

COBBETT'S

TWO-PENNY TRASH;

OR

POLITICS FOR THE POOR.

LONDON;

**PRINTED BY THE AUTHOR, AND SOLD AT No. 11, BOLT-COURT,
FLEET-STREET, AND MAY BE HAD OF ALL BOOKSELLERS.**

1831.

COBBETT'S TWO-PENNY TRASH

For the Month of July, 1830.

INTRODUCTION.

Bristol, 25th June, 1830.

1. THE object of this publication is, to explain to the people of this kingdom *what it is that*, in spite of all the industry and frugality that they can practise, *keeps them poor*. The causes of the poverty of the sluggard, the glutton, the drunkard, and the squanderer, need no explanation; poverty is the natural effect of these vices; it is the punishment which God himself has said shall be the reward of these offences against his laws. But this nation is now in such a state, that no industry, no care, no ingenuity, no prudence, no foresight, no frugality, can give a man security against poverty. This *was* the happiest country in the world; it *was* the country of roast beef; it *was* distinguished above *all* other nations for the good food, good raiment, and good morals, of its people; and it is now as much distinguished for the contrary of all of them.

2. It is, therefore, to explain to the suffering people at

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and sold by all Booksellers.

large, the causes of this lamentable change, that this little *cheap* work is intended; and the reasons why it has the title of *Two-penny Trash*, and why it is to be published only *monthly*, are as follows: from 1861 to 1817, I published the *Weekly Political Register*, at the price, first of *ten-pence*, then *of a shilling*; but just before the commencement of the last-mentioned year, I, in order to give my writings a wide spread, laid aside the *stamp*, and sold the Register for *two-pence*; and instead of selling about two or three thousand a week, the sale rose to *sixty or seventy thousand*. The effect was prodigious; the people were every-where upon the stir in the cause of *parliamentary reform*; petitions came to the Parliament early in 1817, from *a million and a half of men*.

3. The answers to these petitions were, laws to enable the ministers to take, at their pleasure, any man that *they* might suspect of treasonable intentions; to put him into any jail and any duncheon that *they* might choose; to keep him there for any time that *they* might choose; to deprive him of the use of pen, ink, and paper; to keep him from the sight of parents, wife, children, and friends; and all this on their own mere will, and at their sole pleasure, without regular commitment, without confronting him with his accuser, without letting him know who was his accuser, and without stating even to himself, what was his offence!

4. The principal ministers at this time were, LIVERPOOL (Jenkinson), First Lord of the Treasury; ELDON (John Scott), Lord Chancellor; SIDMOUTH (Addington), Secretary of State for the Home Department; CASTLEREAGH (Stewart), for the Foreign Department; ELLENBOROUGH (Law), Chief Justice of the King's Bench. SIDMOUTH, when he brought in this horrible bill, rested the necessity of it on the fact, that the *cheap publications* were exciting the people to sedition; that they were read, not only in every

town and house, but in every hamlet, every cottage, and every hotel; and that *therefore* this power of imprisonment law was necessary to the safety of the state. With LORD HOLLAND observed, that if the authors of the cheap publications put forth any-thing of a treasonable or seditious nature, or any-thing hostile to good morals, there were already laws to punish them, that it was the business of the law-officers to enforce these laws, and that there was no need for this new and violent outrage on the constitution of our fathers for putting into the hands of the ministers this absolute and terrible power over the bodies of all the people; when LORD HOLLAND made these observations, SIDNEY SMITH answered, that all the cheap publications had been laid before the law-officers, but that, so crafty were the writers become, that the law-officers had been able to find nothing to prosecute with any chance of success!

5. Upon this ground this tremendous law was passed, the great defenders of it in the House of Commons being, Castlereagh, Canning, William Lamb, William Elliott, and some others, whose names I do not now recollect. The Whigs, as they were called, made a feeble, and, indeed, a more shame opposition to it, while BURKE, who had by a circular letter, signed with his own name, urged the people, all over the country, to come resolutely forward in the cause of reform, sat in the House, and said not one single word in their defence!

6 I, whose cheap publications had produced the terrific effect, must have been blind indeed, not to see that a damp-*pen*, or silence, was my doom. I chose neither; and, therefore, I took my body, and the bodies of my family, across the Atlantic; and thence, to the cruel disappointment and mortification of ABBINGTON, SCOTT, LAW, and Co., I went to London a TWO-PENNY REGISTER, to be published once a week, and it was published once a week, as

punctually as if I had been in London. The fate of numerous other of the poor petitioning reformers proved the wisdom of my precaution, in taking myself and family out of Sidmouth's reach. Some lost their health, others their senses, one destroyed himself in his dungeon; and those who came out alive and in health and sane, were totally ruined, and the married men found their families starving, or dead; and when they humbly petitioned for redress for those wrongs, and for a knowledge of their crime and their accusers, they were referred to an act that had just been passed, bearing harmless all those who had had a hand in imprisoning and punishing them, *even beyond the limits of the horrible law itself!*

7. It is useless to burst out into execrations. We must keep ourselves cool, and endeavour so to act ourselves, as to prevent the like of this from happening in future. This horrible law having ceased in 1819, I came back to England, late in the month of November of that year; and I found the Parliament *preparing an act to meet me*. The cheap publication was still going on: it had out-lived Sidmouth's law: it was now found to be *useless* to pass power-of-imprisonment laws to put it down; for the only effect would be another trip for me across the Atlantic. Now, then, a new invention was resorted to: an act was passed to punish with great severity any one who should publish, without a stamp, any-thing, *periodically*, that should *not* contain more than *two sheets of paper*, each sheet being, at least, *twenty-one inches long and seventeen inches wide*, containing *no advertisements*, and *no blank pages*; and besides this, the publication was *not to be sold for less than sixpence!*

8. This act, generally called *Cobbett's Act*, so loaded me and my readers with expense, that it reduced the circulation to a tenth part, perhaps, of what it was before. Still it kept

on well; but, at last, in 1829, I determined to give it the wings afforded by the post; and there it is now, sold by me for SIXPENCE to the news-men, out of which the Parliament takes only a farthing for tax on the paper, and four pence for tax on the stamp; leaving me a penny three farthings, to pay for paper, print, and publishing; to compensate me for my labour as author, and to fill my breast with grateful feelings towards "the envy of surrounding nations, and admiration of the world," and particularly towards that branch of it which SIR JAMES GRAHAM, some time ago, denominated, the noblest assembly of free men upon the face of the earth; not knowing, I presume, that there might be a still nobler assembly beneath the surface of that same earth!

9. Well, then, but how can I now publish this work of one sheet, and sell it for two-pence? Why, the "noblest assembly" made an exception with regard to monthly publications. That was very good of the "noblest assembly." To let people read cheap publications oftener than once a month was dangerous. Well, then, they can have them only once a month: only at every change of the moon. Dear, good, kind, and careful, "noblest assembly!" Therefore it is that I shall publish this little work once a month, and on the first day of every month, at my shop, No. 11, Bolt Court, Fleet Street.

10. The name of Two-penny TRASH is chosen in the way of triumph over my cowardly and malignant foes. When my two-penny publication was producing such great effect, in the year 1817, GIFFORD, WALTER, STUART, and the other hack-supporters of the system, called it "TWO-PENNY TRASH." Nick-names have been frequently given to things which have finally become famed under those very nick-names. When the Americans began their noble stand against taxation without representation,

our stupid and insatiable commanders gave them the nickname of **YANKEES**, and, in derision, used to cause their bands of music to play an air which they called "**YANKEE-DOODLE**." The Americans adopted the name, applied it to themselves, and made the air the national tune; and while their drums beat and their fife were playing that tune; ay, to the beating and the playing of *that very tune*, the noble and haughty **CORNWALLIS** and his insulting army *laid down their arms*; and the noble general *gave up his sword*, and acknowledged themselves in captivity to those same "**Yankees!**" When the people of France resolved to shake off that slavery, for enduring which we had satirized them and despised them for so many ages, those who were for the change were insultingly called **SANS-CULOTTES**; that is to say, men *without breeches*, or people without the means of covering their nakedness. They adopted the name; and, in a short time, every one was ambitious to be thought a "*good sans-culotte*." The **ORDER OF THE GARRET** arose from contempt and ridicule bestowed on that insignificant article of dress, in consequence of a trifling occurrence at a ball at which **Edward III.** was present: And do we not know that the Cross itself, which has been for one thousand eight hundred and thirty years held in veneration throughout the Christian world, was once synonymous with the *gibbet*; that it was the sign and badge of ignominy and infamy; and that now it hangs as an ornament even on the bosom of beauty!

"On her white breast a sparkling cross she wore,
Which Jews might kiss, and infidels adore."

¶ **LL.** Upon the same principle I adopted the name of "**TWO-PENNY TRASH**." Under that name I took my leave of it when the *two-sheet-and-more* law was passed in 1819, in the following words: "And now, '**Two-penny**

'Trash,' dear little two-penny trash, go thy way! Thou hast acted thy part in this grand drama. Ten thousand wagon-loads of the volumes that fill the libraries and booksellers' shops have never caused a thousandth part of the thinking, nor a millionth part of the stir, that thou hast caused. Thou hast frightened more and greater villains than ever were frightened by the jaff and the gibbet; and thou hast created more pleasure and more hope in the breasts of honest men, than ever were before created by tongue or pen since England was England. When thy stupid, corrupt, malignant, and cowardly enemies shall be rotten and forgotten, thou wilt live, be beloved, admired, and renowned."

12. TWO-PENNY TRASH is now again come to life. What will be the object of its contents I have before described. These contents must, however, be *pitay*; they must consist of opinions shortly stated, of striking and useful facts, and of narrations at once brief, clear, and interesting. The Register must be devoted to essays of considerable length: to subjects for discussion. I shall, following the manner that I have adopted in my other books, NUMBER THE PARAGRAPHS, to make them of easy reference. The twelve Numbers will make a volume of two hundred and eighty-eight pages, costing two shillings and sixpence, and another sixpence, for binding, makes a neat little book of it, to be kept and read, I hope, for a century to come. The last number of the twelve will contain an INDEX for the volume.

13. Booksellers, or hawkers, in the country, will please, to apply to their agents, or correspondents, in London, as I do not supply any country booksellers from my shop. Being published punctually on the last day of every month, the TRASH will very conveniently travel in company with the monthly family of Reviews, Magazines, tracts, and the like,

which observe, however, I by no means insinuate to be TRASH; God forbid that I, or any one else, should call them by *that* name.

TO THE

"WEAVER-BOYS OF LANCASHIRE."

Bristol, 25th June, 1830.

MR FRIENDS,

14. Now look at the *state of the country*, and call to your recollection the *scorn* with which this name was given you, in 1817, by those whom Mr. FITTON, of ROYTON, most aptly denominated, "*the Order of the Pigtail*." Look at the order of the pig-tail now! They have found, at last, that, in spite of the lies of "*the Liar of the North*," Baines of Leeds, trade does *not* *revive*! They have found that that which you prayed for in 1817, would, if it had been granted, have *saved them*; they have found, at last, that if the army had been disbanded, the interest of the debt justly reduced, the pensions, sinecures, and useless salaries, lopped off, and the Dead Weight reduced to a just amount; they have now found, that if these things had been done, they would not at this moment be compelled to resort to a miserable and degrading system of TAUCK, in order to get the profits of the shop-keeper, the house-owner, the butcher, the baker, and, as in some parts of Stafford and Warwick-shires, even the profits of the barber! When the "*Order of the Pig-tail*" were calling for laws to prevent you from overturning "*our happy constitution in Church and State*," they little dreamed that the day was so near at hand when they would be compelled, by this *happy thing*, to have their workmen *shaved by the dozen*, upon tick, for want of money to pay to the men to get themselves shaved! They get the shaving done at tenpence, or, perhaps, sixpence a dozen; and, if the men want the money, and be left to *shave themselves*, they cannot get the money, because that would deduct from the *profits* of the employer: he would have a penny to pay to each in *ready money*; and they pay the shaver in *truck*!

15. Little did they dream of the approach of a state of things like this, when they were calling upon the government to suppress your petitions, and were representing you as bent (under *pretence* of seeking for parliamentary reform) upon the overthrow of *all law* and the *destruction of all property*. Those whom they then called upon for laws to shut you up in dungeons, have now given them laws to their hearts' content; and as to *property*, they have left them nothing but the *name*; not a man of them having one single shilling, on the permanent possession of which he can *rely*, as a resource for his family.

16. Since I left London, on the 8th of March last, I have been from London to the mouth of the *Thames*; from the mouth of the *Thames* I have been to the mouth of the *Humber*; from the mouth of the *Humber* I am come to the mouth of the *Severn*; I have ridden more than a *thousand miles*; I have *walked* about *three hundred and fifty miles*; I have made *fifty-four speeches*; I have been in commercial towns, manufacturing towns, agricultural towns; I have conversed with merchants, manufacturers, tradesmen, operatives, artisans, and labourers; and, *every-where* in every county, town, and village, I find the same tale of *deep distress* amongst all those who do not live on the *taxes*. Those of the sufferers who besought the government to put you and me into dungeons, have, however, one great *consolation*; namely, that it is not *Jacobins* and *Radicals* that have brought these calamities upon them; that, if they be made beggars, as the greater part of them will be, they have, at any rate, the happiness to know, for a certainty, that the beggary has not been occasioned by those "evil-disposed," "designing" men, whom the Prince Regent expressed his noble determination to put down.

17. Yes, my friends, when these base villains, these greedy and cowardly and barbarous and stupid slaves, were exulting over our sufferings; when they were joining CANNING, the insolent and empty Canning, in *laughing* at the excruciating tortures of poor OGDEN; when they were making sport of the bowels being forced out of his aged body; when they were making a jest of the groans of so many innocent victims of their malice; when they were applauding the works of Sidmouth, Castlereagh, Canning, Parson Hay,

Oliver, Castles, and Edwards; when they were shouting at the fall of every head that came tumbling from the block; when they were praising Burdett for his abandonment of us and our cause; when they were singing triumph at my flight across the seas: then, my friends, they little thought of beholding times like these, times which we foresaw, times for which our minds were duly prepared, and times in acting our part with regard to the consequences of which we shall, I trust, not be found wanting.

18. I will, now, first endeavour to describe to you the *state of the country*, and then speak of the *causes* of that state. The *final consequences* will then appear to you clear enough; and you will be duly prepared for those consequences. The state of the country is this: That all the industrious and useful classes, from the attorney and the surgeon and physician, down to the mechanic and the labourer, are suffering loss, privation, embarrassment, and distress; while the idlers, and all who live on the taxes, are living in luxury; that merchants, manufacturers, and tradesmen, all find the profits of their callings diminish daily, and, generally speaking, themselves on the eve of insolvency; that shopkeepers do not sell half the quantity of goods that they used to sell, and that even those they sell to little profit; that the farmers are, if possible, still worse off, as their produce sells for, on an average, not more than the half of what it ought to sell for to enable them to pay their rents, and to pay wages sufficient for the due sustenance of their work-people; that the *working* classes, those whose labours create all useful things, are, therefore, in a state of half-starvation, and are covered with miserable rags, instead of that good and decent clothing with which their forefathers were covered.

19. Such is a *general* description of the state of the country, the parliament of which, Sir JAMES GRAHAM tells us, is "the *noblest* assembly" on the face of the earth. And now for an instance or two of the wretchedness of this state. I have lately passed through the *cloth-making part* of Gloucestershire, and a part of Wiltshire, where the same business has, until lately, been carried on. Of all the countries that God, in his goodness, ever made for the enjoyment of man, even in this the most favoured land, this seems to

be the most delightful, and, for its extent, the most valuable. Rich land, beautiful woods, water bubbling from the hills in all directions, coal in abundance at a short distance, stone and slate the substratum of the soil, and a fine *corn and dairy country*, in every direction, as you look from the hills that bound these winding and ever-varying valleys, where the climate is so mild, and the gardens so early and so blessed with products. Yet this spot, under the management of the famous 658, has become the abode of gaunt hunger and raving despair, saying to the beholder, "These are the effects of that system of sway, the upholders of which call it, the 'envy of surrounding nations, and the admiration of the world!'"

20. The innumerable cloth-mills in these valleys seem to be generally deserted; the *drying-grounds* on these pretty slopes, which, a few years ago, I saw so many *closely-shaven* and beautiful *lawns*, have now the long grass standing to be cut for hay; and the *railings*, or *frames*, for hanging the cloth on, have *no marks of footsteps* near them, and seem to be gradually *rotting down*; while the farmers in the neighbourhood are, from the want of employment for the manufacturers, so loaded with poor-rates, that many of the farms are let for *no rent at all*, the only condition being that the farmer *pay the rates*; and even this he is unable to do without loss. At Malmsbury, in Wiltshire, where there were two cloth-mills, one is turned into a grist-mill, and the other appears to be nearly at a stand. At CALNE, in that county where there were two mills, both (and very fine mills) are shut up, and the grass growing in the walks and paths, before kept bare by busy footsteps. This, for many miles round, is a country alike famous for *corn* and for *cheese*; it is literally "a land flowing with milk and honey;" and here human anxiety and misery reign supreme! Here, where God has been so bountiful, the 658 step in, and say that enjoyment and innocence shall be supplanted by want and by crime!

21. The farmers sell that cheese for 40s. a ton (2,240lbs), which they used to sell for 80s. Their wheat, notwithstanding two successive half-crops, is at less than half the price that it used to be some years back. They have no stock on hand; their stocks of all kinds are becoming smaller and

smaller; their land is daily becoming worse cultivated; their teams of horses worth less and less; their harness and implements of all sorts more and more shabby, and of less and less value; their clothing, and that of their families, more and more mean; and as to the labourers, their bodies are clad in disgraceful rags, and their bellies, when filled at all, with miserable potatoes, and this amidst all this corn, and meat, and milk, and butter, and cheese! Amidst this misery, crime stalks abroad in open day; the jails have been augmented *four-fold* in the space of a few years! At the Assizes the criminals are so numerous that barristers are appointed to assist judges; no moveable property is safe out of the security of locks and bars; and the immoveable is incessantly in danger from the hand of vindictive hunger; which, in many cases, has produced the destruction of horses, oxen, and other animals, *by poison!*

22. Such, such taxation and paper-money and game-laws, are your desolating works! *Such* are the effects of a Parliament that "*works so well,*" and that stands in need of no reform! *Such* are the hitherto results of that system, for having *prayed* for a change in which we were driven across the Atlantic, crammed into dungeons, and otherwise punished and ruined. *Such*, my friends, are the natural and unavoidable consequences of a system that gives the people at large no share in the making of the laws which impose taxes upon them, and which dispose of those taxes.

23. But, now, as the chief object of this work is to explain to the people at large **HOW IT IS THAT THEY ARE MADE POOR**, I must *begin* to show the manner in which the system *works* to produce the above-described effects; in other words, to show what are the *immediate causes* of a state of things so *unnatural*, so contrary to what reason and nature seem to prescribe with voice irresistible. This immediate cause is, **ENORMOUS TAXATION** co-operating with laws making **CHANGES IN THE VALUE OF MONEY**. Let me first speak of the *taxation itself*; and afterwards show how the effects of that have been aggravated by the *changes in the value of money*. If, with regard to these matters, I succeed in laying down the principles well and clearly, it will then be easy for me to show you *why* the taxation is imposed, *who* it is that profits from it, and *how*

we ought to go to work to cause it to be reduced so as to put an end to the present evils, and effectually to guard against the like in future; for, unless these objects be effected, is there a man in his sober senses who does not fear that the end must be here similar to that which took place in France? An end which it is the duty of us all, low as well as high, to endeavour to prevent.

24. But, to lay down those principles in the manner that I could wish, and in a way to make all reference to them easy and of great and constant avail, would require more room than is afforded me in this present Number. I shall, therefore, leave the subject to be concluded in my next, when I shall again address myself to you, your public spirit and honest perseverance meriting that mark of respect at the hands of your faithful friend and most obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.

PRIVY-COUNCILLORS AND CONSULS.

25. THESE are called "*right honourable*;" Lord Coke describes them as "*a noble and reverend assembly*;" and the new treason-law makes it *high-treason* to compass, that is to say, to imagine, their death; and under this law Mr. THISTLEWOOD, INGS, BRUNT, and TIDD, were executed as traitors, in the year 1820, soon after George IV. became king. To this reverend assembly belong HUSKISSON, HERRIES, GOULBOURN, CALCRAFT, SIDMOUTH, and others, to the amount of one hundred and thirteen in number, leaving out the members of the Royal Family. Now, on the 14th of May last, Sir JAMES GRAHAM made, in the House of Commons, which he called "*the noblest assembly in the world*," a motion "For an humble Address to his Majesty, for an account of all salaries, profits, pay, fees, and emoluments, whether civil or military, from the 5th of January 1829 to the 5th of January 1830, held and enjoyed by each of his Majesty's most hon. Privy Council, specifying, with each name,

"the total amount received by each individual, and distinguishing the various sources from which the same is derived."

26. In support of this motion Sir James made a speech, and, in the course of that speech, the following statement, founded on documents already in his possession; and no part of which statement was contradicted.

27. He had divided the Privy-Councillors into classes. It was here the place to say, that in all his calculations upon these subjects, he had always omitted the royal family, because they having a certain income under the assignment of Acts of Parliament, there was nothing mysterious about them, and in many cases these assignments had been made under the sanction of Bills, which had themselves undergone long and anxious discussion in the House. He therefore excluded them altogether from his calculations upon this occasion. The total number of Privy-Councillors was 169; of whom 113 received public money. The whole sum distributed annually amongst these 113 was 650,164*l.*, and the average proportion of that sum paid to each yearly was 5,752*l.*—(hear.) Of this total of 650,164*l.*, 86,103*l.* were for *sinecures*—(loud cries of hear); 442,411*l.* for active services, and 121,650*l.* for pensions, making together the total which he had stated. Of the 113 Privy Councillors, who were thus receivers of the public money, 30 were *pluralists*, or persons holding more offices than one, whether, as *sinecurists*, or civil and military officers. The amount received by the pluralists was 221,133*l.* annually amongst them all, or 7,371*l.* upon an average to each annually. The number of Privy Councillors who enjoyed full or half-pay, or were pensioned as diplomatists, was 29, and the gross amount of their income from the public purse was 126,175*l.*, or upon an average a yearly income to each individual of 4,347*l.* a year. The whole number of Privy Councillors who were members of *both Houses of Parliament* was 69; and of those 17 were Peers, whose gross income from the public purse was 378,846*l.*—(hear, hear), or, upon an average to each, 8,065*l.* a year.—(loud cries of "hear.") The remaining 22 were of the House of Commons, and the gross amount of their receipts was 99,849*l.*, or upon an average to each individual, 4,130*l.* a year—(hear.) It appeared then that there were 113 Privy Councillors receiving the public money, of whom 69 were members of either house of Parliament. He had already stated that 29 were in the receipt of public money by way of salary; the total number of Privy Councillors in the House of Commons was 31, and of these 22 were charged upon the public purse.

28. The whole of the revenue, including expense of collecting, amounts to about 60 millions a year; the collection to about 5 millions; so that these 113 men take out of the public money an *eighty-eighth part* of the amount of the whole of the net revenue! Well, was the motion agreed to

by the "nobler assembly?" Oh, no! It was rejected by a large majority. And, as you see, Sir JAMES stated, that 60 members of the two Houses received amongst them 378,846*l.* out of the public money, 60 of them being members of the House of Commons; and 17 of them peers!

29. I shall, in the next Number, have to show you, that 37 years ago, the taxes amounted to 15 millions a year instead of 60 millions; but, let me now proceed to another motion, of Sir JAMES GRAHAM, relative to the expenditure of our money on CONSULS in *South America*. He made a motion, on the 11th June, to reduce the sums paid to these people; and, in the course of his speech, made the following statement, every word of which I beseech you to read with great attention.

30. He would begin with the case of Mr. Ricketts, the Consul to Peru. He went to his post in 1825, and passed that year in preparations, and in his voyage out, and he received for outfit and salary that year the sum of 3,856*l.* In 1826, being at his post, he received for salary 2,500*l.*; for house rent, 510*l.*; for a clerk, 250*l.*; for extras, 503*l.* Making in the year 1826, the sum of 3,763*l.* In 1827 he was on his voyage home, having left his post early in April; and that year he received 2,812*l.* His Honourable Friend was very testy about any charges being adverted to, previously to the year 1828; but his Honourable Friend should recollect that most of the Members now on the Treasury Benches are all his Majesty's Ministers. Though they might disclaim the expenses of that period, all formed a part of Mr. Canning's administration. But passing from the year previous to 1828, he came to that year and 1829, and these two years Mr. Ricketts was in England, and received 1,600*l.* a year. This gentleman, therefore, had been, under Lord Aberdeen's government, allowed to spend two years in England doing nothing, at this large salary; he had passed one year in his voyage out and home; he had been the rest of his time at his post, and for that period, not quite two years, he had received the sum of 13,600*l.* (hear, hear!) What he charged as the most flagrant part of the case was, the two years he had been in England at 1,600*l.* a year, and for these two years the present Foreign Minister was wholly responsible. He then came to the case of Mr. Nugent, who was one of those whose services were not accurately stated in the return, as he might possibly make a mistake. This gentleman went in 1825 to Chili, and received the first year 3,050*l.* In 1826 he was at his post, and received 2,500*l.* In 1827, as early as June, or he believed he must now say, as the return was not correct, in June 1828, he returned to England, and received his 2,500*l.* His Honourable Friend described the two years, 1828 and 1829, as years of economy. These two years constituted the golden reign of the Earl of Aberdeen—they were the economical age not

deserving of those sarcasms which his Honourable Friend charged him with using, and entreated him to abandon in bringing forward his motion. His Honourable Friend had stated, that henceforth the Consuls, when away from their posts, were to have only half their salaries, but had that not yet been the case, as he had already stated with regard to the Consul of Peru, who had received his salary of 1,600*l.* during the two years he had been in England; and it had not been the case with the Consul of Chili, who had received his salary under similar circumstances, one of whom had received in four years, the sum of 13,600*l.*, and the other had received 13,050*l.* The next case he would mention was that of Mr. Mackenzie, who in 1826 was appointed Consul to Hayti. He received 500*l.* for his outfit, 1,500*l.* for his salary, and 215*l.* for his voyage out, in all 2,215*l.* In 1826 he was at his post, and received 2,710*l.*; but he begged to call the particular attention of the House to the year 1827. He received in that year, his salary, 1,500*l.*; for a journey into the interior of the island he charged 1,290*l.*; his house rent and extras amounted to 1,070*l.* The Honourable Baronet mentioned another sum of 147*l.* and for his voyage to England, 192*l.*, making a total of 4,179*l.* In 1828 he was in England, and in 1828, when England was under the economic administration of Lord Aberdeen, he received his salary of 1,125*l.* He was little more than one year at his post, and for that he received a sum of upwards of 8,000*l.* He then came to the case of Mr. Shenley, who was one of those whose services were mis-stated in the Return. He begged to call the attention of the House to Mr. Shenley in particular. This gentleman had been sent as Vice-Consul to Guatemala. In 1825 he received for his outfit 300*l.*, and for his salary 700*l.*; but he did not go, if he understood the return correctly, that year. He went out in 1826. He was at Guatemala that year and in 1827, and received his salary of 700*l.*, but before the end of 1827 he left Guatemala: and in 1828 he came to England on his full salary. In 1829, under Lord Aberdeen's Foreign administration, when the public expense had been so much reduced, this gentleman was appointed Consul at Hayti, and received 500*l.* for his outfit. Unless the returns were erroneous, this was in January; and between January 1829 and January 1830, he received 1,200*l.* as his salary. The House would be surprised to learn, that he was in England yet; that he had not attempted to go out to Hayti. He remained in England up to that time, and the reason for which he remained, the members of that House would be well able to appreciate. The reason on which he remained in England was urgent private business (a laugh). This was a species of reason which would be very intelligible to the Members of that House. In 1829, then, this gentleman received 1,700*l.* and never left England; in all, this gentleman had received 4,859*l.* The pressure of business at Hayti, the House would imagine, could not be very great; but he found in the year 1829, that there was a charge for two Vice Consuls at Hayti. As the Consul was not present, the House would naturally suppose that the Vice Consuls were there attending to his duty. But he found by the return, that Mr. Fisher, the Vice

Consul, was detained in England on urgent private business. He was in England the whole of 1828, receiving a salary of 550*l.*; and was in England the greater part of 1829. The Consul was then in England; the Vice Consul also, Mr. Fisher, was in England; and the second Vice Consul, the one who was on the spot, and did all the business, Mr. Thompson, received 500*l.* a year (hear, hear!). He was at a loss to know what to say, to carry conviction to the minds of Members, if this failed.

31. In order to enforce his arguments in favour of economy, he cited the example of the government of the UNITED STATES; and made the following true and most interesting statement, the like of which I have made, and in print too, over and over again!

32. He knew that any allusion to the United States of America was not generally very palatable to the House, and he for one did not like to institute comparisons between that country and this; but he held in his hand (showing a small slip of paper), on that simple piece of paper, the account of all the expenses of the Civil Government of the United States, including its diplomatic expenses, obtained from an authentic source, and with the permission of the House he would read it: The whole charge then for the Civil Government of the United States was—

For the President, a salary of	25,000 dollars per year.
A Vice President	5,000
Secretary of State	6,000
Secretary of the Treasury....	6,000
Secretary of War	6,000
Secretary to the Navy	6,000
Post Master	3,500
A Chief Justice	6,000
Six Judges	5,000 each.

Making, in the whole, 92,500 dollars, for the entire charge of the Civil Government of the United States, or, in English money, 20,812*l.* There were, besides, three Commissioners of the Navy with 3000 dollars, with a sum, which we did not catch, for the Major-General, making the whole charge for the Civil and Military Government of the United States, 24,299*l.*

33. There! And this, too, the government of a nation, now become *our rival on the seas*; whose maritime power now braves ours; who has, in 40 years, under this cheap government, risen from a population of 3 millions to a population of 12 millions; a nation whose government does not cost more than *two-thirds* as much in a year as has recently been expended on the *carvework on one gateway of one of our King's palaces*! Well, surely, after all this, the

"noblest assembly" agreed to this motion! No; but set it aside by one of its usual majorities! No commentary is necessary. As Sir James said, "If this do not carry conviction, nothing will."

"EQUAL LAWS."

34. THE French, in their Revolution, having taken the word **EQUALITY** as a sort of watch-word, our rulers and guides inveighed against it, as meaning that all men ought to be equal in point of property, and that the idler and drunkard should share in the property of the industrious and the sober. "Equality in laws," they said, was good. The other day, Lord John Russell was reported to have said, that the LATE MR. FOX, in opposing universal suffrage, used to say, that he did not like equality of rights, applied to unequal things; that is to say, that a man, who had no house or land, should not have as much right to vote as a man who had house or land. Now, then, let us see how Fox's rule has been observed in the laying of taxes upon us. The tradesman or farmer pays upon the windows in his house more than 2s. a window, if he have only 8; but any one, who has more than 180 windows, pays for that more only 1s. 6d. a window. A receipt in full of all demands, has a stamp of 10s. if the sum received be only forty-one shillings; and, if it be a hundred thousand pounds, the stamp is the same. The turnpike toll for the poor man's ass is the same as for the hunter or the racer, or carriage horse of the lord. If a tradesman, merchant, or manufacturer, sell his goods by auction, though the produce of his own hands, he has to pay an auction duty; but, if the lord sell his timber, his underwood, or the stock on his tenant for rent, he pays no auction duty. The postage of letters amounts to about two millions a year; the lord and members in t' other place pay none of this; even the soldiers are excused; but all the rest, from the merchant down to the half-starved labouring man, pay an

encumbers postage on letters. *Commission-officers' widows* have pensions allowed them; those of *non-commissioned* and *privates* have not. There have, of late years, been academies established for the purpose of rearing and educating young gentlemen for the army, navy, and ordnance, a part of which establishment consists of "NURSES." These academies are maintained out of the taxes: and thus the working people, in the tax on their beer, tea, soap, candles, sugar, and other things, are compelled to help pay for rearing and educating the sons of the rich. By the militia laws, the man who has no property at all, is compelled to come forth, to quit his home and family, to submit to military discipline, and, if necessary, to risk his life in defence of the country or the laws; and the man of a hundred thousand a year is compelled, at the most, to do no more! These are a few, and only a few, of the things which Lord John Russell might be called upon to reconcile to the pretty phrase of the famous senator Fox; and he might be asked to explain, too, upon what principle the Whites settled pensions for life on the wife and daughters of that same Fox: and how they came to settle pensions on foreigners, in the teeth direct of the *Act of Settlement*. We wait a little for his answer; but in the mean while, we may ask, whether these things could ever have been, if the Commons' House had been chosen by the common people.

"KING'S DEATH."

35: IN this ancient and opulent and respectable city of Bristol, of the most beautiful and interesting environs that my eyes ever beheld, and inhabited by a people of whom, though I shall perhaps never see them again, it is but bare justice to say, are surpassed in good manners and good sense by none whom in all my travels I have ever seen; in this fine old English city with 22 parishes, and with all the marks of having been, centuries ago, once more opulent

and populous than it is now; in this city, to a most respectable audience in which I concluded my third and last Lecture last night, the bells are, to-day (27th June), tolling for the death of the king, while flags are flying from the Exchange and the Council house, aye, from the churches too, or at least, I see one flying on the Cathedral church, or as it ought to be called, the church of the Abbey, part of the cloisters of which are still remaining. This tolling and flag-flying at one and the same time, and from one and the same tower, is, I suppose in accordance with those conflicting feelings of loyalty so neatly expressed by Pope:—

“ And when our Sov'reign died, could scarce be vext,
 “ Knowing that such a gracious Prince was next.”

36. A future day will come for giving a *history* of the reign of GEORGE THE FOURTH, including that of his *Regency*; not by any means forgetting the events and the acts of 1817, 1818, 1819, and 1820. The *statute-book* records the materials for a true history of his reign and regency; the public accounts record particulars that none but a sham historian will overlook; and as to the state of the people, we who yet remain alive, and are not quite blinded by our tears, have only to open our eyes. As I am going to BATH this evening, and there, with apprehensions of their effect, I shall, I suppose, meet the London newspapers, all in dismal black, and all the unaffected Editors pouring out their tender and loyal souls in filial wailings in verse as well as in prose, *this* time, at any rate, I'll not be behindhand with them; and here is my loyal and lachrymose contribution:—

Old England weep, and let thy grief be true;
 For Sov'reign dearer nation never knew.

EMIGRATION.

37. FROM *this port alone one thousand and forty-two* have gone to NEW YORK, this spring and summer! The far greater part *English* people; and not a few with good sums

of money. I have not room to say much upon this subject here; but I cannot help putting my readers upon their guard against those who are endeavouring to inveigle them to *English colonies*, where their ruin is certain, and their death, in a very short time, probable. Let them look at the horrible accounts from Botany Bay and other parts of that country; let them see what they are going to; let them look at the thousands of poor creatures who have been beggared by going to the rocks and sands and swamps and snows of Prince Edward's Island, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Canada; and let them look at my "*EMIGRANT'S GUIDE*;" and, after this, if they choose destruction, let them have it. To another new edition of this little work (price 2s. 6d.) I shall add a *second postscript*, containing a list of things that a man ought to provide himself with before his departure. When this is added, the book will be perfect. Thousands of men of property, and especially young farmers, are wisely preparing to start: letters come tumbling home from those already there, pressing the relations and friends to follow them. So that the Borough-mongers and the halt and the lame and the blind and the insane, together with the pickpockets and the tax-eaters, will, in time, be left to form a jovial society, basking under the sun of the "envy of surrounding nations and admiration of the world." Of one thing let every soul be satisfied; and that is, that the misery must *here* continue to be greater and greater, until, by some means or other, there shall be effected a *Radical Reform* of the Commons', or people's, House of Parliament.

N. B. *All the Books undermentioned, are published at No. 11, Bell-court, Fleet-street, London; and are to be had of all the Book-sellers in the Kingdom.*

THE COBBETT-LIBRARY.

When I am asked what books a young man or young woman ought to read, I always answer, Let him or her read *all the books that I have written*. This does, it will doubtless be said, *smell of the shop*. No matter. It is what I recommended; and experience has taught me that it is my duty to give the recommendation. I am speaking here of books other than *THE REGISTER*; and even those, that I call my LIBRARY, consist of *twenty-six* distinct books; two of them being TRANSLATIONS; six of them being written by MY SONS; one (TULL's HUSBANDRY) revised and edited, and one published by me, and written by the Rev. Mr. O'CALLAGHAN, a most virtuous Catholic Priest. I divide these books into classes, as follows: 1. Books for TEACHING LANGUAGE; 2. On DOMESTIC MANAGEMENT AND DUTIES; 3. On RURAL AFFAIRS; 4. On THE MANAGEMENT OF NATIONAL AFFAIRS; 5. HISTORY; 6. TRAVELS; 7. LAWS; 8. MISCELLANEOUS POLITICS. Here is a great variety of subjects; and all of them very dry; nevertheless the manner of treating them is, in general, such as to induce the reader to go *through the book*, when he has once begun it. I will now speak of each book separately under the several heads above-mentioned.—N. B. All the books are bound in boards, which will be borne in mind when the price is looked at.

1. BOOKS FOR TEACHING LANGUAGE.

COBBETT'S ENGLISH GRAMMAR. (*Price 3s.*)—This is a book of principles, clearly laid down; and when once these are got into the mind they never quit it.

COBBETT'S FRENCH GRAMMAR (*Price 5s.*); or, *Plain Instructions for the Learning of French*.—More young men have, I dare say, learned French from it, than from all the other books that have been published in English for the last fifty years.

MR. JAMES COBBETT'S ITALIAN GRAMMAR (*Price 6s.*); or a *Plain and Compendious Introduction to the Study of Italian*.—I would pledge myself to take this book and to learn Italian from it in *three months*.

2. DOMESTIC MANAGEMENT AND DUTIES.

COBBETT'S COTTAGE ECONOMY (*Price 2s. 6d.*); containing information relative to the brewing of Beer, making of Bread, keeping of Cows, Pigs, Bees, Ewes, Goats, Poultry, and Rabbits, and relative to other matters.

COBBETT'S ADVICE TO YOUNG MEN, and (incidentally) to Young Women, in the middle and higher Ranks of Life (*Price 5s.*) It was published in 14 numbers, and is now in one vol. complete.

COBBETT'S SERMONS (Price 3s. 6d.)—More of these Sermons have been sold than of the Sermons of all the Church-parsons put together since mine were published.

COBBETT'S EDITION OF TULL'S HUSBANDRY (Price 15s.): **THE HORSE-HOEING HUSBANDRY**; or, A TREATISE on the Principles of Tillage and Vegetation, wherein is taught a Method of introducing a sort of VINEYARD CULTURE into the Corn-FIELDS, in order to increase their Product and diminish the common Expense.

3. BOOKS ON RURAL AFFAIRS.

COBBETT'S FEAR'S RESIDENCE IN AMERICA, WITH A MAP (Price 5s.): A book very necessary to all men of property who emigrate to the United States.

COBBETT'S ENGLISH GARDENER (Price 6s.) A complete book of the kind.

COBBETT'S WOODLANDS (Price 14s.); or, A TREATISE on Forest Trees and Underwoods, and the Manner of Collecting, Preserving, and Sowing of the Seed.

COBBETT'S CORN-BOOK (Price 2s. 6d.); or, A TREATISE on COBBETT'S CORN: containing Instructions for Propagating and Cultivating the Plant, and for Harvesting and Preserving the Crop; and also an Account of the several Uses to which the Produce is applied, with Minute Directions relative to each mode of Application.—This edition I sell at 2s. 6d., that it may get into numerous hands.

4. MANAGEMENT OF NATIONAL AFFAIRS.

COBBETT'S PAPER AGAINST GOLD (Price 5s.); or, the History and Mystery of the Bank of England, of the Debt, of the Stocks, of the Sinking Fund, and of all the other tricks and contrivances carried on by the means of Paper Money.

COBBETT'S RURAL RIDES. (Price 5s.) If the members of the Government had read these Rides, only just read them, last year, when they were collected and printed in a volume, they could not have helped foreseeing all the violences that have now taken place, and especially in these very counties; and foreseeing them, they must have been devils in reality if they had not done something to prevent them.

COBBETT'S POOR MAN'S FRIEND (Price 8d.); or, a Defence of the Rights of those who do the Work and fight the Battles.—This is my favourite work. I bestowed more labour upon it than upon any large volume that I ever wrote.

COBBETT'S EMIGRANT'S GUIDE (2s. 6d.); in TEN LETTERS, addressed to the TAXPAYERS OF ENGLAND.

USURY LAWS (Price 2s. 6d.); or, LENDING AT INTEREST; also, the Exaction and Payment of certain Church-fees, such as Pew-rents, Burial-fees, and the like, together with Forestalling Traffic; all proved to be repugnant to the Divine and Ecclesiastical Law, and destructive to Civil Society.

5. HISTORY.

COBBETT'S HISTORY OF THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION in ENGLAND and IRELAND (*Price 4s. 6d.*) ; showing how that Event has impoverished and degraded the main Body of the People in those Countries: PART II. (*Price 3s. 6d.*) ; containing a List of the Abbeyes, Priories, Nunneries, Hospitals, and other Religious Foundations, in England and Wales, and in Ireland, confiscated, seized on, or alienated, by the Protestant "Reformation" Sovereigns and Parliaments.

COBBETT'S ROMAN HISTORY, ENGLISH and FRENCH, (*Price 6s.*) ; VOL. I. from the Foundation of Rome to the Battle of Actium. VOL. II. AN ABRIDGED HISTORY OF THE EMPERORS, in FRENCH and ENGLISH: being a continuation of the HISTORY OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC.—This work is intended as an *Exercise-book* to be used with my *French Grammar*; and it is sold at a very low price, to place it within the reach of young men in general.

COBBETT'S HISTORY OF THE REGENCY AND REIGN OF GEORGE IV.—This work is published in Nos. at 6d. each, and shall do justice to the late "*mild and merciful*" King.

LAFAYETTE'S LIFE (*Price 1s.*) A brief Account of the Life of that brave and honest man, translated from the French, by Mr. JAMES COBBETT.

6. TRAVELS.

MR. JOHN COBBETT'S LETTERS FROM FRANCE (*Price 4s. 6d.*)

MR. JAMES COBBETT'S RIDE OF EIGHT HUNDRED MILES IN FRANCE (the Third Edition, *Price 2s. 6d.*)

MR. JAMES COBBETT'S TOUR IN ITALY, and also in Part of FRANCE and SWITZERLAND (*Price 4s. 6d.*)

7. LAW.

COBBETT'S TRANSLATION OF MARTENS'S LAW OF NATIONS (*Price 17s.*) ; being the Science of National Law, Covenants, Power, &c. Founded upon the Treaties and Customs of Modern Nations in Europe.

MR. WM. COBBETT'S LAW OF TURNPIKES (*Price 3s. 6d.*)

8. MISCELLANEOUS POLITICS.

THE REGISTER, published Weekly, *Price 1s. 2d.* Sixty-four pages.

TWO-PENNY TRASH, published monthly, *Price 2d., 12s. 3d.* for a hundred, and 11s. a hundred if 300 or upwards.

This is the Library that I have created. It really makes a tolerable *shelf of books*; a man who understands the contents of which may be deemed a man of great information. In about every one of these works I have pleaded the cause of the *working people*, and I shall now see that cause triumph, in spite of all that can be done to prevent it.

N. B. A whole set of these books at the above prices, amounts to 71. 0s. 2d.; but, if a whole set be taken together, the price is 6l. And here is a stock of knowledge sufficient for any young man in the world.

COBBETT'S
TWO-PENNY TRASH

For the Month of August, 1831.

*Published monthly, sold at 12s. 6d. a hundred, and for 300, taken
at once, 11s.*

TO THE PEOPLE OF HAMPSHIRE.

Kensington, 1st August, 1831.

MY FRIENDS,

NEVER were there more important matters than those on which I have now to address you. The subjects are as follow :—

1. The Trial which has lately taken place, on the Whig-prosecution against me.
2. The BARINGS and Mr. and Mrs. DEACLE.
3. Farmer BOYES, and the libel published under the name of WILDE.
4. Tithes and Parsons.
5. Emigration Projects.

1. THE WHIG-PROSECUTION TRIAL.—It will not be necessary to say much to you upon this subject, of which you have heard a great deal through the newspapers and other channels. But I must just put it on record in this little work, which I cannot do better than in the following words, which are written in my own hand-writing, at the

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and sold by all Booksellers.

bottom of a portrait which is just published, the plate of which is eighteen inches long, thirteen inches wide, and which is sold for ten shillings. The words are these ;—

This Portrait represents me in the dress that I wore at the trial, before the Lord Chief Justice, Lord Tenterden, and a Special Jury, in the Guildhall of the City of London, on the 7th July, 1831, in the second year of the reign of King William the Fourth ; which trial was on the prosecution of an indictment for a pretended libel, published in my *Register* of 11th December, 1830, but which pretended libel was an earnest pleading for the lives of the poor labourers, then about to be tried by special commissions, in the counties of Hants, Wilts, Dorset, Berks, and Bucks ; which prosecution was ordered by the Whig Ministry, consisting of Lords Grey, Brougham, Lansdown, Durham, Melbourne, Goderich, Palmerston, Holland, Auckland, and Althorp, Sir James Graham, and Mr. Charles Grant ; the Attorney-General being Sir Thomas Denman, and the Solicitor-General Sir William Horne ; and the trial, which lasted from nine o'clock in the morning till seven at night, being, for the malignant Whigs, conducted by the Attorney-General, Mr. Gurney, and Mr. Whiteman, and the Whigs' Attorney, Mr. Maule, and, on my part, by myself, accompanied by my Attorney, Mr. Edward C. Faithfull ; the result being that, the next morning at nine o'clock, the Jury (John Evans and William Staray, Esqs. ; Joseph Bishop, James Wilkinson, Joseph Leggins, John Wood, Thomas Jenkins, Thomas Maltby, Richard Beeston, and James Frisby, merchants ; William J. Lawson, banker ; and John Seeley, bookseller) sent a letter to the Judge, saying that they were six of one opinion and six of another, that they saw no prospect of coming to a unanimous decision, and that they therefore begged to be discharged ; and that, thereupon the Judge discharged them, and, by that act, an acquittal was pronounced, to the great joy of the audience (some of whom had remained in the court the whole night to hear the verdict), to the joy of the friends of freedom in all parts of the kingdom, and, I trust, to the lasting benefit of the industrious, virtuous, and hardly-used labourers of England, amongst whom I was born and bred, and to prevent whom from being reduced to live upon potatoes—the soul-degrading potatoe—and on water, instead of the bacon, bread, and beer, of which our fathers had plenty, I have constantly and most earnestly laboured, during thirty out of the sixty-five years of my life, always having regarded it as my bounden duty to use all the lawful means in my power to better their lot, be the consequences to myself what they might.

WM. COBBETT.

Kensington, 20th July, 1831.

I must just add that the paper for which I was prosecuted was, in fact, a defence, a remonstrance, and a prayer, in behalf of the farmers and the labourers of England, and

particularly of those of *Wiltshire and Hampshire*, to whom the paper was addressed. This paper stated that the labouring people had been hardly treated; that the violence which they had committed had arisen out of their dire and cruel necessities; that the farmers were wholly unable to give them sufficient wages without a great reduction of taxes, and an abolition of tithes; that, seeing these circumstances, I trusted that the Ministers would not shed the blood of, or transport, any of those labourers or farmers; that I implored the Ministers to think of the sufferings and of the burdens borne by the farmers and labourers, and to treat them mercifully, and rely upon their justice and goodness, and not upon severe punishment. In the same paper, I published articles condemning acts of setting fire. In short, the publication was one which would have been applauded by any persons in the world, with the exception of those who belong to the faction called the *Whigs*. This prosecution was prepared before-hand by reports of speeches in Parliament, said to have been made by one TREVOR, and by Lord ALTHORP, who is the Chancellor of the Exchequer. At the same time, one RUSH, a parson in Sussex, and three Sussex magistrates, named WALTER BURRELL, SCAWEN BLUNT, and something TREDCROFT, suffered their names to be published in *The Times* newspaper, certifying confessions of one THOMAS GOODMAN, who was condemned to death for setting fire, but who had his life spared, after he confessed, as is pretended, that he was instigated by me! All this I amply exposed at the trial, where I had Lord MELBOURNE, and the other Cabinet Ministers, to ask them upon what grounds they spared the life of THOMAS GOODMAN; but the Judge would not let them answer that question. This is all I shall say about this trial here. The Trial, at full length, with all the documents which I produced, is published at the price of a shilling, by Strange, bookseller,

No. 21, Paternoster-row, London, and may be sent for by any bookseller in the country, or any body else. If this Trial get into your hands, read it yourselves, and lend it about the country, from one to another, especially all round about Winchester, and round about the town of Battle, in Sussex.

2. THE BARINGS AND MR. AND MRS. DEACLE.—

You have heard already a great deal of this matter: it is a matter not so much as it relates to the immediate parties, but as it affects the administration of justice generally; and that is a thing in which we are every soul of us deeply concerned. I shall first insert the report of the Trial (which report has been published in all the newspapers), which took place at Winchester, at the Assizes which are just now over; and which report, as published all over the country, I take from the *Morning Herald* newspaper.

DEACLE V. BARING AND OTHERS.—This was an action of trespass brought by the plaintiff the son of a respectable clergyman in this county, to recover compensation in damages from the defendants, Mr. Francis Baring, a magistrate and member of Parliament; Mr. Bingham Baring, son of Mr. Alexander Baring; Captain Nevill, the Rev. Robert Wright, jun., and Mr. Seagrims, an attorney, for a false arrest and false imprisonment. It arose out of the unfortunate tumults and riotous assemblies that some time ago disturbed the country.

Mr. WILLIAMS (with whom was Mr. EARLE) stated the plaintiff's case. The investigation, was one of very great importance, not only to the plaintiff himself, but also to every member of the community, and the jury were impanelled to determine whether these gentlemen, bearing the rank and station of magistrates, should be allowed, with impunity, to demean themselves in a manner, without any excuse, not befitting their occupation, and such as gentlemen and men of honour would be ashamed to act, towards the plaintiff, the son of a most respectable clergyman, who was himself to have been brought up to that profession, and who had graduated with honours at the University, but who, preferring agricultural pursuits, had abandoned the church, and now occupied a large farm in this county. The learned counsel then stated the facts of the case as they afterwards appeared in evidence. He was fully sensible of the protection the law threw around magistrates while in the execution of their duty; nor would his respectable client, if the gross injury he had received had arisen from inad-

vertence, have brought this action; but such was not the case. These gentlemen had acted without the slightest excuse in common sense and humanity, and in total violation of the laws of the land. The plaintiff had been put upon his trial for the charge on which he was taken and acquitted. His attorney afterwards wrote to Mr. Baring, and he received in answer such a letter as he (Mr. Williams) would rather have cut his finger off than have signed his name to, written, as it was, to a man whose heart was bleeding, and whose reputation was hurt. The learned Gentleman concluded a very emphatic address by saying he should have been ashamed, on after-reflection, not to have expressed sorrow for conduct so contrary to the feelings of gentlemen, of magistrates, and of men.

William Lewington, the first witness examined, deposed; I am a harness-maker, living at Winchester. In November last I acted as a police-constable; I remember being sent for on the 24th of November to the jail; I there saw Mr. Seagrim; he asked me if I knew Mr. Deacle, of Marwell Farm? On my replying yes, he told me to go into the magistrates' room; Mr. Francis Baring, Mr. Bingham Baring, and Mr. Wright were there; Mr. Seagrim asked me what sort of a man Mr. Deacle was, and if I could apprehend him? I replied I could, and that he was a gentleman; Mr. Seagrim gave me a warrant to take him; I then got a light cart and two men to help me; when we got to Morstead we proceeded to Mr. Deacle's House; Mr. F. Baring came up before we got there; when I got to the house the door was opened, and I went in; I found Mr. Deacle just returned from rabbit-shooting; upon my showing the warrant, he said, "The magistrates must be mistaken, for I have done every thing contrary to what is there." When I told him Mrs. Deacle must go too, he said that was "impossible; she is very poorly, and cannot;" Mr. Bingham Baring, Mr. Francis Baring, and Mr. Wright, rode up, and came into the house; Mr. Bingham Baring said, "Constable, do your duty; handbolt them." I hesitated, but finally handcuffed them one to the other. Mrs. Deacle wished to put her bonnet and shawl on, but Mr. Bingham Baring said he "could not wait," and again said, "Constable, do your duty." Mr. F. Baring then said he did not see any necessity for having the lady handcuffed. Not having my key with me, Mr. Baring slipped her hand out of the bolts. She is a small, delicate woman, and did not appear in good health at the time. Whilst we were in the house, Mr. B. Baring produced a pistol, and put it to the head of a man who had hold of Mr. Deacle's gun, and desired him to give it up, which he immediately did, and Mr. Baring poured some water into it. Mr. Deacle said, "Don't spoil my gun; there is no necessity for that; I am quite ignorant of this business." I then took Mr. Deacle into the yard; he there saw Mr. Seagrim, and said, "I know you; for God's sake, what is all this about? I am innocent." Mr. Seagrim replied, "I dare say you are." We then went to the cart, and Mr. Baring, with one of the constables, brought out Mrs. Deacle. She said, "I cannot ride in such a conveyance as that," and begged to be allowed to ride. The cart was a common coal-

cart, and had no springs. The road was very rough. Mr. B. Baring ordered me to trot, which made the cart shake very much. Mrs. Deacle frequently said, "It hurts me so I really cannot ride." When we got opposite Mr. Lowndes' house, she said she could go no further, and endeavoured to jump out. Mr. Deacle put his hand out, and said, "My dear, be quiet; it will be better." Mr. B. Baring then rode up, and struck Mr. Deacle a back-handed blow with his stick, and said, "Sit still." The stick was knotted, and about the thickness of a man's thumb. There was no necessity whatever for striking him. When we had proceeded four miles in the cart, a post-chaise met us, which Mr. Deane, one of the gentlemen who accompanied us, had sent from Winchester. They were then put into the chaise with Mr. Beckett, the jail-keeper, and conveyed to the jail.

Cross-examined by Mr. ERSKINE: I did not request the gentlemen to help me; there were some men in the bar, but I had not the least apprehension that they would assist Mr. Deacle. Neither Mr. nor Mrs. Deacle said or did any thing uncivil, but were perfectly quiet.

John Switzer, another police constable, heard Mrs. Deacle ask for her horse, and upon Mr. B. Baring refusing, he (witness) said, "Good God! let the lady have her horse; I will lead it, and take care that she does not escape." He ordered me to go and do my duty, and put her into the cart.

A female servant who lived in the family of Mr. Deacle stated, that Mr. B. Baring took Mrs. Deacle into his arms, put his arm round her waist, and carried her into the cart, letting her legs dangle one way and her head another.

The Rev. Mr. Rogers examined: Had known the plaintiff several years, and had seen the testimonials he had received at College; his father was a most respectable man.

Mr. ERSKINE, on the part of the defendants, regretted that Mr. Deacle should have considered it necessary, after the acquittal he received, in order to clear his character, to bring the question again before a jury. It needed no evidence to picture to the mind of the jury the state of the country at the time. The arrest took place when it required magistrates to be active in doing their duty. The riots were made principally by the poor; and when the defendants were given to understand that not only Mr. Deacle, but Mrs. Deacle also, were urging the rioters on, they wished to show the poor man, that if the rich, and men of consequence, were guilty of conduct like themselves, they also would, like them, be punished. The learned Counsel, in a long speech, endeavoured to show that the defendants had not exceeded the powers given them by their warrant.

The learned JUDGE, in summing up, told the jury that there were several points on which they were to form their judgment. If they thought the defendants had been guilty of excess, they would then find their verdict for the plaintiff; also, if they found that they were not justified in carrying the warrant, as it was not directed to them; but if they thought one of the parties guilty of

excess by the act of battery, they would not find all guilty, as it was not like the case where parties were pursuing an unlawful act. The act then of one, while engaged, was the act of all; but where they were lawfully engaged, the act of one was not consequently the act of all, but must only be dealt with individually. His Lordship could not help remarking that the handcuffing was, to say the least of it, a very harsh proceeding towards a lady and gentleman who had been perfectly civil and quiet, and had offered no resistance, and whose station in life was that of a gentleman—the son of a clergyman of the Church of England.

The Jury retired for about a quarter of an hour, and returned, finding a verdict of \$01. for the plaintiff against the defendant, Mr. Bingham Baring, for the battery, and that all the other defendants were justified by the warrant.

This verdict seemed to excite the greatest astonishment; for most of the Bar, and almost every one in Court said, if on the jury, they would have given at least 5,000*l.* for so gross and wanton an insult, and unfeeling conduct towards those who had not offered the least resistance, the defendants not adducing the slightest evidence in palliation, or attempting to justify it.

Mrs. Deacle was in Court; she is a very delicate, lady-like woman. The case seemed to excite the greatest interest, the Court being crowded to excess the whole time.

Very well, now you have read all that. The London newspapers burst forth on the day when this report was published, in loud invectives against BINGHAM BARING; and this brought the matter into the famous House of Commons; but, before I proceed to relate to you what is reported to have passed there, I must describe to you, who and what these parties were who were proceeded against by Mr. DEACLE. FRANCIS THOMAS BARING is the eldest son of Sir THOMAS BARING, of Stratton Park, and this son, who is a Hampshire Magistrate, is a member of Parliament for Portsmouth, is a nephew, by marriage, of Lord GREY, and is one of the Lords of the Treasury, for which he has a thousand pounds a year. WILLIAM BINGHAM BARING, who is also a Hampshire magistrate, is the eldest son of ALEXANDER BARING, of the Grange Park, whose wife is a daughter of old WILLIAM BINGHAM, of Philadelphia; and this BINGHAM BARING is the man for striking whom, on Friday, the 19th of November, Cook, the ploughman, of

Micheldever, was hanged; this BARING being, the next day (after the striking), walking in the streets of Winchester, and being presented at the King's Court in London, on Monday the 22nd of November. NEVILL, whose name is WILLIAM, is the eldest son of the old County Justice, NEVILL, who lived at Easton, near Winchester. This young NEVILL is called Captain, and is a lieutenant in the navy, and not a magistrate. WRIGHT is a parson, the son of Parson ROBERT WRIGHT, who has the living of Itchen, and also the living of Southwick, and this Parson ROBERT WRIGHT is not a magistrate, but his father is, and was the magistrate before whom COOK of Micheldever was taken for striking BINGHAM BARING, and this parson appeared as a witness to prove that COOK acknowledged that he struck BINGHAM BARING. SEAGRIM is an Attorney at Winchester, and the partner of WOODHAM, who is deputy *Clerk of the Peace* for the county; and, according to the report of the Parliamentary speech of FRANCIS THOMAS BARING, this WOODHAM appears to be the Attorney of the BARINGS, both FRANCIS and BINGHAM.

Now, you know the parties, and you have read the report of the evidence of the two constables, Mr. LEWINGTON and Mr. SWITZER, and of the maid-servant of Mrs. DEACLE. There the matter was, for the nation to make its remarks upon, and for the people of Hampshire to be guided by in their judgment of, and their feeling towards, these parties. But a Mr. EVANS, a member of the House of Commons, seeing this account of these matters, made a motion, of which he had given notice, that a copy of the indictment against these parties, and that the judge's notes, taken at the trial, should be laid before the House. Upon this the BARINGS came forth, according to the reports published in the newspapers. A debate took place, and Mr.

EVANS's motion was *negatived without a division* ! And thus it would appear that the BARINGS were quite cleared of all that is contained in the evidence of Mr. LEWINGTON, Mr. SWITZER, and the servant-girl. In the House of Commons they might say just what they pleased ; and if Mr. DEACLE had been in the gallery and had called out to contradict them, he would have been seized and imprisoned without ceremony, for opening his lips. There was nobody to contradict them ; they might go on just as they pleased ; they might have abused witnesses, jury, counsel, judge and all ; and yet no one would have dared to say a word in contradiction. My good friends, that which men say under such circumstances ought to pass for nothing, much less ought it to pass for something to invalidate what men have declared upon their oaths before a judge and jury, and exposed to the searchings and siftings of counsel on the other side. No ; that which was sworn by LEWINGTON, SWITZER, and the girl, remains wholly unshaken, until we shall make up our minds to believe, that the bare words of men who are accused are worth more than the oaths of impartial persons who come to be witnesses against them. I believe, and you must believe, all that the sworn witnesses said ; you must believe, too, as well as I do, that the jury believed those witnesses, and that the judge believed them ; and this parliamentary tale must pass for nothing in the way of vindicating any of the accused parties. But in another point of view, this House-of-Commons affair is of great importance ; as a channel for the spreading of atrocious libels on individuals out of the House, it is a thing that interests us all ; and I shall now proceed to point out to you what those libels are, and by whom they have been published. The reporter of the debate tells us, that Lord ALTHORP, the CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER, said, that " he had *the pleasure of knowing Mr. Bingham Baring, and*

"from that knowledge he had always felt a difficulty in giving credit to the statements made respecting his conduct. "If there was a man in the world less likely than another to commit an act of cruelty, it was his hon. friend." These are words of no consequence to us. It may be well enough to know, that Lord ALTHORP is such an intimate friend of these BARINGS; but though he knows BINGHAM BARING to be the last man in the world to commit an act of cruelty, that is not to have any weight with us, when opposed to LEWINGTON's evidence about the handcuffing and the trotting of the cart, and the refusing of the horse for Mrs. DEACLE to ride upon. Besides, this Lord does not say that BINGHAM BARING is the last man in the world to do such things as these, or to strike Mr. DEACLE; and this Lord may not look upon these as being acts of cruelty. So that all that we learn from this is, that Lord ALTHORP is a most intimate friend of BINGHAM BARING, and that BINGHAM BARING has never been cruel to him.

