check to your ambition ? Aye, there's the rub. You have assisted to set up pagan feudal despots, and they will most likely compel you in turn to accept of a military master, that will not be managed at pleasure, but subject you to command in both your persons and fortunes. The crown you have so long held in bondage has now powerful friends, and the congress of kings have not congregated an army of observation, for the sole purpose of protecting kings without an object. You may now consider your reign at an end ; you insisted that France should not be free, should not have the government of her choice, but you would subdue her government and people, by which means you have subdued yourselves. The power you have employed for that purpose now holds you in contempt, and it is out of your power to check the assumptions of the crown, whatever be its views. You have now no means left, no expediency, to prevent the establishment of a military despotism, or all the horrors of a bloody revolution, taking place from a national bankruptcy, but the remedy I propose. Has it not been you, the oligarchy, the land-monopolists, of these realms, that have caused all the troubles, wars, and distractions in Europe and America, for these last fifty years at least ; while you have made the crown, the stalking-horse, the scape goat ?



Are not all the horrors of the colonies, of slavery, of men hunted down by bloodhounds,—of wars on the continent of America, scalping, burning, and hanging—of India, war, rapine, and famine—of Ireland, rebellion, executions, persecution, degradation, military coercion, and every species of oppression—of England, exactions, debt, taxation, deprivation, pauperism, bankruptcy, &c. to be attributed to you; that you might enjoy, by extension of wealth and power, secured to your families for ever in fields of blood? One party of your phalanx pretending to support the crown, and the other reprobating its conduct, to prevent the deception being observed, that the odium might attach to the administration, the servants of the crown in name, but yours in reality. And now, you have brought yourselves to this crisis, do you vainly imagine the crown will continue to be your instrument to carry on the work of devastation, to oppress, starve, hang, and butcher the people, solely for your advantage, that you may be the political devil of the world? Believe it not. But if you are not determined to continue the pursuit of this system, to the destruction of yourselves and your country, now is the favouring moment for an adjustment, for settling this long and cruel contention to the satisfaction of all parties. In the midst of this war of elements much has already been done. Our laws have proceeded to consider all permanent property to be public property, as an act of parliament can alienate, and take from any person or persons, their freeholds or other properties for public uses or improvements,—witness, the erection of public buildings, new streets, docks, barracks, canals, or any other public purposes. Our kings also have relinquished for themselves and families all right or share of possessions, on account of the conquest, which on Christian principles constitutes our king, the most Christian monarch; he being the servant of the public, paid for the execution of his public duties by the people. Surely, my lords, it cannot be unreasonable to request you to follow so *exalted an example*. If you, in like manner, relinquish to the people what remains of the conquest, and receive payment for your duties, in like manner, then, and not till then, a constitution may be formed, and carried into effect in this country that would be the admiration and wonder of the world, and a lasting monument to future ages.

I call upon the world to awake to the discussion of these two principles in its general government, the political GOD and DEVIL of mankind; and never to relinquish the enquiry till the mind is sufficiently informed to pronounce from reflection and sound judgment, which of them ought to prevail and give its verdict accordingly. There is a fable that Astræa, the goddess of justice, was early driven from the earth, and her place supplied with the demons of war, the imps that torture mankind, (from whom all thrones were derived,) that from that time a variety of gods and demi-gods presided over the

earth, and protected certain kings and conquerors who had descended from these gods some way or other, and had a right to as much of the earth as they could get, and as many people for slaves as they could conquer; and this is the source of the divinity of kings, the divine right to govern mankind uncontrolled, to appoint their successors, before they quit this earth to return to the family of the gods from whence they sprung; but Astræa, or Justice, has attempted several returns, and will return. Her system has no god but that of nature; she administers herself without kings and priests; hers is to be a golden reign of happiness, peace, and plenty; but on every attempt of this goddess to return to the earth, the kings, (the successors of the gods) fly to arms, destroy her votaries, and chase her from the earth for the security of their thrones, to prevent the possession of the earth by the people under the reign of justice. The reader will judge if this is a true picture of all preceding and the present times, and if it would not be to the interest of the world to resolve, either to establish the reign of God, or submit to that of the devil. And in order to assist in the investigation as far as my ability will go, I shall proceed to shew what would be the means to establish the reign of justice in our own country, which, if adopted, would not fail to have a general effect.

#### A REMEDY

*For the stagnant industry, and to prevent the ruin of the country by giving an opportunity for the exercise of its full powers, in the adoption of true and genuine Christian policy; to elevate it to that superior situation its superior organization, intelligence, native industry, and unbounded talent, so pre-eminently entitle it to hold in the rank of nations.*

To effect which I propose, that all feudality be abolished, and the territory of these realms be declared to be the people's farm; that there be no other tenure, but leasehold; that the mortgage or national debt shall cease; that there be no more taxation; that no alteration be made in the established forms of government; that a written constitution be drawn up and established, defining the forms and powers of government, the rights of the people, the security of their persons and properties, that may be referred to on all occasions; and that all the relative classes of society continue undisturbed. Great as this undertaking may appear, it can be easily effected without detriment to so much as one individual, and will establish for ever the fame and glory of the government; the liberty of the world through its means; the permanent strength, wealth, security, and happiness of all classes of the people of these realms.

The means to accomplish this, is by transferring all the land, waters, mines, houses, and all feudal permanent property to the people, to be held in parochial (or other small) partnerships, which (in my view of the subject) may be administered as follows. Each parish to be the proprietor of this property, or

part of the general national estate, within its boundary, as a body corporate.

That a board, or committee, be appointed for letting this property on leases only; leaseholders to let to tenants at will, but not to re-lease, and present occupiers not to be disturbed, but have a preference where they choose to continue. This parish board or committee for letting parish lands, mines, fisheries, houses, &c. to receive the rents, deducting therefrom their share of the governmental expences (for the support of the state) and all parish charges, and to make a dividend of any balance remaining to all the people having settlement in the parish, as the profit arising from their natural estate. The whole rental of the three kingdoms being ascertained, the application would be the easiest thing imaginable, as for example.

For the king to support the dignity of his crown, his court, great officers of state, ambassadors, army, navy, ordnance, dockyards, &c. &c. a certain sum being so much in the pound (or per cent.) on the rental.

For the house of lords, as great dignitaries of state, the nobility generally, and all persons the crown may honour with a title, a certain sum as before, to be apportioned in pensions according to rank (as is now done with the royal family) as stewards of the public, for doing their share of the public business.

For the house of commons, as agents or attornies of the public, to pay them for their time spent in making laws, a certain sum.

For the clergy, a certain sum, to pay them for promotion of learning, religion, and morals.

For the support of universities, colleges, schools, hospitals, and other institutions, a certain sum.

For inns and courts of law, salaries of judges, and other officers, a certain sum.

