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A BILL

OF

REE AND SURE DEFENCE,

OR

An Act

FOR

A CONSTITUTIONAL REVIVAL

OF THE

County Power,

OR

PROPER MILITIA OF THE REALM.

By MAJOR CARTWRIGHT.

NOTE.—The Preface and Introduction were published by T. DOLBY, in
1819.

LONDON :

Printed for, and Published by, T. DOLBY, 299, Strand.

1820.

(Price Two Shillings and Sixpence.)



Printed by W. MORISON,
8, Bream's Buildings, Chancery Lane.

ABSTRACT

OF THE

CONTENTS OF THE BILL.

The PREFACE notices first, the various publications, in which from 1782 to 1819, the Author had gradually and progressively touched on, studied, and delineated the principles and nature of the *military* branch of the two-fold English Constitution, and the necessity of restoring it for the salvation of the State, by a REFORM.

Secondly.—In p. 4, will be found expostulations with those who have not yet sufficiently reflected on the extent, to which Reform is become necessary, to recover our liberties out of the grasp of the "Radical Subverters" of our Freedom.

Thirdly.—In p. 5, is given a *Definition* of our two-fold Constitution; followed up by argument in support of that Definition.

Fourthly.—Juries, not mere wheels in the machinery of *Law*, but main springs of the *Constitution*, their nature, dignity, and independence are explained, from pages 7 to 10.

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A BILL
OF
FREE AND SURE DEFENCE,
OR AN ACT FOR
REVIVING, ORGANIZING, AND RENDERING EFFECTIVE
THE
LEGAL ARAY
OF THE
Realm for Peace and Defence.

1. Whereas it is become manifest that the liberties of the nation can only be preserved, by restoring to full vigour and energy the military, as well as the civil, branch of the English Constitution :

2 And whereas that Constitution in all its perfection ought to be fully extended to *Wales, Scotland, Ireland, Jersey, Guernsey and Man* :

3. And whereas it is the common right of all men to be armed for their self-preservation, and the common duty of all men to defend, not merely the existence, but likewise the peace of the state of which they are members, and under the laws of which they expect protection to their property—their liberty—their laws—and every social enjoyment of freemen.

4. And whereas it is fitting that martial authority in a national Aray should be the fruit of public esteem and confidence ; while yet it would not be expedient that individual battalions, orders or companies, of armed men should choose their own officers, as that would tend to undermine authority :

5. And whereas such an inconvenience will be prevented, by the election of officers, being made by all the male inhabitants of adult age, in every electorate to be formed as prescribed

by an act of the present session, entitled, *An Act for securing the Rights and Liberties of the Nation, by a constitutional representation of the Commons in Parliament, and Parliaments of a constitutional continuance*, such inhabitants being in Folk-mote assembled, and the election properly regulated :

6. And whereas, in order wholly to guard against ambiguity in the wording of this act, as well as to prevent jealousies arising between the two different military land services of the state, namely, the *permanent Legal Aray* of the nation, and its *annually-voted Army*, it may be expedient to designate and distinguish the rank and authority of the Commission officers of the *Legal Aray*, by titles differing from those in use for designating and distinguishing those of the other species of armed force :

7. And whereas, means of clearly discriminating objects frequently to be mentioned, as well as of avoiding circumlocution, and giving precision to the language of this Act, may also be attained, by adopting, in a few other instances, new *denominations* of orders or classes of men, and of other objects having relation to the *Legal Aray* :

8. And whereas it is likewise ex-

pedient that this Act, which is intended for universal application and instruction to every part of the United Kingdom, both in its enactments, and its references to itself, from one clause to any other clause or clauses, for illustration of its intendment, should have among its characteristics simplicity and perspicuity.

May it therefore please your Majesty, that it may be enacted, and be it enacted by the King's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords spiritual and temporal, and the Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same; and it is accordingly enacted:

I. That all and every of the clauses of this act, as equally proceeding from the authority of parliament, whether introduced by a repetition of words, having the import of the word "*enacted*," or not, or whether with or without recitals of principles, or observations for shewing their fitness, shall be held, and considered in law, as equally imperative and binding:

Provided, always, that if any one part of this act should be thought not to accord with any other part, then, in every such case, that part which best provides for, and most conduces to the ends in view, as those ends are in the preamble set forth, shall be taken to express the true intendment of the legislature.

II. That as often as within the body, or at the end of any clause of this act, there shall occur a parenthesis containing a number or numbers, such number or numbers, shall be understood as numerical references to the clause or clauses of this Act, distinguished by the corresponding number or numbers, by which the true intendment of the clause, exhibiting such parenthesis, shall, if necessary, be explained or illustrated, in preference to any other part of this act.

III. That all and every of the Schedules appended to this Act from No. 1 to No. 5 inclusive, not only

as respects their principal subject matters, but likewise including engraved figures with their explanations, as well as remarks or notes for illustrating such principal subject matters, shall, according to the plain and obvious intent of such schedules, be, and they are hereby made and declared to be parts of this Act.

IV. That the newly applied, as well as the new *denominations*, spoken of in the 7th clause of the preamble, and which denominations are all alphabetically, as well as otherwise appropriately set forth and explained in Schedule Number 1, appended to this Act, shall, in the wording of this Act, be received and taken as in the said schedule explained.

V. That although by the ancient statute law of England, all able-bodied men between the ages of 15 and 60, without exception, were and are bound to bear arms for the Peace and Defence of the Realm, yet, until there may occur a case of the last necessity, the persons, coming within the several descriptions in this present clause, shall be exempt from arms-bearing in the *legal array* of the realm; namely; the King's cabinet ministers for the time being; the Lord Lieutenant and principal Secretary of State in *Ireland*; the Clergy of all denominations in the established churches of *England, Scotland and Ireland, having clerical duties to perform*, and so long as they shall continue to have such duties; all licensed Clergy of other churches, actually *having obligatory duties*, as clergy, to perform; the Lord High Chancellors of *England and Ireland*; the Vice Chancellor; the Master of the Rolls; the Judges of the Courts of King's Bench, Common Pleas, and Exchequer in *England and Ireland*; the Judges of the High Court of Admiralty in *England*; the Judges of the Prerogative Court of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*; the Judges of the Court of Session, and of Justiciary, and the Barons of the Court of Exchequer in *Scotland*; the Head Master or

Provost of any College at Oxford, Cambridge, St. Andrews, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Aberdeen, Dublin; or Maynooth; the Attorney and Solicitor Generals of England and Ireland, and Lord Advocate of Scotland; all sea-faring men who at the time shall be actually in any employment, the naval duties of which shall necessarily incapacitate them from performing the duties of *Legal Aray*; as well as all officers and soldiers in the annually-voted army, who at the time shall be in actual service; and all youths under 18, as well as all aged men above 63 years of age; and the exemptions shall extend to Jersey, Guernsey, and Man, in respect of such persons, as, in the opinion of the Court of Aray in each island respectively, shall be judged to come within them by fair analogy.

VI. That from and after the passing of this act, all male subjects of this realm, between the ages of 18 and 63 years,* as members of the *Legal Aray* of the community, shall, according to their personal or pecuniary means, be liable to all the duties, services, and contributions, incumbent on, or in respect of, that *Aray*: And, in order that the said *Legal Aray* may be made available for defending the state against invasion, by means of an organization, and a practical system for causing, (should occasion require) every particle of the physical force of the armed people to be put in motion, and brought into action with order, facility, and effect; the entire territory of the United Kingdom ought to be, and is hereby required and directed to be, suitably divided, subdivided, and sub-subdivided, for the purposes of martial defence, as well as for the assuring of national tranquillity, and the uninterrupted preservation of local peace.

VII. That the United Kingdom of

* A small variation in the law, as it now stands, is here proposed. Having been so proposed on mature consideration of the *Aray* now in use, and other grounds, it will probably be acquiesced in as expedient.

Great Britain and Ireland is therefore hereby ordered, required, and directed, to be divided into 18 *Commanderies*, being military grand divisions; subdivided into 36 *Warshires*, being military subdivisions, or martial unions; and sub-subdivided into 655 *Weapontakes*; the said *Commanderies* and *Warshires* being, in respect of geographical situation, chiefly founded on principles of *space*; whereas the said *Weapontakes* being in all respects the same as the *Electorates*, constituted by an act of the present session. c. , are founded on principles of population; and such dividing, subdividing, and sub-subdividing shall be as the same is fully set forth and expressed in Schedule, No. 2, appended to this act.

VIII. That each and every *Warshire* of the United Kingdom shall be within itself, and is hereby constituted, a *martial union* of all the *Electorates* or *Weapontakes* of which it shall be composed; the entire inhabitants of which *Warshire* shall be the *frank-pledges* of each other, for defence of their territory against invasion, and shall contribute according to their property to the expence of defending that common territory, so far as the same shall not, by Parliament, be considered a national object, and, as such, provided for out of the public revenue.

IX. That for guarding against surprize by any sudden descent of invaders, all those *Electorates* or *Weapon-takes* of England and of Ireland, which shall in any part of them abut on the sea, or on any river as high up from the sea as such river shall, at time of low water during the equinoctial spring tides, be of the uninterrupted depth of 24 feet at the least, shall be accounted *Border*, and be subject to peculiar rules and regulations.

X. That all the same persons in every parish or other locality of the United Kingdom and its three isles of Jersey, Guernsey and Man, who, by the said Act of the present session c.

(7) were made responsible for making out, continuing, recording and preserving the *Electoral Registers* of their several parishes or other localities, shall deliver on demand to the *Clerk Martial* of every *Electorate* or *Weapontake* a correct Roll, including,

First, all males who are upwards of 63 years old.		
Second, all under 63 and above 48	48	30
Third	30	26
Fourth	22	18
Fifth		

And in every such Roll, next after the column of names, shall be a column, headed, *Age*, in which the age of each man, as nearly as it can be ascertained, shall be inserted: And, as the original Roll of this kind will govern subsequent Rolls, so the Chairman, who may eventually be required to verify on oath the correctness of this *classing Roll*, is required to see that the Meeting in which he shall on such occasion preside, do pay particular attention to correctness in respect to each man's age: And this *classing Roll* shall likewise contain another column, headed, *Unable*, in which a cypher shall be entered opposite to the name of every man who shall be a cripple, or shall labour under any inveterate bodily disease, or mental infirmity, so as to be utterly incapable of the duty of arms-bearing; and another column headed, *second Division*, for distinguishing such, as, in a well-organized national force, might be more useful as auxiliaries than as principals; to which end, their occupations are here to be expressed, whether Miners, Field Labourers, Smiths, Carpenters, Drivers, Pedlars, or Operatives, and so forth; and such of this *second Division* as, from superiority of moral character, may be thought particularly trust-worthy, and well-qualified to serve as principals, should occasion so require, are to have their occupations underscored with a double line: And, in the manner of an appendix to such Roll, shall be inserted the names of all females, who, being householders or

not only all the Electors in such Registers, but, in addition thereto, all peers of the realm who shall be residents; the whole divided into six distinct classes according to ages, as follows, namely,

persons of property, contributing by direct taxation to the support of the Poor, the Church or the State, ought to contribute to such pecuniary burthens in respect of Defence as hereinafter (12) provided: And such *classing Roll*, so made out as aforesaid shall be entitled *The Foundation Class Roll of Aray*.

XI. That, for the preservation of order, for the administration of justice, and for giving a resistless effect to the system of constitutional defence by the *Legal Aray*, there shall be in the several *Weapontakes*, *Warshires* and *Commanderies*, of the United Kingdom and its 3 isles aforesaid (10) the undermentioned Courts and Councils, respectively; that is to say, I. There shall be in each and every *Weapontake*, a court entitled the *Court of Aray*, which Court shall consist of the *Chief Conservator* for the time being, of the *Legion* enrolled in such *Weapontake*, together with all Field Officers for the time being of the said *Legion*, who, by virtue of their Commissions, shall be Conservators of the Peace in ordinary; and of all other persons who shall have served as *Thaneguard* of Aray during the whole of any former *Quinquennium*.*

* On a full consideration of the nature of an *Electorate*, as, at the same time, a *Weapontake* of a military Nation; and contemplating likewise the inseparability of the two branches *civil* and *military*, of the English Constitution, we may be satisfied of the fitness, that the Court of Precognition and Redress, proposed in the 28th Clause of the aforesaid "Act for a Constitutional Reform of Parliament," ought to be merged in the *Court of Aray*.

2. Of this Court the *Chief Conservator* shall be President and *Custos Rotulorum*, and shall have the appointment of his Deputy, with the title of *Clerk Martial*; and of the *Herald* of the Court, in the person of the Sergeant Major of the Legion, who, in that capacity, also receives his appointment from the *Chief Conservator*.

3. This Court shall assemble on the morrow of the first Wednesday of August, in every year, and then draw by lot a pannel of 100 Jurors, for the year of Aray then commencing, taken from the several Orders of the *Legion* and from the *Second Division* (10) of the Aray in the following proportions, namely, from the *Veterans* 32, from the *Thaneguard* 16, from the *Targeteers* 8, from the *Foreguard* 16, from the *Light Aray* 16, and from the *Second Division* 12; and from such pannel, or from as many of them as may be living and present in the *Weapontake* on occasion of any trial, a Jury of 12 shall be drawn by lot; all such lots being prepared by the *Clerk Martial*, and drawn and proclaimed by the *Herald*.

4. And this Court shall be a court of Record for administering justice within the sphere and to the extent of its jurisdiction, co-extensive with the *Weapontake*, as impowered by this Act; and with the authority, necessary to every Court of Judicature, of maintaining order in its proceedings, and of enforcing obedience to its legal decisions.

5. And the same magistrates and officers who shall constitute such *Court of Aray* shall likewise compose a deliberative *Council of Aray*, for ordering and regulating, as far as impowered by this Act, all matters appertaining to an orderly, sound and wholesome execution of the system of Peace and Defence by *Legal Aray*.

XII. That there shall be in each and every Warshire, a *Council of Defence*, of which the *Vavator* shall be President, and none shall be members of such Council but *Chief Conservators*, *Thanes*, and *Vicirions*.

2. And considering the great inequality in the numbers of *Electorates*, or *Weapontakes* in the different Warshires, as well as the fitness of preventing as much as may be an excess or a paucity of members for constituting *Councils of Defence*, it is hereby determined that in each and every of the Warshires numbered 14, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 31, 32, 35 and 36, all *Chief Conservators*, all *Thanes of Aray*, and all *Vicarions* in these several Warshires, shall be members of the *Council of Defence*; that in each and every Warshire numbered 7, 8, 11, 12, 17, 27, 28, 30, and 33, none but the *Chief Conservators* and *Thanes of Aray* in those several Warshires shall be members of the said Council; and that in each and every Warshire numbered 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 13, 15, 16, 29, and 34, the *Chief Conservators* only in those several Warshires shall be members of the said Council:

3. And the *Council of Defence* of any Warshire shall only meet when convened by the *Vavator*, or, on his being absent or refusing, by three *Chief Conservators* of *Legions* making parts of such Warshire; and always having notice of not less than 21, nor more than 28 days.

4. And all matters of common interest, respecting defence, to a Warshire, as a *Martial Union* (8) of freemen held together by the bond of *frank pledge*, whether relative to services or works of defence, or united military exercises, or to expence in respect thereof, shall come within the province of the *Council of Defence*, of such Warshire:

5. And whenever any such *Council of Defence* shall have agreed upon the necessity or expedience of any services or works of defence, or military exercises, and shall have carefully estimated the expence of carrying the same into execution, the *Vavator* shall thereupon transmit to the *Chief Conservator* of each and every *Weapontake*, making a part of the Warshire, a copy of its Proceedings,

for being submitted to the several *Courts of Aray* :

6. And 40 days having been allowed for mature consideration of the premises, if such proceedings of the *Council of Defence*, shall, on such consideration, be approved of by the several *Courts of Aray*, they shall then, in another meeting of the *Council of Defence*, to be forthwith convened, be confirmed, and have all the force of a *Bye Law* of the *Warshire*.

7. And in the event of any *Court* or *Courts of Aray* offering amendments upon the propositions of the *Council of Defence*, touching its proposed services or works of Defence, or military Exercises, and accompanying such proposed Amendments with reasons for the same, such *Council of Defence* shall thereupon be again convened as early as may be in law; and, having taken all such proposed Amendments into its mature consideration, its final determination in the premises shall then be come to.

8. And the Precepts of such *Court of Defence*, signed by its President, shall forthwith be issued to the several *Courts of Aray*, directed to the respective Presidents of the same, requiring and authorizing the execution of such services and works of defence, and military exercises, and the providing of funds for carrying the same into full execution.

9. And the same shall then be executed, and the funds provided accordingly, unless wholly, as partially, protested against by any such *Court* or *Courts of Aray*; in which case, so much only of such works, as shall not have been distinctly protested against, shall be executed; nothing more being done in the premises, by any other than parliamentary authority :

XIII. That in each and every *Commandery* of the United Kingdom, there shall be a *Supreme Council of Aray*, over which the *Heretoch* shall preside; the office of which Council shall be to superintend the system and works of Defence adopted in the two *Warshires* of the *Commandery* and

made objects of the *Bye Laws* of the same.

2. And such *Supreme Council* shall consist of the *Heretoch*, the two *Vavasors*, and all the *Chief Conservators of Aray* in the *Commandery*; and for recording the Proceedings of this *Supreme Council*, it shall have a *Prothonotary* of the *Heteroch's* appointing.

3. And if to such *Supreme Council of Aray* there should appear to be wanting any improvement or improvements in such works of Defence as aforesaid, which improvement or improvements would operate beneficially, either in an equal or an unequal degree, in favour of the two *Warshires*, such *Supreme Council of Aray* shall have authority to cause plans and estimates of the suggested improvement or improvements to be made, distinguishing how much of the expense ought to be borne by the one, and how much by the other of the two *Warshires*: And to the end of making such surveys and estimates the said *Supreme Council* shall be authorized to apply unto the Board of Ordnance for a competent Engineer; which Board shall thereupon order a competent Engineer to proceed upon the service in consultation with the *Supreme Council*, and to furnish the said Council with plans and estimates accordingly.

4. And such plans and estimates shall be laid before the *Councils of Defence*; by which *Councils of Defence*, copies of the same shall be forthwith submitted to the several *Courts of Aray*, within their respective jurisdictions.

5. And so far as such suggested improvements shall be unanimously agreed to by the said *Courts of Aray*, each of such *Councils of Defence* on receiving the proofs of such unanimity, shall issue its precept in manner aforesaid, requiring that such adopted improvement or improvements be executed, and the expense provided for as aforesaid.

6. And with regard to all such suggested improvements as may be protested against in manner aforesaid (xii. 9.) it shall not be lawful to execute them, or any of them, at the local expense of either or both *Warshires*.

7. And it is also provided, that all proposals, schemes, and plans for parks of artillery, buildings, fortifications, batteries, telegraphs, or other works of, or concerning Defence, that may have been unanimously approved of in any *Court of Aray*, as aforesaid, shall, prior to their execution, be submitted to the *Supreme Council of Aray* for its opinion on the same, and for the benefit of any improvements which it may then suggest.

XIV. That although it be fit that all such works of Defence for the immediate security of maritime *Warshires*, should by those *Warshires*, be so erected or executed as aforesaid, yet inasmuch as security is thereby given to the interior *Warshires*, constituting the Reserve of the system of National Defence, those interior *Warshires*, if called on, shall, in a due proportion, contribute towards the expence.