Now for the libels. These were published in the *Morning Chronicle* of the 23d of July, headed, *Imperial Parliament of Great Britain: House of Commons*; and the several libels are published under the names of Sir JAMES SCARLETT, THOMAS FRANCIS BARING, CARTER, and WILDE, the very well-known lawyer, whose Christian name I do not know. These things which I am about to remark on, I do not impute to SCARLETT, BARING, and WILDE; but solely to the proprietor of the *Morning Chronicle*, who puts the atrocious libels forth. Under the name of SCARLETT, the abominable libeller has these words: "The object, no doubt, was to put together as defendants, those who, if they had not been placed in such a position, might have disproved the accusation. The case was, no doubt, there fore, mis-stated, exaggerated, and probably, proved by false evidence." Thus, my friends, Mr. LEWINGTON,

Mr. SWITZER, and the servant-girl, are all accused, by this infamous libeller, as having perjured themselves. And has Mr. LEWINGTON and the others no remedy against this libeller? ay, has he. He cannot bring his action against the fellow to whom the words are imputed; because a man cannot be called upon out of Parliament for what he has said there. These are not the words of SCARLETT, mind; they are the words of the person who has published them; and his asserting that he heard them uttered in the House of Commons, even if he could prove it, is no justification of him for having sent them forth to the world. I, therefore, recommend to Mr. LEWINGTON instantly to bring an action against the libeller; and the same ought to be done by the other two parties, who are thus plainly accused of perjury.

Under the name of JOHN CARTER, whom the reporter makes to call BINGHAM BARING his honourable friend, the libeller has this passage: "His honourable friend, the member for Callington, had met the charge" (of putting on the hand-cuffs) "by the statement, a statement most distinctly proved, that Mr. BINGHAM BARING was not in the room, or the house, and, therefore, could not have given such orders." This CARTER is a member for Portsmouth, and the colleague of FRANCIS THOMAS BARRING, the Lord of the Treasury; but, these are not the words of CARTER, observe; his name is made use of in the publication, but the words are the words of the publisher; and for them he is answerable; and these words say, in fact, that it is *distinctly proved* that LEWINGTON swore to what was false. What does the libeller mean by "*a statement distinctly proved*?" What statement does he allude to? Why, the statement contained in the atrocious libel which is contained in the same paper, and published under the name of the Lord of the Treasury. *Proved!* how proved? Who can prove it? or, at least, who has proved it?

So, this libeller deems, as proof, that which one of the accused parties, he says, has stated upon his bare word, opposed to the oaths of sworn witnesses. In the libel published under the name of SCARLETT, it is said that all these parties were put into the *same net*, in order to deprive some of being witnesses for the others. "*Same net*," indeed! Why were not dozens of men put into the "*same net*" at the special commission? Were there not eight in the "*same net*" with THOMAS BERRYMAN and JAMES PEARCE, though six of them were acquitted? How many nets of this sort were there during the special commissions? The parties all went together. They were all concerned in the thing in one way or another. Mr. DEANE, the banker, who went with them, took no brutal part, and was, therefore, not sued. Why was not he called, if LEWINGTONS' evidence was not true? The libeller says, in the same paper, under the name of ALEXANDER BARING, that Mr. DEANE was not in a situation to prove any-thing. Situation! why, he was there, and the only difference was, between him and the rest, that he took no part in the things that the others were accused of. If he were not in the house, he could, at any rate, have been brought to show what was the general deportment of the other parties; and whether he knew any-thing of the PISTOL, of which Mr. LEWINGTON speaks, which is so very characteristic of the conduct of the parties, so strongly corroborative of all that LEWINGTON has sworn to, and which has been so completely glided over by all the whole of this rigmarole lying libel.

We now come to the atrocious libel which the *Morning Chronicle* has published, calling it the speech of FRANCIS BARING, that is to say, the member for Portsmouth, and Lord of the Treasury, who has a thousand pounds a year of the public-money. Under this name, and in order thus to give weight and currency to his abominable lies, the libeller

has pretended that this BABING read certain depositions, the first of which he represented to have been made by the *Bailiff of the Earl of Northesk!* The libeller says, that this deposition states the Bailiff to have sworn that there was a large mob, and a female on horseback in the midst of them, and that *he was told* that it was Mrs. DEACLE. The next deposition that the libeller mentions was that of PARSON WRIGHT (one of the defendants); and he says that this deposition said that the swearer saw a lady on horseback in the midst of a mob; and that one of the men informed him that the party got ten pounds, and that *a person told him* that this lady was Mrs. DEACLE. After this, the atrocious libeller goes on to state, that the lady rode in the front of the mob; that Mr. DEACLE was with the mob when they collected money; that DEACLE was present with BOYZS and others when the mob broke machines and demanded money; that Mrs. DEACLE was with them at the same time, and that "she employed the influence of her sex and the power of her station to ruin the poor and ignorant who lived in her neighbourhood." Here are Mr. and Mrs. DEACLE, accused by this villanous libeller, of felony; and shall this infamous libeller, this impudent and brazen libeller; this destroyer of private character; shall this editor of the *Morning Chronicle*, or publisher, or whatever he may be, thus send all over the world a charge of felony and repeated felonies against a man and his wife, who, observe, were indicted for these pretended felonies, had the bill found against them, but were acquitted, from the Crown lawyers not having found evidence by which they could face them in a court! It is all an atrocious lie, from the beginning to the end. Mr. DEACLE had had his own thrashing-machine broken, and he and his wife were running and riding about most anxiously endeavouring to assuage the fury of the people; and particularly to protect their female neighbours

who had houses or farms, without husbands to defend them ; and yet this atrocious libeller, this impudent libeller, takes the name of a member of Parliament, and a Lord of the Treasury, and, under this name, pretends to the whole world that this man and his wife were guilty of felony.

Mark, too, the sequel. Mr. and Mrs. DEACLE were dragged away, hand-cuffed, to a prison. That is not denied, at any rate. They were sent out of the prison, very soon afterwards, and Mr. DEACLE *without bail* ! What! go and seize a man, cause him to be hand-cuffed, contrary to the constable's remonstrances ; put him and his wife into a common coal-cart, put them into a jail amongst felons ; and then turn them out without examination before magistrates, *without being confronted with their accusers*, and one without bail or sureties of any sort ; indict them afterwards, get the bill found, and then give up the prosecution ! after all this, this infamous wretch, this brazen liar and libeller, this publisher of the *Morning Chronicle*, is to send all over the world, in the form of a pretended parliamentary debate, a charge of repeated felonies committed by this gentleman and his wife. Why, if they did do these things ; if Mr. DEACLE did instigate the mob to break the machines and extort money ; if Mrs. DEACLE did ride in front of them, and act, as it were, as commander of a band of robbers, why were they not hanged, as well as COOPER, who was not even accused of having done a tenth part so much ? That there was no want of a desire to blacken and to punish them is clear enough, from the treatment they received ; clear enough, from the hand-cuffing, from the treating in the coal-cart ; from the refusal of the horses, from the pulling out of the pistol ; that there was desire enough to punish them is quite clear ; yet they were not punished : what further proof do we want of their complete innocence ! and yet this infam-

amous publisher of pretended speeches still insists that they were guilty of *numerous felonies!*

This libeller, however, like most liars, fails in point of memory. In this, his publication, he says that the BARINGS were taken by surprise, as to this action against them; or, he says, the BARINGS might have got evidence to rebut the charge. What an atrocious lie! They must have had notice of action in the month of January last; and the following letters published in *The Times* newspaper of the 22d July, will show that they were prepared with every thing, attorney and all, in the month of April last:

"TO WILLIAM BINGHAM BARING, ESQ., M.P., &c.

"Sir,—I am instructed by Mr. Deacle to serve you with the notices herewith sent, and I truly represent his motives and feelings when I assure you that his object is a public vindication of his own conduct, and a reparation for, and not a resentful exposure of, the unjustifiable treatment which he has received at your hands.

"He entertains no doubt, after what passed at the late Winchester assizes (when the prosecution against him was artfully abandoned by the counsel for the prosecutors at the moment when his defence would have exhibited its injustice and total want of foundation), that any high-minded and honourable man would reflect with sorrow and regret on the injury and suffering which he and Mrs. Deacle have undergone.

"That you, Sir, as a magistrate, from certain, however erroneous, information, should have actively assisted in any judicial inquiry, would form no ground of complaint; but that any circumstances, under any excitement, should have betrayed a gentleman of education and station to handcuff a respectable individual, his equal in education, and afterwards to strike that handcuffed individual, when perfectly peaceable, inoffensive, and submissive, imperatively calls upon Mr. Deacle to appeal to those laws which have been so grievously violated in his person.

"Mr. Deacle disclaims every sordid view, but seeks such amends and explanation as would satisfy justice—such as an honourable man might proffer, and such as a respectable and injured individual might and ought to receive.

"Believe me, Sir, I shall be more gratified by a course of conduct from you which would heal Mr. Deacle's feelings, and reflect credit on your own, than in any triumph or compensation which a court of justice would award.

"I have the honour to remain, Sir, very respectfully,

Your obedient and faithful servant,

"JOHN W. BRADFORD.

"Langford, near Bristol, April 1."

" Sir,—I have to acknowledge the receipt of the notices which you have been directed to send me on the part of Mr. Deacle. I have transmitted them to Mr. Woodham at Winchester, with directions to take such measures as may be necessary for my defence.

" I have the honour to be, Sir,

" Your obedient servant,

" London, April 20.

" W. B. BARING.

" John Bradford, Esq."

[The letter to Mr. Francis Baring was, almost *totidem verbis*, the same as that sent to Mr. Bingham Baring.]

" 17, New-street, Spring-gardens, April 11.

" Sir,—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, with the accompanying notices.

" Mr. Woodham, clerk of the peace at Winchester, has my directions to act as my attorney in my defence against the actions in question.

" I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

" F. BARING."

And yet the infamous libeller says that the unsuspecting BARINGS were taken by surprise, and insinuates that they had not time to collect witnesses. In another respect, the libeller is unfortunate in point of memory. In one part of the libel he says that a cart was preferred to a post-chaise lest the appearance of a post-chaise should have been a sort of signal for the neighbourhood to rise and make a rescue. Now mark this: this is the reason which the base libeller states for taking a *common coal-cart* to bring Mrs. DEACLE in; but, forgetting himself, he afterwards says, that Mr. DEANE did not see the transactions complained of, because " he left the cart on its arrival at the house of Mr. DEACLE, " and hurried back to Winchester to *procure a post-chaise*." What, the devil! bring a post-chaise to "*rouse the neighbourhood and cause a rescue!*" Here the lying libeller is fairly caught. In his eagerness to rescue the BARINGS and the others from the charge, NEVILL, WRIGHT, and SEAGRIM, as well as the BARINGS: in order to clear them of the charge of having premeditated the *coal-cart* for the sake of cruelty and insult, this infamous libeller says that it would have been dangerous to take a post-chaise; but, in order to account for not calling Mr. DEANE in defence as a wit-

ness, they are obliged to say he was gone back to Winchester for a post-chaise to bring into that very dangerous country; but could not they have called Mr. DEANE to show that they were *humane enough to send back for the post-chaise*? and that they had grown humane after they had ordered the *coal-cart*. Could not they have called Mr. DEANE to prove that he was not shocked at their proceedings, and that he himself did not go and get the post-chaise, as a suggestion of his own? In short, the men who ordered the *coal-cart* had either nothing to do with the post-chaise, or, if they had, all the excuses for employing the *coal-cart*, and all excuses for trotting the cart, and the refusing of the bonnet and the shawl, are contemptible lies. But, the horse; the excuse is, that, to have allowed time for *saddling the horse* (one minute), even that could not be allowed on account of the critical state of the country! Just as if the horse would not have moved faster and quieter than a cart, and with less suspicion; and just as if these five heroes, the two BARINGS, the PARSON, the CAPTAIN, and SEAGRIM, all on horseback, were not of force sufficient to guard one little woman. Besides, of all things in the world, what so likely to rouse the neighbourhood as to see a gentleman and a lady hoisted into a *coal-cart* in their own yard, she without a bonnet or shawl, and he hand-cuffed, and thus driven off at noon-day? 'Tis all a lie, therefore, on the part of this infamous libeller: the scoundrels about the country may cheer the libellous villain till their throats be sore; but the *coal-cart*, the *hand-cuffing*, the *trotting of the horse*, the striking of the gentleman *while in hand-cuffs*, the *pulling out of the pistol*, accompanied with menaces: these things, stuck on by the sworn evidence of LEWINGTON, will never be rubbed off in the opinion of any sensible man.

I now come to the most infamous libel of all; namely, that which the publisher of the *Chronicle* has put forth in

the paper before-mentioned, under the name of "*Mr. Wilde*," manifestly meaning SARJEANT WILDE, of whom you may have read an account, about a year ago, in the report of some very interesting proceedings in Chancery, of which I shall probably have to say more when I come to speak of what was done in the case of that worthy man, Farmer *BOYES*, of *Owsebury*. The libeller aforesaid, that is to say, the editor of the *Chronicle*, publishes in the paper before-mentioned, in the report of a speech which he imputes to this Wilde, the following most infamous libel on Mr. and Mrs. *DEACLE*. These are the words:—"In one case
 "the mob went to the house of a Mrs. Long, headed by
 "Deacle and Boyes, and having compelled her to sign a
 "paper for the reduction of rent, they afterwards demanded
 "money. Fifteen pounds were demanded at first, but they
 "afterwards consented to take five; and after having spent
 "the day in making collections of this kind, they adjourned
 "to the Downs, where Mr. Deacle and Mrs. Deacle, who
 "was also present, superintended the distribution of the
 "money. (Hear, hear.) He was, indeed, thoroughly satisfied that but for the sanction of their proceedings, and the
 "countenance and encouragement the mobs received from
 "Boyes and the Deacles at the outset, that the riots would
 "not have proceeded so far, nor the misguided and ignorant labourers have acted as they did."

Now, we know that this is an atrocious lie. Here Mr. and Mrs. *DEACLE* are accused most distinctly of having committed acts of felony; the punishment of which would be loss of liberty, forfeiture of all property, and forfeiture of life, if the judges chose. It is frequently said that we live in strange times; and strange, indeed, they are, if a black-guard, mercenary, newspaper fellow can spread all over the world libels like these with impunity. I impute not this speech to *WILDE*, mind you: I know nothing about what

WYLD said, or might say, or did not say; but I know that there are most infamous and malicious lies, published by this newspaper ruffian, with a view of white-washing the BARRINGS and their associates. If I am asked what could induce the ruffian to put forward such lies, I answer, What can induce any ruffian to publish any lie? What can induce any villain to do a villanous deed? Such deeds are generally committed for the sake of gain, in one shape or another; this species of ruffian generally gets his palm greased; or is actuated by some hope that he has of getting it well greased in some shape or another. However, it is sufficient for me to lay before you the act; for this is one of those overt acts, those flagrant and open and impious lies, that all you have to do is to look at the acts to be convinced of the base and execrable intention of the atrocious libeller who has committed the acts.

What adds greatly to the infamy of this libel is, that it is published under the name of a man who was one of the Commissioners; that is to say, one of the *Judges* in the Special Commission appointed to try the cases in Hampshire in the month of December last; and here this libeller makes the Judge positively say, without any qualification, that Mr. and Mrs. DEACLE were engaged in the commission of divers robberies, and that they both superintended the distribution of the money amongst their brother robbers. Nay, the libeller further publishes, under the name of this Judge, that had it not been for them, had it not been for their countenance of the robbers, there would not have been so many robberies as there were. Talk of libels, indeed; talk of licentiousness of the press; if a libel like this can pass unpunished; if a man can be justified for publishing such libels under the pretence of their being speeches in Parliament, there is an end to all safety for character, property, and life. You will observe, that the ruffian publisher publishes this matter, these infamous lies on the DEACLES,

with a view to blacken them, to make them appear as felons, and as the doers of great mischief; and all this in order to palliate the conduct of the BARINGS and their associates. So that if publications like this be to be tolerated, no man will in future ever dare to seek redress for any wrong, however grievous, done to him by another who has a great quantity of money; for, if such ruffians be tolerated to issue their libels in this way, it is certain ruin to a man of moderate property to bring an action of trespass against a man who has a monstrous deal of money. With great quantities of money to bestow upon ruffians like this, any man may commit on any other man, who is comparatively poor, any sort of oppression that he chooses; and it must soon become as much as a man's life is worth to enter a court of justice opposed to a man who has a hundred times as much money as himself.

Mr. DEACLE may prosecute this *Morning Chronicle* for damages. He may move for a rule to show cause why a criminal information should not be filed against him; and, if he can negative the assertions by affidavit, which we know he can, the rule must be made absolute. He may indict this publisher in Westminster, in which his place of publication is situate. What he will do, I know not; but what he ought to do, I know very well; and, though I know nothing of Mr. and Mrs. DEACLE, I cannot be made to believe that they will quietly be libelled in this manner. In conclusion, my friends of Hampshire, it is for you in particular to have your eye steadily upon all the parties mentioned in this address. The whole nation is interested in the matter. Every man, of any feeling at all, feels for Mr. and Mrs. DEACLE. Indeed, it is the cause of us all; for, if they be suffered to be treated in this manner, especially as this libeller has treated them, not a man of us is safe, and, in fact, we are all wretched slaves; there is no

law for us; there is no safety for us; and, therefore, unless we all think, and unless you, the people of Hampshire, both think and act in the manner that you ought to do upon this occasion, we may bid farewell for ever to all security for person, property, and life; and that fine talk about an Englishman's house being his *castle*, is the most contemptible *castle in the air* that madman ever dreamed of. Above all things, I pray you be not amused by publications like that which this libeller calls a speech of *Lord Althorp*. Under the name of this Lord, the libeller says, while he is accusing Mr. and Mrs. DEACLE of felony, that this BINGHAM BARING (whom the libeller makes this Lord call his "*honourable friend*") is the *last man in the world* to commit an act of cruelty. Despise such stuff as this while you have Mr. LEWINGTON's evidence before your eyes. Despise it. Behold, the pretended speeches of SCARLETT, ALEXANDER BARING, MILD MAY, and CARTER: reformers and anti-reformers; some for the bill, some against the bill; but all represented by this libeller as joining in one general cry in favour of BINGHAM BARING and his associates, and in abuse of Mr. and Mrs. DEACLE, and of the witnesses on the trial. Look at this well, my friends of Hampshire: look at it a hundred times over: see the glaring thing in its true light; then act as becomes you, or be slaves for ever. I hope and trust that you will do the former; and, in that hope, I remain your faithful friend and most obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.

POSTSCRIPT.—I intended to address you on the subject of poor farmer BOYES, and on the infamous libel which has been published against him, under the name of a pretended speech of Serjeant WILDE, in the *Morning Chronicle* above-mentioned. I have not left room to myself to do that subject justice in the present number; but be you

assured, and let the unhappy family of farmer **BOYES** be assured, that every-thing that I have the power legally to do, shall be done in order to obtain redress for the wrongs done to farmer **BOYES** and his family by the infamous libel published by this *Morning Chronicle* against him.

I have not time to say what I intended to say upon the subject of tithes, which is a most interesting matter to you all; but, upon this subject let me exhort you to be vigilant, and not to suffer yourselves to be deluded.

ON THE SUBJECT OF EMIGRATION I had much to say, and I have now before me the official documents put forth by the Emigration Commissioners. I have only to say to you, if you be farmer, tradesman, labourer, or mechanic, *stand fast*; let nobody persuade you to step your foot on board of a ship unless you take the passage yourselves on board of an *American ship*, commanded by an American captain, and bound to the United States of America. I exhort you to attend to this; for if you neglect this advice, you will lead miserable lives, and come to a miserable end, and this is the firm opinion of one who has had more experience in such matters than any man in England.

ONE HAND TIED.

On Wednesday, the 20th of July, as the *Morning Chronicle* tells us, there was a debate in the House of Commons on the Reform Bill. In giving an account of this debate, the editor of the *Chronicle* makes a publication, under the name of **ALEXANDER BARING**, of the Grange, in the following words:—"It had a King, Lords, and Commons—although an hon. and learned Gentleman had told his constituents that half the Commons was nominated by the people and half by the aristocracy. He (Mr.

“ Baring), for one, was not inclined at once to make this
 “ sweeping change, however he might be disposed to make
 “ some alterations. True it was that the Commons had
 “ not, at present, unlimited power. It might be compared
 “ to a man with one hand tied behind him; the people
 “ required that the other hand should be released, and the
 “ rational answer was, ‘ *No: he is a violent dangerous*
 “ *fellow, and is not to be trusted with the use of both*
 “ *his hands.*’ If the other hand were released, it would be
 “ employed in the destruction of the people who demanded
 “ that it should be set at liberty. (Cheers.) The people
 “ ought only to have that degree of power which was con-
 “ sistent with their own interests; and it was at least
 “ perilous to destroy the fabric which had fostered their
 “ industry, and protected their liberties. The people
 “ were no more to be trusted with power than children
 “ with edge-tools. (Hear, hear.) He would ask this sim-
 “ ple question—whether the influence of the people had
 “ been so reduced in the House of Commons, as to render
 “ it necessary to reorganize the constitution? (Cries of
 “ ‘ Question.’) Taking it for granted that half the House
 “ was nominated by the aristocracy, he contended that this
 “ state of things was *advantageous, inasmuch as it miti-*
 “ *gated democratic power.* (Hear, hear.)”

I do not give these as the words of this BARING; I give
 them as a publication in a newspaper, imputing them to the
 editor, and I say that they are the most insolent words;
 that they contain the grossest insult that ever was offered
 to a people, and that ever dropped from the pen of baseness.
 The insolent wretch who penned these words deserves real
 punishment; they are calculated to excite indignation and
 resentment unquenchable; and if they pass with impunity,
 with what face can the Attorney-General ever again pro-
 secute for libel? What! the people represented as a man

with one hand tied behind him; that is to say, half enslaved; and when they require that the other hand should be released, they are told by this impudent writer, "No; you are a violent, dangerous fellow, and are not to be trusted with the use of both your hands." There have been lords and lordlings who have been insolent enough; but never have we yet seen insolence, even from the most insolent of them, equal to the insolence of this paragraph, which tells the people that they are no more to be trusted with power than children are to be trusted with edge-tools! If BINGHAM BARING, indeed, had had one hand tied behind him, it might have been better for Mr. and Mrs. DEACLE, especially the hand in which he carried *the pistol and the stick!*

And now, my friends of Hampshire, reflect on all these things; and reflect on what it is your duty to do, in consequence of having read about these things; resolve to do that duty, and you will yet see happy days; neglect that duty, and you and your children will be slaves; and your slavery will be the more disgraceful to you because your fathers were free, and were distinguished in England for their freedom and their spirit.

I am your friend,

WM. COBBETT.

N.B. The 6th number of Cobbett's History of the Regency and Reign of George IV. is just published.

COBBETT'S
TWO-PENNY TRASH

For the Month of September, 1830.

TO THE
WORKING PEOPLE OF ENGLAND AND
SCOTLAND.

Kensington, August 26, 1830.

MY FRIENDS,

60. NEVER since the world existed was there, to man in civil life, a time more important and critical than this; and never was it so manifest, that the condition of mankind depends wholly on their own conduct, and especially on that of the *working people*. It is, therefore, of the greatest importance that you be perfectly well informed of the causes which have produced the recent glorious event at Paris. The great deed was there performed by the working people; and by the working people here, must finally be produced those salutary effects which every good man wishes to see produced. There are some men who happen to be so fortunate as to be able to keep their bones from labour, who consider the working people merely as being made to toil for others. Others, again, who have their motives, doubtless, choose to assert that the working people of England are

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poor things compared with those in France. My friends, your conduct, when you have had a fair opportunity, has always given the lie to this assertion; and, I am sure, it will always give it the lie.

61. I undertook this little work, solely for the purpose of giving you useful knowledge. This was my duty. You are employed in creating food and raiment and lodging for me, as well as for all others who do not labour with their bodies; and it is my duty to supply you with that knowledge which I have been able to acquire, in consequence of my being supplied with the necessaries of life by your labour. At this moment, I can communicate no knowledge to you so useful as that which relates to the recent events in France; because, as I shall clearly show you, those events are closely connected, and almost identified, with our own public affairs, and with the interests of every man of us.

62. Pray observe, that all possible efforts are making to induce us to believe, that we are not at all in the situation in which the French would have been, if their abominable tyrants had succeeded. You may guess at the motive of these efforts: and you will judge of the falseness of the opinions which they are intended to inculcate, before I have concluded the observations that I am about to make. I am not going to give you a history or narrative of the recent transactions in France. You will find that done in a little work, published in weekly numbers in London, at STRANGE'S PUBLICATION WAREHOUSE, in Paternoster-row. These numbers are published weekly, price two-pence, and are very well worthy of your attention. It is not a history of this great event that I am about to give you; but I am going to prove to you, that the Bourbon family have lost their crown by attempting to force upon France a government like that which exists in England now. What I am

about to prove; I will state to you first shortly the substance, in five distinct propositions, as follows:

1. That it was the English Boroughmongers who instigated the ex-King of France to attempt to take away the right of the people to choose their representatives.
2. That our Boroughmongers intended to make the two legislative Chambers in France totally independent of the voice of the people.
3. That the people of France well understood what the government of England was, and saw clearly, that the English Boroughmongers were about to do this for their own sake.
4. That to prevent their doing this, the people of Paris shed their blood.
5. And that, therefore, the family of Bourbon owe the loss of their crown to the resolution of the people of France: *to die rather than to submit to a government like that of England.*

63. Before I enter upon these propositions, I have some remarks to make upon the conduct of the Whigs, and half Whigs, who are full as much mortified at this event as the Bourbons themselves. Upon all occasions, they have endeavoured, whenever they have opened their lips upon the subject, to cause the people to believe, that we have nothing at all to do in this affair, except merely to express our admiration of the people of Paris, who have now got for themselves *just such a government as ours*; and that we ought to admire them, and praise them, because they have *paid us the compliment* of fighting; even unto death, in order to obtain the *high prize of an English government*. This has been the language of the whole crew, wherever they have met. But it was particularly the language of the

Scotch Whig place-hunters, who met at Edinburgh not many days ago. The great talkers were one JEFFREY, an Edinburgh reviewer, one COCKBURN, a lawyer, a DOCTOR MACKINTOSH, who is, I suppose, a parson, one SIMPSON, who appears to be a lawyer, too, and several others, amongst whom was our Middlesex and Greek-bond gentlemen. Another time, I mean to expose the folly, as well as the insincerity of this crew, who manifestly got up this meeting, at which they resolved *not to subscribe* for the widows and orphans of Paris: they manifestly got up this meeting *to prevent a meeting* of the sincere, middle and working classes, who are found in Edinburgh, as well as every-where else. This grand meeting was to be a *dampener*, to keep the honest and sincere cool and quiet; and even if it should finally fail, I should not fail to take the will for the deed.

64. The crafty and hypocritical crew, being thus assembled, praised the valour of the Parisians to the skies; commended them for their promptitude and valour; but above all things, for their having spared their bloody-minded enemies, who, be it observed, *never spared them*; who were coolly playing at cards while the sanguinary Swiss, who had so long been clothed and fed by the industrious people of Paris, were butchering those very people. But, what delighted these Scotch tax-eaters most, was, the discovering that this revolution in France had given the French a Government *so very much like ours*; had given them a state of freedom and of happiness *almost equal to our own*; and that, of course, *we could want no changes here*, being already in possession of what the brave Parisians had been fighting for! Filthy hypocrites! Base, but baffled deceivers. Some of the good fellows of Edinburgh, Paisley, and Glasgow, will read this paper; but, even without reading it, they would have detected this scandalous cheat.

65. Now, turning off these hypocrites with the back of our hand, let us come to my five propositions, as stated above; let us take them one at a time and go patiently through them; and, when we have done that, we may defy the devil to deceive us. The first proposition is,—

1. That it was the English boroughmongers that instigated the ex-King of France to take away the right of the people to choose their representatives.

66. Some one will say, "Why should our boroughmongers do this?" The reasons, my friends, are abundant. The distress into which the nation has been plunged by the enormous taxation, has made the people, every-where, wish for and petition for a reform in the House of Commons. This feeling has been gaining ground very fast, for more than three years: and the divers exposures which have taken place, together with our own acute sufferings, have made even the farmers cry aloud for parliamentary reform. That measure necessarily implies the destruction of boroughmongering and all its profits. One of our great arguments in favour of reform was, the prosperous and easy situation of the people of France. "Look," we said, "there are the people of France; they experience no distress; they want no corn bills; they do not live on cold potatoes; they have no tithes; they have no hordes of pension and sinecure people; they have no bishops rolling in wealth; no rectors with two or three livings each; no poor curates starving upon a miserable pittance; and why is it thus so well in France? Because, and only because, there are no rotten boroughs and no boroughmongers in France; only because the people choose their representatives themselves, and choose them by ballot."

67. The argument was so powerful, the facts so notorious, the premises so true, and the conclusion so natural

and so close, that it terrified our boroughmongers. They saw clearly that they must give way, or *put down this example of happiness arising out of free elections*. They saw that if that thing continued there, their traffic could not continue; indeed the object of the twenty-two years' war was lost. It is notorious that the object of that war was to prevent parliamentary reform; and that the object would be totally defeated if they could not now conjure up something to prevent France from being an example to England. If they could so contrive it that the people of France should be deprived of the right of election, and that the crown and the peers should, in fact, return all, or a majority of, the members to the lower house, then they had an answer ready for the reformers. "There," they would have said, "you wild and visionary men, you see that the French have tried free election and ballot; they have found that it will not do; they have given it up, you see, and therefore, let us hear no more of your foolish noise about reform."

68. Thus then, the WHY is clear: the boroughmongers had reasons more than sufficiently powerful for instigating the Bourbons to do what they did; and, now, let us look at the facts in support of the charge that they did thus instigate them. In the first place, POLIGNAC, who was to be the instrument in the work, was an old emigrant who had long resided in England, had married an English woman, had been a good while the French ambassador in London, when, in August, 1829 (pay attention to *dates*), he went from England to France, to be invested with the office of Prime Minister. Now, take these facts; that he had lived and had been in some sort bred up amongst our boroughmongers; that, the moment he was appointed Prime Minister, all our boroughmonger publications, daily, weekly, monthly, and quarterly, began to praise the appointment; and that, as soon as the discontent of the French began to appear, these publications fell foul of the people of France and upon the honest part of the press, and began to insist that some great change was necessary in France; and that, for the peace of Europe (that is to say the upholding of boroughmongering), the Government of France ought to be rendered more monarchical. Things were going on thus in England,

when the legislative Chambers met in France, in March or April last: the Chamber of Deputies, that is to say, the Commons House, voted an address to the king, which as good as told him that he should have no money to be laid out by this ministry whose tyrannical intentions were well known.

69. But, before I say more of this, I must go back some months. The Polignac ministry was, as we have seen before, installed in the month of August 1829, and very early in that month, the French press, faithful to its duty, *warned the people of the danger*, told them that Polignac intended to make them submit to a Government like that of *England*, and called upon them to resist. The press was prosecuted with all the rigours of the law, which, however, by no means checked that press, which persevered in a manner that will reflect everlasting honour on it. The nation became fully sensible of the danger, and the people themselves began to *prepare for resistance* so early as the month of February in the present year. What they dreaded was, that they should be deprived of the right of freely choosing, and by ballot, their *own representatives*; they saw that, if they had taxes imposed upon them by men chosen by the king or the peers, or both together, *they should be slaves*. They began to form associations for legal resistance, in the first place. A part of France called BRITANNY had the great honour to set the example; and, after some consultation on the subject, the leaders there met, and agreed to form an association on the following grounds, and for the following purposes, as expressed in their declaration and propositions, *every word of which I do beseech you to read with attention!*

“ We, the undersigned inhabitants of the five departments of the ancient province of Brittany, under the cognizance and protection of the Royal Court of Rennes, bound by our own oaths, and by those of the chiefs of our families, to the duty of fidelity to the king, and of attachment to the Charter; considering that a handful of political intriguers have threatened to attempt the audacious project of *overturning the constitutional guarantees established by the Charter*; considering that it is due to their character and their honour to imitate the generous resistance of their ancestors against the encroachments, the caprices, and the abuse of Ministerial power; considering that resistance by physical force would be a dreadful calamity, and that it would be without motive while the means of

legal resistance remain open to us; that in recurring to the judicial power, the best prospect of success is to assure the oppressors of a fraternal and substantial union; under the ties of honour and of right we therefore resolve—

“1st. To subscribe individually the sum of 10 francs, besides a tenth part subsidiarily of the contributions subscribed by the undersigned in the electoral lists of 1830, and we oblige ourselves to pay to the order of the General Collectors, should it become necessary to name them, in conformity with the third of these resolutions.

“2d. This subscription is to form a common fund for Brittany, destined to indemnify the subscribers for the expenses they may incur in consequence of the refusal to pay any public contributions illegally imposed, either without the free, regular, and constitutional concurrence of the King and the two Chambers, as constituted by the Charter, or with the concurrence of Chambers, formed by an electoral system, which should exclude our right of voting in the choice of representatives.

“3d. In case of the official proposition, either of an unconstitutional change in the electoral system, or of the legal establishment of taxes, two mandatories from each arrondissement are to meet at Poutivy, and as soon as they are met to the number of twenty, they are to name, from among the subscribers, three General Collectors, and one Sub-Collector, in each of the five departments.

“4th. The duties of the Sub-Collectors are—1st, To receive subscriptions; 2d, To satisfy indemnities, conformably to article 2d; 3d, On the requisition of a subscriber, disturbed by an illegal contribution, to conduct in his name, under the care of the Sub-Collector of his department, or of a delegate named in his arrondissement, the defence and its consequences, by all legal means. 4th, To bring a civil action against the authors, supporters, and accomplices, in the assessment and exaction of such illegal impositions.

“5th. The subscriber's name, M. —, and M. —, as mandatories for this arrondissement, to meet the mandatories from the other arrondissements, in conformity with article 3d, and to transmit their present subscriptions to the General Collectors when named.”

70. This, which very nearly resembles the *American declarations*, at the time when this government of ours was preparing to compel that brave people to submit to be taxed without being represented, *alarmed* the tyrants exceedingly; and well it might; for it brought the question, at once, to issue, without rushing into civil war, and without provoking, or affording any excuse for, *military execution*. Indirect taxes could not be resisted in this way; but, *direct taxes*

could; I mean all such taxes as are collected by the tax-gatherer coming to your house and demanding the money, You refuse to pay, you are prosecuted; you go into court, and plead that you owe no taxes, because you are not represented; the cause is given against you, and your goods are seized; but who will buy your goods, who will dare to buy they? You are put into jail, suppose; but then this fund provides an indemnity for you. However, the thing could never go thus far; the government must resolve on open war; or it must give way. Nothing was ever more admirable than this, nothing more safe, nothing more effectual. And thus stood the people, resolved to face POLIGNAC and his masters, when the Chambers gave their answer to the King, as mentioned a little way back:

71. Having received this answer, the King dissolved the Chambers, hoping to get more pliant men by a new election. He was deceived; for he got all the same stout men again, and many others in addition. But, when he had dissolved the Chambers, our boroughmonger press broke forth with fresh fury against the press and the people of France, and urged POLIGNAC to put them down by force, saying that the French were not fit for liberty, such as we enjoyed, which was, indeed, very true; and, at any rate, they were resolved not to have it. But, that part of our press, most notoriously belonging to the Boroughmongers, I mean the QUARTERLY REVIEW, threw off the mask completely, and told POLIGNAC that he must put down the press, and take away the right of representation! This review was published in the month of May; and the following passage from it will leave no doubt in your minds, that the writer (a mere hireling) knew, in May, precisely what POLIGNAC would do in July. I pray you to read it with attention; and you will clearly see, that the people of France were to be enslaved, lest the continuance of their freedom should give countenance to our demand for Parliamentary Reform.

"We, therefore, hope and trust, that the King of France and his present ministers may succeed, if such be their object, in establishing a censorship on the press, and likewise in acquiring so decided a preponderance in the Chamber of Deputies, that its existence as an independent body capable of bearing the monarchy,

"as it has recently done, shall be no longer recognised. This, we
 "own, will be a virtual abolition of the charter, but the question is
 "obviously reduced to this: Shall the monarchy, which is suitable
 "to the country, be overthrown, or shall the charter, which, in
 "every possible view, is unsuitable to it, be abrogated? It will be
 "asked, *Why need we care what France does?* Why not let her do
 "what she pleases? What have we to do with her institutions, as
 "a nation, more than we have with the domestic arrangements of
 "our next-door neighbour in the street? The answer to this, un-
 "fortunately, is but too ready. If our neighbour merely beats his
 "wife and children, and regulates his personal concerns in the
 "worst way possible, we have no right to complain; but if he gets
 "intoxicated, and flings about firebrands, so as not only to set his
 "own house on fire, but to threaten the destruction of the whole
 "parish, we are compelled, in spite of our love of quiet, to take
 "a lively interest in the proceedings. If the French could be cir-
 "cumscribed by a great Chinese wall, within which they might cut
 "one another's throats, an experiment to their hearts' content on
 "libreligion and democracy, it would signify less to the neighbour-
 "ing countries. But when the amplest experience proves, that no
 "commotion of any extent in France ever fails to embroil the rest
 "of the world, and when we know that there are innumerable ob-
 "jects of ambition, of aggrandisement, and of national revenge, all
 "at this hour conspiring to stimulate a large portion of the French
 "population to fresh wars, we cannot possibly view their present
 "unsettled state without the deepest anxiety. We trust we have
 "said enough to show that there is only one course of measures by
 "which good order can be preserved; and however repugnant it
 "may be to our English tastes, the necessity of the case requires
 "that we should not shrink from the trial, but be prepared to wit-
 "ness, as the less grievous of the two evils, the temporary re-
 "establishment of a tolerably absolute authority on the part of the
 "crown of France. If this be impossible, or if the attempt be
 "BUNGLED IN THE EXECUTION, we may bid adieu to re-
 "pose, and buckle on our armour for another quarter of a century of
 "wars. We think it is hardly possible to doubt that, unless the
 "existing Government adopts, and succeeds in carrying into
 "effect, some very decisive measure IN THE COURSE OF THE
 "PRESENT YEAR, there will ensue another burst of convulsion;
 "and Napoleon has left no saying of more indisputable truth
 "behind him, than that a revolution in France is a revolution in
 "Europe."

72. I need add no comment. The proof is complete; thousands of men have been hanged upon evidence less clear than this. I have clearly shown the powerful motive that the Boroughmongers had for instigating POLIGNAC; here is the act of instigation; and that this writer is hired by the Boroughmongers, is as notorious as that my name is WILLIAM CORBETT.

2. That the Boroughmongers intended to make the two legislative Chambers of France like the two Houses of Parliament in England.

3. That the people of France well understood what the government of England was, and clearly saw that the Boroughmongers were about to do this for their own sake.

73. The first of these propositions is proved by the above extract from the Quarterly Review, and from POLIGNAC's ordinances. The Review, in another part of it says, *that the power of choosing a majority of the Deputies ought to be in the Crown, and in an hereditary aristocracy, as it is in England*; and POLIGNAC's ordinances of the 28th July provide for the securing of this. The THIRD proposition is established by a fact that all the world is now acquainted with; namely, that in the month of November last, there was circulated throughout all France, the following description of the English government. It first appeared in a paper called the CONSTITUTIONNEL, which is published at Paris; and I beg you to read every word of it with attention. You will find in it nothing that I have not said a hundred times over; but, you are here to look at it as something that the people of France saw, probably, for the first time. Do, pray, read it with attention. This, and other such publications, produced the glorious event at Paris. Read this description, and then you will cease to wonder at what has taken place. After speaking of systems of oppression, which cannot in these days be put in force, the writer proceeds thus:

“ There is a *third system*, which it would be much more practicable to put into execution than any of these. It is *what England is offering us the model of*, and M. de Polignac has just been trying to set in operation, namely, the system of making slaves and tools of all the working classes in a body, by the higher orders, *under constitutional forms and names*. In this system, which the English Government understands prodigiously well, *the power of making the laws belong exclusively to the members of the aristocracy*; public situations, which are the road to honours and to fortune, fall to the share of nobody but those who are vested with the power of making the laws, their children, or relations; and the people, who do the work, are the property in fee of those who have the management of public affairs. The English aristocracy displays great intelligence

in the way in which it accomplishes its ends with the working classes. It leaves them all the means for the production of wealth ; and every one of the individuals under its influence may choose the business by which he thinks he can get the most. All attempts on the security of individual property, which would only cause capital to disappear and hinder production, are completely put down. The people that work are neither hampered nor disturbed in their labour, but are as free in their industry and their commerce as bees in a hive. The working classes, however, derive no more advantage, in the end, from this freedom in their operations, than the bees do from the honey they take so much pains to make. The higher orders, through the medium of the taxes which they alone have the privilege of laying, soak up the greatest part of the produce, and divide it under different names among the members of their body. To describe the thing properly, the English Parliament performs the office of a pump ; it sucks up the wealth produced by the working classes, and turns it over into the hands of the families of the aristocracy. But as it is a machine that has a head, and can think, it leaves the working people as much as is necessary for them to go on working. The English aristocracy allow a certain number of men from the ranks of the people to find their way into the two houses of Parliament ; and it is for the interest of its supremacy that it should be so. If the body that makes the laws consisted entirely of the persons for whose advantage the industrious portion of the community is set to work, they might bring their power into peril by demanding of the people more than it was able to pay. The men from among the people who find their way into Parliament, take care to let them know when they are running into danger. THE OPPOSITION, in the machine of Government, does the duty of the *safety-valve* in a steam-engine. It does not stop the motion ; but it *preserves the machine*, by letting off its smoke the power that otherwise might blow it up. The exercise of aristocratical power being attached to the possession of great landed property, it is easy to see that younger brothers can have no share in the real estates which may be left by their relatives at their decease. The descendants of an aristocratic family would, in fact, all sink into the ranks of the common people, if they were to divide what is left by their relations in equal shares. The eldest son therefore keeps to himself all the landed property, to which is attached the exercise of aristocratical power ; and then he makes use of this power to get money for his younger brothers, at the expense of the working classes. It is a mistake to imagine, that in England all the property of a family in the higher orders goes exclusively to the eldest son. It is true, he takes the landed property, which is exclusively the family estate. But the younger brothers have for their share rich livings in the church, sinecures or places of some kind, which the public is obliged to pay for ; and all these are considered as part of the family property, as much as the other. For there never can be too much pains taken to impress the fact, that the higher orders consider themselves as having a property, not only in the landed estates which they possess by direct title, but in the work-

ing classes besides, on whom they lay taxes as they please, and share the proceeds among themselves. The higher orders in Great Britain (who must not be confounded with the English people, a people who are at their mercy to take what toll they please) will never allow the working classes in any country to be their own masters, as long as they can do any-thing to hinder it. They know very well that their own power over the working classes in the countries under their control, will *never be out of danger of being disputed, till the working classes of all other countries, too, are made the property of a family or of a caste.* And hence it is that they are found on all occasions making common cause with barbarism against civilization. They take the part of Austria against Italy, Don Miguel against Don Pedro, and the Turks against the Greeks. If they ever make a show of declaring for the defenders of freedom, it is only to get hold of the direction of their affairs, and hand them over to their enemies. Any-where, and every-where, in short, where they espy the seeds of any-thing like liberty, they *hurry off to spoil or smother them.* If we judge of the plans of the Polignac ministry by the past proceedings of the individuals that compose it, and by what is let out by the papers in the service of the English Ministry, it is easy to tell what kind of transformation the Charter is intended to undergo in their hands. All Frenchmen will be equal in point of law, whatever in other respects their title or their rank; but the great mass of the population will be stricken with political incapacity, and all public power will belong to the aristocracy. They will all contribute indiscriminately, in proportion to their property, to the expenses of the state; but the members of the aristocracy will take back again, under the name of pensions or of salaries, the portion that they have paid, and divide the rest among themselves besides. They will be equally *admissible by law* to both civil and military offices; but there will be nobody *really admitted*, except at the good pleasure of the aristocracy, and to serve its purposes. Personal liberty will be guaranteed to every-body: and nobody will be seized or prosecuted, but in the ways and terms the aristocracy has fixed upon. Every man will have equal liberty to profess his religion, and receive the same protection for his forms of worship; only nobody must utter any opinion that may be contrary to the tenets of the church. Every-body in France will have a right to publish and print his thoughts; at his own risk, if he says any-thing that is against the interests of the church and the aristocracy. To wind up all, property of all kinds will be quite secure; only the aristocracy will have the power of laying it under any contributions they think proper, and so applying it to their own use.—THIS IS THE SORT OF CHARTER the Polignac ministry would bestow on France, if it succeeded in getting a majority in the Chambers, and the King's consent. It is for the electors to consider whether they choose to put up with SUCH an order of things. *Their fate IS IN THEIR OWN HANDS.*

74. There, my lads of the working classes, that is the picture that roused the French. That is the picture that

made the working people of Paris fly to arms. Whether the picture be true or false, I will leave you to decide; but, at any rate, you must now be satisfied, that this is what our boroughmongers intended to cause to be introduced into France; and,

4. That, to prevent their doing this, the people of Paris shed their blood; and,

5. That, therefore, the Bourbons owe the loss of their crown to the resolution of the people of France, *not to submit to a government like that of England.*

75. I will attempt no commentary. You now, my friends, see the true cause of the glorious achievement in France. It was not "*sedition writings*;" it was not *love of change*; it was not *want of religion*; it was nothing but a conviction, that the POLIGNAC Ministry intended to *bend their necks to a boroughmonger system*; rather than submit to which, they resolved to shed their blood; and, as it is clear that POLIGNAC and his master were instigated to the base attempt by our boroughmongers, to *them* Charles and his family owe the loss of their crown! Let them now, then, condole with one another: they are all got together here: let them howl, while the sensible and brave people of France dance and sing.

76. But there is one part of the above picture to which I must call your particular attention. It is that which exhibits our "*OPPOSITION*," which "*in the machine of government, does the duty of a safety-valve in a steam-engine. It does not stop the motion; but it preserves the machine, by letting off, in smoke, the power, which, otherwise might blow it up.*" How true this is! How I should like to take the man by the hand that wrote this! "*Aye,*" say the boroughmongers, "*and we know where he got it.*" Yes, you base wretches, you do know where he got it, and I know too; and it glads my heart to think how I have reached you, in spite of all your power and all your cunning and all your hypocrisy and all your malice. This is really like "*bread thrown upon the waters*;" it is come back again after many days. France owes her deliverance to the good sense and to the valour of the people; but that sense and that valour would not have been exercised had

not the press pointed out the danger; and the press of France could not have pointed out the danger, notwithstanding the great ability of the writers, if those writers had not been in possession of the facts; and those facts were furnished by me, and *never by any-body else*. Our great curse has been, the deceiving of the people by *sham patriots*, who have passed under the name of *political parties*. When I was a child, it was the *court-party* and the *country-party*. This was a fraud upon the people; but after this came Tories and Whigs (taking up names that had been in use more than a century before); and, each choosing a leader, the Tories were called Pittites, and the Whigs Foxites; and thus, for about thirty years, they were drawn out in battle array, the two parties taking care not to injure one another, each laying hold of the public wealth, and pulling and tearing like two savage wolves striving for the exclusive possession of a sheep. In the year 1806, when the Foxites had put out the Pittites, and got into their place, or, rather, had made a compromise and coalition with a part of the Pittites, and had agreed to an indemnity for all the atrocious deeds of the Pitt faction; then it was that I set myself to work to break up all parties; laying it down as a maxim that the one was just as bad as the other, and that the opposition was a mere sham, intended to keep the people quiet while each party plundered them alternately.

77. From this time, which is now four-and-twenty years ago, I have been abhorred by these factions, and have most severely suffered in consequence of that abhorrence; but I have demolished the factions, and the words Tory and Whig now excite ridicule and contempt at the bare sound of them. The words "*opposition*" and "*gentlemen opposite*," are become equally contemptible. The people have long looked upon the whole as one mass of fellows fighting and scrambling for public money; some fighting to keep it, and others scrambling to get at it; some dogs in possession of the carcass, and some growling and barking because they cannot get at a share. Seeing the people despising both these factions, a *third* has started, to whom I have always given the name of SHOY-HOYS; and now I will tell you

why. A shoy-boy is a sham man or woman, made of straw or other stuff, twisted round a stake, stuck into the ground, and dressed in clothes of man or woman, with arms, legs, head, and every-thing, and with a stick or gun put into its hand. These shoy-boys are set up for the purpose of driving birds from injuring the corn or the seeds, and sometimes to frighten them from cherries, or other fruit. The people want a reform of the parliament, and there has for a long time (about fifteen or sixteen years) been a little band, who have professed a desire to get parliamentary reform. They have made motions and speeches and divisions, with a view of keeping the hopes of the people alive, and have thereby been able to keep them quiet from time to time. They have never desired to *succeed*; because success would put an end to their own hopes of emolument: but they have amused the people. The great body of the factions, knowing the reality of their views, have been highly diverted by their sham efforts, which have never interrupted them in the smallest degree in their enjoyment of the general plunder. Just as happens with the birds and the shoy-boys in the fields or gardens. At first, the birds take the shoy-hoy for a *real* man or woman; and, so long as they do this, they abstain from their work of plunder; but after having for some little while watched the shoy-hoy with their quick and piercing eyes, and perceived that it never moves hand or foot, they totally disregard it, and are no more obstructed by it than if it were a post. Just so is it with these political shoy-boys; but their demerits are not, like the field shoy-boys, confined to the doing of no good; they *do mischief*; they really, like my friend the Frenchman's safety-valve, assist the factions in the work of plunder; which I remember an instance of, indeed, in the curious case of a horticultural shoy-hoy, which case very aptly illustrates the functions of these political deceivers. The birds were committing great ravages upon some turnip-seed that I had at Botley. "Stick up a shoy-hoy," said I to my bailiff. "That will do no good, sir;" "It can do no harm, and therefore stick one up." He replied, by telling me, that he had, that morning, in the garden of his neighbour MORELL, who had stuck up a shoy-hoy to keep the sparrows from his peas, actually seen a sparrow settled, with a *pod*, upon *shoy-hoy's* hat, and

there, as upon a dining-table, actually pecking out the peas and eating them, which he could do with greater security there where he could look about him and see the approach of an enemy, than he could have done upon the ground, where he might have been taken *by surprise*. Just exactly such are the functions of our political shoy-hoys. The agricultural and horticultural shoy-hoys deceive the depredating birds but a very short time; but they continue to deceive those who stick them up and rely upon them, who, instead of rousing in the morning, and sallying upon the depredators with powder and shot, trust to the miserable shoy-hoys, and thus lose their corn and their seeds. Just thus it is with the people, who are the dupes of the political shoy-hoys. In Suffolk, and the other eastern counties, they call them *mawkeses*. Mawkes seems to be the female, and shoy-hoy the male, of this race of mock-human beings; and I suppose that the farmers in the east, from some cause or other, look upon the female as the most formidable of the two. At any rate, our political shams are of the masculine gender, and therefore shoy-hoy is the proper name for them.

78. Now then, who are our shoy-hoys? There is BURDETT, who seems to be the patriarch of the race, his MAN, ALDERMAN SHAWL, RUSSELL, NUGENT, WILSON, and several others, besides BROUGHAM and HUME. As to Burdett and Hobhouse, after the severe pelting at Westminster, after Shawl and Wilson's keeping away from the meetings in honour of the French; as to Russell, with his four great towns and his Bloomsbury *vestry bill* (and which bill I shall give a history of, one of these days); as to Nugent, who wrote a letter in praise of the deeds of the people of Paris, and who (as the newspapers tell us) slipped down afterwards to visit the ex-King at Cowes; as to these, I will say no more now, nor as to MONCK (one of Burdett's purity-dinner companions); for he has retired to walk arm in arm about Reading with the immaculate Rhadamanthus of the *consistory court*: as to these I will say no more now, but, with regard to Brougham and Hume, I must beg you to be upon your guard. Watch them well, and you will soon discover that they answer all the purposes of the shoy-hoy in

Morell's garden. Brougham has been roaring away in the north against him whom he used to call the "greatest captain of the age," and whose eloquence he compared to that of Cicero, at the time when the Master of the Rolls was expected to die. You will find him change his tons; and particularly, you will find him shuffle out of parliamentary reform. You will find Joseph Hume to do the same; and indeed he has already begun to do it; for, at Edinburgh, the other day, he observed that there was "*still further reform wanted in this country.*" Still! What does he mean by *still*? Further reform! What does he mean by *further*? Why, I will tell you what he means; he means, as he said in the pure House, that *no reform is wanted*, except such as HE can produce by the totting-up of figures. What is what he means; and I dare say he has set all the Presbyterian parsons in Scotland to pray that there never may be a parliamentary reform as long as breath shall warm his body.

79. The Parliament is said to be summoned to meet on the 26th of October, for the *dispatch of business*. What business? Of regency, when we have got a king upon the throne likely to live for twenty years? About the revolutions in Europe? What could the Parliament do about these revolutions? But, I will tell you what it may meet for: and that is to legalize an order in council for restraining the bank and making paper a legal tender; and this I think by no means impossible, but, on the contrary, very probable, if what the newspapers tell us be true, relative to the quantities of bullion continually going out of the country; and, if this should be the case, you will see what a figure the shoy-hoys will make. Two babies, nice little round-faced fat babies, taken out of any two cradles, or out of any two sets of swaddling-clothes in any two Scotch burghs, know just as much what to do or what to recommend in such a state of things, as Brougham and Hume. They would stand aghast; they would cling hold of the first folly that presented itself; they would shift their hold every moment; and the great counties of York and of Middlesex, would blush to hear them called their members. Be it a question of foreign policy, what do these men know any-thing more about it

than any real and genuine boy-boy, who has now the guardianship of the fields? Oh, how I should like to see them engaged in discussing the question, whether it were right or wrong to make a bank restriction, in order to prevent the French from going to the Rhine. However, there will be plenty of time hereafter for all these things, when the Parliament shall meet.

80. In conclusion, I beg leave to recommend to you to meet in your several trades, to subscribe your pennies a piece for the relief of the widows and the orphans of Paris. By paying the money to the Editor of the Morning Chronicle, (who has acted a sincere and most excellent part in this business,) or by leaving it at my office, seeing it entered in the book, and taking a receipt, in the name of SIR THOMAS BEBVOR, the Treasurer; by either of these means, you may be sure of the sending of the money to Paris, and as many of your names along with it as you choose. Always bear in mind that it was the WORKING PEOPLE of Paris who performed this great benefit for all the industrious people in the world. The slain have been slain for you as well as for their wives and children; and recollect how grateful it must be to those widows and children to receive consolation, and particularly from you, the brethren of their husbands and fathers. There is scarcely any man, who is in work, who cannot give a penny or twopence. Three pounds have just been received at my office, from thirty working men, in the neighbourhood of Maidstone, in Kent. You remember the voluntary contributions of the aristocracy for carrying on the dreadful war against the liberties of France. The liberties of France have at last prevailed, and have been secured by the devotion and the valour of the working people. The aristocracy and the clergy do not subscribe now; now that the object is for the relief of sufferers, and not for the procuring of destruction. The Quakers, too, where are they? They could subscribe for German sufferers, and Russian sufferers, and Hanoverian sufferers; aye, and though their religion forbade them to subscribe for powder and ball, they would subscribe to buy flannel shirts for the soldiers that were engaged in firing powder and ball at the French.

Then, let me hope that they will subscribe a little now, for here are the wounded, here are the widows, here are the orphans, demanding their help.

I am your faithful friend

And obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.

COBBETT'S HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

THE first number of this work was published on the *first of September*. Each number will contain *thirty pages*, at least, and will be sold for 6d. The history will be from the *earliest times*, and will come down to the day when I publish the last Number ; but, I have *begun* with the REIGN OF GEORGE IV. ; because, while the facts are all *fresh in our minds* is the time for putting them on *lasting record*. These, too, justice demanded to the memory of *his wife*. They are both dead now ; she can suffer no more, and he can enjoy nothing more : all that ever can be known about their characters and conduct can now be collected together ; and now therefore, is the time to lay that collection before the world. This part of our history is demanded also by the necessity that there is of showing to the rising generation how *false are the assertions*, that this reign (including the Regency) was *prosperous for the people*. Those who are now from 17 to 21 years of age can have very little knowledge of the many striking transactions of this calamitous reign, during which so many and such daring assaults were made on our rights and liberties, and during which such sufferings were endured by the great body of the people. PEARL says, " that we are too near to the advantages which we have derived from the *mild and beneficent* reign of his Ma-

jesty to be able fully to appreciate them." Indeed! What! too near to the select-vestry law, the new trespass law, the transporting-poaching law, the Irish transporting-with-jury law, too near to the dungeon law, and the famous six acts; too near to the Italian witnesses, to Castles, Oliver, Edwards; too near to Sidmouth, and Castlereagh, and Canning; too near to all those and a thousand other things and persons, "to be able fully to appreciate the advantages we derived from their mildness and beneficence!" Better to stop, I suppose, till we are got farther off; till names and dates are beyond the reach of all but a few; and till facts become matter of dispute, instead of being capable of proof, such as to satisfy a judge and jury! Better stop, certainly, till the palace-building, the Irish starvation; till the 16th of August, till the 500 killed and wounded persons, and till the letter of thanks to the Yeomanry Cavalry, be all forgotten! Oh, no! MISTER PEEL, we will, if you please, not stop so long as this. We will, while the story is fresh in our memory, have it down in black and white; in order that those who are coming up to be men, may learn how to appreciate these acts of "*mildness and beneficence*," and may know how *they* ought to act their part on the stage, which is now, according to all appearance, going to be a very bustling one.

WM. COBBETT.

N.B. All the Books undermentioned, are published at No. 15. Bell-court, Fleet-street, London; and are to be had of all the Booksellers in the Kingdom.

THE COBBETT-LIBRARY.

When I am asked what books a young man or young woman ought to read, I always answer, Let him or her read *all the books that I have written*. This does, it will doubtless be said, *smell of the shop*. No matter. It is what I recommended; and experience has taught me that it is my duty to give the recommendation. I am speaking here of books other than **THE REGISTER**; and even these, that I call my LIBRARY, consist of *twenty-six* distinct books; two of them being TRANSLATIONS; six of them being written by MY SONS; one (TULL'S HUSBANDRY) revised and edited, and one published by me, and written by the Rev. Mr. O'CALLAGHAN, a most virtuous Catholic Priest. I divide these books into classes, as follows: 1. Books for TEACHING LANGUAGE; 2. On DOMESTIC MANAGEMENT AND DUTIES; 3. On RURAL AFFAIRS; 4. On THE MANAGEMENT OF NATIONAL AFFAIRS; 5. HISTORY; 6. TRAVEL; 7. LAWS; 8. MISCELLANEOUS POLITICS. Here is a great variety of subjects; and all of them very *dry*; nevertheless the manner of treating them is, in general, such as to induce the reader to go *through the book*, when he has once begun it. I will now speak of each book separately under the several heads above-mentioned.—*N. B. All the books are bound in boards, which will be borne in mind when the price is looked at*

1. BOOKS FOR TEACHING LANGUAGE.

COBBETT'S ENGLISH GRAMMAR. (*Price 3s.*)—This is a book of *principles*, clearly laid down; and when once these are got into the mind they never quit it.

COBBETT'S FRENCH GRAMMAR (*Price 5s.*); or, *Plain Instructions for the Learning of French*.—More young men have, I dare say, learned French from it, than from all the other books that have been published in English for the last fifty years.

MR. JAMES COBBETT'S ITALIAN GRAMMAR (*Price 6s.*); or a *Plain and Compendious Introduction to the Study of Italian*.—I would pledge myself to take this book and to learn Italian from it in *three months*.

2. DOMESTIC MANAGEMENT AND DUTIES.

COBBETT'S COTTAGE ECONOMY (*Price 2s. 6d.*); containing information relative to the brewing of Beer, making of Bread, keeping of Cows, Pigs, Bees, Ewes, Goats, Poultry, and Rabbits, and relative to other matters.

COBBETT'S ADVICE TO YOUNG MEN, and (incidentally) to *Young Women, in the middle and higher Ranks of Life* (*Price 5s.*) It was published in 14 numbers, and is now in one vol. complete.

COBBETT'S SERMONS (*Price 3s. 6d.*)—More of these Sermons have been sold than of the Sermons of all the Church-pastors put together since mine were published.

COBBETT'S EDITION OF TULL'S HUSBANDRY (*Price 15s.*): **THE HORSE-HOEING, HUSBANDRY**; or, A TREATISE on the Principles of TILLAGE and VEGETATION, wherein is taught a Method of introducing a sort of VINEYARD CULTURE into the COMMON FIELDS, in order to increase their Product and diminish the common Expense.

3. BOOKS ON RURAL AFFAIRS.

COBBETT'S YEAR'S RESIDENCE IN AMERICA, WITH A MAP (*Price 5s.*) A Book very necessary to all men of property who emigrate to the United States.

COBBETT'S ENGLISH GARDENER (*Price 6s.*) A complete book of the kind.

COBBETT'S WOODLANDS (*Price 14s.*); or, A TREATISE on Forest Trees and Underwoods, and the Manner of Collecting, Preserving, and Sowing of the Seed.

COBBETT'S CORN-BOOK (*Price 2s. 6d.*); or, A TREATISE on COBBETT'S CORN: containing Instructions for Propagating and Cultivating the Plant, and for Harvesting and Preserving the Crop; and also an Account of the several Uses to which the Produce is applied, with Minute Directions relative to each mode of Application.—This edition I sell at 2s. 6d., that it may get into numerous hands.

4. MANAGEMENT OF NATIONAL AFFAIRS.

COBBETT'S PAPER AGAINST GOLD (*Price 5s.*); or, the History and Mystery of the Bank of England, of the Debt, of the Stocks, of the Sinking Fund, and of all the other tricks and contrivances carried on by the means of Paper Money.

COBBETT'S RURAL RIDES. (*Price 5s.*) If the members of the Government had read these Rides, only just read them, last year, when they were collected and printed in a volume, they could not have helped foreseeing all the violences that have now taken place, and especially in these very counties; and foreseeing them, they must have been devils in reality if they had not done something to prevent them.

COBBETT'S POOR MAN'S FRIEND (*Price 8d.*); or, a Defence of the Rights of those who do the Work and fight the Battles.—This is my favourite work. I bestowed more labour upon it than upon any large volume that I ever wrote.

COBBETT'S EMIGRANT'S GUIDE (*2s. 6d.*); in TEN LETTERS, addressed to the TAXPAYERS OF ENGLAND.

USURY LAWS (*Price 2s. 6d.*); or, LENDING AT INTEREST; also, the Exaction and Payment of certain Church-fees, such as Paw-rents, Burial-fees, and the like, together with forestalling Traffic; all proved to be repugnant to the Divine and Ecclesiastical Law, and destructive to Civil Society.

5. HISTORY.

COBBETT'S HISTORY OF THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION in ENGLAND and IRELAND (*Price 4s. 6d.*) ; showing how that Event has impoverished and degraded the main Body of the People in those Countries: **PART II.** (*Price 3s. 6d.*) ; containing a List of the Abbeyes, Prioriet, Nunneries, Hospitals, and other Religious Foundations, in England and Wales, and in Ireland, confiscated, seized on, or alienated, by the Protestant "Reformation," Sovereigns, and Parliaments.

