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POLITICS FOR THE POOR.

VOLUME I.

FROM JULY, 1830, TO JUNE, 1831, INCLUSIVE.

LONDON:

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

1831.
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7. To the Labourers of England, on the Measures which ought to be adopted with regard to the Tithes, and with regard to other Property, commonly called Church-property.

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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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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 1801 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 dungeon 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
1st July, 1830.

town and house, but in every hamlet, every cottage, and every hovel; and that therefore this power-of-imprisonment law was necessary to the safety of the state. When 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, Sidmouth 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 mere sham opposition to it, while Burdett, 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 dungeon 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 Addington, Scott, Law, and Co., I sent 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, or 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 insolent 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 fifes were playing that tune; aye, 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 these 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 Garter 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."

11. 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 ways. 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 jail 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 pithy; 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 hawksers, 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.

My 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 Truck, 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 act-
ing 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, gene-
really 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 pro-
duce 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 coun-
try, 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 coun-
tries 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 gamelaws, 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 dis-
tinguishing 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 sub-
jects, 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 an-
ually amongst these 113 was 650,164l., and the average proportion of that sum paid to each yearly was 5,752l.—(hear.) Of this total of 650,164l., 86,103l. were for sinecures—(loud cries of hear); 442,411l. for active services, and 121,650l. 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 sin-
icurists; or civil and military officers. The amount received by the pluralists was 221,133l. annually amongst them all, or 7,321l. 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 126,175l., or upon an average a yearly income to each individ-
ual of 4,347l. 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 378,846l.—(hear, hear), or, upon an average to each, 8,065l. a year.—(loud cries of "hear.") The remaining 22 were of the House of Commons, and the gross amount of their receipts was 90,849l., or upon an average to each individual, 4,130l. a year.—(hear.) It ap-
peared then that there were 113 Privy Councillors receiving the public money, of whom 69 were members of either house of Par-
liament. He had already stated that 29 were in the receipt of pub-
lic 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 collect-
ing, 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 "noblest assembly?" Oh, no! It was rejected by a
large majority. And, as you see, Sir James stated, that
69 members of the two houses received amongst them
378,846l. out of the public money, 69 of them being mem-
ers 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 state-
ment, 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 prepar-
ations, and in his voyage out, and he received for outfit and salary
that year the sum of 3,855l. In 1826, being at his post, he re-
ceived for salary 2,500l.; for house rent, 510l.; for a clerk, 250l.;
for extras, 503l. Making in the year 1826, the sum of 3,763l. In
1827 he was on his voyage home, having left his post early in
April, and that year he received 2,812l. 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 1,600l. a year. This gentleman, therefore, had been, un-
der 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 13,600l. (hear, hear!) What he charged as the most
flagrant part of the case was, the two years he had been in England
at 1,600l. 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 3,050l.
In 1826 he was at his post, and received 2,500l. 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
2,500l. His Honourable Friend described the two years, 1826 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 1,600l. 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 13,600l., and the other had received 13,050l. The next case he would mention was that of Mr. Mackenzie, who in 1826 was appointed Consul to Hayti. He received 500l. for his outfit, 1,500l. for his salary, and 215l. for his voyage out, in all 2,215l. In 1826 he was at his post, and received 2,710l.; but he begged to call the particular attention of the House to the year 1827. He received in that year, his salary, 1,500l.; for a journey into the interior of the island he charged 1,290l.; his house rent and extras amounted to 1,070l. The Honourable Baronet mentioned another sum of 147l. and for his voyage to England, 192l., making a total of 4,179l. In 1828 he was in England, and in 1828, when England was under the economic administration of Lord Aberdeen, he received his salary of 1,125l. He was little more than one year at his post, and for that he received a sum of upwards of 8,000l. 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 300l., and for his salary 700l.; 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 700l., 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 500l. for his outfit. Unless the returns were erroneous, this was in January; and between January 1829 and January 1830, he received 1,200l. 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 1,700l. and never left England; in all, this gentleman had received 4,859l. 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£; 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£ 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, 20,812l. 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, 24,299l.

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 or 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
enormous 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 Whigs 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.

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**“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, even 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 vexed,
"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.
Mr. Cobbett's List of Books.

N. B. All the Books undermentioned, are published at No. 11, Bolt-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. 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.
Mr. Cobbett's List of Books.

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 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 6d.); 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.
Mr. Cobbett's List of Books.

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 Abbeys, 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 TUNNPIMES (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. 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.

[Printed by Wm. Cobbett, Johnson's-court, Fleet-street.]
COBBETT'S
TWO-PENNY TRASH
For the Month of August, 1830.

TO THE
WORKING CLASSES THROUGHOUT THE
KINGDOM.

Barn-Elm Farm, 27th July, 1830.

My Friends,

38. I have to talk to you on several subjects, all, however, connected with the things which are the causes of your being miserably poor, which millions of you are, and which ought to be the state of nobody that is industrious, sober, frugal, and honest. Such, however, is now the state of England; such the burdens that the people have to bear; so large the portion of every man's wages that is taken away by the Government; that no industry, no sobriety, no frugality, and no honesty, can prevent the working class from being miserably poor, from being wretched to a degree inconsistent with the support of life and health. How such

London: Published by the Author, 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street, and sold by all Booksellers.
enormous burdens came to be laid on the people I shall hereafter explain; but, first of all, it is necessary that I make you clearly understand that it is the taxes that make you poor; and that your poverty is great you all but too well know. The state of England is more degrading to the people, exhibits more human suffering, than ever was even heard of before in any country on earth, Ireland only excepted; and there nakedness and famine are so common as to excite neither surprise nor compassion.

39. That it is the taxes which produce all this misery is, first, my business to show; and, next, to show you what is the cause of the taxes. As to the first, there are some so impudent as to assert, and others so ignorant as to believe, that working people pay no taxes, because the tax-gatherer does not come and take money out of their hands. But let us see how this matter stands. The whole of the taxes amount to sixty millions a year, and, now, let us see whether you pay none of these taxes; or whether you pay the greater part of them all. The whole of the money collected in taxes in one year is now 60,000,000 of pounds sterling. Of these 4,000,000/ are got from Ireland, 2½ from Scotland, and the other 53½ from England. These taxes consist of duties collected at the Custom-houses by the Excise, by Stamp-Commissioners, by Assess Taxes, by the Post-Office, and of some other little things which, in reality, amount to hardly any thing. The Customs yield 13,000,000l. the Excise 31,000,000l. the Stamps 6,000,000l. the Assess taxes 6,000,000l. the Post-Office 2,500,000l. So that we
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have here 57,500,000l. out of the 60,000,000l. The Customs and Excise, alone, amount to 44,000,000l. out of the 60,000,000l. and of the greater part of the articles, the people of the middle and working classes pay five times as much as the higher classes in proportion to their means; because many of the articles are become necessaries, and the poor man, unless he be too poor to have any enjoyment at all, wants as much as the richest man in the kingdom. Beer, malt, cotton goods, soap, candles, tea, tobacco and snuff, sugar, pepper; and, in short, of all the articles coming under these heads, the people in the middle and working classes pay infinitely more than their share. Of the stamps, too, they pay three times their share. All the stamped things which are in most common use are stamped higher than those that are in less common use. For instance, if a tradesman give a receipt in full of all demands, in an affair of only forty shillings, he must pay ten shillings for the stamp. If the lord, or the squire, or the bishop, or the rich merchant, give a receipt in full for fifty thousand pounds, or any greater sum, still he has to pay only the ten shillings! All the stamps relating to the land are very trifling, but all those relating to trade, and to be paid by men in business, are heavy. Advertisements, almost the whole of which are paid for by servants and tradesmen, amount to a very large sum. The stage-coaches, which carry the people in the middle and lower ranks of life, pay nearly 300,000l. a year, while all the post-horses pay less than 200,000l. Fire-insurances, ninety-nine hundredths of which fall upon the farmers, pay about 600,000l. a year. Newspapers
pay about 400,000£. a year. The tradesman, or farmer, pays, therefore, as much on his newspaper as the lord pays on his. Receipts pay about 150,000£. a year, almost the whole of which comes from the middle and working classes. Legacies pay about 1,000,000£. a year, almost the whole of which comes from the trading, and farming, and middle class. The stamps on probates amount to about 700,000£. a year, and from this tax land and houses are totally exempt. So much for the stamps. Then comes the assess taxes. On all the land of the kingdom the whole tax is only 1,000,000£. or thereabouts; but the house tax, which falls almost wholly upon the middle class, amounts to about 1,250,000£.; and the window-tax to little less than 2,500,000£. So that of the assess taxes, the middle class pay infinitely beyond their proportion; for, if a man keep a horse, he is taxed for a servant, whether he keep him or not, and his gig, worth ten pounds, is taxed as high as the lord's curricle, which is worth a hundred pounds; his horse, worth ten pounds, is taxed at the same rate with regard to the lords; so with his dog, which is necessary to the protection of his house. With regard to the postage of letters, the middle and lower class pay the whole of the money; for the aristocracy, each of whom can send ten letters a day, and receive fifteen, and send and receive, if they please, several letters under one cover, are exempted from all payments on this account.

40. Thus, then, you see how false those men are, who pretend that the taxes fall upon the rich, and not upon the
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poor. The beer tax is indeed to be taken off; but to be taken off in a manner to do very little good to the consumers of the beer, while the malt tax is kept on, and the hop tax also: and these taxes it is which will still make the beer dear; because there will be the monopoly in the making of the malt, and also in the selling of the beer; because no man is to sell without a license, and that license is not to be granted to a poor man, who does not already pay direct taxes. If the tax were taken off the malt and the hops, very good ale might be made for a penny a quart, Winchester measure; because the malt would not be above three shillings a bushel, and perhaps less, and the hops not, on an average, more than sixpence a pound, at the most: twelve gallons to the bushel is ale a great deal better than that which is now bought at the public-houses; at a penny a pot, there would be forty-eight quarts of beer come from a bushel of malt and a pound of hops; so that, because the malt and the hops are taxed, you now pay sixpence for that which you ought to have for a penny. Let me stop here to give you a piece of information, more useful than all the information that Mr. Brougham and his set ever did, and ever will, communicate to the people of this country; that is to say, the certain fact that people may have good beer, if they will, without the use of any malt at all, or of any article, except the hops, on which the aristocracy have yet laid their grasp.

41. When I was in Suffolk, at the town of Eye, on the 17th and 18th of March last, a very worthy gentleman of that town, Mr. Clouting, introduced me to a gentleman.
who had made some beer from the mangel-wurzel root. This gentleman, who lives at Eye, and who is a banker, or the agent of a bank, I forget which, in that very nice town, gave me, along with Mr. Clouting, some of the beer to taste! and I declare now, as I did then, that it was most excellent table beer, and that I defy any human being to tell whether such beer be made from malt or not. I myself could not distinguish any difference at all between that beer, and beer of similar strength made of malt; and I can have no question that strong beer, a beer of all degrees of strength, can be made from mangel-wurzel, as well as from malt. The exact proportions I do not recollect; but, after being informed of the quantity of mangel-wurzel used, and of the process, I remember that my calculation was, that very good table beer can be made for *a penny a pot*.

42. I will write, or, rather, I now hereby write to Mr. Clouting, requesting him to have the goodness to furnish me with the particulars with regard to this brewing. I know myself how much mangel-wurzel can be grown upon any given quantity of land; I know, also, and well know, how to cultivate the plant; how to gather in the crop, and how to preserve the plants, either in-doors or out-of-doors, so that they shall be in a state of perfect preservation from the month of November even until the month of July, if not until September. Late in September, early-planted mangel-wurzel brings a fresh crop. Of all these matters I will speak when I get the particulars from Mr. Clouting, from whom I wish to know these particulars: 1. The quantity of mangel-
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wurzel made use of in making the beer which I tasted; 2. The quantity of hops made use of (I remembering that the quantity was twice as great as it ought to have been); 3. The quantity of beer made, meaning that beer which I tasted; 4. The mode of preparing the roots for the process, whether by slicing, chopping, or otherwise; the process of boiling, mashing, and so forth; the length of the time of boiling, and so forth; 5. The state of heat in which the yeast was put in the wort; 6. Whether there was yeast which rose upon the head of the wort, as in the case of malt; 7. Whether the yeast (if any) which rose upon the head of the wort, were, in its appearance and qualities, like that which proceeds from malt; 8. What length of time the beer kept good; 9. Whether it turned sour or flat more speedily than beer made of malt. When I have all these particulars, which, I am sure, my worthy friend, Mr. Clouting, will give me in the most accurate manner, I will publish them, my friends, for your information, being perfectly convinced that this is a discovery of ten thousand times the value of the steam-engine and the power-loom.

43. I am quite satisfied, as I told the gentlemen of Eye, that if those who fill the seats would let us use our barley without making us pay nearly twice the original cost of barley before we turn it into beer, nothing, all things taken into view, would be so cheap as the barley in the making of beer; but, I am also quite satisfied, that, loaded with tax and monopoly as the barley now is, a gallon of beer,
made from mangel-wurzel, will not cost half so much as a gallon of beer, of the strength, made from the barley.