XV. That to this end, whenever the works of Defence in any maritime *Warshire* shall be so considerable as to induce fifty persons taxable for erecting or executing the same, to require of the *Council of Defence*, to take the necessary measures for obtaining from the interior, a proportional contribution towards the expence, the said *Council of Defence* shall thereupon cause a plan and estimate of the expence to be drawn out, to which the said Council shall subjoin what, in their judgment, either one or both, and, if both, in what proportions, the interior *Warshires* ought to contribute.

And such *Council of Defence* shall transmit the same to the Council or *Councils of Defence* of the interior *Warshire* or *Warshires*, as the case may be, together with a demand of the contribution which, in their judg-

ment, shall be due to their Constituents.

XVI. That as soon as, by compliance with their demand, or by other means, the matter may be adjusted, the same shall be entered on record in the respective *Councils of Defence* of the *Warshires* concerned, and by them communicated to the several *Courts of Aray* within their respective jurisdictions, for their guidance.

XVII. That if, after one proposition on each side, no agreement shall take place, then in that case the matter shall be settled by reference, in manner following, that is to say, the *Council of Defence*, which is appellant shall make its election of a Town in the interior *Commandery*, in which the Referees shall meet: To this town shall resort, as Referees, three Engineers, of rank not under the degree of captain, nor officers of the Aray, to be ordered thither by the Board of Ordnance on, application to that Board by such appellant *Council of Defence*: and those three Engineers, having had before them the plans and estimates of the works in question; having heard in argument one Deputy from each and every *Warshire* concerned which shall think fit to appoint a Deputy on the occasion; and having duly considered the interest of every such *Warshire*, shall make their award, expressing the proportions of the expence which in their judgment, ought to be borne by each and every *Warshire* interested; distinguishing whether one or both *Warshires* of the maritime *Commandery*, as well as whether one or both *Warshires* of the interior *Commandery*, ought to contribute, and in what proportions respectively; and such Award shall be final to all intents and purposes:

XVIII. That the said three engineers shall sign as many counterparts of such award as there shall be *warshires* concerned; delivering, or causing to be delivered, to the *Council of Defence* of each *Warshire* concerned one counterpart, which shall be entered of Record in every such Coun-

eil; and an office copy of which, countersigned by the President and Secretary of such Council shall be forthwith transmitted to the *Court of Aray* of every *Weapontake* within its jurisdiction, and on being received shall be entered of record in every such *Court of Aray* :

XIX. That, from the several parochial and local *Foundation Class Rolls of Aray* (10) the *Clerk Martial* shall make out and enter in the Records of the *Court of Aray*, an *Organization Roll*, for placing together and in succession according to their ages, beginning with the youngest, all the male inhabitants of the *Electorate* or *Weapontake*, between the ages of 18 and 22, as best adapted to serve in the capacity of *Light Aray* (*light infantry*); all between the ages of 22 and 26, as best adapted to serve as *Foreguard* in the *Aray* (*Grenadiers*); all between 26 and 30, as best adapted for being *Targeteers* of *Aray* (*Riflemen*): all between 30 and 48, as fittest for the *Thaneguard* of *Aray* (*Battalion Men*); all between 48 and 63, to compose the *Order of Veterans* of *Aray*, for services of least fatigue or danger, but still a *Reserve* in time of need; and at all times as useful as the youngest in assuring to the community internal tranquillity, in a perfect exemption from tumultuous disorder; and finally all who shall be upwards of 63 years of age, and consequently exempt from any farther arms-bearing services to the state, although still liable to the necessary contributions for services and works of defence in the *Martial Aray* of their residence or in the *Warshire* in which it may be situated.

XX. That, as the *Electorates* which are now become also *Weapontakes*, are founded on principles of *equal population*, each *Weapontake* shall therefore furnish towards a national *aray* an equal number of arms-bearing men, in appropriate species of force for all services; and the men to be furnished shall be enrolled in one *Legion*, consisting of 2,860 rank and

file; 83 commission officers; 73 *Decurions* or serjeants, including one serjeant-major and one tactition; and 24 trumpeters, buglemen and drummers; making a *Legion* of 3,040 men; to be distributed into *Orders* (or *Corps*), officered, organized and arranged as set forth in Schedule, No. 3, appended to this act.

XXI. That it is nevertheless provided that, for purposes of utility and of pecuniary benefit to the *Military Chest* of every *Weapontake*, there may be enrolled one troop of *volunteer cavalry* of 50 privates and three officers, to be denominated *Equestrians*; and one company of *volunteer infantry* of 50 privates and 3 officers, to be denominated *Olympics*; which corps, in consideration of their volunteering materially to contribute to the *Military chest* of the *Aray*, which is to do *more* than what is the common duty of all, shall be entitled to certain privileges and distinctions hereinafter allowed.

XXII. That the *Orders* (or corps) of armed force, with the several establishments of Officers, and *Decurions*, in a *Legion* of *Aray*, according to their denominations and equivalent rank, shall be as set forth in the said Schedule No. 3.

XXIII. That the entire *Legal Aray* of the United Kingdom and its three isles (10) amounting to an aggregate of 2,000,320 men, as set forth in the aforesaid schedule, No 2, shall, in the several *Weapontakes*, *Warshires*, and *Commanderies*, as organized for defence of the realm, be subject to one and the same general system of regulation, government, and discipline for its own well-being, credit and efficiency, in promptly suppressing all tendencies to internal disorder, for assuring to the nation an undisturbed internal tranquillity, and for securing it from the possibility of external danger by invasion.

XXIV. That the respective commission officers of the *Legal Aray* shall each receive as his *Commission* a *Medal* which is to be struck at the

royal Mint; the device of which Medal shall be symbolical of the character and duties of the national Army of a free people, as expressed in the engraved pattern in Schedule No. 4, appended to this act.

XXV. That the *Commission Medals* aforesaid shall be of three classes, differing in sterling value, in diameter, and in the metal in which they shall be coined, as particularly expressed and set forth in the said schedule, No. 4.

XXVI. That from and after the time during which any such *Medal* shall have served as a Commission, it shall pass as current coin of the kingdom, under the same protection of law as made and provided in respect of the other sterling coin of the realm, and according to its due value as marked thereupon; for which reason, whenever an Officer of Army shall receive as his Commission any such *Medal*, he shall pay for the same according to such its sterling value.

XXVII. That, on all occasions of duty, every commission officer of *Legal Army* shall be under an obligation of wearing his proper distinguishing *Medal*, suspended from his neck by a ribbon of the same colour as may be the distinguishing colour of his *Order* (or Corps;) under a penalty to the military chest of his Army for every omission, of thrice its value as a coin:

XXVIII. That it shall not be lawful for any person so to wear any such Army *Medal* as aforesaid, unless he at the time shall hold in the *Legal Army* the rank and authority, and in the particular Army expressed by the *Medal* so unlawfully worn; under a penalty to the military chest of the Army in which such offender shall be detected, of the sum of five pounds of lawful money of the realm, for every offence, where the medal so unlawfully worn shall be of the lowest of the three classes aforesaid: of ten pounds of such money, when the medal so unlawfully worn shall be of the middle class; and of twenty-pounds of such money, when the medal so unlawfully worn

shall be of the highest and most valuable class.

XXIX. That, on all occasions of filling up vacancies, among the commission officers of Army, the officer promoted to a higher rank shall receive, and pay for a *promotion Ring*, which ring shall be worn during the remainder of the then current *Quinquennium* of Army, on the same ribbon with the *Medal* which constitutes his commission, the internal diameter of which ring shall be half an inch, and its external diameter three quarters of an inch, as described by an engraving in the aforesaid schedule No. 4; every such ring denoting an advance of one step in rank within the term of the then current *Quinquennium of Army*; so that by the joint means of a *Medal* and a *Ring* or *Rings*, a promoted officer's existing rank may at all times be ascertained.

XXX. That an occasion of every promotion to a rank beneath that of a *Chief (Conservator)*, such Ring shall be of silver; and that when the promotion shall be to the rank of *Chief Conservator*, of *Vavasor*, or of *Heretoch*, such Ring shall be of gold.

XXXI. That for unlawfully wearing any such Ring, as an accompaniment to any Commission Medal, the fraud shall be punishable and the penalty the same, as in the case of fraudulently wearing any such Medal, such Ring always being considered as of the same class, for denoting ranks, as the Medal with which it shall be so unlawfully worn.

XXXII. That anterior to every *Quinquennium of Army*, the Chancellor of his Majesty's Exchequer in *England* shall be responsible for lodging in his Majesty's office of the Mint a sufficient quantity of Silver and Gold in bullion, and for giving the necessary and proper orders for such bullion being coined into Medals of the requisite classes and values, and to be numerically stamped agreeably to the respective numbers for distinguishing according to the schedule No. 2, of this

Act, the several and respectable *Weapontakes*, of the United Kingdom and its three isles. (10) and likewise sufficient for furnishing each *Weapontake* with forty such Rings of silver as aforesaid, stamped P, to signify *Promoted** and such Chancellor of the Exchequer shall further be responsible, for issuing such Bullion, and such Orders so early as to allow ample time, not only for executing such coinage, but for sorting, stamping, † making into parcels, and conveying such *Commission Medals* and such *Promotion Rings* to the several and respective Presidents of each and every *Court of Aray* throughout the United Kingdom; besides conveying to the *Vavasor* of each *Warshire* and to the *Heretoch* of each *Commandery*, a Gold Medal as his Commission.

XXXIII. That the several parcels of *Commission Medals* and *Promotion Rings*, intended for the 127 *Weapontakes*, 10 *Warshires*, and 5 *Commanderies* in *Ireland*, shall be, in the first instance sent to his Majesty's Chancellor of Exchequer, of that country, at his office in *Dublin*, two months, at the least, prior to the commencement of the *Quinquennium*, for which such commissions are to be in use.

XXXIV. That the Chancellor of the Exchequer in *Ireland* shall then be responsible for what remains to be done in respect of a proper and timely delivery of all such parcels of *Medals* and *Rings* to the respective *Courts of Aray*, *Councils of Defence*, and *Supreme Councils of Aray*, in *Ireland*.

XXXV. That the Master of His Majesty's Mint, equally with the two Chancellors of Exchequer, shall be responsible for exactly and in due

time performing the several duties so imposed on him as aforesaid.

XXXVI. That for any failure in duly performing any of the duties imposed by this Act on the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Master of the Mint in *England*, and on the Chancellor of the Exchequer in *Ireland*, in consequence of which failure there shall be at the proper time a want of *Medals* for being delivered as Commissions, to the respective officers of *Legal Aray* on the day of their election, the offender, immediately on conviction of the crime, shall forfeit his office, and be thenceforth incapable of holding, or enjoying any profit from any office, sinecure, or pension under the crown or any other public authority in the realm; and he shall likewise be immediately subject to the payment of a Fine of Five thousand pounds of lawful money of the realm, and shall pay such Fine into his Majesty's Exchequer as applicable to the public service; and the receipt of such Fine shall be immediately communicated, by a message from the crown to the Commons House of Parliament, if then assembled, and entered in the Journals; but if at the time the Parliament be not sitting, the communication shall be made to the Speaker of the House, and likewise forthwith inserted in the *London Gazette*; and in default of an immediate payment of such Fine on conviction, the party so convicted shall be unprisoned in the *Marshalsea* prison of the Court of King's Bench, and there remain until payment be made:

XXXVII. That on the first Wednesday in August next (1820) when the first *Quinquennium* of the revived *Legal Aray* will commence, as well as on the first Wednesday of August at the commencement of every future *Quinquennium* in all time to come, there shall be holden in every *Electorate* or *Weapontake* of the United Kingdom and its three isles aforesaid (10) a *Folknote* or Assembly of the People, in which shall be elected, for and during the term of the, then cur-

* The *Promotion Rings* of Gold, being few in number, to be got from a Goldsmith.

† It would add to the elegance of the medals of the respective numbers should be struck in the coining; but for so doing, 653 dies instead of one would be required, which is considered as a valid objection.

rent *Quinquennium of Aray*, a complete set, or establishment, of Commission Officers, for commanding, training, and leading on service each and every of the *Order and Orders* which are to make part of the *Legion* of armed force in every such *Weapon-take* to be enrolled; with exception only of the officers of one troop of *Equestrians* and one company of *Olympics*, if such a troop and such a company shall have at the time an existence in such *Weapon-take*.

XXXVIII. Whereas election is the proper foundation of authority in the Aray of a free People;*

And whereas it is in accordance with this principle, that, as vacancies may occur in *quinquennium* commissions, the next officer in authority, as next in public confidence, should succeed;

And whereas, should elections occur as frequently as vacancies, the inconvenience would be too great to be borne; it is therefore hereby provided, ordered and directed,

That whenever a Commission in any *Order* (or Corps) of a *Legion of Aray* may become vacant, it shall not only be the right, but the duty of the next officer in authority in such *Order* (or Corps) to fill such vacant commission, and to perform all the services thereon depending; and that as far as

a commission of *Quadrion* may, in consequence of such regular promotion, become vacant, the same shall be given to a *Decurion* of the same *Order* (or Corps;) to which end, the *Chief Conservator* is hereby authorized, and required to issue from the *Court of the Aray*, a *Quadrion's* commission to such *Decurion* of the *Order*, as shall be recommended for such Commission by a certificate of merit, entitling him to such promotion, provided such certificate be signed by his own *Centurion* and also by the Commanding Officer of the *Order*.

XXXIX. That in every *Warshire* of the United Kingdom the *Vavator* shall be elected on the second Wednesday of August in the first year of every *Quinquennium of Aray*.

XL. That, to this end, those Officers of Aray in the several *Weapon-takes* who are to be members of the *Council of Defence* for their *Warshire*, shall assemble at Head Quarters (7. 20.) on the second Wednesday in the first year of every *Quinquennium of Aray*, and there, at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, elect by ballot their *Vavator*, and deliver to him his Commission.

XLI. That whenever a *Vavator's* Commission may become vacant, the Secretary of the *Council of Defence* shall convene the said Council for supplying such vacancy; giving not less than 14 days, nor more than 21 days notice of the Day of assembling; and the Council, when so assembled, shall at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, proceed to elect by ballot, a new *Vavator*; making such election from among the *Chief (Conservators)* of *Legions* within the same *Warshire*:

XLII. That, in every Commandery of the United Kingdom, the *Heretoch* shall be elected on the third Wednesday of August, in the first year of every *Quinquennium of Aray*:

XLIII. That, to this end, those Officers who are to be members of the *Supreme Council of Aray* for their *Commandery*, being convened by the senior *Vavator*, as a

* "In a land of liberty it is extremely dangerous to make a distinct order of the profession of arms."

"The laws therefore and constitution of these kingdoms know no such state as that of a perpetual standing soldier."

"In the time of our Saxon ancestors, it appears from Edward the Confessor's Laws, the military force of this kingdom was in the hands of the Dukes or *Heretochs*,"—such as were most remarkable for being "*sapientes fidelis animose*"

"They were elected by the People in their full Assembly, or *Folk-mote*, in the same manner as Sheriffs were elected: following still that old fundamental maxim of the Saxon Constitution, that where any officer was entrusted with such power, as if abused, might tend to the oppression of the People, that power was delegated to him by the vote of the People themselves."

Black. Com. I. 408, 409.

duty of his office, shall assemble at such town as such senior *Vavasor* shall appoint near the junction of the two *Warshires*, on the third Wednesday in the first year of every *Quinquennium of Aray*, and there at three o'clock in the afternoon, elect by ballot their *Heretoch*, and deliver to him his commission.

XLIV. That whenever a *Heretoch's* commission may become vacant, the *Prothonotary* of the *Supreme Council of Aray* shall convene the said council for supplying such vacancy, giving not less than twenty-one days, nor more than twenty-eight day's notice of the day of assembling; and the *Supreme Council*; when so assembled, shall, at three o'clock in the afternoon, proceed to elect by ballot, a new *Heretoch*; making such election from the two *Vavasors* of the *Commandery*:

XLV. That for such elections of *Vavasors* and *Heretochs*, the *Secretary* of the *Council of Defence*, or the *Prothonotary* of the *Supreme Council of Aray*, as the case may require, shall provide two untransparent vessels, for the purposes of the ballot, and shall likewise provide a sufficient number of paper tickets of one and the same form, sort, colour, shape and size, not being less than four inches long, and one inch broad, and deliver to each member one of those tickets, on which each member shall write the name or title of the person for whom he intends to vote: and, when the election shall begin, each member, who chooses to vote shall put his ticket into one of the vessels aforesaid; when, after all the tickets have been put in, and a cover put over such vessel, it shall be well shaken, not fewer than three times, and, between every two shakings, be also thrice turned upside down, before drawing out the tickets; the tickets shall then, by the junior officer of *Aray*, who is a member of the *Council*, be drawn out one by one, and delivered to the *President*, who, with an audible voice, shall read the name or

title thereon written; such name or title shall, by the *Secretary* or *Prothonotary*, be first entered in writing, in a list, and then by him be repeated with an audible voice, before another ticket be drawn; and as soon as such name or title shall have been so entered in the list, and so repeated as aforesaid, the ticket containing such name or title, shall, by the *President*, be dropped into the second vessel abovementioned; and in like manner the balloting shall proceed, until all the tickets be drawn, and all the names or titles be so entered in a list as aforesaid; when by means of the numerals, 1, 2, 3, and so-forth, successively annexed to each name or title on the list, as it repeatedly may occur, it shall be seen to which name or title the highest numeral shall stand annexed; when the *President* shall say who, as it appears to him, has the greatest number of votes; but the election shall not be complete until three members of the *Council*, at the least, separately, and in succession, shall have examined the list and the numbering, and have acquiesced in the *President's* opinion; when he shall then declare on whom the election hath fallen. Such declaration having been made, the *President* shall immediately deliver to the person elected the gold *medal* which is to be worn as his commission.

XLVI. That for originally providing in due time the proper commissions for *Vavasors* and *Heretochs* to be in readiness for their respective elections, the *Master* of the *Mint*, having ascertained the *Warshire* *Head Quarters* in each and every *Commandery* of *Great Britain*, which is at the nearest distance from *London*, shall, to a *Court of Aray* of a *Weapon-take* at, or nearest to, such *Head Quarters*, send the necessary number and sort of medals for the purpose, for which payment shall be made out of the military chest of such *Weapon-take*.

XLVII. That, prior to all subse-

quent elections at the commencement of *Quinquenniums*, of *Vavasors*, and of *Heretochs*, the Master of the Mint shall transmit to the *Vavasors* and *Heretochs*, then commanding, the proper medals in readiness for the elections of their several successors.

XLVIII. That, on occasional vacancies in either of those commands, the *Secretary of the Council of Defence*, or the *Prothonotary of the Supreme Council of Aray* (as the case may be) shall, through the medium of the Treasurer, or Keeper of the nearest Military Chest, take care to furnish himself with the medal or medals which may be wanting, as a commission or commissions for the officer or officers to be elected; every such treasurer always paying the Master of the Mint for such occasional medals, and being repaid by the Officer receiving the same.