COBBETT'S ROMAN HISTORY, ENGLISH and FRENCH, (*Price 6s.*) ; Vol. I. from the Foundation of Rome to the Battle of Actium. Vol. II. **AN ABRIDGED HISTORY OF THE EMPERORS,** in FRENCH and ENGLISH: being a continuation of the **HISTORY OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC.**—This work is intended as an *Exercise-book* to be used with my *French Grammar* ; and it is sold at a *very low price*, to place it within the reach of young men in general.

COBBETT'S HISTORY OF THE REGENCY AND REIGN OF GEORGE IV.—This work is published in Nos. at 6d. each, and shall do justice to the late "mild and merciful" King.

LAFAYETTE'S LIFE (*Price 1s.*) A brief Account of the Life of that brave and honest man, translated from the French, by Mr. JAMES COBBETT.

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COBBETT'S TRANSLATION OF MARTENS'S LAW OF NATIONS (*Price 17s.*) ; being the Science of National Law, Covenants, Power, &c. Founded upon the Treaties and Customs of Modern Nations in Europe.

MR. WM. COBBETT'S LAW OF TURNPIKES (*Price 3s. 6d.*)

8. MISCELLANEOUS POLITICS.

THE REGISTER, published Weekly, *Price 1s. 2d.* Sixty-four pages.

TWO-PENNY TRASH, published monthly, *Price 2d., 12s. 3d.* for a hundred, and 11s. a hundred if 300 or upwards.

This is the Library that I have created. It really makes a tolerable *shelf of books*: a man who understands the contents of which may be deemed a man of great information. In about every one of these works I have pleaded the cause of the *working people*, and I shall now see that cause triumph, in spite of all that can be done to prevent it.

N. B. A whole set of these books at the above prices, amounts to 7l. 9s. 2d. ; but, if a whole set be taken together, the price is 6l. And here is a stock of knowledge sufficient for any young man in the world.

COBBETT'S
TWO-PENNY TRASH

For the Month of October, 1830.

TO
THE INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES AT BOTLEY IN
HAMPSHIRE.

On the conduct of their rich neighbours, and in particular of that one WILLIS (who is now called FLEMING), and who is one of the Members of that unfortunate County.

Kensington, September 30, 1830.

MY FRIENDS,

81. What I have to say upon the above subject, though addressed to you, is of equal interest to the *working people* in every part of the country; for, every-where there are to be found men of the same description as that of those on whose conduct I am about to remark, though, perhaps, in proportion to the population of the place, there are *more of them* to be found at and near Botley than in any other part

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of the kingdom. The great and constant object of these men is, to get riches, to rake together wealth, by *any and every* means in their power; and, one of the means that they have constantly in use is, to pinch the *working people*, and to *delude* them at the same time. They do not attack you in the manner of highwaymen and housebreakers; but by craftiness, by cunning to surpass that of the devil himself. These men have always found in me a great enemy. I have been at work exposing them for thirty years; I have thwarted many of their schemes; I have taught the working people *their rights*; I have done all in my power to prevent them from being oppressed; and for this their oppressors *hate me* most mortally. They have lost no opportunity of showing this hatred; and, upon a recent occasion they, in the village of *Botley itself*, held a sort of JUBILEE, or day of rejoicing, that I was not still upon the spot to take your parts, and to give them trouble.

82. This JUBILEE was called a dinner, which it was pretended that the *people of Botley* gave to WILLIS (now called Fleming), who is one of the two who are called *members for Hampshire*. An account of this dinner has been published in a Southampton newspaper, which has been sent to me by friends from several parts of the county. As to the *particular men* who figured upon this occasion, they would be wholly unworthy of this public notice; but, they are only a *sample of the whole sack* of fellows of the same description, who are, as I said before, to be found in all parts of the country. But, what induces me, at this time, to bestow this notice upon them is this: that they took this occasion to put forth their infamous principles relative to several matters in which *you are deeply interested*, particularly with regard to the *Corn Laws*, and to the means of *providing for the poor*. These are two very important subjects, and what these greedy fellows said relative to them

is worthy of your best attention. These worthless and greedy fellows abused and belied me; but, it is what they said upon these subjects that is particularly worthy of your attention; and I am about to show you how you are interested in these matters. You have suffered hunger and cold long enough; it is time that you cease to suffer them; you *do the work*; you raise the food and the clothing and the fuel; and it is time that you had your share of them; or, at least, more of them than you now have; but this these greedy fellows mean that you shall not have, if they can keep it from you, either by open force or by deceiving you.

83. They begin to be *alarmed*: they begin to fear that they must let go their grasp; they have seen what the *working people in France have done*; and they fear, that the example may be catching. Hence their incessant endeavours to deceive you, being well aware, that, if it come to open force, you will beat them. One of their means is, to make you believe, that those who defend your rights are your enemies; and that they are *disloyal* and *seditionous* men, and that you ought to *hate* them instead of *respecting* them. You know that, once upon a time, the WOLVES, when they wanted to devour the Sheep, could not do it, because the fold was defended by a *strong and watchful* Dog. The wolves, being as cowardly as they were greedy, and as cunning as they were cowardly, told the sheep, that they might live in harmony together, if it were not for that surly, ill-tempered, and barking dog; and that, if the sheep would but tell the dog to go about his business, and let them take care of themselves, they would never again have any cause for fear or uneasiness. The silly sheep (and ungrateful as well as silly) began to abuse the dog, and told him that they did not want him; and he, justly offended at their baseness, walked off and left them to the

mercy of their new friends. The moment he was safely out of sight and out of hearing, in jumped the wolves, and tore the sheep to pieces, killed and devoured the whole, lambs and all!

84. The fellows at this dinner are the wolves; you are the sheep; and their object is to prevail on you to act an ungrateful part towards me, that they may devour you, flesh, skin, bones, blood and all, and even your hair into the bargain. But, now let us hear what they said upon this occasion. I have great reluctance to fill my paper with their rubbish; but it is but fair that you have to read what they said; and besides, it will be useful to you and to me also to be able to look back now and then, in time to come, at this proof of their incomparable baseness. One JARVIS was, it appears, their *chairman*, and he seems to be a captain of some sort; that is to say, a fellow that lives on the taxes that are drawn out of your sweat. No wonder that he hates the *sheep-dog*. WILLIS (now called Fleming) was the chief orator. There were others, who, though they do not seem to have *howled out loud*, were equally base with the wolves that howled; and, indeed, rather more base, if that be possible; for, while they kept in the drove, and backed the others on, they thought that, by their *silence*, they should escape the punishment to which the howling wolves would be exposed; and that, thus, they would be able to go on devouring unchecked.

85. But, now, pray read the whole of what they said. There can be no doubt, that *they sent the account of it to the newspapers themselves*; for all such fellows, cunning as they are in other respects, are eager to see *their names in print*; and, though they would hardly spend a penny to pay for bringing their wives a bed, they will squeeze out a few shillings to hire a dirty newspaper fellow to stick up their names in his beggarly paragraphs, and to abuse those

whom they look upon as the friends of the working people. The poor wretch, who publishes this newspaper, does not know me; perhaps, on public grounds, he respects me and abhors them; but they gave him money, and I did not; money he wanted to buy him shoes, and shirts, and victuals; and, therefore, he abused me and praised them. If I would have given him a pair of shoes, a pound of bacon, or a loaf of bread, *more* than they gave him, the poor lazy sooty wretch would have praised me and abused them. However, I must reserve further remarks, until you have heard what the stupid and base creatures *said at the dinner*. Pray read it all through with attention; and look particularly at the words that are printed in *the sort of letter that these words are printed in*. The following is the account, taken from the Southampton beggarman's newspaper.

Botley, Sept. 11.

DINNER TO MR. FLEMING.

Several of the towns of this county have expressed their attachment to our worthy and long-established Member, Mr. Fleming, by giving him public dinners. We are led to point to the circumstance by what will appear to those who are acquainted with Mr. Fleming's political principles an astonishing fact—his being last week invited to dine in *Cobbett's radical nest*, Botley. It has been asked, if the honourable Member is about to become a convert? but his speech, which will be seen below, fully answers the question. We regret we have not room to give the whole of the speeches of the many respectable gentlemen who delivered their sentiments. They, however, fully show that *Cobbett and radicalism are out of fashion at Botley*; and Fleming, rational liberty, and constitutional independence, the objects of their present attachment.

On Thursday last, the freeholders and friends of Mr. Fleming, resident in Botley and its neighbourhood, including several from Southampton and Bishop's Waltham, partook of a most sumptuous dinner, at the Dolphin Inn, Botley, to celebrate the recent re-election of that gentleman as a Member for the County, upon which occasion *Samuel Raymond Jarvis, Esq.* presided. There were about forty gentlemen present; and, after dinner, which consisted of *venison, game, fish, and every delicacy that could be procured*, the worthy chairman gave, in succession, "The King," "The Queen and Royal Family," and "The Duke of Wellington and his Majesty's Ministers," which were severally drunk with much applause. *Captain Jarvis* next rose to propose the health of Mr.

Fleming, and in doing so, remarked that it was with a feeling of great gratification he hailed such a meeting; and that in offering to the world their feelings in support of the worthy Member, they should *retrieve from history that imputation which it had long ascribed, of disloyalty and radicalism.* He then adverted to the late election, the circumstances attending which he said must be fresh in the recollection of all present, and remarked, that it must be felt that the County was insulted by the ungenerous conduct there displayed. Every man, he observed, in this country had a right to enjoy his own political feeling, but let no one attack a man like the worthy gentleman, Mr. Fleming, whose private character was unblemished, and whose public conduct would bear the strictest investigation. The *gallant* chairman, after many other observations, concluded a speech, which was much applauded, by proposing the health of Mr. Fleming, which was drunk with the most *rapturous approbation*, amid deafening cheers.—Mr. Fleming returned thanks as follows:—

“Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen:—The honourable and distinguished reception I have experienced here to-day, and the very warm and gratifying manner in which you have honoured the toast, proposed with so much ability, and in terms so flattering, by our excellent chairman, call for acknowledgments and gratitude far beyond my power of expression; I trust, however, you will not think I am the less sensible of your kindness, or regardless of the value of testimony such as yours, in approval of my public principles and conduct. It is my highest honour to have been thought worthy of your support upon the late occasion, and I shall ever remember with feelings of grateful satisfaction, the unprecedented expressions of good-will which greeted me from all parts of the county, and which, had my opponents dared to have risked a poll, would speedily have exposed their weakness, and shown how utterly they are despised by the enlightened and respectable freeholders of this county. Gentlemen, I will not waste your time by noticing the unjust and unfounded aspersions of my opponents; my public conduct is known to you as well as to them, and I scarcely call upon you to declare, if it has been not uniformly *straight-forward, consistent, and independent?* It is unnecessary to remind you of my first appeal for your favour upon the retirement of the late Sir Thomas Heathcote, when, without any previous communication of my intentions, without the promise of support from any of the principal interests in our county, I boldly canvassed the freeholders as an *independent gentleman*, and asked them to place me in that high and honourable station which was held by my ancestor as far back as the reign of Queen Elizabeth, relying for success solely upon the reputation of my private character, and those constitutional principles supported by my family for centuries in this county. Did this show a want of *independent feelings?* Or has my conduct since, as your representative, upon the numerous occasions in which I have opposed the Government, shown a subserviency to the will of a Minister, or a disposition to support measures which I considered injurious to the interests of my coun-

try? I need not instance my votes upon the great constitutional measures enacted by the last Parliament, which I firmly opposed, in conformity with the pledges I had here given to my constituents. It is unnecessary to notice my determined resistance to those measures of *Free Trade and Corn Laws*, which, by the introduction of the *untaxed produce of foreigners*, have injured the landed interests, impoverished the British farmer, depressed the wages of the labouring poor, and spread misery, discontent, and ruin, from one end of the kingdom to the other. Gentlemen, I have ever opposed those measures, and will continue to do so, by whatsoever government they may be proposed; and I lament that the present Government, in other particulars so deserving your confidence, should have been induced in any degree to sanction and adopt them. But, Gentlemen, it is not any supposed want of independence which has excited the enmity of my opponents, but my known constitutional principles, and zealous support to our beloved institutions, in opposition to the dangerous and destructive innovations they would introduce. The loyal and constitutional principles of the respectable friends I see around me, are sufficiently well known, and duly appreciated, in this neighbourhood; but I confess it is especially gratifying to me, that the more distant parts of your county will learn from our proceedings to-day, that my public principles are approved by the inhabitants of this town and neighbourhood, where the *wild doctrines of my opponents* have been so widely disseminated, and were formerly recommended with a degree of talent and ability well worthy a better cause. The residence of these characters amongst you, has enabled you, better than others, to ascertain that those who write and talk fluently of freedom, liberality, and justice, can be the most overbearing, illiberal, and oppressive to their miserable dependents. What benefits, let me ask, have the poor of this parish and neighbourhood derived from the residence of these pretended patriots and philanthropists? Has not their system been, here and every-where else, to keep them in a state of abject poverty and dependence, that they may more readily excite their discontent, and render them the deluded instruments of their wicked and destructive machinations? For what other purpose was the cry for cheap bread so artfully excited? which has been followed by want of employment, low wages, and increased poor's rates. For what other purpose have prejudices been so industriously created in opposition to the savings banks, and that improved system of friendly societies, which, above all others, is calculated to arrest the progress of pauperism, render our population respectable and independent, bless their old age with comfort and competence, and save their declining years from the misery and degradation of a poor-house! To effect this has been the wish nearest my heart, and the object of my unceasing endeavours; and, should I be the humble instrument of promoting it in any degree, I shall best prove myself worthy of your support, and best testify my gratitude for your favours. In other particulars, Gentlemen, I shall continue to pursue that line of public conduct which has hitherto been sanctioned with your gratifying approval; and, in

defiance of the taunts of my opponents, will continue to support the present Government as long as they continue to deserve your confidence by preserving their present liberal policy—by practising every possible economy in the expenditure, and by effecting every possible reduction of taxation. But, for the sake of *party purposes*, or to obtain a portion of undeserved popularity, I will not require them to pursue that system further than is consistent with the safety and service of the state, and the maintenance of the national honour and good faith. Gentlemen, I will not detain you longer: these are my public principles, and such as, I trust, become the representative of a free and enlightened people."

Mr Fleming was much cheered during his address, and loudly applauded at its termination.

In the course of the evening the following toasts were given, which elicited much approbation, and called forth several neat speeches from some of the gentlemen present—"R. Pollen, Esq." "Walter Long, Esq." "The Professional Gentlemen of the county who so handsomely tendered their gratuitous services to Mr. Fleming." "Sir W. Heathcote, Bart." "Mr. Fleming, jun." who was present, and returned thanks in a very feeling and energetic manner, considering his youthful age—"Mrs. Fleming and family." "Captains Adams and Collard." "*Happiness and Prosperity to the inhabitants of Botley.*" "The Freeholders and Visitors from Southampton and Bishop's Waltham." "Sir J. W. Pollen, Bart. and the South Hants Militia," &c. &c. The dinner was uncommonly well served by Mr. Gale, the dessert was most splendid, and the wines gave the highest satisfaction. The exertions of the worthy chairman, as well as of the VICE-PRESIDENT, Mr. J. WAXNER, JUN., added much to the hilarity of the meeting, which may be justly said to have been of the most joyous description, and to have given *unmixed delight to all present.*

86. To begin with the beggar news-man of Southampton, he calls Botley "*Cobbett's Radical nest.*" Now what is *radical*? There is no harm in the word; and what is the thing? Radical means a thing *going to the root.* When we talk of going to the root of an evil, we mean, going to the *bottom* of it, and, if we talk of a *thorough* cure, we call it a *radical* one. We all know, that the country is in great misery, compared to what it used to be: even this very WILLI'S says it is. I am one of those who say, that the misery arises from the want of a *reform of the parliament*; and such a reform as shall *give a vote to every man*, poor as well as rich; because every man is compelled to *serve in the militia*, every man is compelled to *pay taxes*, and,

therefore, every man has a right to vote at elections to choose those who are to lay on the taxes. This we call going to the *root* of the misery; for, assuredly, if every man had a vote, the men whom they would choose would not make the labourer pay ten times as much tax on beer as the lord pays on his wine. This is going to the *root*; this is being a *radical*; and, if Botley be not still a *radical nest*, you must be out of your senses; you must think it right that the GRASPALLS should get away, one by one, all your gardens and cottages, leave you not a blade of grass even for a goose to eat, sweat the last drop of blood out of you, cram you, at last, to die in the poor-house, and then put you into the ground like a dog, calling the devil to come, and, with his prayers, insult your dead body. You do not think that this is right, and therefore, in spite of Willis, Jarvis, and the Graspalls, you are still *radicals*. The winter before last, the House of Commons, of which this WILLIS FLEMING *was one*, passed a law to enable the overseers TO SELL THE DEAD BODIES OF THE POOR. I petitioned against that bill in the House of Lords; the Bishop of London (who, by-the-bye, once drank tea at my house at Botley) presented my petition, and the bill was thrown out by the Lords; and, if it had not been for that, your overseers would now, I dare say, have been selling some of the dead bodies of your wives, parents, or children; that is to say, *if you would have let them do it*, which I am very sure you would not. If the poor had votes as well as the rich, members of parliament would not pass laws to *sell the dead bodies of the poor*. Now, I want the poor to have votes as well as the rich; I want to go to the root of the evil; I want your dead bodies not to be sold by the overseers; and it is for this that Willis and his friends the *Graspalls* call on you to hate me. The next time Willis comes to Botley, call out to him, "Who voted for the law to enable the overseers to

"sell the dead bodies of the poor?" See how he will look; hear what answer he will give to that. Aye, and the GRASPALLS are very little better; for they know all about that law; they know that he voted for it: and they support him, praise him, and stand like buffies at his back; while he calumniates me, who petitioned against that law, and who, in fact, prevented it from being passed in the House of Lords. In short, a radical is a man that is against a law for selling the dead bodies of the poor to be cut up by surgeons; that is a radical, and WILLIS and JARVIS and the GRASPALLS hate radicals. The whole crew that were assembled along with JARVIS and the GRASPALLS know, mind you, about this dead-body bill, which I will insert in the next Number of this little book. They knew, that Willis was a member of the House that passed the bill; they knew that he voted for it, either expressly or tacitly; and yet the base crew at the dinner "drank his health with rapturous applause!" And so they would the health of the king of hell, if he would come up and help them to oppress the poor.

87. We now come to the speech of WILLIS (called Fleming): and here I beg you to pay particular attention to what this, at once, stupid and conceited fellow said about the *Corn Bill*, and about *Savings Banks*, and *Friendly Societies*. It is curious to observe, how noisy this fellow was at a *village tavern*, when he never yet, that I have heard of, opened his jaws in the Parliament, except just to say AYE, or no; just to give his vote, which he has always done on the side of those who have the collecting and the expending of the taxes. But, to come back to his Botley-speech; I will, before I notice what he said about the *Corn Bill*, the *Savings Banks*, and the *Friendly Societies*, notice what he said in allusion TO ME, and what the GRASPALLS, young as well as old, had the incomparable base-

ness, not merely to sit and hear in silence, but to "*cheer and loudly applaud.*" I have seen, and have heard, and read of much baseness in my life-time; but, all things considered, baseness equal to that of these GRASPALLS I never before saw, or heard of, or read of. Look again, my friends, at the part of the speech where he alludes to me; where he calls me an *oppressor of the poor*; where he says, that my residence amongst you tended to keep you in a state of *abject dependence*. Read that passage over once more, and, if you can, stifle your indignation at the base lies; but, to stifle your indignation against the GRASPALLS, who cheered and applauded him, is, I am sure, impossible.

88. It is not agreeable to put forth one's own good deeds, and, if this were to be read only by the people of Botley and the neighbourhood, I need not contradict this Willis Fleming, this man, silent in the senate and loud in the tavern; but, what I address to you is to be read all over the country, and in many parts where the people have never known anything of my conduct towards the persons that were in my employ, and towards the labouring people of the neighbourhood; and this being the case, it is necessary that I state a few facts, which will enable the world to judge of this my conduct. Some of you too who are young may not have heard of that conduct; and, therefore, this statement is necessary. For these reasons I state the following facts:

1. That I made it a rule, that no man that worked regularly for me, should, during his being employed by me, be a *pauper*, that is, receive *parish relief*. I paid my men, however large their families, enough to maintain them well. Most of them lived in my own cottages, and *rent free*, with *plenty of fuel* carried to their doors, each having an oven to bake in. I paid them, besides this, on an average, two shillings a week more than other farmers paid their men. There was one exception as to parish relief, that of RAUBEN

PINK, who belonged to Titchfield parish, and whom I allowed to get from the parish what they chose to give him, and that parish behaved very well in this case. He had a very large family of small children, and, in spite of high wages, free house, fuel, and a really humane parish, he was still poor, ragged, and, in the winter of 1815, fell ill. I sent Dr. BLUNDELL to him, and when he came back, and I asked what ailed him, "Why," said the sensible Doctor, "he wants *good victuals and warm clothes, and a good deal of both, for he is a big man.*" I made him, as soon as a little better, come with his plough and horses (which he used better than any man that I ever saw in my life), and go to plough near my own house, where he came in every day at dinner-time and took the physic prescribed by the doctor, I giving him, at the same time, some of my clothes, and particularly a great-coat, which I had worn very little. The doctor's prescription was completely successful; and he remembers how soon his patient recovered. But this was my, I should say *our*, constant practice with all of them, or their wives and families, when they were ill. With this one exception, no man was a *pauper* that worked for me, though in the three parishes of Botley, Waltham, and Doxford, I paid, in the years that I lived there, not less than about *two thousand pounds in rates*. While other farmers were paying wages out of my rates, my people were receiving none. I saw how unjust this was towards me; but, at any rate, I was resolved, that the man who laboured for me should not be degraded by the *name of pauper*. These facts are notorious; you all know them; and yet the GRASPALLS had the baseness to *cheer and applaud* the empty-headed Willis Fleming, while he was representing me as an "*oppressor of my miserable dependents!*" These wretches, these greedy, grinding, *all-grasping* vagabonds, ought to have been stricken dead upon the spot; and,

safe as they think themselves now, heavy as are their bags, fast as is their hold on the property of unfortunate people, they are not beyond the reach of God's judgments on the robbers of the poor; and I, even I, shall yet see them punished for their monstrous extortions, which are really incredible.

2. I found, living in two cottages, on the farm of Fairthorn, a widow and her daughters, and an old man and his wife. I let the widow remain rent free, and gave her wood to burn, as long as I had the farm. The old man paid me no rent; when he died I had a head-stone put to his grave to record, that he had been an honest, skilful, and industrious labouring man; and I gave his widow a shilling a week as long as I was at Botley. And yet the vile extortioners *cheered* and *applauded* Willis while he was representing me as *illiberal* and *oppressive* to dependents!

3. My people, though *never* hired but by the *week*, lived with me for years; and, indeed, no man that I recollect, ever quitted me by choice. Robinson, you know, was my gardener for years; Bob Hammond, who worked for me occasionally, has come up, three summers, to work for me at Kensington; Mr. DEAN, who became my bailiff, lived in one of my cottages as long as the cottage was mine, has since kept my shop in London, is now a newsman in London, was with me through my tour in the counties last spring, is, *this very day*, managing my affairs at Barn-Elm in Surrey, and is become, as you know, a man of considerable property, which, as I know, is the just reward of his industry and fidelity. These facts are undeniable and notorious; and yet the *all-grasping*, the *extorting* *vagabonds*, sat and *cheered* and *applauded* the stupid and malignant fellow, while he was calling me an "*oppressor of my miserable dependents*."

4. And, as to the people in the neighbourhood of Botley,

what have I not done and attempted to do, in order to prevent them from being robbed of the blades of grass for their pigs and their geese? In 1805, the moment I went to Botley, I wrote a memorial to Mr. Windham, on the state of HORTON HEATH, and showed how injurious it would be to enclose that common. He showed my memorial; but, at last, the greedy graspers have prevailed, and that common, the outlet to so many cottages, is enclosed, to the ruin and degradation of the cottagers. In 1827 a more ruinous measure was attempted; I mean the enclosure of WALTHAM CHASE, studded round with cottages, and covered with the cows, pigs, and geese of the cottagers, who also get fuel from the heath, the turf and the dead wood. The graspers fixed their eyes on this spot: the labourers were too well off; they had pigs and geese, and some of them cows, and even asses or little forest horses! This was too much for the graspers to endure. They made a bargain with the Bishop, who was lord of the manor; their attorney was set to work; an enclosure-bill was prepared; and the rights of the poor of the See of Winchester, and of the Crown, were all to be sacrificed to the greediness of the graspers. Their attorney came up with the bill to get passed; and, in spite of the laudable and able efforts of Mr. RICHARD HINXMAN, the bill actually passed that *precious House of which Willis Fleming is a member*. But, before the bill got to the House of Lords, I, who had heard of this cruel grasping scheme, wrote a memorial on the subject, showing how injurious the measure would be to numerous families of labouring people; this memorial I sent to a ministerial member of parliament, whom I knew to be a humane man; he communicated the information to the Committee of the Lords; the bill was thrown out; the poor people were saved, and the greedy fellows and their attorney had to shrink home like sheep-biting dogs that have been met.

by a shepherd with a gun in his hand. Now, your everlasting gratitude is due to Mr. OVERINGTON and Mr. RICHARD HINKMAN for their exertions on this occasion; and, indeed, any memorial might possibly have no effect; *the whole of the merit might be due to those two spirited and worthy gentlemen*; but, I did my best, at any rate; and *this the grasspots know*; and for this, amongst other things, they hate me, and, as this was my *last offence* against them, it had, perhaps, the greatest weight. This was a cruel disappointment to them and their attorney; they had subscribed money to pay him, and to carry the job through; they were calculating how much more land they should have than they had before; they were counting their gains over and over again. You have heard or read of the man who sold the lion's skin before he had caught the lion; and some of those greedy fellows had actually sold *their share of the chase* before they came to London to get the law to enforce it! Judge you of their mortification! You have, sometimes, seen a dog when about to seize hold of a piece of meat, or to run his mouth into a luncheon-bag, and, just at that moment, getting a blow across the nose with a broomstick. You have seen the greedy robber shake his ears, and go jogging-off with his tail between his legs. You have seen an egg-sucking cur, when an egg-shell filled with hot coals has been crammed into his mouth; and you have seen him twist his jaws about, and stare like mad. Like these currs were the GRASSPOTS, when the House of Lords refused to give them the power of robbing the poor of Waltham Chase of the last blade of grass. As Christians you are to forgive them for this attempt, *when they have repented, and made atonement*; but not before; and, even then, you are not to *forget* the attempt; you are to be on your guard against them in future; and, you ought to *get all their names*, and send them to me, and I will put them in print, which will,

doubtless, delight them; for, as I said before, the fellows, stingy as they are, will squeeze out some few shillings now-and-then to pay dirty printers in the country to print their names. To be sure, this is when they are speechmakers, or presidents, or vice-presidents; and they may not like it, when they appear as robbers of the poor; as *extortioners*; or *graspers*, surpassing in greediness the very wolves themselves. But, yet, as enemies of *radicals*, they cannot object to have their names put into print. At any rate, in print they shall be, if I can do it, and you shall have them to stick up over your fire-places; and the name of their attorney too.

5. In the year 1816, I think it was, when the labouring people of our neighbourhood were suffering very much from want of employment. I proposed to the parish of Bishop's Waltham, that we should petition the Bishop, who was lord of the manor, to grant an acre of waste land to any married labourer who would enclose, and cultivate, and live on it. I called a vestry of the parish, and to the farmers and land-owners made this proposition. We put the matter to the vote, and every man voted against me, with the single exception of Mr. JENNINGS, the schoolmaster! The three orators against me were, BUDD, of Stakes; CHIDDLE, then with three farms in his hands; and STEEL, of Ashton. Budd said, that to give the labourers a bit of land would make them "*sacy*;" Chiddle said, that it would only make them "*breed more children*;" and STEEL said, that it would make them demand "*higher wages*." What is the present state of Budd I do not know; Chiddle has *not now so much land*, I hear, as one of the labourers would have had; and, as to Steel, he, who used so to swagger, has since *blown his brains out with a pistol*! When I heard of the awful end of this man, and of the great change in the affairs of Chiddle, I could not help calling to

mind their conduct on the above occasion, and to call to mind also the denunciations of God against the oppressors of the poor: "Hear this," said I, when I heard of the death of STEEL. "Hear this, O ye that swallow up the needy, even to make the poor of the land to fail! I will turn your *feasting into mourning*, saith the Lord God, and your *songs into lamentations*." These words of the prophet AMOS, let the GRASPALLS, young and old, bear in mind; and, as they are remarkably pious people, let them turn to ISAIAH, chapter v. and verse 8, and there read, "WOE unto them who *join house to house*, that *lay field to field*, till there be no place, that they may be placed alone in the midst of the earth." Let them think of these words; let them bear in mind the curses which God has laid on the guilty head of the extortioner; and let them remember, that, of all extortions, the most detestably wicked is that by which the labourer is *defrauded of his hire*, whether by cunning or by force, whether in the field or in the chandler's shop.

89. Now, my friends, I must close for the present; and, in the next Number, which will be *published on the first of November*, I will finish the subject. I will then expose Willis Fleming's rubbish about the *Corn Bill*, and about his *Savings Banks and Friendly Societies*; I will show you, that these are schemes for *making the poor keep the rich*; I will explain all the trick to you; I will bring out the GRASPALLS more *into the light*; I will pull out the BOTLEY PARSON (who, I hear, was one of the crew at the dinner); and, in short, I will supply you with this and another little book for you to read all the winter. The remaining part of this present little book will be filled with the copy of *a petition to the king*, drawn up by me, and now signing in London. This is a *radical petition*. Read it, my friends, keep it, read it over and over again, and then

you will know what a radical is. The price of this little book is *twopence*; but, as I want it to be read on Horton Heath, Botley Common, Curdridge Common, Sherril Heath, Waltham Chase, and at Botley and all the villages round about, I will sell a *hundred* copies of this, and also of the next Number, at a *penny* a copy to any one that I know within ten miles of Botley, or, indeed, to any one that I know in any part of Hampshire. I have printed a good parcel for this purpose.—*Read the Petition*, and God keep you from being pinched to death by the GRASPALLS.

WM. COBBETT.

TO THE

KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY,

THE PETITION

Of persons belonging to the Industrious Classes of London and its vicinity, dated this 15th day of September, 1839,

Most humbly sheweth,

That we approach your Majesty, not as blind adorers of royalty, but as faithful and dutiful subjects, whose fidelity and duty are founded in our conviction, that, in highly honouring and cheerfully obeying your Majesty, in upholding with all our might your just prerogatives, and evincing our most profound respect for your person, we best consult our own welfare, knowing that you are endowed with those prerogatives for the common good of us all, and not for your own exclusive advantage.

That feeling ourselves thus bound to your Majesty, not by harsh constraint, but by a willing obedience arising from a due estimate of our own interest and honour, regarding your person as sacred, not from servility of mind, but because you are the fountain of justice and of mercy, taught by the laws of our country, that kings were made for the people and not the people for kings, regarding your kingly powers as given to you for the purpose of preserving the peace, the rights, and the happiness of the people, and more especially for the defence and protection of the weak against the

strong, of the poor against the unjust encroachments of the rich, of the fruits of industry against the wiles and the violence of aristocratical ambition, arrogance, and rapacity; animated by all these considerations, and beholding in your Majesty's most gracious conduct and demeanour an indubitable proof of your anxious desire to promote our good by a redress of our grievances, we, with the confidence with which suffering children appeal to a tender father, lay those grievances before your Majesty.

That we complain, may it please your Majesty, not of the form of that Government which has endured for so many ages, and under which our fathers were so free, lived in such ease and abundance, and saw their country so great and so much honoured throughout the world; we complain not of the nature of the institutions of our country, which have stood the test of centuries; we complain not of any thing, an attack on which would argue a hankering after innovation, but, on the contrary, it is of innovations, innovations endless in number, cruelly oppressive, and studiously insulting, that we have now to make complaint to your Majesty.

That we complain, generally, that the whole of the laws passed within the last forty years, and especially within the last twenty years, present one unbroken series of endeavours to enrich and to augment the power of the aristocracy, and to impoverish and depress the middle and labouring part of the people; and that to give your Majesty a specimen of the wrongs and indignities heaped upon us, we specifically complain that the trial by jury, held so sacred by our fathers, and provided for by Magna Charta, as so necessary to the protection of the people, has, in a great measure, been taken from us, leaving us to be fined, imprisoned, corporally punished, and, in some cases, transported, without trial by jury, and at the sole discretion of magistrates, appointed by and dismissable at the pleasure of your Majesty's Ministers; we complain that within the last forty years the most grievous taxes have been laid upon us for the benefit of the aristocracy, to heap riches on them in the shape of pensions, sinecures, and places, and that, as a specimen, 115 of them are, in one case, now receiving out of the taxes 650,000*l.* a year: we complain that the two families of Grenville and Dundas have, during the last forty years, received more money in sinecures alone, than it has cost, during the same time, to maintain the whole of the civil government of the United States of America, which, under that cheap government, have arrived at population and power to rival those of England herself: we complain, that while the laws and usages of our country held standing armies in abhorrence, and while they are wholly unnecessary to our country, especially in time of peace, we are now taxed, at the end of sixteen years of peace, to maintain a standing army that costs more yearly than the army that was maintained during the American war, when we had war also with France, Spain, and Holland, and this too while we have, besides the yeomanry, a militia of sixty thousand men, always ready to be called out: we complain, that at the end of sixteen years of peace we are taxed to

maintain a navy which costs five millions a year, while the navy cost only seven millions a year when we were carrying on war against America, France, Spain, and Holland : we complain that in this peace, which was to give us indemnity for the past and security for the future, we are loaded with taxes twice as heavy as those which were required during the war against all those powers ; we complain that the emolument arising from these establishments are engrossed, for the far greater part, by the aristocracy and their dependents, for whose sole benefit they appear to exist to this enormous extent, a conclusion fully warranted when we see that we have three generals for every regiment of soldiers, two admirals for every ship of the line, that we have, taking both services together, one commissioned officer to every five private men, and especially when we look at the families and connexions from which all the officers come ; we complain that, in the navy, the bulwark of our country, promotion and power are so bestowed, that sons of the aristocracy, who were children at the end of the war, have the command of ships, and have under them masters and lieutenants who were fighting at sea before these commanders were born : we complain that, in pursuance of this system of aggrandising the aristocracy at the expense and to the depressing of the middle and working classes, military and naval and ordnance academies have been established, for the rearing of officers for the army and navy, and that in these the children of the aristocracy and of their dependents are nursed, fed, clad, and taught at the public expense, so that the middle and working class are compelled to pay for the nursing, and feeding, and teaching of the children of the aristocracy, and that too for the manifest purpose of excluding for ever hereafter their own children and kindred from all chance, and even all possibility, of possessing military or naval command : we complain of the establishment of military asylums for rearing up the children of soldiers in ease and comfort at the public expense, the children of working men being, under like circumstances, treated as paupers, while their fathers are compelled to pay taxes to support these asylums : we complain, that, in accordance with this system of establishing a permanent military force, while the pay of the private soldier has been so augmented as to make it, over and above his clothing and lodging and fuel, greater than the average wages of the hard-working man, the soldier, like the aristocracy, is excused from paying postage on his letters, while the hard-working and half-starved man, who is taxed to maintain that well-fed and well-clad soldier, is not so excused : we complain, that we have been taxed to give half-pay, in the army and navy, to a large part of the clergy of the established church, who, for twelve years, were receiving tithes, Easter-offerings, and other dues, as rectors and vicars, and at the same time receiving military or naval half-pay, and who, at the end of that time, were allowed to sell, or transfer this half-pay, still leaving it a charge upon this burdened and suffering people : we complain, that within the last thirty years, 1,600,000*l.* have been paid out of the taxes for, as was alleged, " the relief of the poor clergy of the church of England,"

while the bishops of that church have revenues from ten to forty thousand pounds a year, while the Deans and Chapters have wealth enormous, while there are numbers of the aristocratical clergy who have two, three, or more benefices each, and while, to cite an instance, the Earl of Guilford has, at this time, the great living of St. Mary, Southampton, including the adjoining parish of South Stoneham, the livings of Old Alresford, of New Alresford, and of Medstead, a Prebend at Winchester, and the Mastership of St. Cross: we complain, that the revenues of the church are thus distributed, that there are "poor clergy" in this rich and luxurious church; but we more especially complain, that we are taxed for the relief of those who are made poor by this scandalous grasping of the church-revenues by the aristocracy: we complain, not only of the weight of the taxes arising from the afore-mentioned causes, but of their partial imposition, falling as they do, like feathers on the aristocracy, and like lead on the middle and working class: we complain; that the taxes on the malt, the sugar, the tea, or the spirits, amount, on either of these articles, to more than the tax on all the lands in the kingdom: we complain, that while foreign wine pays a duty of fifty per cent. on its value, foreign spirits pay four hundred per cent.: we complain, that while the goods which are the result of our labour or skill pay a heavy auction-tax, the timber, underwood, and other produce of land, sold on the land, pay no such tax: we complain, that, of the more than two millions a year raised by the tax on letters received by the post, the aristocracy pay not one single farthing: we complain (leaving out a hundred other instances), that in the case of probates of wills and administrations, no tax at all is paid by the land, while a heavy tax is imposed on personal property, and thus, while the middle class has to sustain this cruel tax, not a farthing of it falls upon the owners of the land: we complain, that, as if all these were not enough, a Corn Bill has been passed, and has been in force for fifteen years, giving the aristocracy a monopoly of that necessary of life, shutting out food, while it was asserted by those who made the law, that there were too many mouths, compelling manufacturers to buy their bread dear, and to sell their goods and labour cheap, sacrificing all the rest of the community to the greediness of the owners of the land: we complain that the game-laws, always unjust in principle, always at war with the rights of nature and the dictates of reason, have, within the last fifteen years, become tenfold more cruel than formerly, for that to pecuniary penalties, or short imprisonment, for an infraction of those laws, are now added long imprisonment, corporeal punishment, and transportation beyond the seas for seven years, and these too at the sole discretion of the justices of the peace, appointed by and dismissable at the pleasure of the Ministers of the day: we complain, that the new law of trespass has empowered magistrates to imprison poor men and to cause them to be corporally punished without any trial, while the great trespasser is left under the protection of the ancient law: we complain, that the working people having been, by the weight of the taxes on the necessities of life, reduced to a state of pauperism,

laws were next made to prevent them from obtaining parochial relief as heretofore; we complain, that, within these twelve years, two acts have been passed, one to throw the power of vestries into the hands of all the landowners, and another to enable those landowners to set at defiance even the power of the magistrates to cause relief to be given: we complain, that in consequence of these taxes, this monopoly in corn, and the severities on the working people, of which we have here given merely a specimen, the working people of England, once the best fed, best clad, and most moral in the world, have become the most miserable and degraded to be found on the face of the earth, those of unhappy Ireland only to be excepted: we complain, that the landowners compel them to draw carts and wagons like beasts of burden, that they keep men forcibly from their wives for a purpose too gross to mention, that others forbid them to marry upon pain of being left to beg or starve, and that others sell them by the week or month by public auction: we complain that the House of Commons, though fully apprised of all this suffering, though they have, in evidence given before their committees, proof upon proof of the wretchedness of the people, though they have in evidence, that the honest working man is fed worse than the convicted felon in the jails and the hulks, though it has been proved to them that the working people commit crimes for the express purpose of getting at the better fare in the prisons; though they have been fully informed upon all these points, though they must be acquainted with the notorious facts, that the working people have, in many instances, resorted to the food of hogs and dogs, and have in many others been actually starved to death, they have adopted no measure for their relief, but measures innumerable for their punishment, closing, at last, with a bill to authorise the keepers of poor-houses and hospitals to sell their dead bodies for dissection, and thus, in this signal respect, putting the honest, worn-out or unfortunate man upon a level with the murderer.

That to our gracious and just and merciful King we complain, as of the real cause of all these oppressions and sufferings, that we are not represented in that which is called, and ought to be, the Commons' or people's House of Parliament: we complain, that though it had been stated to that House in 1793, without an attempt at contradiction, that one hundred and fifty-four peers and great commoners and the treasury put a decided majority into the House, had proof tendered (which it would not receive), that two of the Ministers had actually sold a seat in the House, yet when, in 1817, we petitioned for such a reform as would put an end to these odious practices, that House, instead of listening to our humble prayers, passed a law which enabled the Ministers to put us into dungeons at their pleasure, deprived of the sight of friends and of the use of pen, ink, and paper, which law was carried into effect with unheard-of severity and cruelty: we complain, that, in 1819, a body of persons peaceably met at Manchester for the purpose of petitioning parliament to adopt a reform of the Commons' House, were attacked by soldiers, and, to

the amount of some hundreds, either killed, crippled or wounded: we complain, that the soldiers were by Lord Viscount Sidmouth thanked, in his late Majesty's name, for their conduct on that sanguinary day: we complain, that the House of Commons refused all inquiry into that memorable and horrible transaction, but that it, in that same session, passed six distinct acts, each of which further and greatly abridged our rights and liberties, and particularly two of them, by which the liberty of the press was, in effect, as far as related to the working people, nearly extinguished, but above all things, we humbly beseech your Majesty to remark, that that House, with the records of 1793, 1809, and 1819, before it, passed a law, inflicting fine, imprisonment, and even banishment, on any man or woman who should write, print, or publish anything having even a tendency to bring it into contempt.

Thus, may it please your Majesty, we have, in all humility and dutifulness, submitted to your wisdom and justice a statement of a part of our manifold grievances and sufferings: we have, in the sincerity of our hearts, expressed to you our firm conviction, that all these have arisen from our not being represented in parliament; and as the means of restoring us to liberty and happiness, as the means of uniting all hearts in preserving the peace of our country and upholding the dignity and true splendour of your Majesty's crown, we humbly but earnestly pray, that of those great powers with which your Majesty is invested for the good of your faithful people, you will be graciously pleased to make such use as shall produce a reform in the Commons' House, ensuring to all adult males, not insane and not tarnished by indelible crime, a voice given by ballot, in the choosing of representatives, and as shall shorten the duration of Parliaments.

And your petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

I have just room to tell you, that the people of BELGIUM, the common people, have beaten the Dutch armies, who were marched against them to compel them to pay enormous taxes. This is excellent news. This event will make the GRASPALLS mourn; for they like taxes, because they make you pay them, and, in fact, pay none themselves. The taxes keep you down, and do not touch them. Mind that,

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COBBETT'S TWO-PENNY TRASH

For the Month of November, 1830.

FIRES IN KENT AND SUSSEX. TO THE WORKING PEOPLE OF ENGLAND.

Bolt-court, London, 1830.

MY FRIENDS,

AMONGST all the crimes that men committed against their neighbours, that which the law calls ARSON, and which is a *malicious setting fire to their buildings or their stacks*; a crime always held in great and just abhorrence, and always punished *with death*; and so necessary has this punishment been deemed to the safety of society, that children not more than ten years of age have been put to death for it; because it is a crime so easily committed, committed with so much secrecy, and in the commission of which a very young person may be the instrument of grown-up persons. It is a truly abominable crime, because the commission of it may cause innocent persons to perish in the flames; and, at the very least, it may, in a moment, ruin whole families, reducing them from competence to beggary.

When, therefore, we hear of acts of this description being almost nightly committed in *England*, our first feeling is that of *resentment against the parties*; but, when we have had a little time to reflect, we are, if we be not devourers of the fruit of the people's labours, led to ask, What can have been the *cause* of a state of things so unnatural as that in which crimes of this horrid kind are

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and sold by all Booksellers.

committed by hundreds of men going in a body, and deemed by them to be a sort of duty instead of crimes? When we put this question we are not to be answered with the assertion, that the crimes arise from the *vicious disposition* of the working people; because then we ask, *what is it* that has made them so vicious. No; this cannot be the cause. The people are of the same make and nature that they always were; the *land* is the same, the climate the same, the language and the religion the same, and, it is very well known, that schools and places of worship, and the circulation of the Bible and of religious books, have all been prodigiously increasing for many years; and are now more in the *land* than ever. There must, therefore, be some *other cause*, or causes, to produce these dreadful acts in a people the most just, the most good-natured, and the most patient, in the world. I know this cause; or, rather, these causes; I know also that there is an effectual remedy of this great and melancholy evil; and I need not say, that it is my duty to state them both with perfect frankness; a duty which I shall perform as briefly and with as much clearness as I am able.

The great and general cause is the *extreme poverty* of the working people; or, in other words, the *starving state* in which they are. That Bible, which they have been taught to read, as the means of saving their *souls*, tells them, from one end to the other, that their *bodies* also are not to be left to perish for want, while the land abounds with plenty, and that plenty arising, too, from *their own labour*. It tells them, and they know it, that the "labourer is worthy of his hire," and they know that that hire means a *sufficiency*, not only for the man who works but for his wife and children, and of clothes and fuel and lodging too, as well as of victuals and drink. Can God, who commanded that even *the ox* should not be muzzled as he trod out the corn, be pleased to see men, who have tilled the land, sowed the corn and reaped it and housed it, forbidden to touch the flour, and condemned to eat roots, or herbage, not sufficient to keep a pig in good plight? Every line of Holy Writ tells them, that this cannot be the will of God, while tradition, while all the sayings of their forefathers, tell them, that such a state of things is contrary also to the laws and customs of their native country.

The natural consequence is *discontent*; that leads to *resentment*. No man can suffer what he deems a *wrong* without feeling anger against *somebody*. He may be in error as to the *object* of his anger; but he must feel anger against somebody; and that anger will vent itself in acts, whenever he finds himself able to act. It does not signify that he gets no *redress* by such action. He gets *revenge*, and that is redress to a certain extent. Now, the working people of England know that they work hard, and that they are fed like dogs and hogs. They know, too, that their forefathers were *not thus fed*. That they are thus fed now is a fact, not resting upon my assertion, or upon the assertion of any man; it is a fact proved by witnesses examined before Committees of the House of Commons. I will, now, first state the case of the labourers of England;

which is as follows: 1. That they have been, by degrees, brought down to the most miserable living; not fit for human beings; 2. That this has been done by the taxes; 3. That, whilst these things have been, and are half-starving, those who live on the 4th have been, and are, wallowing in luxury and shaming in splendour; 4. That, as the poverty and misery of the labouring people have increased, new laws have been made, by which new and harsher and unheard-of restraints have been imposed, and new punishments and indignities without number have been inflicted upon them; 5. That, at last, so desperate has become their state, that jails, transportation, and even death, have lost their terrors, when put in comparison with the sufferings under quiet submission.

Such is the case of the labourers, of the working people, of England, whose forefathers led the happiest lives of any working people upon the face of the earth: I am, at this time, speaking more particularly of the acts of the farming labourers; but, they are not to be separated from those who make and mend the implements and the tools and the harness, and who shoe the horses and slaughter the cattle; nor are they to be separated from those who spin and weave the cloth and make the coats, the shoes, and the hats, and shoes who make and repair the buildings; all the labourers are in the same boat; all suffer alike; and from the same cause, all are discontented (all feel the same resentment, in the above five propositions the case of them all is stated); and now I have to prove that I have TRULY stated that case.

1. That the working people have been, by degrees, brought down to the most miserable living; not fit for human beings. The proof of this is in the following facts; that, in 1821, before a Committee of the House of Commons, Mr. John Ellison, son of our Lord, Essex, said, that 45 years before that time, when he became a farmer, every man in his parish brewed his own beer, and enjoyed it with his family, by his own fire-side, and that, now, not a single man in the parish did it, except one or two to whom the gave the malt. Before the same Committee, the High Sheriff of Wiltshire said, that the labouring people, in that county, who used formerly to eat meat and bread and drink beer, now lived wholly on potatoes; and that the ploughmen and others carried cold potatoes to a field, instead of the meat, cheese, bread and beer; that they used to carry, in 1828, a magistrate of Wiltshire (it was just the same in Berkshire) said a scale of payment of the labourers before the Committee, showing, that to each member of a family was allowed 2s a day, that is to say, the price of 1½ lb. of bread, with nothing for clothing, fuel, or lodging; that is to say, only about a third of what was allowed to the sick in the hospitals and about a half of what was allowed to the felons in the jails, and less than a fourth of what was, and is, paid to the common private soldiers, exclusive of clothes, lodging, fuel and amusements. And, while the hard-working men were, and are, living in this misery, they are supported out of their toil, the fat horses of the soldiers, each man and horse of them costing more than would maintain seven families at the above rates. The Berkshire jail regulations make provision for

setting the convicted prisoners, in certain cases, TO WORK, and, they say, "If the surgeon think it necessary, the WORKING PRISONERS may be allowed MEAT AND BROTH ON MEAT DAYS"; and on Sundays, of course! There it is! There is the "envy and admiration"! There is the state to which Mr. Prosperity and Mr. Canning's best Parliament have brought us. There is the result of "victories" and prize-money and battles of Waterloo and of English Ladies kissing "Old Blucher." There is the fruit, the natural fruit, of anti-Jacobinism and battles on the Serpentine River and jubilees and heaven-born ministers and sinking-funds and "public credit" and army and navy contracts. There is the fruit, the natural, the nearly (but *not quite*) ripe fruit of it all: the CONVICTED FELON is, if he do not work at all, allowed, on week-days, some vegetables in addition to his bread, and on Sunday, both *meat and broth*; and, if the CONVICTED FELON work, if he be a WORKING convicted felon, he is allowed *meat and broth all the week round*; while, hear it Burdett, then Berkshire magistrate! hear it, all ye base miscreants who have persecuted men because they sought a reform! the WORKING CONVICTED FELON is allowed *meat and broth every day in the year*, while the WORKING HONEST MAN is allowed *nothing but dry bread*, and of that not half a belly-full! And yet you see people that seem *surprised* that crimes increase! Very strange, to be sure; that men should like to work upon meat and broth better than they like to work upon dry bread! No wonder that *new jails arise*. No wonder that there are now two or three or four or five jails to one county, and that as much is now written upon "*prison discipline*" as upon almost any subject that is going. But why so good, so generous, to FELONS? The truth is that they are *not fed too well*; for to be starved is no part of their sentence; and, here are SURGEONS who have something to say! They know very well that a man may be murdered by keeping necessary food from him. Felons are not apt to lie down and *die quickly* for want of food. The jails are in *large towns*, where the news of any cruelty soon gets about. So that the felons have many circumstances in their favour. It is in the villages, the reclusé villages, where the greatest cruelties are committed. Here, then, in this contrast between the treatment of the WORKING FELON and that of the WORKING HONEST MAN, we have a complete picture of the present state of England; that horrible state to which, by slow degrees, this once happy country has been brought.

2. *That this has been caused by the taxes.* Look at the progress of the taxes, which amounted to 7,000,000*l.* a year, when the present king was born, and which now amount to 60,000,000*l.* a year. Malt, hops, sugar, tea, soap, candles, tobacco, every thing necessary to the labouring man, is taxed so as to make him pay for them *three times as much as he would pay if there were no taxes on them*; because, besides the taxes, there is the *monopoly*. Just in proportion as the taxes have increased, the misery has increased; thus it has been in all countries, and thus it has been in this, and thus it always must be. No matter on whom the taxes are *laid*: each

class shifts them from its own shoulders to those of the class next beneath; the landlord to those of the farmer, for instance, the farmer to those of the labourer, and him they press to the earth. In like manner the big merchant and ship-owner shift them off to the shoulders of the manufacturer and master mechanic, and they to the *working people*, and they are pressed to the earth.

3. *That while those who work have been, and are, half-starving, those who live on the taxes have been, and are, wallowing in luxury and splendour.* We know that it has been proved, in the House of Commons itself, that 113 Privy Councillors receive amongst them, yearly, out of the taxes, 650,000*l.*; that is to say, these 113 men receive more in one year than would maintain 32,000 labourers' families, consisting of 160,000 souls! And this is exclusive of the bishops and the members of the Royal Family who are in the Privy Council. This is more money than it has taken to defray the expense of the whole of the civil government of America for the last twenty years! The two families of Grenville and Dundas have received more in *sinicures and pensions*, during the last forty years, than it has taken to support and carry on the whole of the civil government of America during that forty years! But, we must have something more full here: we must have that information which my book of "*Splendid Paupers*" gives us. It is a report published by the House of Commons, in 1808; and, though I have often appealed to it, I must appeal to it again now. It is the *Aristocracy*, and not the *Royal Family*, that has made the people so miserable. The Aristocracy takes away the fruit of the labour of us all. It does it in various shapes and ways; but, pay attention to the curious specimens that I am now about to lay before you: I laid the greater part of it before my readers thirteen years ago, just after the Dungeon and Gaggling Bills were passed; but, millions of children have become men and women since that year, and some who then read may have forgotten; and every word of it ought always to be *fresh* in the mind of every man and woman in England. After describing a report, made by a Committee, in 1817, in order to pacify the people, after the passing of the Dungeon and Gaggling Bills, I proceed to give a specimen of the manner in which the Aristocracy took away the earnings of the people. Pray read, now, especially if you be a *young man*, and then feel as you ought to feel.

The *Sinecures* in the Colonies amount to 76,546*l.* a year, exclusive of those in the Cape of Good Hope; the Isle of France, and Malta, which probably amount to as much more; for, many of the Noble Lords and their sons, and a great many of the Right Hon. and Hon. Gentlemen, fill the offices of *Clerks, Harbour-Masters, Naval-Officers, Tide-Writers, Collectors, Surveyors, &c. &c.* in those countries, which countries they have never seen, except upon the map, if they have seen them even there. Some of these offices are filled by *women*, and by *fine Ladies* too; and some by *children*; but, then, these children are of high blood, and of course they have extraordinary faculties.

Without going any further, then, we have *Sinecures* to the amount of 400,000 *l.* a year. But, was it *Sinecures* alone that we complained of? No; we complained of '*Sinecures, Pensions, and Grants, not fully merited by well-known public services.*' Now of *Pensions and Grants*, there are in the official account before me, *Eleven hundred and nine names*, receiving in the whole 642,621 *l.* a year! And, observe well, that I have not included here one single person, who has any pretension to *public merit of any kind whatsoever*, except the '*Late Foreign Ministers,*' and it is very clear that they ought to have *no pensions at all.* They are paid enormous salaries while in service; their expenses going, and coming, are all paid; they have an enormous *service of plate* as an emolument, which they keep; and, when they have finished their employment, what right have they to any thing more? When a man has served his master for a year, or for twenty years, does not the master come to pay him as soon as he ceases to work? When a war is over, are not the soldiers sent away without any pay for the rest of their lives, except in the case of wounds, and what *foreign minister* gets wounded? The officers of the army have, indeed, *half pay*, but, then, they have *bought* their commissions; and, besides, they have been in the service so long that they are capable of being in no other sort of employ; and, in the navy, they are actually bred up to the business from their infancy. Why, then, these immense sums to the *Late Foreign Ministers*, whose bodies are, as strong, and who can find employment the same as before? Besides, no other nation wastes its means in this way. The American foreign Ministers receive, while on service, each of them about *a fifth part* as much per year as Canning received per year while he was at Lisbon, and they receive *no pensions* after their employment ceases. But, then, the American people have not the satisfaction to see such men as Canning rolling in his chariot, while they eat grains and butter-milk! The American people have not the honour to pay 30s. a bushel for English salt; but, on the contrary, I now actually pay 2s. 6d. English money for *that very salt* for which I used to give 20s. a bushel in London, and 10s. a bushel at Botley. People here give salt to their *cattle* in great abundance and to surprising advantage; they take their hay sometimes almost green, and throw salt amongst it, which makes it, they say, as good as hay made in the general way. Yet this very salt comes from England, yea, is made in that same England, where a poor man can hardly get salt to use with his potatoes! But, then, the Americans, as I said before, have not the honour to have *Sinecure Place-men, Big Pensioners, Great Grantees*, and a long list of '*Late Foreign Ministers,*' though the foreign affairs of the country are conducted with more ability than at those of any other nation in the whole world. As a proof of this, compare the public papers of the American Foreign Ministers with the papers of Castlereagh, Canning, Wellesley, or any of the great ones here. Besides, the American Foreign Ministers are always amongst the very first men in the country for talent, wisdom, and integrity. Of the FIVE *Presidents*, three have formerly been

Foreign Ministers. And, it is to men like these that the Americans give about a *fifth part* as much as we give to such men as CANNING and ERBEE! But, then, the people of America do not live upon butter, milk and grains; nor do they live upon tea and potatoes.

If, indeed, our Foreign Ministers were to serve till they were *knocked out*, as a soldier or sailor must (if not wounded) in order to get a pension, the evil would not be so great; because it is clear, that we never could have above *one or two* at a time of these gentlemen to keep. But the fact is just the contrary. Our Foreign Ministers serve only *two or three years*, and then home they come, and have a pension *for life*; and, indeed, it is perfectly notorious, that the younger sons of those who have seats, are thus sent abroad to stay two or three years in order to be *fastened upon the nation for life*! So that there is always a long list of these '*Late Foreign Ministers*;' and, in the account before me, there are no less than *forty-seven* of these persons, receiving 51,560*l.* a year out of the earnings of the people, who are in the deepest misery for want of food and clothing! There was one of the WYNNES sent to Dresden for *four years*, from 1803 to 1807, for which he has ever since been receiving a pension of 1,200*l.* a year! This is HENRY WATKIN WILLIAMS WYNN. Not '*Squeaking WYNN*,' but a brother of his, and brother also to Sir Watkin, who is so famed for the *loyalty*, with which he is said to have been inspired, during the last war. Faith! this loyalty was no such foolish thing for Sir WATKIN's family! There are people who *laugh* at these WYNNES! but, the WYNNES might, with much more reason, laugh at them. This grave Ambassador was about twenty-one years of age when he went to Dresden. He is, of course, now about thirty-five; and if the system were to go on, till he were threescore and ten years old, he would receive 47,600*l.* in *principal money*; and, if we were to reckon, as we ought, the interest and compound interest, he would receive 155,400*l.* for his four years of service at Dresden! Besides a thumping salary while he was there! This is no visionary idea, for in the same list, there is a JOHN OSBORNE, a relation of the Duke of Leeds, who was envoy at this same petty Court of Dresden *four years*, from 1771 to 1775, and he received a pension of 660*l.* a year up to 1808 (the date of the account now before me); so that, in 1808, this gentleman had received, in *principal money*, 26,400*l.*, besides his salary for four years' Envoyship, and, if he be alive now, he has received 33,600*l.* for the four years' service. The interest and compound interest, which always ought to be reckoned in these cases, would make his sum surpass 100,000*l.* for four years' envoyship at Dresden, besides his salary for the four years. I find a RICHARD SHEPHERD upon this list, who is our friend the great law man's son. This person was *Chargé d'affaire* at Munich for *two years*, for which he has been receiving a pension of 250*l.* a year for 18 years already; and, if his father can find *law enough* to uphold the system, he may receive it, or a bigger pension, for forty years longer, if so long he shall live!

It is farcical to pretend that these pensions are given for *public services*. These are *able men*, or they are not; if they are, why not employ them instead of *new ones*. If they are not, how can they merit a pension as late foreign ministers? I think it would puzzle brother SHEPHEARD himself to get clear of this dilemma.

No, no! the Reformers prayed for the abolition, and at once too, of 'all *Sinecures, Pensions, and Grants, not fully merited by well-known public services*;' and, of course, they prayed for the abolition of the expense of 51,589*l.* a year, amongst the other sums, paid annually to pensioners and grantees.

I have included in my above enumeration and statement not one name, not one sum, that comes fairly under the head of *real public services*. There may, indeed, be persons to differ from me in opinion as to what are *public services*, and what are not *public services*. These persons, such as the sublime and profound Lord MILTON for instance, would probably contend, that the notorious BURKE's services were really of a public nature and of immense national benefit. Of course, he would think, that, though Burke got a pension of 3000*l.* a year for his own life, and 1200*l.* a year for the life of Mrs. Burke, and, besides these, a grant of 2500*l.* a year for five other lives; of course, Lord MILTON would think, that public money could not possibly be better laid out! This last grant is a most curious thing. The pension for his own life and then one for Mrs. Burke's life after him are nothing new. It is no more than those provident gentlemen and good husbands, Messrs. Long, Huskisson, Nepean, King, and hundreds of others, have done. But, to provide beforehand a grant of public money to be left to *Executors at the Grantee's death*, is really something more shameless than I should have expected even the shameless Burke to ask; and, I leave the world to guess at the state of abject subjection in which Mr. Pitt was to the Boroughmongers, when he could give his consent to such a profligate grant, and that too to the man whom, of all men living, he despised the most. This grant is so great a curiosity, that I will transcribe it word for word.

'Grant to the *Executors* of the late EDMUND BURKE, annual amount, 2500*l.* By authority of two patents, dated 24th Oct. 1793. That is to say, 1160*l.* during the life of Lord Royston and the Hon. and Rev. Archibald Grey. And, 1340*l.* during the life of the Princess Amelia, Lord Althorp, and Wm. Cavendish, Esq.'

Now, whether a calculation of these lives were made and the Grant sold, as it might be, as soon as it was obtained; or, whether it really was bequeathed to '*Executors*,' perhaps Lord MILTON the sublime, or Mr. WILLIAM ELLIOT the beautiful, may be able to tell; but, I rather more than believe, that it was my exposure of this vile transaction, in a Register of November last, which drew forth from the latter, in the month of January, those vehement charges against the publishers of '*Weekly Venom*;' and, at any rate, I am quite sure, that the nation continues to pay this 2500*l.* a year to somebody, and that it will continue to pay it as

long as Lord Milton and Mr. William Elliot shall have seats in Parliament.

What! And are there men in the world, not notorious robbers, to approve of such things as these! 'Ah!' says the Courtesan, 'but they are vested rights; and, if you begin by seizing them, you may end by seizing people's goods in their houses.' If this be all we want to authorize the seizure, we may seize away; for how many thousand persons have had their beds sold from under them to pay the taxes since this grant was made! Thus the *beginning* to seize has actually taken place. But, what are we to seize? The grant is nothing in substance. We want to seize nothing. We only want not to be compelled to pay the amount of it any longer. We want to be able to live without Burke's executors coming to seize our goods. We want not to be obliged to go naked and hungry in consequence of our earnings being taken away in this manner. And, because we complain, that 60,000*l.* of the money, raised in taxes upon our beer, soap, candles, &c., have been given to this BURKE, are we to be called *Jacobins* and *Revolutionists*? He, his wife, and his executors, have already received about 66,000*l.* of principal money out of the taxes, and as the *time* are some of them very young yet, the executors may, possibly, receive as much more. If we reckon the interest, as we ought, this hireling writer; the trumpeter of that war, a '*transition from which to peace*' has, upon the showing of the Boroughmongers themselves, produced unparalleled misery throughout a whole nation; if we reckon the interest, this base man, who prostituted his great talents to the vilest and most wicked of purposes, will, in the whole, if the system go on, have received by himself and his executors, a quarter of a million of the public money; and, because we complain of this, we are to be held forth as promulgating *sedition and blasphemy*!