44. This, therefore, is a very important matter. Mangel-wurzel will grow in every part of the kingdom, and in all sorts of land. With good cultivation it will yield fifty tons to the acre; and it must be a bad crop to be less than twenty tons; it is a root easily cultivated, whether on the spot where it is sowed, or by transplantation (I am raising some in both ways this year); a single rood of ground might be made to produce half a ton weight of the roots; the seed is very cheap proportioned to the extent of land which it will sow or plant; it is a root easily taken from the ground, easily preserved, and that too without the cover of a house; I having preserved hundreds of tons out in the fields all the winter. I think I saw more than a hundred tons, in one immense heap, in Norfolk, on the 15th of March last, merely covered over with straw thrown upon it, the far greater part of it as sound as when it came from the field, and a score of oxen fatting upon it. In Norfolk and Suffolk, those famous counties for tillage, where this plant is now grown in such prodigious quantities, and where the farmers are so clever, so intelligent, so enterprising, so neat and so judicious in the management of all their affairs, I have no doubt, that a few years would, were this system of taxing to continue, see the malt-tax, in effect, very quietly repealed, as far, at any rate, as the country people are concerned. Such a thing cannot be confined to a corner; and
from Suffolk, that pattern county, the discovery would spread all over the kingdom.

45. It is pretty generally known that it was from this root that the French made, and some of them still make, sugar. I have tasted the sugar many times, and could not have distinguished it by any means from the moist sugar which we get from the West Indies. It is well known, also, that beer can be made from West India sugar, and that the offal of the sugar which we call treacle, and the Yankees call molasses; and that it is so made; and that the great brewers really put this offal sometimes into their porter, which is, perhaps one cause of the blackness of that horrible stuff; but, to make beer from West India sugar, even supposing there to be no tax at all upon that sugar, would not be economy so good as to make it from barley, if the barley were untaxed. The increased demand for the sugar would cause its price to rise; but, by no possibility could it be brought into England under sixteen or seventeen shillings the hundred weight for moist sugar. Now, a bushel of good malt will make twelve gallons of better beer than thirty pounds of sugar will. The thirty pounds of sugar at seventeen shillings the hundred weight would cost about five shillings; and the bushel of malt will not, on an average of years, in the present money, cost more than two and sixpence, if untaxed; because the increase upon the malting pays for the process; and because I, who have some beautiful fields of barley this year, shall think...
myself a lucky fellow, if able to sell the whole of it for half-a-crown a bushel.

46. It may be asked, why, if mangel-wurzel will yield sugar, we do not make sugar from it in England? That is a very different matter. The expense of this process must be great in proportion to the value of the result; otherwise, there would long ago have been an end to importing sugar from the hot climates. The extracting of the saccharine matter from so bulky a substance, must necessarily be very expensive; but, if beer can be made from the root itself, and if the average crop of the root would weigh SEVENTY TIMES as much as the average crop of barley on an acre of land, the difference in the weight is so great as to render it utterly impossible that the mangel-wurzel should not be the cheapest article while there is any tax upon the barley: and I should not be afraid to lay a wager, that, by this time twelvemonth, a quarter part of the malt tax, that most cruel of all taxes, will have been repealed in this quiet manner in the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk; and my readers may be well assured, that nothing in my power shall be left undone to aid the people of those counties in this excellent undertaking.

47. Returning, now, to my proposition, that it is the weight of the taxes that makes the people poor; that is sinking tradesmen and farmers into hopeless insolvency, and that has brought the working classes down to the verge of
starvation, let me ask the impudent tax-eaters, who deny that the taxes are the cause of the ruin and misery, whether the labouring man would not be better off than he now is, if he could make his ale for a penny a pot; if he could have his soap, and candles, and tobacco, and sugar, and tea, for one half of their present price, and if the four-pound loaf cost him fourpence instead of tenpence; and if his employer (which would be the case) were able to pay him wages as high as those he now receives; because the employer, relieved from the burden of the rates, relieved from the stamp and assessed taxes; relieved, also, from the customs and excise, and the monstrous tax upon letters; relieved from four-fifths of all these, would be able to pay the same wages, and have twice the clear profits that he now has.

48. And why is not this the case? This is the question for you to answer. The reason is, that the money is taken from us without our assent. It is taken from us by Acts of the Parliament; and that Parliament have now before them a petition which was presented by Earl Grey (then Mr. Grey) in the year 1793, in which that very lord himself asserted, that he was ready to prove at the bar, that a decided majority of the whole house was returned by a hundred and fifty-four persons, some of them peers and some of them great commoners, including about a dozen members returned by the Treasury itself. It is very clear that those who return a decided majority of an assembly whose decisions are taken by vote, do, in fact, return the
whole assembly, and cause every-thing to be decided according to their own pleasure. *Sir James Graham* has lately showed us, that 113 of the aristocracy, who are privy councillors, receive, *exclusive of their families,* 650,000l. a year, that is to say, about a *ninetieth part of the whole of the taxes*; a sum equal in amount to four days' taxes for the whole country; a sum equal to the amount of a year's wages of thirty thousand married labouring men in Wiltshire; and, reckoning five persons to every labouring man's family, including the husband and wife, these hundred and thirteen men receive, every year, as much as goes to the maintenance of one hundred and fifty thousand of the working class of the people of England. Now, it is useless to express one's indignation at this; to cry, to repine, to whine, are totally useless. But to know the fact, is not totally useless.

49. Ten such sheets of paper as this would not contain a bare list of the sums which the aristocracy, their relations and dependents, receive out of the taxes. Indeed, a very little would be necessary to carry on the affairs of this country, if it were not for the sums which they have received, and which they do now receive. We have a debt, which takes, annually, about half of the whole of the taxes. Almost the whole of the debt has been contracted within the last sixty years; and if I had the power to call for the documents that I could name, and had a couple of expert clerks to assist me to make out the account, I should not be at all afraid to pledge myself to prove that a sum, equal in amount
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to the whole of the debt, has, in the course of that sixty years, been paid, out of the taxes, to the aristocracy, their relations and dependents. The total amount of the debt is 800,000,000l.; that is to say, 14,000,000l. a year for the 60 years; and my opinion is, that taking one year with the other, this amount has been received by this body of persons; for, only look at the amount of the cost of the army and the navy in this time of perfect peace, look at the innumerable places and pensions and sinecures; think of the immense sums expended during the war, in one year nearly 100,000,000l. exclusive of the interest of the debt; look at the numerous instances in which men notoriously not worth a shilling, have suddenly risen up into fortunes equal to principalities. It is impossible that, in such a state of things, the people should be otherwise than miserable.

50. Mr. Huskisson, in a speech which he has recently made and published, tells us that "the present generation must be contented to submit to this state of things!" which is, I think, the most impudent thing ever uttered, even by an English tax-eater. There is, indeed, the DEBT, commonly called national; and to deprive the fund-holders of their interest would certainly be a very unjust thing; but if a hundred and fifty-four men have always been returning a majority of the members to the Commons' house, it is, in fact, that hundred and fifty-four men who have borrowed the money. Would there, therefore, be any very great ground for astonishment, if, at last, they were called upon to pay the money? At any rate, if this were to be the
case, they would find, that the returning of majorities was no such profitable affair, after all! Let us take, for instance, the case of one of Lord Grey's hundred and fifty-four men. The number of seats is 658; the amount of the debt, or sum to be paid, 800,000,000l. Now, suppose one of Lord Grey's men to have always put in two; then it would be a mere rule-of-three question; thus, if 658 give 800,000,000l, what will two give? The answer would be, 2,400,000l. or thereabouts: so that, if this Lord Grey's man had an estate worth eighty thousand a year, that estate, at thirty-five years' purchase, would pay off his share of the debt, and still leave him 400,000l. clear of all incumbrances! Now, I am not recommending a mode of settling like this; but, if the parties thought well of it, no modest or reasonable person would surely attempt to interfere, to prevent an arrangement so easily made, and so manifestly clear of all grounds for cavil and dispute.

51. I do not say, nor pretend to believe, that if I were a borrowing party, or the heir of a borrowing party, that I should like such a mode of settlement; but, under certain circumstances, and, indeed, under many circumstances, during a man's life, men submit to that which they by no means like; and are not unfrequently very sorry for not having submitted sooner. How gladly, in the year 1794, would the French aristocracy have submitted to that, or rather to an arrangement like that, which I have here mentioned; but the thing is not to be viewed in this light neither; for, eight hundred millions of the present money
are not due to the fundholders: the value of the money has been changed: it has been doubled in the amount of one half; and, therefore, if the debt were paid off, the creditors would be entitled, in fact, to no more than four hundred millions of money. However, if the parties choose to take the matter to themselves, it would be very impertinent on the part of us, the people, to attempt to interfere in order to prevent the settlement; and, I really do believe, that a reformed parliament would never attempt to interfere in the matter unless called upon by one or the other of the parties to do it. A reformed parliament will be an entirely new body, having nothing at all to do with old scores, unless called upon by one of the parties, or by both, to form regulations for the adjustment, and for compelling the parties to submit to the decision of competent judges, of the matter. The worst of it is, that in cases of this sort, the settlement is generally put off so long, that, at last, the parties are unable to come to any settlement at all. This was the case in France. Those who had pocketed the amount of the loans, which formed the debts of the state, reduced the country to a condition in which it was unable to pay those debts. Endless schemes of funding were resorted to; but never any scheme for refunding. The people were too poor to pay; the nobility and loan-mongers and farmers of taxes, who were able to pay, would not pay; at last, the people, no longer able to endure the load of taxation, rose against the imposers of that load; the nobles lost their estates and their titles, the clergy lost their tithes and their lands; the fundholders, their stock and its
interest; and the royal family, the throne; all of which arose, not for want, *at last*, of a disposition to make a just settlement; but for want of having made that settlement *in time*. The states-general were called together; and if they had been called together *ten years earlier*, France might have remained a monarchy for ages yet to come. In many instances, "Better late than never" is a true saying; but, with regard to the *concessions of rulers to their people*, the true maxim is, "Better *never* than *late.*" That this maxim may not have its truth verified in the conduct and history of our rulers, is the anxious prayer of your faithful friend,

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W. M. COBBETT.

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**STATE OF THINGS IN FRANCE.**

52. **Nothing** can, at this time, be so *useful* to you as a clear understanding with regard to that which is now passing in France, and that which has recently passed. Mr. BROUGHAM, in his "*books of useful knowledge,*" will tell you not one single word about this matter. You remember that, in the year 1814, the family of Bourbon, which had been, for more than twenty years, expelled from France, returned thither, by the force of English armies and fleets, and armies subsidized by England. Such of you as are now young, should be told, that the Bourbons took back with them, chiefly from this country, the old nobility of France who had been driven out, and had their titles
taken from them; that they restored these nobility to their former rank and titles; that the foreign armies, which had replaced the Bourbons, stripped Paris of the ornaments and trophies won during the war by the French; that they stripped France of her frontier towns, and imposed a heavy tribute on her people; that the Bourbons, in returning to the throne, agreed to a constitution, or charter, according to which there was to be a house of peers, and a house of deputies elected by the people, or, rather, a select portion of the people in every district, who were to vote by ballot.

53. Such was the settlement, or compact, made between the Bourbons and the people of France. You should be further informed, that, about six or seven months ago, the French King made a change in his ministry, and put at the head of it a Prince Polignac, who had long been in this country, who was very much disliked by the French people, and whose promotion they, whether falsely or truly, ascribed to the influence of the English government; and particularly of the Duke of Waterloo, whom they appear to hate; that his colleagues of the cabinet were men somewhat of the same description; that these men appear to have been hated throughout the whole of France; that, about six months ago, the King called together the two houses of the parliament, and delivered to them a speech; that, in answer to this speech, the house, or Chamber of Deputies, elected by the people, as good as told him, that they would vote him no money as long as he listened to the councils of these ministers, that the King, thereupon, dissolved the parliament,
and ordered a new election, thinking thereby to get a chamber of deputies more subservient to his will; that the King and his Ministers appear to have done every-thing possible in order to secure a majority in the new Chamber of Deputies; that, though France contains about thirty-two millions of people, and, of course, about eight millions of men of full age, only eighty thousand, out of the eight millions, have been permitted to vote; the right of voting being confined to persons of considerable property in house and land; that, notwithstanding these circumstances, the elections, which are just now over, have returned a Chamber of Deputies, having in it a greater majority against the Ministers than the last Chamber had; that the King, aware of this fact, has broken his compact with the people; has broken the constitution, or charter; has drawn the sword, and, according to the old saying, "thrown away the scabbard."

54. He has now issued, by his own authority, these edicts, or ordinances, by the first of which he has ordered all liberty of the press to be totally suspended, so that no man can write or publish any-thing which has not first been read and approved of by some officer appointed by him; by the second, he has dissolved the new Chamber of Deputies, even before they be called together; by the third, he has so altered the law of election, as to make the choosing of Deputies to be solely the work of himself or his Ministers; and thus he stands, surrounded by these Ministers, and by their and his dependents, and having the almost unanimous voice of his people against him and his measures.
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What has happened since this was done, I shall hardly be able to learn before this paper go to the press; but, without knowing anything about that, every one must see that this is downright despotism. Here is a House of Representatives dissolved even before they meet. To talk of law, and to talk of representative government, in France, is, therefore, a monstrous mockery and insult, even to imbecility.

55. One cannot tell exactly when, or how, this matter will end; but of some consequences we may be sure; and, amongst these are, 1. That the Bourbons will now be detested and abhorred by every Frenchman not in their pay: 2. That, if the King remain in France, he must remain by sheer military force; that if that force fail him, he must flee for his life; that, at least, all will be agitation and confusion throughout that immense kingdom; that the French Funds will become of as little value as Spanish or Colombian Bonds; and, at the very least, taxes, if collected at all, must be collected sword in hand.