XLIX. That in order to give practicability and facility, as well as appropriate utility, to separate elections of the many commission officers of a *Legion* in one day, those of *one Order* (or corps) shall be elected, before those of the next Order shall be nominated; and each Commission in each Order, beginning with the highest, shall be so disposed of; the persons proposed for each Commission shall severally be named to the *Folkmote*, agreeably to a written paper, to be entitled Notification of the several Aray Commissions to be this day disposed of by Election. In one column of the said Notification shall be expressed each several Commission to be disposed of. The next column shall contain, in alphabetical succession, all persons nominated for each Commission. And in a third column, opposite the name of each Nominee, shall be written the names of two persons by whom nominated, both names written in the same line with that of the Nominee. To which end, the *Herald* of the Court shall, with deliberation and loud voice proclaim, one at a time, each and every commission to be conferred; and the

military rank it will communicate to the holder: The said *Herald* shall then name, in alphabetical order, the first Nominee, and immediately add, by what two inhabitants of the *Electorate* such Nominee was proposed: In like manner, the said *Herald* shall proclaim whose name is second on the list, and by whom proposed; and so in respect of the third, or other Nominees in regular succession, till all are proclaimed: This done, the *Recorder*, deliberately, and with loud voice, nominating each Nominee in succession, and, on each nomination, taking a show of hands, he shall declare which Nominee had, in his judgment, the greatest number of Suffrages; in which case, if his judgment be not questioned, he shall declare the party elected.

L. That if, in favour of any one, other Nominee, only three persons shall demand a Division, their names having been written down by the Clerk, the *Recorder* shall direct the Electors to divide and form themselves in two columns of equal ranks, having 20, or 30, or 40, or 50, in a rank (for the facility of counting); when he shall count each column, by its ranks and its odd men in the rear rank; where, resuming his place as President, he shall declare the result.

LI. That, in like manner, all the elections, *Order by Order*, and Officer by Officer, shall in the same mode be conducted: And if any person or persons shall in any manner disturb or interrupt, or attempt to frustrate any such election, by disorderly behaviour, or by wilfully deviating from the mode so prescribed for forming columns as aforesaid, and quietly remaining therein until the counting shall be completed, it shall be the duty of the *Recorder* to prosecute such offender or offenders in the *Court of Aray*, as violators of free election and the public peace.

LII. That in all such *Tables of Nomination* as aforesaid, the Nominees shall be invariably entered by their *surnames*, alphabetically arrang-

ed; their christian names, as well as their titles or occupations, being made an addition to each; and no such Nomination shall be valid or propounded to the *Folknote*, unless made at the desire of two householders of the *Electorate*, given in writing under their hands.

LIII. That in the event of a deficiency of nominations, to the extent of two persons at the least for each Commission, it shall be the duty of the *Recorder* to supply by his own authority that deficiency, by adding a Nominee where there shall already be only one, or by proposing two; in which latter case his own nomination shall suffice.

LIV. That, as persons fit for command in the *Legal Aray*, must be sufficiently known to their neighbours, and as the number of officers to be chosen on such day of election is considerable, no debating on comparative merit, nor any speeches in approbation or disapprobation of any Nominee, shall be allowed to occupy the time of the *Folknote*; and any attempt so to debate or to make any such speech shall be accounted disorder, and a breach of the peace.

LV. That at such commencement of every *Quinquennium of Aray*, the Officers of the *Legion* to be elected in each *Electorate* as aforesaid, shall be put in nomination in the following succession, and no other, namely, First, The *Chief Conservator* of the *Legion* with rank equivalent to Major-General; 2dly. The *Thane* of the *Thaneguard* with rank equivalent to Colonel; 3dly. The *Vicarion* of the *Light Aray* with rank equivalent to Lieutenant Colonel; the *Vicarion of Foreguard*; the first *Vicarion of Thaneguard*; the second *Vicarion of Thaneguard*; the *Vicarion of Veterans*; 4thly. The *Tribune of Light Aray*, with rank equivalent to Major;—*Tribune of Foreguard*; *Tribune of Targeteers*; first *Tribune of Thaneguard*; second *Tribune of Thaneguard*; *Tribune of Veterans*; 5thly. The *Centurion of Horse Aray* (where there shall be

no Troop of *EQUESTRIANS*) with rank equivalent to Captain; the first *Centurion of Light Aray*, the other three in succession: the first, of *Foreguard*, and the other three in succession; the first and second of *Targeteers*; the first of *Thaneguard*, and the other seven in succession; the first of *Veterans*, and the other three in succession; 6thly. The *Dimidion of Horse Aray* (where there shall be no troop of *Equestrians*) with rank equivalent to Lieutenant; the first of *Light Aray*, and the other three in succession; the first of *Foreguard*, the other three in succession; the first of *Targeteers*, the second; the first of *Thaneguard*, the other seven in succession; the first of *Veterans*, the other three in succession; 7thly. the first *Quadrion of Light Aray*, (where there shall be no company of *Olympics*.) with rank equivalent to ensign; the other three in succession; the first of *Foreguard*, the other three in succession; the first of *Thaneguard*, the other seven in succession; the first of *Veterans*, and the other three in succession.

LVI. That in all cases where there shall be no more than one officer of the degree in an *Order* (or corps) they shall take rank in their *Order*, as successively elected, the first elected being highest.

LVII. And whereas, although it may be expedient that the officers of the junior and more active corps should be first elected, it were not fit that youth and inexperience should have authority over age and information, it is therefore hereby provided,

That where different *Orders* (or corps) of the same *Legion* may be on duty together, the *Order* (and of course their officers) shall take rank on the principle of seniority, the *Veterans* being highest, and the *Light Aray* lowest; without regard to the comparative ages of individual officers in the different *Orders*.

LVIII. And whereas, service in a national Aray being the common duty of all, there cannot therein be any sphere for *volunteering*, unless such

volunteering extend to the performing of more than a common duty; wherefore it is hereby provided,

That a Troop of *Horse Aray*, which constitutes an essential *Order* in every *Legion* of Aray, may be furnished by a volunteering to do more than a common duty in the service of national defence, particularly in the way of liberally contributing to the Military Chest of a *Weapontake*; and that whenever such Troop of Horse shall be so furnished, with a consent on the part of the volunteers to comply with the regulations in such case hereinafter made and provided, then such Troop of Horse and its Officers shall have and enjoy certain privileges and distinctions, with an advantage to its Officers in rank, as hereinafter specified; and such Volunteer Troop, on account of its superior rank, among the *Order* of a *Legion*, shall be styled the *Equestrian Order*.

LIX. That, for one month prior to the commencement of every *Quinquennium* of Aray, there shall be kept by the *Clerk Martial* of every *Weapontake* a Roll of *Volunteer Equestrians*, for receiving the signatures of volunteers, or an entry of names by the *Clerk*, on his having received in writing authority for such entries.

LX. That if, within one month

from and after the commencement of a *Quinquennium*, there shall be enrolled for such troop of *Equestrians* so many as 50 privates, with the three Commission Officers, namely, a *Thane*, a *Tribune*, and a *Centurion*, then in that case such troop of *Equestrians* shall become an *Order* of, and be embodied in, the *Legion* of the *Electorate* or *Weapontake*, and shall have and enjoy all the intended privileges and distinctions of an *Equestrian Order* accordingly.

LXI. That for ascertaining and regulating the extra services, the privileges and distinctions of an *Equestrian Order* of Aray, there shall be observed the following Rules; namely,

1. All members of the *Order* (Trumpeters and Musicians, who may not be volunteer contributors to the Military Chest excepted) shall provide at their own expence their own clothing, horses, arms and accoutrements of every kind; with exception only of Powder, Ball, and Cartridge Paper, which they shall receive from the stores of the *Weapontake*:

2. Each Member of the *Order* shall, on his first enrolment, pay down a contribution to the Military Chest of the *Weapontake*, according to his rank, as follows; namely,

	£	s.	d.
A Private <i>Equestrian</i> or Corporal	1	0	0
A <i>Decurion</i> or Serjeant	1	10	0
The <i>Centurion</i>	30	0	0
The <i>Tribune</i>	40	0	0
The <i>Vicarion</i>	50	0	0

and each member respectively, according to his rank, shall annually, within one month from the first Wednesday of August in every year of the *Quinquennium*, if he be then in the *Order*, so again contribute, as aforesaid, to the Military Chest of the *Weapontake*:

3. In *England* on the 4th Wednesday, in *Scotland* on the 5th Wednesday, and in *Ireland* on the 7th Wednesday from and after the day on

which the *Flag of Aray* (being, simply a Red Flag, inscribed with large figures in gold, 2,000,320,) shall be hoisted on the Tower of London, (as notified by Proclamation in the London Gazette, and confirmed in *Ireland* by a like Flag, hoisted on the Castle of *Dublin*,) the *Equestrian Order*, completely clothed, horsed, armed and accoutred, and with such a marching supply of ammunition as shall hereafter by any *Bye-law* of the *Warshire*

be required (12.) shall appear at the Head Quarters of the *Warshire* to which it shall belong, putting itself under the command of the *Vavator* thereof, who at the same time shall be at Head Quarters to receive and organize into squadrons, Cohorts, or Regiments, all the *Equestrians* under his authority.

4. Such *Equestrians*, organized as aforesaid, shall continue in the performance of such services of defence as the *Vavator*, consulting at his discretion the *Council of Defence* shall require of them :

5. The three commission Officers, jointly and collectively, shall be answerable for the training, good order on duty, and correct discipline of the whole Troop; and also for having the Troop Horses well trained to cavalry exercises and evolutions; to the facing of crowds of men in markets, fairs, and *Folknotes*; and to perfect steadiness under the circumstances of bon-fires, fireworks, rockets, platoon firing and the discharges of artillery; on pain of forfeiting to the Military Chest of the *Weapontake* for disorderly conduct on duty, or breaches of discipline by any member or members of the Troop, proved in the Court of Aray; and likewise for every horse not so trained within three months after being entered as a Troop Horse, the sum of 60 shillings, of which 15 shall be paid by the *Centurion*, 20 by the *Tribune*, and 25 by the *Vicarion*: and each and every offender under the command of the said three Officers shall, on conviction in the *Court of Aray*, be fined for the benefit of the *Military Chest* of the *Weapontake*, and for the reputation of the Corps and the *Weapontake*, in such sum respectively as the Jury shall impose.

6. During the first year of every *Quinquennium of Aray*, and in the Town from which the *Weapontake* or *Electorate* shall take its denomination,* at 10 o'clock in the forenoon of the last market day in each calendar

* By a Provision in the *Bill of Rights and Liberties of the present Session*. Cl. xiii.

month, a squad of 12 private *Equestrians* and one Corporal, headed by one *Decurion* or Serjeant (taken by regular roster from the whole troop) shall parade in the market place; where, having been there mustered by the *Decurion* the squad shall, during the space of one full hour traverse the streets and market place of the said town without their arms; so that once in three months the whole of the troop may thus publicly show the state and condition of their horses; and, on all such occasions, one, at least, of the commission Officer's Chargers (taken in rotation) shall be led at the head of the Squad.

7. During the four subsequent years of every *Quinquennium*, such show of Troop Horses shall be made only once in three calendar months, in October, January, April, and July, on the last market day in the month, when two such squads as aforesaid shall so assemble at the hour aforesaid and the place aforesaid, and, having been mustered by their respective *Decurions*, shall in all respects proceed as aforesaid.

8. Should there be any failure of punctual attendance at the place and time aforesaid, of any non-commission officer or private of the squad whose duty it was to appear, every such failure shall, by the *decurion*, or corporal, or right-hand man of the squad, be reported in writing to the *Clerk Martial*, who shall enter the same in a minute book of the *Court of Aray*; and, according to the terms of such entry, if no mitigating circumstance shall therein appear, the Court, at its next sitting, shall fine every offending rank and title *Equestrian* 10 shillings, and every offending *decurion* 15 shillings, unless it receive evidence which may induce it to mitigate, or wholly to dispense with such penalty.

9. In the last week of *September*, and the last week of *April*, in every year of the *Quinquennium*, the *Equestrian Order* shall be reviewed at or near the chief town of the *Weapontake*, on such particular days, as, for

that purpose, shall be fixed by a Bye-Law of the *Weapontake*. The *Chief Conservator* of the *Legion* shall be the reviewing Officer, unless out of the kingdom, or having assigned to the *Council of Defence* of the *Warshire* a cause of absence. In either case, the *Vavasor* or other President of the *Council of Defence*, shall order some other *Chief Conservator* of a *Legion* belonging to the *Warshire*, to officiate as reviewing officer.

10. On all such occasions (allowance being made for inexpertness at the first review) the troop of *Equestrians* shall go through all the exercises and evolutions necessary on real service.

11. The reviewing officer shall be responsible for making to the *Court of Aray* of the *Weapontake* to which the *Equestrians* shall belong, a faithful report on honour of his opinion, touching the degree of proficiency in cavalry exercises and evolutions to which the *Equestrians* have attained; as well as of every case of absence from this duty of any officer, non-commission officer, or private *Equestrian*; and likewise of any personal misbehaviour of any member of the Troop which may have fallen under his notice during the Review: And the Court, according to its judgment and discretion, may, for the good of the public service, either overlook an omission; admonish for an impropriety; or investigate and punish misbehaviour or crime.

12. Every *Equestrian Order* shall wear in their uniform Helmet, or Hat, a feather of any colour they shall have agreed on, excepting only a white feather; and, within the limits of the commandery to which they, as *Equestrians*, may belong, the Commission Officers shall have the exclusive privilege of wearing at their pleasure, such military feather, with any other than their military dress.

13. The non-commission officers and privates, trumpeters and musicians of the *Equestrians*, shall, within the limits of their proper commandery, have a like exclusive privilege of

wearing at a button-hole on the breast of their jacket or coat, a silk rose, of the same colour as the feather of the officers.

14. Whenever any officer of *Equestrians* shall attend as a member of his *Court of Aray*, or his *Council of Defence*, or shall be present at a *Folkmote* of his Electorate, he shall appear in full uniform; and all *Equestrians*, whenever they shall appear at such *Folknotes*, shall go to, and return from the same on their horses; and, if agreeable, or convenient to them, may continue on horseback during the proceedings, provided they keep on the outside of the persons on foot.

LXII. And whereas, seeing that such volunteering as aforesaid, (58) for the performing of *more than a common duty*, may be rendered available among infantry no less than among cavalry, it is therefore hereby provided

That one company of foot, to constitute a distinct *Order* in every *Legion* of *Aray*, may be raised on a volunteer foundation; and that whenever such company may be so raised, with a consent on the part of the volunteers to comply with the Regulations in such case hereinafter made and provided, then such Company and its Officers shall have and enjoy certain privileges and distinctions, with an advantage to its officers in rank, as hereinafter specified; and such volunteer company, on account of its generous ardour and emulation, shall be styled the *Olympic Order*.

LXIII. That for one month prior to the commencement of every *Quinquennium* of *Aray*, there shall be kept by the *Clerk Martial* of every *Court of Aray* a roll of volunteer *Olympics*, for receiving the signatures of volunteers, or of authenticated insertions of names, as in the case of *Equestrians*. (59)

LXIV. That if, within one month from and after the commencement of the *Quinquennium*, there shall be enrolled, as *Olympics*, so many as fifty privates, with the three commission

officers, namely, a *Tribune*, a *Centurion*, and a *Dimidion*, then in that case such Company of *Olympics* shall become an *Order* of, and be embodied in, the *Legion* of the *Weapontake*, and shall have and enjoy all the intended privileges and distinctions of *Olympics* accordingly.

LXV. That for ascertaining, and regulating the extra services, the privileges and distinctions of an *Olympic Order of Aray*, there shall be observed the following rules, namely,

1. All members of the *Order*

	£.	s.	d.
A private <i>Olympic</i> , or Corporal	0	18	0
A <i>Decurion</i> , or Serjeant	1	5	0
The <i>Dimidion</i>	25	0	0
The <i>Centurion</i>	35	0	0
The <i>Tribune</i>	45	0	0

3. In *England* on the third Wednesday, in *Scotland* on the fourth Wednesday, and in *Ireland* on the sixth Wednesday, from and after the day on which the *Flag of Aray* aforesaid, may be hoisted on the Tower of *London*, as aforesaid, the *Olympic Order*, completely clothed, armed and accoutred, and with such a marching supply of ammunition as shall hereafter, by any *Bye-Law*, be required, shall assemble at the town in which shall be held the *Court of Aray* of their *Weapontake*; and there wait the commands of the *Vavasor* of the *Warshire*, for being organised into cohorts or battalions, with other *Olympics* of the *Warshire*, under his authority; or for otherwise executing such orders as he shall issue:

4. Such *Olympics*, if so organized as aforesaid, shall continue, under such organization, to perform such services of defence, as the *Vavasor* of the *Warshire*, consulting at his discretion the *Council of Defence*, shall require of them.

5. The three commission officers, jointly and collectively, shall be answerable for the training, good order on duty, and correct discipline

(trumpeters and musicians, who may not be volunteer contributors to the *Military Chest*, excepted) shall provide at their own expence their own clothing, arms, and accoutrements of every kind; with exception only of powder, ball, and cartridge paper, which they shall receive from the stores of the *Weapontake*.

2. Each member of the *Order* shall, on his first enrolment, pay down a contribution to the *Military Chest* of the *Weapontake*, according to his rank, as follows, namely

of the whole company; and in case of disorderly conduct on duty, or breaches of discipline by any member or members of the *Order*, the said three officers shall, on proof thereof in the *Court of Aray*, forfeit to the *Military Chest* of the *Weapontake* the sum of 55 shillings, of which 13s. 8d. shall be paid by the *Dimidion*; 18s. by the *Centurion*; and 23s. by the *Tribune*: And each and every offender under their command shall, on conviction in the *Court of Aray*, be fined for the benefit of the *Military Chest* of their *Weapontake*, and for the reputation of the *Order* and of the *Electorate*, in such sum respectively as the *Jury* shall impose.

6. In the last week of *September*, and the last week of *April* in every year of the *Quinquennium*, the *Order of Olympics* shall be reviewed on the same day, at the same place, and by the same officer as the *Equestrians* shall be reviewed as aforesaid:

7. On all such occasions, the company of *Olympics* shall go through all the exercises and evolutions necessary on real service.

8. The reviewing Officer shall be responsible in all points touching his

review of the *Olympics*, and his reports respecting general proficiency, as well as individual behaviour, as in respect of the *Equestrians*, as aforesaid; (60.)

9. The Commission Officers of every *Olympic Order* shall wear in their uniform, helmets, hats or caps, a feather of any colour they shall have agreed on, excepting only a white feather; and, within the limits of the *Commandery* to which they, as *Olympics*, may belong; they shall have the exclusive privilege of wearing, at their pleasure, such military feather, with any other than their military dress.

10. The non-commission officers and privates, trumpeters and musicians of the *Olympics*, shall, within the limits of their proper *Commandery*, have a like exclusive privilege of wearing at a button hole on the breast of their jacket or coat, a silk rose of the same colour as the feather of the officers.

11. Whenever any officer of *Olympics* shall attend, as a Member of his *Court of Aray* or his *Council of Defence*, or shall be present at a *Folk-mote* of his *Olectorate*, he shall appear in full uniform.

LXVI. That the exclusive, honour, of wearing, in consideration of known public services, a particular kind of feather, being for the public good, the invasion of such exclusive, honour, as a contempt of law, as a derogation of an institution useful to the community, and as the act of an impostor, thereby falsely pretending to a merit worthy of reward, shall, on conviction in a *Court of Aray* be punished by a Fine not exceeding Fifty, nor being less than Twenty-Five Pounds.