For county rates of assizes, quarter sessions, sheriff, magistracy, harbours, bridges, roads, &c. &c. a certain sum, and then the national account will stand somewhat as follows:—

|   |             |                      |
|---|-------------|----------------------|
| Total annual rent of land, houses, mines,<br>fisheries, &c. - - - - - |             | £150,000,000         |
| Annual expenditure.   |             |                      |
| Expences of the crown   | £20,000,000 |                      |
| Pensions of nobility, &c.   | 5,000,000   |                      |
| Do. to the clergy   | 5,000,000   |                      |
| Expences of house of<br>commons                                       | 1,000,000   |                      |
| Do. universities, &c.   | 3,000,000   |                      |
| Do. law - - - - -   | 1,000,000   |                      |
| Do. counties - - - - -  | 10,000,000  |                      |
| Do. parishes - - - - -  | 10,000,000  | 55,000,000           |
|   |             | <hr/>                |
|   |             | Remainder 95,000,000 |

|   |            |
|---|------------|
| Indemnities and annuities to individuals, or associations for losses sustained in the surrender of landed and funded property, (not comprised in the class of nobility) - - - - - | 20,000,000 |
| Balance remaining   | 75,000,000 |

To be divided among the people, to every man, woman, and child, being the profit of their natural estate, without tax, toll, or custom; which, divided among twenty millions of people, would be near four pounds a head annually. I do not pretend to accuracy in drawing up this statement, but it cannot fail to shew what true Christianity is, the benefits it holds out to mankind, the simplicity of its policy, the wisdom of its regulations, and the blessing it would produce to a suffering world; and if any thing can shew the finger of God in delineating the regulations for man to be guided by in his passage through life, it is this system and nothing else. This policy, once established in any nation as state policy, would destroy war, and soon make all mankind, brothers and Christians. The pagan authorities of the world were so sensible of this, that they used all manner of means, to destroy and exterminate these worshippers of justice; these Christian votaries of Astræa. Wherever they have appeared, they have been chased and hunted down with fire and sword; no where would they be tolerated unless they consented to relinquish their opinions, and became the servants, the corrupted tools of power; and in this situation we find them at this day. Christianity does not consist in forms, or ceremonies, or fastings, or prayers, or psalm-singing, or preaching, but in justice. Men in our own day, have been persuaded such public exhibitions are pleasing to God, and so were the pagans; but what do the Greeks tell you was the instruction of Joshua, the son of Joseph and Mary: "Do not exhibit yourselves like the Pharisees, praying ostentatiously in public, but withdraw into your closet, and having shut the door, say "our Father, &c." And let the reader turn to the nineteenth chapter of Matthew, and the tenth of Mark; and then, judge if mine be Christian policy or not. The young rich man that had large possessions could not become a follower, no, *equality did not suit*, it would not do to serve God at that rate. "*But it is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of heaven.*" And why; he is a robber, he is a monopolizer of the earth, he dispossesses his brothers, he seizes on the gift of the common Father, he declares war and defiance to the advocates of justice. O! what an admirable fable is this! Look at and consider it reader, not spiritually, but naturally, rationally.

The beneficial consequences, that would result to all ranks and conditions of men from the adoption of this system, are too numerous to be dilated upon at any length; they would fill

volumes. I shall therefore only mention a few that press on the present situation of the country. In the first place, this country and Ireland are now in a state of bankruptcy. Ireland is deficient in taxes to pay her expenditure, one million; and England twenty; which deficiency is to be supplied by borrowing and passing upon the community, the bills of an insolvent company, viz.—bank notes that represent nothing; for there is no where either the means, or the responsibility to pay them, by a transfer of any valuable consideration, by the government or the bank: nor ever will. For consider the whole quantity of specie to be put into circulation, together with that now circulating, by parliamentary statements, cannot exceed six or seven millions; and as this specie will continue circulating for change; and not be paid to either the government or the bank; where are they ever to get the money to pay these notes with, which if they do not at present, soon will, exceed two hundred million of pounds? So the further they proceed, the worse will be the consequence; a timely remedy is wanted, and I offer them one that will be effectual, founded in strict justice, and no other will do: the days of expediency are gone by. The causes of all the evils are debt and taxation; and debt and taxation must be removed, and here is the means of doing it. Debt and taxation have robbed the people of their means of industry, their land, houses, clothing, food, fuel, nay of almost existence altogether; and here is the means to restore it:—debt and taxation have put the empire in jeopardy; here is the means of safety, without detriment to any one, but equally beneficial to all, from the monarch to the peasant:—debt and taxation are destroying the agriculture and manufactories of the country; remove the one, and the other will resume its utmost elasticity and exertions. We have the best system of agriculture in the world; remove the pressure of debt and taxation, and we can grow, sell, and export corn cheaper, than any country in the world. We have the best means of manufacturing, the most extensive, useful, and complete system of machinery, and industrious labourers in the world; remove the pressure of debt and taxation, and who can come in competition with us, either in lowness of prices or quality of commodities? Remove debt and taxation, and we should soon find that instead of having a redundant population, as deplored by the advocates of Malthus, our increasing industry would require a population much exceeding what we now amount to; and the more it increased the greater would be the increase of our productions and wealth. Oh! how easy, and of what superlative advantage it is to be just! Can any thing come in competition with justice? And thou, Joshua, son of Joseph and Mary (called by the Greeks Jesus Christ) thou philosopher and advocate of justice, author of the real, indeteasible, and inalienable rights of man, well mayst thou be hailed with the appellations of saviour of the world—prince of peace—son of the God of justice, &c. &c.

by the children of suffering humanity : thy system that maketh all domains, national domains, from generation to generation, and for ever ; is the only means of comfort, peace, and security, that can be devised for men and nations. It is not the expences of government, (so loudly declaimed against) of placemen and pensioners, (so reviled and abused) that oppress the people. No : their claims on the public are but a drop in the ocean, compared with the exactions of landlords, and stocklords, that destroy the industry of the people, by cutting them from off the land,—their own national domains,—the inheritance of their fathers. The people never complain if they are employed, and can enjoy the fruits of their labour ; and when they cannot get employ nor subsistence, to render them desperate by pointing out the agents of government as the cause, *is baseness* in the extreme in those who are the *real oppressors*, by exactions of *rent*, seizing of *commons* and *bits of waste in the highway*, to prevent the poor relieving themselves by the growth of even a *potatoe*, and causing the world to be ransacked, for means to pay them another rent of what they have deposited in the funds. What is the amount of places and pensions, nay, the whole expences of the government, compared with the annual rent of land, waters, mines, houses, &c. (the national domains of the people now possessed by about three hundred families) to the amount of 150 millions, and fifty millions rental of the funds ? When do we hear the citizens of London complain of the expences of their lord mayors, their magistrates, and officers ? And can any one say they are not as corrupt as the officers of state ? But if they were the tools of an oligarchy of merciless landlords, that compelled them to tax and oppress the citizens, what would be their situation then ?

I have asserted this remedy to be just—that it will injure no one—that it requires no taxation—would not alter the form of government—would produce a written constitution—would not disturb the relative classes of society—would establish for ever the fame and glory of the government—would produce the liberty of the world in a Christian union of brotherhood—and fix the strength, wealth, and security of these realms on a basis no earthly power could move.