56. People blame the King for his rashness; but such people do not consider what his real situation was. It would be, at the first brush, rash to do many things, which lose the character of rashness when we take all the circumstances into view. If some one were to tell me, that a friend of mine had jumped from his chamber-window into the street, "Oh, how rash! He must be mad!" I should exclaim; but if, in addition, I were told that my friend's house was on fire, and that the flames were just rushing
into his chamber, so far from calling his jump rash, I should think it wise. This was much about the case with the King of France. He was sure of being burnt if he did not take the jump, and therefore he took it. "Yield;" people say, particularly stupid fund-people, that he should have yielded; that is to say, remain to be burnt. For the truth is this; the French people detest the Bourbons, whom they regard as the cause of their degradation in 1814 and 1815; whom they regard as the allies of their enemies; whom they regard as the cause of the tribute and of the national debt; whom they regard as the cause of all the heavy taxes which they have to pay, and of which they would have hardly any to pay, were it not for the Bourbons, and for those who are paid to uphold the Royal Government. The French people want, and openly say they want, to get rid of the Royal Government, and to have a Republic. This is now so clear, that no one can dispute it. They have proved this so plainly, that, for the king to have attempted to save himself by concessions would have been madness indeed! He had simply this choice: 1. To become "Citizen Charles Capet," and work for his bread; 2. To get off out of the kingdom; or, 3. To try to save himself by open war with the people. He has chosen the latter, which, even if he fail, may afford him the chance of getting off, after all. He may, to be sure, not be able to get off; but, the very worst that can befall him is hardly so bad as either "Citizen Charles," or another trip to England!

57. Besides, it is not so certain that England (or any other
country) would dare receive him, unless prepared for war with France! Will Spain, Portugal, the Dutchman, or England, relish a war with the people of France? Will America be neutral this time, if we attack the French people? The French know our situation as well as we do; the Americans know it: all the world, except the Bourbons, know it. Oh, no! A Government contracts a debt of 800,000,000l. but once. Paul Methuen will not again brag that "England has the honour to be the restorer of legitimacy throughout Europe;" Bankes will not again call for taking the pictures and statues from "the twice-conquered France;" the base Courier will not again say, "The play is over, we may go to supper;" the baser Old Times will not again say, "Let us depart in peace, for our eyes have seen the salvation." Oh, no! the THING, let what may happen, the THING must be quiet, or blow up the Funding System; for who is there that is beast enough, under circumstances pointing to war, that will fail to see, that NOTHING WILL BE SAFE BUT GOLD!

58. No; our THING cannot stir, and the French people know that well. They know that it was the THING, and that alone, that made them submit to the Bourbons; and they now know that they cannot make even an attempt to do this again. It may, and perhaps will, by an alien act, or by some other means, endeavour to do some little matter; but, if the king be defeated (and he will be in the end), our THING will be civil; it will not again drive the French Ambassador out of England! In short, Charles must
be king by the French sword alone; or, he must be "Citizen Capet." There will not again be a Duke of Brunswick and his army to enter France. In short, our THING can give no subsidies, and Charles must do all for himself.

59. But what ought our Government to do, to be prepared for a Republic in France? Why, without losing an hour make a Radical Reform of the House of Commons. We are come back exactly to the old point. The people here, when the French Revolution broke out, would have been content with reform; so they would now: the wise course, then, is, to give them the reform, and leave the French to settle their own affairs in their own manner. The struggle in France may be long and bloody: it must end in a Republic, or in a savage despotism: the latter, for any length of duration, is impossible: and, therefore, again and again, I say reform, reform, as the sure, and, perhaps, the only, means of preserving the institutions and the tranquillity, and restoring the happiness of England.

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

On the 1st of September I shall publish No. I. of The History of the Life and Reign of George IV. When that is done, I shall go back to the earliest times, and publish, in similar Numbers, on the 1st of every month, a Complete History of England. A true one; not a
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romance. The History of George IV. will be the end, of course, unless I should outlive another King. I begin with this last reign, because we want it, and particularly the history of our poor, unfortunate and excellent friend, Queen Caroline, who, by her known hatred of corruption, gave the borough villains a better blow than they had had for many, many years. They have, in fact, never been "their own men" since. These incomparable villains (for what is equal to their villany) shall have their due, their full due, in my history, which shall show how they got their possessions; and enable the nation to judge of the right that they have to keep them. Our histories are romances, written by pensioned and bribed slaves. It is high time that the people knew the truth; high time that they saw the degradation into which they have fallen, and the causes of it. This task was reserved for me; and, God giving me life and health, I will perform it. The Numbers will come out monthly, price 6d., as low as I can sell it, with any thing like compensation to myself; and I do this, because I wish people in even low circumstances to read it.
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Mills, Jowett, and Mills, Bolt Court, Fleet Street.
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
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
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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 Cockburne, 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 damper, 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 assem-bled, 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 Brittany 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 unconstitutio-nal 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 arron-dissement, 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 de-clarations, 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 them? 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 bearding 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
irreligion and democracy, it would signify less to the neighbour-
ing countries. But when the mildest 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 Wil-
liam C OBBETT.
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 25th 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 everyone 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 labours, 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 in 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-
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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 "seditious 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 carcase, 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-hoy 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-hoys 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-hoys 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-hoys; but their demerits are not, like the field shoy-hoys, 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 tone; 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. That 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 those 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 shoyboys 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 shoy-hoy, 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 Beevor, 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 could 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. Peel 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. 11, Bolt-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. 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.

I. 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 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 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 Abbeys, 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.


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. 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.

[Printed by Wm. Cobbett, Johnson's-court, Fleet-street.]
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.

London: Published by the Author, 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street, and sold by all Booksellers.
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 seditious 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
1st October, 1830.

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 Botley that imputation which it had long endured, 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 fearlessly call upon you to declare, if it has been not uniformly straightforward, 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 indepen-
dence which has excited the enmity of my opponents, but my known constitutional principles, and zealous support to our beloved institutes, 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 neighbour-hood, 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. WARNER, 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 WILLIS 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 bullies 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 knew, 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 re-
sidence amongst you tended to keep you in a state of ab-
ject 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 Flem-
ing, 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 any-
thing of my conduct towards the persons that were in my 
employ, and towards the labouring people of the neighbour-
hood; 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 ne-
cessary. For these reasons I state the following facts: 

1. That I made it a rule, that no man that worked regu-
larly for me, should, during his being employed by me, be a 
pauper, that is, receive parish relief. I paid my men, how-
ever 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 Reuben
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 extortioning 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 grappers 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 grappers 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 grappers 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 grappers. 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 slink 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 Hinxman for their exertions on this occasion; and, indeed, my 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 graspers 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 enclose 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 curs were the graspers, 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 arc 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 Bot-
ley Parson (who, I hear, was one of the crew at the
dinner); and, in short, I will supply you with this and an-
other little book for you to read all the winter. The remain-
ing 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, Curdrige 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, 1830,

Most humbly showeth,

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, 113 of them are, in one case, now receiving out of the taxes 650,000l. 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 hold 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, 1,600,000l. 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 necessaries 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 felons 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.

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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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 it is 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 in-
creasing for many years, and are now more on the increase 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 suffi-
ciency, 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? Ev-
ery 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 Com-
mons. 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, while those who work have been, and are, half-starving, those who live on the taxes have been, and are, wallowing in luxury and shining in splendour; 4. That, as the poverty and misery of the labouring people have increased, new laws have been made, by which new and heretofore 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 those who make and repair the buildings; all who labour are in the same boat; all suffer alike; and from the same causes; 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 Ellman, sen., near Lewes, Sussex, 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 fireside, and that, now, not a single man in the parish did it, except one or two to whom he 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) laid 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 foot soldier, exclusive of clothes, lodging, fuel and candle! And, while the hard-working men were, and are, living in this misery, they see, 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 rate! 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, thou 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 quietly 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 recluse 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 7,000,000l. a year, when the present king was born, and which now amount to 60,000,000l. 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, 650,000l.; that is to say, these 113 men receive more in one year than would maintain 32,000 labourer's 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 sinecures 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 Gagging 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 Gagging 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 76,546l. 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-Waiters, 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 an inch further, then, we have Sinecures to the amount of 400,000l. 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 642,621l. 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 out-fit, 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 cease 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 20s. 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 19s. a bushel at Botley. People here give salt to their cattle in great abundance and to surprising advantage; they take their hay in 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 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 rest of them. 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 Frere! 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 worn 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 51,589l. 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 1,200l. a year! This is Henry Watkin Williams Wynne. Not "Squeaking Wynne," 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 47,600l. in principal money; and, if we were to reckon, as we ought, the interest and compound interest, he would receive 155,400l. 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 800l. a year up to 1808 (the date of the account now before me); so that, in 1808, this gentleman had received, in principal money, 26,400l., besides his salary for four years' Envoyship, and, if he be alive now, he has received 33,600l. for the four years' service. The interest and compound interest, which always ought to be reckoned in these cases, would make his sum surpass 100,000l. 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 man's son. This person was Chargé d'affaire at Munich for two years, for which he has been receiving a pension of 250l. 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 Shepherd 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 51,589l. 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 3000l. a year for his own life, and 1200l. a year for the life of Mrs. Burke, and, besides these, a grant of 2500l. 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 submission 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, 2500l. By authority of two patents, dated 24th Oct. 1793. That is to say, 1160l. during the life of Lord Royston and the Hon. and Rev. Anchild Grey. And, 1340l. during the life of the Princess Amelia, Lord Althorp, and Wm. Caven- dish, 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 2500l. 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 COURIER, '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 60,000l. 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 66,000l. of principal money out of the taxes, and as the lives 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 700,000l. of principal money; the Marquis Camden 700,000l.; Lord Arden not less than 500,000l.; the Seymours not less than 400,000l.; Garnier not less than 250,000l.; the Knoxes 400,000l.; Lord Hobart 400,000l.; the Dukes of Richmond, Grafton, Marquis Bute, Lord Melville, and others, each nearly half a million at least; and many, many others 200,000l. and 100,000l. each. Some 50,000l. 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 300l. 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
bone and flesh of flesh with her Lord, has rendered what some people might call services; but have they not been pretty decently paid for in that husband's enormous salaries; and in the 118,000l. of principal money, which he has received from his Sinecure 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 cries! My God! And, is this always to go on? There is Lady Augusta Murray, now called D'Amiland, who was married at Rome to the Duke of Sussex. A very virtuous lady, I dare say, but what has she done to merit 3417l. a year out of the taxes? This lady has not received, in this way, less than 50,000l. of the public money, principal money; and, for what? Mrs. Huskisson is to have a pension after her husband's death: and, for what? He has a pension of 1200l. a year for life, when he is out of place; so has 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 Cumberland, 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 Hun, during their lives and the survivor of them, for 500l. 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. Hun, 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 has she to the taxes that we pay upon our beer and candles and tea?

'Grant of 400l., 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, 200l. a year for the survivor.'

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

A grant in trust for

'Mary Anne Herries, a year.............. 300'
'Catherine Herries...................... 150'
'Isabella Maria Herries.................. 150'
'Julia Mary Herries...................... 150'
'Lady Louisa Paget...................... 300'
'Same (now Lady L. Erskine)............. 300'

This is a sister of the Marquis of Anglesea.
1st November, 1830.

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
Henrietta 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 Malthus, 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.

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

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

Jane Wraxall .................. £400

Grant to

Sarah Pierson .................. £27
Mary Pierson .................. 27
Diana Anne Pierson .................. 27
Frances Pierson .................. 27
Reverend Thomas Pierson .................. 130

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

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

Gertrude Halifax, a year ............... £60
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 Halifaxies 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 Halifaxies, 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 Madeleine Wickham, per year, 675l.'

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 500l. a year? or Catherine Popham 200l. ? Or Seizan De Meuron, a foreigner (in the teeth of positive law), 393l. 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 200l. 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, 200l.'

These are foreigners: there can be no doubt of that. The Prince of Mecklinburgh Strelitz is in this list for 2000l. a year. La Comtesse D'Alton, 300l. 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 insolem 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 1037l. a year! And this is a reward for public services! 'The Right Hon. Thos. Steel' has his sinecure of 1,633l. 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 Harding is Surveyor-General of the Ports; Sir George Shee is Receiver-General; Hon. Edw. Acheson is Customer 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 Donoughmore is another Searcher and Packer; Marquis of Drogheda and Mr. Bagwell are Muster-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, 15,200l. Mr. Abbot, the Speaker, has, for many years, received 1,500l. 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 20,000l. 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 seditious, 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
Dorothy 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, 200l.
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 prodigal 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 Parson Malthus 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 1,000l. 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 340l. a year; but, what is
out of nature as well as shameless, is, that the SISTERS of the
Earl of NOTTINGTON 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
Brudenels, the Seymours, the Talbots, the Herberts, Finchess,
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, 150,000l. a year. The first of these is held by a
Cousin of the Duke of Rutland; the second by the Uncle of Viscount
Two-penny Trash;

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 preference, these fifteen are ten times as great as the other eleven. So that the Borough families have ten eleventhst, at least, of the Bishoppricks.