LXVII. Whereas *Peace* and *Defence* are the objects of *Aray*, whether local or national;

And whereas appropriate Standards, Banners, and Ensigns, for animating or for rallying, have ever been found in war of eminent use;

And whereas, when the *Legal Aray* of this Realm shall, by this Act, be restored to full vigour and energy,

the very first appearance of a *Banner of Legal Aray*, as harbinger of a resistless power with "weapons to keep the peace," must have a decisive influence in utterly extinguishing any sparks of tumultuary passion,—(if under such a system ought so improbable, because unnatural, could ever for one moment disturb the repose of the community—) it is therefore hereby provided,

That, for deeply imprinting on the understandings of the People a correct conception of the objects, and the duties of Defence, and for enlisting in the cause the national heart and imagination, each *Legion of Aray* shall use one general Standard, symbolically speaking to the Defenders of their Country universally; each separate *Order* shall use its more appropriate Banner; all tending to the same end, namely, the assured protection and tranquillity of the State in all its *Electories*, *Parishes* and *Localities* :

LXVIII. That the *Standard of each and every Legion* (which shall be kept at the dwelling of the *Chief Conservator*) or other commanding officer for the time being, and shall always be carried by a *Dimidion*,) shall only be displayed on great or solemn occasions; as at all Meetings of the *Folk-mote*, when it shall be carried to and from the Assembly before the *Recorder*; at all Meetings of the *Court of Aray*, when it shall be planted behind the chair of the President; at all *Reviews* of any *Order* or *Orders* of *Aray*: when it shall be carried after the *Reviewing General* while on foot and in motion, or, while on horseback, at his reviewing Post in Front, and then on his right hand; or on such other occasions as a *Court of Aray* may authorize and direct; and at all times while the *Flag of Aray* may be flying on the Tower of *London*, the *Standard of a Legion* shall accompany the movements of the *Thaneguard*, and when not brought out, shall be kept at the dwelling or quarters of the *Thane*.

LXIX. That the small Banners of the several regular *Orders* (or *Corps*) of a *Legion*, being purposely as numerous as the *Centurions*, each *Centurion* shall have the keeping of one in his house; in readiness for being instantly carried forth, on an order to that effect from a *Conservator of the Peace*; who, whenever any tumult may threaten to interrupt the public tranquillity in any city, town or parish,—(if after the passing of this Act any thing so extremely improbable should ever happen)—may direct any Officers or Decurions of Aray to fetch to the place of tumult the nearest banners, as signals for instant obedience to the Laws; as well as for every member of Aray who shall be present immediately to rally round the same, at his peril for omission or procrastination; there to wait until the force collected, armed or unarmed, shall be sufficient for preserving the peace; or until some commission Officer of Aray may give orders how to proceed; but arms shall not be resorted to, without express command from a *Conservator of the Peace*; nor shall even *Conservators of the Peace* have authority to order firing on any misguided and disorderly collection of the People for their destruction;* but, as soon as a resistless power of Aray shall have rallied round the banner or banners, such *Conservator of the Peace* shall proceed to apprehend the refractory, that they may be dealt with according to law.

LXX That the *Grand Standard of a Legion of Aray*, and the several distinct *Banners* and *Ensigns* of the

* It is not only self-evident that, under such a system of defence, where a resistless body of armed protectors must be at all times and in all places even ready on an instant to keep the Peace, a discretionary power of firing on men assembled in a street, exposing the innocent with the guilty to be killed, would be utterly unwarrantable. Such an authority, at once characteristic of wickedness and cowardice, may proceed from the legislators of a despotism, but must be unknown to the humanity and courage of a free government.

different *Orders* (or *Corps*) of a *Legion* shall be as expressed in the engraved representations, and as decyphered in the subjoined explanations of the same, in Schedule No. 5, appended to this Act.

LXXI. That if the Volunteer Roll, either for a Troop of *Equestrians* or a Company of *Olympics*, shall contain more than the proper number of Privates or of Officers for constituting a Troop or a Company, according to this Act, then, in that case, the preference shall be decided by the drawing of lots in a *Court of Aray*, before the *Chief Conservator* or other proper President of that Court.

LXXII. That whenever the armed force of an entire *Warshire*, or more than 5,000 rank and file may be drawn out for real service, or for martial exercises, then, in every such case, the force so drawn out shall, by the *Heretoch*, according to his judgment and discretion, be divided into two or more brigades, each of such brigades shall be commanded by a *Chief Conservator* of a *Legion* belonging to the same *Warshire*, according to personal seniority of age; and, in so dividing such force, no brigade shall consist of fewer than 2,000 rank and file, nor of a greater number than 5,000 rank and file.

LXXIII. And whereas the regularly armed-force of the Nation, like the Nation itself, can only be preserved in continual vigour, by perennially receiving at one end of its chain of existence from the rising generation, fresh supplies of new life, as at the other end it is deprived of life by casualties and decay; so it is necessary that, at the commencement of every year of Aray, in the month of August, when the *Veterans* above 63 years of age must be discharged, the young men who by that time shall have attained the arms bearing age of 18, competent to serve as *Light Aray*, shall be enrolled:

And whereas each distinct *Order* in every *Legion* of Aray, as organized in a classification by age, must, for

its continuance in perfection, undergo a like renovating process, by parting with its older, and receiving younger members; it is therefore hereby provided, required and ordered,

That within one week, ending on the last Wednesday in July of the year 1821, being near the close of the first year of the first *Quinquennium* of the restored *Legal Aray*, every *Centurion* shall deliver to the Commander of his *Order* (or corps) a correct roll of his company or troop as then effective; subjoining to such roll a note, expressing the number of men which, through death, inability or other cause, shall then be wanting to its completion:

LXXIV. That, from the several *Rolls* of the *Centurions* so to be received, such *Commander* of every *Order* shall forthwith make out a complete roll of the whole *Order*, the names of the men being set down in succession according to their ages, that is, how many years old; subjoining to such roll a note, expressing the number of men then short of the proper establishment:

LXXV. That on or before the last Wednesday in July, of the same year, the several *Commanders* of *Orders* shall deliver to the *Clerk Martial* the rolls of their respective *Orders* so made out, to which shall also be pinned the several rolls of the *Centurions*, so furnished as aforesaid:

LXXVI. That on the first Wednesday of August, in the said year 1821, the *Clerk Martial*, having, from the said rolls of the several commanders, made out a roll of the entire *Legion* as effective, at the latter end of July, and distinguishing the then effective state of the several *Orders* respectively; as well as the deficiency of each; those deficiencies being also added together for showing how many men will be wanting to perfect the entire *Legion*; the said *Clerk* shall lay the same before a *Committee of Renovation*, which shall consist of the *Thane* of the *Thaneguard*, with all the *Vicarions* and *Tribunes* of the *Legion*,

and who, for that duty on that day, shall regularly assemble in the *Court of Aray*: when the said *Committee*, or any five of them, shall have full power and authority to renovate all the decayed parts of the *Legion*, by at once completing each and every *Order* to its original establishment; and for so doing they shall be responsible.

LXXVII. That, whether the accession of new strength from the rising generation, shall happen to be more or less than equal to the loss which the *Legion* may have experienced from the various causes of decay within the preceding year, the said *Committee of Renovation* shall restore it to exactly its original legal strength; which, in case the new supply of young men should prove deficient, the *Committee* shall nevertheless do, by drawing, if necessary, upon the fund of men in the *Second Division* of the *Population*; (10) while, in the contrary event, of a redundancy of young men, the said *Second Division* of the *Population* will necessarily receive the supernumeraries.

LXXVIII. That the *Committee of Renovation* having equal regard to the entire acquisition of young men, and to the entire waste during the preceding year, to be then repaired for recruiting the *Legion* to its original and proper strength of 2,860 rank and file; and, being aware that no sensible inconvenience can arise, from rather consulting the vital spirit than the formal letter of the rule, for likewise recruiting to its appointed strength each separate *Order* of the *Aray*; shall proceed so to do accordingly; taking care, at all events, to complete each order to its proper standard of strength, that is to say, the *Horse Aray*, (if there be no *Equestrians*) to 50 rank and file; the *Light Aray*, the *Foreguard*, and the *Veterans*, to 510 each; the *Targeteers* to 200, (or, in case there be no *Olympics*, to 250,) and the *Thaneguard* to 1,020 rank and file.

LXXIX. That, once in every year, through all time to come, that

is to say, on the first Wednesday of August, in the *second, third, fourth, and fifth* year of every *Quinquennium*; and on the morrow of such Wednesday in the *first* year of every *Quinquennium* (the first Wednesday being then occupied in electing Officers) the said *Committee of Renovation*, thus attending to effects in the ever flowing streams of time and population, in which wave incessantly follows wave, and for regulating the annual accretion of men for counterbalancing the annual waste; shall regularly recruit the strength of the *Legion*, by recruiting the strength of its *Orders*, so that it shall once a year be ever full, but never overflowing.

LXXX. That as often, as at the commencement of a *Quinquennium* of Aray, any officer or private of such a troop of *Equestrians* as aforesaid, may volunteer a renewal of his service on the terms aforesaid, the same shall be accepted; provided such volunteering on the whole, old and new, shall be sufficient in extent for keeping entire such a privileged *Equestrian Order*, to its appointed strength of 50 rank and file, with three commission officers as aforesaid: (21.)

LXXXI. That as often as, and whenever, for the space of one month from and after the commencement of a *Quinquennium* of Aray, there shall not be enrolled in any *Electorate* or *Weapontake* of the United Kingdom, or its three Isles aforesaid, (10) a complete troop of volunteer *Equestrians*, consisting of 50 rank and file, and three officers as aforesaid, the *Court of Aray* shall immediately proceed to raise, within the bounds of its jurisdiction, an ordinary troop of *Horse Aray*.

LXXXII. That the charge of raising and upholding such ordinary troop of horse, shall be defrayed out of a fund to be created by the levying of a *Property and Income Tax*, on all persons enrolled in and of the *Electorate*, young or old, male or female, who shall be assessed to the payment

of any direct Tax in support of the State, the Church, or the Poor.

LXXXIII. That as no person can be lawfully enrolled for service, or support of the Aray in more *Electorates* than one, so every person, who, in any *Electorate*, shall be enrolled for such service or support, shall be rateable and assessed to such *Property and Income Tax*, according to his entire Estate and Property, wherever the same or any part of the same may be in Land, Goods, Money, Moveables or Securities for Money, either in the United Kingdom or elsewhere; or, according to Income from profession, business, or calling.

LXXXIV. That, for the ascertaining of Property, as a ground for such *Property Tax*, every *Court of Aray* shall appoint a Committee, or Committees of *Property and Income*. every such Committee consisting of three persons, to receive and record Declarations of Property and Income, on the honour of the Declarants; and the said Court shall determine and put on record, by what rules and principles income, arising from personal exertions in any profession, business, or calling, shall be considered as equivalent to Property, and rateable to such *Property and Income Tax* as aforesaid.

LXXXV. That, at a special Court to be holden for framing such rules, the collective class of persons in any profession, business, or calling, resident in the *Electorate*, shall have a right to appoint one deputy from such profession, business, or calling, once in a *Quintennium*, by argument, either verbally or in writing, to plead their cause, that injustice may not, through ignorance, be done them.

LXXXVI. That in each and every *Electorate* of the United Kingdom, and its three Isles aforesaid, (10) in which an Order of Volunteer *Equestrians* shall not have been enrolled, proposals shall be receivable by the *Court of Aray*, from persons willing to serve as Privates, and to provide

their own arms, clothing, horses, horse furniture, accoutrements and equipments of every kind; and the said Court shall proceed to contract with parties so tendering proposals, or otherwise, for the public service, according to their discretion and the best of their judgment.

LXXXVII. That, for failing to raise the ordinary *Horse Aray* in every *Electorate*, (in which no troop of *Equestrians* shall have been enrolled as aforesaid,) prior to the expiration of three months from the commencement of any *Quinquennium of Aray*, every member of the *Court of Aray*, whether present in the *Electorate* or not, shall, on proof of such failure, forfeit and pay into the Military Chest of the *Weapontake*, a fine, equal in value to his Commission-Medal; and, for every additional month of failure, in addition to the three months aforesaid, shall forfeit and pay into the said chest a fine of like value.

LXXXVIII. That no troop of ordinary *Horse Aray* shall be commanded by an officer of higher rank than that of *Centurion*: the subalterns being in that case a *Dimidion* and a *Quadrion*: Provided always that, in an Order of *Equestrians*, the Standard shall be borne by the *Centurion*; and, in an Order of *Olympics*, the Ensign shall be borne by the *Dimidion*; and whenever, either on war service, or at any exercise the *Grand Standard of the Legion* shall be used, it shall be carried by the senior *Quadrion* of the *Thaneguard* who shall be on duty.

LXXXIX. And whereas, although *personal* service in defending the state is equally due from all men, yet their *pecuniary* services ought to be, and must be *unequal*, and governed by their *pecuniary* means; agreeably to the statute of the 13th, of *Edward I.* which ordained that “every man have in his house harness for to keep the Peace, after the *antient assize*; that is to say, every man between 15 years of age and 60 years, shall be *assessed* and *sworn* to armour, according to the quantity of their lands and

“goods;” it is therefore hereby provided, directed, and ordered.

That, in respect of the fire arms and other weapons to be used by the *Legal Aray* of the United Kingdom, each *Weapontake* shall provide, for its own order of *Veterans 510 Britannic Spears*, as delineated and described in Schedule No. 4, appended to this act; and that all horse arms and furniture, all rifles, musquets and bayonets, with their accoutrements, and all artillery and ammunition, flints and ordnance stores, shall, in the first instance, be furnished at the national charge from the public arsenals, armouries and military stores; but shall ever afterwards, be the property, and be repaired, replaced, supplied and upheld at the expence of each *Weapontake* and *Warshire*; respectively, that is to say, all small arms by the *Electorates* and all artillery and ammunition by the *Warshires*; always excepting the arms and accoutrements, furniture and equipments of every kind for *Equestrians* and *Olympics*, which are ever to be provided by those volunteer *Orders* themselves.

XC. That the *Veterans* of *Aray*, amounting to an aggregate of 335,580 men, being armed by the several *Electorates* with spears as aforesaid; all the other aforesaid arms, accoutrements, ammunition and military equipments, shall be provided for, and delivered in, the several *Electorates* and *Warshires*, by the Board of Ordnance, as follows, namely, for the aggregate of *Targeteers* 131,600 Rifles; for the aggregate of the men of *Thaneguard, Foreguard* and *Light Aray* 1,342,320 Musquets and Bayonets with their accoutrements.

XCI. And whereas the present state and prospect of Peace renders the fitness of gradually, rather than of hastily, perfecting the system of *Legal Aray*, fully apparent;

And whereas, the restoring to usefulness the *Legal Aray*, which is THE PROPER CONSTITUTIONAL MILITIA OF THE REALM, by putting an end to the present large establishments of

militia of other descriptions, under the denominations of Regular Militia, and Local Militia; and by necessarily dissolving the many Volunteer Corps of Infantry and Cavalry now in existence; as well as by causing an extensive reduction of the Standing Army; must afford a copious supply of arms to begin with:

And whereas, the number of persons at present in the nation who know the use of arms is so great, as to preclude a necessity of resorting to any rigour, for training to arms persons to whom it would be either painful or inconvenient;

And whereas, it may even suffice, towards a gradual perfecting of the Aray, that the two orders of *Horse Aray* and *Light Aray* only, should, in addition to all *Equestrians* and *Olympics*, be made complete masters of military exercises and tactics; because the *Light Aray* must progressively carry forward into all the other *Orders of Aray* their original knowledge and skill:

And whereas, by habituating our boys, from 12 to 15 years old, to the manual exercise and minor evolutions—(practices that would be delightful as well as healthful)—; and our youth from 15 to 18 to the full use of fire arms, and to field tactics, the young men of the rising generations would invariably enter the *Legal Aray* READY-MADE SOLDIERS, with capabilities and habits that would render its duties through life matters of familiarity and ease.

And whereas it is evident, that the *Legal Aray*, from the moment of its restoration to efficiency must be so awful in its resistless, inherent power, its ubiquity, and its readiness for action, as effectually to secure every parish of the United Kingdom from any apprehension of riot or tumultuary proceedings; wherefore it is hereby ordered

That all national arms which, on dissolving the present Regular Militia, Local Militia, and Volunteer Corps, shall cease to be in use, shall be placed

in depots or stores, reported to the Board of Ordnance, and, by that Board be sent and delivered in a state of perfect repair to the nearest *Courts of Aray* in quantities not exceeding 500 stand of arms to any one Court, for arming the *Light Aray* within the jurisdiction of such Courts.

XCII. That all arms of dissolved Volunteer Corps, which may be private property, as far as they may in all respects be similar to national arms, (and, if fire arms, adapted to balls of the same diameter) and in good condition, may be purchased by the Board of Ordnance, and sent and delivered as aforesaid, to *Courts of Aray* in the vicinity of the places where kept.

XCIII. That all arms of any disbanded part of the Standing Army, shall, in like manner, whenever the disbanding may take place, be also disposed of as aforesaid,

XCIV. That all Powder and Ball for the Musquets and Rifles, with flints, cartridge gages, cartridge paper and target paper, as well as skins of leather and the other necessary apparatus and utensils used in the management of gunpowder, shall be regularly forwarded to each and every *Weapon-take*, on requisition of the *Chief Conservator* of its *Legion*; the same being once a year paid for by the Treasurer, in the month of _____, as the money may be demanded by any Receiver of Government Taxes, on presenting a Bill of Exchange for the proper sum, drawn by the Board of Ordnance:

XCV. That all Ammunition and Ordnance stores which may be wanting for the Artillery of each *Warshire* shall in like manner be forwarded to the respective *Parks of Artillery* on requisition of the *Vavator*; the same being once a year paid for as aforesaid by such *Vavator*, in whose hands the necessary money shall be placed by the several Treasurers of *Weapon-takes*, in conformity with the Bye Laws in such case to be made and pro-

vided in each and every *Weapontake* and *Warshire*.

XCV. That every *Veteran* shall have the custody of his spear; and every *Musqueteer* who is a *Householder* shall have the custody of his arms and accoutrements; and every *Targeteer* who is a *Householder*, the custody of his Rifle.

XCVI. That the Arms and Accoutrements of such *Musqueteers* and *Targeteers* as, in the judgment of a *Court of Aray*, on a view, taken, shall be so inconveniently lodged, as not to have the means of keeping such arms and accoutrements in a proper condition for their preservation, shall, under the authority and direction of the Court, be placed in the custody of such near residing *Householders* as the Court shall appoint; no householder being liable to take charge of more than one stand of such Arms and Accoutrements:

XCVII. That the men of *Aray* whose arms shall not be in their own custody, shall not be required to come forth armed in the first instance "upon cry made for weapons to keep the Peace,"* or upon other legal signal for assembling in support of the magistracy; but upon such occasions shall nevertheless, on such cry or such signal, promptly repair to the spot where such support may be wanting, and there rally unarmed around the first *Ensign of Aray* which, by any commission officer or *decurion* may be planted at the place; and, there await the commands of the chief officer or *decurion* present; where, if such officer or *decurion* should deem it necessary, he should fetch his arms, a *decurion* or

* "All subjects who are not continually ready, for the order of the Sheriff on an alarm in the country, are exposed to the Royal displeasure, and to a severe penalty."

Jones's Leg. Mo. of sup. Riots, p. 27.
"Upon cry made for weapons to keep the Peace, every man, where such accidents happen for breaking the Peace, may by law arm himself against such evil-doers."

Ib. p. 26. See also, Popham, p. 120-2.

a corporal shall be dispatched with him to demand them; in which case, his demand shall be complied with.

XCVIII. That in each of the 16 *Warshires* of *England* and *Wales* there shall be four *Parks of Artillery*, each furnished with 30 pieces of *Horse Artillery*; making for *England* and *Wales*, 1920 pieces of *Field Cannon*; in each of the 10 *Warshires* of *Scotland*, also four *Parks* so furnished, being for *Scotland*, 1200 pieces of *Field Cannon*; and for the 10 *Warshires* of *Ireland*, likewise four *Parks* with 1200 such *Cannon*; making a total for the whole *United Kingdom*, of 4320 pieces of *Horse Artillery*.