First, on the justice of this remedy. The debt is a mortgage on all the property of the nation, and neither principal nor interest can be paid. A foreclosure or surrender is just of all the real property, or estate of the nation. But as it is a transaction resembling a family concern, whose affairs are deranged by contracts with each other, and the same persons are from the complex nature of the case, both mortgager and mortgagee ; it becomes necessary to agree to sink the mortgage, to let the estate, and to divide the remains of the rent, after those have been paid who undertake to manage the affair ; to prevent the concern standing still ; the labourers being ruined, starved, and dispersed ; the cattle and produce being seized,

sold, and destroyed ; for the payment of taxes. Now, as the situation of the nation is obviously as I have described it, and some settlement of this great concern must take place, and that speedily ; is it not just that the nobility and great landed proprietors (who alone have been the cause of this state of things) should be placed in *revenue* as they are in *rank* beneath the royal family ? That if a pension of fifty thousand pounds a year, be a just establishment for royal dukes,—all other dukes would be well provided for with a pension of forty thousand,—and Marquises thirty thousand—Earls twenty thousand,—Viscounts fifteen thousand,—Barons ten thousand ; and all other titles in proportion. Thus as meritorious individuals acquired elevation in rank, they would also acquire elevation in fortune in proportion : would not this be just ? By this plan, all those of the same rank would be equals in rank and fortune ; and we should not (as now) have a man of high rank humbled in his consequence and influence, by comparison with a rich inferior.

Thus this remedy, I propose for the consideration of the government and people of these realms, will be found to be just, examined and criticised in every possible manner.—And next, who will it injure ? Why, the great landed and funded proprietors, it will be said, and all landed and funded proprietors ; but I can shew the contrary though all their land, and funds, and houses are gone. What is their present situation ? Under the supposition that the *corn monopoly* would continue, and that they should have the trade of the world, and push their demands to any extent on foreign countries in the acquirement of wealth ; (which the whole world now resists) they have consented to rent all their possessions of the government in taxation, till the amount and its collection is leaving small proprietors in land no surplus for maintenance, and the more elevated in jeopardy, by the destruction of their tenants ;—and the great and small fundholders sure of ruin, from a failure of taxes to pay the interest ;—and trade at a stand for want of a circulation ;—and the labouring classes perishing for want of employment ;—and the government in danger, from confusion arising from this want and poverty ; and the advantages that may be taken of this state of things by foreign enemies. And what do I propose in exchange for this situation, which all must deplore ? Why, that the government be untrammelled, and well provided,—that the nobility should have enough, and no more,—but a full equivalent for their duties, and that not dependent on chance ; which is as much as any man or body of men can wish in justice. The same of the clergy, commons, magistracy, &c. &c. And next, to consider country gentlemen of small estates, and the public generally, who now rent of the government in taxation, and in this plan will hold by lease of the parish, the estates and properties they now call their own, but rent in fact by the payment of taxes. Will they be in a worse condition to hold a lease of the parish at 49 years

or any given time, or by lives, at a reasonable rate, and have neither tax, toll, nor custom demanded of them\*? The fundholders now sure of ruin (that are not of the classes of noblemen and pensioners) to become annuitants on the rental for life. Commerce and trade, freed from taxes, will immediately revive and extend itself; and the whole nation receiving a new impulse to industry, want and discontent would no more be heard of. Aye, but what are those persons to do, that get very rich, for means to dispose of their wealth when they cannot buy landed or funded property? Why, will not those large mansions and good estates want tenants; and will not the parishes let them on leases; and will it not be more advantageous to take a long lease of an estate, than to pay a large portion of a great fortune in purchase-money to an individual, and to rent it afterwards by payment of taxes? So I think it cannot be disputed, but any nobleman or gentleman will find himself quite as comfortable in such a tenure, with a bailiff to manage, as he is now with his own estate and casual tenants. And will not large sums be wanted for working mines in which they can be as well secured as in the funds, and a variety of other securities?

This system requires neither tax, toll, nor custom; the whole rental being equal to any circumstances that can possibly happen, and can be applied with the greatest facility in times of war and difficulty.

It would not alter the form of government. What motive could it produce for a change of government? It would not cause any convulsion by discussion, and consideration; its advantages would soon be appreciated; and though the great barons might not like it, they have not now the power to call out their retainers to oppose the government and people as formerly, but must submit quietly. Indeed, this system might be adopted under any form of government, and is peculiarly adapted to our own and that of France at present (as it would harmonize the whole) and that of America.

“For forms of government let fools contest,”

“That which is best administer’d is best.”

It is property, and property alone, that gives power and influence, and wherever the people are wholly deprived of property they are slaves, if not so in name they are so in effect; that portion without real property must submit to the conditions

\* Rent of an estate now paid in taxes, in tythes, poor rates, land tax, road duties, stamp duties, excise duties, custom duties, house duty, window tax, property tax, on servants, on horses, on carriages, on dogs, hair powder, armorial bearings, on game, &c. which, added together, will be found to be a pretty good rent. There is no means possible that can be devised to hold real property, but it must be rented of the public in some way or other; taxes is as much a rent as if they were called so. Real property is naturally national domains for which the public must be paid, then why should it not be declared so at once, and a proper regulation made for its administration?



imposed upon them by those in possession, or perish. Witness the helotes of the democratic republics of Greece, whose situation was quite as bad as the Roman slaves, and the negroes at present in America: so that forms of government do not constitute liberty, but the distribution of, and possession of property. There cannot be people in a more degraded situation than the paupers of this country, who, deprived of all property, are miserably fed, clothed, and continually under the caprice and control of petty masters, and shut up in prisons without hope or chance of emancipation. People of equal funded and landed property are now equals, and associate with perfect freedom; but let a bankruptcy take place, and the people of funded property lose the receipt of their interest, and value of capital; would they be any longer the equals of their former associates? To consolidate a government, and make a people bold in its defence, the government should secure property to every individual: this is clearly demonstrated by the examples of France and America. Bonaparte by securing the possession of land to the people, the national domains acquired by the revolution, was able to combat sixteen powers at once with doubtful success,—but Louis, who is endeavouring to take it from them if left to himself, would stand little chance with the least formidable. Bonaparte was never deserted but supported to the last;—Louis if left to himself would be deserted by all, *the property is the difference*. America cannot be conquered, every man's house is his own to fight for, not a man deserted from them the last war, but a few negroes; while many, very many deserted to them; *the property was the cause*. To deprive people of property may, and has destroyed and altered governments; the distribution and security of it never can; but must have quite a different effect is obvious, and is from the nature of things the only safe road to take. The people are grateful for the smallest favours, and such a one as I propose, would command their adoration. Reforms and changes in the government have been desired, and why? Because the people found it still harder and harder to obtain an existence, and were told a reform would better their condition. It is the want of food and clothing for themselves and their children, by being shut out from the land, that prepares a people for changes of government; sometimes even to favour a conqueror. I therefore conceive I am proposing the salvation of the government. Would produce a written constitution. All settlements of affairs of moment where many people or parties are concerned, naturally produce written agreements; and where the settlement of national establishments have taken place by the consent of the people, they have produced these sort of written constitutions; witness the Israelites, the canons of the church, the establishment of Alfred, the constitutions of America, of France, of Spain, of Holland, &c. The abrogation of constitutions is effected by conquest, and government becomes a mere expe-

dient in the hands of the conquerors. In the present state of this country and the world, so altered is our situation, that we appear to have but the choice of two things, viz. to get rid of debt and taxation, and improve the condition of the people; or submit in all probability to the horrors of conquest, from the overpowering domination of northern barbarians. First settle the property, the national domains, of the people, on a fair and just foundation, and that one settlement will do for all, as in the days of Alfred, and produce a real radical reform in every thing; all attempts to reform without this *are but so many approaches to actual ruin*, so many expedients to support a tottering fabric that will not bear the slightest touch, unless, it be very judiciously applied.