Now, let us suppose, for the sake of the argument, that the eleven other Bishoppricks 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 Courier, 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 Bishoppricks applies to Livings, 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 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 Peersage; 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 Wiits, Ushers, Doorkeepers, &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 camlet gown and the wand. The Duke of Grafton, for instance, is the
Sealer in the Court of King's Bench at 2,886l. a year, while the Honourable Louisa Browning and Lady B. Mostyn are Custos Brevium in the Court of Common Pleas! Lord Walsingham is in the petty office of Comptroller of first-fruits in the Court of Exchequer at 150l. a year; and Arabella Walker Heueage (a relation of the Earl of Aylesford) is the 'Chief Usher!' A pretty office enough for a high-blooded Lady! Three of the Moores, two of them Clergymen, and all relations of the Earl of Mount-Cashel, are the Register in the Prerogative Court, at 3,670l. 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, 3,000l. 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 seditious 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, Will, 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 Lords' 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 sons 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 three of the King's sons receive. I believe that the family of Grenville, in all its branches, received before the death of the Marquis of Buckingham, more per annum 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 wars 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 preventing a Reform. Yet, it was impossible to raise money enough in taxes to continue these emoluments and to carry on the wars 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 those 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 those 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 Herries; 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 15l. 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-
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companied with vows of vengeance. I remember that I particularly pointed out to him the Herrieses 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-
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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 pound eleven shillings 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 these two royal
List of Books.

OCTAVO 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.

[Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's-court, Fleet-street.]
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

London: Published by the Author, 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street; and sold by all Booksellers.
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 unseen degrees, "brought down to live almost wholly on miserable potatoes, "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 UPHUSBAND (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 par-
"ticulars, 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 "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
causes, truly described and illustrated, they will learn from the passage that I now urge you to honour with an attentive perusal.

The stack-yards down this valley are beautiful to behold. They contain from five to fifteen bangling 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 FIDDLINGTON, each of which exceeded two hundred and fifty feet in length. At a farm, which, in the old maps, is called Chissenbury 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 I 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 on foot, 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 piece, 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 PEWSLEY 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 here. There are, almost always, two or three large clumps of trees in every parish, and a rookery or two (not rug-rookery) to every parish. By the water's edge there are willows; and to almost every farm, there is a fine orchard, 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 find a more beautiful and pleasant country than 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 sweets were absolutely necessary for the baby, there would be quite honey 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 water 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, 365 lbs. for the year. Next the bacon, 730 lbs. As to the quantity of mutton produced: the sheep are bred here, and not fatted 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 15 lbs. a quarter, then the family will want, within a trifle of, seven sheep a year. Of bacon or pork, 36 score 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Qrs. Bush.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Wheat      | 3 6  
| Barley     | 22 3  
| 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 eatables, and are all eaten too. And as to clothing, and, indeed, fuel and all other wants beyond eating and drinking, are there not 7000 fleeces 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 580, 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 10l. 10s. The barley (for bacon and beer), 22 qrs. 3 bushels, at present price (34s. the quarter), amounts to 37l. 16s. 8d. The seven sheep, at 40s. each, amount to 14l. The total is 62l. 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. 6d. 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 23l. 8s. a year, for food, drink, clothing, fuel, and every thing, whereas I allow 62l. 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 mere 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 502 families, or 2,510 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 necessaries, for five hundred and two families! Aye, 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 those who do the work are half starved! In the 100 families there are, we will suppose, 80 able working men, and as 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 town; being Fisherton and Salisbury. 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 Rivers 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 parsons, (to "relieve" 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 men 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 so much away
from the farmer, who would have so much less to pay to his land-
lord, his tradesmen, his labourers, and to enjoy in his own family,
or to increase his stores or his stock.

The Scotch feelosophers 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 fundholder
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 taxes are paid, will employ them; and that,
therefore, here is only a shifting 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 Wen 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 Wen;
no man that considers the immense quantities of human food that
are absolutely destroyed in it; no man that considers that its pop-
ulation, including ten miles round, exceeds that of the counties
of Bedford, Berks, Bucks, Cambridge, Chester, Cornwall, Cumber-
land, Derby, and Dorset, being eight out of the forty-two coun-
ties 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 tumblings-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 hedges: see England, this land of plenty and of never-ending stores, without an old wheat-riek, 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 nailed shoes, begging their way up to this scene of waste, in order to get a chance snap at the crumbs and the orts rejected by the sons and daughters of idleness and luxury: look at all this, thou 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 horrid 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 philosopher 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.

Fortescue, 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 anything 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 par-
rishes. 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 em-
ployment 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 Aris-
tocracy, 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 con-
veyed 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 meals.
For the 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 land-
lord, 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. Canning, 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,
Two-penny Trash;

"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 verifica- tion 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
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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, shown 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 con- "stables, 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, pur- "suant to summons, when, upon the oath of special con- "stable 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 ac- "tuated by the most devoted feelings of loyalty and at- "tachment 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
"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
1st December, 1830.

"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 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 pound eleven and sixpence, 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 these 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.

A SKETCH OF THE LIFE OF GENERAL LAFAYETTE. Translated from the French by JAMES P. COBBETT. Just published, price 1s.

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Mills, Jowett, and Mills, Bolt Court, Fleet Street.
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.
1st January, 1831.

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 Jezabel 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 agreeably 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 parsons 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 undisputed 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 sums 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, sinecures, 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 Caesar the things that are Caesar'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 Thessalonia, 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 nought; 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
clergy? 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, 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 no 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, conceited 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, beside, 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 Winchilsea and the parsons will insist upon referring us to those 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-
sons, 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 glebes, 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
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"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 require 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 forward 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 confirm 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 in-"stant 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 Ambas- sadors, 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 ex- 
hortations, 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, there- "fore, 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 re- side 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-
property, the leaving of which in the hands of the parsons produce 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 30 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, 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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No. VIII.

COBBETT’S

TWO-PENNY TRASH

For the Month of February, 1831.

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 Stoneham Park.

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-
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. Peel, Knatchbull, and divers others, stated as a matter of course that the fires had been instigated by persons going about in gigs, curricles, 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-kimbo to represent the handle, and cried out to everybody 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
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her till she had washed all the dirty linen, and had scrubbed every floor in the house;” a remedy, by-the-by, which I beg leave to recommend to my readers in general, if they happen to be troubled with wives with imaginations so extraordinarily strong.

Strong, however, as the indulgence of the husband had rendered the imagination of this lazy she-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 instrumentality 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 sincere 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 machinations of all the discontented spirits of London, who, besides all the rest, hardly know wheat from peas when they see them growing, hardly know 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 assailing 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 fo-
igners, 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 publi-
cation 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 speakings
and writings? and how is a man of sense to believe that from Dover to Penzance, from Pevensey to Carlisle, 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 Sussex, 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 come 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
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submit; of the latter 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 one, 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 fires.—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 own habits 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 endowed 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 fires it was quite another matter, as Rexworthly 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 Wilts 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 assailable 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 homestead at all; it is only a trespass at the utmost, 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 reconnoitreng 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 in 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 rick thus situated, a man finds it guarded he turns 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 vengeful 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, fit 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 everywhere 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-
liam; 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 sacred. 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 even 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 latter, with this assurance, however, that, if you follow this advice, amongst all
1st February, 1831.

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.

Kensington, 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 seas 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 necessaries 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-barrows 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, befel 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
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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 GRASPALLS 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 GRASPALLS the next gullet 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.

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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 abso-
lutely to force you to go, as men who are transported are
forced to go; but it is intended to get you to give your con-
sent 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 Scrip-
tures, 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 un-
der 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, pro-
posed 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 Go-
vernment 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 good-
ness, 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 in-
creasing poverty. On the contrary, they have gone on in-
creasing 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 pro-
digious; 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 pe-
tition 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 send-
ing 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 state-
ments 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 94,900l. 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, 110,000l. 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 Hano-
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 145,267l. 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 20,966l. 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, authorising 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
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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 MORT-GAGE 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 everything 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-
sitous 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, 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 villainous 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 bondschildren, 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-
vise 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
Two-Penny Trash;

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 boggling, 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 anything 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 advertiring 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 anything that I know 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-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 anybody 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 Two-penny Trash.

Wm. Cobbett.

[Printed by Wm. Cobbett, Johnson's Court, Fleet Street.]
TO THE
LABOURERS OF ENGLAND,

1. Observations to Labourers, on the subject of Parliamentary Reform.
2. Instructions to Labourers for raising Cobbett’s Corn.
3. About Truck-system and about Preston Cock.

Kensington, 1st April, 1831.

My Friends,

I address myself to the labourers of the whole kingdom; but I am particularly desirous that this paper should be read by those of you who live in the beautiful valleys of the south of Wiltshire, and in the little hard parishes, as I call them, in the north of Hampshire, beginning at the lower end of Surrey and sweeping along over the little dips in the high lands till you come to Stockbridge, southward, and to Weyhill and Coombe, northward. I wish to see you all well off; but those of you who inhabit these parts of the country have

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been, as far as my observation has gone, the most hardly treated; and, therefore, I am the more desirous to render you service. Again; of the numerous parishes in these counties I select as objects of my still more particular regard, the inhabitants of the little bunch of hard parishes in Hampshire, consisting of East Stratton, West Stratton, Mitcheldever, Weston, Wonston, Sutton Scotney, Bullington, Barton Stacey, Hunton, and Stoke-Charity. The reasons why I have this very particular regard for the working people of these parishes, I shall have an opportunity of more fully stating another time; but I cannot pass over the present occasion without declaring in this public manner, that my partiality in this case arises from the circumstance of Joseph and Robert Mason, of Bullington, having been transported for life, after having been condemned to death. To relate the whole of the story of these two excellent labourers, will, when I come to discharge, as I shall one of these days, that sacred duty, due to defenceless virtue and to truth; the whole of their story, together with that of poor Cooke, of Mitcheldever, whose funeral will be remembered in that parish for ages yet to come; the whole of this story, together with all the interesting circumstances belonging to it, will demand a book; which book, if it shall please God to preserve my life and give me health, I will write and publish.

For the present suffice it to observe, that the two Masons, Joseph, aged thirty-two years, having a wife and one child, and Robert, aged twenty-four, unmarried, were both natives of Bullington, where they had lived all their lives. They have a mother who has been many years a widow, whom they always maintained and kept from the parish by their labour. They rented a cottage and three acres and a half of land at ten pounds a year. They kept a cow, raised potatoes, turnip seed, and used to have a little bit of wheat.
This they cultivated themselves. They worked for the neighbouring farmers; earned their money by very hard labour; were perfectly sober and honest men, and an example in these respects to the whole country round about; but, it was proved that they read Cobbett's Register, and Cobbett's History of the Protestant Reformation; and they were condemned to death, Joseph for being present, as one of a mob who received two sovereigns from Thomas Dowden, of Mitcheldever; and Robert for being present in the mob who received five shillings from the Parson at Barton Stacey. This is all that I shall say relative to these affairs at present, except that I vouch for the truth of the facts here stated; that, when I was in Hampshire the other day, I went to see the poor widow, their mother; that I found that Joseph's child was living with her; that Joseph's wife was gone to live at service at Barton Farm, Bishop Stocke; and that the widow was likely to keep the cottage, her cow, and piece of ground, owing to the goodness of the owner, whom I understood to be Mr. Edward Twinham, of Witchurch; and here, in these circumstances, you have the foundation of my most particular anxiety for the well-being of the labouring people, including the makers of the ploughs, and the makers of the cloths, and the makers of the buildings, as well as the tillers of the land in this little bunch of flinty parishes.

My friends, the working people of England, whether you actually turn up the land or make the implements for doing it with; whether you cut down the corn or the wood, or make the tools necessary for the purpose, or weave or make up the clothing necessary for those who do the work: to the whole of you I now announce with feelings of great joy that we are now about to have THAT reform of parliament, for which Joseph Mason carried a petition to the king, from Bullington to Brighton, signed by about two hundred of the
labourers of those little hard parishes, which petition the king did not receive; and I will here add my opinion that, if the king had not been advised not to receive it, but to receive it graciously, there never would have been a riot in those little hard parishes. In that petition, drawn up by Joseph Mason himself, the king would have seen the true state of the labourers of England. However, the past cannot be recalled: we cannot bring back yesterday; and, though the two Masons, and many others, may be, and I trust will be, brought back to their parents, their wives and their children, let us, in the mean time, make the most of the good which, through the means of the king and his ministers, we are now about to obtain.

As long as the parliament remained unreformed, there was no hope of better days for the labourer; the farmer was unable to give him a sufficiency of wages without ruin to himself, owing to the enormous burthens which he had to bear. The reform of parliament will, and must diminish these burthens. It was useless for men to be industrious, sober, and frugal, while misery was still their lot in spite of the constant practice of these virtues. They laboured in despair; and therefore when idleness was as well rewarded as industry, why should they labour? Things will now be changed: we shall have encouragement to practise care and frugality. I am about to teach you how each of you who has a little piece of ground in his hands may greatly add to his well being; but even this I was discouraged from doing as long as the parliament remained unreformed. I, some years ago, wrote a little book called "Cottage Economy," of which book scores of thousands of copies have been sold. It teaches the brewing of beer, the making of bread, the rearing of pigs and poultry, the keeping of a cow, the curing of bacon; and, in short, every-thing necessary to teach a small family how to make the most of a little
bit of ground, and how to live well by good management. Particularly how to dispense with the everlasting pot hung over the fire to cook the soul-degrading potatoes. But, even when I wrote that book, I told the reader that it would be of little use in general without a reform of the parliament.