The late Marquis of Buckingham has not received less, from his sinecure, than 700,000*l.* of principal money; the Marquis Camden 700,000*l.*; Lord Arden not less than 500,000*l.*; the Seymours not less than 400,000*l.*; Garnier not less than 250,000*l.*; the Knoxes 400,000*l.*; Lord Hobart 400,000*l.*; the Dukes of Richmond, Grafton, Marquis Bute, Lord Melville, and others, each nearly half a million at least; and many, many others 200,000*l.* and 100,000*l.* each. Some 50,000*l.*, and so on; till, if we take a view of the last 57 years, since His Majesty has been upon the throne, and take in all the grants of money, given for no known public services, we shall find here what it is that has swelled up what is called the *National Debt*. But, of this we will speak more at large by and by, when we have asked a little more about the public services of the persons who receive the immense sums of money of which we have been speaking.

Can any one imagine what public services were ever rendered by any of the persons just named? And by the Marchioness of Stafford? Yet her ladyship is down for 300*l.* a year, though her husband has scores of thousands, perhaps hundreds of thousands, a year in his own estates, Lady Grenville of course, being bone of

these and sets of them with her husband, have suffered what some people might call services; but have they not been pretty decently paid for so that husband's estate was not impoverished; and in the 118,000*l.* of principal money, which he has received from his Successor as Auditor of the Exchequer? And we are to be called seditious, are we, because we complain of these things? We are to be muzzled and choked, that these people may not even be disturbed by our merits? My God! And, is this *whore* to go on? There is *Lady Margaret Murray*, now called *D'Auland*, who was married at Rome to the Duke of Sussex. 'A very virtuous lady, I dare say, but what has she done to merit 3417*l.* a year out of the taxes? This lady has not received, in this way, less than 50,000*l.* of the public money, principal money; and, for what? Mrs. Huskinson is to have a pension after her husband's death: and, for what? He has a pension of 1200*l.* a year for life, when he is out of place; and his LORD Minto, and the family of this latter are all provided for out of the taxes. Now, what have they done to merit this of us who pay the taxes?

There is no end to these instances. Only think of CUMMINGS, the play-writer, having had a pension, and his daughters now being upon the list of those who live upon the sums which we pay on our beer, soap, &c. There are whole troops of fine ladies, whole families of children, of whose fathers we never even heard, who are kept out of the fruit of our labour. Let us take a few instances as they stand in the account.

Grant, by Warrant dated 20th May, 1799, to W. Borrows, Esq. in trust for Mary and Maria Hen, during their lives and the survivor of them, for 500*l.* a year.

These are the mother and half-sister of CANNING. Great merit in his eyes perhaps; but what have they done for us? Mrs. HUR, they say, was once a most excellent play-actress, and, doubtless, a very worthy woman; but, in the name of all that is false and corrupt, I ask what claim she has to the taxes that we pay upon our beer and candles and tea?

Grant of 400*l.* a year to the Reverend H. Hobart and Mr. John Sullivan, in trust for five children of the late George Hobart, Esq. during the lives of the five children, and after the death of four, 200*l.* a year for the survivor.

Pension to Lord ENZINGEN, to begin at the death of his father, the Earl of Malmsbury. There is, a *provident* young man!

A grant in trust for

Mary Anna Herries	a year	300
Catherine Herries		150
Isabella Maria Herries		150
Julia Mary Herries		150
Lady Louise Paget		300
Same (now Lady L. Erskine)		300

This is a sister of the *Marguis of Anglaine*.

1. A grant to Lord Sydney and the Rev. T. Selwyn, in trust, for

Charlotte Selwyn, a year	£100
Albina Frances Selwyn	100
Maria Louisa Selwyn	100
Harietta E. Selwyn	100

These, I suppose, are the daughters of this Reverend Gentleman who is a relation of Lord Sidney. They may be called *lucky girls*, indeed: and, certainly, they have got very *pretty names*; but, let us come to *conscience* with the Reverend Gentleman, and ask him what right he has to fasten his four daughters upon *our backs*? What justice there is in taking away our bread and giving it to his daughters, while we are reduced to grains and potatoes? Whether he can find any precept for this in that Gospel which he is so well paid for teaching? And whether, while these things exist, it be not monstrously impudent in his brother MALTEUS, to pretend, that, to relieve the poor is to encourage population improperly, and that the *poor labourers* have no right to relief for their *hungry children*, seeing, "that it is *their own fault* if they have more children than they can support out of their own labour?" I should like to hear what brother SELWYN would say, if these questions were put *home* to him, as they doubtless will be one of these days. I dare say brother Selwyn is a *Magistrate*, and that he regards my Register as both *seditious* and *blasphemous*.

2. Grant to

Anna Maria, Duchess Dowager of Newcastle, a year	£1,000
Lady Sarah Napier	368
Louisa Mary Napier	162
Emily Louisa Augusta Napier	162

3. Grant in trust to Sir George Osborn and John Ley, for

Jane Wrexall	2400
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4. Grant to

Sarah Pierson	27
Mary Pierson	27
Diana Anne Pierson	27
Francaes Pierson	27
Reverend Thomas Pierson	130

Here is another Reverend Gentleman's family quartered upon us for life!

5. Grant to Robert Halifax and Catherine Halifax, widow, in trust for

Gertrude Halifax, a year	200
Charlotte Halifax	60
Marianne Halifax	60
Caroline Halifax	60
Catherine Halifax	60
Elizabeth Halifax	60

A pretty little snug covey, who take just as much as would maintain *twelve good labourers and their families*, consisting of *sixty persons*. And, pray, Mr. [MALTHUS, has not the *poor labourer's children*, whose father has, all his life long, been paying taxes and raising food, as good a claim of relief as these *Haltifaxes* have? You, Sir, would *check the population of the labouring people*; but you say not one word about *this population*. You say, that the *labourer has no right to demand relief out of the rates*; and, that he should be told, that unless he can support his children, he should *take care not to have them*. Why do you not say the same to the *Cumberlands, the Selwyns, the Napiers, the Piersons, the Haltifaxes, the Herrieses, the Ponsonbys*, and hundreds upon hundreds of others? But, the truth is, that the *labourer's earnings are taken, in great part, away from him*, or he would, *as formerly*, stand in need of no relief, except in cases of accident.

'Grant to Charles Abbott and Lord Rendlesham, in trust for Eleanor *Madelaine Wickham*, per year, 675*l.*'

Now what has this good lady done for us? Her husband is loaded with pensions besides. His exploits at *Basle*, indeed, may, by some, be deemed *services*; but what has this good woman done? Did she assist him in his operations at *Basle*?

And why should the *Baroness Cathcart* have 500*l.* a year? or *Catherine Popham* 200*l.*? Or *Seizan De Meuron*, a foreigner (in the teeth of positive law), 393*l.* a year? Why should the *three Misses Barlow*, the two *Ladies Howard*, the three *Misses Harnage*, have pensions to be paid by us, who never heard of their names before? Why should *Ernestine Lawrence* have 200*l.* of our money every year, except on account of her or his pretty foreign name? for, I really do not know whether it be the name of a woman or a man.

'Pension to SIR LUKE WETTESTEIN, in trust for SIR LUKE SCHWAB's daughters, per year, 200*l.*'

These are *foreigners*: there can be no doubt of that. The Prince of MECKLINBURGH STRELITZ is in this list for 2000*l.* a year. LA COMTESSE D'ALTON, 300*l.* a year. There are many other foreigners on the Pension List. And yet, the Act of Parliament, in virtue of which the present family sit on the throne, declares, in the most clear and most positive manner, that no one, who is not a NATURAL-BORN subject of the King of England, shall hold a pension, or any place of *profit* or of *trust*, under the Crown. There is no act of *naturalization* which can remove this impediment; and yet, this great law, made, as its title imports, *for the preservation of our rights and liberties*, has been paid no more regard to by the Ministers than if it had been an *old ballad*! They violate it every day; they live in a continual violation of it. They talk of *illegal practices*, indeed! They bring men to punishment for violation of the laws! What, is there no punishment for them, then? Are they to violate the laws with impunity; and that, too, in the most barefaced and most insolent manner? Are they never to be brought to justice; and, if we charge them with

these violations of the laws; nay, if we humbly complain, and pray that the violations may cease, are they for ever to charge us with *sedition* and *blasphemy* for so doing, and to ride off themselves with impunity? I take my facts from an official account, made out by the Ministers and laid before the Parliament. What audacity! What a contempt of the law, to dare to lay before the Parliament these numerous proofs of a gross violation of it! But, indeed, the Ministers knew well who it was that they were submitting this account to. They would have taken special care not to have laid such an account before a Parliament chosen by the people at large; and here it is that we see the *real reason* for all the opposition to a Reform.

There is a Mr. JOSEPH HUNT, who was, some years ago, obliged to *abscond* in consequence of a *misapplication of the public money*; that very man has two pensions, amounting to 1037*l.* a year! And this is a reward for *public services*! 'The RIGHT HON. THOS. STUEL' has his sinecure of 1,633*l.* a year, though he, too, was proved to have misapplied the public money, to give to his conduct the mildest of terms. Is not this a shame? And, are we to be crammed into dungeons if we complain of these things? We will complain of them; and, we will persevere, till we obtain *justice*.

The Hon. Robert C. Clements is a *Searcher and Packer of the Ports in Ireland*; Sir Richard Hardinge is *Surveyor-General of the Ports*; Sir George Shée is *Receiver-General*; Hon. Edw. Acheson is *Customs and Collector*; two of the notorious Beresfords are *Storekeepers*; John Beresford and James D. Beresford are *Wine-Tasters*; Lord Robert Seymour is a *Craner and Wharfinger*; Earl Roden is another *Searcher*; Right Hon. Earl of Avonmore is another *Searcher and Packer*; the Earl of Denoughmore is another *Searcher and Packer*; Marquis of Drogheda and Mr. Bagwell are *Mustor-Masters-General*. All this is in Ireland, and fifty times as much more. It is notorious, that these people are no such thing as they are here called; but, they receive amongst them, on account of these pretended occupations, 15,200*l.* Mr. ASSOR, the Speaker, has, for many years, received 1,500*l.* a year for keeping the *Signet in Ireland*, where there is *no signet to be kept*. The WYNDHAMS, younger sons of the family of the Earl of Egremont, hold places in the Colonies that yield them nearly 20,000*l.* a year. And, *what for*? What have they ever done for the country, except to help to ruin it by voting for wars and loans? Is it *seditions*, is it *blasphemous*, to complain that a waste like this is made of the people's labour, and that these two Wyndhams spend of the nation's money as much every year as would keep a *thousand labouring families*, amounting to four or five thousand persons? Is this *blasphemous*? It is indeed most horrible blasphemy to attempt to justify such wicked acts; and this is a sort of blasphemy that I hope yet to see punished.

However, let us get on a little with our broods of Pensioners: for, it is very material to expose the atrocious falsehood, that these things have been given as rewards for *Public Services*.

' Grant, dated 1807, to James Earl of Lauderdale, and others, in trust for

' Mary Turner Hay, per year.....	£100
' Dorothy Frances Hay	100
' Hannah Charlotte Hay	100
' Elizabeth Hay,	100
' Jane Hay,	100
' Julian Hay,	100

And the curiosity here is, that these pensions are to continue till these ladies shall respectively get them husbands! or, during pleasure! So that they might last for fifty years; as they would, if the system lasted so long.

' Grant to Agnes Clerk Hay, per year.....	£100
' Arthur Witham Hay	100
' Dorithia Judith Hay	100
' Maria Hay,	100
' Lewis Hay	100
' Elizabeth Hay	100

These are to take effect when the mother dies; and she has a pension for life! So, thus are they fastened upon the nation from age to age!

' Grant to Elizabeth Cockburn, per year	£50
' Matilda Cockburn	50
' Margaret Cockburn	50
' Ann Cockburn	50

These are to begin when the mother dies, who has a pension for life, and they are to cease at marriage, unless His Majesty should otherwise please!

' Grant to Marie Claudine Silphie Duchess Fitz-James, 200*l.* a year, grant dated 22d Sept. 1806.'

This is so very audacious a thing that one can hardly believe one's own eyes, till we see by the date, that it was the WHIGS, the precious Whigs, who committed this act of profligate violation of law. This person is not only a Frenchwoman, the wife of a Frenchman, but that Frenchman is a descendant, as his name imports, from that very James the Second who was driven from the throne of England to make way for the present family! And this very Duke Fitz-James's father had been one of the aiders and abettors of the Pretender! Where the honest Whigs, honest and faithful Whigs, looked to discover the *Public Services* which tempted them to this outrageous breach of the law, they will, perhaps, by-and-by, be induced to tell us.

My eye happening to drop upon Marie Claudine Silphie led me away from my family parties; and, it is useless to return to them, unless I had Reason Maitraps by the ear to ask him, at every moment, why he does not apply his arguments to these abominable lists of paupers in high life. He would deny relief to the labourer,

who is obliged to give away in taxes one half of what ought to go to support his family; but, he very quietly sees these swarms, who never have worked at all, receiving relief out of those very taxes, more than three-fourths of which the labouring classes pay!

One cannot help wondering at the *shamelessness* of Noblemen and Gentlemen in suffering themselves to be called Tide-Waiters, Harbour-Masters, Searchers, Packers, Craners, Clerks, Wharfingers, Prothonotaries, and the like; or, that such a man as Lord Charles Spencer, a brother of the Duke of Marlborough, should suffer himself to be stuck into the Pension List for 1,000*l.* a year, when all the world knows, that he never performed the smallest quantity of public service in his life. There is a *Baroness* who is *Sweeper of the Mall in the Park* for 340*l.* a year; but, what is out of nature as well as shameless, is, that the SISTERS of the Earl of Northampton are with him joint *Clerk of the Hanaper*!

At first, when I looked over these Lists (for there are forty-seven separate lists), I wondered *who the people could be*. The *Bridenels*, the *Seymours*, the *Talbots*, the *Herberts*, *Finches*, *Wyndhams*, *Hays*, *Cockburns*, *Selwyns*, &c. &c. But upon closer examination, I found the far greater part of all these broods of pensioners belonging, in one way or another, to the great families; or, in other words, to the Boroughmongers, and those dependent upon them. It is true, that Lord Fitzwilliam and his son have no places or pensions; but, *BURKE*, their grand tool, took a fine bite out of our flesh. In short, we have only to look at the immense sums of public money, which are expended in this way, and observe well *who it is* that really has the disposing of these sums, to make us cease to wonder at the desperate deeds which are resorted to in order to prevent such a Reform as would enable the people, by their real representatives, to superintend the expending of the public money.

But, though the amount of the *Sinecures*, *Pensions*, and *Grants*, merited by no public service whatever, is enormous, these form only a part of what the Borough families receive out of the taxes. The *fat things* of that great gulf of expense, the *Army*, are almost *wholly theirs*. The post of *Colonel of a Regiment* is a sinecure in fact; and, if you look into the List, you will not find twenty, out of nearly two hundred, which are not in the hands of the Borough families. So it is with the *Staff*. So it is as to those enormous *Sinecures*, the *Governorships* of fortresses, castles, islands, provinces, &c. &c., which amount to immense sums; and, indeed, if you consider how small a portion of the money voted for the army really is wanted for the *soldiers*, you must see how this multitude of millions have gone, and how they still go, and must go, as long as the system goes on unreformed.

Now, my friends (first pulling off our hats), let us just peep into the Church, for there are some very good things there. There are three enormously rich Bishopricks, Canterbury, Durham, and Winchester, the revenues and the livings to be given in which are worth, probably, 150,000*l.* a year. The first of these is held by a *Cousin of the Duke of Rutland*; the second by the *Uncle of Exeter*.

Barrington; and the third by the *Uncle of the Earl of Guildford*. Then out of the rest, *twelve* are held by the relations of great Noble Boroughmen; so that, out of the twenty-six in number, there are fifteen in the hands of real blood relations of Borough owners, or Borough Patrons of the Noble Order; and in amount of income and preferment, these fifteen are *ten times as great as the other eleven*. So that the Borough families have *ten elevenths*, at least, of the Bishopricks.

Now, let us suppose, for the sake of the argument, that the eleven other Bishopricks are filled without any portion of Borough influence. This is supposing a monstrous deal; but, we will, for a moment, so suppose. The Borough families form about *one ten-thousandth part* of the people; and, will any wretch alive, even the impudent man of the *Courage*, pretend to believe, that there are *ten times more* piety and scholarship in this *ten thousandth part*, than in all the other nine thousand nine hundred and ninety-nine parts? What has been proved of Bishopricks applies to *Living*s, or Benefices of inferior value. All the rich ones are filled by the relations, or dependents, of the Borough gentlemen; and thus, in reality, the *Property* of the Church is theirs almost wholly. As to the *Law*, that other great department of emolument, power, and honours, the Borough families are obliged to be content with *patronage*, and that too but in a moderate degree; for, the law *requires*, and it *will have*, TALENTS and INDUSTRY. Hence we have seen Wedderburn, Thurlow, Kenyon, Scott, Mitford, Law, and many others, beat their way up from the ragged Bar to the Peerage; not, indeed, in *defiance* of the Borough gentlemen, but, at the same time, without much of dependence upon them; and, what is very curious to observe, that, while we see all the other rich posts filled by the Borough families, they have scarcely ever put their noses into the *active posts* of the *Law*, though some of them rain showers of gold. But, though it is very true, that an Attorney General, a Chief Justice, or a Lord Chancellor, may, by mere possibility, be a superlative villain, it is impossible that he can be a fool.

Observe, however, that I speak only of the *active posts* even of the *Law*; for, as we have seen, the Borough families engross no small share of the *sinecure emoluments* of that profession too. But, while in the *Army* and the *Church* they are at the head, in the law they are at the tail. In the two former, they are Generals and Commanders and Colonels of Regiments, and Bishops and Deans and Archdeacons and Prebends. But, in the latter, they are Prothonotaries, Clerks, Filazers, Sealers of Writs, Usbers, Door-keepers, &c. In the two former they are decorated with the double Epaulet and the Truncheon; with the Mitre and the Red-Thing (I do not know what they call it) which goes over the shoulders above the surplus. But, in the Courts of Law, while men who have risen from "the *Lower Orders*" (as they call us) are decked out in the Big Wigs and in Purple and Scarlet and Ermined Robes, those high-blooded gentry stoop to the *camelot gown* and the wand. The Duke of Grafton, for instance, is the

Sealer in the Court of King's Bench at 2,886*l.* a year, while the *Honourable* Louisa Browning and *Lady* St. Mostyn are *Counts Brevium* in the Court of Common Pleas! LORD WALSHINGHAM is in the petty office of Comptroller of *first-fruits* in the Court of Exchequer at 150*l.* a year; and Arabella Walker Henouge (a relation of the Earl of Aylesford) is the CHIEF USHER! A pretty office enough for a high-blooded Lady! Three of the *Moons*, two of them *Clergymen*, and all relations of the Earl of Mount-Cashel, are the *Register* in the Prerogative Court, at 3,670*l.* a year, while an honest coal-merchant's son is the *Judge*. In the Court of Chancery, Lord W. BENTINCK fills the petty office of *Clerk of the Pipe*, though he is the son of a Duke. Thus it goes all through; and, indeed, so very fit are those high-blooded gentry for high stations in the *Army* and low ones in the *Law*, that many of them who are surprisingly great in arms are compelled to stand in camlet gowns and bare-headed before the Judges! This Lord William Bentinck, for instance, who is *Clerk of the Pipe* in the Court of Chancery, and part of whose office it is to attend the man who *holds up the tail of the Lord Chancellor's Robe* when he enters and leaves the Court; yes, this very identical Clerk of the Pipe is a *Lieutenant-General in the Army*, though, when in his other office, he assists the train-bearer to a *Coal Merchant's Son*, as the present Lord Chancellor is. Very nearly the same is the case in numerous instances. Even the "*Great Duke*" himself is nothing more than a *Remembrancer* in the Court of Exchequer in Ireland. It is curious, too, that, now and then one of the Borough race, who have tried the *Law*, and, having given up all hopes of its honours, have very coolly condescended to share in its sinecure profits. Thus, the Right Honourable CHARLES YORKE, who long went the Western Circuit in vain in search of *briefs*, appears to have discovered, at last, that, though court-sycophancy may be hereditary from the grandfather, talents from the law are not; and he therefore, instead of getting upon the bench, has, through the interest of his Borough-patron brother, the Earl of Hardwicke, secured for life, 3,000*l.* a year as *Clerk of the Pells* in the Court of Exchequer, to the *Bench* of which Court, at least, he once aspired.

I could go much further, and show, that, in fact, it is the Borough-families who have done all the mischief.—But, you, my friends, must see that it is so. In one character or another they have swallowed up the fortunes of some, and the very bread of others. No wonder that they are loath to part with their power, which power places all the earnings of the people in their hands. No wonder that they have called us *revolutionists*, *jacobins*, and *sedition dogs*, for praying to them to give us up *our right to choose one of the Houses of Parliament*. They talk of *checks and balances in the Constitution*; and, yet, they have now upon their table a petition presented by LORD GREY, in 1793, offering to prove at the Bar, that one hundred and thirty persons of the Upper House sent a majority into the Lower House! What *check*, what *balance*, can there be in such a state of things?

.. If Jack, WHI, and Dick, have the joint power of making laws;

if all questions be decided by a majority of votes; and if Jack nominates Will and makes him vote as he pleases; is it not Jack who has the absolute power of making what laws he pleases; and is it not an insult to poor King Dick and to the common sense of mankind to talk about checks and balances? What we wanted was a House chosen by the Commons, that is to say, the people at large. There is a *Lord's House*, and we wanted a *Commons' House*. Then, indeed, there would have been real checks and balances; and the King would have had some real power of his own. But, to show that he has none, as things are now, we have only to compare the sums which his nose receive out of the public money with the sums received by many of the Borough gentlemen. Lords Arden, Camden, Buckingham, and several others, have, for many years, been receiving *twice as much a year* as those of the King's nose receive. I believe that the family of *Grosvenor*, in all its branches, received before the death of the Marquis of Buckingham, *more pecuniary than the Royal Family*, leaving out the King and Queen. I believe that the *Seymour* family, or the *Manners* family, either of them receive more now. Could this be the case, if the King had his due share of real authority? or, could this be the case for one single hour, if there were a *Commons' House of Parliament*? No; and this the Borough gentlemen know full well; and, therefore, we need not wonder at the efforts they make, at the shameful and desperate deeds they resort to, in order to prevent the existence of such a House. *Leases of Crown Lands* is a monstrous thing. Only think of the *Duke of Portland's lease in Marylebone parish*! In short, they have all the real power; and, of course, they will cut and carve for themselves.

But, they have now an enemy to deal with, whom they will never subdue: that is the DEBT, which of course, is our true and faithful friend. The war against America and France, the chief object of both of which was to prevent a reform of Parliament, could not be carried on without loans, or without the giving up of the *emoluments before mentioned*, and to retain them was the object in prosecuting a Reform. Yet, it was impossible to raise money enough in taxes to continue these emoluments and so carry on the war too. Hence the Debt, the Funds, the Paper-Money, and those rivals of the Borough Gentlemen the *Fundholders*. This is a serious business for the high-blooded order; for either they must give up *their emoluments and their estates into the bargain*, or the *Fundholders must go unpaid, in part at least*. This is the real state of the thing at this moment. The Borough system approaches its crisis. Have patience, my worthy Countrymen; only a *little patience*, and you will see that these borrowers and these lenders will, at last, do like most other borrowers and lenders; that is to say, come to an open quarrel; after having long cursed each other in their hearts.

That will be the day for the people, and in anxious expectation of that day, I shall now proceed to make a

remark or two upon two or three particular parts of the above statements of facts; and to these remarks I beg your particular attention; for, my friends, *here* it is that we are to look for the *real cause* of the ill-will that now fills the bosoms of the working people.

LORD STANHOPE warned the Lords, last winter, of the danger with which they were menaced by the open war that had begun between the poor and the rich. I have, for 16 years, been warning them of the dangers of this war. The war is come; and the *real cause* of it is things like these above stated, of the existence of which the working people have long been apprised. Let me now advert to two or three particulars; and then put it to the rich, whether it be possible that the working people should not burn with resentment; and whether the wonder is, not that they have now broken out into acts of violence, but that they should have been patient and submissive so long.

In the above selection there is *Lady Louisa Paget*, and then she is, again, down for another pension as *Lady Louisa Erskine*. This is a sister of the *Marquis of Anglesea*; and, of course, a daughter of the late *Earl of Uxbridge*. Burdett harangued on this pension *twenty-eight years ago*! Well may the people hate and pelt him! But, here are the *mother and sister* of HENRIES; and, in the pensioner JULIANA HAY, we have the *wife* of the younger Hobhouse, who was, along with his master, pelted from the *Hustings* of Covent-Garden, in the month of August last. Now, it is literally *impossible* that any of these women could ever have rendered any *service to the country*. What they got and get was, then, so much in gift to them out of the public money, part of which the working people had to pay. And why should any of us, and especially the working people, be compelled to keep these people in ease and gentility? If we, in the industrious walks of life, fall into poverty, we must

submit to its pains and disgrace: nay, to *reproach* for becoming "*paupers*." Why, then, when any of the aristocratic race become poor, are they to be kept in luxury by us? Why do not the rich aristocracy maintain *their* poor parents and children, as *we are compelled to maintain ours*?

This is a very striking thing, and worthy of our best attention. An old labouring man of TICEHURST, in Sussex, came to me for advice, some few years ago, in great agitation of mind, his case being this: he had a son, who was dead, and who had left a widow and four children, whose poverty had compelled them to apply to the parish for relief. The grandfather, nearly fourscore years of age, had, by hard labour and great frugality, got and kept a couple of cottages, yielding about 15*l.* a year, which, together with a little dealing or huckstering, enabled him to live without going to the poor-house. The law compels the grandfather, *if he be of ability*, to keep the grand-children from the parish. The farmers of the parish, *for whom the children worked*, mind, paid them part in wages and part in poor-rates. They demanded that the grandfather should *pay the latter part*! The old man said, that if he did this, he must go to the poor-house himself. "Oh! no," said they, "*you can sell the cottages*, and the money will *keep you for some time at any rate*!" When the old man repeated this saying to me, he exclaimed, with tears in his eyes, "And this is what I am to come to at the end of sixty years of hard work, and never wasting a penny in my life!" "D—them!" said I, "and *look here*!" and, taking down the pension and sinecure list, I showed him the hundreds upon hundreds of masters and misses of the *nobles* and the *rich*, for the support of whom he had been labouring and pinching all his life long. Old as he was, he had blood enough in him to make him utter his feelings of indignation, not unac-

accompanied with vows of vengeance. I remember that I particularly pointed out to him the HERRISES and the HAYS, and one of whom had as much out of us in a month as his four grandchildren got from the parish in a year! There are no words that can do justice to one's rage in a case like this. Men cannot talk about it. To complain argues baseness: men must either be silent or act.

Base and insolent vagabonds, like those at Botley, mentioned in the last Number of the *Trash*, call upon the working people to save *their money*; to put it in *savings-banks* and *friendly societies*! Vagabonds! why do they not save theirs? The working-classes are to save their money to keep them from the poor-book. Why do not these lazy and insolent vagabonds save theirs, to keep them from the pension and sinecure list? Oh yes! the working people are to be frugal and abstemious in order to be independent. Why do not these vagabonds practise these virtues in order to preserve *their independence*?

After this view of the *treatment of the working people*; after seeing many of them transported by the Squires and Lords for endeavouring to catch a hare, pheasant, or partridge; after making them endure the effects of Sturges Bourne's Bills; after seeing them compelled to draw carts and wagons like cattle; after seeing them sold by auction; after seeing man separated by force from wife to prevent them from the conjugal intercourse; after seeing one tyrant condemning men to starvation if they married before the age of thirty; and another condemning them to starvation if they kept a gun in their houses; after all this, who is to wonder at what we now behold!

What are the remedies, then; 1. Abolish the Game Laws *totally and instantly*. 2. Repeal Sturges Bourne's cruel Bills. 3. Repeal Peel's Apple-Felony and new Trespass Laws. 4. Abolish the Tread-mill and hellish solitary cells.

5. Restore the *Law of England*, and especially the *trial by jury*. 6. Abolish the *Malt and Hop tax*. And then there may be peace and safety until a reform of the parliament can be made. Then, instantly, let the farmers, in every parish, call together all the people, women as well as men, and explain to them the *cause of their inability to pay them a sufficiency of wages*. Have a petition ready for them all to sign, praying for the above things; sign it *along with them*; bid them hope that their prayers will be attended to; and then they would wait with patience. They would see, that they were embarked in company with their masters, that these made common cause with them; and the plague would be stayed.

There is no other remedy; and, if the farmers be too proud to do this; if their heads be still full of the Yeomanry Cavalry notions; if they persevere in relying on *threats*, or on *force*, these dangers and sufferings are only just beginning. Oh, good God! how often have I painted, or endeavoured to paint, the ruinous and devastating effects of the infernal system of paper-money, and particularly as relating to rural life and affairs! How often have I said, that this hell-born Scotch system, by drawing capital into great masses, and thereby *annihilating small farms*, had broken that chain which connected the landlord with the labourer! How often have I deplored the day when the accursed system of banking broke in sunder this nicely-connected series of English society, and divided the country people into two classes, *masters and slaves*; the former despising the latter, and the latter hating the former? Not a village is there in the whole kingdom, in which there are not several half-starved labourers, who, or whose fathers, were farmers. They can see no just cause for their fall: they are unable to trace the effect to any cause: but, their anger is the same as if they could. If they could see that it is the devil



hatched system of funding; if they could see, that they owe their ruin to bands of Jews and loan-mongers and such-like devils, their rage would be against them; but, not seeing the distant and hidden cause, they lay on upon that which is near and visible. The farmers are, in fact, the unconscious agents of the aristocracy and the loan and fund-jobbers. What! and do they not see this now? Has it not been explained to them often enough? Well, then, let them take their reward!

As for ME, my friends, the whole body of aristocracy and loan-jobbers have sought my destruction for nearly thirty years. They are now in the situation into which I said they would bring themselves; and let them get out as they can! I hope, that, in all you do, you will be guided by justice; and, in that hope I remain, what I always have been, your sincere and zealous friend,

WM. COBBETT.

HISTORY OF THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION.—

Thinking that this work, which has been translated into, and published in, all the languages and in all the nations of Europe, and in the republics of North and South America, deserved to be put into a *fine book*, I published about two years ago a large edition in TWO ROYAL OCTAVO VOLUMES, the paper and print very fine and costly, with *marginal references*, or abstracts, and with a copious and complete index, making a really fine library-book, sold at *one guinea eleven shillings and six pence*, instead of the *eight shillings*, for which the small *condensed edition* in two volumes was and is sold. I was out in my estimate: I did not consider that the quantity of piety and justice and sense was not always in direct proportion to the length of purse; and that while the *cheap edition* was, as it is, continually in great demand, the *dear edition* remained on hand, or at least went off much more slowly than things must move to be agreeable to my taste. I have, therefore, resolved to quicken the motion of this edition by selling *these two ROYAL*

OCTAVE VOLUMES AT TEN SHILLINGS, only two shillings more than the price of the two duodecimo volumes, making to myself a solemn promise never to publish a dear book again. These books, like my other books, may be had of all booksellers in town or country.

RURAL RIDES. These are published in a thick volume, duodecimo; the price was to be 10s., I shall sell the volume at *five shillings*, in boards: it is a collection of all my rides in the several counties of "Surrey, Kent, Sussex, Hampshire, Wiltshire, Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, Worcestershire, Somersetshire, Oxfordshire, Berkshire, Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk, and Hertfordshire: with Economical and Political Observations relative to matters applicable to, and illustrated by, the State of those Counties respectively." The book contains 668 pages, and is neatly put up in boards: the volume is printed in a manner to fit it for a library.

EMIGRANT'S GUIDE. A new edition, price 2s. 6d. With a list of clothes, sea stores, and other things necessary for a young man, to fit him out well, and give him a fair start in America. The last edition of this work had a *Postscript*; but I have now added a *List*, in consequence of many applications on the subject. It will be very useful; for where so many *little* things are wanted, some are generally forgotten; and, when once you get on board of ship, it is too late to say, "I forgot to bring" this or that. I, though a cabin-passenger, have given a *shilling for an onion*, to a steerage-passenger, who had had more forethought than our captain had had. This list is, however, principally intended for steerage-passengers.

Published this day, 30th of October, price 1s.

A SKETCH of the LIFE of GENERAL LAFAYETTE. Translated from the French by JAMES P. COBBETT.

Published at No. 11, Bolt Court, Fleet Street; and may be had of all Booksellers.

COBBETT'S TWO-PENNY TRASH

For the Month of December, 1830.

TO THE
FARMERS OF THE COUNTY OF KENT;

On the measures which they ought, at this time, to adopt and pursue, in order to preserve their property and to restore their country to a state of peace and harmony.

GENTLEMEN,

London, 21 November, 1830.

BEING at a dinner of farmers, at the town of St. Ives, in Huntingdonshire, on the 29th of May last, I saw handed round the table divers copies of a hand-bill, notifying an approaching public sale of *farming stock*, in that neighbourhood; and one of these bills having been given to me, I saw that, amongst the *farming stock* were "a fire-engine and several steel man-traps, all in excellent condition." In the evening of the same day, I, at the same place, gave a *Lecture* to these farmers; and, referring to this hand-bill, I told my hearers, that dismal indeed were the times become, when fire-engines and man-traps formed part

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of the implements of husbandry! I told them, that, when society was in its natural and proper state, no life was so happy as that of the farmer; having all the health that air and exercise could give, having all his real wants supplied by his land, his dealings attended with no risks, his commodities being all so much ready money, his pursuits as solid in their character as the earth that he had to till. But, if once the natural tie between him and his labourers were broken, farewell to all his happiness and even to his safety; for that, if his flocks in his folds, and his stacks in his yard, were not as safe as his purse in his drawer, or his body in his bed, instead of being the most happy, the farmer was the most miserable, of all mankind. I told them, that, if the fatal hour should ever arrive, when the labourers in general entertained deep hatred towards the farmers, there would no protection be found in *man-traps* and *fire-engines*; that the deadly element they always had at their absolute command, and with which nature had furnished them as the least desperate means of preserving themselves from starvation. I, therefore, besought them to think of these things in time; and, with all the force that I was master of, I urged them to cast from them the vain and the cruel thought of being able to keep the labourers in a state of half-starvation, by the means of *man-traps* and *fire-engines*.

Gentlemen, farmers of Kent, most of you have heard of my name thousands of you have heard me speak in public, many of you have honoured me with your personal acquaintance, and a *real honour* I have always deemed it; and to you I appeal, whether you have ever heard me open my lips, on the subject of the state of the country, without pleading the cause of the labouring man, and without urging you to guard, in time, against the fatal consequences that must result from his being rendered desperate. Within the last ten years, I have been in all the counties of England,

Dorset, Devon, Cornwall, Westmorland, Durham, Northumberland, and Cumberland. In all the other counties, that is to say, in thirty-three of the counties of England, I have, at some time or other, during the last ten years, made speeches, in different towns in each county; and never, in one single instance did I make such speech, without stating the hard case of the labourers, without calling upon my hearers to do them justice, and without telling the farmers, that, if justice were not done them in time, the consequences to the farmers themselves would be dreadful; for, as I always told them, "though they have been, by unstar degrees, brought down to live almost wholly on miserable pence, that is, to live on what you know a hog cannot live upon and be in good health, the time will come, the time must come, when they will endure this no longer; when reason and nature will claim their rights; for, be assured, that, though the basest assembly on earth have praised the labourers of Ireland for lying down by thousands and dying quietly from starvation, the labourers of England will never do this, and God Almighty forbid that they should do it!"

This was the conclusion of a speech made at Andover on the 14th of Oct., 1826, to my own countrymen, the farmers and hop-planters of Farnham in Surrey, many of whom had known me when a boy, and all of whom knew my origin and all about me. But, gentlemen, farmers of the beautiful county of Kent, has not the bettering of the lot of the labourers been the great object of the labours of my life? I have ridden on horse-back nearly all over the counties of Kent, Sussex, Surrey, Hants, Wilts, Gloucester, Hereford, Worcester, Berks, and others, going, as much as possible, by cross-roads and into villages and hamlets, that I might learn by my own eyes and ears what was the state of the working people, and that I might be able to plead their cause

with a store of knowledge upon the subject. Some of these counties I have, on horse-back, plodding along from village to village and from town to town, traversed in every direction, and of these counties Kent is one.

I have collected together an account of these RIDES, and have published them under the title of RURAL RIDES, making a book of nearly a thousand pages, the price of which I fixed at ten shillings, but which I sell for five, that it may get into more hands at this time. Gentlemen, it is impossible to read this book and be surprised at what we now behold. In this book (taken from the Register) at page 584, you will find me, in 1826, when speaking of the village of UPHUSEBAND (real name Hurstbourne Tarrant), making use of these words: "I wish that, in speaking of this pretty village (which I always return to with additional pleasure), I could give a good account of the state of those without whose labour there would be neither corn nor sainfoin nor sheep. I regret to say, that my account of this matter, if I give it truly, must be a dismal account indeed! For I have, in no part of England, seen the labouring people so badly off as they are here. This has made so much impression on me, that I shall enter fully into the matter, with names, dates, and all the particulars, in the Fourth Number of the 'POOR MAN'S FRIEND.' This is one of the great purposes for which I take these 'Rides.' I am persuaded, that, before the day shall come when my labours must cease I shall have mended the meals of millions. I may over-rate the effects of my endeavours; but, this being my persuasion, I should be guilty of a great neglect of duty, were I not to use those endeavours."

But, in this same year, I stated the case of the labourers, in the most elaborate manner, in a set of remarks on that part of Wiltshire which lies on the banks of the little river

Avon in that county; and I even made a *little map* to make these remarks the more easily understood. I here gave an instance of the *process* by which the labourers had been brought down to a state of half-starvation. I will here insert from RURAL RIDES this interesting passage. I will send, as soon as the new ministry is formed and officially announced, a copy of this TWO-PENNY TRASH to each of them; and, if it produce no effect on their minds, we shall have a state of things that *I will not describe*. At a meeting, the other day, at Rochester, LORD DARNLEY is reported to have warned those who sought a revolution, *that they themselves would be the first victims*. Who wants what he means by a revolution? Who is seeking such a thing? What has caused the labourers to rise? Why, *want, horrid hunger*; and this hunger has been caused by those who have imposed the taxes. What, then, does he mean by "men who seek a revolution?" This is silly, spiteful stuff. Lord Darnley would do well to look at the *real cause of the rising*: he would do well to read what I am now about to insert; he would do well to read RURAL RIDES, price 5s., and POOR MAN'S FRIEND, price 6d., and to hold his tongue about YEOMANRY CAVALRY! At any rate, I beg you to read the extract that I here give; and you will see *what you ought to do*, and that immediately too. You see clearly, that the evil is, that this horrible system takes away from the farmer the means of giving the labourer a *sufficiency of wages*. This is the evil; and unless this evil be removed, that of which Lord Darnley is so much, and so justly, afraid, *will, to a certainty, take place*! This consequence, which I have always deprecated, which I have always laboured to prevent, the *New Ministry* may prevent if they will; but *not by force of arms*; it is only to be prevented by their attention to the causes of the present dangers; and those

stances, truly described and illustrated, they will learn from the passage that I now urge you to honour with an attentive perusal.

The stackyards down this valley are beautiful to behold. There contain from five to fifteen hanging wheat-ricks, besides barley-ricks, and hay-ricks, and also besides the contents of the barns, many of which exceed a hundred, some two hundred, and I saw one at PEWSEY and another at FIDDLETON, each of which exceeded two hundred and fifty feet in length. At a farm, which, in the old maps, is called *Chiswick Priory*, I think I counted twenty-seven ricks of one sort and another, and sixteen or eighteen of them wheat-ricks. I could not conveniently get to the yard, without longer delay than I wished to make; but it could not be much out in my counting. A very fine sight this was, and it could not meet the eye without making one look round (and in vain) to see the people who were to eat all this food; and without making one reflect on the horrible, the unnatural, the base and infamous state, in which we must be, when projects are devised, and are openly avowed, for transporting those who raise this food, because they want to eat enough of it to keep them alive; and when no project is on foot for transporting the idlers who live in luxury upon this same food; when no project is on foot for transporting pensioners, parsons, or dead-weight people!

A little while before I came to this farm-yard, I saw in one place, about four hundred acres of wheat-stubble, and I saw a sheep-fold, which, I thought, contained an acre of ground, and had in it about four thousand sheep and lambs. The fold was divided into three separate flocks; but the piece of ground was one and the same; and I thought it contained about an acre. At one farm, between PEWSEY and UPAVON, I counted more than 300 hogs in one stubble. This is certainly the most delightful farming in the world. No ditches, no water-furrows, no drains, hardly any hedges, no dirt and mire, even in the wettest seasons of the year; and though the downs are naked and cold, the valleys are snugness itself. They are, as to the downs, what *ah-ahs* are in parks or lawns. When you are going over the downs, you look over the valleys, as, in the case of the *ah-ah*; and, if you be not acquainted with the country, your surprise, when you come to the edge of the hill, is very great. The shelter in these valleys, and particularly where the downs are steep and lofty on the sides, is very complete. Then, the trees are every-where lofty. They are generally elms, with some ashes, which delight in the soil that they find there. There are, almost always, two or three large clumps of trees in every parish, and a rookery or two (not rag-rookery) to every parish. By the water's edge there are willows; and to almost every farm, there is a fine meadow, the trees being, in general, very fine, and this year they are, in general, well loaded with fruit. So that, all taken together, it seems impossible to look upon so beautiful and pleasant country as this, or to imagine

any life more easy and happy than men might here lead, if they were untormented by an accursed system that takes the food from those that raise it, and gives it to those that do nothing that is useful to man.

Here the farmer has always an abundance of straw. His farm-yard is never without it. Cattle and horses are bedded up to their eyes. The yards are put close under the shelter of a hill, or are protected by lofty and thick-set trees. Every animal seems comfortably situated; and in the dreariest days of winter, these are, perhaps, the happiest scenes in the world; or, rather, they would be such, if those, whose labour makes it all, trees, corn, sheep, and every thing, had but their fair share of the produce of that labour. What share they really have of it one cannot exactly say; but I should suppose that every labouring man in this valley raises as much food as would suffice for fifty, or a hundred persons, fed like himself!

At a farm at Milton there were, according to my calculation, 600 quarters of wheat and 1200 quarters of barley of the present year's crop. The farm keeps, on an average, 1400 sheep, it breeds and rears an usual proportion of pigs, fats the usual proportion of hogs, and, I suppose, rears and fats the usual proportion of poultry. Upon inquiry, I found that this farm was, in point of produce, about *one-fifth* of the parish. Therefore, the land of this parish produces annually about 3000 quarters of wheat, 6000 quarters of barley, the wool of 7000 sheep, together with the pigs and poultry. Now, then, leaving green, or moist, vegetables out of the question, as being things that human creatures, and especially labouring human creatures, ought never to use as *sustenance*, and saying nothing, at present, about milk and butter; leaving these wholly out of the question, let us see how many people the produce of this parish would keep, supposing the people to live all alike, and to have plenty of food and clothing. In order to come to the fact here, let us see what would be the consumption of *one family*—let it be a family of *five persons*: a man, wife, and three children, one child big enough to work, one big enough to eat heartily, and one a baby; and this is a pretty fair average of the state of people in the country. Such a family would want 5lbs. of bread a-day; they would want a pound of mutton a-day; they would want two pounds of bacon a-day; they would want, on an average, winter and summer, a gallon and a-half of beer a-day; for, I mean that they should live without the aid of the Eastern and Western slave-drivers. If *cereals* were absolutely necessary for the baby, there would be quite *enough* in the parish. Now, then, to begin with the bread, a pound of good wheat makes a pound of good bread; for, though the *offal* be taken out, the *mater* is put in; and, indeed, the fact is, that a pound of wheat will make a pound of bread, leaving the offal of the wheat to feed pigs, or other animals, and to produce other human food in this way. The family would, then, use 1825lbs. of wheat in the year, which, at 60lbs. a bushel, would be (leaving out a fraction) 30 bushels, or three-quarters and six bushels, for the year.

Next comes the mutton, 365lbs. for the year. Next the bacon, 730lbs. As to the quantity of mutton produced; the sheep are bred here, and not fattened in general; but we may fairly suppose, that each of the sheep kept here, each of the *standing-stock*, makes, first or last, *half a fat sheep*; so that a farm that keeps, on an average, 100 sheep, produces annually 50 fat sheep. Suppose the mutton to be 15lbs. a quarter, then the family will want, within a trifle of, seven sheep a year. Of bacon or pork, 36 *scores* will be wanted. Hogs differ so much in their propensity to fat, that it is difficult to calculate about them: but this is a very good rule: when you see a fat hog, and know how many *scores* he will weigh, set down to his account a *sack* (half a quarter) of barley for *every score* of his weight; for, let him have been *educated* (as the French call it) as he may, this will be about the real cost of him when he is fat. A sack of barley will make a score of bacon, and it will not make more. Therefore, the family would want 18 quarters of barley in the year for bacon.

As to the beer, 18 gallons to the bushel of malt is very good; but, as we allow of no spirits, no wine, and none of the slave-produce, we will suppose that a *sixth* part of the beer is *strong stuff*. This would require two bushels of malt to the 18 gallons. The whole would, therefore, take 35 bushels of malt; and a bushel of barley makes a bushel of malt, and, by the increase, pays the expense of malting. Here, then, the family would want, for beer, four quarters and three bushels of barley. The annual consumption of the family, in victuals and drink, would then be as follows:

	Qrs.	Bush.
Wheat	3	6
Barley	22	3
		<hr/>
Sheep	7	

This being the case, the 3000 quarters of wheat, which the parish annually produces, would suffice for 800 families. The 6000 quarters of barley would suffice for 207 families. The 3500 fat sheep, being half the number kept, would suffice for 500 families. So that here is, produced in the parish of MILTON, bread for 800, mutton for 500, and *bacon and beer* for 207 families. Besides victuals and drink, there are clothes, fuel, tools, and household goods wanting; but, there are milk, butter, eggs, poultry, rabbits, hares, and partridges, which I have not noticed, and these are all *entables*, and are all *eaten too*. And as to clothing, and, indeed, fuel and all other wants beyond eating and drinking, are there not 7000 *steeves* of South-down wool, weighing all together, 21,000 lbs., and capable of being made into 8,400 yards of broad cloth, at two pounds and a half of wool to the yard? Setting, therefore, the wool, the milk, butter, eggs, poultry, and game against all the wants beyond the *solid food and drink*, we see that the parish of Milton, that we have under our eye, would give bread to 800 families, mutton to 500, and bacon and beer to 207. The reason why wheat and mutton are produced in a proportion so much greater

than the materials for making bacon and beer, is, that the wheat and the mutton are more loudly demanded *from a distance*, and are much more cheaply conveyed away in proportion to their value. For instance, the wheat and mutton are wanted in the infernal *WEN*, and some barley is wanted there in the shape of *malt*; but hogs are not fattened in the *WEN*, and a larger proportion of the barley is used where it is grown.

Here is, then, bread for 800 families, mutton for 500, and bacon and beer for 207. Let us take the average of the three, and then we have 502 families, for the keeping of whom, and in this good manner too, the parish of Milton yields a sufficiency. In the wool, the milk, butter, eggs, poultry, and game, we have seen ample, and much more than ample, provision for *all wants*, other than those of mere *food and drink*. What I have allowed in food and drink is by no means excessive. It is but a pound of bread, and a little more than half-a-pound of meat a day to each person on an average; and the beer is not a drop too much. There are no green and moist vegetables included in my account; but, there would be some, and they would not do any harm; but, no man can say, or, at least, none but a base usurer, who would grind money out of the bones of his own father; no other man can, or will, say, that I have been *too liberal to this family*; and yet, good God! what *extravagance* is here if the labourers of England be now treated *justly*!

Is there a family, even amongst those who live the hardest, in the *WEN*, that would not shudder at the thought of living upon what I have allowed to this family? Yet what do *labourers' families* get, compared to this? The answer to that question ought to make us shudder indeed. The amount of my allowance, compared with the amount of the allowance that labourers now have, is necessary to be stated here, before I proceed further. The wheat, 3 qrs. and 6 bushels, at present price (56s. the quarter), amounts to 10*l.* 10s. The barley (for bacon and beer), 22 qrs. 3 bushels, at present price (34s. the quarter), amounts to 37*l.* 16s. 8d. The seven sheep, at 40s. each, amount to 14*l.* The total is 62*l.* 6s. 8d.; and this, observe, for *bare victuals and drink*; just food and drink enough to keep people in working condition.

What, then, do the labourers get? To what fare has this wretched and most infamous system brought them? Why such a family as I have described is allowed to have, at the *utmost*, only about 9s. a week. The parish allowance is only about 7s. 8d. for the five people, including clothing, fuel, bedding, and every thing! Monstrous state of things! But, let us suppose it to be *nine shillings*. Even that makes only 23*l.* 8s. a year, for food, drink, clothing, fuel, and every thing, whereas I allow 62*l.* 6s. 8d. a year for the *bare eating and drinking*; and that is little enough. Monstrous, barbarous, horrible as this appears, we do not, however, see it in half its horrors; our indignation and rage against this infernal system is not half roused, till we see the *small number of labourers* who raise all the food and the drink, and, of course, the more trifling portion of it that they are suffered to retain for their own use.

The parish of MILTON does, as we have seen, produce food; drink, clothing, and all other things, enough for 500 families, or 2500 persons upon my allowance, which is a great deal more than three times the present allowance, because the present allowance includes clothing, fuel, tools, and every thing. Now, then, according to the "POPULATION RETURN," laid before Parliament, this parish contains 500 persons, or, according to my division, one hundred families. So that here are about one hundred families to raise food and drink enough, and to raise wool and other things to pay for all other necessities, for five hundred and two families! Ay, and five hundred and two families fed and lodged, too, on my liberal scale. Fed and lodged according to the present scale, this one hundred families raise enough to supply more, and many more, than fifteen hundred families; or seven thousand five hundred persons! And yet these who do the work are half starved! In the 180 families there are, we will suppose, 80 able working men, and so many boys, sometimes assisted by the women and stout girls. What a handful of people to raise such a quantity of food! What injustice, what a hellish system it must be, to make those who raise it skin and bone and nakedness, while the food and drink and wool are almost all carried away to be heaped on the fund-holders, pensioners, soldiers, dead-weight, and other swarms of tax-eaters! If such an operation do not need putting an end to, then the devil himself is a saint.

Thus it must be, or much about thus, all the way down this fine and beautiful and interesting valley. There are 29 agricultural parishes, the two last being in towns; being FISHERTON and BAZISBURY. Now, according to the "POPULATION RETURN," the whole of these 29 parishes contain 9,116 persons; or, according to my division, 1,823 families. There is no reason to believe that the proportion that we have seen in the case of MILTON does not hold good all the way through; that is, there is no reason to suppose that the produce does not exceed the consumption in every other case in the same degree that it does in the case of MILTON. And, indeed, if I were to judge from the number of houses, and the number of ricks of corn, I should suppose that the excess was still greater in several of the other parishes. But, supposing it to be no greater; supposing the same proportion to continue all the way from WATTON RIVER to STRATFORD DEANS, then here are 9,116 persons raising food and raiment sufficient for 45,580 persons, fed and lodged according to my scale; and sufficient for 136,740 persons, according to the scale on which the unhappy labourers of this fine valley are now fed and lodged!

And yet there is an "Emigration Committee" sitting to devise the means of getting rid, not of the idlers, not of the pensioners, not of the dead-weight, not of the persons, (to "retire" whom we have seen the poor labourers taxed to the tune of a million and a half of money) not of the soldiers; but to devise means of getting rid of these working people, who are grudged even the miserable morsel that they get! There is in the man calling themselves "English country gentlemen" something superlatively base

They are, I sincerely believe, the most cruel; the most unfeeling, the most brutally insolent: but I know, I can prove, I can safely take my oath, that they are the **most base** of all the creatures that God ever suffered to disgrace the human shape. The base wretches know well, that the *taxes* amount to more than *sixty millions* a year, and that the *poor-rates* amount to *seven millions*; yet, while the cowardly reptiles never utter a word against the taxes, they are incessantly railing against the poor-rates, though it is (and they know it) the taxes that make the paupers. The base wretches know well, that the sum of money given, even to the *fellows that gather the taxes*, is greater in amount than the poor-rates; the base wretches know well, that the money, given to the *dead-weight* (who ought not to have a single farthing) amounts to more than the poor receive out of the rates; the base wretches know well, that the common foot soldier now receives more pay per week (*7s. 7d.*) exclusive of *clothing, firing, candle, and lodging*; the base wretches know, that the common foot-soldier receives more to go down his own single throat, than the *overseers and magistrates* allow to a *working man, his wife, and three children*; the base wretches know all this well; and yet their railings are confined to the *poor* and the *poor-rates*; and it is expected that they will, next session, urge the Parliament to pass a law to enable *overseers and vestries and magistrates to transport paupers beyond the seas!* They are base enough for this, or for any thing; but the whole system will go to the devil long before they will get such an act passed; long before they will see perfected this consummation of their infamous tyranny.

Here is the whole affair. Here it is all. The food and the drink and the raiment are taken away from those who labour, and given to those who do not labour. During the last peace, the government took away, for this purpose, *fifteen millions* a year; it now takes away nearly *sixty*; and, observe, that, at last, all taxes, no matter of what kind, fall upon those who labour, and have no means of making any body bear them for them. All persons who have things to sell make the purchasers bear a great part of the taxes; but, the working class have nothing to sell; and, therefore, the load finally squeezes them down to the very earth. It has always appeared most wonderful to me, that you seem to think so much of the *poor-rates*, which (as far as they go to the poor) amount to *six millions* a year; and to think nothing of the *taxes*, which amount to *sixty*

millions a year! I can say nothing upon this subject that I have not said before; but, that is of no consequence; it is my own matter, and if I say it fifty times over, still it is mine. It requires a great deal of thought to trace all the miseries of the labourers to their *real source*; but, if you will only bestow a little attention here, you will find that I did it to your hand long ago. When you have seen the *cause*, you will naturally come to the *remedy*; but, without *knowing the cause well*, you will never think of the proper remedy, and, if you do not think of this, total ruin and revolution must come upon the country. I beseech you, therefore, now to attend *before it be too late*. Think of the approaching winter, and of *all its horrors*, if no effectual remedy be appointed.

That which is received by the poor in the shape of relief and maintenance, amounts to about six millions a year; that which is levied for other purposes, by the Government, amounts, for England and Wales only, to about sixty millions a year, including the tax-gatherer's own share. The farmer thinks nothing of these sixty millions, while he is fretting and fuming and storming about the six millions. Talk to him about sixty millions, and he cannot understand you; but if he were to take a piece of paper, and put down what he pays in a year for the use of his own house, on his malt, sugar, soap, candles, tea, coffee, pepper, paper, stamps, and all the other endless variety of things, leaving out wine and such things as he ought not to use, he would find that one-half of the whole of the things consumed in his family, that family costing him, perhaps, eighty or a hundred pounds a year, is tax. But this is but a glimpse at what he pays: there is a tax on his iron, on his steel, on his leather, his timber, his bricks, his tiles, and on every thing relating to his implements and his buildings. His collar-maker, blacksmith, and wheelwright, have all taxes to pay on every thing which they consume; and how are they to pay them unless they receive them from the farmers for whom they work? Of the tradesmen in the towns, of whom he buys his linen, his woollen, and his groceries, his knives and spoons and plates and dishes; of these, also, he must pay his share of the taxes on all that they consume or wear. Then comes the *labourer*; then comes six, eight, or ten men, who all consume more or less of taxable commodities; and if they do not get from him the money wherewith to pay the tax, how are they to have the commodities? Let any farmer take a labourer, and let him sit down with him for once, and write upon a piece of paper the divers articles upon which

the man has expended, perhaps, his ten shillings in the week. He will find, if he refer to the taxing book, that more than six shillings out of the ten are actually gone to the tax-gatherer. And he will, therefore, find that, if the taxes were taken off, the man would be better off with six shillings a week than with ten; and that for him to become a pauper in the absence of taxes, would be a thing so unreasonable as not to be tolerated except under certain particular circumstances.

The farmer would find, in short, his expenditure diminished much more than one-half by the total removing of the taxes; but he would find himself sufficiently relieved, and would know nothing of general distress, if the taxes were diminished by about two-thirds; that is to say, reduced to one-third part of what they are now; and that, at the present value of money, is about the mark to which they ought to be reduced. Now, as to the other great error, that the taxes, though they be great in amount, return *back* again to those who pay them, because they are spent in the country. This was the curious idea of BURKE, expressed in a pamphlet written just after he had got a pension out of these very taxes of 3,000 pounds a year, to last for two lives after his own life should expire. How false the notion is, we are just going to see. In the first place, it is not true that the taxes are all spent in the country: a large part of them, or at least a considerable part of them, are spent out of the country; and if these do come back, their return must be very slow, and their arrival very late. But if this notion were correct, why does the farmer grumble at the poor-rates, seeing that they are not only spent in the country, but in the parish; yet no one ever pretends that they are not a burden! All manner of devices have been tried to diminish them: committee after committee, debate after debate, act after act, project after project: absolutely no end to the efforts to lighten this burden of the poor-rates, which has been represented as taking from the landlord his estate, and dividing it amongst the labourers; but the poor-rate is a tax after all; and if taxes, according to Burke's idea, come back like dews to enrich the land from whence they have been raised, why all these efforts to diminish the poor-rates; and why should they, above all other taxes, take from the landlord his estate, when it is notorious that the poor-rates are spent in the parish itself? Why should the estate be taken away by this comparatively trifling tax, while none of our law-givers ever appear to think it in danger from taxes tenfold in amount!

But how is it that taxes return? By what process do they come back again? Suppose there to be a tax upon a particular farmer amounting to a pound a week, collected weekly, and suppose there to be a tax-eater residing in the village, to whom the farmer pays this tax. Now, this tax shall not only be spent in the country; not only spent in the parish, but spent with the farmer himself. The tax-eater comes on the Saturday night, and receives his pound, and, on the Monday morning, he comes and lays out with the farmer the amount of the pound in meat, butter, eggs, or other produce of his farm, and gives him the sovereign back again. It

comes back to the farmer, but it comes to fetch away a part of his property. Suppose there to be a tax-eater thus fixed upon every hundred acres of land in England; the taxes would all come back again, to be sure; but they would come to fetch away property; and, according to their amount, would take just as much away from the farmer, who would have so much less to pay to his landlord, his tradesmen, his labourers, and to enjoy in his own family, or to increase his stores or his stock.

The Scotch *feudalists* have put the following case; or, rather laid down the following proposition: that it is nothing to the farmer whether he pay the whole of his rent to the landlord, or a part to him, and a part to the parson; and that, if the layholder or other tax-eater come and take another share of the rent, it is nothing to the farmer, so long as he pays only the same sum; and this is very true as far as relates to the farmer himself; but it makes a vast difference to the landlord; for it is very clear that the share which the tax-eater receives, he cannot receive; and if he do not receive it, he cannot give the employment which he otherwise would have given, and being less able to favour the farmer than he would have been, the latter cannot be able to give the same employment; and the land must, therefore, be robbed for the purpose of enriching the receiver of the taxes. It is very true that all the taxes that the farmer pays, directly and indirectly, must, unless he be ruined, be paid by the consumers of his produce; but *he himself is a consumer*; and, in the general oppression, he must have his share.

It is said that if, in consequence of the taxes, the owners of the land have not the means of affording employment; that if they do not, with that money which is paid in taxes, employ labourers, those to whom the tax are paid, *will employ them*; and that, therefore, here is only a salting of the labourers from one master to another. This, however, is a very destructive sort of shifting; for, if we were to allow that there would be just as much paid for labour in the one case as in the other, we ought to satisfy ourselves that it could be as *productive* in the one case as in the other; and that the removal of the scene of action of these labourers would not be the cause of a destruction, an *absolute destruction*, of human food, and other valuable things. Is it possible for a man worthy of being called a *statesman* to open his eyes, and not to perceive this waste, this destruction, this misapplication of wages, which have now been going on for several years? No man that looks at this War and its environs; no man who reflects on the large part of the produce of the whole of the island that is brought up to this Waste; no man that considers the immense quantities of human food that are absolutely destroyed in it; no man that considers that its population, including ten miles round, exceeds that of the counties of Bedford, Berks, Bucks, Cambridge, Chester, Cornwall, Cumberland, Derby, and Dorset, being eight out of the forty-two counties of England itself; no man that considers that each of the persons here must, on an average, consume as much as two, if not three, in the villages, and who reflects that a *full fourth part*, at

the least, of the whole of the produce of England and Wales, meat, bread, cheese, butter, is consumed in this all-devouring place; no man that considers these things, and who has eyes to see the destruction of human food in this place, will deny that there is more of it goes down the common sewers, or into the coal-holes, than would feed the whole population of a considerable county. So that it is of no trifling consequence, that you remove the food from the mouths of, those who labour, and carry it to be swallowed or wasted by those who do not labour. The same holds good with regard to every great place, as well as with regard to London, only in a smaller degree.

Then, as to the misapplication of wages. Suppose a tax-eater to live in a village, and to take from the farms of that village two hundred pounds a year. Suppose him to employ, about his house and gardens, persons to receive altogether just as great a sum in wages as the farmers in the village would have expended in wages if they had not had a tax-eater to keep, and if the two hundred pounds had remained in their pockets instead of going into his. Is there no difference, I pray, between the effect of wages bestowed upon a footman, a groom, a coachman, or a gardener, and the effect of the same sum of wages bestowed upon men who work in the fields? Must there not be less produce in those fields? Will not the footman waste more than the field-labourer? Will not a part of the wages which would have gone to the labourer, and would have served to give him warm clothes, be wasted upon the back of the footman? Is there, in short, a man in existence so blind as not to perceive the vast difference in the effects of productive and unproductive labour?