Would not disturb the relative classes of society.

It is good regulations that produce order; good systems that establish it; and good administrations that perpetuate it; thus

“Orders and degrees jar not with liberty, but well consist.”

What has caused all the clamour, meetings, petitioning, rebellions, riotings, and all the disorders, that have disturbed society during the last half century? Not the comforts of the mass of society, whose industry has been unremitting to preserve themselves in their relative situations; but who, unable so to do, have constantly found themselves, notwithstanding every endeavour, pressed down and destroyed. No other true cause can be assigned, but the accumulation of about three hundred families, who have engrossed nearly all the land and houses of the three kingdoms, and whose rent-rolls exhibit a hundred thousand pounds a year, a hundred and fifty thousand, &c. which it has been impossible for them to spend in rational enjoyments; and not being able to spend it, they have been continually promoting wars, to extend the system of funding, that they might have a safe place of deposite, for their surplus; where they would be sure of interest for it to any amount: thus their rent-rolls take all the profits of agriculture; and they require all the profits of trade to pay them the interest of money, lent to themselves; for the three kingdoms are their's. Instead of all this, what is proposed? why, that the crown and people should do by them, *exactly what they have done by the crown*. Let them retain their rank, and be put in their proper place, *under the crown*, and be paid for their services; they will then have the choice of renting and making a profit like all other people, but instead of receiving, they will have to pay rent to the public: the difference will be in the transfer of the money. Gentlemen and freeholders generally will pay rent to the public instead of paying taxes to go to the *great landlord in interest of money*; large and small farmers, merchants, manufacturers, tradesmen, and all the classes will be just where they are, if *the head of the state be preserved in the proper place and order*. But the money they now pay will go among the public, (*instead of being sent to foreign courts to buy wars*) and spreading through all classes of the community promote an active industry by enabling the great

body of the people to supply their wants, whose consumption would create an extensive domestic trade. It is the demand of the whole body of society that makes trade; and not the consumption of a few rich individuals, who only debauch and corrupt those around them with what they do spend, and lock up from public use, what they choose to retain: so that if a regulation of this sort do not take place to preserve the relative classes of society, by restoring the national domains to the people, they will be destroyed by the present system, that is rapidly producing nothing but *feudal lords, and vassals*.

Would establish for ever the fame and glory of the government.

This may be challenged as a bold assertion, and so it is: but has there ever been a lawgiver, a good institution established to benefit mankind, the fame of which has been diminished by time? Let the examples produced in the preceding part of this work furnish a reply. And will not Washington and the establishment of America remain? Can the revolution of France be forgotten? Whatever have been its effects, it was intended to produce much good, and by the remedy I now propose, might have been settled in a few months, without the loss of a drop of blood to the satisfaction of the king, nobles, and people. An act of this magnitude by England, by that country that has till now been the *champion of freedom, the polar star of liberty*; what would it not do? Let the government of England proclaim Christian freedom to the world, the rights of mankind to all nations, and who shall tarnish its glory? Or when will the wings of fame be tired in traversing immensity to sound the glad tidings! Reader, your forgiveness; I have no intention to attempt the regions of fancy; my business is argument, reason, and proof. What then is fame? The reputation of a great and good work completely accomplished. What is glory? The exultation arising therefrom, and participation therein. Would this be a great and good work? All those that allow there is a God, and that he has revealed his will to mankind, cannot deny that it would be "*to do his will upon earth as it is done in heaven*;" for if this policy of the Christian church is not the will of God, then there has not been a revelation, and the pagans do right to persecute those who claim the earth from them, by virtue of such revelation. But if the pagans first make their gods themselves, and then claim the earth in the name of their gods, aye, and are determined to have it too, and drive their slaves, their ignorant slaves, to seize it by force; and these slaves can be convinced by reason to desist and learn justice, and are taught to worship the God of justice, and be harmonized into brothers; will it not be to the glory, the lasting glory of those that shall accomplish it? *And this is now clearly in the power of the government of England*. An act of this magnitude by our government, then, would harmonize all the Christian world—paralyze tyranny—destroy persecution, and place the majesty of these realms, in so commanding a

situation, that it would even overlook the new Roman republic, (rising into grandeur as it is) on the other side of the Atlantic. The principle of private property in land, by the continual sale of domains in that country, is elevating the wealthy into a dangerous aristocracy, that will command, *will dominate*; for though all can get land, and by that means retain a portion of freedom, yet, as money gets money, those in possession of wealth can extend purchase after purchase, and engross to such extent, that their *influence cannot be restrained*; and by degrees they will throw all the expences of the state on the small proprietors, and by taxation dispossess them: for in case of war, the great proprietors being most able to supply the material, will be the receivers of the produce of the taxes while the small ones must pay them; and by a gradual process (as in this country) *house after house* and *field after field*, will be transferred from the poor to the rich; from the payer of taxes to the receiver of them. So that, (next to private property in land,) taxation, of all things in the world, ought to be abolished and never remembered more. It is a sort of legal mode of robbery; a levying of contributions by law; and like all other plunder, is mostly divided amongst those that make the exactions. The land is much more capable to provide means for its defence from the produce of its rent, and the people would be much more willing to defend it, for the sake of a general participation therein. And that the public may judge of the pernicious principle of making land, the domains of the people, real, individual, saleable, transferable property; let them consider and apply, what has been the effect of a very popular contract of this nature, contained in the following curious document.