It may be asked, will a reform of the parliament give the labouring man a cow or a pig; will it put bread and cheese into his satchel, instead of infernal cold potatoes; will it give him a bottle of beer to carry to the field, instead of making him lie down upon his belly to drink out of the brook; will it put upon his back a Sunday coat and send him to church, instead of leaving him to stand lounging about shivering, with an unshaven face and a carcase half covered with a ragged smock-frock, with a filthy cotton shirt beneath it as yellow as a kite's foot? Will parliamentary reform put an end to the harnessing of men and women by a hired overseer to draw carts like beasts of burthen; will it put an end to the practice of putting up labourers to auction like negroes in Carolina or Jamaica; will it put an end to the system which caused the honest labourer to be fed worse than the felons in the gaols; will it put an end to the system which caused almost the whole of the young women to incur the indelible disgrace of being on the point of being mothers before they were married, owing to that degrading poverty which prevented the fathers themselves from obtaining the means of paying the parson and the clerk; will parliamentary reform put an end to the foul, the beastly, the nasty practice of separating men from their wives by force, and committing to the hired overseer the bestial superintendence of their persons day and night; will parliamentary reform put an end to this which was amongst the basest acts which the Roman tyrants committed towards their slaves? The enemies of reform jeeringly ask us, whether reform would do
these things for us; and I answer distinctly that IT WOULD DO THEM ALL.

But there are two things which we ought to be upon our guard against: the first is, a notion that all these things will be done at once and immediately: and the other is the notion that we can all be equally rich, and all live in the same sort of way. With regard to the first of these, it would be to show very little good sense, to suppose that such a mass of evils and abuses is wholly to be removed in a day. Lord Grey, who is the king's chief minister, and who is the real and sole author of this reform, has never had any hand in any of those measures which have caused our sufferings; but it is impossible for him, even him, to restore things to a proper state in a day or even in a year. We want the thing done; but we want it done peaceably, and without the creating of any more suffering than strict justice demands, and than is necessary to the happiness and honour of our country. There must be, you will understand, suffering; there must be distress created amongst others, in consequence of doing bare justice to the industrious classes. Reform will create nothing, except that it will cause the labourers of the country to be more productive: it will not (except in this comparatively trifling degree) add to the quantity of bread and meat and other things in the country. Generally speaking, it will create nothing that is good to man; but it will cause a different distribution of every-thing that is good. There are millions, yea, millions, who now live luxuriously in idleness, while those who do the work are, or at least have been; half starved. Reform will take from the idlers and restore to the laborious. But a peaceable reform, that which we all desire, will not do this all at once. From this new distribution the idlers must suffer; and though the new distribution will be perfectly just, justice will demand from us that we make the suffering as supportable as is consistent
with our own well-being and with the safety, honour, and welfare of our country. For instance, now, suppose there to be in the ten little hard parishes above-mentioned, some pensioner, dead-weightman, sinecure-holder, pluralist-parson, loan-monger, or any other person living upon the labour of the people; and suppose it to be strictly just, that laws should be passed that would take from him all that he has to live on, it would not be morally just in us to demand such a law, because common humanity would forbid it: We, therefore, who have been suffering forty, nay more than forty years, or fifty, ought now to be patient for a little longer. We see land; and it would be foolish indeed to jump into the sea of confusion and anarchy to reach it, when we know, that, by quietly remaining on board, the ship would bring us to it and land us in safety. By the unnatural, the monstrous system of debts and taxes, the riches and the food and the raiment of the country have been drawn together into great masses. "Where the carcase is, there will the eagles be gathered together." The people have followed the masses of riches, of food and of raiment. The million and a half of human beings assembled in and around London: the swarms got together at Bath, Brighton, Cheltenham, and various other places, are maintained there by the money, food and raiment drawn from the productive parts of the country. When the reformed parliament shall have diminished the taxes to their proper standard, the money, the food, and the raiment, will remain with those who own and cultivate the land, and who make the clothing, and the houses, and the tools. The swarms before-mentioned will and must suffer from this restoration of goods to their right owners; and as men when assembled in great bodies make more noise than when they are thinly scattered, the outcry of the sufferers will be dreadful, and especially if the suffering be pushed to its extreme all at once. Reform will be reviled as the cause of all this suf-
fering; the revilers not considering that the beggaring of the
one fat pensioner, puts a flitch of bacon on the rack of two
or three hundred labourers. It will be the duty of the go-
ernment to do the thing, and it will be our duty to stand
by that government in the doing of it; but when the actual
dispersion of whole masses of people must be the unavoidable
consequence, it would neither be politically wise nor morally
just, even if the government had the power to effect it
peaceably, to do the thing all at once. Therefore, my
friends, let us be patient: Reform is merely the instru-
ment with which to do the good; and if we have but a little
patience, the whole of the good will come. Be patient
therefore now, prove to those who have insolently called you
peasantry and lower orders, that you have sense and modera-
tion and humanity and love of country, if they have
none.

With regard to the other topic; namely, the notion that
all men ought to be equally rich and live in the same sort
of way, it is not necessary for me to say much, or indeed,
any-thing, to the far greater part of you; and it would not
have been necessary to say one word to any of you on the
subject, had it not been for the stupid industry of those who
have been living on your labours, to give you what they call
education; that is to say, book-knowledge, which they have
been cramming down your throats by the means of their
schools and their tracts, all having one and the same ten-
dency; namely, to make you live contentedly upon pota-
toes, while their tables were covered with the best of bread
and of meat, and some of them eating strawberries at a
guinea an ounce. In this work of educating, however, they
have, without intending it, produced a pretty prevalent opi-
nion that there ought to be an equal distribution of riches
as well as of knowledge; and that all men ought to live in
the same sort of way. This, a bare survey of the world
will convince you, never can be. If there were no rich
farmer, there could be no store of corn or of meat in the
country; if there were no gentlemen to be magistrates, there
could be neither peace nor property; if there were no legis-
lators of great integrity and knowledge, the country must
be torn to pieces for want of laws; if there were no men of
great learning and experience, there could be no judges to
execute the laws; if there were no statesmen, there could
be no state, and the nation would have no means of pro-
viding for its independence and safety. If all men were
upon an equality in point of means, England would become
what the wilds of America are, inhabited by wild men, no-
body would work except just to provide food and raiment
for the day; and our country would become the most beg-
garly upon the earth, instead of being what it formerly was
(and I hope and trust will be again) the pride of its own
people and the envy of the world.

Besides, my friends; besides this impossibility; besides
that this inequality in point of riches is contrary to the
order of the world and the decrees of God; besides this, I
beseech you not to overlook the advantages which the
labouring man has over his rich neighbour. The latter has
diet and drink and fuel and clothing and bedding, which the
former would not look at with longing eyes if he knew the
cares and anxieties with which they are attended. What
would the lord or the squire, sitting in his carpeted room,
and half a score dishes before him, give for that appetite
with which the ploughman eats his bread and cheese, curled
up under the shelter of a hedge, or with which, sitting on
his brick floor, he eats the bit of bacon and pudding after his
return, dividing the last mouthful with his children! And,
oh! what would either of them give, when getting into his
bed of down, for that sleep which the labourer enjoys when
he tumbles down upon his bed or upon a bench too weary
to pull off his clothes! We must set one thing against the
other. The labourer knows nothing of the curse of ambition; he has nobody to grudge him his earnings; there is no hellish envy at work to calumniate him, pull him down, or supplant him. His children, destined to tread the same path which he has trodden, he has always with him or near him. I have always remarked that the labouring people are the most affectionate parents and children; and if there were no more than this, this alone is more than an over-balance for all the advantages that riches and high-life can bestow. For my own part, though enjoying all the blessings that constant sobriety, resolute abstinence, and consequent uninterrupted health can give, I have often, after very serious reflection upon the matter, come to the determination that I should have been still happier than I have been, though I have been a very happy man, if I had remained (with a just and sufficient reward for my labour) a labouring man all the days of my life.

But, though I thus preach content, far from me the villainous thought of recommending to those who labour truly and honestly to be content without receiving a sufficiency of food and of raiment for their labour. And, of all the detestable villains ever fostered by tyranny and corruption, the canting wretches, called Methodist teachers, appear to me to be the worst. These are the true blasphemers; for they represent the Almighty as willing and even wishing the people should live in a half-starving state; that they should be fed upon garbage or potatoes; and that this is conducive to their eternal salvation. Read that Bible, my friends, about which these canting hypocrites talk so much, read it; only read it, and you will find that, from one end to the other, the promise of good living is made to those who shall do well, and the threat of hunger to those who shall do ill. You will find the precept, that those who will not work shall not eat. You will find a long string of bitter
curses on those who defraud the labourer of his hire. You will find that even the ox is not to be muzzled as he treadeth out the corn. You will find that the labourer, when he has discharged his task, is not to be sent away empty handed, but is to receive freely, from the granary, the flock, and the wine-press, of the master. And yet, in the face of all this, these canting Methodist ruffians, well crammed with meat and ale themselves, preach to the people that, to live upon potatoes, or to lie down and die quietly with starvation, is a mark of grace, and a sure means of securing eternal salvation. Of all the tools of the boroughmongers these have been the most choice. For forty years they were labouring to induce the labouring people of England to live upon potatoes; while they, by defrauding them of a part of the few pennies that they got, were living in luxury.

Far from me to inculcate content with potatoes in exchange for hard labour. Such labour merits a sufficiency of bread, of meat, of beer, good fuel, good clothing, good lodging; and if the man who labours honestly and truly at whatever sort of work, do not obtain a sufficiency of these for himself and his family too, I despise him for being content; I despise him for being quiet; I despise him for lying down and starving with the hope of salvation for his reward. Such a man is a worm made to be devoured by the fowls of the air, or to be trodden on and squeezed to death. For many, many years, and especially since the union with Ireland, endeavours have been making to induce the English labourers to live upon potatoes. Had it not been for that accursed, that soul-degrading, that man-enslaving root; the people of Ireland never could have been brought to their present miserable state. All manner of means have been resorted to to bring the English to their present miserable state. Thank God Almighty, the attempts have failed; and I do not know that I ever expe-
rienced more pleasure in all my life than I did upon finding that the working people in the bunch of little flinty parishes in Hampshire, now get a sufficiency of bacon and bread. The whole of my journey into Hampshire, all the circumstances considered, was the pleasantest I ever took in my life. The havoc made in those parishes amongst the labourers has been dreadful; the victims have been numerous; but those who remain have bacon and bread; and never will they again go to the fields with cold potatoes in their satchels. Mr. Dedams, shoe-maker, of Sutton Scotney, told me that the labourers were well off and contented; that the farmers adhered faithfully to their promises, and that harmony reigned in the villages such as he had never known before. "Do they get bacon and bread?" I said; and when he told me that they did, I said, "That is enough."

Now, my friends, this bacon being the standard with me, I am about to give you instructions how to get more bacon than you would be able to get without those instructions. I am not conceited enough to think that I can tell you anything useful concerning those things which you have been accustomed to from your infancy; but I am going to tell you about something that you cannot know anything about. I am going to tell you how to get the means of fatting a pig of ten score, without peas, beans, barley, or oats. God forgive you if you think I am going to recommend the everlasting pot-boiling potatoes, which, as you well know, make a sort of stuff that boils half away in the pot, and the remainder of which is only fit to grease wheels with. I am going to tell you how to get bacon as solid and as sweet as that fatted upon barley-meal, and that too, without going to either farmer or miller; that is to say, if you have from ten to twenty rods of ground, and will strictly follow my directions.
1st April, 1831.

Instructions to Labourers for Raising Cobbett's Corn.

I will first describe this corn to you. It is that which is sometimes called Indian corn; and sometimes people call it Indian wheat. It is that sort of corn which the disciples ate as they were going up to Jerusalem on the Sabbath-day. They gathered it in the fields as they went along and ate it green, they being "an hungered," for which, you know, they were reproved by the pharisees. I have written a treatise on this corn, in a book, which I sell for two and sixpence, giving a minute account of the qualities, the culture, the harvesting, and the various uses of this corn; but I shall here confine myself to what is necessary for a labourer to know about it, so that he may be induced to raise, and may be enabled to raise enough of it in his garden to fat a pig of ten score.

There are a great many sorts of this corn. They all come from countries which are hotter than England. This sort, which my eldest son brought into England, is a dwarf kind, and is the only kind that I have known to ripen in this country: and I know that it will ripen in this country in any summer; for, I had a large field of it in 1828 and 1829; and last year (my lease at my farm being out at Michaelmas, and this corn not ripening till late in October) I had about two acres in my garden at Kensington. Within the memory of man there have not been three summers so cold as the last, one after another; and no one so cold as the last. Yet my corn ripened perfectly well, and this you will be satisfied of if you be amongst the men to whom this corn is given from me. You will see that it is in the shape of the cone of a spruce fir; you will see that the grains are fixed round a stalk which is called the cob. These stalks or ears come out of the side of the plant which has leaves
like a flag, which plant grows to about three feet high, and has two or three, and sometimes more, of these ears or bunches of grain. Out of the top of the plant comes the tassel, which resembles the plumes of feathers upon a hearse; and this is the flower of the plant.

The grain is, as you will see, about the size of a large pea, and there are from two to three hundred of these grains upon the ear, or cob. In my treatise I have shown that, in America, all the hogs and pigs, all the poultry of every sort, the greater part of the oxen, and a considerable part of the sheep, are fatted upon this corn; that it is the best food for horses; and that, when ground and dressed in various ways, it is used in bread, in puddings, in several other ways in families; and that, in short, it is the real staff of life, in all the countries where it is in common culture, and where the climate is hot. When used for poultry, the grain is rubbed off the cob. Horses, sheep, and pigs, bite the grain off, and leave the cob; but horned cattle eat cob and all.