Look, then, at the face of the country, including this Wen. Behold the effects of taking property from one man and giving it to another: see the monstrous streets, and squares, and circuits, and crescents; see the pulling down of streets, and building up new ones: see the making of bridges and tunnels, till the Thames itself trembles at the danger of being inarched and undermined: behold the everlasting ripping up of pavements, and the tumbling up of the earth to form drains and sewers, till all beneath us is like a honeycomb: look at the innumerable thousands employed in cracking the stones upon the highways, while the docks and thistles and couch-grass, are choking the land on the other side of the hedge: see England, this land of plenty and of never-ending acres, without an old wheat-rick, and with not more than a stock of two-thirds of the former cattle upon the farms: see the troops of half-starved creatures flocking from the fields, and, in their smock-frocks and united shoes, begging their way up to this scene of waste, in order to get a chance snap at the crumbs and the osts rejected by the sons and daughters of idleness and luxury: look at all this; this Scotch philosopher / have the brass to deny the facts, or acknowledge, that of all the destructive things that can fall upon a nation; of all the heathen curses that can afflict it, none is equal to that of robbing productive labour of its reward, of taking from the industrious and giving to the idle.

It is a rare thing, as you all well know, for an ox or a wether-sheep to be killed, not in a village, but in a country town, unless it be of the larger description. This devouring place leaves to the country, even in Scotland, little besides the mere offal. That which cannot be sent dead, is sent alive, and, in both cases, loaded with all the expenses of conveyance; in the one case, with carriage, by boats or by horses; and, in the other case, with the expense of driving, including the loss of flesh and the deterioration of that which remains. I lived in a village many years, and never knew the butcher kill a wether-sheep; and, as to an ox, the thing was wholly out of the question. The bad, the lean, the refuse, is left to be consumed by those who raise the whole; and all this arises from the transfer carried on incessantly by the tax-gatherer: those who raise the food, starve; those who consume it, wallow in luxury.

The same argument, by which it has been attempted to persuade us that the mass of the people suffer nothing from this transfer of property from hand to hand by means of the taxes; that argument which would aim at convincing us that the expending of wages is just as advantageous in the hands of the tax-eater as in the hands of the farmer; that same argument would apply equally well to an army of soldiers as to an army of footmen and grooms, or other assistants in the work of luxury. Yet, if a man, Scotch *feelsopher* or not, were to set about seriously to maintain, that it was no burden to a people to maintain an army in the country; for that, as they must eat and drink after they are soldiers as well as before, it would be of no consequence to the people, seeing that the taxes received by the soldiers would come back again to them. If a man were to set about seriously to maintain this, he would be considered as in jest or insane; and yet, it is impossible to show that there is, in the *effects*, any difference between the maintaining of an army, and the maintaining of tax-eaters of any other description.

FOURCAEUE, in his *De Laudibus Legum Anglie*, describes the people of France, as being in his day, in a most wretched state, owing to the heavy taxes that they were compelled to pay; describes their wretched food and wretched drink; and describes the soldiers as eating the poultry, while the poor people scarcely got the eggs, by way of dainty; and he concludes by observing that, if a man by chance became rich, he was presently so taxed, as to be reduced to a level with the rest. The picture which he gives of the French in those days would suit the English at this present day. Causes which are the same produce in all places and at all times the same effects: heavy taxes made beggars of the working people of France; and they have made beggars of those of England.

THE REMEDY, then, is, not to return to the miserable and infamous paper-money; not to take up again that system of fraud, and of every thing that is vile; but to reduce the taxes; to make them less, and thereby enable the farmers and traders to give employment for useful and productive purposes. There is no other way in which to arrest the progress which is now going on, and which, if it be pushed to the extremity, must, after beggaring the

landowners, and all the productive classes, the merchant, the manufacturer, the trader, and all the rest, produce a general and terrible convulsion. We have read of, and some of us have seen, the horrible system of shutting the *labourers up in pounds like cattle*. The reason of this is, that they apply to the parish for relief, the farmers being unable to employ them and pay them wages: the overseer having no work for them to do, being unable to find any tax-eater to employ them, shuts them up during the day in the parish pound, like cattle, in order to keep them from prowling about; and, also, in order to make their life as irksome as possible, and thereby to drive them away to seek employment in some distant part. This has already endangered the peace of two or three counties, and, if persevered in, must lead to fearful consequences. In Suffolk, and in some other parts, there have been dreadful acts of arson. At one place in Suffolk, the whole of the produce of the harvest, and, amongst other things, a thousand quarters of corn, have been consumed. It is stated in the Suffolk papers, that the perpetrators have been sent to jail. This is a pretty awful beginning of the season which has just now begun. From isolated acts of this sort, so frightful to contemplate, others and more numerous, it is to be apprehended, must follow, unless relief be afforded. The crime itself is one deserving the severest punishment that the law can inflict, short of that which is due to murder; but it is useless to depict the crime; it is *useless to reason with revenge stimulated by hunger*; and, therefore, something ought to be done, and that speedily, too, to give security to those who are so much exposed, and whose situation, not arising in general from any fault of theirs, is so cruelly perilous.

There appears to be a notion, which has gained ground, and has been regularly gaining ground ever since the hundred from Ireland made part of the House of Commons, that the poor-rates ought to be considered as a positive and unquestionable evil; that the act of Elizabeth ought never to have been passed, and, at any rate, not to have received that humane construction, which it did receive for upwards of two hundred years. The broacher of this new doctrine was the insolent and hard-hearted MALTHUS, who soon made an abundance of proselytes; and whose doctrines continue to be cherished by almost every one who speaks or writes upon the subject. To lessen the amount of the poor-rates, has been constantly the cry; to prevent the poor from eating up the estates of the gentlemen; never looking at the cause of the poor being so very poor; never dreaming, apparently, that the fifty-five millions of taxes had any-thing to do with the matter; and never casting a thought upon the subject of the wishes and inclinations of the poor themselves; never seeming to imagine that what they might think or do was of any consequence; but seeming to suppose, that, if *told by act of Parliament*, that they must live without relief, they would quietly and contentedly live without relief, or *quietly and contentedly die*. This was a very great mistake. It seems to have been forgotten, that the forefathers of these poor compelled the cruel Elizabeth, and the cormorants,

grantees, and monopolizers of her reign, to pass the first poor laws; these projectors seem to have wholly forgotten, or never to have known, that the labouring people of England inherit, from their fathers, not any principle, not any doctrine, not any rule or maxim relative to this matter, but the habit of regarding parish relief as *their right* as much as they think the right of the landlord to his land is unquestionable. These projectors ought to have known something of the habit of the people's mind in this respect. Every one of them looks upon it that he has a species of property in his parish; they talk of *losing* their parishes as a man talks of losing his estate; and this is very right, the great evil being, at present, that so many of them are really forced to lose their parishes. Now, men may talk, and do whatever else they please, and as long as they please, they never will persuade the labourers of England, that *a living out of the land is not their right in exchange for the labour which they yield or tender*. This being the case, the thing to be aimed at is, to give them employment; and this employment is to be given them in sufficient quantity only by putting a stop to the transfer of the product of labour to the mouths of those who do not labour; and this stop is to be put in no way but that of taking off the taxes.

Now, gentlemen, do you want any-thing more than this to show you the *real cause* of the sufferings of the labourers? No; you want nothing more; you here see the process by which your property is taken away to be given to the Aristocracy, the Clergy, and the Loanmongers, and how it is that you are unable to keep your labourers as they ought to be kept. You are the channels, or drains, or sucking-up-pipes, through which the fruit of the labourer's toil is conveyed to the luxurious table or to the gay carriages of the Lords and the Loanmongers; aye, and the strawberries and cherries that these Lords and Loanmongers eat at a guinea a pound, or, perhaps, at a guinea an ounce, are paid for by the deductions that you make from the labourer's mealt. For this cause is this: *every thing comes from the land*; you gather it all in; you sell it all; you take all the money; and you distribute this money, part to the landlord, part to the parson, part to the tax-gatherer, part to the tradesmen, part to the labourers, and a part you keep for yourself and family. The landlord, parson, tax-gatherer, and the tradesmen you pay without grumbling; or, at least,

they will be paid; but the poor labourer, who causes the whole to come into your hands, you pinch as much as you can. His share is a very large one; and so it ought to be; for the sweat of his body causes it all to come. But his claim you are able to resist; he cannot force you to pay; all the others can force you; and, therefore, you withhold from him, in order to be able to pay all the rest. What I said to the farmers at Newbury, in 1822, I say to you now: it was not a prophecy; it was the dictate of plain sense, applied to the most interesting of all human affairs. I dare say that many of those farmers now think of what they then heard from me. "There seems," said I, "to be on foot a grand scheme for making the farmer a machine wherewith to squeeze something out of the labourer to be given to the landlord and the tithe-owner. I know that nature, as well as reason and justice, say, that this shall not be done. The Bible, from one end to the other, inculcates the maxim, that *those who will not work shall not eat*. So says Moses, and so says St. Paul. There are some among us who would reverse the maxim, and say, *those who will not work shall eat, and those who will shall not*! Profoundly ignorant must those be, who think that such a maxim can be enforced. Our new minister, Mr. GANNING, has appeared, upon many occasions, to pride himself upon the want of knowledge as to those that he would call *low matters*. But it is time for him now to inform himself with regard to them; for, if it do not require a greater mind, it is of far greater importance to a people, to trace out the path by which the labourer's dinner finds its way to the table of the sinecure lord, than it is to unravel the intrigues of courts, and to fix boundaries to the extent of dominion. To the crop which the land produces, the labourer has the first claim,

"for it is he *that makes the crop*. It is well known to you
 "all, gentlemen, that you cannot *LIVE*, much less carry on
 "your affairs amidst a race of starving labourers. You
 "know well that you can trust nothing in the hands of a
 "starving man; you know well that *crime does not apply*
 "*itself to acts necessary to the preservation of life*.
 "God, nature, and the laws have said, that *man shall not*
 "*die of want in the midst of plenty of food*. Look at
 "the state of the labourers in Ireland; presented to us,
 "perhaps, with some colourings of exaggeration; but look
 "at their state, and then let me put it to you, let me put it
 "home to the hearts of English farmers, whether they would,
 "if they could, live in comfort themselves, while all around
 "them were reduced to that state of misery? Were I a
 "farmer; were I pushed even to the very verge of ruin, *my*
 "*labourers should share with me to the last*, I would pay
 "my tradesmen in full; and as to the landlord and tithe-
 "owner, they must, if they have the heart to do it, take the
 "rest. Gentlemen, great numbers of persons have thanked
 "me personally, for having been the cause of preserving
 "them from ruin: if, to-day, I should have added only one
 "to the number, the having occupied your time so long
 "would require no apology."

In this strain, gentlemen, I have been proceeding for
 twenty-five or thirty years; but for the last fifteen more
 especially. And now, though it has come slowly, the veri-
 fication of all my doctrines has arrived; arrived in a fearful
 form, to be sure, but it has arrived, and therefore, I am now
 worthy of your attention. I have frequently been angry
 with the farmers; I have repeatedly accused them of
baseness in complaining of the weight of the poor-rates,
 making a dreadful outcry about the *expense of the la-*
bourers, speaking of them as of a *load* and a *curse*, while

they paid without grumbling, and pulled off their hats to, the landlord and parson and tax-gatherer ! I have called them base for this, and for this I still call base those who continue to act this cruel and cowardly part. It is but bare justice to the county of Kent, however, to say, that the farmers in that county have, in many instances, shewn a different spirit; they have resisted the lords and parsons; they have openly declared that the labourers *do not get their due*; and that the means of giving it them is taken from them by the landlord, the parson, and the tax-gatherer.

I have this minute received an account of the recent proceedings at TUNBRIDGE, which are worthy of the attention of the whole kingdom, and the conduct of the farmers there worthy of the imitation of all the farmers in the kingdom. "The meeting, convened by the magistrates, on Monday last, for the purpose of swearing in special constables, gave rise to an extraordinary display of political feeling. Soon after ten o'clock, the inhabitants of this town mustered in great numbers at the Court Hall, pursuant to summons, when, upon the oath of special constable being tendered to them, they, *almost to a man refused to take it*. Mr. R. M. Austen addressed the bench in explanation of his refusal, in which he stated it to be the opinion of himself, and that of the greater part of the inhabitants, that the proceeding was inexpedient, and, he further declared, that although they were actuated by the most devoted feelings of loyalty and attachment to the King, yet, as the Government had *turned a deaf ear to the just and reasonable complaints* of the people, the latter could *not so cheerfully co-operate with them*. The room was crowded to excess, and Mr. Austen was much applauded at the conclusion of

to his address. The inhabitants then simultaneously left
 the meeting, and upon their arrival in the open street,
 they gave three cheers to Mr. Austen, whom they con-
 sidered as their representative. This, however, was
 a demonstration of feeling which, as it bore the ap-
 pearance of disrespect to the bench, was no less re-
 prehended by the inhabitants in general, than it was
 unpleasant to the individual who was the object of it.
 The persons summoned from the other parishes generally
 refused to be sworn in. They complained of the intoler-
 able burthen of the taxes, and the inattention of Govern-
 ment to their distress. To these complaints the magis-
 trates replied, that, as they were not legislators, it was of
 no use to complain to them, and, that several respectable
 inhabitants having, upon oath, declared their apprehen-
 sions of a riot, it was imperative upon them to take the
 steps they had done to preserve the public peace. Lord
 Brecknock was present, and entered familiarly into
 conversation with some of the principal recusants. One
 of those placards, headed "Nice Pickings," which have
 been so numerously circulated, was placed in the hands of
 his Lordship, who declared that the statement of the in-
 come of several of the individuals therein named was
 grossly exaggerated. Out of upwards of 300 persons
 who were summoned, only fifty-two, including some
 volunteers, who took the oaths on the previous Saturday,
 consented to act as special-constables.
 A troop of the 5th Dragoon Guards is at present
 stationed at Tunbridge Wells; but, although information
 has been received there of the assemblage of mobs at no
 great distance, the services of the military have not yet
 been required.
 We are sorry to state, that information was received

"here on Saturday evening, that several corn-stacks at
 "Riverhead were set on fire.

"The Rev. Sir Charles Hardinge has reduced the
 "vicarial tithes of Tonbridge ten per cent., in order to
 "relieve the farmers, on account of the pressure of the
 "times, and to enable them to raise the wages of the
 "*labourers*. The vicarial tithes have always been mode-
 "rate, being rated at little more than half their real value.
 "It is to be hoped that those who hold the *rectorial tithes*
 "will be induced to follow the example set them by the
 "Rev. Baronet."

Gentlemen, in conclusion, let me exhort you to make
 common cause with your *labourers* in obtaining a removal
 of the cause of their sufferings. Their cause is yours;
 they are of your family; you cannot even exist without
 them, much less can you be safe, if they be miserable.
 Suppose a father, having plenty of means of all sorts, being,
 in short, a rich farmer, drinking wine every day, eating the
 dearest of food, sitting in a carpeted parlour, sleeping in a
 bed of down; and suppose him to have six sons, doing all
 the work upon the farm, fed upon potatoes, and lodged in a
 miserable shed. Even this would not be more unnatural
 and unjust than has been the conduct of many farmers
 towards their labourers. Could such a father expect to be
 beloved by his sons? And can such farmers expect to be
 beloved by their labourers? Gentlemen, put not your
 trust in *terror* or in *force*; to the Englishman who is
 reduced to potatoes to sustain life, there are no terrors even
 in the prospect of death; and besides, what *defence* is
 there against the *torch*? If there were but one man in every
 parish bent upon the destruction of consumable property;
 the property would be a fourth part destroyed. What,
 then, is the **ONLY REMEDY**? To give the labourer a
 sufficiency of good food and of good raiment. There is

no other remedy; and, gentlemen, that you will *resolve* to apply this remedy, and leave the landlord and parson and tax-gatherer to get what they can of the remainder is the urgent advice of

Your Friend,

And most obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.

MR. COBBETT'S PUBLICATIONS.

THE HISTORY OF THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION. Thinking that this work, which has been translated into, and published in, all the languages, and in all the nations of Europe, and in the republics of North and South America, deserved to be put into a *fac* book, I published about two years ago a large edition in two ROYAL OCTAVO VOLUMES, the paper and print very fine and costly, with marginal references, or abstracts, and with a copious and complete index, making a really fine library book, sold at one pound eleven and six-pence, instead of the eight shillings, for which the small duodecimo edition in two volumes was and is sold. I was out in my estimate: I did not consider that the quantity of piety and justice and sense was not always in a direct proportion to the length of purse; and that while the cheap edition was, as it is, continually in great demand, the dear edition remained on hand, or at least went off much more slowly than things must move to be agreeable to my taste. I have, therefore, resolved to quicken the motion of this edition by selling THREE TWO ROYAL OCTAVO VOLUMES AT TEN SHILLINGS, only two shillings more than the price of the duodecimo volumes, making to myself a solemn promise never to publish a dear book again. These books, like my other books, may be had of all booksellers in town and country.

ADVICE TO YOUNG MEN. This work is now completed, in fourteen numbers, price sixpence each. They make a very handsome volume, the print and paper being very good. Those gentlemen who have not got their sets complete are notified, that they may complete them by application at my shop, or to any bookseller in town or country; but the sooner they do this the better; for there will soon be no broken sets, and then their completion cannot take place. The sets may now be had complete, in boards, price 5s.

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Mills, Jowett, and Mills, Bolt Court, Fleet Street.

COBBETT'S
TWO-PENNY TRASH

For the Month of January, 1831.

TO THE
LABOURERS OF ENGLAND;

On the measures which ought to be adopted with regard to the Tithes, and with regard to the other property, commonly called Church-Property.

Kensington, 26th December, 1830.

MY FRIENDS,

I PERCEIVE that there is a PARSON at a parish in Norfolk, who has been endeavouring to persuade the labourers that *he is their friend*, and that the *farmers are their enemies*. He has circulated, in a hand-bill, the following statement. Others of the parsons have published hand-bills, calling upon you to believe, that the tithes are *good things for you*. But let me desire you to read the hand-bill of the Norfolk-parson. It is in the following words:—

LONDON: Published by the Author, 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street;
and sold by all Booksellers.

"To the *Poor Inhabitants of Surlingham*.—I have received from some of the farmers in Surlingham, a notice to gather my tithes in kind, or else to agree to take in future just what they shall please to offer. I cannot submit to such an unjust demand, and therefore I am compelled, in self-defence, to gather my tithes from this time; and I hereby make it known to you, that on and after Monday, the 20th of December, it is my intention to distribute as a gift, amongst the poor and deserving families, all the eggs, milk, pigs, poultry, and fruit, which shall in future belong to me as the small tithes arising upon the several occupations of Messrs. Samuel Barnes, Gibbs Murrell, R. G. Rudd, John Gent, Robert High, John Newman, sen., John Newman, jun., James Smith, and Thomas Middleton. I was sorry, for the sake of the poor, that some of you met at the Ferry-house in an unlawful manner, and there did hinder the payment of my tithes; but I have no doubt that you were misled into that dangerous conduct, and made tools of by others to serve their own selfish purposes; for I cannot believe any of the poor in Surlingham are my enemies, to whom, whether in sickness or health, I have always tried to be a friend.

"W. COLLETT,

"Rector and Vicar of Surlingham.

"Dec. 11, 1830."

I dare say, that the "*poor inhabitants of Surlingham*," understood all this very well! I dare say, that they saw, that such a trick was to be despised; that they asked how the parson never came to make such an offer before; but would they not ask also, why he did not give them some of the calves, lambs, wool, potatoes, turnips and corn, as well as the milk, eggs, pigs, and fruit? In short, they would see, because they must see, that this was a work of spite, and not of charity.

But it is not this pitiful part of the tithes that I want to see taken away from the parsons and bishops : I want to see the whole taken away : the tithes, the church-lands, and all other property held by the clergy in virtue of their clerical functions and offices. I want to see it *all taken away by LAW*. It was given to them by *law* ; it is held by *law* ; and it may be *taken away by law* : that which the law has given, the law may take away ; otherwise we should be living in a strange state of things. Such an important measure is, however, not to be adopted without regard to the *justice* and *necessity* of it. Such a measure would take property from a great number of persons ; it would make many low who are now high ; it would compel to labour for their bread many who now do nothing and yet live in luxury ; it would compel many who now ride in coaches, not only to walk on foot, but to work in company with those whom they seem to look upon as made for their pleasure and sport. Yet, such a measure ought not to be adopted in a hasty manner ; due consideration ought to be had in the case ; it ought, before adopted, to be proved to be *just* and *necessary* ; and, as I am decidedly for the measure, and would cause it to be adopted, if I had the power, I look upon myself as bound to show that it is *just* and *necessary*. Legal I know it must be allowed to be ; but that which is *legal* may not always be *just*. Some have denied that it would be legal ; and, therefore, the legality shall be proved first.

Now, my friends, I have to show you, *first*, that it is legal, that it is agreeable with the laws of our country, to take this property from the parsons by Act of Parliament. 2. I have to show you, that it is *just* to do it. 3. I have to show you, that the measure is necessary to the prosperity, peace, and safety of the nation. And, my friends, if I *prove* all these to you, it will be your bounden duty to lend your aid in

causing this measure to be adopted; and to be active and zealous too, in lending that aid; for, as you will by-and-by see, it is, after all, the *labouring-people* who suffer most from the tithes, and who, in fact, pay the whole of them in the end.

FIRST, then, to show you that it is agreeable to the laws of the country to take away the tithes and other property, commonly called church-property, I have only to state to you what has been done, in this respect, in former times. I shall have, further on, to speak of the *origin* and the *intention* and the *former application* of tithes, when I come to the *justice* of my proposition: at present I shall speak merely of the *legality* of the thing. We know that when a law has been passed by king and parliament, that which is ordered, or allowed, by such law, is *legal* in the technical sense of the word. If a nest of villains were bloody enough to pass a law to put men to death for refusing to live upon potatoes; or to cause the breasts of the young women to be cut off; or to cause them to be disqualified for breeding; or to have their bodies exposed to public view, to be poked and groped about and chopped to pieces, and then to be flung to the dogs, as the carcass of Jezebel was: if laws like these were to be passed, all the world would say, that they were *no laws at all*, and, of course, that they ought not to be regarded as precedents. But very different is the case here, as I am now about to prove.

The whole of this property, parsons' tithes, lay-tithes, college and bishops' estates, originally were held in *trust* by the CATHOLIC CLERGY, for certain *public purposes*, of which I shall speak under the next head. But, in the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., Elizabeth, and James I., all these tithes and other property, both in England and Ireland, were, by *Acts of Parliament*, taken away from the Catholic clergy, and given, some to *Protestant parsons*,

and the rest to divers persons of the aristocracy, who hold all this property to this day. If, then, this could be legally and constitutionally done, why cannot the property be taken away from the present possessors by Act of Parliament? The holders contend, however, that all this property, even the *tithes*, belong to the holders, as completely as any man's estate or goods belong to him. If this be the case, the tithes (to confine ourselves to them for the present) were *unlawfully* taken from the Catholic clergy; it was an act of *rapine* to take them from that clergy; and will our parsons allow that their possessions are the *fruits of rapine*?

But let us look at the part of the Catholic church-property that was taken away and given to the aristocracy; I mean, the *great tithes* of many parts of the kingdom, and the abbey-lands; and let us take, as specimens, the *Duke of Devonshire's great tithes of twenty parishes in Ireland*, and the *Duke of Bedford's ownership of Covent Garden*, which latter spot belonged to the Abbey of Westminster. If either of these were called upon to prove his title to these things (and he may be so called on by any man of whom *tithe* is demanded for the one or *toll* for the other), he must go back to the *Acts of Parliament* (and *not very far back*), in virtue of which he holds his estate. And will either of these dukes deny, then, that these Acts of Parliament were *lawful*; will they deny, that they were agreeable to the laws and constitution of the country; will they acknowledge that they hold these estates from the effects of an act of *rapine*? Oh, no! They must plead the Acts as good, as *agreeable to the law of the land*; and, if they do this, they declare, that to take away any part of the property of the church, is a thing that may be done without any violation of the law of the land.

There is a distinction to be made between the property which was given to the aristocracy, and that which was

given to the *Protestant* persons and bishops and colleges; and there are persons who contend, that the former is now become *private property*; and, of course, that the Dukes of Devonshire and Bedford have, to the above-mentioned tithes and tolls, as perfect a right as any man has to an estate that never belonged to the public, in the name of church-property. BURKE (the great apostle of the aristocracy!) says very much the contrary; for he says, that the Duke of Bedford had no better claim to Woburn than he (Burke) had to his pension! However, this is a point that I leave without discussion at present; and I sincerely hope, that the conduct of the aristocracy towards the people may now be such as to let this matter remain undiscussed for ever.

But as to the tithes and other property which was handed over from the Catholic clergy to the Protestant clergy, that is held by the latter as it was held by the former; namely, in trust by the clergy for public purposes; and, of course, as it was before taken by Act of Parliament from one set of men, and given in trust to another set of men, it may now be taken and disposed of by Act of Parliament, for whatever purposes may appear to the parliament to be best. To deny this, is really to be impudent; the thing is as plain as the fact of light or of dark.

Lest, however, an objection should be made to the antiquity of these Acts of Parliament, and lest it should be said, that when the church became *Protestant* the tenure of the clergy became *absolute*, and untouchable even by the parliament, let us see what the parliament has done, in this way, in modern times, and even very recently. In 1713, and again in 1813, an Act was passed to *fix the sum* that the holders of livings should give to their curates; that is to say, to *compel them* to give the curates certain salaries, or portions out of the produce of the livings. This clearly

shows that the livings were deemed public property, and merely held in trust by the parsons and bishops; for, what would have been said, if the parliament had passed a law to compel gentlemen, farmers, tradesmen, and manufacturers, to pay their servants, journeymen, and labourers, at a certain rate? This would have been to interfere with the distribution of private property, and would have been an act of tyranny; but, in the other case, it was an act of duty, because the parsons and bishops hold the property in trust for public uses; and because it was for the benefit of the public, that those who did the work of the church should be suitably paid for their work.

Thus, then, the Parliament took away, without any consent of the parties, part of the revenues of the incumbents, and, of course, part of what the patron, or owner, of the advowson, called his private property. But the Act of 1798, only thirty-two years ago, was still more complete, if possible; for, by that Act, a part of the houses and lands belonging to the church, was taken away for ever; was sold to private persons, and the proceeds paid into the Exchequer amongst the tax-money. This was called an "*Act for the redemption of the land-tax.*" It first laid a perpetual tax on all houses and land; it then enabled people to redeem their land-tax; that is to say, to purchase back part of their estates from the government! Some did it, and some did not; but the parsons and bishops and college-people were compelled to sell; and they did do it; and the money went into the Treasury, and was spent, by Pitt, in places, pensions, grants, sinacures, subsidies, secret-service money, and other purposes, to carry on the war against Jacobins, levellers, and reformers.

So that here was, only thirty-two years ago, a part of the church-property actually taken away for ever, sold to private persons, and the money taken by the government, and

applied to public purposes. If a part could be taken without any violation of the settled laws of the country, the whole may be taken for public purposes without any such violation. For, surely, it would not be more unlawful to take it to pay off the Debt, for instance, than it was to take it to help to carry on a war, for the support and success of which that Debt was contracted; a war, too, in the urging on of which the clergy were more forward and more loud than any body of men in the kingdom.

Thus, then, it is agreeable to the laws and usages of the country to take this property away, and apply it to public purposes: it is so much property belonging to the nation, and the nation can take it, and can do what it likes with it, proceeding, as it doubtless would, by due course of law. If there be any one in the world, and creature now left on earth, so stupid as to believe that the tithes and other church-property have any foundation in the laws of God, and that our parsons are the successors of the Levites, the stupid beast will keep the Sabbath, I hope, and not Sunday. I hope he will kill the paschal lamb, and offer up burnt offerings; that he will eat no blood, bacon, or hares or rabbits. The Levites had only the tenth of the increase, and not a tenth of the crop; next they divided the increase with the "poor, the widow, and the stranger:" and, lastly, they had no worldly inheritance, could own neither house nor land, and, indeed, could have no property to themselves.

No foundation have tithes, or church-property, on the Mosaic Law. And as to Christ and his apostles, not one word do they say to give countenance to such a claim; while, on the other hand, they say quite enough to satisfy any man that they never intended, never so much as thought of, such a mode of maintaining a Christian teacher. In the first place our Lord declares the Law of Moses to be abrogated. He sets aside even the Sabbath. And when the

Pharisee in the parable *vaunted* that he *paid tithes* of all that he possessed, the rebuke he received is quite sufficient to show the degree of merit that Christ allotted to that sort of piety; and, indeed, this parable seems to have been used for the express purpose of exposing the cunning of the then Jewish priests, and the folly of their dupes in relying on the efficacy of paying tithes.

But what do we want more than the *silence* of our Saviour as to this point? If the tenth of the "*increase*" (for it was not the crop, or gross produce) was intended by him still to be given to the teachers of religion, would he, who was laying down the new law, have never said a single word on so important a matter? Nay, when he was taking leave of his apostles and sending them forth to preach his Word, so far is he from talking about *tithes*, that he bids them take neither purse nor scrip, but to sit down with those who were *willing to receive them*, and to eat *what people had a mind to give them*, adding, that "*the labourer was worthy of his hire.*" That is to say, of food, drink, and lodging, while he was *labouring*. And is it on *this*, the only word Jesus Christ ever says about compensation of any sort; is it on *this* that Christian teachers found their claim to a *tenth of the whole of the produce of a country*? If this be the way in which they interpret the Scriptures, it is time, indeed, that we read and judge for ourselves! Oh, no! Not a word did our Saviour say about *tithes*; not a word about *rich* apostles, but enough and enough about *poor* ones; not a word about worldly goods, except to say, that those who wished to possess them could not be his disciples; enough about rendering to *Cæsar* the things that are *Cæsar's*, but not a word about rendering to the priests any thing at all. In short, from one end of the Gospel to the other, he preaches humility, lowliness, an absence of all desire to possess

worldly riches, and he expressly enjoins his disciples "*freely* to give, as they had *freely* received."

And as to the apostles, what did they do? Did they not act according to the command of Christ? Did they not live in common in all cases where that was practicable? Did they not disclaim all worldly possessions? In Corinthians, chap. ix. St. Paul lays down the rule of compensation; and what is it? Why, that as the "ox was not to be muzzled when he was treading out the corn," the teacher was to have food, if necessary, for his teaching, for that God had "ordained" that they which preach the Gospel should live *of the Gospel*. But is here a word about tithes? And would the apostle have omitted a thing of so much importance? In another part of the same chapter, he asks, "Who goeth a warfare at any time at his own charges?" Which clearly shows, that all that was meant was *entertainment on the way*, or when the preacher was from home; and when the preaching was on the spot where the preacher lived, it is clear, from the whole of the Acts of the Apostles, and from the whole of the Epistles, that no such thing as compensation, in any shape, or of any kind, was thought of. St. Paul, in writing to the teachers in Thessalonica, says, "Study to be quiet and do your own business, and to work with your own hands as we commanded you." 1 Thess. chap. iv. ver. 11. And again, in 2 Thess. chap. iii. ver. 8, he bids the teacher remember, "Neither did we eat any man's bread for naught; but wrought with labour and travail, night and day, that we might not be chargeable to any."

SECOND: *the justice of the measure.*—It is clear, then, that tithes and clerical revenues rest upon no scriptural authority. What do they rest upon? How came they ever to be? What were they founded for? And are they now applied to the uses for which they were given in trust to the

ology? Do the clergy apply them agreeably to the intention in which the tithes originated? In answering these questions, we shall arrive at a perfect conviction, that it is just to adopt the measure in favour of which I am arguing.

When I was a boy, or, before I had read with attention, I often wondered how our forefathers came to be such fools as to give *one tenth part* of all the corn, hay, roots, calves, lambs, wool, pigs, eggs, milk, fruit, greens, underwood, and of the profit on mills and of the waters and of the animals at pasture. That they should have been such fools as to give, in every parish, all this to *one man* of the parish, and that man, too, an *unmarried man*. I thought them great fools; and lamented that we had, hitherto, been such fools, such tame and stupid fellows as to adhere to their laws. But, upon looking into the matter, I found that our old papas had *done us such a thing*. I found that they had given only a *third of the tenth* to the priests; another *third to build and repair the churches*; and the other third *to relieve the poor*, and, indeed, that third which the priest had, was to enable him to *keep hospitality, and relieve the stranger*. Oh! said I, this had sense in it; and it is WE, consoled we, *enlightened* we, who are the fools, who let the parsons take *all*, and who relieve the poor, and build and repair the churches by taxes which we screw from one another, and who, while we have a mutton-bone on our tables, silently see the parsons wallowing in luxury. We, *enlightened* we, are the real fools.

At a meeting recently held in Kent, Lord WINCHILSEA was asked whether he would vote for the abolition of tithes. To this he answered in the negative, observing, that tithes were instituted by our "*PIOUS ancestors*." Our ancestors were pious, but they were not tame "*enlightened*" fools. This is the story that the parsons always tell us; but they do not tell us the whole of the story. They leave

us to believe that our "pious ancestors" were of this same church *that now exists*; and with reason; for it would be awkward indeed in them to extol the piety of those *from whom they took the tithes away*. But I will tell you, my friends, the *whole story*; it is short, and is as follows: Christianity was not introduced into England, until 600 years after the birth of Christ. About the meanwhile it had made its way over the greater part of the continent of Europe, and the Pope of Rome, as the successor of St. Peter, had long been the head of the church. About the year 600, the then Pope, whose name was Gregory, sent a monk, whose name was Austin, with forty others under him, from Rome to England to convert the English. They landed in Kent, and the king of Kent (there were several kingdoms in England then) received them well, became a convert, and built houses for them at Canterbury. The monks went preaching about Kent, as our missionaries do amongst the Indians. They lived in common, and on what people gave them. As the Christian religion extended itself over the country, other such assemblages of priests, as that at Canterbury, were formed; but these being found insufficient, the lords of great landed estates built churches and parsonage-houses on them, and endowed them with lands and tithes, after the mode in fashion on the continent. The estate, or district, allotted to a church, now became a parish; and in time, dioceses arose, and the division became, as to territory, pretty much what it is now.

Here, then, we learn the *motives* of our "pious ancestors" in making these endowments of tithes. They wished to have a priest always at hand to teach the ignorant, to baptize children, to visit the sick, to administer comfort, to be the peace-maker, the kind friend and the guide of his people. Nor were these tithes to be devoured or squandered by the priests. They were divided thus: "Let the priests receive

" the tithes of the people, and keep a written account of all
 " that have paid them ; and divide them, in the presence
 " of such as fear God, according to canonical authority.
 " Let them set apart the first share for the building and
 " ornaments of the church ; and distribute the second to
 " the poor and strangers with their own hands, in mercy
 " and humility ; and reserve the third part for themselves."

The very motives for building churches and endowing them with tithes prove, that the constant residence of the priest, or parson, in his parish was his first duty ; for what was the endowment for else ? And I state, upon authority as good as any that history can present, that for nearly five hundred years after the introduction of Christianity, no such custom prevailed in England as of hiring curates, or other deputies, to supply the place of the parson who had the living. Our " pious ancestors" were therefore sensible as well as pious : they required duties in return for what they settled on the parsons. These parsons were, besides, let it be remembered, unmarried men ; and if we are to impute (and which in justice we ought) the institution of tithes to the piety of our ancestors, we must also impute to their *piety* the establishing of a priesthood not permitted to marry ! We must impute this to their piety, and, indeed, to their *wisdom* also ; for how obvious are the reasons that the tithes never could be applied according to the intention of the founders, if the priests had wives and families to maintain ?

Thus, then, if we be to appeal to our pious ancestors, and pious and praiseworthy we must allow them to have been ; if Lord Winchelsea and the parsons will insist upon referring us to these our ancestors as examples for us to follow as to this great matter of tithes, we have to remind him and the parsons of these *eight things*.—1. That the doctrines of the Catholic church, which our pious ancestors endowed with the tithes, are, by our present par-

seen, declared to be idolatrous and damnable.—2. That our parsons call the head of that church Antichrist and the whore of Babylon.—3. That the “Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge” advertise no less than fourteen separate works, written by our bishops and archbishops, “against popery,” that is to say, against that very faith to support which our pious ancestors instituted tithes.—4. That we may be allowed to wonder how it can have come to pass, that, as the errors of our pious ancestors were found, at the end of ten hundred years, to be so damnable, the tithes which they granted were not, at all erroneous, but, as the parsons now tell us, were “dedicated to God”!—5. That our pious ancestors gave only a third of the tithes to the parsons.—6. That they required the parson to expend a third on the building and ornaments of the church.—7. That they required him to distribute the other third to the poor and the stranger with his own hands, in mercy and humility.—And, 8. That they required him to be constantly resident and not to marry, and compelled him to take an oath of celibacy, in order that, divested of the cares and anxieties inseparable from a wife and family, he might wholly devote himself to the service of God, and be in very truth that which the Bible, from one end to the other, requires a priest to be, a faithful and diligent *shepherd* of the religious flock: and, for being which merely in name, such woes are pronounced against priests both by prophets and apostles.

Of these eight things we have to remind the parsons, when they tell us to look at the conduct of our pious ancestors; and especially when they tell us to follow the example of those ancestors with regard to tithes. These were the conditions on which the tithes were given, and this might be truly said to be dedicating them to God. Accordingly we find that, as long as the tithes were applied to these purposes, there were no poor-rates; no Vagrant Act was re-

quired; no church-rates were demanded of the people; and yet all those magnificent cathedrals and those churches were built, the beauty and solidity of which are now the monuments of their great, and of our little, minds.

But is it not worth our while, even if it were only for the curiosity of the thing, to inquire how the tithes, dedicated to a faith which our parsons hold in abhorrence, came to be possessed by our parsons? Is it not worth our while to inquire, how it came to pass, that, when our parsons found the faith of our ancestors so erroneous as to be called idolatrous and damnable; when they found the faith so bad as to require rooting out even by most cruel penal laws; how it came to pass, that, when they found the faith so utterly abominable; how it came to pass, that when they were pulling down images, confessionals, and altars, and were sweeping away all the other memorials of the faith of our pious ancestors, they should have suffered the parsonage-houses, the globes, the tithes, and even Easter-offerings, to remain, nay, and have taken these to themselves, and to be enjoyed, too, not in the third part, but in whole?

The tithes were, as we have seen, given to, and enjoyed, or rather administered by, the Catholic parsons for about ten out of the twelve hundred years of their existence in England. For the first five out of the ten, no such thing as non-residence, or stipendiary curating, was known. After the Normans invaded England these things began; and, in time, by one means or another, by kings, nobles, and monasteries, the parishes were greatly robbed of their tithes, and miserable vicars and curates were placed in the churches in numerous cases. At last that event which is called the Reformation took place; and the struggle ended in the overthrow of the Catholic and the establishment of the Protestant church, that is to say, a church which protests against the Catholic faith, to uphold which the tithes had been instituted.

The new parsons, though they protested against the faith of the Catholic parsons, did by no means protest against the tithes which had been granted to uphold it. They professed to keep all that was good, and to cast off all that was bad, of the old church. What was good and what bad, we laymen may, perhaps, not be competent judges of; but we know that they kept very carefully all the parsonage-houses, all the glebes, all the tithes, all the Easter-offerings, all the surplice fees; and that they cast off constant residence, division of tithes into thirds, keeping the churches in repair, living unmarried, and relieving the poor and the stranger with their own hands in mercy and humility. Such, indeed, was their keeping and such their casting off, that the Catholics said, that Protestant parson meant a person who protested against anybody having the church-property but himself!

If, indeed, the parsons did the duty which their vows oblige them to do, it would then be another matter. What is the contract which they make with the nation? What is the obligation which they take upon them? What are the duties that they most solemnly engage to perform? At their ordination they solemnly profess, that they "believe that they
 "are moved by the Holy Ghost to take upon the office, to
 "serve God for the promoting of his glory, and the edifying of his people." They declare also, that they are
 "determined, with the Scriptures, to instruct the people
 "that shall be committed to their charge; they promise
 "that they will give their faithful diligence always so to
 "minister the doctrine and sacraments and the discipline of
 "Christ, as the Lord hath commanded, and as this realm
 "hath received the same according to the commandment of
 "God; that they will teach the people committed to their
 "cure and charge with all diligence to keep and observe the
 "same, that they will be ready with all faithful diligence

" to banish and drive away all erroneous and strange
 " doctrines contrary to God's word : and to use public
 " and private admonitions and exhortations, as well to the
 " sick as to the whole, *within their cures*, as need shall re-
 " quire and occasion be given ; that they will be diligent in
 " the prayers and in the reading of the Holy Scriptures,
 " and in such studies as help to the knowledge of the same,
 " *laying aside the study of the world and the flesh* ; that
 " they will be diligent to frame and fashion themselves and
 " their families according to the doctrine of Christ, that
 " they may be *wholesome examples and spectacles to the*
 " *flock of Christ* ; and that they will maintain and set for-
 " wards quietness, peace, and love, among all Christians, but,
 " *especially among them that are or shall be committed to*
 " *their charge.*" And they most solemnly ratify and con-
 firm these declarations and promise *by receiving the holy*
communion.

Now, how are they to do these things, or, indeed, any
 part of these things, unless they *be at the places* where they
 have so solemnly promised to do them ? How are they to
 promote God's glory and edify his people ; how are they to
 instruct the people committed to their charge ; how are they
 to explain the Word to the people of their cure ; how are
 they to be ready with faithful diligence to banish and drive
 away all erroneous and strange doctrine contrary to God's
 word, and especially from amongst them that are committed
 to their charge : how are they to fulfil any of these solemn
 promises, if they absent themselves from the very spot
 where the people committed to their charge reside ? And
 if, having already one living, they grasp at another or two,
 how do they obey the injunction of the apostle, to avoid
 filthy lucre ; how do they obey Christ, who bids them freely
 give ; how do they fulfil their own promise, made at the
 altar and with such awful solemnity, to *lay aside the study*

of the world, and how do they show themselves followers of the apostle, who bids them "be subject one to another, and be clothed with humility, seeing that God resisteth the proud and giveth grace to the humble?"

Is it not notorious that of the eleven thousand livings in England and Wales, one half are without resident incumbents; and is it not equally notorious that there are thousands of parsons each of whom has more than one living; is it not also notorious that those who do the work of the church, have hardly a bare sufficiency to eat and drink; is it not notorious that, while there are bishoprics worth from ten to forty thousand a year, one million and six hundred thousand pounds have, within the last thirty years, been voted out of the taxes on our malt, soap, candles, sugar, &c., "for the relief of the poor clergy of this church;" is it not notorious that many of the present beneficed clergy received military and naval half-pay for many years, and the income of their benefices, at the same time; and is it not notorious that, in Ireland, the case is still more flagrant than it is here? How, then, do the parsons fulfil the promises made at their ordination? How do they obey the injunctions of the apostles: "Preach the word; be instant in season, out of season; reprove, rebuke, and exhort with all long-suffering and doctrine." The apostles tell the teachers to teach publicly "from house to house; to show themselves in all things patterns of good works; to be examples in word, in conversation, in charity, in faith, in purity; to warn every man, to teach every man in wisdom, that they may present every man perfect in Jesus Christ." The teachers of the Gospel are called Ambassadors, Stewards, Shepherds, Watchmen, Guides, Lights, Examples. But how are they to be any of these, if they seldom or never see any of those whom they have pledged themselves to teach?

Jesus Christ says, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel unto every creature; and, lo! I am with you always, even unto the end of the world." And the apostle Paul, amongst his numerous, urgent, and solemn exhortations, says, "I take you to record this day, that I am pure from the blood of all men; for I have shunned not to declare unto you the counsel of God. Take heed, therefore, unto yourselves, and to all the flock over which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers, to feed the church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood." And he exhorts, too, that the teachers should do their duty for religion sake, and not for the sake of gain. A bishop is not to be "greedy of filthy lucre, nor covetous."

The parsons tell you to read the Bible, and there are plenty of Bible Societies to put the book into your hands. The worst of it is, *you do not read it attentively*. But read it now; see what it says about parsons who do not reside on their livings. The prophet Zechariah says, "Woe to the idle shepherd that *leaveth the flock*." "Woe" says the prophet Ezekiel, "Woe be to the shepherds of Israel that do feed themselves! Should not the shepherds feed the flocks? *Ye eat the fat, and ye clothe you with the wool, ye kill them that are fed; but ye feed not the flock*. The diseased have ye not strengthened, neither have ye healed that which was sick, neither have ye bound up that which was broken, neither have ye brought again that which was driven away, neither have ye sought that which was lost; but *with force and with cruelty have ye ruled them*. And they were scattered, because *there is no shepherd*." And is not the flock scattered in England now? Are not the country churches empty, and do not the people wander about after all sorts of sects? There is, in reality, no longer any flock. The prophet, contemplating such a case, adds: "Thus saith the Lord God, behold, I am *against the shepherds*; and I will require my flock at

“ their hand, and cause them to cease feeding the flock ;
 “ neither shall the shepherds *feed themselves any more ;*
 “ for I will deliver my flock from their mouth, that they
 “ may not be meat for them.”

It is clear, from all that we behold, that the church, as by law established, has not answered, or, at least, that it does not now answer, the purposes for which it was intended. It does not hold the people in the bond of faith ; it does not promote peace and good-will ; but, on the contrary, creates eternal divisions and feuds, while it consumes uselessly a large part of the produce of the land, and takes from the farmer the means of giving you, the labourers, wages sufficient for you to support your wives and children. Besides this, this establishment is a hot-bed for breeding gentlemen and ladies, who must be kept without work, all their lives, somehow or other ; and taxes must be raised, and are raised, upon you, and upon all of us, to pay them salaries, stipends, pensions, or something or other. This is so now, and it must be so as long as this establishment shall exist. The sons of the parsons are, for the far greater part, kept by the public in some shape or other ; the husbands of the daughters are kept in the same way ; they engross the offices, and the employments, and shut out the sons of farmers and tradesmen. I do not blame the government for this ; for, in the nature of things, it must be so ; it is a necessary effect of the establishment. It is the only establishment in the world, or that there ever was in the world, the priests of which are allowed to marry. Wherever there are priests paid by the public, they are not allowed to marry ; and it is clear that they ought not to be so allowed ; for, otherwise, what is it, but to tax the people to keep a race of men and women to breed persons to be maintained by the public, and to take away from all the industrious classes the chance, even the chance, of sharing in the honours and powers of the country.

It is, in short, an establishment which makes the people keep fathers and mothers, that they may breed children for them to keep also! And such a thing never was heard of before in the whole world.

My friends, labourers of England, there is a PARSON, of the name of MALTHUS, who has written a book to show that *you breed too fast*; and in order to *check your breeding*, he proposes, that, if you be married, you shall have *no relief from the parish*, but shall be left to starve. The Scotch and Irish place-hunters, who live, or want to live, on your labour, applaud this parson Malthus to the skies, and so do our pensioners and parsons. But neither Malthus nor any of his crew ever propose to *check the breeding of the PARSONS and the PENSIONERS*! Think of that. They grudge YOU, who make all the food, clothing, houses, and fuel; they grudge you parish relief; but they do not grudge to parsons and pensioners paid out of the taxes raised on you! Oh! the insolent ruffians! Is there not a just and merciful God; and is his hand for ever to be stayed! The ruffians have seen, of late years, a million and a half of guineas given by the parliament, out of the taxes, "*for the RELIEF of the POOR CLERGY of the church of England*;" they know that YOU pay a large part of these taxes; and yet they would *refuse you relief* in cases even of the extremest distress!

But as long as this establishment shall exist, so long must it continue to inflict evils on the country; it must of necessity take from the farmer and tradesman and merchant and manufacturer the means of paying just wages to those whom they employ; and there is no man can doubt, that it is the want of just wages that is *the cause*, and the only cause, of the present troubles of the country. Well, then, ought not this cause to be removed? And how is it to be removed? without legally taking away those tithes and other public pro-

erty, the leaving of which in the hands of the parsons produces this calamitous cause. The establishment does not now answer the purposes for which it was intended; those who receive the revenues are, in great part, absent from the parishes; the churches are empty; the meeting-houses are full; those who *do the work* of the church are living in penury; and, more than all the rest, the present distribution of this property, helps to make the working-people so poor and miserable, that they must either die with starvation, or resort, for the purpose of obtaining the means of sustaining life, to acts of violence dangerous to the peace of the country. And is it not, therefore, just to take this property away? "THE SAFETY OF THE PEOPLE IS THE SUPREME LAW." How can they be safe, then, as long as they are constantly exposed either to starvation or to the consequences of unlawful acts? And if they must (and I have shown that they must) be constantly thus exposed, as long as this establishment shall exist, are the people to perish, are we all to be ruined and destroyed, for the sake of those who profit from this establishment? Is *that* just? Why, then, it is just to repeal and abolish this establishment.

THIRD: the measure is necessary. This I have, indeed, just showed; but there are still further reasons why this measure is necessary. The weight of taxes is one great cause of the distress and the troubles of the country. Your wages go, one half, to pay taxes. More than the half of these taxes are required to pay the interest of what is called the NATIONAL DEBT. It is impossible to collect such heavy taxes without a large army. Therefore, it is in vain to hope for relief as long as this Debt, to its present amount, shall exist. The Debt-people *receive more than they ought to receive*. Every man of sense says this, and the present First Lord of the Admiralty (a very clever man) proposed to take 20 per cent., or nearly a third part, away from the Debt-

people. Now, if this Debt were justly reduced, and the tithes and other church-property sold, and the money paid to the Debt-people, the Debt would be nearly paid off, the army might be disbanded, the heavy taxes taken off, and the nation be again great and happy, the working-people well fed and clad as their great-grandfathers were, and the employers and their property in a state of safety. And are we to forego all this; are we to give up the hope of ever seeing England happy again, merely for the sake of upholding this establishment of parsons and bishops! It is just that the Debt-people should be paid less than they are now paid; every one must confess, and every one does confess, this; but every one feels and says that it would be injustice, monstrous injustice, to call down the curses of all mankind, to *take one single farthing from the Debt-people, so long as the clergy continue to receive their enormous emoluments.*

And now, my friends, I have, I think, proved the *legality*, the *justice*, and the *necessity* of this measure. I have no dislike to the *religion* of the church in which I was born and bred and have always continued; I have great respect for *many of the working-clergy*, whom I know to be amongst the most worthy of men, and whose lot would be *mended* by the measure that I propose, as religion and morality would also be advanced by it. I am actuated by no antipathy or personal ill-will: I wish for the measure, for the reasons that I have given; and I exhort you to join cordially with your employers in petitions, and in all other lawful efforts, to cause that measure to be adopted, and that, too, *immediately*, being thoroughly convinced that, ^{if} until it be adopted, England will never again know happiness.

I am,

My good and honest Friends,

Your faithful servant,

WM. COBBETT.

P, S. What I would wish to have done with regard to the present parsons I will clearly state in my next letter to you; but I will say this much now, that I wish them to be treated with *full as much lenity and indulgence as the Catholic clergy were treated with*, when the tithes and other church-property were taken from them; and this, I am sure they cannot complain of with any show of decency.

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COBBETT'S

TWO-PENNY TRASH

For the Month of February, 1831.

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1. *A Letter to the King's Ministers on the way to put a stop to the Fires.*
 2. *A Letter to the Labourers on their Duties and their Rights.*
 3. *A Letter to the Folks of Botley, on the Fire at Fleming's house at Stonham Park.*
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KING'S MINISTERS,

Kensington, 17th January, 1831.

BEFORE I proceed to point out to you the means alluded to in the title of this paper, I shall endeavour to convince you of these three things:—1. That the fires have been set by the labourers, without instigation from any body; 2. That the means of terror, or of punishment, are not calculated to put an end to the fires; and, 3. That the fires, unless effectually put a stop to, may become far more extensive than they have hitherto been. It is necessary, first of all, that I make good these three propositions; because unless you be convinced, and heartily convinced, of the truth of them, you will not listen, and it is not reason-

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and sold by all Booksellers.

able that you should listen, to that which I have to offer with regard to the measures, which I think ought now to be adopted; and, therefore, the best possible proof that I can give of my sincere and anxious desire to cause to be effected the great object stated in the title of this my address to you, is, to endeavour to implant this conviction firmly in your minds.

FIRST, then, that the fires have been *set by the labourers, and without instigation*. You must be convinced of this, or, you will not listen for a moment to the remedies which I have to propose. At first thought on the matter, it will appear to be absurd to state such a proposition as this, especially after the numerous trials that have taken place without there having appeared, throughout the whole country, one single particle of evidence to give countenance to the notion, that any one fire in any place had been set by any person but a farm labourer; or that any person whatsoever, except a farm labourer or farm labourers, had instigated the perpetrator to the act. SCOTT ELDON (I will always when speaking of this person retain the word SCOTT) is reported to have said distinctly that one of the country jails was full of *foreigners*, who had been committed for these crimes. RAIL, KNATCHBULL, and divers others, stated as a *matter of course* that the fires had been instigated by persons going about in *gigs, carriages, post-chaises, landaus*! There was a woman in Philadelphia, who, as a quaker neighbour told me, imagined herself to be a *tea-pot*, stretched out one arm in the shape of a spout, put the other a *kinabo* to represent the handle, and cried out to every-body who came near her, "Pray, don't break me!" "What," said my neighbour "would thee have done in that case, friend Cobbett?" "Why," said I, "being a tea-pot, I could have taken care that nothing but water should have gone into her in the shape of liquid, and that no solids should have gone into

her till she had washed all the dirty linen, and had scrubbed every floor in the house;" a remedy, by-the-by, which I have leave to recommend to my readers in general, if they happen to be troubled with wives with imaginations so distastefully strong.

Strong, however, as the indulgence of the husband had rendered the imagination of this lady the devil, it certainly did not surpass, in point of force, that of those persons who have ascribed these fires, or any part of them, to the insurrectionality or instigation of any body but the labourers themselves; and the wonder is how any one ever can have entertained such an idea. For a good while I believed that no one was accurate in his professions upon this subject; but, at last, I met a gentleman, a country gentleman, a considerable land-owner and land-cultivator, a magistrate of long standing and great experience, a public-spirited man, not only a liberal but a generous man, a man singularly good, not only to his own labourers, but to all round about him, a considerate, a mild, an indulgent man; a man of sincerity and veracity as perfect as I have ever known to exist in man; and this gentleman, while he was ready to make every apology for the other violences, ascribing them to the real sufferings of the people, told me this, that "as to the fires, the people have certainly been instigated to those by a SET OF CONSPIRATORS IN LONDON!"

I was astounded to hear him utter these words. I could account for Scott Eldon's *foreigners*; for, when he talked of the intelligence coming in a letter, one could see that it was a hoax. I could account, without much racking of my brains, for the strong imaginations of Peel and Knatchbull, and the rest; but I really was frightened when I heard this gentleman talking of a conspiracy in London instigating the fires; and, in his case, I can account for the monstrous absurdity only by reflecting on the effect of the stories which

the people in the country are continually hearing of the surprising dexterity and cleverness, and the profound wickedness that exists amongst the discontented spirits in London. If this gentleman were to dwell a little while in the vicinage of these surprisingly clever and discontented spirits, his alarm would pretty quickly cease: he would soon find, that if he could keep his wine decanter and brandy-bottle from them, that need be his only care; and that if he would let them have their run at them, he would find them some of the best-tempered fellows in the world. Men that talk very much are apt to do very little; and I, if I had ricks and barns at stake, should be more afraid of the vengeful feelings of one single labourer, whose son or brother I had caused to be imprisoned or severely dealt with for poaching, than I should be of the speeches, the writings, and the manifestations of all the discontented spirits of London, who, besides all the rest, hardly know wheat from peas when they see them growing, hardly knew a rick from a barn; and certainly do not know a barn from a stable; are totally ignorant of the state of the homesteads and of the means of supplying them; would be frightened out of their wits at the idea of going along a dark lane or over a down by themselves; and, in short, are as incompetent to give instructions or suggestions in such matters as the labourers would be to give instructions with regard to getting up plays and farces at Covent Garden.

Yet, so loth are you to acknowledge; so loth are the land-owners, the parsons, the bull-frog farmers, aye, and the debt-owners, too; so loth are you all to acknowledge that these fires have proceeded purely from the minds of the labourers, that you all still cling to this monstrous idea of extraneous instigation. The cause of this clinging is this; that you cannot acknowledge that the fires have proceeded purely from the minds of the labourers, without tacitly ac-

knowledging one of two things; namely, that they must have had some deep and irresistible provocation, or that Englishmen are become a totally altered people. There is not much to choose between these two; either of them looks pretty angrily at the government which has existed for some years past. The fact is, that these dreadful acts, if ascribed to the mere movements of the labourers, imply that they have been rendered desperate by hunger. This implies that they ought to have had higher wages; this implies that to put a stop to the fires they must have higher wages and this implies that many millions a year must now be taken from the aristocracy and the church, or that those many millions must be taken from the debt-owners. Therefore it is that every effort is made to ascribe the fires, first to foreigners, next to people travelling in landaus and post-chaises, next to conspirators in London, and, lastly, to writings of various descriptions, particularly "*cheap publications*." Why there are no cheap publications, that I know of, except my poor TWO-PENNY TRASH, and this I am allowed to publish only once in a month. As to the Register, a single number of it now amounts to nearly as much as the Wiltshire allowance for a week's food, and clothing for a constantly hard-working man. I know of no cheap publication but this, that goes regularly forth, while the "*Society for Promoting Useful Knowledge*," while the church parsons with their pamphlet societies; and while the nasty, canting, lousy Methodists, who inveigle the pennies even from the servant-girls; while all these are pouring out their pamphlets by millions, and all of them preaching up the doctrine, that bacon, bread and beer corrupt the soul of man, and that potatoes, salt and water, are sure to lead to eternal salvation.

How, then, have the fires been produced by speaking

to live

and writings? and how is it as much of sense to believe that from Dover to Portsmouth, from Portsmouth to Cardiff, the fires have been produced by instigations from my speeches and writings? Yet, I have been told, and I believe the fact, that the POST-OFFICES, particularly in Essex, Hampshire, and Wiltshire, have been narrowly watched, in order to discover some correspondence between me and the rioters and burners. If these watchers will but stick to their several posts till they find a letter written by me, or by any one by my authority, not only about rioting and burning, but about *any-thing else*, they will be amply punished for their curiosity. No, no; I have too much to write for the printers, to amuse myself in this sort of way. To be sure I cannot help what people write to me; but if the Secretary of State will send a clerk to read all my letters over for me, they will stand a great deal better chance than they now stand. All that comes with the postage not paid I send back unopened, for the amusement of the Duke of Richmond; and, if he read them all with attention, he will have quite enough to do. About one half of them are threatening letters; some threatening to burn my house; some my barn; some to shoot me; some to take me off by other means. These frequently come postage paid, and then they immediately go into a basket for the maid to light the fire with. Till I began to receive these burning letters, I used to insure; but I have never done it since, except in the case of my house at Kensington, which my lease compels me to insure for a certain sum of money. I discovered too, that in the case of every insurance that I had made, I had paid nearly twice as much to the government in tax as to the insurance office for insurance. This deemed a payment to protect me against the dispensations of Providence and the ill-will of my neighbours. To the former it was my duty to

submit; of the letter I was not afraid; and therefore, why should I give up my earnings for this purpose? Threatening letters, indeed! I have received a hundred, that I could have traced home to the parties with no very extraordinary pains; and I never made the attempt in my life. The post-office may be watched long enough before any letter is met with from me; and whenever there be any, it is as likely to be found without a seal as with it; and I hereby authorize and legally empower the post-office people to open all letters going from me to any body; if they afford them any amusement, I shall be very glad; but I beg them not to retard them on their way. Monstrous idea, that I should be writing instigations to labouring men to urge them to commit felony! Monstrous, however, as the idea is, it certainly has been entertained.

To conclude under this head. You have now had trials in Kent, Sussex, Surrey, Hampshire, Berkshire, Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, and Buckinghamshire, before some one or other of the judges. In other counties, and in these counties, too, you have had trials for these offences, and plenty of transportings and imprisonings at the Quarter Sessions. More than fifteen hundred persons, I believe, have been arraigned and tried; and, amidst the cries of parents, wives, and children, under all the terrors of separation or almost instant death, not one single fact has come out, in spite of rewards which are perfectly terrific; not one single fact has transpired to countenance the idea of foreign actors or instigators, of instigation on the part of conspirators in London; or of extraneous instrumentality of any sort, and therefore I hope that you are now satisfied that the acts have proceeded purely from the minds of the labourers themselves.

SECOND. *That the means of terror or of punishment are not calculated to put an end to the fire.*—It is an old saying that, if you kill a fly, twenty flies come to his

burying. The newspapers tell us, and, indeed, we know the fact must be so, that there is scarcely a village in the counties before mentioned, and particularly in Hampshire and Wiltshire, which has not been, in a greater or less degree, plunged into a state of mourning in consequence of the late trials and their result. But, is mourning *all*? When men suffer for well-known and long-understood crimes, then there is no apology to be offered for them. Their memory is grieved, their banishment or death lamented; but the relations and friends acquiesce: the law takes its course, and no vengeful feelings are excited in the survivors. You have read the Birmingham Petition for the sparing of the lives of the men at Winchester. If you have not, I beg you to read it. The question, however, is not what sort of feelings the surviving labourers ought to entertain upon the subject; but what feelings they are likely to entertain; and now, then, consider the effect of screaming mothers and wives and children; think of the feelings of fathers for sons, brothers for brothers, friends for friends; and consider that there can be scarcely one single man, amongst the labourers of Hampshire and Wiltshire especially, unaffected in his mind and heart by these transactions. The *Morning Chronicle*, in giving an account of the hanging of Cooper and Cooke, at Winchester, last Saturday, concludes the account thus: "There was not a crowd of more than 300 persons, and those chiefly boys. Some of the crowd we heard say they would willingly give a sovereign for a reprieve. The moment the drop fell most of them went away. The special constables were in attendance at seven o'clock, and, in fact, composed the greater part of the crowd. Close under the scaffold, on some doors, were written in chalk — 'MURDER. FOR MURDER! BLOOD FOR BLOOD!'"