*Copy of William Penn's deed with the Indians in 1685, by which he became possessed of Pennsylvania; now one of the United States of America.*

*This indenture witnesseth that we, PACKENAH, TAREKHAN SIKINS, PATTQUESSOTT, TERVIS ESSEPERNAUK, FIELKTROY, HEKELHAPPAN EKONUS, MACHLOA METTHCONGA, WISSAPOWEY, Indian kings, Sachemakers, right owners of all lands, from Quing Quingus, called Duck creek, unto Upland, called Chester creek, all along by the west side of Delaware river, and so between the said creeks backwards as far as a man can ride in two days with a horse; for and in consideration of these following goods, to us in hand paid and secured to be paid by WILLIAM PENN, proprietary and governor of the province of Pennsylvania and territories thereof, viz. 20 guns, 20 fathom matchcoat, 20 fathom stroudwater, 20 blankets, 20 kettles, 20 pounds of powder, 100 bars of lead, 40 tomahawks, 100 knives, 40 pairs of stockings, 1 barrel of beer, 20 pounds of red lead, 100 fathoms of wampum, 30 glass bottles, 30 pewter spoons, 100 awl-blades,*

300 tobacco pipes, 100 hands of tobacco, 20 tobacco tongs, 20 steels, 300 flints, 30 pairs of scissars, 30 combs, 60 looking glasses, 200 needles, 1 skipple of salt, 30 pounds of sugar, 5 gallons of molasses, 20 tobacco boxes, 100 Jews harps, 20 hoes, 30 gimblets, 30 wooden screw boxes, 100 strings of beads; do hereby acknowledge, &c.

Given under our own hand and seal, at Newcastle, 2d day of the eighth month, 1685.\*

Now I have to observe upon this treaty; drawn up and executed by as worthy an individual as ever existed, to prevent the effusion of blood in obtaining possession of a country, granted to him by the crown of England; and not quite satisfied of the right of the crown to give, without the consent of the natives, he acknowledged their right of inheritance in the above treaty. But was not this man, very inconsiderate as a Christian? Great and good as were his intentions, were they not founded in error, in great error? Did he negotiate with equals; competent to understand the nature of the contract in all its relative conditions and consequences; and give an equivalent; or was not this contract in favour of one party only, like advantage taken of children, and more fatal and ruinous to the natives, than if they had been expelled by force of arms? What is become of all the tribes of this Indian people represented by these kings, have they any successors? No, they have been entirely exterminated; and how? By this contract. They knew not that by parting with their land, they were parting with that which should support their children from generation to generation, as a life inheritance; but being full of themselves, by means of that superiority acquired in possessing new and more terrible weapons of war, to cut themselves out new possessions, and to retain the support of their new European friends; the contests and wars necessarily arising between them and the neighbouring tribes, in their acquirement of new settlements, insensibly destroyed them, and with them as many others; while the new comers enjoyed the country unmolested, and obtained extension of territory without trouble. The Spaniards on the contrary, that claimed by right of conquest, were never able by all the power of arms to exterminate any one nation of Indians; these people driven by the Spaniards from one place to another were received as friends by their commiserating brethren, always ready to rally and revenge their wrongs. Thus example proves the sale of land to be the most pernicious and destructive principle that ever entered into the affairs of men. How different would have been the result, if William

\* The above is a true copy, from a copy taken from the original, by Ephraim Morton, now living in Washington county, Pennsylvania; formerly a clerk in the land office, which copy he gave to William Hutton, and from whence the above was taken in Little York, the capital of Upper Canada, the 7th of December, 1813.

Penn on his arrival in America, had hired a piece of ground of these Indians for a term of years; and established a brotherhood with them, for the purpose of shewing them, by practical experience, the benefits of resident friendly society, in Christian affiliation and improvement. Ye rulers and people of England, Ireland, Scotland, and their dependencies! Let me conjure you, in the name of suffering humanity, for the sake of all the living family of mankind, and all succeeding generations, not to lose so favouring an opportunity as the present; but proceed to the consideration and establishment of justice, by settling the domains of the country in the possession of the people; that Christianity, by having her standard once raised may extend her influence over the whole earth, and cover it as with a garment, from everlasting to everlasting.

Would produce the liberty of the world in a Christian union of brotherhood, that would have a tendency to put an end to war and abolish slavery.

Reader! Whoever thou mayest be,—high or low, lord or priest, rich or poor; to the evidence of thy senses refer this consideration, determine and resolve if it be true; that history affords nothing but a relation of the contentions of mankind for the forcible possession of the earth, influenced by the persuasion that a plurality of deities having varied influence, and partial and local powers, over different countries and portions of the world; partial protectors of particular monarchies and people; authorising the ravages of the world by conquest to subject the countries, the people of the world, to the god, the king, the people of the prevailing or most powerful: and when such god, king, and people have been successful, in their operations of subjection; if they have not invariably as a matter of right doomed the subdued unbelievers in the power of their God, to administer to their pride, by every menial degradation, and cruel slavery; and if this has not been the undeviating policy of paganism in all ages and places: And then say, if such assumptions are not tyranny? And as these gods, kings, and people, have been constantly making reprisals on one another, if this policy has not been the cause of the slavery of the world, and will continue so to be, till it be completely superseded and done away, by an expansion of the knowledge of the policy of Christianity.

Will it, can it be denied, that the motive power of the universe is the unity and identity of one great natural cause of production; that man in one great family of brotherhood might enjoy? Do not the societies of Moravians and Quakers, whose policy is brotherhood and friendship, extended to every individual of their communities; afford an example what Christian unity is? What such policy is capable of producing is clearly shewn from this circumstance, that none of the members of these communities are ever known to want parish relief, or were ever forced to beg. Then, why should it be objected

to as national policy, as universal policy ; first to associate all the societies of Christians of a nation in one brotherhood, to partake of the gifts of nature ; and then nations for mutual benefits and accommodation. That this has not taken place is no fault of the people. The people of different nations never quarrel ; no, it is the rapacious pagan landlords continually coveting one another's possessions that destroy the peace of the world and prevent union. No country, since the era of Christianity, has done so much to forward the liberty and enlightenment of the world as England ; nor has any country produced by a contatenation of expedients, circumstances, and events, a government so capable of efficient consolidation and union, as that of England. Heterogeneous and almost inexplicable as it may appear in its admixture, the compound contains much of excellence if it be analyzed ; take from it what it contains of assumption introduced at the conquest, that causes all the fermentation, and the remaining parts will unite themselves from the strongly attractive qualities and affinity of which they are composed. Government by law, or legitimate government, must be founded on agreement ; and to be good must be defined by written compact. This is so evident that government by assumption is forced to *assume* an agreement when none even exists. Now the records of such compacts as have already existed, where societies have been established by agreement, clearly shew the practicability of a national agreement of actual partnership ; for the mutual benefit of a community, however extensive. Look at the example of monopoly given you by Moses, when the people of Egypt sold their lands, effects, and themselves to Pharoah for slaves, to obtain the means of existence ; contrasted with the written compact of the Israelites, to prevent such an occurrence taking place amongst them. Look at the monopoly of the world by the Romans, seizing on the plunder of nations and selling the people for slaves in all their markets, as we do cattle ; contrasted with the compacts of the early founders of the Christian church. Look at the depressed state of the people of England under the Danish yoke, when a man would not drink in the presence of a Dane, his conqueror without one of his countrymen would pledge himself to prevent his being murdered ; contrasted with the written compact of Alfred. Look at the pagan monarchy of France before the revolution that had taken, like Pharoah, every thing from the people till they could no longer find means to live ; contrasted with the *written compact* or constitution, that has produced the present plenty to be found in every cottage of that country. No nation can ever be free till it abelish assumption ; and include like the first Christians, all its members in one brotherhood by agreement : do not all fraternities found themselves by compact ? Every society or body of men have their written regulations or *constitutions* ;—thus the colonies of North America had their *written constitutions*, though England *had none, has none now,*