I am to speak of it to you, however, only as a thing to make you some bacon, for which use it surpasses all other grain whatsoever. When the grain is in the whole ear, it is called corn in the ear; when it is rubbed off the cob, it is called shelled corn. Now, observe, ten bushels of shelled corn are equal, in the fatting of a pig, to fifteen bushels of barley; and fifteen bushels of barley, if properly ground and managed, will make a pig of ten score, if he be not too poor when you begin to fat him. Observe that every body who has been in America knows, that the finest hogs in the world are fatted in that country; and no man ever saw a hog fatted in that country in any other way than tossing the ears of corn over to him in the sty, leaving him to bite it off the ear, and deal with it according to his pleasure. The finest and solidest bacon in the world is produced in this way.

Now, then, I know, that a bushel of shelled corn may be
1st April, 1831.

grown upon one single rood of ground, sixteen feet and a half each way. I have grown more than that this last summer; and any of you may do the same if you will strictly follow the instructions which I am now about to give you.

1. Late in March (I am doing it now), or in the first fortnight of April, dig your ground up very deep, and let it lie rough till between the seventh and fifteenth of May.

2. Then, (in dry weather, if possible,) dig up the ground again, and make it smooth at top. Draw drills with a line two feet apart, just as you do drills for peas; rub the grains off the cob; put a little very rotten and fine manure along the bottom of the drill; lay the grains along upon that six inches apart; cover the grain over with fine earth, so that there be about an inch and a half on the top of the grain; pat the earth down a little with the back of a hoe to make it lie solid on the grain.

3. If there be any danger of slugs, you must kill them before the corn comes up if possible; and the best way to do this is to put a little hot lime in a bag, and go very early in the morning, and shake the bag all round the edges of the ground and over the ground. Doing this three or four times very early in a dewy morning or just after a shower, will destroy all the slugs: and this ought to be done for all other crops as well as for that of corn.

4. When the corn comes up, you must take care to keep all birds off till it is two or three inches high; for the spear is so sweet, that the birds of all sorts are very apt to peck it off, particularly the doves and the larks and pigeons. As soon as it is fairly above ground, give the whole of the ground (in dry weather) a flat hoeing, and be sure to move all the ground close round the plants. When the weeds begin to appear again, give the ground another hoeing, but always in dry weather. When the plants get to be about a foot high
or a little more, dig the ground between the rows, and work the earth up a little against the stems of the plants.

5. About the middle of August you will see the tassel springing up out of the middle of the plant, and the ears coming out of the sides. If weeds appear in the ground hoe it again to kill the weeds, so that the ground may be always kept clean. About the middle of September you will find the grains of the ears to be full of milk, just in the state that the ears were at Jerusalem when the disciples cropped them to eat. From this milky state they, like the grains of wheat, grow hard; and as soon as the grains begin to be hard, you should cut off the tops of the corn and the long flaggy leaves, and leave the ears to ripen upon the stalk or stem. If it be a warm summer, they will be fit to harvest by the last of October; but it does not signify if they remain out until the middle of November or even later. The longer they stay out the harder the grain will be.

6. Each ear is covered in a very curious manner with a husk. The best way for you will be when you gather in your crop to strip off the husks, to tie the ears in bunches of six or eight or ten, and to hang them up to nails in the walls, or against the beams of your house; for there is so much moisture in the cob that the ears are apt to heat if put together in great parcels. The room in which I write in London is now hung all round with bunches of this corn. The bunches may be hung up in a shed or stable for a while, and, when perfectly dry, they may be put into bags.

7. Now, as to the mode of using the corn: if for poultry, you must rub the grains off the cob; but if for pigs, give them the whole ears. You will find some of the ears in which the grain is still soft. Give these to your pig first; and keep the hardest to the last. You will soon see how
1st April, 1831.

much the pig will require in a day, because pigs, more decent than many rich men, never eat any more than is necessary to them. You will thus have a pig; you will have two flitches of bacon, two pig's cheeks, one set of souse, two griskins, two spair-ibs, from both which, I trust in God you will keep the jaws of the Methodist parson; and if, while you are drinking a mug of your own ale, after having dined upon one of these, you drink my health, you may be sure that it will give you more merit in the sight of God as well as of man, than you would acquire by groaning the soul out of your body in responses to the blasphemous cant of the sleek-headed Methodist thief that would persuade you to live upon potatoes.

You must be quite sensible that I cannot have any motive but your good in giving you this advice, other than the delight which I take and the pleasure which I derive from doing that good. You are all personally unknown to me: in all human probability not one man in a thousand will ever see me. You have no more power to show your gratitude to me than you have to cause me to live for a hundred years. I do not desire that you should deem this a favour received from me. The thing is worth your trying at any rate.

I am now preparing bags of ears of this corn to be sent to the following gentlemen, in number as stated against their names respectively. I request them to give them to such labouring men as they may choose, and to each labouring man a copy of this number of my little work, along with the Indian corn. To Mr. Dedams, of Sutton Scotney, I have to make this request, namely, that if I do not send him enough for the labourers of that little bunch of hard parishes, he will write to me for more; for I have a particular desire to show my regard for those parishes. I was once going on horseback across the country, through the villages
from Winchester to Burghclere, and they having displeased me at the inn at Winchester, I had gone off, I and my little boy, without breakfast; when I came to Stoke-Charity, I was in the true English mood of hunger and anger, and had just spoken in such an angry tone to him, that I was ashamed of myself the moment after. Going by a labourer’s house in the outskirts of the village, I asked a woman with a child in her arms whether she could give me a crust of bread. She brought me out all that they had, about a pound of bread and a quarter of a pound of cheese, and wanted me to take it as a gift. I took it with great eagerness, giving her, of course, the means of buying something more; but, as I was dividing the bread and the cheese between Richard and me, I could not help reflecting on the sufferings of those poor people, and on what a shame it was for me, who lived in such abundance, to be out of temper merely on account of that momentary want of food, when the contents of every inn and every public-house were at my command. If I could discover that labourer whose wife gave me the bread and cheese, he should have corn enough to plant half an acre of ground. To save postage, and, also, to save the trouble of writing to Mr. Dedams, of Sutton Scotney, I request him to get a stout man or two to dig up immediately, very deep and clean, the whole of the piece of ground at the back of the cottage of the widow Mason, and to beg her to let it lie rough dug (not smoothed at top), and to assure her that I will go down to Bullington, at the proper season, and plant the corn myself. I will carry down seed. Mr. Dedams will please to give the men that dig the ground, half-a-crown a day each of them for their work, each of them also a pint of beer; but they must have good long spades, take thin spits, and go deep. They should leave the ground rough; and dig each of them six rods a day. I beg him to pay them, and I will pay him
1st April, 1831.

again; but the ground ought to be dug up as soon as possible. Some of the ears of corn will be found to have lost some of their grains, which has been owing to their having been knocked about in the bags, or in the granary; but a few will be enough to begin with.

The following is the list of the gentlemen, to whom I, agreeably to the promise contained in my Register of 19th March, shall send parcels of the corn, accompanied, as before observed, with this number of my little work.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Berkshire</th>
<th>Kent</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>WM. BUDD, Esq., Newbury.</td>
<td>Mr. Fish, Brewer, Earls-street, Maidstone.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mr. JAMES TUBB, Sillingford near Wallingford.</td>
<td>Mr. Kipping, Corn Dealer, Tonbridge.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rev. A. D. MORRICE, Great Brickhill.</td>
<td>Mr. MARTIN, Grocer, Seven Oaks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. JOSEPH HULL, High Wycombe.</td>
<td>Mr. REEVE, Cranbrook.</td>
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<td>CAMBRIDGESHIRE.</td>
<td>LINCOLNSHIRE.</td>
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<td>Mr. N. WALKER, Wisbeach.</td>
<td>Mr. SNAITH, Surgeon, Boston.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mr. DANIEL FRIER, Chatteris.</td>
<td>Mr. RICHARD PADDISON, Solicitor, Lowth.</td>
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<td>ESSEX.</td>
<td>Joshua Plaskit, Esq., Great Grimsby.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Osborne Butcher, Esq. Malden</td>
<td>Mr. Matthew Coats, Gainsborough.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gloucestershire.</td>
<td>Mr. W. Bedford, Sen., Lincoln.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mr. ILES, Fairford.</td>
<td>Norfolk.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Daniel Croome, Esq. Berkeley</td>
<td>Sir Thomas Beevor, Bart., Hargham.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mr. Gomme, Bookseller, Gloucester.</td>
<td>Mr. James Keed, Lynn.</td>
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<tr>
<td>HAMPSHIRE.</td>
<td>Mr. George WRIGHT, Bookseller, Norwich.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. BIGWOOD, No. 40, Queen-street, Portsea.</td>
<td>WM. WITHERS, Esq., Holt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. FIELDER, Bolley, Southampton.</td>
<td>Suffolk.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mr. JAMES KING, Havant.</td>
<td>Mr. Cobbing, Shoemaker, Bury.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. RICHARD SMITH, Langard Brading, Isle of Wight.</td>
<td>James Gudgeon, Esq., Stowmarket.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. GEORGE GRAY, Alton.</td>
<td>Mr. Clouting, Farmer, near eye.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. EARL, Esq., Winchester.</td>
<td>Mr. Childs, Bungay.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Enos Dedams, Sutton Scotney, Winchester.</td>
<td>Mr. Pym, Reigate.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mr. JOHN TEMPLER, Lymington</td>
<td>Mr. Rowland, Chilworth, Guildford.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huntingdonshire.</td>
<td>Mr. Whitlaw, Brewer, Compton, Guildford.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. WM. Toller, St. Neots.</td>
<td>Mr. Thomas Cobbett, Farnham</td>
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</table>
I shall send all these parcels off on Tuesday next. There are some of the gentlemen who will, perhaps, not like the trouble that I am thus imposing upon them; but, as I shall pay the carriage of all the parcels, they will only have to throw the corn to their chickens, or pigs, and put the pamphlets into the fire. If only a hundred labourers, or only one, get a fat hog every year from what I am doing, it will be a great deal more than the worth of a thousand times the trouble that I have taken.

PRESTON COCK.

This is the name given to Hunt, in consequence of his having put upon his flag, at Preston, the picture of a red game-cock, clapping his wings and crowing, while Stanley, his opponent, is represented as a dunghill-cock, running away. This great ignorant and impudent oaf, with regard to whose character and qualities and actions and views, the good people of Preston were completely deceived, having done every-thing in his power to prevent the re-form bill from passing, I made a full exposure of his conduct, in my Register of the 12th instant. In revenge for this, he has brought a petition before the House of Commons, pretended to be from men who had worked for me, and whom I had paid in provisions. I will first insert the report from the Morning Herald, and then show the
good people of Preston what disgrace they have been de-
cluded to bring upon themselves and their town. The trans-
action took place on the 20th of March.

Mr. Hunt said he had another petition to present, of which he
had given notice. It showed the evils of the truck system, and
was drawn up some twelve months ago, when the hon. Member
for Staffordshire brought in his Bill to compel the payment of
labourers' wages in money. The petition was taken round to as
many as eight or nine Members of that House soon after it was
drawn up, but they had all objections to presenting it, for some rea-
son or other—but, as petitioners conceived, because it alluded to
an individual—one Cobbett—who had some publication of which
those honourable Members were in dread. The petition was
brought to him (Mr. Hunt) at this time, to see whether he could
recommend the petitioners to whom they should apply to present it;
and, upon being told that so many members had refused, he said,
"if he were in Parliament, and knew the statements in it to be
true, he should have no hesitation in presenting it." When he
(Mr. Hunt) became a Member of that House the petitioners re-
minded him of his former declaration, and called on him to fulfil it;
and, in accordance with the pledge so given, he now presented the
petition. The honourable Member then proceeded to read the state-
ments contained in the petition, which was as follows:

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

The humble petition of the undersigned labourers of the parish
of Kensington, in the county of Middlesex, and of Barnes,
in the county of Surrey,

Most humbly Showeth;
That your petitioners belong to a class of the community who
are destined by PROVIDENCE to earn their daily bread by the
sweat of their brow.

That for some time past, previous to the winter of 1827 and the
spring of 1828, your petitioners have been enabled to command,
as wages for garden and other labour, from 2s. 6d. to 3s. a day;
that with such wages, scanty and insufficient as they are to pur-
chase any-thing other than the necessaries of life, your humble
petitioners have been, nevertheless, able to support themselves,
their families, and their children.

That owing to the pressure of the times, consequent upon the enor-
tous taxes with which this country is burdened, and which fall so
heavily upon the labouring classes of the community, your peti-
tioners have greatly experienced the want of employment; but,
being naturally anxious to embrace it whenever it offered itself,
your humble petitioners were compelled, by that necessity which
arises from the increasing wants of their families, to accept of em-
ploy under one William Cobbett, a nurseryman and a seedsman,
residing at Kensington, in the county of Middlesex, and also occu-
pying what he calls an "Indian corn farm," at Barn Elms, in the county of Surrey, upon the following terms—namely, 2lbs. of meat, 1½lb. of bread, and ½lb. of cheese per day for each man! That the said William Cobbett assigned to your petitioners, as a reason for this sort of payment of wages, "his great desire to keep your peti-
tioners from the cursed chandler's shop and the big brewer; and also that every man who worked for him should have in his belly some bread, meat, and cheese."