Now, this is what we never see and never hear of when malefactors are executed at other times. Cooper's offence

was riding at the head of a mob, who *extorted money or broke machines*, or something of that sort. Cooke's offence was striking BINGHAM BARING with a sledge hammer. But Baring was well enough to appear and give evidence against him; and it appears was seen immediately after the affair walking in the streets of Winchester; so that this was very far from being MURDER; and, before the passing of *Ellenborough's Act* it would have been an ASSAULT; or punishable not even with transportation, but with fine or imprisonment, or both. Now, mind, the labourers are not lawyers, they know nothing of *Ellenborough's Act*; their estimate of crimes is traditional; and it will take a great deal indeed to convince them and to produce perfect acquiescence in their minds upon the subject of this punishment. "Kill one fly and twenty come to his burying." Accordingly the very next sentence in the *Chronicle* newspaper is in these words: "There have been *eight fires* in the neighbourhood of Blandford since Saturday last. This circumstance will almost preclude the hope of mercy being extended to the unhappy men now under sentence of death!" The same newspaper contains an account of *five fresh fires* in the neighbourhood of Norwich; and the *Times* newspaper of Saturday gives an account of several fires in Wiltshire, two of which it speaks of as follows: "The first fire, which I described as illuminating the country for miles around, was, I understand, on the premises of Mr. Rexworthy, near Wilton. His dwelling-house, out-houses, and corn-ricks, were all burnt to the ground. I had not time in my way through here to-day to get the particulars farther than that Mr. Rexworthy had been active in bringing some of the late rioters to justice. The second fire, which I said was in the neighbourhood of Wimborne, was of corn-ricks only. These also were the property of a

"person connected with the late prosecutions." This fire was not near *Wilton* but near *Heytesbury*, and it was so great that it lighted the street at *Fisherton*, though at fifteen miles distance from it. I pray you to look at these words from the *Times* newspaper! I pray you to look well at the cause there stated for this tremendous fire. Pray read these words with attention. Look also in the papers of to-day at a great fire near *Dover*. Remember the fire in *Essex* the other day, in the very village from which poor *Ewan* had been taken to be hanged! From the single village of *Pewsey* there are, I am told, eleven persons taken and condemned to be transported; and when the carrier from whom the story came to me came away, mothers were crying for their sons, wives for their husbands, children for their fathers; sisters for their brothers, and, in short, all was frantic lamentation. Of this village one of *Lord Radnor's* brothers is the Rector, and he is also a Prebend of *Salisbury*, where his elder brother has been sitting on the bench with the Special Commissioners.

Without stopping to comment on these facts, and without directing your eyes towards *Lincolnshire*, where the fires appear to be blazing more furiously than ever, let me ask you, now, whether here be not enough to convince you, that the means of terror or of punishment are not calculated to put an end to the fires? This is a most important question for you to consider; for, if these means fail, then there is no hope without the adoption of some other. Beseeching you to reflect most seriously upon this point, I now proceed to the next proposition, which is, if possible, of still more importance.

THIRD, that the fires, unless effectually put a stop to, may become far more extensive than they hitherto have been.—King's Ministers, you know very little about the habits or the means of the labouring people. I do not

impute this to you as a fault: your way of life; your qualities and pursuits and associations have precluded you from possessing this knowledge; and, as to obtaining it from others, few persons approach you who do possess it; and very rarely indeed will it happen that one of these will be found honest enough to tell you that you have not the power to do that which you wish to do. Power, to induce it to listen to objections, to its own effectiveness, must be in the hands of those who are endued with all those rare qualities which induce wise and just judges to listen to arguments against the competence of their own jurisdiction. Hence it is that you do know, and that you can know, very little about the real character, the disposition, the propensities and the habits of the labourers; and especially about the means which they possess of gratifying their vengeful feelings where, unhappily, they entertain them. There was very little danger, comparatively, in the machine-breaking, and the sturdy begging, or rioting and robbing, if it must be so called. These would be effectually put a stop to by the transportings and the hangings; but as to the fire it was quite another matter, as REXWORTHY has found to his cost. Of all the acts in this world of a criminal nature, the most easy to perpetrate, the least liable to detection, the least inconvenient to the perpetrator, is that of setting fire to out-buildings and ricks. To convince you of the truth of this, what can you need more than perhaps the two thousand fires that have taken place, and the four or five convictions; with regard to two of which the parties convicted declared their innocence with their dying breath? As to the immediate means, I know nothing; but I believe all the stories about fire-balls and air-guns to be merely ridiculous nonsense. A pipe and a match, or a bit of linen rag, as in the case of the poor orphan Goodman, in Sussex, are, I dare say, the means generally used; for, how are

labouring men in general, or any of them, indeed, to obtain any other means, and to keep those means by them too, without the knowledge of others?

Do, I pray you, look at the situation of this species of property; consider the utter impossibility of watching it effectually. In the case of houses, factories, or buildings of any sort, which are usually inhabited, the case is wholly different. Here the parties must either be inmates, or must commit the act by open violence. It is difficult for a man even to set fire to his own house without detection. Not so in the case of farm produce and buildings; where there is no trace, no clue, nothing to lead to detection, if the perpetrator be alone and hold his tongue; and that perpetrator may be your own servant! And who are to be your servants? Why, in Hampshire and Wiltshire particularly, the father, the son, the brother, the uncle, the nephew, the cousin, or the friend of some one who has been hanged, transported, or manacled, by you or by some one connected with you. The loan-monger, or Jew, or Scotch feelosopher brute may call the labourers of England peasantry; the insolent vagabonds who live on their labour may call them ignorant; calumniate while they starve them; talk of their want of education. They want no education; they understand their business well; they are not ignorant, they know their rights, and the wrongs that are done them; they are tender parents and dutiful, loving children; they are obedient and faithful servants, and kind and good neighbours; they are unassuming, modest, content in their state of life; but they will not, and I thank God that they will not, live on damned potatoes while the barns are full of corn, the downs covered with sheep, and the yards full of hogs created by their labour. Above all things they are affectionate; the parents love their children, and the children the parents, with more ardour than is to be met with among the richer

tribes: the constant participation in each other's hardships and toils tends to bind them more firmly to one another: if you commit an act of injustice towards one, the whole village feels it individually and collectively. Even the villages themselves are connected with one another; and thus a whole county or district is imbued with one and the same vengeful feeling. Is any man so stupid as to imagine that there is a single soul in Pewsey, man, woman, or child, who will not remember the transportation of eleven men of that village?

It is a great mistake to suppose that the farming-stock is all collected in the homesteads. If it were, it would not, that I know of, add to the security. I have a barn, for instance, now, at Barn Elm, one of the largest that I ever saw in my life. It was crammed full of corn in the summer, trodden down in the mows by oxen. Four men have been thrashing there constantly from that day to this, and they will be at it some time longer. There is no soul living in the farm-house, and there is no house within more than a quarter of a mile; the barn is at all times available from the bank of the Thames, which is very close, and the whole has been uninsured all the time. Now, what protection had I for this, between three and four hundred pounds worth of corn, and, at one time, seven hundred pounds worth of seeds into the bargain? Why, I had the protection of the good will of the working people, my neighbours, who never were wronged or oppressed by me, and on whose good-will therefore I had reason to rely. To numbers of them I have occasionally given pretty good scoldings and angry words; but I never did them any injury, gave them no ground for revenge, and I can truly say that I never had a moment of inquietude with regard to the safety of my property. Yet, there has not been one single night during the last three months and a half, when the whole of this property might

not have been destroyed, barn and house and all, without a possibility of detecting the offender, if he had gone alone and held his tongue; and, if I had been generally hated in the neighbourhood, where was I to have found watchmen, and how was I to have prevented the watchman from setting fire himself?

I pray you to observe, that to go into a rick-yard or home-stead at all; is only a trespass at the strictest, punishable to be sure without trial by jury. Suppose a man to be found in a rick-yard or in a barn without breaking in, with a pipe in his mouth and matches in his pocket; he is merely a trespasser. He must actually set the fire before he incurs the guilt of committing the crime; and in all human probability this species of reconnoitring always takes place. Besides, every labourer in the neighbourhood knows every one who lives in the house; and the labourers, having been driven from the farm-houses, there is seldom any male in the farm-house except the master and his sons, if he have any, and a sort of a groom. These are all away from home together very frequently; so that in fact there is no protection at all other than the good-will of the neighbourhood.

But, how many hundreds of thousands of wheat-ricks and oat-ricks and barley-ricks are not only built out in the fields, but at a distance from all dwelling-houses whatsoever! How many thousands upon thousands of ricks of clover upland grass and saintfoin are built out in the middle of immense fields, to be given to the sheep while they are eating off the turnips in winter! These can have no earthly protection but that of the general good-will and common consent of the labouring people. I have seen thousands of stacks (in one single ride of mine) of wheat and barley, as well as of hay, standing out at from a quarter of a mile to a mile distant from any house, tree, or hedge. What is all the

world is there but a sense of moral right and wrong, to prevent the destruction of property thus situated, if upon coming up to a risk thus situated, a man finds it guarded he takes about and goes away, that's all? In short, to shut out the rooks from a pea-field of a hundred acres is just as easy as to preserve this species of property without the goodwill of the labourers; or at least, in defiance of their revengeful feelings. The exposition of the law, as Scott Eldon called it, has taught them the danger of Ellenborough's Act, and of the softened code of George the Fourth; but it has not taught them to be content with potatoes and water.

Besides these dangers to barns and stacks, are there no dangers to *fields of corn*? A gentleman mentioned this to me the other day as the greatest danger of all. A piece of wheat, barley, rye, or oats, lit for the sickle or the scythe, set fire to on the windward side, would be demolished in a twinkling; and here the facility of execution and the safety of the perpetrator are so complete. Almost every-where there are foot-paths, or roads of some sort; and if there be not, and if the perpetrator be found out of the road, a trespass is his offence at the most. Here detection, except by a man's own confession, seems to be absolutely impossible. And you the king's ministers should be informed, that farmers are talking of this every-where. I know nothing of the immediate means of setting fire in this way; Samson did it by tying brands of fire to the tails of young foxes; our fellows would, most likely, not do the thing in so open a manner, though as yet there is, I believe, no law making it felony. I think it is only a trespass, subjecting the party to action of damages. It is a deed, which, if done maliciously, and without monstrous provocation, ought to be punished with death; but, the truth is, that until the hellish workings of loan-mongers came into the world, law-givers never imagined

the existence of a state of society in which such laws would be necessary : they never imagined the existence of a state of society when the whole body of the labourers would be the deadly enemies of the occupiers of the land ; a state of society which it is impossible should exist for any length of time without producing something very like the dissolution of that society.

Now, king's ministers, if you be convinced, as I hope you are, that the fires have been set by the labourers without instigation from any-body ; that the means of terror or of punishment are not calculated to put an end to the fires ; and that the fires, unless effectually put a stop to, may become far more extensive than they hitherto have been ; if you be convinced of these truths, as I hope you are, it only remains for me to point out to you what I deem the proper and effectual means of putting a stop to these fires ; and these means are as follows :

1. To issue a proclamation pardoning all the offenders of every description, whether tried or not, upon their entering into sureties to keep the peace for a year, and bringing back those who have already been sent away, and including them in the pardon on the like terms. Oh ! Gentlemen, think of the joy, think of the happiness with which you thus fill all the bosoms in all the villages in these beautiful counties ! And think of the gratitude with which you would fill those bosoms towards yourselves ; and above all things think of the blessings which, coming from the hearts of fathers and mothers and children and brothers and sisters, you would bring down upon the head of your royal master !

2. To repeal Sturges Bourne's two bills, and thereby restore to the rate-payers their rights, restore the power of the native overseers, and restore to the justices of the peace their former power of ordering relief, without which the indigent poor can have no sure protection.

3. To pass an act, making it a misdemeanor punishable with heavy fine and imprisonment, for any overseer or other person in parochial authority, to subject the indigent poor to work like beasts of burden, to put them up at auction, or otherwise wantonly to degrade them, taking as the preamble of the bill that text of holy writ which says, "Oppress not the poor because he is poor."

4. To repeal all the acts which have been passed relative to the game since the late king George the Third mounted the throne, and particularly that act which punishes poaching with transportation, which act has filled the county jails with prisoners, which has trebled the county rates, which has thrown a burden on all the people, in order to preserve the sports of the rich, which has filled the breasts of all the villagers of England with vindictive feelings, which has been the cause of endless affrays between poachers and keepers, and which, in conjunction with Ellenborough's act, has brought scores of men to the gallows.

5. To pass an act to repeal and utterly abolish Ellenborough's act, which, by making it a capital felony to strike a man with a heavy instrument without killing him, or to use deadly weapons in your own defence against a gamekeeper, though without killing him, puts the striker, in the one case, and the defender in the other, upon a level with the wilful, premeditating, cool, and cruel murderer; tends to confound all notions of discrimination in crime, tends to harden men's hearts, and weaken in them every sense of justice and humanity.

Now, Gentlemen, these are, in my firm conviction, the only effectual means of putting a stop to the fires, which now terrify and disgrace this once great and happy England. That they are easy of execution and speedy and quiet you know well; for, you know that they could all be accomplished in about forty-eight hours after the meeting of par-

himself; and you know that the proclamation may be issued to-morrow, and that is the great thing of all. The four Acts of Parliament would be passed amidst the shouts of the whole kingdom. I propose to you *nothing new*, be it observed; not only *nothing revolutionary*, but *nothing new* do I propose; nothing but a return in four apparently unimportant particulars to the long-established laws of the land. Nothing do I propose touching the property of any body of persons; nothing to meddle with any institution of the country, even so far as to correct its acknowledged abuses; but I simply propose an act of graciousness and goodness which would reflect eternal honour on yourselves and on the King, the love of whose people to him it is your first duty to preserve; and I propose to you the repeal of four Acts which you yourselves, upon reflection, must lament to see in the statute-book.

And, Gentlemen, if you believe that these measures would extinguish the fires, you will not, I am sure, suffer false pride to restrain you from the performance of a duty so merited. There is no remedy but that which goes to the root of the evil. That root is in the hearts of the people; you must extract the root, or tear out the heart, or the evil must remain. I meddle not, in this case, with the rate of wages, or with any other detail; *restore the law*; restore protection to the labourer, and he and his employer will speedily come to an equitable adjustment of their respective claims. If you have given a misgiving upon your minds upon the subject, disdain me, I pray you, as much as you please; but do not disdain the advice which I have respectfully tendered you, and which I press upon you with all the earnestness and anxiety that the heart of man is capable of entertaining. Thus, at any rate, I have done what I deemed to be my duty; to you I must now leave the matter, with this assurance, however, that, if you follow this advice, amongst all

the millions, in whose heart you will create feelings of gratitude, in no one will you create more than in that of

WM. COBBETT.

TO THE
LABOURERS OF ENGLAND, ON THEIR DUTIES
AND THEIR RIGHTS.

Kennington, 24th January, 1831.

DEAR FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN,

You have always been dear to me, whose greatest pride it is, that I was born and bred amongst you; who has, in his travels about the world, never seen any people so industrious, so sincere, so virtuous, parents so tender, children so affectionate, servants so willingly obedient, friends so steady and so true. Your character and your conduct have always made you dear to me; no time, no distance, has weakened my regard for, or my anxiety for, your welfare; from across the sea I addressed you; through the walls of a prison you heard my voice; my heart has always been gladdened by your happiness, and saddened by your calamities; but, if you have always been dear to me, you are doubly dear to me now, when your afflictions are so great and so various, and when I am cheered with the hope of seeing you once more the happy people that our grandfathers and grandmothers were.

In this important crisis, *pray hear me patiently*, while I speak to you of your duties as well as of your rights: for, in demanding the latter, you ought not to forget the former; duties and rights go together; and he who refuses to perform the first, tacitly abandons his right to the last. Good food, raiment, and all the necessaries of life, the labourer has a right to; but that right is founded on his performing the duty of labouring; or on his being willing to perform it. It is of great importance that you understand this matter clearly, and I will now endeavour to enable you to do it.

There was a time when, in every country in the world, there were no laws, and no such thing as property. The people used the earth and all its produce as they pleased; that is to say, each man took whatever he wanted, if his strength or cunning would allow him to do it. No one acknowledged the superiority of any other; might gave right; strength and wisdom were superior to weakness and folly; and there was no other superiority or inferiority acknowledged amongst men. This was called living under the law of nature. When God put it into the hearts of men to change this state of things, and to make rules and laws for the observance of the whole, they agreed that the whole of the community, or body of people, should enforce these laws, against any one or more that broke them. The great law of all was this; that, in future, every man should keep to himself; should call *his own*; should be able to apply to his own use solely; that which he had got by his labour. For instance, John Stiles, when living under the law of nature, might take a piece of land, and cultivate it, and have a crop of wheat growing on it; but, when fit for sickle, Tom Nokes, a great deal stronger man than Stiles, might come and cut the wheat and carry it away and let Stiles have none of it. It is not likely that men would be so villanously unjust as this, or that the rest of the people would be so base as to stand by and to see Stiles thus bereft of his wheat, and have nothing left to exist upon, perhaps, but a few wheelbarrows full of damned potatoes; this is not likely; but it might happen, and sometimes did happen, perhaps, and, therefore, all the people agreed to enter into a society, to make rules that should give Stiles an exclusive right to his crop, and that should punish such a fellow as Nokes as a robber if he came to take the crop away.

Here, my friends, you see the origin of *property*, which word means a thing which belongs to a person's self, and a thing that nobody else has any right to. But observe, Stiles

had no property in the crop till he created it by his labour, and that, therefore, labour, and labour only, is the sole foundation for any property whatsoever. Man's first duty, then, is to labour in some way or other in order to raise his means of living. If his father, for instance, have laboured before him, and has given or left him the fruit of his labour, he has as good a right to that as if it were the fruit of his own labour; a man's next duty is, to refrain from taking by force or by fraud, the property of another man; for, to protect men in the enjoyment of their property was the great end in forming civil society. Perhaps it would not be difficult to prove, that men who are compelled to work for their bread, are, provided they earn a sufficiency of food and of raiment and other necessities of life, as happy and even happier than those who are not compelled to work for their bread; but at any rate, such is the nature of things, such is the order of the world, that there always have been and always must be some very rich and some very poor, and great multitudes not rich; but in a just state of things, there never will be great multitudes steeped in poverty. The order of the world demands that some shall think while others work; that some shall make and execute the laws to which all are to yield obedience. Poverty, therefore, even in its extreme state, gives no man a right to view his rich neighbour with an evil eye, much less to do him mischief on account of his riches. If the laws be impartial in themselves, and be executed with impartiality, every man's conscience will tell him, that it is his bounden duty to yield them a cheerful obedience, and further, to yield respect and honour to those who are charged with the execution of the laws.

Such are the great duties of all men in civil society; and God forbid that these principles should ever be rooted out of the hearts of the very best and most virtuous of all mankind, the agricultural labourers of this land, so favoured by

God Almighty, and for so many ages the freest and happiest country in the world. But, my friends, men did not enter into civil society for the purpose of bringing upon themselves *duties only*: they had another object; namely, that of creating and enjoying *rights*. Just, indeed, as we have seen in the case of John Stiles, who had his crop of wheat taken away by the stronger man Nokes, who left him nothing but a few wheel-barrow full of accursed potatoes, and all their natural consequences, poverty of blood, leprosy, scrofula, pottle belly, and swelled heels! Now, whenever civil society produces such a state of things; when a laborious man like John Stiles is treated in the same way that Nokes treated him, that civil society has not answered its purpose. Labour, as we have seen, was the foundation of all property, and must always be the foundation of property. The labourer, therefore, has a property in his labour; and, as St. James says in his Epistle, and as Moses and his Apostles and Jesus Christ himself say, to rob the labourer of his hire, that is to say, to take from him or to withhold from him the due reward of his labour, is the greatest crime that man can commit against God.

The *rights* of the labourer, first to have food, raiment, fuel, lodging, medical and spiritual comfort, in return for his labour, and all these, too, in quantity and quality sufficient for the preservation of his life, health, and vigour. Next, if he be unable to work, unable to earn a sufficiency for his family, or unable to obtain work so as to obtain that sufficiency; in either of these cases, he and his family have a right to have a sufficiency supplied out of the superfluities of those to whom the law of civil society has secured more than they want. This claim of the poor man is, as Judge Blackstone states, founded in the very first principle of civil society; for it cannot be believed that men can have assented to enter civil society for any purpose other than that of the benefit of the whole: it cannot be believed that a

million of men for instance, entered into civil society in order that a couple of thousand should have all the meat and all the bread and all the good clothing, and that all the rest should live upon potatoes and go covered with miserable rags. No man upon earth, unless he be one who lives upon the labour of others, will pretend to believe that men entered into civil society, in order that those who did no work, that led idle lives, that created nothing, should have bread and flour and beer and clothing and all sorts of good things a hundred times more than they wanted; while those that laboured and made all these things, were compelled to live upon a miserable watery root or die with starvation.

Such are the *duties* and such the *rights* of labouring men. Our forefathers, who well understood those duties and those rights, cheerfully performed the one and amply enjoyed the other. They had an abundance of meat, of bread, and of all the fruits of the earth; they were clothed throughout in good woollen and linen; they had great store of household goods and of every-thing to make life easy and pleasant; and when old age or widowhood, or the orphan state, or accident, or any circumstance producing indigence, beset them, the priest of the parish maintained them out of the tithes, administering to their wants as the law enjoined, "with his own hands in charity, humility, and mercy." And this, observe, was a RIGHT which they enjoyed, and that, too, a right as perfect as that of any man to his house or his land. When our country was bereft, by means which I have not now the room to describe, of that species of protection for the poor, the poor-law was passed to supply the place of that protection; to parochial relief, therefore, the aged, the widow, the orphan, the infirm, amongst the labouring people, have just the same right as their forefathers had to that which was administered to them in so just and kind and Christian-like a manner.

That the ministers and the Parliament may be pleased to

listen to the advice which I have so respectfully tendered to them in the foregoing letter; that you may live as happy lives as our forefathers lived, and that we may all see harmony once more restored, in England, is the sincere prayer of

Your faithful Friend,

WM. COBBETT.

TO THE

LABOURING PEOPLE OF BOTLEY.

Kensington, 24th January, 1831.

IN No. IV. of this work, I addressed you on the subject of FLEMING'S (Willis) speech, made against me, at a dinner at Botley, where one of the *keen* WARNERS was in the chair at one end of the table. They EXULTED at the circumstances *that drove me from Botley*. In a few weeks afterwards we read of an attack on the homestead of Willis (Fleming); and now, in the weekly paper of yesterday, we read the following:—"A most alarming fire broke out last night at the seat of J. Fleming, Esq. (one of the members for this county), at Stoneham Park, four miles from this place, which threatened destruction to the mansion, but by the wind changing, this disastrous fire was confined to the two wings, which were completely gutted. No lives were lost, and the property, we believe, was insured. It has been ascertained beyond doubt, that the fire originated in the apartments appropriated to the servants, therefore it is not to be considered as the work of an incendiary, but the pure result of accident." What! the two wings take fire by accident at one and the same time! This paragraph is, apparently, taken from the paper of the very villain, at Southampton who published the attack on me by WILLIS and the GRASEALLS and their crew. They have, seemingly, *something else to do now*, than to utter slanders on me. It will be curious to hear what they will have to say, when Fleming gives the GRASEALLS the next guffe and guzzle. In the meanwhile I have the pleasure to tell you, that I sleep as soundly as you do.

WM. COBBETT.

N. B.—Any of the former Nos. may be had, in any quantity.—If more than 300 be taken, at 11s. a hundred: less, 12s. 4d. a hundred.—Any bookseller will send to London for them.

COBBETT'S
TWO-PENNY TRASH

For the Month of March, 1831.

Published monthly, sold at 12s. 0d. a hundred, and for 300, taken at once, 11s.

TO THE
LABOURERS OF ENGLAND,

Particularly those of Kent, Sussex, Hants, Wilts, Dorset, Berks, Norfolk, and Suffolk.

On the scheme now on foot for getting part of them away out of their native country.

Kensington, 1st March, 1831.

MY FRIENDS,

THERE is a bill brought into Parliament by a man who is called Lord HOWICK, and who is the son of Lord GREY, who is now the First Lord of the Treasury, and the King's Prime Minister. The object of this bill, which is not yet become a law, and which I hope will not, is to get a part of you to go away out of your country; and it is my object to make you understand all this matter clearly; and to show you what the consequences would be to you, and to

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the wives and children of such of you as have wives and children, if you were to consent to be sent away. But first of all, let us ask what reason there can be for sending you away out of your native country. It is not intended absolutely to force you to go, as men who are transported are forced to go; but it is intended to get you to give your consent to be sent away; and let us then ask, how it comes to pass that the government of the country, that the Lords and the rich men who sit in Parliament, should wish to get rid of a part of the people. You have read in the Holy Scriptures, that amongst the greatest blessings which God has promised to an obedient and good people is, a multiplication of their numbers, an increase of them on the face of the earth; and, until now, it has been a great thing to boast of by kings and governments, that the number of the people living under them increased. Nay, our own Government, only thirty years ago, stated in its public documents, that the number of the people of England had increased under it, and that this was a proof of the goodness of the government. Nay, further, in the year 1796, Mr. PITT, the then Minister, proposed to give rewards to the labouring people in proportion to the number of children that they brought up.

How comes it, then, my good friends, you, the laborious, virtuous, excellent labourers of England, that this same Government now wants to get rid of part of you? How comes it that this same Government, which only thirty years ago boasted of your increase in numbers as a proof of its goodness, now regards this increase of its numbers as a great evil, and is devising means of getting you away from your native land? Before I speak to you upon the terrible dangers which will assail you if you consent to be sent away, let me explain to you the reason of this change in the language, views, and conduct of the Government; let me explain to you why it is that it now wishes to get rid of you. It wants

to get you away because you make so large a demand upon the poor-rates; because you are all become what they call *paupers*; because, in that character, you take away so much from the farmers, the gentlemen and others, who own and occupy the land; and they think that if they can make you smaller in number, they shall have less to give you. But they do not stop to inquire what it is that has made you paupers; what it is that has brought you into this miserable and degraded state of poverty; or, indeed, they need not inquire, for they must know the cause very well: they must know that it is the *taxes* and the present application of the *tithes*, and not any fault of yours, not any over-increase of your numbers, that have brought you into that state of pauperism which makes you so burdensome to their house and land. All of you who are sixty years of age can recollect that bread and meat, and not wretched potatoes, were the food of the labouring people: you can recollect that every industrious, labouring man brewed his own beer, and drank it by his own fire-side; you can recollect that, at every wedding, and every christening, such labouring man had a barrel of ale in the house provided for the occasion; you can recollect when the young people were able to provide money before they were married, to purchase decent furniture for a house, and had no need to go to the parish to furnish them with a miserable nest to creep into; you can recollect when a bastard child was a rarity in a village, and when husbands and wives came together without the disgrace of being forced together by parish officers and the magistrates; you can recollect when every sober and industrious labourer, that was a married man, had his Sunday-coat, and took his wife and children to church all in decent apparel; you can recollect when the young men did not shirk about on a Sunday in ragged smock-frocks, with unshaven faces, with a shirt not washed for a month, and with their toes peeping out of

their shoes, and when a young man was pointed at if he had not, on a Sunday, a decent coat upon his back, a good hat on his head, a clean shirt, with silk handkerchief round his neck, leather breeches without a spot, whole worsted stockings tied under the knee with a red garter, a pair of handsome Sunday shoes, which it was deemed almost a disgrace not to have fastened on his feet by silver buckles. There were always some exceptions to this ; some lazy, some drunken, some improvident young men ; but I appeal to all those of you who are sixty years of age, whether this be not a true description of the state of the labourers of England when they were boys.

Well, then, my friends, *why is it not so now?* What has been the cause of the horrible change? We must ascertain this cause first ; and then contemplate the project for sending a part of you out of the country. Now, mark well what I am going to say : it is the *taxes* and the *misapplication of the tithes*, that have produced this terrible change. Fifty years ago ; nay, only forty years ago, the whole of the taxes for a year, amounted to *fifteen millions of pounds*. They now amount to upwards of *sixty millions of pounds*. These taxes take away so much from the owners and occupiers of land and houses, and from all persons carrying on trade, manufactures, or commerce, that they have not enough left to pay the working people a sufficiency of wages. Then again, when a working man gets his wages, he has to pay, on his beer, his hops, his malt, his soap, his candles, his tobacco, his tea, his sugar, on the calico that he wears in his shirt, and that his wife wears in her gown, twice as much, on an average, as he would have to pay for them if it were not for these taxes. For instance, the sugar which costs seven-pence a pound, he would have for three-pence ; the tea which costs him five shillings a pound, he would have for eighteen-pence, if not

for a shilling. This is the cause of the great change in the circumstances of the labouring people of England, and the country people have been further greatly injured by that misapplication of the tithes of which I shall speak more by-and-by, and which is one of the crying sins of this nation. Now, the working people, being thus borne down by the taxes and misapplication of the tithes; being, in the first place, deprived of the wages which they would receive if it were not for the taxes laid upon their employers; and having, in the next place, to give one half of the wages which they get to the tax-gatherer, in one shape or another; being thus borne down, I say, by the taxes and the tithes, they are reduced to this choice; to lie down and die with starvation, or to obtain something out of the poor-rates. By degrees, they have been stripped of the nice little furniture of their houses; by degrees, they have been brought down to have their bodies covered with miserable rags; by degrees, they have been reduced to the necessity of living upon miserable potatoes, instead of having their bellies filled with bread and with meat as their forefathers had; by degrees, they have been brought down to this low and wretched state; that, according to the reports laid before Parliament, the honest labouring man is allowed less to live on than is allowed to a felon in the jails; but still, they must *live*, or else there would be nobody to do the work; and without their work, the land is worth nothing. Scheme after scheme has been tried, to make them live upon less and less; till, at last, the bow has been strained so tightly, that there was danger of its breaking. It never seems to have occurred to those who have had the making of the laws, that it would be better to take off the taxes, and to make a new application of the tithes. This never seems to have come into their heads. They have seen the poor increase, in proportion as the taxes increased; and yet they

never seem to have thought, that, to reduce the taxes, was the natural and effectual way of putting a stop to the increasing poverty. On the contrary, they have gone on increasing the taxes; they have gone on increasing the number of the soldiers and sailors, though in time of profound peace; of the placemen, the pensioners, the sinecure people; the half-pay people; they have increased these to numbers prodigious; they seem to grudge them nothing; while the amount of the poor-rates seems to alarm them beyond all description. Last spring, my labourers at Barn-Elm in Surrey, having heard of this project for sending a part of the working people out of the country, presented an humble petition to the two Houses of Parliament upon the subject, a copy of which petition I here insert, begging you to read it with the greatest attention. It was presented to the House of Commons by Mr. PALLMER, the member for the county of Surrey: that which was their case, is the case of you all: therefore, read this petition with attention.

To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled.

The petition of the undersigned Labourers at Barn-Elm Farm, in the parish of Barnes, in the county of Surrey,

Most humbly sheweth;

That your petitioners have perceived that there is a proposition before your honourable House, for mortgaging the poor-rates, and for imposing taxes, in order to raise money for the purpose of sending a part of the working people out of the country, upon the ground, that, owing to their *excessive numbers*, they cause a charge upon the land so great as to threaten to swallow up the whole of the rents.

That your petitioners have heard, and they believe, that, out of about eleven thousand parishes, in England and Wales, there are one thousand and four, the population of which is, on an average, under a hundred souls to a parish; and that they know, that you have, in the evidence given before your committees, the statements of experienced farmers, that there are not too many work-people to cultivate the land properly, but that the taxes take from the farmer the means of giving the work-people wages sufficient for their proper maintenance; and that from this cause the land is not cultivated so well as it used to be, and does not yield so much as it used to yield, while the labourers are compelled to resort to parish relief.

That, deducting the amount of the county-rates, militia-charges, highway-rates, church-rates, and the law expenses, the poor-rates, that is to say, the money actually paid in the way of *relief to the poor*, does not, especially if we deduct the salaries paid to hired overseers, amount to *six millions* of pounds in the year; while the other taxes, imposed by the Parliament and collected by the Government, amount to about *sixty millions* a year; and that, therefore, your petitioners cannot but think it strange, that your honourable House should be alarmed at the prospect of seeing the rents absorbed by these *six millions*, while you appear to be under no apprehension at all of those rents being absorbed by the *sixty millions*, especially as they cannot for the life of them imagine how it is that your honourable House can fail to perceive, that it is the burden of the *sixty millions*, which is the real and evident cause of the necessity of raising the *six millions*; day-light not being more evident than the fact, that it is the enormous taxes which disable the farmer and trader and manufacturer, to pay sufficient wages to his work-people.

That your petitioners have been told, that of late years, one million and six hundred thousand pounds, or thereabouts, have been voted by your honourable House, out of the taxes, for the *relief of the poor clergy of the church of England*; that they have just seen millions upon millions voted by you for the support of half-pay people and their widows and children; that they have been told, that there are numberless women and children as well as men, maintained as pensioners and sinecurists; that there are many of these men (who have no pretence to have rendered any service to the country), each of whom receives more, every year, than would be sufficient to maintain two or three hundred labourers and their families; and that, while all these are all supported in part on the fruit of our labour, while all these, who do not work at all, have our dinners, in fact, handed over to them by the acts of your honourable House, we cannot very patiently hear of projects for sending us out of our native land, on the ground that we threaten to swallow up the whole of the rental.

That your petitioners have recently observed, that many great sums of the money, part of which we pay, have been voted to be given to persons who render no services to the country; some of which sums we will mention here; that the sum of 94,900*l.* has been voted for disbanded *foreign officers*, their widows and children; that your petitioners know, that ever since the peace, this charge has been annually made; that it has been on an average, 110,000*l.* a year, and that, of course, this band of foreigners have actually taken away out of England, since the peace, *one million and seven hundred thousand pounds*, partly taken from the fruit of our labour; and if our dinners were actually taken from our tables and carried over to Hanover, the process could not be to our eyes more visible than it now is; and we are astonished that those who fear that we, who make the land bring forth crops, and who make the clothing and the houses, shall swallow up the rental, appear to think nothing at all of the swallowings of these Han-

verian men, women, and children, who may continue thus to swallow for half a century to come.

That the advocates of the project for sending us out of our country to the rocks and snows of Nova Scotia, and the swamps and wilds of Canada, have insisted on the necessity of *checking marriages* amongst us, in order to cause a decrease in our numbers; that, however, while this is insisted on in your honourable House, we perceive a part of our own earnings voted away to encourage marriage amongst those who do no work, and who live at our expense; that 145,267*l.* has just been voted as the year's pensions for *widows of officers of the army*; and that your petitioners cannot but know, that while this is the case, few officers will die without leaving widows, especially as the *children too* are pensioned until of a certain age; that herein is a high premium given for marriage, and for the increase of the numbers of those who do not work; that for this purpose more than *two millions of pounds sterling* have been voted since the peace, out of those taxes more than the due share of which your petitioners have had to pay; that to all appearance, their children's children will have to pay in a similar manner for the encouragement and support of similar idlers; and that to your petitioners it does seem most wonderful, that there should be persons to fear that we, the labourers, shall, on account of our numbers, swallow up the rental, while they actually vote away our food and raiment to increase the numbers of those who never have produced and never will produce any thing useful to man.

But that, as appertaining to this matter of *check marriages* and the *breeding of children*, the vote, recently passed, of 20,986*l.* for the year, for the Royal *Military Asylum*, is worthy of particular attention; that this Asylum is a place for bringing up the *children of soldiers*; that soldiers are thus encouraged and invited to marry, or, at least, to have children; that while our marrying and the children proceeding from us are regarded as evils, we are compelled to pay taxes for encouraging soldiers to marry, and for the support and education of their children; and that while we are compelled, out of the fruit of our hard work, to pay for the good lodging, clothing, and feeding of the children of soldiers, our own poor children are, in consequence of the taxes, clad in rags, half-starved, and insulted with the degrading name of *paupers*; that, since the peace, *half a million of pounds sterling* have been voted out of the taxes for this purpose; that, as far as your petitioners have learned, none of your honourable members have ever expressed their fear that this description of persons would assist to swallow up the rental; and that they do not now learn, that there is on foot any project for sending out of the country these costly children of soldiers.

That your petitioners know that more than one-half of the whole of their wages is taken from them by the taxes; that these taxes go chiefly into the hands of idlers; that your petitioners are the bees, and that the tax-receivers are the drones; and they know, further, that while there is a project for sending the bees out of the country, no one proposes to send away the drones; but that

your petitioners hope to see the day when the checking of the increase of the drones, and not of the bees, will be the object of an English Parliament.

That, in consequence of taxes, your petitioners pay sixpence for a pot of worse beer than they could make for one penny; that they pay ten shillings for a pair of shoes that they could have for five shillings; that they pay seven-pence for a pound of soap or candles that they could have for three-pence; that they pay seven-pence for a pound of sugar that they could have for three-pence; that they pay six shillings for a pound of tea that they could have for two shillings; that they pay double for their bread and meat, of what they would have to pay, if there were no idlers to be kept out of the taxes; that, therefore, it is the taxes that make their wages insufficient for their support, and that compel them to apply for aid to the poor-rates; that knowing these things, they feel indignant at hearing themselves described as *paupers*, while so many thousands of idlers, for whose support they pay taxes, are called *Noble Lords* and *Ladies*, *Honourable Gentlemen*, *Masters*, and *Misses*; that they feel indignant at hearing themselves described as a nuisance to be gotten rid of, while the idlers who live upon their earnings are upheld, caressed, and cherished, as if they were the sole support of the country.

That your petitioners know that, according to the holy Scriptures, even the ox is not to be muzzled as he treadeth out the corn; that God has said that the labourer is worthy of his hire; that the poor shall not be oppressed; that they shall be fed out of the abundance of the land.

That according to the laws of the Christian church in England, according to the canon law, according to the statute law, the poor of every parish were to be relieved out of the tithes; that they ought to be relieved now; that, at any rate, the laws of England say, that no one shall perish from want; that, if unable to work, or to obtain work, a sufficiency of food and raiment and other necessaries of life shall be furnished to the indigent person by the parish; and that, therefore, your petitioners have, in case of need, as clear and good a right to parish relief as the landlord has to the rent of his land; and that, if your honourable House choose to continue to take the *sixty millions* a year in taxes; if you choose to cause the working people to be made poor in this way; if you choose to reduce us in this manner to appeal to the parish-rates to support our lives; if you choose to continue to compel us to give more than the half of our wages to the tax-gatherers; if this be your decision, we hope that you will not blame us for pressing on the rates and the rental.

That your petitioners are constantly liable to be called out to serve in the militia; that they are compelled to give in their names to the parish constable in order that they may be called out whenever the Government may choose; that they are thus liable to lose their time in the prime of life; to quit their homes, their aged parents, their wives, and helpless children; and to submit to military command, military law, military punishment, and, if

need be, loss of limb or loss of life in fighting; that they are thus compelled to serve and to suffer on the ground that it is necessary either to the defence of the country against foreign foes, or to the security of property against internal commotion; but that we possess no property but in our labour, which no foe, foreign or domestic, can take from us; and that, if we be to be regarded as having no right to a maintenance out of the land in exchange for our labour, if we be to be looked upon as a nuisance to be gotten rid of, is it just, we would ask, that we should be torn from our homes, and compelled to waste the prime of our lives, subjected to military command and military punishment, for the purpose of defending that land?

That, about twelve years ago, an Act was passed by your honourable House changing the mode of voting in parish vestries, and another Act, about eleven years ago, establishing select vestries; that, by these two Acts, your petitioners were deprived of a great part of their rights; that, by the latter Act, *hired overseers*, strangers to the parish, were introduced with salaries, to be paid out of the rates destined for our relief; that these overseers are generally paid much in proportion as they give little in relief; that hence have come oppressions and insults on us without end; that, in some cases, the labourers wanting relief have been compelled to draw carts and wagons like beasts of burden; in others they have been compelled to carry large stones backwards and forwards in a field, merely to give them pain and to degrade them; in others they have been shut up in the parish-pounds, and, in short, they have been fed and treated far worse than the dogs of those who live in luxury on those taxes, a large part of which are wrung from the sweat of your petitioners; and that at last, we have seen a bill passed by your honourable House authorizing these overseers to dispose of our dead bodies for the purpose of being cut up by the surgeons, thereby inflicting on poverty the ignominy due to the murderer.

That while we know that we have a clear right to relief, in case of need we wish not to be compelled to apply for that relief; we desire not to hear the degrading name of pauper; we wish to keep our wages for our own use, and not to have them taken away to be given to idlers; we wish to be well fed and clad, and to carry our heads erect, as was the case with our happy forefathers; we are resolved, at any rate, not to be treated like beasts of burden, and not to be driven from our country; and, therefore, we pray that your honourable House will repeal the two Acts above-mentioned; that you will take from our shoulders and from those of our employers, the grievous burden of taxes; and that you will be pleased to begin forthwith by relieving us from the taxes on malt, hops, leather, soap and candles.

And your petitioners will ever pray.

Now, my friends, this is your case, and I advise you to draw up petitions in the same or similar words, and to give

them to the members of your different counties to be presented to the Parliament. Having placed all these matters clearly before you, let me next describe to you the nature of the bill or law which it is now proposed to pass, in order to get you to go out of the country. When I have done that, I shall explain to you the perfect right that you have to remain here, and to have a good living here, in your native country; provided you honestly labour, you have as much right to this as any lord or other man has to his estate; and that in case of your inability to labour sufficiently for the maintenance of your family, you have as much right to relief out of the poor-rates as any man has to the rent of his estate or profits of his trade or calling. Then I shall conclude with describing to you the natural consequences which will arise to you, if you consent to be sent away out of your country; and here I shall speak of the different countries to which it may be intended to send you. These three subjects, then, I have to request you to hear me remark on with all the attention of which you are masters; for, on your due attention to them may depend your future happiness or misery.

FIRST, what is the nature of the bill or law intended to get you out of the country of your birth? It is, that a part of you shall be induced to give your assent to be sent away; to be put on board of ships; to be carried to a foreign land; and that, after being landed in that foreign land, if you ever return to England again, you are to be cut off from all relief from the poor-rates; and, of course, are to be left to starve on the highway or under the hedges if you should be unable to provide for yourselves; or if you should not be able to find any one willing to relieve you voluntarily out of his own purse. So that you see the dreadful penalty, in case you return; you see that, if you be induced to go, you abandon England and parents and

brethren and friends, for ever ! In order to raise the money to hire the ships, to put you on board of them, and to land you in those foreign parts of which I shall have to speak more particularly by-and-by, it is proposed to **MORTGAGE THE POOR-RATES !** That is to say, to enable the parish-officers to borrow money of some of the rich people who receive vast sums out of the taxes. It is intended to authorize the parish-officers to borrow money of these people, and to pay the interest and principal out of the poor-rates. That is to say, it is proposed to put in pawn the whole of the land and houses of England, in order to raise money to hire ships to carry the working people out of the country ; yes, my friends, to carry away those without whose labour the houses could not be kept up for ten years, and without whose labour the land is worth not a straw. And observe, my good friends, while the Government is making this proposition, it makes no proposition for sending away one single soul of those *who live upon the taxes and the tithes*, and whose monstrous havings it is that are the cause of these very poor-rates which the Government proposes to send you away in order to diminish.

The **SECOND** great point to which I have to beg your attention is this, that you have a right to live in England ; that, if you labour honestly, you have a right to have, in exchange for your labour, a sufficiency out of the produce of the earth, to maintain yourself and family well ; and, if you be unable to labour, or, if you cannot obtain labour, you have a right to a maintenance out of the produce of the land ; and that these rights are as complete in you as the right which the land-owner has to the use of his land. Before men entered into civil society, the earth and all upon the earth, belonged to them all in common. Every one took, according to his strength or his skill, that which he needed. When men entered into civil society, and subjected them-

selves to laws, then *property* arose, and the laws protected the weak against the strong; but were never intended to favour the strong at the expense of the weak. Certain portions of the land became the property of certain persons; but still the right of enjoying life was not taken from any body: the right of starving thousands never was given to *scores* of men. Men entered into society to *better their lot, and not to make it worse*, not to put it into the power of the few to starve the many, or to make them lead miserable lives. Accordingly, as long as England consisted of lords and vassals; that is to say, of great proprietors of the land, and of people renting or working under them, the lords naturally took care that the vassals should not suffer from want. When Christianity was introduced into England, a new mode of taking care of the working people was established. A tenth part of the produce of the earth, together with large parcels of land, was given to the clergy. But not for them to consume themselves; but it was given *in trust* to them for these purposes: *first*, for the relief of the poor, the aged, the infirm, the widow, and the orphan; *second*, for the building and repairing of the churches, and furnishing every-thing necessary for baptisms, burials, and the other rites and ceremonies of the church; *third*, to provide the priest of the parish with a maintenance for himself and his relations, if he had any, and for the purpose of keeping hospitality and relieving strangers within his gates. This was the law and this the practice in happy England for nine hundred years. At last, when the Catholic religion, which had raised all our churches and cathedrals, and under which our fathers had lived so happy, and had seen their country so great; when this religion was destroyed and the present established in its stead, a large part of the church lands and other revenues was taken by the nobility, and the rest given to parsons, who, being allowed to marry, took the whole of the tithes to themselves, leaving the neces-

situous poor to starve, or to be relieved by mere casual charity. Our fathers rose in rebellion against this alteration. Long and bloody was the strife, till, at last, a law was made to provide for the indigent poor (some of whom there must be in all countries), by an assessment on the houses and the land; and a law was also made to compel the people, instead of the parsons, to build and repair and provide for the churches. Hence, my friends, arose the poor-rates and the church-rates; and hence arose the hateful and degrading name of pauper, the sound of which our free and happy fathers never heard. They, whose ashes swell up the earth in the church-yards, had the happiness to die before the name of pauper was heard in their country.

Such is the history of the poor-laws, from which you will clearly see that the relief which they give is your right, in case of necessity, in exchange for that which was taken from you by the above-mentioned transfer of the revenues of the church. And it must also be clear to you, that your rights to relief out of the poor-rates is as perfect as that of any man to the fruits of his estate. All the houses and all the land in England and Wales are charged with the poor-rates, as much as any man's estate can be charged with a mortgage or an annuity. Nay, the very measure which this imbecile ministry now propose, and which I have described to you above, clearly shows, that a *part of every real estate belongs to the poor*; for they propose to *mortgage all those estates*; and for *what*, and for *whom*? Why, for *your use*; for *you*! They propose to borrow money on all the land and houses in England, in order to furnish the means of your going to live in some other country. Let them not, after this, deny that you have a lien upon the land. Let them not, after this, deny that you are *part proprietors* of the houses and the land. It is, therefore, a right, an imprescriptible and indefeasible right that you have, in case of

necessity, to a maintenance out of the poor-rates. It is not *alms* that is given you out of these rates; it is not as *beggars* that you apply for relief in place of need. It is as *men* having a right to what you ask for, and as having legal redress if your application be refused. And as to the *amount*, if you require much, let those who manage the affairs of the country, so manage them as for you to require less. They complain, there are men insolent enough to complain, that you make this great demand in consequence of your "*early marriages*," and your having so many children. They forget, that when you are married, you join the parson and the clerk in prayer that your wives may bring forth numerous children, and that the parson reads to you that beautiful passage of the Scriptures which says that "*little children are as arrows in the hands of the giant, and that blessed is the man that hath his quiver full of them.*" They forget this; they forget, too, that youth and not age is the season for love and for marriage; and that it is to treat you as brutes, as mere brute beasts, to prescribe to you when you shall love or when you shall marry. To indulge this passion, to perform this act, is amongst the rights of nature herself; and the man, let him be who he may, who would attempt to take away or attempt to restrain you in the enjoyment of these rights, is amongst the blackest and most hated of tyrants.

The THIRD great point or matter on which I wish to fix your attention, is, the country, or countries, to which it may probably be intended to send you, and the dangers which will attend you, if you suffer yourselves to be sent away. In the first place, you quit parents, brethren, and friends, *for ever*; you will observe that it is intended to be for ever, if, as I understand the proposition, you are not to return without being exposed to starvation. Even if you be a single man, a sea voyage and the necessary hard treatment on board of ship, are not things to be thought little of. If you have wife and

children, or children without wife, or wife without children, the hardship is still greater. I, who have crossed the Atlantic six times, know well what poor people suffer in sea voyages. The moment you step your foot on board of ship, the captain of that ship is your master; he can imprison you or corporally punish you, if he chooses. At any rate, you have to live upon the allowance that he allots you, and it is not to be supposed, that men who are called *paupers* before they go away, will be treated with any extraordinary degree of humanity and gentleness. In spite of all this, however, if you could have security for the Government causing you to be carried to the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA (pray mark the name of the country; pray remember it well); if the Government would cause you to be taken there to live under that free government, where there are neither *taxes nor tithes*; where men earn a dollar (that is to say, four and sixpence) a day; where there is no tax on malt, on hops, on sugar, on tea, on candles, on tobacco; where there are neither paupers nor beggars; where there are no aristocrats to tread men under foot; where there are no parsons and no priests, except such as men choose to pay of their own accord; if the Government will have you carried to that country which has a fine climate, fine fruits, corn and cattle, and where the poorest creature of a labouring man eats meat if he chooses it four times a day; if the Government will have you carried to that country where masters and mistresses will thank you to have your children put to them at five or six years of age, to be reared by them until they are twelve or fourteen, are bound to teach them to read and to write during those years, and to fit them out with clothes, and to give them each fifty pounds a-piece at the end of the time; if the Government will take you to that blessed country where every man of twenty-one years of age has a vote in the choosing of members for the



Houses of Assembly; if the Government will send you to that country, then I say GO.

But, alas! they appear to have far other intentions; they appear to have Australia (as they call it); or, ^{or} Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, or Canada, in their minds. Now, mark me, this Australia is part of a great wild country in the South Seas, to get to which, requires nine months or twelve months of sea passage; to survive such a voyage is quite enough for a young and stout man; and, as to women and children, how are they to survive it, crowded together in the hold of a ship, that ship knocked about by storms and tempests, the ears dinned with the rattling of the thunder, and the soul terrified by the dreadful flashes of lightning. Besides, have you not read of the dismal fate of the poor creatures who have gone to that country; is not that enough to make you cling even to your beggarly hovels and your potatoes, rather than expose wives and children that you love to sufferings like those? *Australia*, or *Swan River* as it is sometimes called, or *Botany Bay*, or *Van Diemen's Land*, which are all different parts of the same horrid country. To none of those will any man go who is plainly told what they are, and who has common sense left in his mind.

With respect to Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Canada, which all join together, and a part of which latter joins on the United States of America. In my *Emigrant's Guide*, speaking of these countries, in comparison with the United States, I have described them thus: Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Canada, are the horns, the head, the neck, the shins, and the hoofs of the ox, and the United States are the ribs, the surloin, the kidneys, and the rest of the body. I myself, when in the army, lived in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick eight years. They are one great heap of rocks, covered with fir-trees, with here and there a little strip of land capable of cultivation, by the sides of the rivers. What

these countries are you may judge from the following facts ; that almost all the meat and all the flour consumed in them, is carried from the United States ; that green peas are carried into those countries from the United States, and even cabbages ; that, as to fruits, cherries, apples, pears, all go from the United States, though at a distance of hundreds of miles, just as gooseberries are sent from Middlesex and Surrey to Scotland. In short, the most barren, the most villanous piece of waste land ; the thin shell upon the top of a gravel pit in England, compared with the fat meadows and the gardens in the Medway, or the beautiful valleys in Wiltshire, is precisely what Nova Scotia and New Brunswick are to the United States of America. A small part of Canada is rather better, when it approaches near to the United States ; but here all the good land has been given away long ago to officers of the army and parsons and other persons in office, who swarm in that country. And in these countries, observe, there are church parsons ; so that if you go there, you will not lose this blessing, at any rate.

In these countries, the English governor is the chief magistrate, and he is not chosen by the people as those in the United States are. This governor is appointed by the Ministry in England. Then there is an English army there under his command ; so that you have still the same sort of government as if you remained here. Then, the horrible climate ; the land covered with snow seven months of the year ; the danger of death if any man be lost in the snow for only ten minutes. Thousands of deaths take place every year from people being what is called frost-bitten. I told you before that I had to live myself eight years in these wretched countries. I was in the army. It was my duty to mount guard. The men going on guard were wrapped up in great cloth coats lined with flannel, their head covered with caps of the same sort, leaving only an opening for the eyes

and the nose. They used to come out and range themselves at about fifty yards from the room out of which I went to them; and though they had only just run out of their barrack-rooms, I have seen half a dozen men at a time with their noses frost-bitten, which you perceive the moment you see them, by their having become white. The remedy is instantly to rub with snow the part affected; but, very frequently, if this be delayed only for half an hour, mortification takes place; and there are thousands of men in those countries with their hands or feet cut off in order to save their lives. But, my friends, rest not on my word alone for those facts. In my *Emigrant's Guide* there are letters from John Watson, the son of Stephen Watson of the village of Sedlescomb, near Battle, in Sussex. This John Watson was sent out to America at the expense of the parish; but he thought he was going to the United States of America, when he found himself landed in that miserable country New Brunswick. He had land given him within a few miles of the spot where I lived for the better part of four years. But he found his situation so wretched that he took his family, a wife and several children, and dragged them along through an extent of country *three thousand miles in length* in order to get out of that country. He went all through Lower and Upper Canada, from which last he got into the United States of America, and then, under that cheap Government, and amidst that kind people, he began to labour, to thrive, to prosper, and his last letter tells his father (whom I saw last October at Battle), that he, John Watson, who was a parish pauper in Sussex, is now a farmer of his own farm, in the midst of abundance of all sorts, and wanting nothing to make him happy but the presence of his and his wife's fathers and mothers. These letters of the Sussex emigrants bespeak the character of the labourers of England, and ought to make shame be painted upon the cheeks of

those who entertain projects for sending them away out of their country. If I understand rightly the words of the man who has brought forward the project for sending you away from your native country, the rich fellows who have engrossed the lands in Australia (as they call it) have offered to *bear part of the expense* of sending you away to them. I pray you mark well my words here. Have offered to bear part of the expense of sending you there, if **YOUR SERVICES CAN BE SECURED TO THEM FOR A LIMITED TIME!** That is to say, if the Government will compel you to serve them for a certain time; or if it can persuade you to agree to do it! Pray mark this well; for, if you be thus compelled, you are **SLAVES** for that length of time; and if you thus agree, you are bondsmen, and bondswomen, and bondchildren, for that length of time!

There, my friends, you now have my account of this matter; and you shall now have my *advice* in a few words. Resolve to go to no country but the United States of America; and resolve not to go even to that country unless you go in an American ship! Mark my words, you are quite free to refuse to leave your country; and I beseech you not to stir one inch till you be certain that the ship is an American ship, and that she is bound to the United States of America. Remember these words, write these words down, if you can write, listen to no one that gives you advice contrary to this. Tell what I now tell you to all your friends and all your neighbours round about. If any attempt be made to force you away, that attempt is a crime against the laws. You have as much right to live in England as the lords and the parsons and the squires have, and as the king himself has. If you be refused parochial relief unless you will go away, go to a magistrate. If he will not hear you, send a petition to the Parliament to be presented by Mr. HUME or Mr. SADLER. Stir not from your homes, I ad-

wise you, one inch, unless you be certain that you are going into an American ship, and that that ship is bound to the United States of America.

But, after all, WHY SHOULD YOU GO ANY WHITHER! This is your native land; I have shown you how complete your rights are in this land; if there be too many people in it, let those go who live upon the fruit of your labour, and who do no work themselves. You have a right to live well here, not only to live, but to love, to marry, and have all human enjoyments. Besides, you are in the way of improvement: you have lived better this winter than you did the last: you now get some bread and some meat. Wait for a further and greater change in your circumstances: quit not your native land, after having endured so much and for so long a time; after having lived upon potatoes for so many years, quit it not at the moment when you are beginning to taste of bread and of meat.

Now, my friends, pay attention, I pray you, to all that I have said; next to my own happiness and that of my own kin, your happiness is nearest to my heart: I love my country as a whole: I have a due regard for every class in it: I honour the king and the laws: I wish for the peace and the happiness of all ranks of men, and that justice may be done to all; but I am always mindful of that promise of God, "Blessed is he that pleadeth the cause of the poor" and the needy, his enemies shall not prevail against him; "I will make all his bed on the day of his sickness."

I am

Your Friend,

WM. COBBETT.

It was my intention to address a letter to the people of Preston on the conduct of their "Cock;" but, the foregoing subject was too important and too captivating to leave me

room for it this time. It would have been a shame to curtail my matter on that subject for the purpose of bestowing ridicule on this poor thing. I must, however, insert two articles respecting him, which I have published before. He seems to be very much afraid that the Honourable House will swallow him up, as the children do the gingerbread *cocks-and-breeches*!

HUNT.

THE hackerings, the stammerings, the boggings, the blunderings, and the cowerings down of this famous Cock I should not have noticed, though they have given a shrug to the shoulders, and a lifting of the hands and the eyes, of all those who expected any-thing from him; but the following paragraph, which I find in the *Morning Herald* of to-day, given as the report of a speech of his made in the House of Commons last night, has made me determine to bestow a few words upon him, after inserting the paragraph as follows:

"The honourable member also presented a petition from a meeting at the Rotunda, Blackfriars, against the prosecution instituted against Mr. O'CONNELL. He was convinced that prosecutions of this kind did not tend to check the opinions against which they were instituted, and unless the Government should get a packed jury in Dublin, Mr. O'CONNELL would be acquitted. He could not help adverting to an expression which fell from LORD ALTHORP last night respecting civil war. He must say, it was a cold-blooded expression, and ought not to have fallen from any member of the Government. He disclaimed all connexion with Messrs. CARLILE, TAYLOR, JONES, and COBBETT, at the Rotunda meetings."

With regard to his disclaimer of all connexion with me, every one will congratulate me upon that, after the exhibition which he has made in parliament. No man knows better than himself that I have never had the smallest connexion in the world with either Messrs. Carlile, Taylor, or Jones, the first of whom I never saw but five times, the latter but once, and the second never in my life that I know of. But, the shaft at me is merely venomous; in the other cases it is base beyond description. I can defend myself. But they, he well knows, cannot defend themselves; and one of them whom for years he called his friend, he knows to be

shut up in a prison under a sentence which has made even the most intolerant of the people shudder. For myself, I would have thanked him for thus dragging in neck and heels, and *apropos* of nothing, a disclaimer of me; I should have interpreted it as an act of justice due to me; but, as for them, it is perhaps, though that is saying a great deal, the foulest thing that ever escaped a pair of lips even in that house.

Is this the use to which he means to turn the power which the people of *Preston* have put into his hands? Was it for this that the good and sincere and generous people of *Preston* sent him to the parliament house? I have not room for more at present, except this, that if the reporter have misrepresented him, these remarks do not apply to his conduct; but, let me be understood, that a recantation with regard to myself only, would not diminish, in my eye, but rather augment, the baseness of this unprovoked, this uncalled-for, this ferocious attack, this at-once cowardly and ferocious attack, on three men, neither of whom is in a situation to defend himself nor to call him to account, and one of whom is doomed to sufferings, the thought of which would soften the heart of a tiger. If he shall be able to disclaim the whole, I shall, for the honour of human nature, be happy to promulgate the disclaimer; if not, I shall show him up in the next *Two-penny Trash*.

PRESTON COCK.

THE Parliamentary report, in the *Morning Herald* of the 15th instant, contains the following passage: "RO-
"TUNDA MEETINGS.—Mr. HUNT, in presenting a
"petition from certain persons meeting at the Rotunda,
"said that it complained of the conduct of the judges on
"the late commission.. He felt himself called upon to
"observe that he had been threatened and denounced by
"the party to which the petitioners belonged, solely because
"he had on a previous occasion disclaimed in that House
"all connexion with them, or participation in their
"views. So far, however, from being intimidated by
"these threats, he now reiterated his former assertion,
"and should the House not protect him, he knew very
"well how to protect himself—(a LAUGH)." This

"*laugh*" was, as I am told by a gentleman who was present, not a *horse-laugh* nor a *merry laugh*, but a sort of *ha!* laugh, uttered with the chin twisted, the lips lifted, and the nose drawn up, as if the olfactory, as well as the risible, nerves had been affected. . This report may be a fabrication on the part of the *reporters*, for any-thing that I knew to the contrary; but I find the thing *published*, and, as a publication, I remark on it. What! the *Preston Cock* call for the *protection* of others, and those others that very body too whom he so becalled and so expressed his contempt of, when on his progress from Preston to London! It can never be! It must be an invention of the *reporter*! What! he, who is called the "*Preston Cock*," because, in that town, his flags represented him as a *red game cock*, clapping his wings and crowing; while STANLEY was, upon the same flags, represented as a *yellow dunghill cock*, running away. HE call on the *House* for *protection*! But, then, as to the *feasibility* of the thing called for, *how* is the *House* to protect him against the tongues or pens of those whom he, or his *reporter*, chooses, by name, to stigmatize in publications, being, or purporting to be, reports of speeches made in that *House*? He is not "*intimidated*" (ooh! ooh who-o-ose afraid!), and he knows "*very well* how to *defend himself*." Nobody says the contrary; but I do remember that, at county meeting at Winchester, in 1817, there was a good-for-nothing saucy fellow, under the Grand Jury chamber-window, who, as soon as he began to open his mouth, held up a long wand with a *white feather* tied on at the end of it; and I did not see any body able "*to protect*" him against that. I did not see any punishment inflicted, or attempted to be inflicted for that daring *breach of privilege*. As to his *disclaiming all connexion with these petitioners, and all participation in their views*, I leave them and him to settle that matter between them, until, at least, I know what their petition contained; and this I beg some one or other of them to have the goodness to let me know as soon as possible, as I shall want it for my "*Letter to the people of Preston*," which will be published on the 1st of April, in No. 10 of the *Twopenny Trash*.

WM. COBBETT.

COBBETT'S
TWO-PENNY TRASH

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TO THE
WORKING PEOPLE OF ENGLAND
ON THE
EMIGRATION THAT IS NOW GOING ON,

Bolt Court, Fleet Street, London, 1st May, 1832,

MY FRIENDS,

THE government is at work to get people to *emigrate*, that is to say, to *get people to go away out of the country*. I shall, by and by, show the *folly* of this; and, when I call it *folly*, I give it the very mildest name. But there are certain persons, whose *interest* it is to get away out of this country; and to them it is necessary to be informed *what country they ought to go to*; for, assuredly, none but idiots and mad people would change countries in order to be *worse off* than they were before the change. All the tax-eaters, of every description, wish to get people to go to *English Colonies*. They are afraid of their going to the UNITED STATES; because, if they go there, they not only carry their property and their talents and labour to augment the powers of freedom; but, they send home accounts of the blessings, which people enjoy under a *cheap government*; under a government *chosen by the people*, and which government dares not even *talk about pensions*,

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sinecures, grants, retired-allowances, dead-weights, military asendencies, and military and naval half-pay to parsons! Those who live on the taxes and the monopolies here, do not care a curse *what becomes* of the people, whom they get to go away, so that they do not go to send home accounts of the blessings of *cheap government*. But, it is my affair to make the truth known relative to this matter; and, this I shall do by first taking an extract from my *EMIGRANT'S GUIDE*, and then, by offering my advice on other matters, to the Working People of England.