and cannot be settled in peace and security till she has ; cannot even be effectually a Christian nation without. For if Judaism and Christianity be a revelation from the Deity, it is, in both instances, a revelation of a particular system of policy to be observed for the administration of the things of this world amongst Jews and Christians ; and whoever will not conform to this policy, rebel against God, and set salvation at defiance ; for it is commanded " He that would be the greatest among you, make him your servant ;" and to form a Christian kingdom the king must be the hired, paid servant of the people ; so must be the nobility ; so must be the clergy and all others administering. A Christian nation is but one church (however varied in sects) distinct from paganism ; of which all are members, brothers, and equals by right, and those in office the servants, and ought to be paid and that liberally ; but subjection to one another is no part of the contract : that belongs to paganism. Christians may be the subjects of pagans, and ever have been from their foundation, but not to one another ; and the advocates for assumption, arbitrary rule, and monopoly, would be much more consistent to declare themselves openly at once ; reject, and abolish Christianity ; and restore paganism in all its glory.

Men and nations do not consent to become slaves to one another, by contract and agreement ; therefore a Christian government by agreement to possess the gifts of nature in partnership would exclude slavery and subjection, which is perfect freedom. And the perfect freedom of one nation would be a powerful example for imitation. It is not likely it would need a missionary society, to propagate the doctrine of its policy. Would fix the strength, wealth, and security of these realms on a basis no earthly power could move.

When the old man in the fable, tied up a bundle of sticks and desired his sons in the plenitude of strength to break them, and they were unable to the task ; he is said to have taken them out one at a time, and to have broken them himself with ease, thereby reading his sons a practical lesson of the strength of union, and the weakness of contrary policy. Now what is so strong a bond of union, as interest ? This may be exemplified a thousand ways. Let a body of men be engaged in any pursuit they find an interest in, and how difficult it is to make them desist ! What would persuade the members of the different corporations of this country to dissolve themselves ; nay, what force would be competent to dissolve the East India company,—the corporation of the city of London,—of the Bank—the union of the established church, &c. &c. ? Then what could affect the strength of a nation, united in one body corporate ; possessing one estate, in which all were partners ? There are not wanting great examples on both sides of this fable. On the side of strength, the Roman Catholic church is a striking one. That church has ever made it a principle of policy, to obtain as much



land as it could get; and to hold it as the property of the church, to be administered for the use of its members: thus the convents and monasteries maintained the poor; clothed the naked; lodged the traveller; administered to the sick; and allowed all to have a claim upon this common property; as charity only. And this policy diffuses such an interest through the whole body of Catholic people and professors, that though their male administration, absurdities, pagan idolatry, arrogance, cruel persecutions, &c. &c. have been the cause of unceasing attack, both mentally and physically, for ages past, the institution could never be dissolved; but the whole body constantly strive to repair the loss, any of its members sustain by endeavouring unceasingly to recover by every means, the property forcibly wrested from them. Neither is any lawsuit among them about the inheritance of this land, nor is it the cause of any rebellions, or wars; on the score of revenue. In this they are all order, all regularity. The cardinals do not rise up against the pope they have elected, and seize his revenues; nor the inferiors against the cardinals; but these dignitaries drive about and are every where received with reverence; their sleek rosy faces, fine attire, and gaudy equipages, excite no envy among the inferiors of their orders, and why? The church does not oppress by direct taxation, and all have a claim in the day of need on this property of the church for support; and though it be only as charity it gives satisfaction. This church obtains all its permanency from this policy, and from this only; for though it is contended that this institution, being of divine origin, is under the immediate influence and protection of the Deity, cemented by a spiritual union combined by an Almighty power, *nothing is a greater delusion*: for all their contentions, heart burnings, schisms, divisions, cruel persecutions, &c. &c. have been on spiritual matters; on which they have found it impossible to agree from their first foundation to this hour, and had they had no other bond of union, they would have dissolved away like "the baseless fabric of a vision." Christianity consists entirely in doing the will of God by enjoying the world in partnership, in friendship, and brotherhood: spiritualizing and divination are paganism.\* The example of this policy established so long in the world is sufficient to shew monarchs, lords, and rulers of

• "Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven, but he that doeth the will of my Father, which is in heaven."—Now if the will of God has been expressed, it is only to be found in this system of policy that distributes his gifts to every living son and daughter of Adam. To preach and pray, to draw near to Him with the mouth, while the heart is far from him engaged in the oppression of the world is abomination; is mere pagan gabble and nonsense; and every priest, pastor, or teacher that does not advocate, explain, and direct the people, to the attainment, and establishment of this system are the servants of Antichrist, and enemies of God.

states (when presented to their view) what a similar state policy would produce ; that interest is the firmest cement of society ; and that it would afford them the means of undisturbed enjoyment, unenvied, in a happy community ; far, very far, to be preferred to that of being for ever at war with the dispossessed people around them, ever ready to destroy them, as enemies of the species, if they do not keep a continual watch, and lie upon their arms. Governments, supported by taxation, are armed bodies levying contributions ; and therefore hostile to the feelings of the people, producing weakness, like a house divided against itself. Whereas in the church, its pomp, its pope, and cardinals, like the noble grand of a society, are the exultation of the members ; the emblem of their union and greatness ; supported by the constitutional revenues appertaining to them by the compact of agreement. And in what does the strength of the East India company of merchants in Leadenhall-street consist, if not in this union of interest as partners ? What has enabled them to acquire such an extension of territory and subject forty millions of people to their rule in such a distant part of the world, and manage with ease a concern of such magnitude (and look after their private affairs all the while) containing civil government, judicial establishments, military and commercial affairs, superior to that of any nation in Europe ; England excepted ? Are they so much wiser than other men ; or, is it the system ?