These were the motives assigned by the said William Cobbett for thus employing your humble petitioners; but more false or more hypocritical motives never were assigned, as will be seen, and of which your honourable House will be perfectly convinced, by the following statement of facts: to wit, the meat, consisting of the worst part of bad mutton, or cheap pickled pork, might have been bought by your humble petitioners at 5d. a pound retail; the bread, composed of coarse black filthy Indian corn meal and rye flour, at a penny a pound, and stinking cheese at 4d. a pound, making the wages of your petitioners to consist of food of the following value—namely,

- For mutton or pork .......... 2lb. at 5d. .. 10d.
- For bread .................... 1½ at 1 .. 1½
- For cheese .................... ½ at 4 .. 2

Total ................. 1s. 1½d. a day.

Thus paying your humble petitioners, in lieu of 3s. or 2s. 6d. a day in money, paying them in such disgusting food, to the utmost not worth more than thirteen-pence halfpenny (hangman's wages), while the prime cost of it, to the said William Cobbett, could not possibly exceed sixpence three farthings.

Your honourable House, therefore, will readily perceive, from the foregoing premises, the true cause and selfish motives which induced the said William Cobbett to adopt the infamous practice of paying your humble petitioners in meat and meal, instead of the current coin of the realm.

With such payment of wages your petitioners were left with no means whatever to purchase clothes, fuel, beer, soap, candles, lodging, or even tobacco, now rendered so necessary by the habits of their lives; and, in short, your humble petitioners were deprived of the necessaries of life, or compelled to sell, at an immense loss, a great portion of their hard-earned, coarse, and unwholesome food, such as the hogs of the said William Cobbett have been frequently known to refuse, in order to purchase some one of the articles just above enumerated.

Your petitioners, therefore, most earnestly implore that your honourable House will interpose between your humble petitioners and all such persons who may be disposed to imitate the fatal and abominable example of the said William Cobbett, and pass a law as will in future protect them from becoming the dupes of such low cunning, as also from the additional misery and degradation of their station in life, by preserving them from the payment of wages in food.
And your petitioners further pray, that they may be permitted to prove all and every allegation contained in their humble petition at the bar of your honourable House.

And your petitioners will ever pray.

The honourable Member proceeded to observe that a grosser instance of the evils arising from the truck system, perhaps, had never been brought before the House; and he hoped the system would soon be put an end to. The individual referred to (Cobbett) had been attacking him (Mr. Hunt) in his publications; but he assured the House he was not instigated to present the petition from that circumstance.—He had pledged himself to present the petition many months ago, before those attacks had taken place.

I must have more room, and it must be a time of less public interest, for me to give the history of this man. As to the petition the facts are these:—That it was not my practice to pay men in provisions; that I kept always eight men and boys in house on a farm of 88 acres; that the men, paid in food, were men who had no work, and who, in dead of winter, mind, told me they were starving; that food was given them, that their wives and children might get a part of the food; that it was an act of mere charity on my part; that the meat was bought of Mr. Scales and Mr. Mathews by the whole carcase, and the pork of Mr. Akerman, and was the best that could be had, at least the fattest, as those gentlemen will testify; that it is impossible that the men could have sold the food, if it had been so bad that my hogs refused it. In short, it is a string of lies from beginning to end. But how came there to be such a petition, and who signed it, and when was it signed? Now, my friends, prepare yourselves for real "matchless black." In revenge for my resolution taken about eighteen months ago, to have nothing more to do with him, he hatched a conspiracy, the detail of which will, whenever it shall come forth, astound even those most accustomed to contemplate deeds of villany. Having failed in that, he resorted to this petition; and now, look at his stuff, taken from the Herald, and then
take these facts; that he (being unable to compose a sentence himself fit for the press) HAD THE PETITION DRAWN UP IN HIS OWN HOUSE; that HE DICTATED THE WHOLE OF IT; that HE SENT IT TO GET SIGNED BY A PARCEL OF IRISH PEOPLE, who had DRINK GIVEN THEM FOR SIGNING IT; that he then CAUSED IT TO BE CARRIED TO SEVERAL MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT, OF WHOM MR. HOBHOUSE WAS ONE; and that all of them refused to have any-thing to do with it; and that I pledge myself for the truth of these facts. There, my good fellows of Preston: that's your cock; that's your "DARLING," as Mitchell called him at Manchester! A greater fool you might have chosen, for there were the lunatic hospitals for you to go to to get a representative; if real life afforded you no one equal to him as bully and coward, Shakspeare or Ben Jonson might, perhaps, have given you his match in Pistol or Bobadil; but as LIAR, your choice sets at defiance all approach towards equality, whether in real life, or in fiction. The fault of the choice is, however, not yours; you were deceived; you have done good, however; for you have lifted the senseless and malignant thing up, that he might be seen by all, and that was what was wanted. Such a thing can live only amidst troubles and strife. Instinct teaches it this; and therefore, this horrible thing, which really ought not to be called a man, by whose presence in it your beautiful town will never again be disgraced, is raving mad at the prospect of a state of justice and of harmony, which the reform bill is so manifestly calculated to produce.

Wm. Cobbett.
No. XI.

COBBETT'S

TWO-PENNY TRASH

For the Month of May, 1831.

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

TO THE

WORKING PEOPLE OF THE WHOLE KINGDOM,
ON THE EFFECTS WHICH A PARLIAMENTARY REFORM WILL HAVE WITH REGARD TO THEM.

Kensington, 1st May, 1831.

MY FRIENDS,

What good will a Reform of the Parliament do you! This is the question, incessantly put to you by the Boroughmongers and their tools. A very pertinent question it is, if put with a view of obtaining a considerate answer; but this is not the case; the question means to assert that it will do you no good. It implies that it may do somebody else some good; but that it will do you no good. Now, I am for no visionary, no fanciful, no refined benefit; no mental advantage; nothing so very fine that we can neither see, hear, feel, nor touch, it; and, if it could be proved to me that this reform would bring no real, substantial, aye, and bodily,

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good to the millions of the people, I should say, at once, that it was good for nothing. The *words* rights, liberty, freedom, and the like; the *mere words*, are not worth a straw; and very frequently they serve as a cheat. What is the sound of liberty to a man who is compelled to work constantly, and who is still, in spite of his toil, his vigilance, his frugality, half naked and half starved! In such a case the word liberty is abused: such a man is a slave, whatever he may call himself: the name of liberty given to his state, only, by amusing him, tends to perpetuate his slavery: none are slaves so degraded as those who are slaves in fact under the name of freedom.

Therefore, if this Reform were to produce nothing but a mere transfer of the powers of choosing members of Parliament from the Boroughmongers to the people; if it were to produce nothing but this, it would be of no use at all; it would be a mere delusion, played off by knaves, or very ignorant pretenders, to amuse and impose upon fools. To vote for members of Parliament, or any persons in public power, is a *political right*; but that right is of no real value, unless men are *better off* in consequence of possessing it. It is the same with every other endowment. We hear a vast boasting about the *light* which we possess now-a-days compared with that which was possessed by our forefathers; we see a great fuss about what is called *improving the minds* of the working people; but of what use is this new light in the minds of the working people, unless it add to their bodily enjoyment; unless it give them better food, better clothing, and, of course, make them more contented and less exposed to crime? The first thing necessary to man is food, next raiment, next lodging and fuel: If we have all these in sufficient quantity and of good quality, he is seldom led into legal crime, and is much less liable to the commission of moral offences, than if he were steeped in po-
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I'ST.

verty, which is the fruitful parent of misery and crime, and has always been such in every country in the world.

A great deal of deception has been practised upon the working people under the pretence of giving them education, by which the parties practising it choose always to mean, learning from books. Now, if this education-work produced real benefit to the working people, it would be a thing to be praised; but the fact is, that, since this work was begun, the people have regularly become poorer and poorer, crimes have regularly increased, till it now costs more to punish and transport felons than the whole of the maintenance of the poor cost seventy years ago. Do I want the working people to be "ignorant?" No: but when I see that the education, as it is impudently called, and that misery and crimes all go on increasing together; when I see that the people have become more miserable, and less good in exact proportion as the educating work has extended, I must regard this work as a despicable cheat. Besides, what is "ignorance?" There is a great deal of talk about it; but what is it? Is the literary man to call a labourer ignorant because the latter can neither write nor read, and because he does not know A from B? Well, then, is not the labourer to call the literary man ignorant, because he cannot hold plough or make a hurdle, and because he does not know oats from barley when they are six inches high? Is the carpenter to call the shoe-maker ignorant, because he cannot make a chest of drawers; or the shoemaker the carpenter, because he cannot make a pair of shoes? The truth is this, this talk about education of the people is a piece of insolence arising out of the stupid pride of idlers whose knowledge consists in books, or the contents of books. Learning means knowledge; and a hedger that understands hedging perfectly is learned in his profession. The pride or vanity of literature despises all knowledge but
that which belongs to itself; and you shall frequently hear
a miserable fribble of a wretch, who could hardly disen-
tangle his carcase if clasped by a couple of stout brambles,
and who hardly knows a rough sheep-dog from a sheep,
speaking of the "peasantry" as if they were creatures
born without brains!

Oh! no, my friends. This education-work is generally a
sort of cheatery, and, when not, it is a despicable folly:
Reading and writing cannot teach a labouring man how to
perform any of his duties of life. His business is the cultiva-
tion of the land, and of all belonging to the land. By these he
must live; and all that is wanting is a sufficiency of food
and raiment, and of all the other things that make life easy
and happy. If the education-work gave him these, indeed;
but we have seen that it does not; and, therefore, nothing is
it worth to the working man. Oh! but the people are not
superstitious as they used to be. And what of that? Sup-
posing it to be so, what of that? The question is, not what
thoughts they have passing in their minds, but whether they
be as well fed, and well clothed, and well lodged as they
used to be? Superstition is, in itself, a despicable thing; it
is by no means necessary to give them good food and good
clothing; but, if it were, I should say, let them be super-
stitious again and for ever. In short, and to state the matter
plainly, I would rather that the people should believe in
witchcraft, and have plenty of bread and meat and good
Sunday coats, than that they should laugh at witchcraft,
and be fed on potatoes and covered with rags.

And, now, my friends, if I were of opinion that this re-
form would make your food, and clothing, and lodging,
worse than they are now, though in the smallest possible
degree, I should say "Curse the despicable delusion!" Rotten boroughs are very odious things it is quite mon-
strous that a place with no inhabitants at all should send
two members to Parliament, while half a million of men assembled together send none at all, and that these members should be called representatives of the people; this is monstrous. This is an insult to the understandings of the people; this is something calling for a nation's loud and general resentment; but, notwithstanding this, if I believed that the abolition of those boroughs would take one single ounce of bread from the whole of you, I should say let them remain untouched for ever; and, if I were not convinced that the abolition of these rotten boroughs would add to your food, your raiment, and to those other things which tend to your comfort and happiness, I would not step over the sill of the door to cause their abolition; but, it is because I know that this change will make you better off; it is because I know that it will make an addition to the reward that you receive for your labour, that I have so long endeavoured to cause it to be adopted; and it shall now be my endeavour to prove to you that it will naturally produce this good effect.

What is it that has stripped you of your Sunday clothes? What is it that has brought you down to live upon potatoes? What is it that has produced this sad, this disgraceful change in England? This is what we must first inquire into: we must first see the cause of your misery, and then inquire whether the reform will remove that cause.

As to the reality of the misery, we need say nothing about that at present; that is now notorious. You are better off than you were; but, even this little better cannot continue without producing utter ruin amongst your employers. We must look, therefore, now to the cause of your being so poor and so badly dressed; and, then, as I said before, inquire whether Parliamentary Reform will remove that dreadful cause. The cause, then, is, the WEIGHT OF TAXATION. You are often told that you pay no
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taxes: there are men impudent enough to tell you this; there are so many hundreds of thousands, who, directly or indirectly, live upon the taxes, that there never will be wanting somebody to tell this brazen lie to the people. But, if there were no tax upon the malt and the hops, you would have good ale for a penny a quart of your own brewing. You would have sugar for two-pence halfpenny a pound instead of seven-pence. You would have as much tobacco for a penny, as you have now for a shilling. Aye, say the tax-eaters, but then wages would be lower. Certainly they might be something lower; but not a tenth part would be taken off from them, while more than one-half would be taken off from the burdens that you bear. Besides this, there is no tax that can be laid upon your employers that does not affect you. In order that you may be convinced of this great truth, that taxation, in whatsoever degree it may exist, makes everybody poorer except the tax-eaters, I offer you the following observations, to which I beg you to attend.

Suppose, now, that the Isle of Wight, for instance, had nobody living in it but farmers, smiths, wheelwrights, other working people, and farmers and their servants. Suppose that they turned their wool and their flax and their hides into wearing apparel, and neither had commerce nor communication with the rest of the world. In this case all would be employed; one would be raising food, another making clothes, another making or mending houses, and so on. Suppose there to be perpetual peace and harmony, and that no expense of government was at all required. Such a state of things can never exist beyond the extent of a family or two; but suppose it could be so. Then suppose that, from some cause or another, some man should become more powerful than any other twenty or thirty men. Suppose, in short, that by gathering some violent men about him, and
preparing some arms for the purpose, he should be able to compel the rest of the inhabitants to keep him in idleness, him and the whole of his band. Is it not manifest that all the industrious people of the Isle of Wight must be worse off than they were before? Must not they be the poorer in exact proportion to the quantity of their substance taken away by this man and his band? He might call that which he took away taxes, or call it by some other name; but still it would be taking away a part of what was enjoyed before by those who worked in some way or other.