XCIX. That such *Parks of Artillery* in the maritime *Warshires* shall be situated at such commodious distances from the coast as to be secure from surprize by an invader, while yet at points for readily pouring down on such an enemy; wherefore such *Parks* shall as much as possible be upon or near main roads of communication between the interior and the coast; and where such roads of communication are intersected by other roads in a direction parallel with the coast; having regard also to the placing such *Parks* at convenient distances from each other: in order that they may be advantageous positions for the first rendezvousing of the forces of *Aray* in case of invasion.

C. That the stations for such *Parks of Artillery* shall be determined on by the respective *Councils of Defence* in each maritime *Warshire*, assisted by an *Engineer*, to be ordered on the service, on application to that effect by the *Council of Defence*.

CI. That in fixing the situations for *Parks of Artillery* in the six interior *Warshires* of the *United Kingdom*, intended as *Reserves of Armed Force*, for affording support to the several maritime *Warshires* on which they any where abut, the respective *Councils of Defence*, assisted by an *Engineer* as aforesaid, shall so fix those situations, in reference to the external

Warshires, so as that their support whenever it shall be necessary may be most prompt:

CII. That the first expence of making Surveys and establishing such Parks to be furnished with Artillery as aforesaid, with the necessary ammunition, stores, magazines and store-houses; as well as with the requisite dwellings, stables, wells and suitable conveniencies, on plans furnished by an officer of Engineers (not being under the rank of Colonel), to be sent down by the Board of Ordnance, shall be defrayed at the national expence; but ever afterwards repaired, supported and upheld at the charge of the *Warshires* in which such Parks respectively shall be situated; that is to say, out of funds to be raised by a Property and Income Tax in the several *Electorates*, by the Bye Laws in such cases to be made as aforesaid. (12)

CIII. That, prior to the 1st day of November in year 1821, the necessary Surveys shall be made in each and every *Warshire* of the United Kingdom, and all the situations for such Parks of Artillery shall be so fixed on as aforesaid; and a proper quantity of land at each and every of such stations shall be staked out and a plan thereof deposited with the *Council of Defence*; and such plan shall so specifically ascertain its boundaries, abutments and other marks or particulars as to prevent a possibility of error in afterwards seeking it, although the stakes, as landmarks, should have been removed.

CIV. That from the time of so surveying and staking out, such land shall be considered in law as sold to the *Vavator*, as Trustee for the *Warshire*; and within six months from that time it shall be valued by a Commissioner to be appointed by mutual agreement between the Seller and the *Warshire*, or, if they cannot agree, the Commissioner shall be appointed by the *Council of Defence*, and the value to be set upon such land, shall be what it was worth at the time when

the Royal Assent was given to this Act.

CV. That every such piece of land shall, within three years from such valuing be paid for, and taken possession of by the *Vavator of the Warshire* for the time being, as trustee for the *Warshire*, the Seller in the mean time enjoying the use and profit thereof, the same as if no such sale had taken place.

CVI. That in each and every year from and after the said year 1821, for nine years to come, the Board of Ordnance shall enclose one of such pieces of land in four of such *Warshires* of the United Kingdom; and thereon erect and complete all the building and works necessary for a perfect park of Artillery; and shall likewise furnish the same with its 30 pieces of Horse Artillery; postponing, however, a supply of Horses, of Horse Furniture, and Drivers, until the *Flag of Aray* may be hoisted on the Tower of London; so that at the end of the year 1830 all the Parks of Artillery aforesaid may be complete.

CVII. That, with regard to each of such pieces of land as aforesaid, until it shall be so taken possession of by the Board of Ordnance, as aforesaid, it shall still remain to the use and benefit of the Seller, his Executors, Administrators or Assigns, the same as prior to such sale, he the said Seller, his Executors, Administrators or Assigns paying to the *Vavator of the Warshire* for the time being, as Trustees for the *Warshire*, interest for the consideration money received by him, after the rate of four per centum per annum.

CVIII. That whenever services or works of local defence may create the necessity of levying a Property and Income Tax in each respective *Electorate* of the *Warshire* in which such erections shall have taken place, for defraying the expence, such Tax shall be imposed by a *Council of Commissioners*, to consist of the 15 superior Officers of the *Legion*, from the *Conservator General* down to the junior

Tribune, provided the class of inhabitants on whom the said Tax would fall shall rather confide in the said 15 Officers, than demand the election of a specific Commission for the particular purpose:

CIX. That in any such case of preferring a specific Commission for the particular purpose, it shall be necessary that not fewer than seven of that class of persons on whom a Property and Income Tax for the purpose would fall, should address unto the *Conservator Chief* or other Commanding Officer of the *Legion* who may be then present in the *Electorate*, a Requisition in writing and by them signed, to convene, at the Court House of the *Weapontake*, a Meeting of their class, for electing a *Council of Three* for imposing such Tax; when such Meeting shall, of course, be convened to assemble within 28 days from and after the delivery of such Requisition, taking care that the parties so convened shall have ten days notice at the least of the time of such Meeting; and when so met, the class of Inhabitants so interested as aforesaid shall elect such *Council of three Commissioners*, to be denominated the *Council of Three*; and, in every such case, such *Council of Three* shall continue in authority for levying Property and Income Taxes to the end of the then current year of Aray, such year always being considered to have commenced on the first Wednesday of August.

CX. That an enrolment for arms-bearing in the *Legal Aray* of the realm shall, to every man so enrolled, be a perfect title to the sole and exclusive usufruct of the Arms put into his hands, which Arms shall be used by him, and by him alone; but only in those services to which they are ever to be held sacred, namely, NATIONAL DEFENCE and LOCAL PEACE.

CXI. That the Arms of the *Legal Aray*, and the accoutrements thereunto appertaining, shall therefore be alienable for any cause or consideration: They shall neither be sold,

nor given away; nor lent, nor pawned, nor parted with, nor taken in discharge of any debt; nor on any account seized on, nor taken from the usufruct on any claim upon him; or on any pretence whatsoever; and whosoever shall, in any of these respects, be convicted of having so offended, shall, for the first offence, forfeit to the Military Chest of the Aray, a penal sum of thrice the first cost of the Arms or articles so sold, or given away, or lent, or pawned, or parted with, or received or taken for a debt, or seized upon and detained; and for every repetition of any such offence, shall, on conviction, be fined in double the sum so in the first instance forfeited;

CXII. That it is nevertheless provided, that nothing in the preceding clause shall impeach the Legality of placing in safe custody the arms appropriated to the use of any person enrolled in the Aray who may be so inconveniently lodged, as not to have the means of preserving them in good condition, as herein before authorized. (105)

CXIII. That on all inspections of Arms, and on all occasions of drilling, or training, or military exercises of any kind, the Arms and Accoutrements of every member of the Aray which may be in the custody of another person, shall be delivered to such member of the Aray on his sole application for them; and, on being brought back, shall be again received into the same custody:

CXIV. That inspections for ascertaining the presence and the condition of Arms, shall, according to the ancient Assize, be *two times in every year of Aray*; namely, on the first Wednesday of November and the first Wednesday of May, at eleven o'clock in the forenoon.

CXV. That such Inspections shall be invariably made by *one Centurion of Veterans* and *two Subaltern commission officers of Thaneguard*, each attended by a *Decurion* of his Order (or Corps;) the commission Officers

to be respectively appointed by their own commanding Officers, and the *Decurions* chosen by the Inspectors:

CXVI. That the inspecting *Centurion* shall be provided with a Roll, entitled, "*Inspection of Arms Roll.*" This Roll shall bear an explanatory addition to its title, as follows, namely, "Inspection made on Wednesday the of 18;" and it shall have columns headed as follows, "*In Order*"—"Not clean"—"*Need repair*"—"Not produced"—"*Not produceable*"—with a wide column for reasons or observations; which *Inspection of Arms Roll*, duly versified by the signatures of the three Commission Officers and the three *Decurions*, shall be placed among the Records of the *Court of Aray*, but not before the Wednesday following, during which interval, if the unclean arms be not cleaned, the damaged not repaired, and the unproduced shall not be produced and shewn to the Inspecting *Decurion* of *Veterans* in good condition, for correction of the *Inspection of Arms Roll*; then all defaulters shall, by a Summons, signed by the Inspecting *Centurion*, be brought before the *Court of Aray*, and there, severally, by fines to the Military Chest of the *Aray*, dealt with according to their respective demerits.

CXVII. That for denoting blame in any particular on the first inspection as aforesaid, such blame shall be expressed by making in the proper column a horizontal line, thus —; but if the apparent blame shall, within the week allowed as aforesaid, be removed, such horizontal line, being intersected by a vertical line, to make into a cross, thus, + it shall then become the mark of approbation; which mark of approbation shall, on such first Inspection, be invariably made in the columns of the Roll when there shall be an absence of blame.

CXVIII. That whenever any person who shall be enrolled in the *Legal Aray* of any *Weapontake* may die, or become disabled to bear Arms, or may quit the *Weapontake*, or who, by

absconding, or by process of law may be cut off from the community of the *Weapontake* in which he had been so enrolled, then, in every such case, his *Aray Arms* and *Accoutrements* shall be delivered up by his family, his heirs, executors, or other person appointed so to do, unto the senior *Decurion* of the Company or Troop in which he was enrolled, to be deposited in the *Armoury* or *Store* of the *Weapontake* or *Electorate*, in which, on such delivering up, or on a recovery after having been lost, they shall be immediately deposited.

CXIX. That on the death, removal, absconding or suspiciously disappearing of any person who has had possession of *Arms of Aray*, it shall be the immediate duty of the senior *Decurion* of his Troop or Company, to look after, and, if found, to secure such *Arms* with their *Accoutrements*; and it shall be equally the duty of whoever may then be master or mistress of, or lodger in the house, apartment, or lodging in which the deceased or otherwise missing person had last resided in any *Electorate*, without loss of time after having knowledge of the fact, to give information thereof unto one Commission Officer and one *Decurion* of the Troop or Company of the missing person.

CXX. That should it on such occasion appear to such Commission Officer, that such *Arms* and *Accoutrements* are safe, he shall content himself with only giving notice in writing, and causing such notice to be delivered by a *Decurion*, that such *Arms* and *Accoutrements* must be delivered into store at the *Armoury* of the *Weapontake* within 14 days from that time.

CXXI. That if the arms of a deceased or missing person shall, to any commission officer, or *Decurion* of his troop, or company, be deemed in unsafe custody, it shall be his duty to take them immediately into his own custody, and to deliver them, or cause them to be delivered, within 14 days, into store.

CXXII. That, if such Arms or Accoutrements or any part of them shall be missing, the *Clerk Martial* shall have immediate information thereof; and it shall be his duty thereupon to consult, without delay, a *Conservator of the Peace* for the *Electorate or Weapontake*, and, under his direction, to take such measures for recovering the lost articles as such *Conservator* shall order or advise; and every such *Conservator* shall, within the limits of his jurisdiction, be authorised to grant warrants for searching in the day-time any suspected house or place, for recovering such arms, provided oath shall have been made before him by some persons worthy of credit, and directing his attention to such house or place, as a receptacle or depository of stolen property, and provided he shall be satisfied with the reasons given for such suspicion.

CXXIII. That every article of Aray Arms and Accoutrements, shall be kept in repair at the expense of the person who, for the public service, shall have the Usufruct or use of such Arms or Accoutrements; with exception, only, when damaged or destroyed by unavoidable accident, or under other circumstances, in which no blame for neglect or carelessness shall attach on the Usufructuary; as, in every such case of damage, or destruction, without blame so attaching; as well as when, through length of time and much use, such Arms or Accoutrements, may be fairly worn out, the same shall be repaired or replaced at the charge of the inhabitants at large of the *Weapontake*.

CXXIV. That in order to save the unnecessary trouble of brightening arms which are seldom to appear; as well as to prevent a reprehensible damage and expence in prematurely wearing out the barrels of their arms by friction, for producing a useless polish, the barrels and locks of all fire arms of the *Legal Aray*, which are national property, shall be better preserved, by being bronzed, and in that state kept clean.

CXXV. And whereas one and the same principle of the Constitution which requires, that all men shall bear arms for the Peace and Defence of their country equally dictates, that their male children shall, at the age most favourable to the receiving of indellible impressions, be familiarized with arms and martial evolutions, that so, when arrived at manhood, they may enter into the *Legal Aray* ready-formed warriors, expert in the use of their weapons, and perfect masters of field tactics:

And whereas such exercises are not only peculiarly adapted to juvenile recreation, but highly conduce to health of body and vigour of mind:

And whereas the antient renown of the English for archery, was, doubtless, owing to early instruction, which, as testified by the Statute of the 33d of Henry VIII. c. 9, commenced by law at seven years of age:*

And whereas it was not merely by the *Universality*† of arms-bearing in old times, that the *Legal Aray* of England became, as records inform us an “inestimable dread and terror of outward enemies, but likewise an infallible safeguard” to the institutions and tranquillity of the nation;‡ but those effects were likewise conse-

* The Lacedemonians began the training of the rising generation to arms at the same tender age.

† By the Act just recited, it is enacted, that if a man entered the service of a Farmer without arms, his Master should purchase arms for him, and abate his wages for the payment.

‡ It is no impeachment of the merit of the *Legal Aray*, that by the carelessness of the latter *Saxon Kings*, ruling in an unlettered age, it became much neglected; or that the brutal *Normans* preferred to it their feudal armies in support of their government. For a true criterion of its value, we must refer ourselves to the reign of the wise and warlike *Alfred*, in whose hands it shone the most perfect military institution ever known to mankind. And now, in our enlightened age, when it may be organized in all its minutiae by written law, which all men can read, and can act upon without the smallest difficulty, nothing is more self-evident, than that it merits the encomium of the text.

quences of the skill obtained, and the courage inspired, by constant habit from infancy to manhood; wherefore it is hereby ordained, ordered and directed,

That, in each and every Parish or Locality of the United Kingdom, all the same persons, who, by this Act, are made responsible for making out the *Foundation Class Roll of Aray*, (10) shall be equally responsible for making out, within the month of July in every year, two other Rolls, namely, one which shall contain the names of all male youths between 15 and 18 years of age; (reckoning to the 31st day of that month;) which Roll shall be entitled, *Roll of Juniors*; and the other, of all between 12 and 15 years of age; to be entitled, *Roll of Juveniles*; copies of which Rolls they shall, within one week from and after the first Wednesday of August in every year, deliver to the officer who shall command the *Order of Veterans*.

CXXVI. That for giving facility to the making out such Rolls of *Juniors* and *Juveniles*, the person highest in authority, in every College or House of Education, in each and every University within the United Kingdom; every Head Master of any school or seminary for education; every master or manager of any factory; every person of any profession, trade, or calling, who shall have pupils, journeymen, male apprentices or servants; every parent, or guardian; every master, or mistress of a family; shall be answerable for promptly giving to the persons so charged with making out the said Rolls, and in writing, under their hands, if so demanded, a correct account of all *Juniors* or *Juveniles* under their care or authority, or lodging in their houses, with the age of each of such *Juniors* or *Juveniles*.

CXXVII. That from and after the passing of this Act, instruction in the use of arms, in military evolutions

and tactics, shall make an indisputable part in the education of all male youth of this realm from 12 to 18 years of age, excepting only such as may labour under any mental or bodily incapacity for such exercises.

CXXVIII. That in every *Weapon-take* of the United Kingdom there shall be a *College of Martial Education*, of which the *Chief Conservator* shall be the *Provost*; and the *Vicarion of Veterans* the *Superintendent of Reviews*; all other *Vicarions*, *Brethren* of the College; the *Vicarion of Equestrians*, and the *Tribune of Olympics*, *Field Inspectors*; the *Vicarion and Tribune of the Light Aray*, *Field Tutors*; and the *Tactition, Drill Master*; with such Assistants from the *Decurions* and Corporals of the *Legion*, as, from time to time, the *Provost* shall appoint, and the *Clerk Martial* shall officiate as Secretary.

CXXIX. That, with implements in the form of Musquets and Bayonets, and of two different sizes and weights, adapted to their strength, the younger and the elder *Juveniles* shall respectively be diligently instructed, and practised, in manual exercise and battalion evolutions; and, that they may not be incumbered with accoutrements, the bayonets (short and very blunt) shall be made to attach on the muzzles of the musquets in the two opposite directions.

CXXX. That with real musquets and *blunt* bayonets, not exceeding together pounds in weight, the *Juniors* shall be diligently instructed and practised in the field exercises and evolutions of war: Provided, always, that no *Junior*, until he have attained 16 years of age, shall be allowed in his exercises the use of gunpowder; but, having attained that age, he shall be practised in platoon and street firing, with Powder; and all *Juniors* shall have the use of Cross Belts, with a Pouch capable of carrying twelve Cartridges.

CXXXI. That, under such further

specific regulations for governing and training to arms the *Juniors* and *Juveniles* of the Realm, as Parliament in its wisdom may provide, the *College of Martial Education*, in each and every *Weapontake*, and each member of such College, according to his office, shall be responsible for so training the said *Juniors* and *Juveniles* of the realm to arms, as aforesaid; that so they may become therein perfectly accomplished; that, when in due time enrolled in the *Legal Aray* of their Country, it may be, not to *learn*, but to *perform* the duties becoming the order, discipline, high character and prowess of a free People, without an inconvenient interference with the civil cares and various other duties of manhood.

APPENDIX.

Schedule } Explanation of a few words, either revived, or newly applied
I. } in this Act.

[The following new and very short Nomenclature has not been adopted from any silly affectation of singularity; but from solid reasons already intimated (Pream 6, 7.); and the Author supposes those reasons will be approved of by the Officers of the Army, who cannot relish a loss of all distinction, in an inundation of commissions bearing the same denominations as theirs. If he have mistaken the taste of that class of gentlemen, or the public judgment, the new Nomenclature may be discarded without any prejudice to *his* object, as, in the Bill, whether an officer be styled *Heretoch* or *General*, *Thane* or *Colonel*, *Centurion* or *Captain*, is to him matter of perfect indifference. But, if the new Nomenclature be of use, then, as recommended by *Bacon*, it seems right to "imitate the wisdom of the mathematicians, in setting down, in the very beginning, the *definitions* of his " words and terms.")

1. LEGAL ARAY. All men are bound to bear arms for the Peace and Defence of the state, between 18 and 63 years of age.*

The Law Books have (somewhat defectively) given this force the title of *County Power*; for, a force which is *universal* and *national*, ought not to take its denomination from *Counties*, especially when their extreme inequality is considered.

2. WEAPONTAKE. The smallest military District, according to this Act. In respect of its extent and limits, it is exactly the same as an Electorate, and consequently there are in the United Kingdom, Jersey, Guernsey, and Man, 658 Weapontakes. They have their foundation in a principle of *population*. The word has hitherto been synonymous to *Hundred*, as a large part of a County. By this Act, its signification is contracted to a smaller compass.

3. WARSHIRE. The next largest military District. Founded on principles of *space*, and *geographical situation*; they, for the most part,

* Hitherto the duties of *County Power* commenced at 15, which is evidently too early; and ended at 60, which was not necessary. It is obvious, however, that at 18, young men are fully able to carry arms; and the Rule which makes that a *duty*, at the same time involves a *right* of electing their Parliamentary Representatives, as provided for in an act of this Sessions, c.

contain several *Counties*, and many more *Weapontakes*. In Great Britain, and Ireland, there are 36 *Warshires*.