"There is no other country, except English colonies, in which the English language is spoken, and in which the habits and manners are the same. This is one great thing; but there is no other country in which there is a superabundance of good lands, and in which an increase of the population must necessarily be an advantage to the country. There is no other country where there is any room for numerous strangers; and, besides all these, there is no other country where the people have to pay so small a portion of taxes, and where kind and generous neighbours are to be found in abundance. To all these advantages add that of perfect civil and political liberty; and that, as to religion, the law knows nothing at all about it.

"In English colonies the English language is spoken; and, as the support of the governments there comes out of the pockets of the people of England, there are few taxes in those colonies, though I perceive that they have already an excise even at Botany Bay. But in the English colonies, there is a worse species of government than there is here; greater state of dependence, and less protection from the law. In the year 1826, some persons displeased with the freedom of opinion exercised by a printer in Upper Canada, did not prosecute him; but went by force and demolished his press, and flung his types into the lake. In fact, there is very little money in those colonies (barn speaking of those that can be considered places to emigrate to), except that which passes through the hands of the government. There are no persons of considerable property; scarcely one worthy of the name of farmer; and no man in those colonies ever thinks of any degree of

peace or safety, which he is not to derive from persons in power.

"As to NEW SOUTH WALES, as it is called, and VAN DIEMEN'S LAND, the distance, in the first place, makes the voyage a terrible undertaking. When arrived, you depend on the public authorities for a grant of land. If you have money to purchase pieces of ground already cleared and cultivated, your servants are convicts, and you are at the joint mercy of them and the murdering natives. Even for the service of the convicts, your sole dependence is on the pleasure of the public authorities; and, in short, you are infinitely more dependent than any rack-renter under the most greedy and tyrannical Borough-monger in England. If you find yourself miserable, and wish to return, preferring the wretched state that you have left to that which you find, your means of return are gone, and you have to undergo another voyage of seven or eight months, and to return to England a dejected and broken-hearted beggar.

"The English colonies in NORTH AMERICA consist of LOWER and UPPER CANADA, NEW BRUNSWICK, NOVA SCOTIA, NEWFOUNDLAND, and PRINCE EDWARD'S ISLAND. These form an immense extent of country; but with the exception of a small part of CANADA, and here and there a little strip of land in NEW BRUNSWICK, which have been pre-occupied, the whole is wretchedly poor: heaps of rocks covered chiefly with fir-trees. These countries are the *offal* of North America; they are the head, the shins, the shanks, and hoofs, of that part of the world; while the UNITED STATES are their sirloins, the well-covered and well-lined ribs, and the suet. People who know nothing of the matter frequently observe, that the United States will *take* our American colonies one of these days. This would be to act the wise part of a thief, who should come and steal a stone for the pleasure of carrying it about. These miserable colonies, the whole of which do not contain, army, blacks, and all, a population equal to that of the single state of New York, are fed, with the exception of Canada, chiefly by food brought from the United States. Flour, beef, pork, and even fresh meat, are brought into these countries from the United

States : even *green peas* and many other vegetables are carried from the United States to regale the petty sovereigns who strut in that country, and are maintained by taxes raised in England. England has possessed those countries for more than a hundred years, except Canada, and has possessed that for pretty nearly a century ; she has squandered hundreds of millions upon them ; and if she were to withdraw the supplies of money which she now sends thither, the whole of them, with the exception of some parts of CANADA, would be totally abandoned in less than a year, except that some of the points near the sea would be, as they formerly were, resorted to by fishermen in the fishing-season. These are no countries to go to : a small part of CANADA might become passable ; but even there, the government and the state of dependence are such, that no sensible man will hesitate for a moment between that country and the United States, where land is equally abundant, where the products are fine and of infinite variety, and where, with a moderate portion of labour and care, every man may do well. In short, the choice lies between the country which has to send for green peas to another country, and the country in which the green peas grow : I am for the latter, and so I think will be every man who has only a moderate portion of very common sense.

"I have, in my 'YEAR'S RESIDENCE IN AMERICA,' given an account of the prices of land, of labour, of food, of clothing, house rent, and the like. I shall speak of all these by-and-by ; but they will be found to be mentioned incidentally in certain original letters from English emigrants in America to their friends in England ; and here also will be found a striking instance of the worthlessness of the English colonies compared with the United States. I shall here insert these letters, first giving an account of the source from which I have obtained them, and what led me to seek for that source. The reader is to be informed, then, that, since the publication of my "YEAR'S RESIDENCE," several parishes in the East of SUSSEX have got rid, as they call it, of many families, that were a great burden to them, or likely to be so, by shipping them off, at the parish expense, to the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA ;

and the letters in question having been received by their relations in SUSSEX, a gentleman of the name of BENJAMIN SMITH published a part of them for the information of others. I did not know Mr. SMITH, and therefore I thought it necessary to go to the parties themselves, and obtain the originals. I did this, and the originals are now in my hands. I have found Mr. SMITH's publication to be perfectly correct, the orthography only being mended, and a little pointing supplied; and, therefore, I avail myself of his publication, in the republishing of the letters, which form the most interesting collection of documents that ever passed under my perusal. With these letters before him, and with no possible doubt as to their authenticity, every man will be able to judge of, every man will know to a *certainty*, the exact state of things in the United States; especially as far as regards the fitness of that country as one to emigrate to.

"I shall NUMBER the letters for the purpose of more easy reference when I come afterwards to speak of the contents. The parties writing the letters, are JOHN WATSON, who went from the parish of SEDLES COMB near BATTLE; from STEPHEN WATSON, his brother, who went from the same place; from MARY JANE WATSON, a daughter of STEPHEN WATSON; from JOHN PARKS, who went from EWHURST near NORTHAM; from JOHN VENESS, who went from MOUNTFIELD near BATTLE; from WILLIAM DAVIS, who went from ROBERTSBRIDGE; from MARY VENESS, who went from MOUNTFIELD; from JOHN THORPE, who went from SEDLES COMB; from JOHN HARDEN, who went from ROBERTSBRIDGE, and from THOMAS BOOTS, who went from ROBERTSBRIDGE. To these I shall add two letters since received by a gentleman at RYE, and I suppress not one single word of them. The *originals* will be deposited at Fleet Street, for one week after the publication of this book; and, when that week is passed, I shall return them to the parties from whom I have received them. I shall lodge them at Fleet Street, for the purpose of being inspected by any gentleman who may have the curiosity to do it; and I do it also to the honour of the parties who have written the letters. We read the other day (Morning Chronicle of the 24th of

June) of the execution of *the culprits at once*, in the happy colony of New South Wales; and read in the same paper that the governor had, by proclamation, just increased the duties on tobacco and spirits, while, at the same time, part of the country was in a state of great alarm, on account of the existence of a "*formidable body of bush-rangers mounted on horseback, and well armed.*" If any man, not actually tired of his life, can prefer emigrating to a country like this to emigrating to the UNITED STATES, he is wholly unworthy of my attention. I have pointed out certain passages of the letters by *italics*, to which I request the reader's particular attention.

"I begin with the letters from JOHN WATSON to his father STEPHEN WATSON of SEDLEScombe. This JOHN WATSON; it will be perceived, was carried to our sweet colony of New BRUNSWICK; but he soon found that he could not live there; and it will be seen with what wondrous toil and perseverance he removed himself, his wife, and his children, first into LOWER CANADA, then into UPPER CANADA, and then into the UNITED STATES. Let this man's progress be observed: see the English pauper become a good solid landowner in AMERICA, in the course of only five years; and then come to your decision. You will remark, that in the very first letter, JOHN WATSON tells his father, that he was *discouraged from going to the UNITED STATES*; and that *many had come from the STATES to New BRUNSWICK*! These lies had been stuffed into his head, as into the heads of thousands of others; but they all, if they be able, soon quit the miserable colonies, and get to the UNITED STATES. I take the following extract from a newspaper, called the Enquirer, published at New York, in the month of June, 1827. 'In "one canal-boat were *BRUTY SETTLERS*, coming into the "UNITED STATES from Canada. KING GEORGE pays their passage, and gives them a *trifle for pocket-money*; "and the moment they land at Quebec, without waiting to "wash a shirt, all the single able men cat and run for the "UNITED STATES; and we have all the benefit of the "emigration." This Editor is mistaken: King George does not pay them for their passage, nor give them the

poshet-money; for King George pays no taxes. Thus, then, the UNITED STATES send food for the colonies, for which we pay; we pay for sending out mouths to eat it; and the mouths, which have arms and legs attached to them, go to swallow green peas in the place where they are raised.

No. 1.

Queensbury, New Brunswick,
Oct. 15, 1810.

DEAR FATHER, — I arrived in St. John the 16th day of June, after a disagreeable passage. We were struck with lightning in a storm, in which we lost one of our sailors. When I came into the above place I saw no prospect of doing anything there, and proceeded to Fredericton, and had many proposals made me there, but did not accept them. I am now situated 120 miles up the river St. John. The gentleman in whose employ I am, has built me a house in which I now live. I am to have it, and ten or twelve acres of land, rent free, for three years. I expect to be able to maintain my family on this until I get land from Government. *Every married man is entitled to 200 acres, and every single man 100.* As to saying positively what labourers get, I could not; but they are paid according to what they can do. I got five pounds the first month and my diet. I must now tell you we are not pestered with revenue officers. We are a free people; free from rates and taxes. The following are the prices of provisions: — Flour, 2*l.* 10*s.* per barrel, of 196 pounds weight; butter, from 1*s.* 3*d.* to 1*s.* 6*d.* per pound; mutton and beef, from 5*d.* to 6*d.* per pound; all wearing apparel are as dear again as in England. St. John river is a very fine river, so that brigs of any size can come from St. John to Fredericton. A man may catch as many fish in an hour as would do for him and his family for a day. Along the above river it is but thinly inhabited, and very few back settlements. There is plenty of land, but we want men to work it. You would really wonder to see so many thousands of acres of woody land idle, and good land. I had every idea of going to the States, but the accounts were so discouraging that I would not go there. I assure you there are many coming from the States here. Tell my brothers that I have no doubt, after a while, they would do well here, but I would not advise them to come now, for they little know the difficulties they would have to undergo before they would get settled; but if they (or I) was once settled here, there would be no fear but they would do well. Tell William Turner and Samuel Turner, that if they could come here, and bring their sons, they could be settled, provided they had 60*l.*; or they could get land (cleared) on the half part of what they could raise, and oxen to plough it. Tell William Glover

* On the River St. John, in New Brunswick, about 130 miles from the Bay of Fundy.

that I can get a gentleman to send for him next spring, and to send me an answer if he is willing to come or not. My wife would be obliged to her brother if Apps would send or take a copy of this letter to her father. We are well, thank God, and it is the sincere wish of your friend, that I may see you all here, but not until I hear something before you come.

And am, dear father,

Yours truly affectionate,

JOHN WATSON.

N.B. Direct to Mr. John Hust's, Queensbury County, York, New Brunswick, British America. My wife would be obliged to you, when you write, to send word how all her friends are.

*Mr. Stephen Watson, Sedlescomb,
County of Sussex, England.*

No. 2.

Seneca,* County of Ontario, State of New York,
August 13th, 1820.

DEAR FATHER,—We left Brunswick on the 8th last March. *The severity of the winter determined me to take this step.* We proceeded up the river St. John towards Quebec. On our way we encountered great difficulties, arising from the cold and the country being almost an entire wilderness through which we passed. From Quebec we proceeded up the river St. Laurence to Montreal; from thence to Klugston, and up the lake to Niagara, where we crossed over into the United States, and travelled east into the State of New York, 100 miles, to the English settlement (as it is here called), where I now live, but do not intend to remain here long; the land is all taken up, and too dear for a person in my circumstances to buy. The Ohio is my ultimate object; there land may be had in plenty for a dollar and a quarter, or 5s. 6d. sterling, per acre. I arrived here about the middle of June, and have been, for the principal part of the time since, in the employ of a Mr. Watson, an Englishman, from Northumberland, of whom *I bought a cow, for which I paid him in work, besides supporting my family.* An honest, industrious man can maintain his family better by three days' work here, than he can in England by six. It is the universal custom here for the employer to find the person employed in victuals. Grain is very low at present; wheat may be bought for 1s. 6d. sterling money per bushel; and the other kinds of grain proportionally low. Butcher's meat, of all kinds, is exceedingly cheap; every farmer here has an orchard, in which the apples and peaches hang almost as thick as your hops. Clothing is about the same here as in England. Money is scarce at present, owing to there being no demand abroad for grain, but everything else is in the utmost profusion; and I look forward, with a confident and

* A town, of 4,802 inhabitants, about 200 miles from New York.

well-founded hope, to the time, as not far distant, when *I shall be a freeholder, and call no man by the degrading name of master.* This, you will possibly say, is all idle rant; but no, I am acquainted with many here who came to this country poor and penniless, who now possess fine freeholds of from 100 to 300 acres, fine houses, barns and orchards, thriving flocks of cattle, sheep, &c. What others have done why may not I accomplish? This is, in truth, the land of hope. Labour is a pleasurable exertion, because all its profits go to enrich yourself and not another. As your letters to me may possibly not arrive before I depart to the Ohio, direct them to Robert Watson, to be, by him, forwarded to me.

Your dutiful son,
JOHN WATSON.

*Mr. Stephen Watson, Sedlescomb, near Battle,
County of Sussex, Old England.*

No. 3.

Aurora,* Dearborn County, Indiana State,
June 15th, 1822.

DEAR FATHER,—Recollecting my promise to you, not to write till I was perfectly settled, you would not expect a letter so soon as you might otherwise have done. I now consider myself as so settled; and, though I have, some time ago, written a letter to you, yet it may have miscarried; and I not only think it right that you should be acquainted with my situation, but I wish that you, with all our family and friends, could be with us. We have suffered many hardships, as the statement of our journey will show you; but they were occasioned by my being a stranger to the country. You will recollect that I started, with my wife and our children, in the brig *Wellington*, for *St. John's, New Brunswick*, where we arrived June 15th, 1819, after losing one of our mates, by lightning, and our seaman; there we remained till March 15th, 1820. New Brunswick, the winter too severe to profit much by farming, I determined to leave it, at all hazards; I, therefore, with my wife, got a hand sleigh, in which I placed the children, and drew them on the ice up the *St. John's river*, about 360 miles, Mary and myself walking, drawing the children after us. You must also recollect that 100 miles of this was not settled, being all wood. We arrived at the head of *St. John's river*. We travelled on in the same manner, across snow and ice, to the great river *St. Laurence*, about 180 miles below *Quebec*; there we found the country, along the bank, thickly settled. I then built myself a light waggon, and had all our family provisioned during the time of making the waggon for "I thank you:" the good people, who were *French Canadians*, wishing us very much to stay with them. In this waggon our children were drawn by myself for upwards of 400 miles, to *Kingston*, at the mouth of the lake Ontario. There (as at every

* Population 549.

other place, we met with uncommon kindness) a gentleman, quite a stranger, not only sent us by the steam-boat, free of all expense, to Fort George, but put six or seven dollars into our pockets besides. From Fort George we crossed into the United States, and passed the summer at Geneva, Ontario County, New York State. Hearing a more favourable account of the State of Indiana, I once more started on a ramble, and, travelling across the State of New York, I came to O'Lean Point, on the Alleghany river; which river, a very rapid one, I came down in a flat boat to Pittsburgh; here I staid two days, and, passing on, after being detained by head winds, and the water being very low, landed at Aurora, situated at the mouth of Hogan Creek. Here I found myself a stranger, without friends, acquaintance, utensils of any kind, or money, having spent our last dollars a day or two before; added to which, myself and all our family were caught by illness for six or eight weeks, without the power of doing anything. But no sooner was our situation known, than we had plenty of provisions brought to us, and, as our strength recovered, I obtained work at digging, &c. My wife took to sewing, and, by degrees, we have worked it to that I have two cows, two calves, nine pigs, and one calf expected in August. James is now at school, and I intend to send two in the winter. I have joined with a farmer in cropping: that is, I received one-half of the produce, and had the team found me. I now am working for an English gentleman, named Harris, who is building in Aurora, and owns four quarter sections up the Creek. Much good land can be bought, far distant, for one dollar and a quarter per acre, and improved land for not much more: indeed, so good is the prospect for a man who must live by industry, that I wish all my friends and acquaintance were here with me. I can safely say, I would not, nor would my Mary, return to England on any account whatever. We are now all in good health, and are very desirous of hearing from you. Direct to John Watson, Aurora, Dearborn County, Indiana State, United States. I wish you would also be very particular not to put the letter into the post-office, as it will be so long in coming; but put it into the letter-bag of some ship bound to New York or Philadelphia. In the earnest desire of hearing from you,

I remain yours,

JOHN WATSON.

The best port for you to come to would be Philadelphia or Baltimore.

*Mr. Stephen Watson, Parish of Sedlescombe,
near Battle, Sussex, Old England.*

No. 4.

Aurora, Dearborn County, Indiana,
April 26th, 1823.

DEAR FATHER AND MOTHER,—I now write with greater pleasure than I have ever yet done, as it is in answer to yours, dated Feb-

from the 2nd, the only one I have received; the others, I suppose, must have gone to Canada, where you might think I was settled. It proved very gratifying to us to hear that you all enjoy such general good health, excepting father Vaughan and sister, who could not have been expected to remain long, having been ill so long. Though your letter was written by several persons, we cannot answer them separately, but must beg of you to read all to them. You should have mentioned who my brother James married; we suppose it must be Henry Freeaud's sister. *We would recommend all our acquaintances, who are tired of paying tithes and taxes, to come here, where taxes are unknown, and taxes hardly worth mentioning, compared to what they are with you.* The only tax we have paid is one day's work on the road, and 50 cents, or 2s. 3d. for one yoke of oxen. You say England is in a very bad state, and farmers are got very low. We would say, let them come here: we were worth nothing when we landed at this place, and now we have one yoke of oxen, one cow, nine hogs, and we intend having another cow. We are not much concerned about *Michaelmas* and *Lady-Day* here, for as many farms as we choose, we could have for paying one-third of the produce. We have just taken ten acres upon these terms, and John is busily engaged in ploughing for corn; he wishes his uncle Edward was with him to help. Brother Stephen inquires if he could get employment; we answer, that any person desirous of obtaining a living may do it, and that easily: if he comes, let him bring all the money he can, and what clothing he has; but not to spend any money in buying unnecessary things in England; here the money will pay him much better than there in land. Rabbits and pigeons, particularly the latter, are very abundant; and squirrels, which are very fine eating. There are also great plenty of fish in the river for those who take the trouble to catch them. Partridges are also very numerous, and wild turkeys. We bought one for twenty-five cents, or 1s. 1½d. of your money, which lasted us for four meals. Meat we buy for two cents per pound. John often talks of his grandmother, and says *we could keep her without working.* Whilst this letter is writing, my wife is eating preserved peaches and bread, and washing them down with good whiskey and water. When our last letter was written, I mentioned I was working for Mr. Harris, an English gentleman; I am still working for him, and probably shall do for some time. You express a wish to know all our children; John, born April 22nd, 1809; James, October 18th, 1813; Naomi, February 7th, 1815; Henry, April 11th, 1818; Eliza Anne, born January 21st, 1821, in Langley township, on Hogan Creek, Dearborn County, Indiana. Henry is very well, generally in mischief, like all other children, and receives his, as did all the others, from sister. All our friends who come, we would recommend to come in an American ship, and land either at Baltimore or Philadelphia; but we should advise them to stay immediately after landing from the western States, as they afford a better prospect for poor people, or, indeed any other, than the eastern or older States. Among many other advantages we enjoy in this country, we can make our own soap.

candles, and sugars; which we make by tapping the maple-tree, in the breaking of the frost, and boiling the water down, clearing it with eggs or milk. We wish very much to see brother William and Stephen; if they come they cannot be in a worse situation than we were when we landed, and for many months after: but then their prospects would be better than by remaining in England. Our brother William, sister Sarah, and our dear mother, must not be hurt if we did not mention them in our last letter; it was not an intentional neglect, for our affections for them are as strong as ever, and very often do we wish they were here; for we think it would be much better for them, as well as William Glover, of whom we wish to hear,—nothing being said of him in your letter. Mary begs you will be particular in mentioning her relations in your next letter, which you must not be angry if we ask to be written closer, so as to contain more information, as the postage of letters is rather expensive; not that we grudge the money, but we think the sheet might be made to hold more.

And now, our dear Father and Mother, as it is not very likely that we shall meet on this side of the grave, may it be our fervent prayer, that in the life to come, where there shall be no alloy, no griefs or difficulties, we may all unite; and there may you, with all the blessed, salute your ever dutiful and affectionate children,

JOHN and MARY WATSON.

P. S. If Stephen comes, we wish him to bring some rye-grass, trefoil, broom seed, cabbage seeds, and all garden seeds. Be sure if he does come, or any others of our friends, to let us know as soon as possible. Mary has just made a bushel of soap, which cost me nothing but her attention and a little labour. Those animals called in your country *Excisemen*, are not known in this country, so that we boil soap, make candles, gather hops, and many other things, without fear, which you must not do. We are under no fear about our children not having food: we have finer pork and fowls than you have, and plenty of them. Fowls are sold from 2s. 3d. to 3s. 4½d. per dozen: pork at 1d. per lb.; eggs 1½d. for six dozen.

*Mr. Stephen Watson, sen., Sedlescomb, near
Battle, Sussex, Old England.*

Per first packet from New York to Liverpool. Paid to New York.

No. 5.

Aurora, March 9th, 1825.

DEAR FATHER AND MOTHER,—It is now two years since we heard from you, excepting in a letter from brother Stephen, saying you were all well. We are longing to hear what you are all doing; the particulars of all the family: when you sent the letter, you did not say anything about William and Sarah, neither who James and Ann was married to. I want to know what is become of William Glover, and whether he loves drink as well as he used to do; if he does, tell him there is plenty of whiskey here; if a man wants to

kill himself, he need not be long about it, for he may get a gallon a day and his board; but I hope better things of him; I hope he has seen into the folly of it before this. We should be very glad to hear from all our friends: we think they would do a great deal better here than in England; *we cannot think what makes so many of them go back, for we would not come back again for Mr. Tidden Smith's farm and all he has got.* The poor home-sick things! were it not for their poor children, we would not care if they went to bed without supper all their lives! As for brother Stephen, we should like to know if he is gone back too; for we expected him this last winter, but have been disappointed; we are rather uneasy at not receiving a letter before this; if you know anything about him, we should be glad if you would let us know. We are still farming, have got this season about ten acres of very promising wheat, seven acres of oats, thirteen acres of corn, one acre for flax, between one and two acres for potatoes and other garden stuff. We have got a horse, a yoke of oxen, a pair of young steers, a milk cow, and plenty of pigs and fowls. There are plenty of English people in and around our neighbourhood: we rent land of an English woman (true enough, for I have written this letter). We feel ourselves at home among the people: we have regular preaching by the Methodists and Baptists, *but no parson to tithe us.* We make our own soap and candles; we have just got *between forty and fifty yards of linen from the loom from our last year's flax.* Land is $1\frac{1}{2}$ per acre, Congress price; but land near the Ohio is chiefly taken up, and higher priced. We live a mile from the river. Aurora is on the bank of the Ohio, so of course we are the same distance from it. We have another little daughter, named Sarah Joana; she was born on the 29th of February, 1824; the other children are all well; John is grown very much lately; he is almost like a man; he has just been out a month, and earned himself a summer's suit of clothes, though he is employed at home on the farm. I let him have his wish; he sends his best respects to his grandmother. There is plenty of walnuts, hickory nuts, wild grapes, plums, &c. in the woods; peaches grow in great abundance; the trees bear in three years from the stone. Apples, melons, pumpkins, and a variety of other fruits, are very easily raised. Write soon, and direct to John Watson, Aurora, Dearborn County, Indiana.

From your affectionate son and daughter,

JOHN and MARY WATSON.

P. S. We should be very happy to see you; but as we do not expect to see you this side of Eternity, we beseech you to prepare for the awful day, when we must all give account of the deeds done in the body, it is the one thing needful: do not put it off till it is too late, but fly to the arms of a bleeding Redeemer, who is willing to save you.

Mr. Stephen Watson, Sedlescomb, Battle.

No. 6.

Dearborn County, Indiana,
November 29th, 1838.

DEAR FATHER AND MOTHER,—We gladly embrace this opportunity of writing to you, to say that we are all enjoying good health at present, and we sincerely hope that, at the perusal of these few lines, you will be the same. We received your letter November 8th, which gave us great satisfaction that you are well, and we are glad to hear that some of you intend coming to America: and we greatly desire that you would all come to this rich fertile country; for we assure you that there is sufficient room for you all in this Palestine land; though we do not believe every part of America so good as where we live, and especially the part of America where brother Stephen lives; for we know, by experience, that it is not half so good a country for a poor man to get a living as where we are, though they are well satisfied where they live, and we believe their country far better than Old England. Yet we know that their country is not half so good a part of America as where we live. But they know no better, for they have not travelled through America to see the difference. But it is not so with us; for we travelled 2000 or 3000 miles through America before we settled ourselves; therefore we are better judges than they can be. *Here you can rent land by giving one third of what is raised on the land; and a man can get eighteen pounds of pork or beef for a day's work, or three pecks of wheat, and every other kind of provision cheap accordingly. Men who labour by the day get the above articles, and are boarded in time of doing the work.* We are highly gratified to think of father and mother coming, and more so shall we be if you all will come. We advise you to come to New York, and up the river to Albany, where Stephen lives. There you can get information of the road to my house; but if so be that you are willing to come to us without coming by Stephen, we think it much the best for you to land at Baltimore, and come from there to Pittsburgh, on the Ohio river, where you can get a passage in the steam-boat, for a very few dollars, to Aurora, within five miles of my house. It would be a great deal cheaper and nigher from Baltimore or Philadelphia than Albany, from either of the three ports. You must inquire for Pittsburgh, on the Ohio river. We want you to fetch with you *early yorks, sugar loaf, curries, soap, and red cabbage seeds; and trefail, lucerne, and a little broom seed;* and we wish you to tell James Bridges to come to America if he can, for we know that he can get a comfortable living with *half the labour he has to do at home.* Plenty of land can be bought within twenty miles of our house for one dollar and a quarter per acre. We advise you to come in *an American ship;* and, finally, we think it too tedious to mention all the good things in America, but invite you to come and see for yourselves. So no more at present from your affectionate son and daughter,

JOHN and MARY WATSON.

Now, my friends, here you see a *proof*, that the English colonies are no places to go to, unless for worthless slaves. For prostitutes, pickpockets, vagabond idlers, they may do; and, perhaps, they are good enough for the halt and lame, and the blind and the deformed to creep about in; but, for honest people, able and willing to work, the *UNION STATES* is the country, if people must, or will go away.

But, now, *why* should honest people, able and willing to work, go away at all? The base wretches, who live on the taxes, say that the people are too numerous here; that there is an *over-population*, or *over-quantity* of people! This is, in the first place, a strange thing to hear; even without our inquiring at all into the facts of the case; for how comes this to be the case now, which never was the case before; how comes the people to be too numerous at this time, when they were never known to be too numerous before? There is the same proportionate number of both sexes; just as there always was; women are pregnant the same length of time that they used to be; they bring forth still only *one child* at a time, except now and then; which was always the case. What, then, should cause this over-stock of people now more than formerly? Upon the face of the thing, it is false and ridiculous.

Then, as to the fact, if there be too many working people in England; and, let me stop here to observe, that it is only the *working people* that these tax-eating vagabonds say are too numerous. They do not say, that the pensioners, the sinecure folks, the grantees, the allowance folks; the half-pay folks, the military academy folks; the poor parsons (whom we are taxed to relieve); the placemen, the taxing people, the churchholders, the swarms of clerical officers; they do not say, that these endless crews of idlers, all of whom live upon the fruit of the people's labour; the tax-eating vagabonds do not say, that these are too numerous! If, then, the working people of England be too numerous; if there be too many of them; if this be the case, how comes it, that all our great towns are full of *Irish working people*? No English working people go to Ireland; and all our great towns are crowded with Irish. Either they work here, or they live here as

vagabonds: in the latter case, *where is the law*: in the former case, the over-population story must be an *impudent lie*. But, again, if England be *over-stocked* with working people, how comes it that *swarms of Irish are wanted to get in the harvest*? That they come is certain; that they are employed at the harvest is certain; and, could this *possibly be*, if we had *too many* working people? "Oh!" but "we have," say the tax-eating *vagabonds*, not "*too many in harvest time*, but *too many the rest of the year*." Insolent and brutal *vagabonds*! You have not too many footmen, when you have "*parties*," but too many at other times! But, do you discharge them, when the parties are over, and hire them again for the next parties? Brutal *vagabonds*, insolent *vagabonds*, that ought to be struck down to the earth, you have not too many horses to draw you about in summer, but do you keep them without food in winter? Ah! *vagabonds*, it is *you* who are too numerous; you know that the Reform Bill would make you less numerous, and, therefore, you are moving earth and hell against the Reform Bill.

One thing is clear, and that is, that, as long as the government shall tell the working people, that they are too numerous, and, at the same time, *tax them* (as it now *does*) to raise money to get some of them away out of the country; as long as the government shall do this, the working people have a clear right to make use of all the means in their power, to *keep out*, or *drive out*, the *Irish*; and that, in the selection of these means, they ought to consider themselves as *restricted only by the law*. They have, further, a clear right to *hate every man who employs these Irish*; and to act towards him as *their enemy*, as far, and to the utmost as far, as *the law will allow*. For, if they themselves be already too numerous, if it be right to *tax them*, in order to raise money to send them out of their own country, on account of their *over-numbers*, that man *who brings Irish here*, must be *their enemy*, and must deserve all that their enmity can legally inflict.

Then, again, *why* do the tax-eaters think the people too numerous? A nation can never be too numerous, if there be *enough for them all to eat and drink*: and what does

this government do? Why *shut out Corn by law*, and thereby make the quantity of food *less than it otherwise would be*; so that, while this government is taxing the people to raise money to send them away, on the pretence that there are too many mouths, it has shut out corn on the pretence *that there is too much food*! What a government! what a parliament! Is it any wonder that the people under it are in ruin and misery! We have *too many mouths*, and the parliament will not let us exchange some of our *manufactured goods for Corn*, though our goods are at a ruinously low price! We have *too many mouths*, and yet we have *too much barley*, and the parliament taxes our barley so much, that the mouths are obliged to *take in water instead of beer*! Oh! all ye powers that torment the soul of man, was the like of this ever heard of before! When those who are now in the cradle shall hear of this, will they not blush for the tameness of their fathers! Will they not avert their eyes from the degrading picture, and entertain a wish that their progenitors may be for ever forgotten!

But what can have produced this perverse way of thinking and these abominable fooleries about an *over-population*? This is the case: the *taxing-system*, which keeps such swarms in idleness, has produced, and is producing, such masses of misery, that the idlers are frightened at the thought of the consequences. Every one knows, that such misery *never existed before*; the tax-eaters know, as well as the rest of us, that the misery arises from the *taxing-system*; but *they wish to ascribe it to something else*; for, if ascribed to the *taxing-system*, that system must be destroyed, *and the tax-eaters along with it*. Therefore, they ascribe the misery to *over-population*, an evil which the *taxing-system cannot have caused*! Here is the real origin of the GRAND LIE about the population; by the means of which lie, barefaced as it is, the tax-eaters, aided by the *villanous press*, have deluded the nation for many years, and quietly sucked up its substance at the same time. The wretches of the press (I speak with some exceptions) are a *second-hand species of tax-eaters*; and they have laboured most efficiently to keep up the delusion. They know, that, out of the price of every bushel of malt, two-

thirds is caused by the tax upon it; and, yet, the base dogs, when they see the labourer drink water instead of beer, that he used to drink, ascribe the change to over-population, and not at all to the tax! Of all the causes that ever afflicted mankind, a base and corrupt press is the greatest.

However, suppose we were to admit that there is an over-population in England; that there are too many mouths in it, in proportion to the food and drink it produces; suppose we were to admit this; what are the measures which a wise lawgiver would take to remedy the evil? Why, to cause those, who do not now produce anything, to produce something, if able; or, if lessening the number of mouths were the remedy, to send away those non-producers. One or the other of these is the remedy that a wise lawgiver would adopt. Our lawgiver pursues an exactly contrary course: he, great army and sword police captain as he is, adds daily to the number of mouths of those who do not work, and who never will work, until forced, and is sending away, as fast as he can, those who do work and are willing always to work. He thus diminishes the means of production, while he adds to the consumption by idlers: and this is his way of removing the distress of the working-people, and restoring general happiness and content.

It is here that this government and parliament of ours are seen in their true light; here it is, in their invariable support and favour of all that is idle; of all the swarms that live on the fruit of the care, industry, and toil of the people; of every creature, low or high, that lives on the taxes, whether directly or indirectly. This is the great characteristic of this government and parliament; and of every thing having authority under them, however low that thing may be; and I need not tell the readers of the *Tracts*, that this conduct is precisely the contrary to that which is pointed out by reason, by justice, and expressly by holy war, which teaches us, that even the "ox is not to be muzzled as he treadeth out the corn" that he has helped to raise; and that "he who will not work, neither shall he eat." In making this last quotation, a curious fact occurs to my recollection; and it is, too, illustrat-

tive of the conduct; it is a curious instance of the conduct, of this our celebrated **THING**.

When I was last winter on my *Lecturing* tour in the North; I happened to learn that there was inscribed, in large letters, on the **POOR-HOUSE**, at Maidstone, in Kent (in which county **CASTLEBAGH** cut his throat, at the village of **NORTH CRAY**), these words: "**IF ANY WILL NOT WORK, NEITHER SHALL HE EAT.**" This was a piece of information most opportune for me! Never did I, after this, give a lecture without introducing this **MANNERED** inscription, which was, of course, put up by authority of the *magistrates* (persons as well as officers), and which, so made use of, and by such persons, and for such an end, was so *pat* to my purpose, when I was talking about the lord and lady pensioners, the men and women sinecurists, the grantees, the allowance people, the dead-weight, and all the tribes of idlers who live upon the taxes, and especially about the *parsons*, who have all the *benefices* and none of the *praying and preaching*; all the *eating* and none of the *working*! Upon these occasions I used to go on in this manner: "in the first place; gentlemen, these Kentish magistrates have interpolated, have misquoted, the words of **SAINT PAUL**; for those words are not, 'if any will not work, neither shall he eat;' but they are, 'if any would not work, neither should he eat.' But the act here is of a nature much more scandalous than a mere misquotation of the **SCRIPTURE**: it is a misapplication of it; a gross perversion of its meaning; and that too for the base purpose of justifying cruelty and hardness of heart towards the poor and unfortunate, as applicable to whom **SAINT PAUL** never made use of these words. But on the contrary, he used them in addressing himself to the first Christian ministers, enjoining them to work for their bread, and not to be chargeable to those whom they taught, enjoining on them to eat the bread proceeding from their own labour. Let us, however, take the whole passage, which you will find in the following words, in the 3d chapter of the second Epistle of **SAINT PAUL** to the *Thessalonians*, beginning at the sixth verse

6. Now we command you, brethren, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye withdraw yourselves from every brother that walketh disorderly, and not after the tradition which he received of us.

7. For yourselves know how ye ought to follow us: for we behaved not ourselves disorderly among you;

8. Neither did we eat any man's bread for nought; but wrought with labour and travail night and day, that we might not be chargeable to any of you:

9. Not because we have not power, but to make ourselves an example unto you to follow us.

10. For even when we were with you, this we commanded you, that if any would not work, neither should he eat.

11. For we hear that there are some which walk among you disorderly, working not at all, but are busy bodies.

12. Now them that are such we command and exhort by our Lord Jesus Christ, that with quietness they work, and eat their own bread.

" Thus you see, gentlemen, those precepts which the
 " Apostle addressed to the *teachers of religion*, these
 " parsons and justices of Kent addressed to the *poorest of*
 " *the working-people* to the halt, the lame, the blind, the
 " widow, the orphan, the worn-out labourer, and to those
 " who cannot obtain employment! It is often said, and
 " it was once proved, that *the Devil can quote Scripture*
 " for his purposes; and is not this very much like one of
 " the tricks of the king of hell? But what audacity was
 " here! To put up a precept like this, while it was no-
 " torious that the working-people were taxed to keep
 " swarms of idlers, numerous as the sands by the sea;
 " while it was notorious, that the necessity for building
 " this *poor-house* had arisen from the working-people
 " having had their earnings taken from them to support
 " in idleness, whole families of the aristocracy and their
 " dependents; while it was notorious, that we had more
 " idlers to support than all the other nations in the world
 " put together; while it was notorious, that the *dead-*
 " *weight alone* cost us more annually than the amount
 " of all the poor-rates in all the counties, as far as these
 " were applied, to the relief of the poor; and while it was
 " also notorious, that those who *did the work of the*
 " *church* were in a half-starving condition, and those who
 " did none of its work were wallowing in luxury from its
 " revenues! What audacity, what brazen insolence; what

“ a hardened disregard of all decency, to put up, under
 “ circumstances like these, such an inscription on an
 “ English poor-house ! Gentlemen, base will be the man
 “ who will vote for any one to go into a reformed Par-
 “ liament for any part of Kent, if the man he vote for will
 “ not pledge himself to make this text of Scripture *prac-*
 “ *tically* apply to the swarms of locusts, who now devour
 “ the fruit of the people’s labour.”

This was the way in which I used to go on. But the best part of the story remains to be told. I began to introduce this subject into my lectures, when I was in *Yorkshire*; and I think I did it, for the first time, at *WAKEFIELD*, though I am not quite sure of that. When I came home, it was my intention to have some good sport at *MAIDSTONE*, on the score of this *INSCRIPTION*; but before I took any step in that way, I thought it best to be sure that my information was correct, or, rather, that the *INSCRIPTION* was *still* on the poor-house; for that it had been on it I was *quite sure*, knowing well the strict veracity of my informant, who had first seen it there between *eleven and twelve years ago*; who had seen it many a score times since, who, whenever he saw the house, had, indeed, *always* seen it there since he first knew the building; but who did not recollect the precise time *when he saw it last*. In order to come at the fact, whether the *INSCRIPTION* still remained (of which I could have, however, very little doubt), I wrote to a friend at *MAIDSTONE* to go and read it, and send me *the exact words* of it. **THEY WERE GONE!** Gone! Yes, *painted over a little while before!* But my friend could distinguish some of the letters under the paint, and could clearly make out the word **WORK!** This led him to inquire of some person in authority at the poor-house, **WHY** the inscription had been effaced; and he received for answer, that it had been effaced, “because it was thought *arbitrary*,” a word which the country people always make use of to characterize any thing *tyrannically unjust*.

O God! This tyrannical, this audacious and savage *INSCRIPTION* had remained, stuck up here for a *dozen years*, or more, to insult the most unfortunate and most miserable of the good and industrious, and gen-

the and kind, and sincere, working people of this best spot of earth that God, in his goodness, ever gave to man; for a dozen years, or more, it had, by authority of the magistrates and parsons, of the county, been stuck up here, in defiance of the feelings of common humanity, to give an additional pang to the half-broken hearts of those who had been driven under the roof of this house by having the fruit of their labour taken away to support idlers; and, at the end of that dozen years, it is painted over, "because it is thought arbitrary!"

Now, who will believe, that it was not my *Yorkshire Lectures* that rubbed out this infamously base and insolent inscription? Perhaps not, perhaps the "good," and "great good too," was done by the *Chopsticks themselves*. No matter which: better the latter than the former; but no matter which. The thing, though small and quiet, in itself, speaks volumes and in a voice of thunder! It says this: that it is no longer thought, that the working millions can be grossly and basely insulted with impunity.

But, now, my friends, the *Working People*, shall we suffer this inscription to be painted over? Oh, no! Let it be your standing motto; your rallying words; inscribe the words on your banners; to the famous motto of the men of Kent, "WE WILL NOT LIVE UPON POTATOES;" add, "THOSE WHO WILL NOT WORK, SHALL NOT EAT." Paint, all you, the electors of England, these words on your election-banners; vote for no man who will not pledge himself to cause the latter to be enforced; and, then, there will be no over-population; then there will be plenty of food and drink, and clothing for all who deserve them; then you, who produce everything good, will have your just reward and due enjoyment in the country of your birth; and, let the *emigration agents*, carry away the prostitutes, thieves, and others who will not work, to starve upon the rocks, or die amongst the swamps of Nova Scotia and Canada.

WM. COBBETT.

SEEDS

FOR SALE AT MR. CORSEY'S SHOP, No. 11, BOLT-COURT, FLEET-STREET.

LOCUST SEED.

Very fine and fresh, at 6s. a pound. For instructions relative to sowing of these seeds, for rearing the plants, for making plantations of them, for preparing the land to receive them, for the after cultivations, for the pruning, and for the application of the timber; for all these, see my "WOODLANDS;" or TREATISE ON TIMBER TREES AND UNDERWOOD. 8vo. 14s.

SWEDISH TURNIP SEED.

Any quantity under 10lbs., 10d. a pound; and any quantity above 10lbs. and under 50lbs., 9d. a pound; any quantity above 50lbs., 8d. a pound; above 100lbs., 7d. A parcel of seed may be sent to any part of the kingdom; I will find proper bags, will send it to any coach or van or wagon, and have it booked at my expense; but the money must be paid at my shop before the seed be sent away; in consideration of which I have made due allowance in the price. If the quantity be small, any friend can call and get it for a friend in the country; if the quantity be large, it may be sent by me. The plants were raised from seed given me by Mr. PEPERKORN (of Southwell, Bedfordshire), in 1823. He gave it me as the finest sort that he had ever seen. I raised some plants (for use) in my garden every year; but, at Baru-Elm I raised a whole field of it, and had 320 bushels of seed upon 13 acres of land. I pledge my word, that there was not one single turnip in the whole field (which bore seed) not of the true kind. There was but one of a suspicious look, and that one I pulled up and threw away. So that I warrant this seed as being perfectly true, and as having proceeded from plants with small necks and greens, and with that reddish tinge round the collar which is the sure sign of the best sort.

MANGEL-WURZEL SEED.

Any quantity under 10lbs., 7½d. a pound; any quantity above 10lbs. and under 50lbs., 7d. a pound; any quantity above 50lbs., 6½d. a pound; any quantity above 100lbs., 6d. a pound. The selling at the same place as above; the payment in the same manner. This seed was also grown at Baru-Elm farm the summer before the last. It is a seed which is just as good at ten years old as at one.—The plants were raised in seed-beds in 1828; they were selected, and those of the deepest red planted out in a field of 13 acres, which was admired by all who saw it, as a most even, true, and beautiful field of the kind. The crop was very large, and out of it were again selected the plants from which my present stock of seed was grown; though, indeed, there was little room for selection, where all were so good and true. I got my seed from Mr.

FROM, of Reigate, who raised it from plants proceeding from seed that I had given him, which seed I had raised at Worth, in Sussex, and, all the way through, the greatest care had been taken to raise seed from no plant of a dubious character. This seed, therefore, I warrant as the very best of the kind. A score or two of persons, who sowed of this seed last year, have given me an account of the large crops they have had from it, and have all borne testimony to its being the truest seed they ever saw of the kind. I sell these seeds much cheaper than true seed, of the same sorts, can be got at any other place; but I have a right to do this, and I choose to exercise my right. My seeds are kept with great care in a proper place; and I not only warrant the sort, but also that every seed grow, if properly put into the ground.

USES OF COBBETT-CORN FLOUR.

We use the corn-flour in my family, FIRST, as bread, two-thirds wheaten and one-third corn-flour; SECOND, in batter puddings baked, a pound of flour, a quart of water, two eggs, though these last are not necessary; THIRD, in plum-puddings, a pound of flour, a pint of water, half a pound of suet, the plums and no eggs; FOURTH, in plain suet-puddings, and the same way, omitting the plums; FIFTH, in little round dumplings, with suet or without, and though they are apt to break, they are very good in this way; in broth, to thicken it, for which use it is beyond all measure better than wheaten-flour.

I sell the corn according to the following table:—

	PRICE.
1 Ear will plant nearly two rods.....	£0 0 3½
1 Bunch will plant more than seven rods.....	0 1 0
6 Bunches will plant more than 40 rods, or a quarter of an acre.....	0 5 6
12 Bunches will plant more than 80 rods, or half an acre	0 10 6
25 Bunches will plant more than 100 rods, or an acre	1 0 0

COBBETT'S
TWO-PENNY TRASH

For the Month of June, 1832.

Published monthly, sold at 12s. a hundred, and for 300, taken at once, 11s.

TO THE
ELECTORS UNDER THE REFORM BILL.

On the caution which they will now have to exercise, and on the duties which they will have to perform.

Kensington, 1st June, 1832.

MY FRIENDS,

OWING to our own exertions, and to nothing else, we shall now have this REFORM BILL; and it becomes us to consider *what use we shall make of it*; for the mere *name* of reform will do us no good at all. I trust that we shall now cease to be amused with *shadows*, and that we shall be satisfied with nothing but the *substance*. We want the reform, and we have always wanted it, to make us *better off* than we have been, and than we are. Our earnings have been taken away from us unjustly; we have been made poor and miserable by this; the most unfortunate of us have been reduced to take, by force or by stealth, the goods of our neighbours, or to starve; new jails, new poor-houses, new mad-houses, fill and disgrace our country; offences against the law have increased a hundredfold; those who have property dare not go to sleep, lest they should have it taken from them, or have it destroyed. We ascribe these

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evils to the burdens laid upon us; or, in other words, to our *earnings being taken away from us*, and given to those who give us nothing, and who render us no service, in return. When a man is robbed by a highwayman, or a house-breaker, he clearly sees that the property taken from him is a *clear loss*; and, my friends, no matter *how* the fruits of our industry be taken from us; no matter *as to the manner* of doing this; no matter by *whom* the act of taking away is performed, the effect is the same; the thing taken away is a *clear loss*, if there be not something given, or something done, in return. This, then, is what we complain of. Our grievances are not fanciful and theoretical, but real and practical. We complain *that our earnings are unjustly taken from us*; and we always have ascribed, and now do ascribe, this to our not being represented in Parliament; to our having been robbed of the right of *choosing those who impose taxes*, and who *dispose of the money* taken from us in taxes. This has been, and is, our grievance.

The *Reform Bill*, to redress this grievance completely, ought to secure *the right of voting to every man of sane mind, and unstained by infamous crime*; but, for harmony's sake, we have, as the Manchester meeting in their address to the King say, "agreed to try the effect of a more limited suffrage; and, for the present, to forego a part of this our undoubted right." But, my friends, in order that this Reform Bill may be of *real use to us*; in order that it may be the means of removing our poverty and misery, and delivering our country from this mass of crime and disgrace, we must take care to *choose trusty and able men* to represent us; and we must take care not to be *cheated by intriguers*, who, under the garb of patriotism, will endeavour to make us the tools of one or the other of the factions; and thus expose us to be plundered as mercilessly as we have been heretofore.

I have to address you, FIRST, on the recent proceedings relative to the Reform Bill; SECOND, on the acts which will be made use of to cheat us out of all the good that a reform ought to produce; and THIRD, on the measures which we want to have adopted; and, FOURTH, on the sort of men who ought to be chosen, and on the pledges which they ought to give before they be chosen.

I. On the recent proceedings relative to the Reform Bill.

On the conduct of the Lords, of the King, of the Ministers and their supporters, of WRESTLER and his supporters; of all these you have been pretty well informed, in one way or another, through the channel of the newspapers; but, in order not to be cheated, you ought to be cautioned against giving way to praises bestowed upon any body. We shall have the Reform Bill; and we shall have it solely by our own exertions: we shall owe it to nobody but ourselves; and we never ought to forget how much we owe to the country labourers, and particularly to those of them who first resolved to live upon potatoes no longer. Those who live upon the taxes and the tithes are never willing to allow that the people have any merit at all; and though it is now evident to every one that it is the people themselves who have made the Reform Bill pass, the greatest possible exertions are making to cause us to believe that we shall owe that bill entirely to the good-will, talents, and exertions of the Ministers and of their political party, which are commonly called the WHIGS. Now, my friends, nothing can be more false than this: it is a lie as impudent as ever issued from lips, or was ever put upon paper. The whole of the Ministry themselves, with the exception of my Lords GRAY and HOLLAND, have either been the most bitter enemies of parliamentary reform all their lives, which is the case with PALMERSTON, GODERICH, MELBOURNE,

GRANT, GRAHAM, and AUCLAND; or who expressly abandoned the cause of reform in 1827, and joined CANNING, who had always been the reviler of that cause, and the persecutor of all reformers; and who, at the very time when they joined him, and when he was prime minister, declared that he would *oppose reform, in every shape and degree, to the last hour of his life*; and this is the case with BROUGHAM, Lord JOHN RUSSELL, Lord ALTHORP, Little HOBHOUSE, and some of the rest of them.

How, then, can you believe that these men were ever sincere in their wishes for a real reform of the Parliament? The facts are these; that the cause of parliamentary reform had been a great cause in ENGLAND from about the year 1770; that the late Major CARTWRIGHT was the great champion of that cause from its beginning till the day of his death, which took place a few years ago; that I, converted to the cause by Major CARTWRIGHT, espoused it with all my might in the year 1806; that the reformers were persecuted, and I more than any of the rest, until the present Reform Bill was brought in; that, in the year 1830, including the month of December 1829, I went in person into three-fourths of the counties of England, and delivered *lectures*, urging the people to demand a reform of the Parliament; that, when the Parliament met in the month of October 1830, the demand for reform was general throughout the country; that the Duke of WELLINGTON, who was then prime minister, declared, in the most positive and most insolent manner, that there should be no reform as long as he was in power; that the people were so enraged at this that he could neither walk nor ride the streets with safety; that Lord GREY then took the place of WELLINGTON, promising the nation that he would make a reform of the Parliament. It is, therefore, clear as daylight, that the reform arose out of the will and resolution of the people; and that

Lord GREY could not have kept his place any more than WELLINGTON had done, if it had not been for his promise to make a reform of the Parliament.

It is equally clear that the Ministry entered upon the work of reform with extreme reluctance. They put the work off, in a most unaccountable manner, from *the first week in November 1830, to the first day in March 1831*; and, from the statements of several of them, it was made very clear that they had done what they had done grudgingly; and that they had been unable to bring themselves to grant that which they had granted, until a very few days (not more than three) before the bill was actually brought in. To show with what ill-will they made this reform, you have to look at their prosecution of me, which they commenced, or rather determined upon, about a month before the bill was brought in. You know that they failed in the prosecution; you know that I beat them and put them to shame; the whole nation cried aloud against them for this, for no man believed that I had committed any offence at all. What, then, was the *motive* to this prosecution? The motive was this: they knew that I had more weight with the people than any other man; they knew that I had the power of exposing their insincerity; they knew that they could not deceive me; they feared that I should defeat any attempt of theirs to deceive the people; they thought that I should oppose the limitation of the suffrage which they intended to make; and that I should defeat their bill, and cause them to experience peril for their places. They, therefore, fell upon the plan of silencing me by the means of this infamous prosecution. The moment they commenced it, I hurled defiance in their teeth. When their bill appeared, I received it and supported it, because it was something gained at any rate: it restored us to a part of our rights; and a part was better than none. They

would now have gladly dropped their prosecution, if they could have done it with any degree of credit; but while I supported their bill, I continued to lay the lash upon them, and to *challenge* them to come and meet me in the Court of King's Bench, into which I at last dragged them by force, and there lashed them, before the face of the whole country, like so many guilty sheep-biting dogs!

This prosecution showed their inherent hatred of reform as clearly as setting fire to a farmer's stacks shows a hatred to the farmer. The French newspaper-writers expressed their utter astonishment that a reforming Ministry should commence such a groundless prosecution against the great champion of the cause of reform! I told the *Parlez-vous* that they did not understand the matter; that reform was a *lady*; that she was in the family-way by the Ministers, and that I had furnished a halter for leading the loving couple to church! It was precisely thus; and their feelings towards me were much about the same as those which a premature papa entertains towards the parish officer, who performs the pious act of compelling him, on pain of imprisonment, to take the mother of his offspring for better for worse.

Thus, then, it was all the work of the people so far. Now for the rest. When the first Reform Bill was under discussion in the House of Lords, and when the opposition Lords had expressed their determination to oppose the clause which enabled ten-pound renters to vote, the Lord Chancellor BROUGHAM expressed his readiness to reconsider that part of the bill. He did not say that he was ready to give that part of it up; but it is quite clear that he would have given it up rather than lose his place; and, observe, Earl GREY expressed no disapprobation of this conduct of his colleague. It is clear that the Ministers were ready to alter that clause at that time; but the Tories, who were

persuaded by a FOOL-LIAR when they had in *their pay*, that there was a "re-action," and that the people would be quiet though the bill should be thrown out; the Tories, thus encouraged by this FOOL-LIAR, urged the noble peers to throw out the bill altogether. They did throw it out; and thus the Ministers were relieved, for that time, from their disagreeable job. BRISTOL, NOTTINGHAM, DERBY, every town and village in which an opposition lord showed his head, soon convinced both Tories and Whigs that the FOOL-LIAR "*had bin a deluden av um.*" The Ministers fell to work, to dreadful work, upon those who had insulted WETHERELL and the Duke of NEWCASTLE. To punish these people seemed now to engage their minds and hearts. But still the nation called for *another bill!* and a bill too as good as the last, at the least! This was very troublesome. Lord GREY was out of humour. We were threatened with a long prorogation of Parliament; but petitions, addresses, deputations, political unions, speeches, and penny-newspapers, so worried him, that, after a suitable time for screwing his face, as if about to take physic, he got the Parliament together and brought in another bill, but, seemingly, without any great stomach to the passing of it; for such was the system of procrastination now resorted to, that the bill, which was brought into the House of Commons on the 12th of December, did not get out of it until the 27th of March; that is to say, 116 days; though all the matter of the bill had been fully discussed the year before, and though, in 1817, a bill to authorise CASTLEREAGH and SIDMOUTH to *shut any man up in a dungeon at their pleasure*, had not remained in the same house *more than eight-and-forty hours!*

Out of the house, however, it did get at last; and though the time seemed so long to everybody else, it seemed as short to the Ministers as the hours do to a man that is going

to be married against his will ; or, which is about the same thing, is about to have his neck encircled by a rope, instead of the arms of a disgusting bride. Nevertheless, into the House of Lords the poor bill got, the people watching it all the while as a coney-cut watches the mouth of a rabbit-burrow. The *ten-pound clause* was still the burden of open complaint with the Tories ; and, as was evident to every one, of secret hostility with the Whigs. At the close of the debate on the second reading, Lord GREY said, " that the ten-pound clause was *no part of the principle of the bill* ; that it *might be altered* with perfect consistency with that principle ; that if it could be shown that any qualification, not so small as ten pounds, would be less open to fraud and abuse, *he would not resist the correction of such circumstances* ; but that the decision on this point would depend on the House and *not on him*." In the same speech he said, that, " let the decision of the House be what it might, *he would keep the peace of the country*." If these words had a meaning, their meaning was, that he was ready to give up the ten-pound clause, and that *he would keep* the people quiet, though the bill should be rejected altogether. In the meanwhile precautions had been taken by the Ministers to keep the BIRMINGHAM UNION quiet ; and, it was *thought* that the BIRMINGHAM UNION would be imitated by all the rest of the nation ; but, according to the old rustic saying, " *THOUGHT was in bed once, and thought he was up* ;" and the consequence was, less cleanly perhaps, but not less ludicrous than it was now. For, there stood the BIRMINGHAM UNION, gaping like a clown at a puppet-show, while all the rest of the nation, from GLASGOW to LONDON, was sending up addresses, petitions, and remonstrances, breathing nothing but suspicion, excited by the speech of GREY, calling aloud for the whole bill, and especially the ten-pound clause. There

was an extraordinarily long Easter adjournment, for the manifest purpose of giving time for the BIRMINGHAM saporific to work; but the saporific having failed, the long adjournment only gave time for an accumulation of anger, which had been excited by the suspicions created by GREY's speech; and, when the Parliament met on the 7th of May, he was compelled to begin by expressing his determination *to stand or fall by the ten-pound clause!* This produced LYNCHURST's motion. The rest is known, and will remain recorded in the hearts of our children.

II. *On the arts which will be made use of to cheat us out of all the good that a reform ought to produce us.*

We have seen with how much reluctance the bill was brought in and carried along by the Ministers: by watching and fighting like vigilant and gallant dogs, we shall have it; and, now, the last resource of corruption is to cause it to be of no use to us; to get together what will be called a reformed Parliament, which may be just as bad as any that have gone before; and which, at any rate, will not make any material alteration of the system under which we have been suffering so long, and that will call it "*revolutionary*" to propose to touch pensions, sinecures, grants, retired allowances, dead-weight, tithes, crown lands, or what is called national debt. If we were to submit to this; if we were stupid and base enough to permit a thing like this to go on, we should become the mockery and scorn of the world. The manner in which it will be attempted to effect this object, to practise this last shift of corruption, will be this: every press will be put in motion, that can be put in motion for the purpose, *to cry up the Ministry.* An endeavour will be made to make us believe that we owe everything to the Ministry. When the bill has been passed, the ruffians

will live upon the taxes, and those who want to live upon the taxes, will be calling meetings everywhere to send up addresses of thanks to Lord Grey and the Ministry; and after this, it will be very ungrateful in me to complain of this excellent Ministry on any account; and, in so making them to take the pensions and other good things away from their relations and friends, that will be too bad! So that we shall have the Reform Bill and be cheated out of the fruit of it, just as the poor fellows in France have been cheated out of the fruit of their valour and their blood. Be upon your guard, therefore, against all propositions of this sort; if any one propose an address of thanks to the Ministers, move an amendment to address the political union nearest to your neighbourhood. Indeed, justice would point out an address of thanks to me; for I have done more in making a reform than any other thousand men in England: it was I who detected the designs of Ministers, and who urged the people on to compel them to do that which they have done. But I want no addresses; I want no flattery: I want to see the people act with resolution and with sense, and to be, as the natural consequence of such conduct, free and happy as their fathers were.

Already is this system of delusion beginning to be put in practice: and (for I will never expressly or tacitly aid in deception) my opinion decidedly is, that the Whig faction mean to make use of the BARRISTERS OF POLITICAL UNION as their tool in getting up addresses of thanks to the Ministers, and in wheedling the people to be content with nothing but the mere name of reform. I know that I shall give offence by thus openly stating my opinion; but the reflects of that offence are nothing, when compared with the probable consequences of neglecting my duty. To those who discuss this scene of political intrigue, and who are attentive observers of occurrences, those of the last fortnight must

have been sufficient in producing in their minds a conviction of the correctness of this my opinion. The scenes at GUILD-HALL and the Mansion-House; the dinings, and the presenting of the freedom to Mr. ATTWOOD; the speechings of our CHARLEY and of my cat's-meat LORD MAYOR: these, to us who live in the hall of corruption, would be more than enough; but to those of my readers who are so happy as to live at a distance from it, it may be necessary to be a little more particular, beginning with noticing an address, put forth on the 15th of May, by the council of the BIRMINGHAM Political Union.

I have just been observing, that the grand scheme is to prevail upon the people to praise the Whig Ministry; to make them believe, that the very breath in their nostrils depends upon the permanent possession of power by that Ministry, and the permanent predominance of the Whig faction. If we once adopt this notion, LORD GREY will be our LOUIS PHILIPPE, and we shall be cheated as completely as the French have been. The BIRMINGHAM COUNCIL is, as I said before, intended to be the instrument in the execution of this scheme; and, it appears to me to have begun its operations in this way, by calling upon the nation to sign a declaration against WELLINGTON, and in favour of the Ministers. This declaration was agreed to by the COUNCIL on the 14th May; and, on the 15th it was resolved to send it off to all the great towns and districts in the kingdom, in order that signatures to it might be obtained. It was sent inclosed in a circular letter addressed to individuals, and that circular together with the inclosure was sent to me. My answer to the circular contains my objection to affix to it my signature; and this answer I have sent to the secretary, in the following words:

TO MR. BENJAMIN HADLEY, HON. SEC. TO THE BIRMINGHAM POLITICAL UNION.

Godalming, May 24th, 1832.

SIR,—I have received from you a circular letter inclosing a "SOLEMN DECLARATION" of the Council of the BIRMINGHAM Political Union, which documents I will here copy, and then subjoin to them that answer which I think it is my duty to give to your application.

Birmingham, May 15, 1832.—I am instructed by the Council of the Birmingham Political Union to request that you will do them the honour to *allow your name* to be affixed to the Solemn Declaration (of which the inclosed is a copy), which we have just adopted and signed, respecting the public conduct of the Duke of Wellington, and his unfitness to be placed at the head of the executive government of a free people. I have the honour to be, your most obedient servant,

BENJAMIN HADLEY, Hon. Sec.
to the Birmingham Political Union.

SOLEMN DECLARATION.

Birmingham, May 14, 1832.

WE, the undersigned, think it necessary, in this awful crisis of our country's fate, to make known to our fellow-countrymen the alarm and horror with which we are impressed by the report of the Duke of Wellington's having been placed at the head of his Majesty's councils. We entertain this alarm and horror on the following grounds:—*First.* The Duke of Wellington's general avowal of arbitrary principles.—*Second.* His speech against ALL REFORM, made only about a year and a half ago.—*Third.* His protest against the Reform Bill, as entered on the journals of the House of Lords, on the 17th of April last.—*Fourth.* His reported expressions in the late Parliament, amounting to those of regret, that the Irish people "WOULD NOT" break the law.—*Fifth.* His being a pensioner of Foreign Despots; and as such, exposed to their influence, and unfit to govern a free people.—*Sixth.* His conduct to Marshal Ney, who was murdered by the Bourbon Government, in violation of the convention of Paris, notwithstanding his appeal to the Duke of Wellington, who had signed that convention.—*Seventh.* His general support of arbitrary power on the continent of Europe, and the certainty that his policy, if he be true to his principles, will necessarily involve the nation in unjust and ruinous wars against the liberties of Europe.—*Eighth.* His utter incompetency to govern England by any other means than by the sword, which has never yet been, and never will be, submitted to by the British people.