It is generally allowed that industry is the parent of wealth : a society then in which industry is free, and applied to useful purposes, could have no wants unprovided, which is the acme of wealth. It may be said, how is it the church has not accumulated all the wealth of Europe, being so long established on this principle ? I answer : the church has been rich, very rich inland ; but not being a very willing supporter of thrones by paying taxes, it has often been despoiled of its wealth by thrones. Had the Jesuits been allowed to continue the pursuits of industry, in manufactures and commerce, which they had begun between Europe and their establishments at Paraguay in America ; they would no doubt have commanded the wealth of the world in the hands of the church. But the policy of the church is not altogether on this principle, as it is divided into distinct bodies of clergy and laity. The clergy being the depositaries of the wealth of the church to be doled out in charity, or enjoyed by themselves at pleasure, but the people being denied any participation by right therein, and having no claim till urged to make it by distress, wanted the proper stimulus to industry and labour to produce enjoyment ; and instead of emulating one another to useful employments, they have been ever emulous to obtain places and appointments in the church to that end : thus they attend with the utmost scrupulousness to forms and ceremonies, that debase and enchain the mind to a profitless devotion and sloth, dependant on charity ;

while the dissenters from this church, not dependant on charity from the property of their church establishments, nor full of expectancy in the administration, are more usefully employed and industrious, though less devout. It is observed, that a Protestant community of the same number of persons will produce by their talents and industry, twice as much of the good things, nature provides for enjoyment, as a Roman Catholic one will; and it may fairly be inferred that if all external devotion was to cease, and every one was left to the reflections of their own minds, reason, and enquiry, and were only taught to do the will of God by following that policy in which it consists, "whose yoke is easy, and whose burden is light;" the utmost blessings this world could produce would be the consequences. It is a proverb that "a man's business is never so well done as when he does it himself." Nothing presents so extensive a range for industry as horticulture and agriculture, whose productions are real wealth; and what is so likely to perfect these sciences, as giving every one an interest in the value of the productions. The kitchen garden of many an esquire, in a country village, produces as much vegetables as would supply the consumption of all the inhabitants; the choice parts of which are selected for the table of one man, and the remainder destroyed: it must not be sold or given away. Now what would the gardener do with this produce, if he rented such a garden of the parish? Where is there a more miserable people than the Spaniards, reduced to about nine millions of slavish devotees, the emblem of sheer poverty itself; who, at one time of their history, could boast of fifty millions of brave people, the industrious tillers of the ground, and then distress was unknown to them? They had been in possession of the Natches (a fine territory of North America) three hundred years, and let it remain uncultivated—and now within twenty years, that it has been ceded to the United States it has in high cultivation two thousand farms of four hundred acres each.

To fix the wealth of a country on a lasting foundation, means must be obtained for the permanent exertions of industry; and charity, the parent of sloth, banished to introduce right and justice. The remedy, I propose, is every one's right, is the principle of Christian justice in the source of natural capital to all; an unceasing revenue instead of charity, an unbounded means of industry the source of all wealth.

The principal thing to be considered in treating of the security of nations has generally been the nature of the armed force, which, by the experience of twenty-five years of war, is found to be most efficient in an armed population; whether organized or not. The unorganized French peasantry, at the commencement of the revolution, defended their country most effectually against the trained, organized armies of the allies; being strongly impressed it was their interest so to do.—The

unorganized guerrillas of Spain were the most efficient power in expelling the formidable French armies from their country ; being driven from their homes a strong feeling of interest urged them to it.—The unorganized citizens of America defeated every exertion of the veteran British army on their country from the same feeling ; and it was this feeling that caused the population of the Continent to rise and expel the legions of Bonaparte from the farther ravages of their respective countries, and had the population of France been an armed body, and had felt an interest in opposing the allies, here they must have stopped ; for all their innumerable host could not have made an impression upon that country. Security, then, is to be found in an armed population, or one that is not restrained from arming ; for people can soon provide themselves with weapons of war, when their interest is attacked by invasion of their country and property. No nation can be subdued wherein the people are convinced it is their interest to repel the invader, and as this remedy would combine the interest of every individual, in one indissoluble partnership of inheritance, the strongest bond of security would be formed : viz. the interest of all

It would be absurd to imagine, that a proposition can be advanced to remedy the evils of the state that will not meet with many objections ; but one thing I will venture to assert, that let whatever objections, the most fertile imagination can conceive, be produced, they can with ease be effectually answered : and supposing that the present paper currency would be one of the first to present itself, I will proceed to shew that this remedy alone can render this medium real sterling property. I have asserted that bank notes represent nothing, by which I mean no valuable, attainable property to be demanded of, or expected from, the responsible issuers : these notes only represent their debts, which clearly never can be paid by the parties ; the government, and the bank.

The case is this ; the Bank, from its first establishment to this hour, has been the agent of the government to supply money for war. War is the profession of courts, and money the means of carrying on the trade ; when they do not want it for this purpose, they suffer it to be used by the people for ordinary purposes till they have occasion for it, and then they demand it back ; in ignorant times they took it by force, but in this more enlightened era management becomes necessary, and a swindling agent can do more for their accommodation than can be obtained by any positive demand. The Bank is, and always has been, this agent to furnish government with the money coming into their possession ; and to give their bills or notes for it to the public ; making themselves responsible to the holders, to pay in cash when demanded. And the public only wanting cash (or metallic counters) for change ; their commercial and trading transactions being mostly written down on

pieces of paper or bills to shew what they have been, and then pass from hand to hand; these bank notes were as good as other money to settle or balance accounts with, while confidence remained, that the Bank could pay them in cash. But when Mr. Paine's pamphlet on the Decline and Fall of the English System of Finance was published in the year 1796, and shewed that the country never had more than twenty millions of money circulating at one time; and that the Bank had issued, and kept afloat, sixty million pounds worth of their notes payable on demand; the public saw clearly from their not offering contrary statements that these notes could not be paid, which causing an unusual demand upon them for cash, they were forced to stop payment altogether. Had the public at that time refused to take any more of their notes, for which they, the Bank, at that time only were responsible, they must have been declared bankrupts, and could not have paid a penny in the pound, and the war must have ceased immediately; the government having spent and sent abroad all the money that they could come at through this agency, and they had no pretence to furnish themselves as they did in Ireland, when General Humbert landed with his small French force of nine hundred men in that country: viz. to search the houses of merchants and traders, seize the cash and leave paper for it. No; they managed this state of things better, it having been foreseen by them; and by offering to take bank notes for taxes, and influencing the merchants, bankers, and traders to declare their readiness to do the same; and restricting the public, by law, from making any demand for payment in cash till this company of bankers, by consent of the government, should find themselves in a condition to pay; the government have become guarantee for these notes. It did not appear to have been foreseen by Mr. Paine, when he stated, "Before the war of 1755, there were no bank notes lower than twenty pounds. During that war, bank notes of fifteen pounds and ten pounds were coined; and now, since the commencement of the present war, they are coined as low as five pounds:" that an actual guarantee would be offered by the government, and accepted by the public; and, that two, and one pound bank notes could pass current, under such circumstances.

I have said, commerce and trade only want cash or metallic counters for change. Thus while there were no notes lower than ten and five pounds, guineas circulated for change, and the government could not get what they wanted; but when two and one pound notes got abroad in the hands of the public, guineas were no longer wanted, and the Bank could reserve all that came into their possession for the use of the government, and the war continued.

This proves paper to be as good a circulating medium as any other, provided the public have a sufficient guarantee to give it confidence.

But the government, like Mr. Paine, have been mistaken, if they thought they could proceed to any length, and redeem their pledge, by gradually restoring confidence to their agent the Bank. That is impossible: the magnitude of the debt will not let them. No, not if they could restore commerce: they must find out the means to increase industry and commerce in proportion to the increase of the debt, to guaranty the increased payment of taxes to do it with, before they can do this, which all preceding governments have found means to do when the debt was small compared to what it is now, but now it is wholly impossible.