The word, *shire*, simply meaning a division of territory, is at present applied with extreme licence, as we see by comparing Rutlandshire with Yorkshire, or Cromarty with Ross-shire. On the present occasion, compounded with the word, *war*, its application is far more uniform and equal.

4. COMMANDERY. A military District, of the largest extent. It invariably contains two *Warshires*; and, like them, is founded on the principles of *space* and *situation*.†

5. LEGION. An organized armed

† When we duly estimate the value of *simplicity* in political systems, and *Alfred's* arithmetical exactness in the formation of *Tithings* and *Hundreds*, who can doubt, that, had his life, after he had leisure for legislation, not been short, he would have perfected his system of organization by equalizing the *Counties*;—districts, which, in consequence of the acquisitions and losses of former local kings, of occasional partitions of territory, and various accidents, had descended to him in a state of deformity, as *subdivisions* of a *Kingdom*?

"*Alfred* reduced the whole kingdom under "one regular and gradual subordination of "government, wherein each man was answer- "able to his immediate superior for his own "conduct, and that of his nearest neigh- "bours; for, to him, we owe that master- "piece of judicial polity, the subdivision of "England into *Tithings* and *Hundreds*.— Black, Com. IV. 411.

force of 3040 men, being the embodied Legal Aray of each and every *Weapontake*.

In former times, the word *Commandery*, was particularly in use among the Knights Templars.

6. ORDER. One of those distinct corps into which a *Legion* is subdivided; and which are as follows; namely,

7. VETERANS. An *Order*, in which 510 men, between 48 and 63 years of age, are enrolled.

8. THANEGUARD. An *Order*, in which 1020 men, between 30 and 48 years of age, are enrolled, and commanded by a *Thane*.

9. TARGETEERS. An *Order* in which 200 (or 250) men, between 26 and 30 years of age, are enrolled.

10. FOREGUARD. An *Order* in which 510 men, between 22 and 26 years of age, are enrolled.

They are in the Aray, what *Grenadiers* are in the Army.

11. LIGHT ARAY. An *Order* in which 510 men, between 18 and 22 years of age, are enrolled.

12. EQUESTRIANS, an *Order*, of a single Troop, in which 50 Volunteers, having certain conditional privileges, are enrolled.

Should such Volunteering not take

effect, this Order would then be denominated *Horse Aray*.

13. OLYMPICS, an *Order*, of a single Company, in which 50 Volunteers, having certain conditional privileges, are enrolled.

For the new application of the word *Olympics*, see Clause 62, and Schedule V.

Should not the Volunteering take effect, then instead of this *Order*, the 50 men would be added to the *Targeteers*, whose proper establishment, when there are no *Olympics*, is only 200 men.

14. HERETOCH. (A General) He commands the *Legal Aray* of a *Commandery*.

15. VAVASOR. (A Lieutenant General) He commands the *Legal Aray* of a *Warshire*.

16. CHIEF (CONSERVATOR) a Major General. He commands the *Legal Aray* of a *Weapontake* embodied in one *Legion*.

As the *internal* object of free arms-bearing is a perpetual *conservation* of *local peace*, so, from that object, this military magistrate takes his denomination.*

17. CONSERVATOR OF THE PEACE in ordinary. The *Thanes*, the six *Vicarsions*, and the eight *Tribunes* for the

* Long after the entrance of the Normans with their tyrannical innovations, all magistrates and civil functionaries, from the Lord High Chancellor down to the Constable, were, by their offices, Conservators of the Peace, some others are said to have been so by prescription; but, be that as it may, those chiefly relied on for authority in that respect, were such as were appointed *Conservators* by election of the People in County Court, the *Writ* to that end directing that they should be chosen "*de probioribus et potentioribus comitatus sui in custodes pacis.*"

It was, during the minority of Edward III, when his deposed father was in prison, his vicious mother in power, and the profligate Mortimer Minister, that, "it was ordained in Parliament," that a new species of magistrate, (in the same reign, gifted with power to try felonies) were "assigned to keep the Peace, and in this manner, and upon this occasion, was the election of the *Conservators of the Peace* taken from the People and given to the King." Bl. Com. 1. 350.

Whether, in our days, the PEACE of our Country, by *Justices*, a *Standing Army*, and factiously formed *Yeomanry Cavalry*, is better

preserved than it was when the *Legal Aray* and *freely elected Conservators* were relied on, may be seen by all who choose to trouble their heads about such matters.

Perhaps the following Extracts of a Letter from my friend the late Granville Sharp, Esq. to the Speaker of the House of Commons, dated 1st Feb. 1785, (of which I was favoured with a copy authenticated by Mr. Sharp's signature) may throw some light on this subject.

"I have taken the liberty of sending you a tract (on Congregational Courts, &c.) on the antient division of the Kingdom into Hundreds and Tythings, whereby the Liberty, Property and Peace of all the inhabitants were effectually secured by the admirable system of mutual *Frank-pledge*; insomuch that a poor girl might travel safely with a bag of gold in her hand (says Heylin, p. 305) and none durst meddle with her." But much more eminent Historians than Heylin bear unanimous testimony to the effectual security of the inimitable polity of *Frank-pledge*; and the contrast of those times with the present is surely striking.

And though some have objected, that

time being of the *Legion*, together with all who in any prior *Quinquennium* have ever been commissioned as *Chiefs* or *Thanes*.

18. **THANE** (Colonel.) He commands the *Thaneguard* of 1020 rank and file. The several denominations of *Thane*, of *Conservator*, *Vavator* and *Heretoch*, are mere revivals of antient titles by which men who had authority and command among our ancestors were distinguished.

19. **VICARION**. (Lieutenant Colonel.) The *Thaneguard* has two, who are of course second and third in command. The *Veterans*, the *Foreguard*, the *Light Aray* and the *Equestrian Order* is each commanded by a *Vicarion*. Total 6. *Vicarius*, in Latin, signifies Deputy. Our *Vicar* is the Rector's Deputy.

20. **TRIBUNE**. (Major.) The *Thaneguard* has two, who are of course fourth and fifth in command. The *Veterans*, the *Targeteers*, the *Foreguard*, the *Light Aray*, and the *Olympic Order* have each one, and the *Tar-*

geteers are commanded by a *Tribune*. Total 8.

21. **CENTURION**. (Captain or Commander of a hundred men, or one Company) The *Veterans*, the *Foreguard* and *Light Aray* have each four companies and four *Centurions*; the *Targeteers*, two; the *Equestrians* and the *Olympics* one each; and the *Thaneguard* eight. Total 24.

22. **DIMIDION**. (Lieutenant, or commander of half a Company) From *Dimidius*—Half. The *Veterans*, the *Foreguard* and *Light Aray* have each four; the *Targeteers* two; the *Olympics* one; and the *Thaneguard* eight. Total 23.

23. **QUADRION** (Ensign, or Commander of a quarter of a company) From *Quadra*, a quarter. The *Veterans*, the *Foreguard*, and the *Light Aray* have each four; the *Thaneguard* eight. Total 20.

24. **DECURIONS**. (Serjeants) of these there are 73 in the Legion.

25. **TACTITION**. Assistant Serjeant Major.

“Howsoever efficacious *Frank-pledge* was in former times, when England was less populous, yet it could not at all be applicable to the present overgrown state of the Metropolis: But the objection is superficial, by connecting the ideas of *Tithings* and *Hundreds* with *Local Situations* (a mere corruption) instead of the *Persons of the People* or *Deciners*, to whom alone the terms, *tithings* and *hundreds*, are properly applicable.”—“The civil officers and courts in every district (if the system be duly maintained) will be always in exact proportion to the number of the People, whether they be more or less.”

“That what historians have recorded of England's felicity in the ninth century, noticed in our preceding pages is not fable, we may believe from what at this day is fact in Sweden. Dr. Clarke in his Travels, Part the Third, p. 142, has this passage. “Near the road, there commonly occurred upright posts, supporting boxes for receiving charitable donations. We could but consider these depots as so many monuments of the honesty of the people: there is not any part of our own country, where, if alms were thus collected, the boxes would remain safe from violation. Another proof, whether of good government or of great virtue, in Sweden, is, that highway robberies are unheard of.”

“But, what is still more remarkable, there were none in England, when, after the

“disorder, rapine, rape, murder, and brutality,” (*Egis.* 11, 118.) *Alfred* had perfected his system on the principles of the present bill, and, with equal hand, has supported Law and Liberty, Order and Independence.

—It is presumed that in the present Act will be seen such a revival of the system as in its purest periods, with an infallible security for the public peace, that a mischievous riot in future would be a prodigy—almost a miracle.

“Nine persons of a *Tithing* were entitled *Treobork*, that is *Free Sureties*, “whom we,” says *Lambard* “call *Frank-pledges*,” and that the tenth man was called *Tiothungman*, that is, *Decurio* (or *Tithingman*), and “others called him *Tienheofod*, (head of ten;) and others again *Treoborkes-heofod* (Freebargess-head) or “Chief-pledge.”

Sharp on Congregational Courts, 33.
“The first division of this kingdom into *Hundreds* and *Tithings* was ordained by the virtuous and patriotic King *Alfred*; who is expressly said to have therein followed the prudent counsel given by *Jethro* to *Moses*. This I have examined more at large in my Tract on the Law of Nature and Principles of Action in Man, wherein I have shown the right of the People to elect Judges and Officers, Civil as well as Military (Religious Officers and Ministers excepted) from the Colonel or Captain of a Thousand, (who was also a *Justiciary*) down to the Serjeant (*De-*

26. FRANK PLEDGE. See the last Note. *Alphabetical Dictionary of the foregoing twenty-six Denominations.*

Aray — Legal. 1.

— Light. 11.

Centurion. 21.

Chief Conservator. 16.

Commandery. 4.

Conservator of the Peace. 17.

Decurion. 24.

Dimidion. 22.

Equestrian. 12.

Foreguard. 10.

Frank pledge. 26.

Heretoch. 14.

Legion. 5.

Olympic. 13.

Order. 6.

Quadrion. 23.

Tactition. 25.

Targeteer. 9.

Thane. 18.

Thaneguard. 8.

Tribune. 20.

Vavasor. 15.

Veteran. 7.

Vicarion. 19.

Warshire. 3.

Weapontake. 21.

Schedule *The Commission Medals*

IV. *Explained.*

Both sides being equally symbolical of one and the same object and service, and equally necessary to that end, those sides, although distinguishable as the *Date side* (Fig. 1) and the *Value side* (Fig. 2) must be equally embraced in one Explanation.

These Medals are to be of three Classes, all the three bearing the same date; namely, the year in which commenced the Quinquennium of Aray service, during which Quinquennium the Medals are to serve as *Commissions*.

Those of the first Class, being for *Heretochs, Vavasors* and *Chiefs* (Conservators) who are General Officers, are to be of GOLD, equivalent to 100 shillings, and that value is to be thus minted — C S. The Diameter two inches.

Those of the second Class, being

who are Field Officers, are to be of SILVER, equivalent to sixty shillings, and that value is to be thus minted — L X. The Diameter 2½ inches.

Those of the third Class, being for *Centurions, Dimidions* and *Quadrions*, are to be of SILVER, equivalent to 40 shillings, and that value to be thus minted — X L. The Diameter 2 inches.

On the Date Side is borne a Pyramid, emblematic of a free government whose base is co-extensive with the Community, and whose tapering form gives it stability.*

On the face of this Pyramid is seen a *Book* and a *Sword*, types of the civil and the Military branches of the English Constitution. Under the Pyramid, the precise rank of the Officer is indicated, as in the engraved specimen, where T R. denote *Tribune*. In all other cases a single letter will suffice; as, in the *Gold* medals, H. for *Heretoch*; V. for *Vavasor*; and C. for *Chief*; and, in the *Silver* medals, T. for *Thane*; V. for *Vicarion*; C. for *Centurion*; D. for *Dimidion*, and Q. for *Quadrion*. In the channel between the two circular borders are six vacant spaces, in each of which a new date may be stamped; so that should any person serve for two, three, four, five, six or seven Quinquenniums in the same Weapontake, and in the same rank, he might, at his option, either have a new Commission in each Quinquennium, or new dates stamped on his original Commission, in the intervals provided; whereby, in many cases one medal might serve the same Officer for fifteen or twenty or for thirty or thirty-five years.

On the *Value side* the Medal bears in its centre the Luminary of Day, symbol of Representation, "happiest discovery of political wisdom," the very light and life of our system; while, on the other side, it hath a constellation of 12 stars of the first political magnitude and lustre, type of a Jury; an institution which admirably reflects the beams of the grand luminary; being a secondary *Repre-*

sentation of the People, whereby they apply those laws, which, by direct Representation, they make.

The proper *Weapontake Number*, which is an indispensable requisite,

is to be executed at the Mint by a Stamp, that one set of Dies for each Class of Medals may serve for the whole kingdom. For a completion of the Explanation see Plate I.

EXPLANATION OF THE BRITANNIC SPEAR IN PLATE I.

Being cut out of a Branch of firm and tough wood, as Beach, Chesnut, Walnut, its dimensions are to be as follows, and its thickness -

Fig. 1. a e.	Entire length of the Stock	5	9
a f.	Ditto to the extremity of the Lance	6	8
a b.	Length of its quarter staff guard, as far as which it has along the middle a rib of Steel	3	9
a c.	Breadth of Stock	0	4
g.	The length of this gripe is	0	8
m.	this interval is	0	6
h.	this gripe is	1	6
v.	The width for this opening for the fingers	0	11
g h.	The depth of these gripes	0	10
o to r.	For lodgment of the Lance and screwing it to the stock	0	7
e.	To centre of guard at p.	0	2
q r.	Length of the Guard	0	8
s.	Length of the Spring under q. p. and seen in the enlarged Figures S.	0	4
o.	The depth of the ferule on the small end of the Stock	0	11
c a.	This But End is shod with Iron.		

Fig. 2. Here the Guard lies on the heel of the lance, and is kept firm in that position by the upward bearing of the Spring S.

Fig. 3. When the guard is thus crossed, it is held immoveable in its position, by the Spring S. which has risen from its bed. By a pressure of the thumb on the upper end of the Spring, you are enabled to swivel the guard into its position in Fig. 2.

Schedule V. The Legionary Standard, the Ensigns, and Banners explained.

1. Is the sole Legionary STANDARD. Its form is that of a Shield, emblem of defence, and of a Saxon Shield, because such is the English Constitution. The Dove reposing on a Book, inscribed THE LAW, symbolizes Peace on a basis of Law, which Law ought to be the perfection of Reason and the voice of Justice.

The unsheathed swords, in position defensive of PEACE and law, typify the promptness of the arms-bearing defence of a free people; from its having the properties of *abiguity* and *irresistableness*. The Numerals express the number of the Legion in the Roll of National Aray; and, of course, the number of the *Electorate* or *Weapontake*, of which the Legion are the Defenders.

The Shield is coloured *Pink*, symbol of perpetual health; the *Book*, brown, type of gravity, the *Lettering*, gold, emblem of excellence; the *Dove* is

as PEACE; the *Sword Blades*, proper, typifying the vengeance taken on violators of Peace, of Rights and Liberties; the *Hilts*, gold as emblematic of the excellence of defence in the hands of freemen; and the *Numerals* likewise gold.

2. The *Dove*, as before, reposing on a book, is the first ENSIGN of every regular Order of a Legion. Of the VETERANS, it is the sole ENSIGN; because, when other Orders may be meeting Invaders, the VETERANS are to be the guardians of homes and hearths, of the bed of the aged and the cradle of the infant.

Of the DOVE ENSIGN, the Veterans have four, the THANEGUARD two; the *Targeteers*, the *Foreguard*, and the *Light Aray*, each one. The motto, PEACE, expresses the *internal* and *local* object of the *Legal Aray*.

3. The *English Bull Dog* on a Book, is the second ENSIGN of the THANEGUARD, of which species of ENSIGN this Order hath six.

that prefers death to submission, although couchant, is yet awake and vigilant; taken in conjunction with the Banner's Motto, this symbol denotes the external and national object of the *Legal Aray*; namely the State's security against invasion.

The *Thaneguard*, compared with any other Order in a Legion, hath double strength. By that figure in rhetoric which takes a part for the whole, it is considered as personifying the aggregate; to justify its assuming a symbol and a motto characteristic of the entire Legion; as again, the Legion itself personifying all Legions, presents to the mind that which were truly and infallibly the Nation's PROTECTION.

4. A Target on a Book is the second ENSIGN of the TARGETEERS, of which species of ENSIGN they have only one.

The Target and the motto "STRIKE" applied to *Riflemen*, speak their own meaning.

5. The *Irish Wolf Dog* on a Book taken in conjunction with the motto—"Defend"—having allusion to the vigilance and braveness of that faithful creature, in defending the fold and the flock from the ravening wolf, is aptly symbolic, not only of a Fore-guard (equivalent to Grenadiers) in particular, but of an Irish soldiery in general, wherever employed in national armies.

6. The Book supporting a couchant Falcon is the second ENSIGN of the *Light Aray*, (equivalent to Light Infantry); of which species of ENSIGN this order has three.

The characteristics of that Bird are courage, celerity and success in striking his quarry. The Falcon, therefore, swiftest of hawks, is a symbol of the most youthful and active of the Aray. And the motto on the Banners "Speed," which signifies both celerity and success is accordingly appropriate. The Falcon is a native of Scotland.

7. Is the sole STANDARD of the *Equestrians*, an irregular Order, depending on volunteer services; but

as a volunteer Order, the regular Order of *Horse Aray* would supply its place and use the same Standard.

The basis, emblematic of Law is still the same; but in this ENSIGN there is an additional book inscribed ALFRED.

That greatest of kings and of men, in his youth, loved the chace and admired the horse; in riper years, Founder of England's Navy, he put an end to invasions, he annihilated her piratical foes; he conferred on her the dominion of the surrounding seas; and he even patronized voyages of discovery: Organizer, even during a struggle for her existence, of her *Legal Aray*, and, at its head, displaying her energies in fifty-six pitched battles, he finally established on a rock that political liberty, which, crowned by his victorious hand with a chaplet of laurel and of olive entwined, she triumphantly enjoyed, the envy of all nations:

Having, as a tender Father, given her Freedom and Peace; as a Legislator, he digested her laws, he reformed her rude administration of justice, and he periodically met her annually-chosen magistrates and protectors in National Council, "to keep the people of God from sin, that they might live in peace, and receive right, by certain usages, and holy judgments."

By this Ensign the classical reader will be reminded of the contest between Neptune, god of Water, and Minerva, goddess of Wisdom, for the patronage of Athens. Neptune smote the earth, and out sprang a Horse; Minerva touched the soil, and up rose an Olive Tree, emblem of Peace. To England, Alfred was both a Neptune and a Minerva; wherefore, this Ensign not only signifies prowess by Sea and Land, but counsels of legal wisdom, for the ends of justice and peace.

The terrene part of our child of the deep, symbolizes England! renowned by land for an unrivalled cavalry; while his two-fold tapering

marine body, terminating in guiding fins pointed backwards, are types of her sea-borne vessels of Commerce and War, with their guiding rudders. The extended wings are speaking types of the lofty sails, which carry her vessels of Commerce or of War wherever they would go; while the head, symbol of the government, ever pointing right forward, although the mane is blown out in the opposite direction, indicate, that, notwithstanding any adverse wind of fortune, she shall swerve not, either to the right hand or to the left, but stedfastly adhere to a right onward course; as that of solid wisdom, for assured prosperity and true glory. To her Prince, her Peers, and her People, the motto says, EMULATE him, in whom shone the profoundest Wisdom and the sublimest Virtue!