For these and various other reasons, we hereby solemnly declare

our fixed determination to use all the means which the constitution and the law have placed at our disposal, to induce his Majesty to reject from his counsels *that faction*, at the head of which is the Duke of Wellington, who have by their arbitrary principles excited the distrust and abhorrence of the whole population of the United Kingdom, and we declare our firm conviction that the public excitement and agitation can never be allayed until the great Bill of Reform shall be carried into law *by that administration*, by whose wisdom and virtue it was first introduced. These are our fixed and unalterable sentiments, and we hereby appeal to all our fellow-countrymen, throughout England, Scotland, and Ireland, and we confidently call on them to unite with us and sign this our solemn declaration, in support of *the liberty and happiness* of our country.

At all times disposed, not only to do ample justice to the motives of the COUNCIL, but also to express my gratitude to its members for the good which they have done, it would have given me great pleasure to put my name to a document which they have thought worthy of being promulgated by them; and as I have insurmountable objections to the signing of this declaration, it becomes me to state them to you with that frankness without which intercommunication of this kind, while it must produce uneasiness in the parties themselves, never can lead to any beneficial result.

I do not like vague and general charges, even when preferred against the devil himself; and, therefore, I object altogether to the *first* and *seventh* of the grounds alleged in this declaration. The *fourth*, *fifth*, and *eighth*, relate to points of *fact*, of the truth of which I possess no proof, and am, by you, furnished with no proof. On account of the *second* and *third* grounds, I most cordially detest the Duke; on account of the *sixth*, I have expressed my detestation of him from the date of the killing of NEX to the present hour. Either of these grounds would be much more than sufficient to make me use my utmost efforts to prevent this man from possessing power in the country of my birth; though, at the same time, I think that we should do him much too great an

Honour by any proceeding so general and so solemn as that which is here proposed by the Council.

But, Sir, I was sorry to say that my strongest objection still remains to be stated; namely, that by signing the declaration I should solemnly declare it to be my opinion that the present administration not only have wisdom and virtue, but that the continuation of their sway is necessary to the liberty and happiness of our country; an opinion which I do not entertain, and which I should blush to express.

In the eighth ground alleged against the Duke, it is asserted that he is incompetent to govern England by any other means than by the sword; but, in making this allegation, I am surprised that the Council did not recollect, that one of the first acts of the present Ministry was to augment the standing army left them by the Duke; and that they have more recently literally put swords into the hands of that police which he left without swords. I would fain bury in oblivion HAMPSHIRE, WILTSHIRE, and BERKSHIRE, BRISTOL and NOTTINGHAM; but if I could forget poor COOK of MICHELDEVER, the two MARRS of BULLINGTON, the seventy-three husbandless wives, and the hundreds of fatherless children and broken-hearted parents in that county which I know so well, and which is dear to me from so many causes; if I could forget all these; if I could blot all these from my recollection, I cannot forget what this same wise and virtuous Ministry, whom you call on me to support against "a faction, at the head of which is the Duke;" I cannot forget that this same Ministry, the existence of whose sway you identify with the liberty and happiness of England, still make this very Duke lord-lieutenant of that county; eye, and that they made him a judge, to sit on the bench in that special commission by whom poor Cook was condemned to the gallows, and whose

wful, though legal, judgments filled that unhappy country with mourning; made it re-echo with the wailings of mothers, wives, and children.

Such, Sir, are my reasons for refusing to sign this declaration. While I impute no blame to those by whose direction it has been sent to me, they will, I trust, find no grounds of blame in this refusal on the part of,

Sir,

Your most humble and most obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.

Every one must see that the real object of this solemn declaration was to get the people to pledge themselves to support the *Whig Ministry against the Duke*. With exactly the same view the BIRMINGHAM deputation has been engaged and caressed and *feasted and freed* by the Corporation of LONDON. The name of London is great. The recollection of the famous men who have, at different times, belonged to its corporation, is always alive in our minds. The title of *Lord Mayor*, and that of *Common Council*, are what they always were: those, therefore, who live at a distance from the scene can hardly believe it possible that the things, represented by the same words, are not still the same sort of things. It is necessary, therefore, now that we are going to speak of the part that this Corporation has acted in this grand scheme of deception, to say a little what the things really now are. The Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of London have the managing of the City funds, partly consisting of the revenue of estates, and partly of the numerous taxes of various kinds which the boroughmenger Parliaments have enabled them to lay upon us. With these funds they have proceeded in much about the same way that the boroughmenger Parliaments have proceeded with the funds of the nation. They have constructed a vast system

than ever can be paid; they have their pension, sinecure, retired-allowance, and dead-weight, lists: they vote money to each other to defray the expenses of their *summer excursions*. A few years ago they spent *six hundred pounds* on a water party up the THAMES to OXFORD; and, in that same year, they gave *one hundred pounds* to all the widows of freemen in the city. They have lately established a Bourbon-like police. As an instance of their fiscal oppressions, they made me pay nearly thirty pounds in order to be permitted to keep a shop in the City; and, it being their duty to furnish bread to the prisoners in Newgate, they were so much in arrear to the baker that he refused to send any more bread without the money, when, at that very time, they expended nearly *thirty thousand pounds* of our money, in a feast given to this very WELLINGTON and the Holy Allies; aye, to this very WELLINGTON, against whom this Birmingham Council now calls upon the nation to sign a *solemn declaration*! Their fiscal exactions, for which *they obtain Acts of Parliament*, are absolutely without end. What I pay to the Government is a trifle compared with what they compel me to pay. I now have demanded of me enormous rates for an old church (which has been pulled down), and rates equally enormous for a *new church*, which is not yet built; so that I have two church-rates to pay, and no church to go to. And this is the body of persons, to receive the "*freedom*" from whom Mr. ATTWOOD says, he thinks it is an *honour*! I, then, had, like MALVOLIO in the play, "*honour thrust upon me*;" for these fellows made me pay them thirty pounds in order to be permitted to keep a shop; and this money it is notorious that they divide amongst them. With regard to their *political principles*, their attachment to the rights of the people, what need have we of any thing more than their monstrous conduct with regard to Mr. SCALES and

the people of PORTSOKEW WARD? By the laws and usages of the City, the ALDERMAN of a ward is to be elected by the people of the ward; that is to say, by the free-men of the ward. Mr. SCALES was so elected by a vast majority; but the ALDERMEN would not admit him, but took a man who had got only a few votes, and the crew of Common Council approved of what the ALDERMEN had done; and there are the people of PORTSOKEW WARD represented by a man whom they have not chosen, while this brazen corporation has the audacity to rail against rotten-boroughs, and to present the freedom of the City to Mr. ATTWOOD, upon the ground of his being a "*distinguished reformer*;" and there is Mr. ATTWOOD with folly or meanness sufficient to induce him to receive the "*honour*" at their hands! As if it had been resolved, that nothing should be wanting to make the thing complete, "CHARLEY" was chosen to make the motion for conferring the *honour*, and the motion was seconded by FIGGINS, the *printers'-linker*. The report tells us, that Mr. ATTWOOD said, upon this occasion, that, "Though he could meet danger unmoved, he never had his nerves so much shaken as they had been at receiving the freedom of the City!" Faith; it might well shake his nerves, when he saw CHARLEY and Figgins stand before him; and especially when he considered that he was about to receive something that they had touched: the very thought of it makes my nerves shake; and I will bet Mr. ATTWOOD just what he likes, that he does not find, between TEMPLE-BAR and BISHOPSGATE, one single shopkeeper who would not run like a scalded cat and hide himself under his counter, if he were in danger of being exposed to endure what Mr. ATTWOOD deemed such an honour.

The thing for us to observe is, however, that this is a crew of hangers-on of the Ministry. They depend upon

the breath of every Ministry; for, if they were to displease the Ministry, there would soon be an end of their power of taxing us, and of their making of loans. If WELLINGTON had remained in for a fortnight, they would have been on his side. Of every thing that is disgusting we had a specimen upon this occasion. Two of the deputies from MANCHESTER appear to have crept into the society of CHARLEY and the Lord Mayor, under the skirts of the grand deputation from BIRMINGHAM. One of these deputies (Mr. JOHN FIELDEN) returned home immediately, as soon as the duties of his mission had been performed. Whether Mr. SMUTTLEWORTH were present at this "feast of reason," I do not know; but our prime Lord Mayor, interesting the reformers of MANCHESTER, put Mr. RICHARD POTTER at their head, recollecting, perhaps, that "*Dick was eloquent*." This was of a piece with all the rest; for this Mr. POTTER is no more at the head of the reformers at MANCHESTER than CHARLEY is at the head of the reformers in London. All was false from the beginning to the end; all a ministerial trick, played off by their several sets of tools. A trick, however, which would have been wholly unworthy of all this notice from me, were it not calculated as well as intended to deceive the people at large, and to make them submit in silence, while they were cheated out of the fruits of reform. I am not bound to endeavour to undeceive any body but my own readers. To undeceive them was my duty; and from a sense of that duty I have bestowed these remarks upon the conduct of persons, the far greater part of whom I should otherwise have deemed wholly unworthy of attention.

III. *On the measures which we want to have adopted.*

We want so many things, that a particular description of each would fill a volume; but the substance may be de-

scribed in four words: **CHEAP GOVERNMENT and CHEAP RELIGION.** These are what we want; and these we will have, in spite of the Whigs and the city-jobbers. In order to have these, the taxes and the tithes must be taken off; all the latter and a very large part of the former. In short all the internal taxes and the corn bill may be abolished; because when the internal taxes were taken off, we could raise corn cheaper than any country in the world. I have not time now to enter into the matter fully; but I am at all times ready to prove, that we stand in need of none of these taxes. I am at all times ready to prove, that the kingly government would be safer without these taxes than with them. We have not called for reform for the purpose of gratifying a theoretical whim; but for the purpose of obtaining solid good; for the purpose of relieving ourselves from the ruin and misery in which we are steeped; and, unless it produce these consequences, it will make our condition worse than it was before; because, to all the present evils, will be added the great evil of disappointed hope. We have, therefore, now to consider of the means which we ourselves ought to make use of, in order to secure this great end.

IV. *On the sort of men who ought to be chosen, and on the pledges which they ought to give before they be chosen.*

It is very much to be feared, that the habit of looking up to men of rank and wealth will still prevail in the selecting of members of Parliament; and, if it prevail to any very great extent, the reform will produce no good effect, and the miseries of the people would finally produce a general convulsion and total revolution. When an elector observes, that it is necessary to have some man of station or wealth,

something like the following dialogue would take place between him and me.

COBBETT. Why do you want a man of rank or of wealth?

ELECTOR. Because he is more likely to be a clever man and to understand such matters, on account of the superior education which he has had.

COBBETT. Is the country in a state of ruin, misery, and crime; is it not loaded with an irredeemable debt?

ELECTOR. Yes, certainly.

COBBETT. Have we not been governed entirely by men of rank and of wealth?

ELECTOR. Yes, we certainly have.

COBBETT. What reason have you to suppose, then, that the same sort of men are the only men capable of putting things to rights; and do you believe that any thousand men, caught by the legs, by straining a string across the road, could have managed their matters worse than to have made the existence of themselves and the government depend upon the imaginary value of little bits of thin paper?

ELECTOR. Why, that is very true, to be sure; but if a man have not a *great stake* in the country, how are you to depend upon his doing right?

COBBETT. As to *stake*, in answer to such an observation, old TIERNEY once remarked, that stakes of this sort generally belonged to the *public hedge*. But, do you think that the Americans have got a good government; do you think that their laws are wise and good; do you think that their affairs are managed by able men?

ELECTOR. Yes; I wish to God ours may be as well managed; for see how great and powerful that country has become; and see how happy the people are, under the sway of the Congress.

COBBETT. Very well, then, that settles the point; for

there is no *pecuniary qualification* whatever for a member of Congress: very poor men are very frequently chosen, and very rich men never. There have been seven **PRESIDENTS**: two of them have *died insolvent*, and were insolvent at the time when they were **PRESIDENTS**.

A foolish man may be in favour of men of rank and wealth before he hears this dialogue; but it is only a *requish* one who can persevere in such a choice after he has heard it. The man to choose is, in the first place, a man that has no very great regard for riches. Industry, sobriety, moderation in his expenses, no fondness for luxurious living; these are qualities that electors ought to look after; and in addition to these, a good store of knowledge, some talent, and great resolution.

With regard to the political principles of the man to be chosen, pledges are the best guarantee of good conduct; and the pledges which I would put, to any man who asked me for my vote, are these:

1. Will you make a motion, or support a motion, for the repeal of the malt-tax, the hop-tax, and the soap-tax?
2. Will you do the like with regard to the Corn Bill?
3. Will you do the like for an abolition of the tithes?
4. Will you do the like with regard to the assessed taxes?
5. Will you do the like with regard to the stamp taxes of every description?

There are many other things which a member of Parliament ought to do. Here, however, might be enough to *begin with*; and if a candidate refused to answer all these questions in the affirmative, and to put his name to them, I should deem that man a traitor to his country who would give him a vote.

COBBETT-CORN.

There has been a fine season for planting the corn, which is now generally up. I was unable to find a little farm to suit me, so as to be able to plant the corn this year, in order to raise a hundred quarters according to my wish; but I found a friend more than a hundred miles distant from London, who had a field of nine acres, which he was willing to plant. I intended to go myself to superintend the planting of this field; and I appointed to be on the spot on the 6th of May, the ground having been previously prepared. But, on the 25th of April, seeing the political storm that was gathering, I determined on remaining in London, and on sending a man down to do the business in my stead. On the very day of LYNDHURST's motion the corn was begun to be planted, and the planting was finished at the end of four days. I have not heard of the corn being up; but I know that it is up; because I planted a small piece of corn on the same days, the middle day of which was the 9th of May; and mine is up and looking beautifully well.

The readers of the *Register* will recollect that, on the 24th of September last, I published a challenge to the Yankees in the following words:—"To all the Yankees on the Face of the Earth.—I, William Cobbett, of Kensington, old England, hereby offer to bet any Yankee 100*l.*, the conditions of which bet are as follows. First, that the said Yankee shall plant an acre of corn next spring in one piece, and that I will plant an acre of corn in England, that the said Yankee shall have his acre standing and growing in some place within ten miles distance of the Court House of New York; that when he shall declare it to be ripe, Dr. Mitchell of New-York, his countryman, or in case of inability in him, Mr. John Tredwell of Long Island, shall go and ascertain from the measuring of a square rod, impartially taken, how much corn he has standing upon his acre, and that the said Yankee shall appoint one of his countrymen residing in England to come in like manner, and take an account of the amount of my crop; that the parties shall communicate to us severally the amount of the crop in America, and the amount of the crop in England; that if the American judge's account of the Yankee's crop exceeds that of mine, Dr. Mitchell or the other judge shall draw upon me for the 100*l.* through Mr. John Harris of New-York, who will pay the bill; that if the contrary be the result, the said Dr. Mitchell or Mr. John Tredwell shall see the 100*l.* paid to the said Mr. John Harris on my account.

"That there may be no dispute about big corn or little, and the difference or amount of crop, or the difference there is in great corn or small corn in filling the bushel, the question shall be decided by weight of shelled corn, that is to say, a rod of ground shall have the ears taken off, husked and shelled upon the spot, and then weighed, and the question be decided by the weight.

"Now I am perfectly serious in this challenge, and I do it to convince the people of the United States that we can grow as good corn as they, and even greater crops. They have always said to me that corn was the only thing wanted to make England and the finest country in the world, and this is to convince them that we have got it. I desire Mr. George Woodward of New York to put this into the American newspapers. Another condition is, that any one accepting the challenge must communicate that fact, and declare the spot where the acre of land is, to Mr. Woodward, before the first day of May next; and Mr. Woodward must be satisfied that the party, if losing, will pay the 100*l.* at once.

"The umpire appointed to judge of my crop, must be one that Dr. Mitchell, Mr. Fredwell, or Mr. Woodward, will be answerable for in point of integrity."

Bold fellow as JONATHAN is, he has never accepted my challenge. But I find that my corn has been planted in AMERICA. So that my eldest son, who is really the author of all this corn affair, appears destined to improve the agriculture of both his countries, being a citizen of one by birth, and a natural-born subject of the other by parentage. I take the following from the "NEW YORK FARMER AND HORTICULTURAL REPOSITORY" of the 17th of November last. The editor, having inserted the above challenge in his paper, then makes the following remarks:

"We give the above a place in our columns, not to encourage betting, but as an article of intelligence. Mr. C. could scarcely have chosen, in this State, a circle of ten miles radius in which there is less corn grown than around this city.—A gentleman informs us that Mr. Woodward planted some of Mr. Cobbett's corn in his garden in Jay-street, in Brooklyn, Long Island, and found it to ripen much sooner than our common Indian corn. Mr. Woodward is very positive that a crop of corn could be fully ripened, planted after the harvesting of oats."

I am sure that Mr. Woodward is right: aye, and after a crop of rye too; and after a crop of Timothy-grass. Here, then, is a benefit conferred upon these Yankees! I taught them the value of Swedish turnips, mangel-wurzel, and cabbages, as cattle-food; I took them out a breed of beautiful Sussex hogs; and my son has now given them this corn; so that they are amply paid for having afforded me shelter from SIDMOUTH and CASTERBRAGH's dungeons. I and my son owe them nothing; and, when our country shall have got a good and cheap government, we can, with clear consciences, recommend the paring of their nails, and the making of them bow to that power which, freed from infernal boroughmongering, will again claim and enforce her dominion of the seas. No American that ever conversed with me upon this subject will deny, that I always said, that I should never die in peace without making them again bow to England; and that bow to her again they should, whenever we shook off the power of the hellish borough-

mongers. They know this too; and hence those AMERICAN pamphlets against our reform which the base vagabonds of the *Quarterly Review* have so liberally quoted, and which wise BOSCAWEN quoted in the House of Lords! Pretty stuff, then, is the talk about the liberties of mankind! *English* kind is quite enough for me, including *Scotch* and *Irish* in the word *English*. I like the *Americans* exceedingly: between my friends here and my friends there, it would be very painful for me to state a preference. But, ENGLAND is my country: I must share in all her glory and in all her disgrace; and when it is a question of her honour and well-being, I must cast aside all private recollections and feelings. From this sentiment it was that I always resolutely declined becoming a citizen of the *United States*; and that I also as resolutely declined being introduced to any person belonging to the government of *America*. While love of my own country made me rejoice at their triumphs over the boroughmongers, I always said, that if we were delivered from them, I never would rest until I saw the *Americans* acknowledge explicitly our right to dominion on the seas. I wish them all the happiness that men can enjoy in this world; but a nation may be very happy without being permitted to swagger about and be saucy to England.

With regard to CORN, *c'en est fait*, as the French say. Never will Jonathan bring a bushel of his corn to England after three years from next November. The nine acres that I have spoken of above will settle this matter.

N. B. The Yankees do not seem to be alarmed lest their "*pigs should die on the murrin, or their peepul on yaller janders*." They seem to laugh at this FOOL-LIAR stuff, as the people of LONG-PAWISH did.

LECTURES.

At the request of the *Union of the Working Classes*, I gave a *Lecture* at their place of meeting, in Theobald's-road, Red-Lion-square, on Tuesday evening, the 29th instant; and I propose to do the same on *Tuesday next*, the 5th of June. On Monday, the 4th of June, I am to be at Deptford, or Greenwich, for the same purpose; and I propose to be at *Chichester* in about ten days, in my way to the ISLE OF WIGHT, at last! We must all put our shoulders heartily to the wheel now, for fear (to use the words of the LIAR) the factions should be "*a deluden on the peepul*."

COBBETT'S
TWO-PENNY TRASH

For the Month of July, 1832.

Published monthly, sold at 12s. a hundred, and for 300, taken at once, 11s.

TO THE
WORKING PEOPLE.

1. *The Reform Festival, to be held in Hampshire, on 7th July, 1832.*
 2. *The Bill, authorizing the sale of dead people's bodies, and my petition to the Lords against it.*
 3. *The pledges to be taken for Members to the Reformed parliament.*
-

Kensington, 14th June, 1832.

MY FRIENDS,

I have always been of opinion that we owe the Reform Bill more to the COUNTRY LABOURERS than to all the rest of the nation put together: because if they had remained quiet under their sufferings; if they had not resolved not to be reduced to potatoes, and if they had not acted as *they did*, in order to preserve themselves from this state of horrible degradation, WELLINGTON would not have been turned out, GREY would not have come in, the Parliament would have acted upon WELLINGTON's insolent declaration, and we should have had no Reform Bill at all; though, in time, we must have had a terrible and violent revolution. Every man, therefore, who really wishes for the settlement of our difficulties to terminate in peace, must feel gratitude towards these country labourers. I feel this gratitude in a peculiar

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degree; because, taking England throughout, I know more of their toils, their sufferings, and their virtues, than any other man. I, therefore, shall spend my day of triumph amongst them; and for the reasons that I am about to give, I shall do it in Hampshire, and in a hamlet called SUTTON SCOTNEY, which is in the parish of WONSTON, and which is situate at about seven miles from WINCHESTER, seven miles from STOCKBRIDGE, seven miles from ANDOVER, seven miles from WHITCHURCH, twelve miles from BASINGSTOKE, fourteen miles from ODIHAM, twelve miles from ALTON, and seven miles from ARLESFORD. And which little hamlet is on the road from London to Salisbury, going through Basingstoke and Stockbridge. At SUTTON SCOTNEY the labourers of ten parishes met, when they sallied forth in November 1830, to remonstrate with the farmers, the parsons, and the land-owners, with regard to the wages that had reduced them to a state of half-starvation. But this spot is more dear to me, and it ought to be dear to every Englishman, for a reason other than this. It was at this spot that was signed, that *petition for parliamentary reform*, which the labourer, JOSEPH MASON, carried to the King, at Brighton, in the month of October 1830, the interesting circumstances relating to which are as follows:

The general notion in London has been, that the country labourers are ignorant creatures; that they have no sentiment at all relative to political rights and liberties; that, like cattle, they know when they are hungry, and that their risings and committing acts of violence resemble, in point of motive, the feelings which animate cows or oxen, when they break out of a barren field to get into a rich pasture. Such, too, are the opinions which our Ministers and members of Parliament have entertained towards these producers of the food and the wool and the wood of the country. Proceeding upon these opinions, they have adopt-

ed schools without number, and the distribution of millions of pamphlets, the main object of all which has been, to persuade the labourers that God never intended anything but potatoes for them to eat, and that it is grievously sinful in them not to be content with such diet, though they see the fields and the meadows covered with corn and with cattle, created by their own labour. It has also been fashionable, amongst even the working classes, to look upon the country labourers, particularly those here in the South, as being totally ignorant with regard to public matters, and as being utterly unable to be made to understand anything about the political causes of their misery; and of course not knowing the least in the world about Parliamentary Reform.

Such opinions were never entertained by me for any one moment of my life. I from my childhood have known the country labourers well; and, in conversation as well as in writing, I have always maintained, that they well understood the nature of their wrongs and the causes of their misery; and that the day would come when they would endure that misery no longer. Now, then, for the circumstances connected with this petition, which I have spoken of above.

In the month of September, or early in October, 1830, when scarcely a petition had recently been sent up for parliamentary reform, the labourers of the parish of WOXSTON, BULLINGTON, and BARTON STACEY (the whole three containing a population less than one thousand five hundred souls), met at the hamlet of SUTTON SCOTNEY, where they agreed to a petition to the King, and subscribed two or three pence a piece, to pay the expenses of a man to carry it and present it to the King at BRIGHTON, where the King then was. The man chosen to go on foot this distance of sixty miles, was JOSEPH MASON, of BULLINGTON, of whom I shall have to say a good deal by-and-

by. The following, word for word and letter for letter, is a copy of this memorable petition, with a copy of the names of all those who signed it.

TO THE

KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

The humble petition of the undersigned persons, belonging to the working and labouring classes of the parishes of Wonston, Barton Stacey, and Bullington, near Winchester, together assembled within their respective parishes,

Showeth,

That, ready and proud to acknowledge your Majesty our lawful Sovereign, we are willing to pay every respect and submission so far as reason and justice dictate, flattering ourselves that this is all your Majesty expects or demands.

That Kings and Government were instituted for the happiness, welfare, and for the better regulating, civil society; to protect the weak against the strong, the rich against the poor, the poor against the unjust encroachments of the rich, in short, to watch over and protect the welfare and happiness of the people, and this we doubt not will be your Majesty's endeavour, so long as your Majesty sway the royal sceptre.

That, relying on this, and availing ourselves of the liberty the laws of our country afford us, namely, that of "petitioning the King," we humbly implore your Majesty to cast an eye of pity to the misery and wretchedness that at this moment pervade every part of this country, and of which your Majesty's petitioners have their full share. That many of us have not food sufficient to satisfy our hunger; our drink is chiefly the crystal element; we have not clothes to hide the nakedness of ourselves, our wives, and our children, nor fuel wherewith to warm us; while at the same time our barns are filled with corn, our garners with wool, our pastures abound with cattle, and our land yields us an abundance of wood and coal; all of which display the wisdom, the kindness, and mercy of a great Creator on the one hand, and the cruelty, the injustice, and the depravity of his creatures on the other. Nearly to this state of misery have your Majesty's humble petitioners long lived, anxiously looking forward for better days; but to our great sorrow and disappointment, we find oppression daily press heavier and heavier on our shoulders, till at length we are driven to the brink of despair. This misery and wretchedness do not proceed from any fault on the part of your Majesty's petitioners, as we use every exertion in our power to subdue those bitter evils; but experience tells us that "all is vain." Some of your Majesty's wealthy subjects impute this prevailing depression to an "over-population," which we positively deny, seeing there is an abundance for the lowest of your Majesty's subjects, if possessed of the ability to purchase. But your Majesty's petitioners more reasonably and justly impute it to a misapplication of the produce of talent and industry; and this

proceeds from a misrepresentation in the Commons House of Parliament.

That not one of your Majesty's petitioners has ever been allowed to exercise his right of voting at an election; that right, by the present system, being confined to the rich; in consequence of which, men have been returned to serve in Parliament in whom the people have no confidence; who consult not the people's welfare and happiness, but have entered into unnecessary and unjust wars, to defray the expenses of such wars, and other useless purposes, have laid and are still laying on us, without our consent, an immense weight of taxes, directly contrary to the law of the land, which says, "that money shall not be taken out of the pockets of the people in the shape of taxes without their consent, or the consent of their representatives." Such is the language of the supreme law of the land, and is as binding upon every branch of the Government, as the common law is on the subject: and though now we are at the distance of sixteen years from war, the taxes continue but little abated.

That, in consequence of this misrepresentation in the Commons or People's House of Parliament, we have to complain that upwards of 50,000,000*l.* annually are extorted from that part of Great Britain called England, and of which sum the middle and labouring classes pay the greatest part; whilst the Government of the United States of America cost the 12,000,000 of people they govern not so many thousands, in consequence of which the people so governed, live in the greatest state of ease and happiness. We complain that this tax lie most heavy on those articles which are the necessaries of the poor man's life; such as malt, hops, tea, sugar, tobacco, soap, candles, &c. &c.: which cause the price of those articles to be twice their real value; that our wages at this time are not more than nine shillings a-week (at Barton Stacey but eight shillings), out of which we have to pay, one shilling for the rent of our house, and one for fuel, leaving but seven shillings per week, or one shilling per day for the support of a man, his wife, and three children. That at this time the tax on a bushel of malt, or a pound of tea, amount to as much as the labouring man's wages do in two days and a half. We complain that part of the money extorted from us go to pay the interest of a debt, part of which was contracted by the unnecessary wars, and a part by our fathers' fathers' great grandfathers. We complain that another part of the fruit of our labours go to pay grants, pensions, sinecures, &c. &c., wantonly heaped on the heads of the aristocracy and their relations, whose names are known only by the vast sums they receive, and who has never rendered the country any service whatever. We complain that (according to the statement of Sir James Graham), 113 of his late Majesty's Privy Councillors receive amongst them 650,000*l.* per annum, some of whom are members of the Commons House of Parliament, this being contrary to Magna Charta, which says, "That no person who has an office, or place of profit under the King, or who receives a pension from the crown, shall be capable of serving as a member of the House of Commons." We complain that notwithstanding a peace of sixteen years, we have a standing

army of nearly 100,000 men, fed and clothed out of the fruit of our labour; part of which force is kept to compel us to pay the dreadful burdens heaped on our shoulders; we complain that, among this force, is twice as many officers as is necessary, such as generals, admirals, colonels, captains, &c., who receive immense salaries, and what chiefly are in some way or other related to the aristocracy; we complain that we never had a voice in the legislature, though, by the law, we are all liable to serve as soldiers, and shed our blood in the defence of our country, in any war the legislature please to engage in; we complain, that that property, commonly called church-property, is applied to very bad and useless purposes, purposes which have no concern whatever with religion; that whilst many poor clergy have scarce enough to maintain the dignity of their calling, others have four, five, six, and seven livings and places of profit; and whilst some of the bishops have revenues amounting to from ten to thirty, thirty-five, and 40,000*l.* annually; that notwithstanding these immense revenues, the bishops, and other rich men in the church, are often calling on us to "subscribe liberally" towards funds for erecting and enlarging churches and chapels, and for propagating the gospel in foreign parts. As to the uselessness of this church-property, we would cite one instance; that in this parish of Barton Stacey, the great tithes, which in most part are sold from the church, are worth nearly 1,000*l.* per annum, the small tithes 450*l.*, and which belong to the Dean of Winchester. A curate is hired for about 100*l.* per annum, and who does duty twice on every Sabbath day; that the 1,350*l.* between the money collected and the curate's salary has no more concern with religion than the sturdy ox has with the petty affairs of the bees; nearly half as much as all the labourers in the parish earn, and which is as much loss to the parish as though taken and thrown into the sea; we complain that trial by jury, so highly valued by our ancestors as to be deemed almost sacred, has been, in many cases, abolished from our courts of justice, placing it in the power of magistrates to imprison and otherwise punish us, and who are chiefly members of the aristocracy, officers under the crown, or clergy of the established church, who, notwithstanding, live on the fruit of our labour, often insolent and haughtily treat us; so that Sir John Pollen, who is the present member for Andover, in the vicinity of which town we live, and a magistrate, did, at a meeting in that town, call us "poor devils;" and who, he said, "had hardly a rag to cover them." We complain, that, notwithstanding the misery and half starvation to which we are reduced, the law, under severe imprisonment and heavy fine, forbids us to take for our own use the wild birds and animals that inhabit the woods and fields, or the fish that swim in the water; those being kept not for the service, but for the sports of the rich.

That this unnatural state of things, this misery, this wretchedness, this woe, this degradation, this want, this half-starvation in a land of plenty, proceed from a misrepresentation of that which ought to be the Commons House of Parliament, the members of which are returned by the rich, contrary to the will of the people. That at the election for this county, held at Winchester in August last, one of the

members was returned against the will of nineteen-twentieths of the county; a person in whom we have no confidence; who has, in all cases of importance to the poor, voted on the side of opposition, and who was obliged to leave the place of election in disguise for fear of the just-enraged people who had assembled.

Having now laid our sufferings before your Majesty, and the fountain whence they spring, we humbly implore and earnestly pray your Majesty to exercise your royal authority, so far as to cause radical reform in the Commons House of Parliament. Many projects have been made to this effect, even by some of its members, but on a principle calculated to yield us but little or no advantage, showing partiality, and which has been proceeded on with such coldness as to denote insincerity on the part of its projectors. The mode of reform (sweet word) which your Majesty's humble petitioners would recommend as highly beneficial to the country at large, and to which no honest, fair, and upright man can object, is that of annual Parliaments, universal suffrage, and vote by ballot, but above all we prize the ballot. Till this takes place, we, your Majesty's humblest of petitioners, can never have the full enjoyment of our hard earned little; not daring to look forward for better days, for the least alleviation of our miseries, or for the enjoyment of those blessings which a merciful God has in profusion thrown round about us.

And your petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

WONSTON.

Enos Diddams
Andrew Diddams
William Snow
Jacob Ray
George Diddams
Henry Woodleson
John Whaeter
John Mills
John Wigmore
Samuel Leach
John Hoar
George Berriman
Thomas Taylor
Edward Wm. Hoar
William Taylor
Richard Pike
Charles Lester
Charles Leach
John Berriman
Joseph Groves
William Ramble
William Lewis
William Ralph
William Norris
William Pearce

William Fisher
Thomas Newman
Joseph Newman
Thomas Whaeter
John Reynolds
James Whicher
George Gameter
Michael Chives
Richard Dollery
Nathaniel Newman
Charles Collis
William Monday
Henry Pister
John Lewis
Charles Goodfellow
Robert Groves
James Groves, jun.
Joseph Carter
James Leach
James Taylor
Charles Leach
John Ramble
Charles Marks
William Rudurr

Charles Newman
Stephen Newman
John Pearce
James Wite
Thomas Butcher
Thomas Stook
John Newman
George Newman
George Judd
Richard Ventham
Edward Tarrant
Thomas Judd
Charles Diddams
Henry Taylor
Peter Mason
William Rye
George Ball
John Smith
John Hogned
William Goodall
Thomas Self
Thomas Stub
William Jones
John Fomtine

BULLINGTON.

Robert Mason
Thomas Malt

Jacob White
Richard Vantham

Emanuel Bevenstock
Ambrose Courting

James Pierce
William Gerome
James Tribbeck
James Ray
Stephen Grist
George Hatcher
William Perry
Thomas Dudman
James Clifford
Stephen Grist, jun.
William Scarlet
George Ford
Daniel Rudwic
George Clifford
William Brown
William Dudman

Francis Ray
William Goodal
George Goodal
James Taylor
Charles Taylor
Stephen Maton
John Silcock
Joseph Silcock
Joseph Diddams
John Bastin
John Wheeler
George Wheeler
Peter Wheeler
Richard Withers
Thomas Baverstock

John Courtney
John Sackley
Joseph Mason
William Taylor
William Sackley
Edmund Sackley
Samuel Sackley
James Maton
Henry Benham
Henry Knoles
Philip Parsons
Charles Anhal
James Tarrant
James Allen
Charles Perry

BARTON STACEY.

James Diddams
Charles Blackman
Thomas Tatmage
Henry Hunt
Robert Anthony
Thomas Beryman
John Dore
Charles Stubbs
James Ball
John Joyne
Joseph Beryman
William Renolds
William Mills
John Mackmaster
Nathaniel Panton
George Dazel
John Pane

William Peopal
James Wield
George Cannon
Isaac Farmer
James Wheeler
William Garger
Thomas Pitters
Thomas Annal
George Guyatt
Robert Elliott
James Ball
James Antony
John Adams
James Panton
Benjamin Caselman
William Lack
Thos. Becyman, jun.

Richard Mills
William Roe
Anthony Antony
Edward Antony
David Cosetman
Robert Hays
Charles Hutchener
James Rolf
Charles Davis
Henry Bugis
Daniel Diddams
Charles Ball
William Pane
John Pane
George Pane
John Guyatt
John Carter

May God speed your petition.

Mr. Thomas Alexander

Mr. James Prictow.

When JOSEPH MASON arrived at Brighton, he went to the residence of the King, expecting, and justly expecting, to exercise his right "to petition the King!" In this only he was in error; that is, thinking the right existed, and was something real and not a sham. Instead of being permitted to petition the King, he was told that which is contained in the following copy of a note sent to him by HERBERT TAYLOR, to help pay whose enormous salaries he had been working all his life-time.

Pavilion, Brighton, October 21, 1830.

SIR,—I have received your letter of yesterday, inclosing the petition which you have been deputed by certain persons belonging

to the working and labouring classes of the parishes of Wonston, Barton Stacey, and Bulington, near Winchester, to present to the King, and I beg to acquaint you, for the information of those who have signed this petition that the Secretary of State for the Home Department is the proper and official channel of such communications to his Majesty. I therefore return the petition to you, and I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

H. TAYLOR.

Mr. Joseph Mason, Bullington, Hants.

To come to London, and then to go home, was another hundred and twenty miles, or thereabouts. He, therefore, went to a gentleman at Brighton, whom he knew to have been born and brought up at WINCHESTER, gave him the petition, and the insolent note of HERBERT TAYLOR, in order that the former might be sent to the Secretary of State. This gentleman sent the two papers to his brother, who lives in London, and he brought the papers to me, to know how *he was to get them to PEELE*. After looking at the papers, and hearing the whole story, I said, "Give me the petition: let it not be disgraced by being hawked about in that manner: a time will yet come when Englishman may petition something other than HERBERT TAYLOR and PEELE." When Joseph Mason was drawing up this sensible petition, and when he was tramping a hundred and twenty miles on the business of presenting it, he little thought of that condemnation to death, and that transportation and slavery for life, to which he was to be sentenced in about two months from the day on which he presented himself at the palace of "the King's most excellent Majesty" at Brighton! He little thought, that being one of a crowd who extorted a few shillings from a farmer or a parson, and of which he neither extorted nor took any part, would be to commit an act of "*highway robbery*," for which he should be dragged from his wife and child, condemned to death, and sent into slavery for life! Such, however, was the result; and the Englishman who can hear the story without feeling his heart swell, and feeling the blood boiling in his

veins, deserves to perish from hunger, and to be food for the fowls of the air.

In about a month after JOSEPH MASON's failure to get his petition to the hands of "*His most excellent Majesty*," those risings for increase of wages, which had begun in EAST-KENT, had extended themselves into HAMPSHIRE, and they finally reached the parishes, in about the centre of which lies the hamlet of SUTTON SCOTNEY. Of the part which this petition-carrier took in these risings, I shall have to speak by-and-by ; but first let us see who and what he was. His parents had, for generations, been labourers ; he was born in one of these parishes. He had a brother whose name is ROBERT, who was not married. JOSEPH was married and had one child. They lived in the parish of BULLINGTON with their mother, who had been a widow a good many years, and who found, in the great and skilful labour of her sons, in their rare sobriety, in their great industry and excellent moral character, safe protection from want, from all need of parochial relief, and from all those miseries which are the lot of mothers who have children of a different description. Besides the work which these two young men did for the farmers in the neighbourhood, they rented a piece of ground, consisting of about three acres and a half, which they cultivated mornings and evenings, and at times when they had no other work. They kept a cow, fattened a pig or two, and therefore as there was but one child in the family they were a great deal better off than the labourers in general. Therefore it was not mere hunger that induced them to take a part in the risings. They were induced, even if voluntary, to do it from a sense of duty towards their poorer and more unfortunate neighbours. The object of the risings was, not to commit acts of violence on anybody, and no acts of violence were committed ; not for the purpose of committing acts of plunder, for no acts of plunder took place : but solely for the purpose of obtaining a *moderation*

of food and of raiment, and of fuel to make life bearable to those, whose labour produced all the food, all the raiment, and all the fuel. Yet, for taking the mildest and most inoffensive part in these risings, these two excellent young men were, under the Special Commission which GRAY advised the King to give to Vaughan, Parke, Alderson, Wellington, Denman, Sturges Bourne, and Serjeant *Wilde*, condemned to death, and transported for life.

In order to do justice, as far as I am at present able, to all the parties concerned, I will here refer to an account of the trials in Hampshire, as afterwards published by the Curate of the Parish of STOKKE CHARITY. I will draw no conclusions myself, and offer no opinions; but will simply state the facts as published in the account of the trials.

JOSEPH MASON, aged 31; ROBERT MASON, aged 22; we first indicted for what they called robbing one Callender, *Sir Thomas Baring's bailiff*. There we six others indicted along with them; there were a thousand persons or more in this rising; but, as far as one can judge from the report of the trial, the whole burden of the inquiry was about the *two Masons*. The jury, however, acquitted them both. In their defence, both of them denied ever having touched any money: and both said, that they were pressed by the rest of the people, and compelled to go with them; and there was no evidence brought to show that this was not true. Having escaped here, they were almost instantly clapped into another indictment; and the next day were put upon their trial for robbing W. DAWDEN. Here JOSEPH was caught; but ROBERT escaped. On the same day, however, he was clapped into another indictment, when the *Reverend JAMES JOLLIFFER*, curate of BARTON STACEY, swore, that he was robbed of *five shillings*, and that ROBERT MASON was one of the robbers. This parson swore that he gave the five shillings out of fear. ROBERT MASON said, in his defence, that he had not taken the money, nor participated in it.

that he had been compelled to go along with the rest; and "that if the lawyer who had said so much against him had been in the road, with a smock-frock on instead of that gown, and a straw hat instead of that wig, he would now be standing at the bar as he was; that an honest man he had always been; an honest man he still was, and an honest man he would ever remain." Mr. WM. WICKHAM and Mr. JAMES WICKHAM, the two principal landowners in the neighbourhood, gave him, as they before had given his brother, the best of characters. Mr. ENOS DIDDAMS did the same; the jury most strongly recommended him to mercy; but, like his brother, he was condemned to death, and transported for life. Always when these MASONS were tried, up came the story about the *Brighton petition*! When Mr. ENOS DIDDAMS was examined, they asked him about the *meetings* at SUTTON SCOTNEY; and WILDE asked whether they did not meet once a week to read a *certain weekly publication*, The infamous *Times* newspaper, which from first to last sought the blood of these people, represented Mr. DIDDAMS as having said that the *sovereign* people sent a petition to the King, and that *sovereign* people subscribed seventeen shillings to carry the man to Brighton. The same bloody newspaper endeavoured to make the public believe that the riots in Hampshire had been instigated by me. It constantly connected my name with these transactions: and when men were going to be hanged, it was observed, that they "*did not confess their connexion with Cobbett and Carlile.*" Mr. DIDDAMS and others were very closely questioned about the *certain weekly publication* read by the MASONS to a company of labourers at SUTTON SCOTNEY. I know that there was a regular canvass amongst the prisoners in the jail at Winchester, to find out whether any one would acknowledge that he was acquainted with me, or had been influenced or instigated by me. I know that this canvass was carried on

by a church-parson : and I know that that parson has since got a good fat church-living, with regard to which, God willing, as well as with regard to other church-livings, I shall have, not to say something, but to do something, one of these days. Just at the same time the curate of *Crowhurst* was at work, upon the soul of a poor fellow, who had set five fires with his own hand, and who, by confessing against me, saved his life ; though HENRY COOKE, of MICHELDEVER, was *hanged* for striking BINGHAM BARING without doing him *any harm at all*. The conspiracy was at that time going on against me ; from the effects of which conspiracy I was in a great measure preserved by the excellent conduct of the people of BATTLE and the neighbourhood, whose goodness I never shall forget, and amongst whom I should have spent the day devoted to the reform festival, had not the labourers of Hampshire suffered so much more, and had not the remains of HENRY COOKE lain buried near to the spot whereon we shall keep the festival.

The profligate and bloody people who conduct *The Times* newspaper, were at the time I am speaking of everlastingly engaged in efforts to prepare the public mind for my destruction. I had no means of counteracting their efforts ; and innumerable persons really believed that I was at the bottom of all those affairs which were called "*riots* ;" but which I have never called riots, and never will. The truth is, however, that I was an utter stranger to the neighbourhood of SUTTON SCOTNEY, which I had never even passed through but twice in my life. And as to the MASONS, or any other person living in any of those parishes, I had never known and never heard of any one of them in my life. Judge of the imbecility as well as the malignity of the beasts, who could expect to find letters from me in the cottage of the Masons ! Here then I leave this matter for the present ; but it is only for the present ; for if it

shall please God to spare my life, and vouchsafe to me the use of my senses; and if the people at MANCHESTER, or any other place, shall think fit to put me into Parliament, I pledge myself that this is not the last that shall be heard of JOSEPH and ROBERT MASON, and of HENRY COOKE.

Such is the history of the bearer of the petition to Brighton. I have heard a great deal about the conduct of several parties, who had a hand in this transaction, and who have hugged themselves in the thought of never hearing of it again. I am not in a situation at present to bring this matter forward, with *proper effect*; but, unless some very large improvement upon BARKING's Bill should shut me out of a situation in which I should be able to do it, these parties, who now hug themselves in the thought of their security, shall find that the sending of the Brighton petitioner across the seas does not preclude an inquiry into the cause of that sending.

For the present, however, this is what I shall do with regard to the Reform-festival. I shall give a dinner at SUTTON SCOTNEY, to all the hundred and seventy-seven men who have not been transported, and who signed the above petition. When I was at Nottingham, I purchased a ham that weighed *seventy-two* pounds, which I have had properly cured. This ham with two or three fat sheep, which I will have killed, shall be the meat for our dinner. I will have bread baked for the occasion; and I will have half a gallon of good strong beer for each man; Mr. EXOS DIDDAMS, whose name stands at the head of the petitioners, shall be our chairman; and we will drink to the health and speedy return of Joseph and Robert Mason; and we will say and do all those other things which, on such an occasion, will be most meet.

My Reform-festival I will hold on Saturday, the 7th of July, that being the anniversary of the day in which I defeated the liberal prosecution of the Whigs, and on account

of which defeat the people of these villages expressed so much joy. I invite all my personal friends, who live within a reasonable distance of the spot, to meet me, and dine with me at SUTTON SCOTNEY on that day, and particularly friends from WINCHESTER. I invite, also, all the *farmers* in the neighbourhood, whether I personally know them or not; and I will take that opportunity of giving them my opinion about the ensuing elections. I shall provide for my *guests*, the petitioners for parliamentary reform, whose petition JOSEPH MASON took to the "King's most excellent Majesty" at Brighton. But as the labourers assembled will be more numerous than my company, perhaps the farmers in the neighbourhood may send a sheep or two, and a bushel or two of flour to be baked into bread. We must have *tents*, or something of that sort. I shall send, or go down, beforehand, to cause due preparations to be made. If any one in the county wish to contribute anything towards the entertainment of the labourers on that day, he can communicate with Mr. ENOS DIDDAMS, of SUTTON SCOTNEY, who is a very intelligent and trustworthy man.

I intend to send this notification into every part of the county; and all my friends in the county, who can afford to travel to a distance, will confer a personal favour upon me, by meeting me at the place, and on the day appointed. I shall be very happy to see all the farmers of the neighbourhood present: I am very desirous to lay before them my view with regard to the tithes; and I am still more desirous of seeing farmers and labourers meet together in harmony, and to testify towards each other feelings of hearty goodwill. I advise the people of Hampshire not to listen a moment to any man who will not pledge himself to these; nor to any man who is, in any way whatever, a receiver of taxes, or the father or the son of a receiver of taxes. I told the people in Hampshire, at the county meeting, in October last, that Sir JAMES MACDONALD was "*pleading*

for a thumping place:" and he has got the thumping place! But he was a greedy eater of the taxes before; and, therefore, none but fools have been deceived by him. I trust, that the people of PORTSEA, the people of WINCHESTER, the people of the whole county, will take care what they are at with LOAN-MONGERS. Let them take care of these, above all things; for these are the most dangerous of all possible creatures: they have jaws more grinding than those of death, and a maw more devouring than hell itself.

WM. COBBETT.

CHOPSTICK FESTIVAL.

23d June, 1832.

As I mentioned in my last, I shall, for reasons there stated, hold a festival at SUTTON SCOTNEY, seven miles from WINCHESTER (on the road to WHITCHURCH), on the 7th of July. I invite, as my guests, all those who signed the petition for reform which was carried by JOSEPH MASON to be presented to the King at Brighton. I request Mr. Diddams, of SUTTON SCOTNEY, to make this known to them all, and the list of them all he will find in the preceding pages; and most of them must have masters of some sort or other; I beg those masters to have the goodness to give them the day for themselves, which I shall deem an obligation conferred upon myself. It is not my object, and it never has been, to set men against their masters; I have been a master ever since I was a man; I was first a master over soldiers; and since that I have been a master over servants; and I have always exacted strict obedience, while at the same time I have always taken care that the person to obey obeyed with a full belly. I have long been warning farmers of their danger. The danger at last came, and then I was reproached and prosecuted as the cause of the danger. Why, my father was a farmer, though a small one; I was born and bred up amongst farmers; I have

always delighted in their pursuits; and how can my feelings towards them be other than those of good will? but I cannot, without abandoning my nature, without forgetting all that I was taught in my childhood, without setting at nought every precept and line of the word of God, hold my peace, while those who create all the food and drink and fuel and raiment and lodging, are upon the verge of perishing with hunger and with cold.

I request Mr. DELLER, of ANDOVER, to have about a hundred gallons of good beer at SUTTON SCOTNEY, on or before the 6th of July, and to place it where Mr. ENOS DIDDAMS shall appoint. I will take down, as I said before, my NOTTINGHAM HAM, which weighs seventy pounds, and I am sure that there will not want a butcher in London to give us a couple of fat sheep weighing a hundred pounds a piece. Half a hundred of flour will make us a score of plum puddings, and the devil is in it if there is not a grocer in London who will give us twenty pounds of plums. There is surely a miller in Hampshire who will send to Mr. DIDDAMS a couple of bushels of flour, on or before the 3rd of July, in order that he may get it made into bread. Please God we will have some corn-puddings, even at the risk of having the "*murran, or the yellur janders.*" When I was in the North, I did not forget the Chopsticks of the hard parishes. One Yorkshire clothier gave me a pair of blankets for Mrs. MASON; another gave me a pair of blankets for poor COOKE, the father of the youth who was hanged for hitting BINGHAM BARING, and doing him no bodily harm. One manufacturer of LANCASHIRE gave me cotton to make gowns for twenty women, and frocks for ten girls, and another manufacturer of Lancashire printed the cotton. One of these gowns I shall give to Mrs. MASON of BULLINGTON, one to Mrs. COOKE, the mother of poor HENRY COOKE of *Micheldever*, one to Mrs. CARTER of SUTTON SCOTNEY, with two or three frocks for her girls; two I shall send,

with two pair of cotton stockings, which I got at Nottingham, and with two bonnet ribands that I got at County, to the young women who had their hair chopped off by the hired overreaser of NINFIELD in Sussex, lamenting that I cannot split myself in two, and do the same thing, in the neighbourhood of Battle as I am about to do at SUTTON SCOTNEY, feeling myself to be under everlasting obligations to the kind and virtuous people in that neighbourhood, who I hope will be satisfied with the reasons which I have given for holding my festival at SUTTON SCOTNEY. The other gowns and frocks I shall give to the wives, daughters, or mothers, of any of the petitioners, who were transported or any way punished; and I hereby request Mr. EWES DIEDAMS to make a list of all these, and to be prepared to give me his advice as to the distribution.

Besides the above business, and the eating and drinking; besides the advice which I shall have to give to the farmers upon the subject of the apprehending elections, and the explanations that I shall have to give to the labourers, on the subject of Parliamentary Reform, and as to the manner in which they will be benefited by it; besides these, there is an important matter for us to settle upon; namely, the putting of a tomb-stone over the grave of HENRY COOKE; having engraven on it the history of his death, and naming all the parties, having, in any way whatever, a hand in the transaction. Simply stating the undeniable facts, leaving all commentary to the hearts of the beholders.

I hereby request Mr. EWES DIEDAMS to be thinking about the practicability of providing tents or covering of some sort. Perhaps it might be best to divide the party, placing five or six in a house, during the time of dinner, and drinking after dinner. A considerable party, of course, could be entertained in the public-houses, if an arrangement could be made with the innkeepers for the purpose. There may be many friends come from a distance. I

should hope that the farmers hard by would give us a table upon for a short space of time. But I request Mr. DAWKINS to write to me on Sunday next at the latest, giving his opinion as to all these matters. I have received the following letter in consequence of my article on the subject last week :—

Landguard, Isle of Wight, 18th June, 1832.

SIR,

In reading your *Register* to-day, I find it is your intention to dine with the labourers of SUTTON SCORNEY, on the 7th July, health permitting. I shall do myself the pleasure of joining your company. Your ideas with respect to showing our demonstrations of joy at the defeat of the boroughmongers coincides with ours—the farmers and tradesmen of the parish of Brading. We have made a very liberal subscription for a dinner to be given to *all the labourers of the parish*, to take place on BRADING DOWN, next Wednesday. Of course we, the farmers, will dine with them, and will take the opportunity of explaining to them the nature of this great measure.

I remain, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

RICHARD SMITH.

This is what the farmers are doing in a great many places, and it is what they will do everywhere, where wisdom and justice prevail in their breasts. At BATTLE and the neighbourhood they have raised a hundred pounds for the purpose! And am I at last destined to behold that which I have been as anxious for almost as for the preservation of my life; namely, to see the employers and the employed cordially reconciled to one another, all being convinced that their interests are mutual and inseparable? We shall have a goodly company, I dare say, at SUTTON SCORNEY; and I trust that we shall so set our part as to put our inte-

lent enemies to the blush. I beseech the electors of Hampshire, and particularly of WINCHESTER, not to promise their votes to anybody till after the SUTTON SCOTNEY festival.

WM. COBBETT.

BILL

TO AUTHORIZE THE

SALE OF DEAD BODIES.

Kensington, 25th June, 1832.

MY FRIENDS,—This horrid Bill is again before the House of Lords. To day my petition (inserted below) against it will, I hope, be presented to the Lords; for I sent it for that purpose to the BISHOP OF LONDON, yesterday, at his palace at Fulham, where he was when the petition was delivered. I beg you to read this petition with attention. Mind, this is a thing in which you are all most deeply interested; and the House of Lords will now soon decide, whether you and your parents and wives and children, be, after death, to sleep quietly in your graves, or whether you be to be sold and cut up, like dogs and horses.

TO THE

RT. HON. THE LORDS SPIRITUAL AND TEMPORAL IN
PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED.

The petition of WILLIAM COBBETT, of Kensington, in the
county of Middlesex,

Most humbly shows,

That your petitioner perceives, that there is again a bill before your Right Honourable House, which will make it legal to be possessed of dead human bodies, to cut them up, without the sanction of any court of justice, and even to sell and traffic in them, as in the carcases of the beasts that perish.

That your humble petitioner has too high an opinion of the understanding and of the sincerity of your lordships to believe, that you will not at once perceive and to avow that this horrid traffic must necessarily be confined to the bodies of the poor, seeing that those of the rich will never be exposed to any of the causes from which that traffic must arise; and, being of that opinion, he hopes that your lordships will not agree to a bill, which, if it

were, unhappily, to become a law, would fill the minds of the poorer part of the people with inextinguishable resentment against those, to respect and reverence whom they have hitherto been cordially disposed.

That it is with inexpressible disgust that your petitioner has heard this horrible bill justified on the score of what its defenders have dared to call *humanity*, pretending that, without allowing a free trade in human bodies, the Legislature has no means of preventing such bodies from being killed for sale; that, in answer to this hypocritical pretence, the poorer part of the people observe, that the law has always found the effectual means of protecting the dead bodies of cattle, sheep, swine, and poultry, of punishing with death the purloiners of those bodies; and that your lordships have, alas! passed laws (which are still in force) for transporting beyond the seas, men having, in the night-time, and in or near a cover, the dead body of a hare, pheasant, or partridge, in their possession.

That the poorer part of the people thus see, that even when these wild and insignificant animals, these mere objects of the sports of the rich, are to be guarded; when new poor-laws, new trespasses, new misdemeanours, new felonies, new treasons, new and more severe modes of imprisonment and punishment, are to be enacted; that, when to tax, to restrain, or to punish them, is the object, there is no want of power in the Legislature; and that it becomes important only when called upon to yield them protection; and your humble petitioner begs to be permitted to assure your lordships, that the people clearly perceive all this, and that the ultimate consequences of that perception, especially if this act, authorizing an open traffic in their bodies, were to become a law, must of necessity be such as your lordships, above all men, would have reason most bitterly to deplore.

That, with regard to the assertion, that this horrible profanation of the tomb is necessary to the perfection of surgical and medical science, while your humble petitioner firmly believes the contrary to be the fact, and is fully warranted in that belief, not only by the experience of all former ages, but by the declarations of the most eminent surgeons and physicians of our own day; while he is convinced that ignorance, and not science, is promoted and kept in countenance by this cutting up of human bodies; while it is his firm conviction, that this butcher-like practice does not at all tend to the preservation of human life, he hopes that your lordships, and more especially the lords spiritual, will see, even in the affirmative of that proposition, no justification of the proposed measure, and he confidently trusts that the Most Reverend and Right Reverend members of your Right Honourable House will never give their assent to a bill, which has a direct and manifest tendency to root from the minds of men those religious opinions, which make a distinction between the future state of human beings and that of brutes, and which opinions can never long continue to exist after the sanction of your lordships shall have been given to this brutalizing bill.

That all nations, even the most barbarous, have shown respect for the remains of the dead; that the Holy Scriptures invariably speak of the rites of burial as being honourable, and of the refusal

of these rites as a sufficient punishment and signal of sinners; that in the 13th chap. of Genesis, 15th verse, it is recorded, that amongst the gracious promises that God made to Abraham, on account of his faith, one was that he should be buried in a good old age: that David (2 Samuel, chap. ii.), when the men of Jabesh-Gilead had buried Saul, blessed them for their kindness, and said the Lord would reward them; that the Psalmist, in describing the desolation of Jerusalem by the hands of the heathen, says that these heathen had given the dead bodies of the Israelites to be meat unto the fowls of the heavens, that they shed their blood like water, and that there was none to bury them, which, he adds, has made the Israelites a reproach to the other nations; that in Ecclesiastes, chap. vi., verse 3, it is said, that if a man have ever so prosperous and long a life, if he have no burial he had better never have been born; that we find by EZEKIEL, chap. xxxix., that even enemies were to be buried, and that if a human bone was found above ground, it was to be deemed a duty to inter it; that the prophet Isaiah, chap. xiv., says that the King of Babylon shall be kept out of the grave, like an abominable branch, and shall not be buried, because he has been a tyrant; that the prophet JEREMIAH, chap. vii. and viii., at the conclusion of a long and terrible denunciation against the Jews, tells them that they shall not be gathered nor be buried, and that they shall be as dung upon the face of the earth; that the same prophet, chap. xiv., says, that the people who listen to false prophets shall die of famine and the sword, and shall have none to bury them; that the same prophet, chap. xvi., foretelling the ruin of the Jews, says that they shall die of grief, that they shall not be lamented, neither shall they be buried, but shall be as dung upon the face of the earth; that the same prophet, chap. xlii., pronounces judgment on JEHOIAKIM, king of Judah, for covetousness, for shedding innocent blood, for oppression and violence, that he shall be buried with the burial of an ass, drawn and cast before the gates of Jerusalem; that in the New Testament, we find that devout men carried STEPHEN to his burial; and finally, that by our own burial-service and canons we are taught, that to be buried in consecrated ground is a right belonging to every person who has been baptized, who is not, at the hour of death, excommunicated, and who has not killed him or herself.

That seeing that such is the language of Holy Writ, your humble petitioner has waited until now, hoping that the bill in question would be zealously and effectually opposed by the clergy of the Established Church; that if human bodies can be legally sold and cut up into pieces, without any detriment to our faith, our hope, our religious feeling; if no burial-service is at all necessary in these cases; if this be told to the people by this bill, it is manifest, that that same people will not long think that the burial-service can in any case be necessary, and that they will, in a short time, look upon all other parts of the church-service as equally useless; because as your petitioner presumes, there is no ground whatever for believing in the sacredness of one rite or ceremony any more than in that of another, and that, of course, if the Burial of the Dead can be dispensed with, so may Baptism, Confirmation, Marriage, and the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

That, if this sacrilegious bill were to become a law, your humble petitioner would beg leave to ask, what the people must, in future, think of the ceremony of the consecrating of ground; what of any part of the things ordered and enjoined in the Book of Common Prayer; and especially, what of the fees, which have for ages been, and which are still, paid for saying prayers over the bodies of the dead? That, in England and Wales, there are more than ten thousand church benefices with care of souls; that those, who are charged with this care, have hitherto taught us, that that care requires the due performance of the burial service, and justifies the demand of fees for that performance; that it is as well for morals and religion that our bodies be sold and cut up, as that they be buried in consecrated ground with the usual solemnities, or it is not as well; that, if the latter, the intended law is injurious to morals and religion; that, if the former, well may we ask, to what end, for what purpose, we have been enjoined to perform the burial service, and have been compelled to pay burial fees, for so many ages?

That the horror of the poorer sort of people at the practices which are authorized by this bill, and their conviction that they themselves are principally the objects of it, are clearly and strongly evinced in the fact, that they have all over England formed themselves into clubs for the purpose of providing the means of watching the graves of each other and those of their near and dear relations, a fact to their everlasting honour, and showing that amongst them, at any rate, human feelings have not yet been banished from the breast; that, however, your humble petitioner hopes, that your Right Honourable House, who are their natural guardians, and who have in so many cases been their defence against sordid and unfeeling measures, will now come to their relief and protection; and that, to this end, you will not only reject the brutal bill aforesaid, but that you will be pleased to pass a bill, making it felony in any person whatever to have a dead body in his or her possession, except for the usual purpose of Christian burial, or except the possession be founded on a sentence agreeably to law, passed in a court of justice.

And your petitioner will ever pray.

Kennington, 23 June, 1832.

WM. COBBETT.

PLEDGES

TO BE GIVEN BY MEMBERS CHOSEN FOR THE
REFORMED PARLIAMENT.

THE citizens of London have, upon this important subject, adopted the following RESOLUTIONS, of which they recommend the adoption by all the COUNTIES and all the BOROUGHs, and which recommendation will, I hope, be strictly attended to:—

Resolved, 1st. That for one man to represent another,

means that he is to act for that other, and in a manner agreeably to his wishes and instructions.

2nd. That members chosen to be representatives in Parliament ought to do such things as their constituents wish and direct them to do.

3rd. That, therefore, it appears to this meeting, that those to whom the law now commits the sacred trust of the power of choosing members, who are to represent their non-voting neighbours as well as themselves, ought to be scrupulously careful to choose no man on whom firm reliance cannot be placed, that he will obey the wishes and directions of his constituents.

4th. That, in order to obtain the best possible ground of such reliance, every candidate ought to give the pledges following; to wit,

That I will neglect nothing in my power to cause, in the very first session, a total abolition of the tithes, a repeal of the assessed taxes, the taxes on malt, hops, and soap; and these having been repealed, I pledge myself to the immediate consideration of a revision of the Corn Bill; and I further pledge myself to do everything within my power to cause the abolition of all sinecures and unmerited pensions, and a repeal of that daring act of usurpation called the Septennial Act: and I will, at all times and in all things, act conformably to the wishes of a majority of my constituents, deliberately expressed; or I will, at their request, resign to them the trust with which they have honoured me.

5. That we, the electors of the City of London, pledge ourselves to each other and to our country, that we will give our votes to no man who will not give the above pledges, and that we earnestly recommend to our fellow-electors, in every part of the kingdom, to make, and strictly to adhere to, the same determination.