This remedy alone can preserve the country from a dreadful shock; and uphold the government as it now is, the Bank, the circulation of their notes, commerce, agriculture, trade and every species of industry. My desire is to preserve all; and if possible to be the saviour of my country. Nothing else could induce me to write this book.

This remedy will provide a real and permanent guarantee for the preservation of the medium, whether it be governmental or not, which I will proceed to shew clearly.

First, bank notes were issued by the Bank for money advanced by them to the government; and when they stopped payment they could have answered all demands, if the government could have returned them the money; but this the government could not do.—Next the government became guarantee to the public, and were to settle with the Bank when the taxes should afford the means. Now the taxes cannot be paid, and this guarantee is as bad as the first; and both together are real bankrupts.

This remedy, by cancelling the debt, abolishing taxation, and declaring the territory of these realms to be the people's farm, presents a guarantee for this paper circulation in the whole rental of the country; and this would be no injustice to the public. They ought to become the guarantee; they have been parties to the transactions between their agent, the government, and the Bank; all the circumstances were public and acquiesced in, and many of the effects, now produced, foretold; and I rejoice that they are what they are, that the present funding system is ended, and a new order of things must take place. If this remedy be adopted; the most fair, the most just, the most Christian that can be devised; let the bank notes that are now circulating, continue to circulate, guarantied on the rental, and be received for rent, and pass current, under the sanction of law, a legal tender till more prosperous times; let their quantity be ascertained and proclaimed, and be restricted to what is useful; and then they can be gradually withdrawn by the government at leisure, and replaced by other money if necessary.

The Bank company can declare what capital they have to advance for accommodation to discount with the merchants,

and the whole economy of this important country will be preserved and regenerated in its present order, without the least inconvenience. Thus if the governments and people of the world will but view Christianity in its proper light, that it is a divine system of policy for the regulation of their conduct, founded in immutable justice, and consent to practise it; there is no difficulty or distress, let the nature of it be whatever it may, from which they cannot extricate themselves; but if they will continue to overlook this, the first principle of Christianity, and are determined to pursue the pagan principle of spiritualizing into the nature and essence of God, of whom they can know nothing; their case is pitiable indeed, for their Christianity will not bring peace on earth, but a sword.

The preceding sheets, containing the views and principles of the society of Spencean Philanthropists, associated to promote friendship, brotherhood, and peace among mankind, at their desire I respectfully submit to the world for approval or rejection; and I most emphatically exhort all ranks of society to the consideration of the subject; that by reviewing the present state and construction of society, they may judge of the efficiency of this Christian remedy for the evils, the sorrows, the wrongs of man.

That if it would add stability to thrones, and allow them in splendor and peace to enjoy all the pageantry, their elevated situations may require, without grudging on the part of those whose industry must provide the means to be applied; and enable governments to afford the most ample protection in return.

That if it would leave the nobility free to the study and pursuit of legislation, the guardians of the commonweal, every way provided for as their rank required, enabling them to be the honourable defenders of their country, the promoters of industry and the arts; and establish them in society the Corinthian pillars of the state.

That if it would destroy the dogmas of religious intolerance and fanaticism, and promote good morals, learning, and sociability; and enable the clergy to instruct the people to be virtuous, by explaining to them natural and divine justice, to do to others as they would be done unto, to regard truth, and that religion consists in doing good.

That if it would reduce the application of law to a very narrow compass, and thereby prevent the ruin of many families and individuals, reduce litigation, lessen the calendar of crime, by removing the causes, and leave the possessors some leisure for study to judge of the cases brought before them.

That if it would produce a real representation of the people in the commons house of parliament, by destroying influence and corruption.

That if it would overspread the country with a numerous gentry, the tenants of the nation, to provide eligible persons to compose such an assembly.

That if it would enable the nation to liquidate the debt, without injury to any one.

That if it would enable any government to conduct the affairs of the nation in the most efficient manner, without any kind of taxation.

That if it would give the utmost latitude to commerce, manufactures, and trade.

That if it would render the rich happy, and the poor contented; by enabling them, the poor, to provide for all their wants, without parish relief or charity of any sort; but enable them to fill the land with joy, and teeming with life, industry, and productions. If it be capable of this, and I flatter myself it will be found on reflection to be so; if it would produce the effect described, and can in the public opinion be practically applied; is it not the bounden duty of every individual to whom it shall be made known to forward its completion, by all the means in their power? Is not every one that is so convinced, and shall refuse or withhold his assistance to promulgate and effectuate so desirable an object; a rebel to the commands of his God, and a traitor to his species?

I therefore call upon all ranks and conditions of the community, to form affiliated societies in every parish and street or the consideration of this subject, that if it be possible to save the country the means may not be to seek, from want of union in the expression of public opinion.

I call upon the throne to awake from the lethargy, that benumbs its faculties, that has allowed it in torpid indifference to be the agent of an influence, a corrupt influence, greater than itself; that it push forward now in its glory, in conjunction with the people, to save the state.

I call upon the nobility to offer upon the altar of their country, that influence and those pagan prejudices that have prompted them to be the oppressors, the destroyers of all those valuable blessings for which society was formed.

I call upon the deluded fundholder to ward off that ruin, which now hangs over his devoted race, and accept for himself and his family, such remuneration as the nation is capable of providing him.

I call upon the clergy of all religious persuasions to do their duty, by promoting a knowledge of that system they contend was brought down from heaven for the benefit of all the human race, to promote peace upon earth, and in the enjoyment of which all nations should be blessed.

I call upon the philosopher, the scholar, the enlightened mind, to assist with his pen, his persuasive influence, in forwarding this measure for the salvation of his country; if he can subscribe his opinion in its favour.

I call upon those, who can offer materials to better the situation of the public to give their opinions; and if a better plan be devised than the one I have advanced, if I can be



proved by fair argument and reason to be in error; if the Peace societies be wrong; if the Spencean Philanthropists hold fallacious opinions, and they be capable of refutation; let it be shewn, and I will be one of the first to renounce my errors and opinions, and hope those, under the like delusion, will do the same.

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GREAT Nature may we all adore!  
 Who yields such never ceasing store  
     For all that toil,  
 Industrious to till the ground,  
 Or sweep the coast of ocean round  
     With netted coil:

Whose bounties flow on ev'ry side,  
 Are gather'd from the land and tide,  
     Whene'er we need:  
 Shalt thou for ever blessings give,  
 And myriads on those blessings live,  
     And while they feed;

Suppose some visionary god  
 Bestows those blessings, with a nod,  
     To agents few;  
 And dooms th' unletter'd lab'ring herd  
 With some grim idol to be scar'd;  
     A rabble crew?

And when those sinewy sons of toil  
 Have heap'd up store from sea and soil;  
     As rightful heirs  
 The few, that never toil'd nor strove,  
 By seizing, in the name of Jove,  
     Shall call it theirs!

Great Nature view, and you will scan,  
 'Tis she alone that succours man;  
     Not sculptur'd god:  
 Away his name and image fling;  
 The brass, the stone, or wooden thing;  
     And claim the sod.