Should it be objected, that a system which seems to insure perpetual peace would enervate our national character, be it answered, that besides national defence, there is ONE, and only ONE other justifiable cause of war, that of aiding oppressed nations, on their solicitation, in defending their liberties against unprincipled aggression, or for throwing off an internal despotism. Could there, then, be a want of opportunities for preserving our renown in arms? Or, to the youth of an armed People familiar with martial tactics, could there ever be an absence of motive to the gratification of an ambition for distinguishing themselves in such a cause? Could a People, whose very constitution is military, as well as civil, ever want means of practical war, as long as a tyranny should disgrace the earth? Were tyranny and oppression once banished the earth, what would then be the use of war? Is philosophy so destitute of instructiveness, is human genius so barren of invention, as to exclude all hope, that, although at peace with each other, men might have virtue and courage, the natural fruit of health in body and mind?

Are there not far other means than those of unjust and unnecessary wars,

either enervated or pusillanimous. Such wars, indeed, directly lead in the end to that very condition, for, like the effects of an intemperate use of ardent spirits on the human frame, they produce in the body a political complication of diseases. They counteract industry, and destroy orderly habits. They engender vice and violence. They cause in the frame of a State the most pernicious extremes of inequality, the excesses of wealth and pauperism. They are sure causes of inflammation and debility, exhaustion and misery; prelude to a prostration of all strength; and thus a nation becomes enervated and pusillanimous, degraded in mind, and a prey to despotism. Liberty, with equal and wholesome Laws, on the contrary, tend, without wrong or injury to any class, to prevent the inroads of vice and violence; to counteract, on by the sweetest and most imperceptible influences, an unjust elevation, or a cruel depression of any. They guard, on one hand, against fostering an unchristian and inhuman pride; and, on the other hand, the degradation of man to the servile condition of a beast. They stimulate to a manly activity, especially in agriculture, that gives the body vigour; the mind, courage. They multiply a nation as Nature has ordained; they inspire a spirit of enterprise; and wisely provide an overflowing population with the means of commodious and beneficial emigration, to countries that have profited by their benevolence, and are in want of People to share the beauties of Nature.

And, though last, not least, in the catalogue of their capabilities, it may be suggested, that, for the purposes of an animated recreation, and a highly rational delight, suitable to a manly freedom in an enlightened age, Lawgivers might institute periodical Public Games, on the principles of the Olympic, while they should be adapted to the tastes, customs, and accomplishments of a modern age.

The Author has elsewhere shown

bodily strength, that agility, that patience of labour, hardihood, and valour, which are the qualifications of a soldier, nor that capacity for great actions and wisdom of counsel, that constitutes the ruler, to which the *Greeks*, incited by the fame-conferring *Olive*, were trained at *Olympia*; but, at this fountain of honour, the artist also and the historian, the orator and the poet, received that inspiration, which made them ornaments of the human race.*

“By treading in the path of the sagacious *Iphitus*, there can be no doubt that we shall accomplish the ends in the author's view; which are, in the first place, to preserve in full vigour, to future ages, that heroism now so eminently conspicuous in the British Navy; and secondly, to cause the Fine Arts to burst forth in Britain with Grecian lustre; and perhaps it may not be too much to expect, that, in consequence of such a change in the public taste, as must result from a triumph of the polite arts over coarser and less dignified amusements, a polish and elevation of the national manners and mind may be an additional effect of such an institution as the author has to propose.”†

And, says *West*, on the Grecian Games, p. 270, “a wise and prudent governor of a state, may dispose the People to such sports and diversions as may render them more serviceable to the public; and, by impartially bestowing a few honorary prizes upon those who should be found to excel in any contest he shall think proper to appoint, he may excite in the husbandman, the manufacturer, and the mechanic, as well as in the soldier and the sailor, and men of superior orders and professions, such an emulation as may tend to promote industry, encourage trade, improve the knowledge and wisdom of mankind, and consequently make his country victorious in war, and in peace opulent, virtuous and happy.”‡

In the spirit of these observations of *West*, the author, proposed a Naval Temple, to be erected within a gym-

nation of 60 acres, on the summit of Greenwich Hill, where should be celebrated Triumphs, after the manner of the Roman Triumphs, and Public Games after the manner of the Grecian Games, at Olympia. In this Temple one of the apartments was to be a “HALL OF EMULATION,” 452 feet long (twice the length of Westminster Hall), and 100 feet wide, (exceeding the width of Parliament Street before the Admiralty) in which the “Victors in the games should receive the prizes in the contests, whether for superiority in corporeal feats, or in science, art or genius; so that men of all ranks and professions to whom our country is indebted, either for solid services, or for celebrity; and whose merit, of course, is an object of emulation, which, to persons of other classes than their own, might be stimulants to exertion, should be made subjects of the pictures designed for its decoration. Let *Wealth*, and let the mere *Love of Art*, on what subjects soever exercised, continue to form their heterogeneous collections; but let there be one collection wholly sacred to the reputation of our country, grand as the characters, splendid as the talents it hath brought forth, and multitudinous as the merits and the virtues of its People.”||

It was not till after the Author, for high national purposes, had in the Trident proposed, and pourtrayed national games to be periodically celebrated, that he chanced to read “The Reasons of Church Government urged against Prelaty,” wherein, for like ends and objects, the great *Milton* had said “it were happy for the Commonwealth if our magistrates, as in these famous governments of old, would take into their care, not only the deciding of our contentious law-cases and brawls, but the managing of our public sports and festival pastimes, that they might inure and harden our bodies by martial exercises to all warlike skill and performance; civilize, adorn, and make discreet our minds, by

“wise and artful recitations, sweetened with eloquent and graceful incitements to the love and practice of Justice, Temperance, and Fortitude.”*

“Such,” says an ardent admirer, “were the elevated prospects that opened to Milton’s view.” And again, after farther quotations on the same point, “in these passages we perceive the fine touches of an ardent imagination bent on improving the moral condition of society by every means within the compass of his ability.”

It was an observation of the present Author 18 years ago, that, “to save, to serve, and to adorn a State, are sentiments of such great congeniality, that, when Nature hath furnished the talents, and events the opportunity, these sentiments are the natural inmates of the same mind; provided that mind have the necessary virtue, elevation and taste.”† To him, therefore it is no slight gratification, that with a *Jebb*, a *Granville Sharp*, a *Sir William Jones*, and an *Alfred*, all radical reformers and models of consummate virtue, he should have laboured to serve and to save the State; and with the all-accomplished, the sublime MILTON, he should have endeavoured to adorn it.—With the solid proofs of these aims which he bequeaths to his Country, neither the effusions of ignorance, nor the malignity of evil tongues in evil times have power to disturb his tranquillity.

Fletcher of Saltoun laments the omission of the antients, who “give us but little information concerning the methods by which they trained their whole people to war in time of peace,” yet desirous that we should adopt a right method, proposes the establishment of four perpetual camps in great Britain as schools for military education. Unnecessary, as I trust it will in these pages be seen, is such an establishment, yet we must approve of so much of his plan, “as hath a resemblance to the excellent institutions”

of the antients; namely, that our youth “should be taught the use of all sorts of arms, with the necessary evolutions; as also wrestling, leaping, swimming, and the like exercises.” And that “Speeches exhorting to military and virtuous actions should be often composed, and pronounced publicly by such of the youth as were, by education and natural talents, qualified for it.”*

The late Earl of *Liverpool* remarked that the “Public Games of antient governments consisted principally of martial entertainments,” and he reminds us of “a military festival observed by the modern *Swiss*, which is worthy of admiration.” Having touched on the prominent features, and noticed their memorial of the battle fought in the Pass of *Weven*, which exceed that of the straits of *Thermopylae*, “it is surprising,” says, his Lordship, “what a spirit the remembrance of this action instills into this people; they yearly celebrated it by a public procession on the spot where the battle was fought; and where eleven pillars show the places where these heroes eleven times rallied, and were at last victorious. At each pillar they offer thanks to God; and, when they come to the last, one of their best orators makes a panegyric, &c.†

For a completion of the Explanation, see Plate II.

8. Is the sole ENSIGN of the OLYMPICS, which, depending, as in the preceding case, on volunteer services, is not an ordinary or *Order* of the *Legion*. The basis, however, is still the symbol of *Law*, on which stands an *Eagle*, his head pointing upwards and to the right withal, and his wings extended, as intending spirally to ascend into the higher regions of the air; as the honoured Leaders of a People ought to see the higher regions in the science of national polity, correspondent with which intention, the motto is—“*Aspire!*”

* Prose Works, 1698. p. 201. See also Holt White’s Edition of the *Arcepagitica* 1819.

* Disc on Gov. with relation to Militias. in *Watson’s Life of Fletcher*. 146, 147, 149.
† Disc on National and Constitutional

*Kingdom, and its three Isles into
Strength, as well as that of*

Head Quarters of each Warshire.	Notes.
1st. Newcastle	
2nd. York,	
3rd. Newark.	
4th. Cambridge.	
5th. London.	
6th. East Grinstead.	
7th. Winchester.	
8th. Salisbury.	

*e United Kingdom, and its three Isles, into
respective Strength, as well as that of each*

Number of Men in each Commandery.	Head Quarters, of each Warshire.	Notes.
185440	<p>9th. Bristol.</p> <p>10th. Plymouth.</p>	
85120	<p>11th. Llanymddvory.</p> <p>12th. Bala.</p>	
182400	<p>13th. Manchester.</p> <p>14th. Penrith.</p>	

*the United Kingdom and its three
Isles, with their respective Strength,
and the Legal Army.*

Number of Men in each Battalion.	Head Quarters of each Battalion.	Notes.
480	<p>21st. Forfar</p> <p>22d. Stirling</p>	
1040	<p>23d. Edinburgh.</p> <p>24th. Tarquair</p>	
	<p>25th. Dunkeld</p> <p>26th. Perth</p>	
8160	<p>27th. Dublin</p> <p>28th. Carlow.</p>	

*of the United Kingdom and its three
Islands, with their respective Strength,
and Legal Array.*

Head Quarters of each Warshire.	Notes.
15th. Stafford.	
16th. Warwick.	
17th. Kilmarnock.	
18th. Inverary.	
19th. Inverness.	
20th. Dornock.	

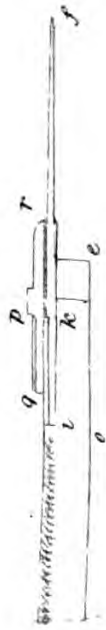
*ited Kingdom and its three
h their respective Strength,
l Army.*

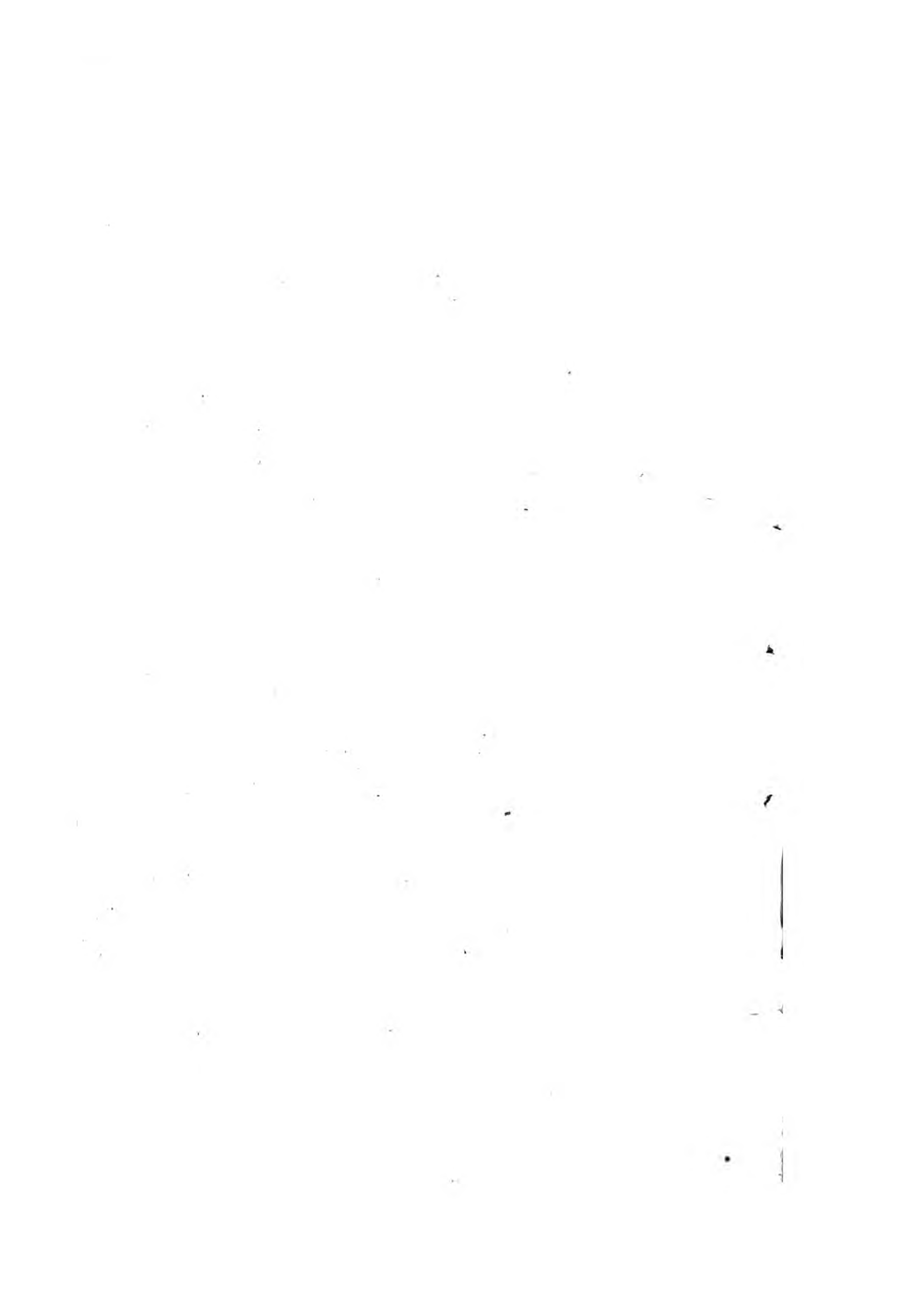
Lead Quarters of each Warshire.	Strength of the Army	The Order of the Army
29th. Cashel	510	1. VARRIERS from 10 to 20 4 Companies
30th. Limerick.	510	2. TRANSPORTERS from 10 to 20 3 Companies
31st. Galway.	510	3. HANDS from 10 to 20 2 Companies
32d. Killalla.	510	4. HONOURABLE from 10 to 20 1 Company
33d. Clogher.	510	5. LIGHT ARMY from 10 to 20 4 Companies
34th. Belfast.	510	6. FOURTEEN 1 Troop
35th. Elphin.	510	7. OLYMPIOS 1 Company
36th. Moycashel.	510	8. ARTILLERY 1 Troop

Six Orders and Degrees of Authority.

Commission Officers of each Order.	Decurions (Serjeants.)	Trumpeters, Drummers and Buglers.	Notes of Explanation.
Vicarion Tribune Centurions Dimidions Quadrions	12	4	In time of danger the 1st, 4th and 5th Order give 10 more each, and the 2d Order 20; making a total of 50 to man 5 additional field six pounders.
2. Thane Vicarions Tribunes Centurions Dimidions Quadrions	1 1 24	8	The Chief Conservator appoints the Serjeant Major and Tactition.
3 Tribune Centurions Dimidions	4	2	If no Olympics, then this Order is to be 250 rank and file.
4 Vicarion Tribune Centurions Dimidions Quadrions	12	4	6 Guns to each Weapontake would furnish the 36 Warshires with 3948 Guns, or a surplus of 60 after stocking 4 Parties of Artillery in each with 27 Guns.
5 Vicarion Tribune Centurions Dimidions Quadrions	12	4	1 Legion.....3,040 658 Do.....2,000,320 as the Legal Aray of the whole United Kingdom.
6. Vicarion Tribune Centurion	3	1	If no Equestrians, then this Troop will be Horse Aray, commanded by a Centurion.
7 Tribune Centurion Dimidion	3	1	If no Olympics, then the 50 Men will be added to the Targeteers.
8	1		1 Field Piece or a 6-Pounder.
Chief (Conservator)	73	24	Total of the Legion 3040.

Schedule IV.





CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS.

In the foregoing *Bill of free and sure Defence*, added to the former *Bill of Rights and Liberties*, my much injured Countrymen have now before them, in two concise documents, level with all understandings, whatever is wanting to a full restoration of their CONSTITUTION.

As no child ever begat its own parent, so, notwithstanding the ignorant effrontery of certain modern lawyers, and their contemptible jargon, most certain it is, that, that CONSTITUTION was NOT "*by law established*;" having been as necessarily prior to any legislative act, as a parent must be prior to his offspring.

Had, indeed, the learned gentlemen affirmed, that the Constitution had been *by law abolished*, perhaps it had not been so easy to contradict them. Be that, however, as it may, and whatever may have been the cause or causes of our loss, and whatever has been wickedly calumniated of radical reformers, one of them at least has now shown, by what simple means the CONSTITUTION—that is, those *vital* organs of it which have been lost—meaning a free parliament and a free militia—may, with facility, be *by law recovered*; and most fervently doth he pray, that the suffering People may not, by law-making despotism, be driven to go another way to work.

Having only to resort to a *knowledge* of constitutional principles, and to a rational application of that knowledge, we know how to proceed. Perceiving that, when we search for the *civil* branch of the Constitution, we see only a Parliament in which

the People are neither represented nor protected; and that, when we look for the *military* branch, we only discover—besides certain body-guards of the boroughmongers, and a most unconstitutional force called militia—an immense Standing Army, unknown, as *Blackstone* observes, to the free polity of our State; and all this, to the entire exclusion of that independent arms-bearing of our ancestors, prescribed by the Constitution, and enjoined under the sanction of an oath by our antient laws, to this day unrepealed; we cannot but perceive, that, as the Constitution's subversion has been, so its restoration must be radical, or slavery must ensue.

To expect a recovery, unless reform be *radical*, were, therefore, visionary and hopeless; whereas, once by such means recovered, and by the superiority of modern science over that of the dark unlettered ages, better guarded, it must of course again exist with more than original strength, and shine with more than pristine lustre.

In order that the Reader may at all times have at hand, as a criterion,—as a standard,—as a touchstone for trying what is, and what is not, the true political gold in our government, and for detecting what in any case is counterfeit or adulterated, a DEFINITION of the *Constitution* has been inserted in the Introduction to this Bill, which has been some months published; but there having been in that Definition an oversight, the Reader is requested to correct the same, by causing the second head to run thus—"A Legislature of King, Lords, and Representatives of the

“ Commons; the latter chooseable by all males of mature age and sound mind: and their authority being demonstrably incapable of,” &c.

That DEFINITION in the *abstract*, and the two Bills as *practical detail*, may, as the Writer humbly thinks, merit the attention of those persons of rank and wealth, who profess a respect for Freedom. Seeing that our Constitution is *two-fold*, its vitality depending on its grand *civil* principle, A FREE PARLIAMENT, and on its equally important *military* principle, A FREE MILITIA, the *Definition* is intended to answer the purpose of an abstract TEST, for showing when all, in those vital organs, is right.

One Bill shows the plain and *practical* means of restoring *Representation* to what it ought to be; the other, an equally *practical* mode of saving the state from dying of a *Standing Army*, called by the philosophic *Hume*,* “ a mortal distemper, of which the Constitution must inevitably perish.” The Writer, although standing alone against hosts of the ablest writers and statesmen, says, NO: And he now proves, that the *Legal Army*, or our *genuine militia*, once revived, a *Standing Army* for all necessary and legitimate uses might be kept on foot without the smallest danger to Liberty. In framing his *Bill of free and sure Defence*, he has, on the subject of it, ever kept in mind the words of that wise and virtuous lawyer, *Sir William Jones*, whose feeling complaint and ardent aspiration it was, “ *that our laws have been disgracefully neglected, and ought to be restored to full vigour and energy.*†

The Bills, however, are now the property of the public, and happy shall the Author be to see them improved by the public wisdom.

Touching *abstract principles*, he has to observe, that to the mischief of

intentionally keeping them on all occasions *out of sight*, we owe much, very much, of what we have to complain of in the conduct of all factious politicians. With him it has, therefore, ever been a favourite practice *to keep abstract principles in view*, that plain men may the better judge of the rectitude or error of his reasonings.

Respecting *practical details*, he has merely aimed at selecting those means whereby, with most simplicity and ease, the objects in view were to be attained; that so, in all time to come Freedom should be secured to the People, as a necessary consequence of being annually employed in the performance of their civil and military duties, which are the best, and apparently the only means of preserving to them an accurate knowledge, and a full enjoyment of their rights.

This grand desideratum will be found in an especial manner to depend on the subdivision of the counties into districts of *equal population*, which, as *Electorates* produce *equal representation*; and, as *Weapontakes*, produce *equal legions*, being a local basis of a national militia of the best possible form. In the adoption of such equal districts he merely makes that *general* which, as an improvement on rottenborough election, has been practised with approbation in the *particular* cases of *Shoreham* and *Aylesbury*, in which cases we see *Electorates* in fact, though not in name; while in so doing he has carefully avoided the confusion which might have followed the making of any alteration in the boundaries of *parishes* or of *counties*, which are left as he found them.

On contemplating the unparelled felicity of *England* under the mighty parent of our *Tythings* and *Hundreds* of *equal population*, in which civil and military interests and honours, functions and authority were happily united; can we do better, than apply similar causes, if we desire *similar effects*?

To the *Ballot*, that of Lord *Castlereagh* in the House of Commons, which

* *Essays* II. 376.

† *Leg. made of supp. Riots.* 34.

was just as effectual as an open vote for securing him a Committee of 21 to do his job, has been recently quoted, as an *objection* to a balloting by the People in electing legislative guardians, but with what sense or candour?

If all the People had an interest in being robbed and enslaved, then, indeed, a ballot in their elections would be useless. But is this the case? Not here to repeat the many unanswerable arguments of *Bentham* and others, I shall merely quote in reply two cases. 1st. Mr. *Laurens*, (the first American President of Congress) informed me, that, about forty years prior to our conversation, on a tampering of the wealthy with the Electors of the Assembly of Carolina having caused an alarm, balloting was introduced by a Law of the State, (at that time an English colony) and that, in consequence of that Law, not a suspicion of influence had ever afterwards been breathed in an election of their representatives.

2dly. I have been recently informed, and on most respectable authority, that the present *Ultra Royalists* of France had offered the *Liberals* the greatest concessions touching elections, provided they would consent to a *relinquishment of a ballot*. I therefore, think minute details for an unavoidable ballot, not unworthy of a place in my *Bill of Rights and Liberties*; but not without having put into one scale the *objections*, and into the other the *recommendations*, and found the latter very greatly to preponderate. It is too late to discredit the Ballot by a sarcasm. If it be wrong, that can now only be shown by fair reasoning.

Having, then provided *two Bills* for restoring the respective branches of our *two-fold* Constitution, the Author is not, as the buffoons of the day would insinuate, one of those who harangue on constitutional reform as a *universal panacea comprized in a single nostrum* which is to work miracles. No: such Reform is only a solid BASIS, on which Peace, Prosperity, Security

and public Happiness would find perennial nurture and growth in the soundness and purity of LAW.

But a subsidiary statute or statutes would be wanted for securing subordinate objects. They may here be touched on as follows:

1. A perfect training of our youths to arms. Military exercises and evolutions, highly promoting vigour of body and mind, all free and wise nations have been attentive to this point. By such means our children would pant to become *Juveniles* (125) our *Juveniles*, to become *Juniors*, and our *Juniors* to become defenders of their Country and Electors of its law-makers.

2. A necessary uniformity of clothing on duty. To this end, the ancient Saxon *Tunican*, which is to this day, under a different denomination, in very extensive use with farmers and husbandmen, offers peculiar advantages. Thrown over a shirt alone, or a waistcoat, or other clothes, it suits either hot, or moderate, or cold weather, while at the same time it would hide all the varieties of colours in the clothes worn under it. Succinct, it would suit the activity of youth; more flowing, the gravity of age; it would need no facings, as a coloured girdle round the crown of a round hat would answer all the purposes of distinction; utility, durability and economy are equal recommendations of this dress.

3. Border Law. For securing in time of war vigilance against surprize.

4. Unarmed Auxiliaries. Watchmen at the Telegraphs and Signal posts; Pioneers, Miners, Artillery and Waggon Drivers, Scouts, Guides, &c. &c.

5. A complete Commissariate system; that could be put in full activity at the shortest notice; as well as every thing belonging to Markets for great multitudes.

6. Hospital Provisions and Regulations, ready for instant application when wanted.

7. Ready means of occasional encampments.

8. War Discipline and Peace Discipline.

9. Effectual Rules for *orderly action* and *military impetus*, in bringing to bear upon an invader, without confusion, on lines of least distance, and in spaces of least time, the physical force of an armed Community.

It may well beseem our men of rank and wealth, carefully to examine what is now offered to their consideration. Whoever has *power* of any kind, may do well to ask themselves, if the *Definition*, or if the *two Bills*, that is, if either in *theory* or *practice*, what is now submitted to them, be defective. They may thereby discover whether the *difficulty* of reformation be most in *the nature of the case*, or in *their own indisposition to the object*. Making this discovery, they may learn how to overcome *difficulties*, and to sweep before them *all obstacles*. This can only be effected by an adherence to the vital principles of the Constitution, by strict fidelity to the rights of the People, and by proof of a virtue capable of sacrificing every monopoly of power inconsistent with justice, and incompatible with true Liberty. Thus, and thus only, can be obtained that rooted national confidence, which confers Herculean strength for such a labour as Parliamentary Reform.

In attempts to pass upon the People a counterfeit currency of political practice, only somewhat less debased than that which comes from the mint of corruption, can any politician expect to succeed? Would not such conduct deprive him of support, and insure his failure? If men be so besotted as to trifle with principles, held sacred by millions, and which, if respected, would communicate to them the strength of millions, shall they complain of wanting support in a project, in which the millions can discover a violation of their rights, of justice, and of liberty; on no better plea than that of an unsound expedience, where not expedience but right

ought to prevail, and where that right is as palpable as the sun at noon?—As a happy consequence of the diffusion of truth, it should already seem—and in the progress of that diffusion it will more and more be seen—that nought but fidelity to the rights of the millions, will ever confer that Herculean strength which is become necessary for cleansing the Augean Stable of our country.

Among our men of rank and wealth, who profess themselves guardians of the People's freedom, or, in other words, of the Rights of the *Democracy*, are not the far greater part of them members themselves of the *Democracy* of our State, the *Commons* of the Realm? Of all species of disloyalty, is not that of a man's proving untrue to *his own order*, his own *class*, his own *fraternity*, the most revolting to the human mind? If we be sensible of disgust at even a Robber being without honour to his gang, what must be our feelings when prominent members of the best and most important Order in the State, are untrue to its most sacred right?

Then let all those Reformers at least, who, with the Author, are members of the *Democracy* of our country, carefully examine his two bills: Let them, with all rigour, scrutinize their *principles* and their *practical details*; and freely amend them to their utmost ability; but, at the same time, never forgetting to reflect on what must be thought, should they become movers or advocates of any thing inferior.

A formal notification has been given of a motion for parliamentary reform to be early submitted to the Commons House. When a movement of this kind succeeds, the law obtained, according to a Roman custom, is called after its father; as, for instance, a well known statute which, under the pretence of reform, has done much to aggravate corruption, is called the *Grenville Bill*, after its author, Mr. *George Grenville*; as again, the two

gagging Acts of 1795 are, from their original movers, called Mr. Pitt's Act, and Lord Grenville's Act.

If the gentleman, now in my thoughts, be ambitious of having his name handed down to posterity in connection with a particular Act of Parliament, may it not highly import him to reflect in time on the true nature and character of the measure he thinks of fathering?

Towards that gentleman, feeling much respect for evidences of a high mind, right intention, and an English indignation at a tyrannical use of power, I am the more solicitous that he should timely reflect on the true nature and character of the measure in his contemplation.—Would his Bill accord with the true principles of *Freedom*? Would it be consistent with *Justice*? Would it equally embrace and protect the *Rights of the whole Community*? In short, would it correspond with the *Constitution*? And, varying the form of this interrogation, for the sake of calling his attention to a question which recent experience shows to be of infinite importance,—hath Parliament **AUTHORITY** to enact any thing *contrary to Freedom—contrary to Justice—contrary to the Nation's Rights—and contrary to the Constitution*?—The **DEFINITION**, abstract as it is, will furnish a **NEGATIVE** to these four questions.

Here give me leave to offer you the sentiments of one, who, with extraordinary diligence, had investigated the claims of parliament to unbounded authority, meaning that truly constitutional writer, the late learned *Granville Sharp*.—"Is there not," he asks, "a *property* and interest also in the *laws of the land*?"—"Is there not a *most interesting property* to all men in the *due process of the law*", on which, not only all our possessions, but our very lives and existence depend? "The latter *property* indeed *has been wickedly suspended*, in some cases, for more than two years last past, and submitted, by act of Par-

liament, to the king's will and pleasure; whereby *Will* is set above *Law*; which is an abomination in the sight of God and man, a subversion of the fundamental principles of the British State, and **HIGH TREASON** in all that voted for it.*

Having thus apostrophized an individual, let me now expostulate with a party, and with no other wish than that they may prove themselves equal to the duties of the times in which they live.

To what end, hath God given any man superior light and knowledge, but as guides of conduct? To what end, hath the Author of our being, in the immutable laws of Nature, beamed on the human mind the rays of resistless truth, but to illumine the path of duty? Shall men of integrity dream of *restoring* a decayed constitution while they reject its obvious maxims? Shall men of rank or wealth imagine that rank or wealth, or unfounded fancies, can be made *substitutes* for principles, or for real science in civil government? Will pride, or prejudice, or a clinging to the exploded errors of the barbarous ages of feudal tyranny, now recommend men to favour and confidence with the Community at large; when certain knowledge, uniform experience, and all-potent demonstration, have implanted in the public mind a rooted conviction, that, to such pride and prejudice, ever violating public liberty, the nation owes all its calamities?

Can the advocates for reforming *by halves*—which, at the best, were being only honest by halves, by their puerile behaviour of not *acknowledging* those obvious Rights which are visible to the optics of the humble artizan, hope to have credit for *not seeing* those Rights? By weakly claiming applause for proposing to perform only *half* the duty of public men, shall they expect to persuade us, they are *not*

* *Legal Means of Political Reformation*, 1797. 75. The allusion was to the Gagging Bills of 1795.

convinced of the existence of those Rights?

As to the TALK, after long years of silence, of advocating a restoration of only a moiety of one half of our two-fold Constitution, and that too in an assembly where they of a certainty know they might as well propose that nine in ten of the members should cut off a hand, or put out one of their own eyes, what can we think of the talk, or what value can we set upon the Act? Can the talk be any thing better than the old State angling of party-men for popularity? Can the Act, with a certain knowledge of its inherent abortiveness, pass current for patriotism, or for Statesmanship? The time it should seem is gone by, when "Party was the madness of the many, for the gain of the few." It is now confined to the few, for the misery of the many.

And when the pretence for this moonshine manoeuvre of a half reform wholly rests on a visionary IF—that is, 'If we perform this impossibility then will the People be better able to recover entire freedom?' can rational beings enlist under such leaders? Were a Turkish Timariot, who had over-dosed himself with opium; to tell the good people of Constantinople, that he would propose to the Grand Segnior to dismiss half his Janisaries, and receive in their places an equal number of gallant fellows who aimed at his dethronement, would that people really entertain hopes of emancipation from such talk? Or if, in his delirium, the Timariot, unsupported by the People, should act as he talked, what should we think of his chance of success?

Let, however, these talkers of half reform try their experiment! In their own way let them teach themselves wisdom! Let not the radical reformer oppose them! Nay, let every such reformer, whose share of knowledge, and whose notions of morality will admit of it, lend them all possible aid, that they may become acquainted with the true value of their own policy! But they ought to be sensible that Radical Reformers who have the benefit of knowledge, and who feel the

moral obligation of principle, must be incapable of becoming parties to such an unconstitutional measure.

Still, however, it is right to ask an English Aristocracy, and those its partizans who are *apparent deserters from the Democracy*, if they be more knowing than the Omniscient? If more benevolent and powerful in protecting the Poor, than he who is the Parent of both poor and rich? Do they find that the Universal Parent has denied to the Poor any faculty, any power, or any right of nature, which he has bestowed exclusively on the Rich? Hath he sent his rational creatures into the world with natural marks, to denote that *these shall be lords, and those labourers; these free, and those bond; these sovereigns, and those slaves?*

If no such mark they can discern, by what kind of process in reasoning can they prove an authority in themselves to impose a substitute? If God himself have not pronounced that any shall be slaves, shall they, in contempt of their creator, assume such a power? Savours not this of a daring impiety? Is it not, in fact, a kin to the presumption and folly of the blockheads who gabble about a "Constitution as by law established," or, in other words, about a child who beget his own parent? And are not these imitators of those blockheads who are wholly blind to the essential difference there is between *intrinsic* and *extrinsic* rights; that is, between a right to political liberty, which is an *intrinsic* right; and a right to an acquired estate, which is an *extrinsic* right, and has a different foundation, evidently in error?

Is it not on this fundamental error, that we find to stand the whole fabric of sophistry, by which the wealthy and the unchristian vainly attempt to vindicate the absurdity, that the right of being legislatively represented, involving political *self preservation*, depends on a man's acquired estate, and not on his being a rational and moral creature, capable of happiness and misery? Ought they not to recollect

that *representation* implies *election*, and that not land, nor trees, nor houses; nor cattle, nor sheep, nor swine; nor ships, nor gold, nor bank-notes are capable of a *choice*?

The matter in hand being, at this crisis, of vital importance, the writer must proceed with his interrogatories. Can the aristocracy, and their *unnatural* allies, *deserters from the democratic standard*, reverse the laws of God, who hath ordained that all men, in all ages, shall be born to *equal freedom*; and who, on this *universality of equal right*—hath laid according to his omniscience, the *immoveable foundations of JUSTICE, of ORDER, of NATIONAL PEACE, and of SOCIAL HAPPINESS*,—aye, verily, and of the *SECURITY of ACQUIRED PROPERTY*?—Can they, I ask, reverse these divine laws, and better provide for all those ends and objects, by the half measures of their superior wisdom?—Good Heavens, how monstrous the imagination!

Can men, professing religion and obedience to God, pretending to philosophy, or to any knowledge of human nature, be carried away by that vulgar error, by that disgraceful prejudice—progeny of pride and want of reflection, which, contrary to reason, and utterly unfounded on experience—unwarrantably ASSUMES that, *Justice to the POOR* would be *Danger to the RICH*.

It may not be amiss before we proceed, to bestow a little attention on a very singular phenomenon, whether considered intellectually or morally which we now behold. The adversaries of *universal freedom*, finding themselves utterly defeated, all their sophistry dissolved in vapour and given to the winds, while the right of the *POOR*, (who constitute the great *majority and main support* of the community) to the *elective franchise* stands founded on an adamant rock of Truth, supported by every species of argument, that of the po-

litical economists touching *taxation* not excepted, these children of *Proteus*, in imitation of their changeful father, now, in their desperation, turn *Prophets*.

They as flippantly and daringly *foretel*, that if the *POOR* had *elective franchise* they would *plunder* the *RICH*. Has that God, then, whom their want of candour dishonours, bestowed on these men the gift of *prophecy*, and for the sake of foretelling an effect *contrary to Nature and his eternal Law*? Was it the *ENJOYMENT of elective franchise*, which is *the evidence of Liberty*, that caused the volcanic revolution of *France*? No: It was the *DENIAL of Liberty*, it was the unfeeling insolence and tyranny of the French Aristocracy, which brought on them the punishment they received. It was an infliction on the *RICH*, for having *plundered* the *POOR*. And is an English Aristocracy, so infatuated, as to manifest an inveterate enmity to the poor man's rightful liberty, without which it is impossible he should ever be other than the object of *plunder* by the rich?

Well, then, what is the phenomenon we see? We see parties in a controversy, against whom Nature, Justice, Truth and Common Sense have all given clear and decisive testimony, insanely attempting to bolster up a bad cause, by becoming *witnesses for themselves, judges in their own cause*, and pretending to *prophetic inspiration*! But we surely have heard enough of false witnesses and false prophets, not to become the dupes of an *ipse dixit* in the mouth of a party, when that *ipse dixit* is in direct contradiction to the sacred laws of God and man, and of all that can give testimony any weight, while it is moreover, palpably the dictate of the mere sordid self-interest and inordinate ambition of the *few*, for withholding inherent Right, Freedom, Security and Happiness from the *many*.

But if the Writer and others, who

are faithful to their own Order, the *Democracy*, or, in other words, to the *Nation*—to their *Country*, for whose use, and service, and benefit, nobles, kings, and parliaments, with all their privileges and all their authorities, have been instituted—if these men have reasoned *erroneously*, why do not the Aristocracy and their unnatural allies, out of their great wisdom, set them right; instead of pertinaciously keeping *silence* on the grand question of right, and indecently preaching up projects of Reform, which are obvious violations of Justice and Liberty, and, in point of reasoning, would scarcely impose on African Negroes?

The truth seems to be, that these lords and gentlemen, are barely awakening from their Aristocratic slumbering and dreams of self-importance; and merely *beginning* to turn their eyes to the condition of their country, to the true nature of free government, the genuine principles of the English Constitution, and to its *radical* subversion, are as yet half a century behindhand with the mechanics of the age in political knowledge, and hitherto as much behindhand with the calumniated *Radical Reformers* in patriot virtue.

In the speech of a member for a rotten borough, in reply to a proposition of Mr. *William Williams* for a most minute amendment, in borough elections, we have lately witnessed a barefaced pretence that, in addition to the Crown having to itself *one third* part in the Legislature; and to the Peers having another *third part*, both Royalty and the Aristocracy ought to have *like shares in the remaining third*; that is to say, in the **COMMONS** House itself. On this ground was audaciously vindicated the sitting of *hundreds* of its members, who are *dependents on the crown*; and the sitting of *other hundreds* that are *dependents on, and placed there by, the Peers*, who have possessed themselves of those sinks of corruption, the close Boroughs.

What a picture of the times in which we live, when these men can safely preach a doctrine so infamous, while those who virtuously advocate the principles of constitutional reform, and virtuously act on those principles, are become *objects of persecution*, to be hunted down by prosecutions conducted by the Law Officers of the Crown, *themselves members for rotten boroughs*.

THE END.