To make the matter plainer if possible, suppose a little community, consisting of ten men, each having a wife, each three children, and all equally healthy, equally sober, and equally virtuous. Suppose them all to be employed in providing food and other things for one another; and all of them to have a sufficiency, arising from their work, to keep them well. Suppose this little community to be so abominably foolish as to make one of the number a gentleman, and to have him and his family to go swaggering about doing no work; and to keep him in this state by contributions levied upon themselves. What would the consequence of this foolish step be? why, a part of the earnings of each of the other nine must be taken to be given to him; and, to be sure, the other nine would have less of food and of raiment than they had before. To make the matter as simple as possible, suppose there to be no money in the community; yet they must give him and his family victuals and drink, and clothing, and lodging, and, in whatever proportion they gave them to him, they must have so much the less of them themselves. Is it not, therefore, clear as day-light, that taxes, in whatever shape raised, must take from those who pay the taxes and who receive none of them?

When I was born, the taxes in this country amounted to about eight millions a year. They now amount to sixty
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millions a year: and, as the poor-rates then amounted to a little more than a million a year, they now amount to seven millions and a half a year; so that the working people of England have become seven times as poor as they were when I was born. At that time it was a rare thing for a person to go to the parish for relief. Mr. Gawler, in a parish lying under Weyhill, in Hampshire, told me that his father could remember when there were only seven persons chargeable to that parish; and, at the time when Mr. Gawler told me this, there were only seven working men in the whole parish who were not on the parish-book. But, is it not clear as daylight, that if one man come and take away another man's dinner, the latter must be the poorer for it?

Now, whence have these taxes come? Every one of them by act of Parliament: every one of them has been imposed by an act of Parliament. No matter how they are expended, we know that they impoverish the people. No matter, for the argument, how they are expended; but a great matter it is for the fact, and, in order to show that a reform of the Parliament will, and must, make these taxes cease to exist in any amount beyond that which is absolutely necessary to the support of the Government; that is to say, to the maintenance of the peace, to the protection of property and life, and to the maintenance of the just rights of the kingdom. For these purposes it is the duty, and indeed the interest, of all to contribute a share of our incomes or our earnings in proportion to our ability to contribute. But, for no purposes beyond these; and for no purpose beyond these will a reformed Parliament compel us to contribute; for, if it were, the Reform would be a thing to be despised instead of being sought for with all the zeal and all the energy that are now in motion for the attainment of that great object.
The great business of Government is to provide for the happiness of the people that live under that government. If it do provide for that happiness; if it take care that every man shall quietly enjoy the fruits of his labour; if it take care that industry shall have its due reward; that the idle shall not fatten upon the toil of the industrious; and that, in short, all good people have as easy and comfortable lives as they can enjoy; if it do these things, it is of very little consequence what name the government bears, what is the form of it, or what it be called by any body that chooses to speak of it. If, as I said above, a parliament with rotten boroughs, would cause these excellent effects to take place, I should say nothing against rotten boroughs; but we have seen that it produces the contrary effects; we have seen that it produces misery unspeakable; therefore, we wish it to be changed; therefore, we want that which is justly called a Reform of the Parliament.

It is said by many persons that none of the taxes can be taken off. Nay, the present ministers seem to say as much themselves; or, they say, at least, that if some taxes be taken off, others must be put on; that, if the tax be taken off the candles, there must be a tax put upon steam-boats, or upon something else. If the people believed this, not a hand or tongue would they stir for Parliamentary Reform. Mr. Alderman Wood, however, declared, the other day, in the Guildhall of London, that two millions out of three might be saved in the expenses of the civil department of the Government. Let me state an instance of expenditure to you. There was a pension given to one Burke in the year 1795. The amount was two thousand five hundred pounds a year, for which he had never done any-thing. This pension was granted for his life, and for three other lives, one of which was then a very young life indeed; so that, when he died, which was thirty-one years ago, he left this
pension to relations, and it has since been paid to his executors, or their descendants, and is so paid to this hour. This pension, which, observe, is paid out of the taxes, enabled this Burke to bequeath a portion of the taxes to his relations! On account of this pension, about ninety-seven thousand pounds have already been paid out of the taxes, and, in great part, paid by the labouring people, in the tax on their malt, hops, soap, candles, and tobacco, and all other necessaries of life. Two of the lives for which this pension was granted still exist; namely, Lord Althorp and Lord Grey's brother, the Dean; so that this pension may continue to be paid out of the labour of the people for thirty years to come!

Now, my friends, will a reformed Parliament ever vote, even for one single year, the money wherewith to pay this pension? If I thought it would, I should say, "Curse the miserable delusion of Parliamentary Reform!" I give you this merely as a specimen, merely as a sample, merely as one grain of a whole sack of the same sort. No other piece of expenditure is precisely like this, to be sure; but millions upon millions and tens of millions expended upon grounds not a bit more just than this; and this is my settled opinion after having the subject before me for nearly thirty years.

Then, again, as to country matters. Is it to be believed that a reformed Parliament will adopt no measure with regard to tithes? Is it to be believed that it will pay no attention to the arguments offered by me in Two-penny Trash, No. 7? Is it to be believed that it will suffer the income of three or four livings to be swallowed up by one man, taken away out of the parishes, and spent in London, or very likely at Paris or at Rome, while the religious duties of the parish are left to be performed by a miserable curate? Is this to be believed? If I believed it, I should despise the man that talked to me of Parliamentary Reform. I should
call such a man an impostor; and, if he were a minister, I should say that he had conjured up the miserable delusion in order to keep his own place, and to have an opportunity of pillaging the people; I should say that he was still more hateful than the owner of a rotten borough, and should anticipate with delight the hour of his overthrow, instead of thanking him for his plans of reform.

Oh, no, my friends. A reformed Parliament will produce great changes indeed: it will look into the several items of expenditure; it will soon discover that which the present ministers have been unable as yet to discover; namely, that the present taxes are not required, and that they need not be granted: it will soon discover that an army of a hundred thousand men can never be necessary in a time of profound peace; and, in short, it will discover the means of reducing the expenditure to that amount at which it stood when I was a boy. The very mention of this, while it will make you gay in the anticipation of a return of meat and bread, instead of potatoes, will make those who live upon the taxes, those endless swarms of idlers, who live upon the labour of others, tremble in their shoes; for, to those who have been accustomed to live upon the labour of others, no thought is so horrible as that of their being compelled to work for their own living. Such people look upon the industrious part of mankind as having been made to work for them; just as we look upon dogs as having been made to keep our sheep, and upon horses as having been made to draw our wagons or carts. These insolent wretches call you "the peasantry," or the "population;" they never call you the people. The word people is quite out of use with them. They always speak of you as we speak of the stock upon a farm, which we think ourselves justified in treating in any manner that we please. A reform of the Parliament, by compelling these people to earn their own
bread in some way or another, will make them cease to talk about *peasantry* and *population.* They will once more discover that you are *people*; and when they begin to sweat a little themselves, they will discover that hard labour is worthy of good food and good raiment. If you could all of you come to London, and see the fine carriages in Hyde Park of a fine Sunday; if you could see the beautiful horses, the finely-dressed coachmen and footmen, pannels of the carriages shining enough to put your eyes out; if you could come and see all these, how surprised you would be; how little you would seem to yourselves! with silks and cambrics in your eyes, you would be ashamed to look down upon your own bodies, covered with your miserable smock-frocks. If any of the gods or goddesses who sit within the carriages were to condescend to cast a look at you, how ready you would be to snatch off your hats! Now, my good fellows, do see this matter in its true light. Nineteen twentieths, and perhaps ninety-nine hundredths, of all this dazzling finery has been taken out of your labour; for, even those of you who have been making hedges and ditches have been paying the taxes, which, being given to these people, enable them to purchase all these fineries; and, perhaps, one single equipage, amongst the many that you behold, has been the cause of filling a hamlet or a village with beggary and misery.

It is the great business, it is the greatest of all the affairs of a government, to prevent this cruel inequality. Out of this inequality arise all the sufferings; all the immoralities, all the crimes, that now disgrace this country. And am I to believe that a reformed Parliament will suffer this great and crying evil to remain uncorrected? If I could believe this possible, I should think myself the greatest of deceivers in calling upon you to support this reform. I have observed before, and I beseech you to attend to it, that the words
liberty, freedom, rights, and the rest of the catalogue, which hypocritical knaves send rolling off the tongue, are worth nothing at all: it is things that we want. Those men who make a fuss about sorts of government, and who tell us about the good things which arise from the republican government of America, deceive themselves, or deceive others. It is not because the government is republican, but because it is cheap; and it is cheap, not because it is republican, but because the people choose those who make the laws and vote the taxes. If the President of America were called King of America, instead of being called President, it would be of no consequence to the people, if the King cost no more than the President now costs. Nothing is worth looking after; nothing is worth talking about but the cost; because it is this that comes and takes the dinner from the labourer, and that takes the coat from his back.

We have had, during this last winter, a clear proof that we never can have relief except through the means of a Reform in Parliament. During the winter before, Sir James Graham proved that 113 of the aristocracy of England received out of the taxes six hundred and fifty thousand pounds a year, a sum equal in amount to a year’s poor-rates of the five counties of Bedford, Berks, Bucks, Cambridge, and Cumberland! Think of that, working people of England! Think of that! I have taken the first five counties on the alphabetical list. What a noise, what a worrying, what bitter complainings do we hear from this aristocracy about the "drain" which the poor-rates cause from their estates! What an everlasting outcry about the weight of these poor-rates! Select Vestries, assistant overseers, Sturges Bourne’s Bills, checking of marriages amongst the working people, one tyrant forbidding them to marry till after they are thirty years of age, others causing husbands to be kept from their wives to prevent them from
breeding, and there comes the young and lofty Northumbrian, with a plan for getting the working-people out of the country in order to lessen their numbers and in order to lower the monstrous amount of the poor-rates: all this going forward while 113 of this aristocracy swallow up more than is given to relieve the poor of five counties of England, including church-rates, highway-rates, and county-rates! These hundred and thirteen men receive out of the taxes a sum equal to the RENT, not the rates, but the rent, of all the lands, houses, roads, canals, and every-thing else in either of the counties of Berks, Bucks, Cambridge, Dorset, Hereford, or Hertford; and they receive as much as the amount of the rental of Bedfordshire and Huntingdonshire put together, and as much as the rental of the three counties of Monmouth, Rutland, and Westmorland! Here is a monstrous thing! Here are 113 men swallowing up all this rental, which amount is taken out of the taxes, mind; yet no one proposes a law to put an end to this enormous evil.

But, Sir James Graham is now a Cabinet Minister! He has surely proposed some law to put an end to this? Not a word about the matter! Not a syllable about the matter! There are the hundred and thirteen pretty aristocrats, with their six hundred and fifty thousand pounds a year, paid out of the fruit of the labour of the people, and Sir James Graham, who received so many scores of addresses thanking him for this exposure, comes into power, pockets his salary as First Lord of the Admiralty, and says not a single word about the one hundred and thirteen men who receive the six hundred and fifty thousand pounds a year. The English Bishops receive more probably than the poor-rates of four counties first upon the alphabetical list. Now, if a reformed Parliament can be thought capable of leaving these things untouched, a reformed Parliament would be the greatest delusion that ever was palmed upon mankind. No, my
friends, a reformed Parliament will put these matters to rights; and, therefore, it is the duty of us all to labour earnestly for the obtaining of such a Parliament. Such a Parliament would, in a short time, suffer us to brew our beer with malt and hops not taxed; suffer us to have our sugar at half the present price; suffer us, in short, to be well off, and suffer us to remain quietly in our country without pester us with projects to get us into a foreign land. Therefore, every exertion in our power, whatever the extent of that power may be, and, in whatever way it can legally be employed, ought to be made use of in order to cause this reform to be effected. Every man, however poor, may possess some degree of influence, and be that influence what it may, he ought to exert it. If a man have not a vote himself, some relation may have a vote, or some friend; and he should interfere with these as far as he lawfully can, and urge them to vote for nobody who will not vote for a Parliamentary Reform.

This is my advice to you, my friends: there is no hope of seeing any amendment in the country until this reform be effected: no change short of this can do any good. The time for making exertions will soon be gone by; and let no man have to reproach himself with having neglected his duty.

With the most anxious wishes for your welfare, and with great hopes of seeing you once more well off,

I remain your faithful friend,

Wm. Cobbett.

LIBERAL WHIG PROSECUTION.

When this prosecution was commenced against me by the sly mode of a Bill of Indictment at the Old Bailey, where the Grand Jury cannot, from the nature of things,
inquire into any-thing further than the fact of publication, there was hardly a man amongst the public who had the smallest idea that this prosecution, and particularly by such an indirect course, had been instituted by the Government. Though mightily well-disposed, from long experience, to suspect every-thing done by the Whigs, I myself did not believe that such a thing could have originated with men exercising the powers of the Government; and I expressed myself to this effect at the time. I soon found, however, that we were all deceived in this respect; and that the prosecution had been commenced by the Government very soon after the attack made upon me by Trevor in the House of Commons. The prosecuting steps have regularly proceeded on; and since I wrote the former part of this paper, and, indeed, this very moment (Wednesday evening), I have received regular notice of trial for the sittings after term; and therefore, as the sittings begin on the 11th of May, the trial will take place on the 11th, 12th, or 13th of that month, in the Court of King's Bench at Guildhall, in the City of London, on which occasion, God granting me life and health, I will meet, before the Chief Justice and a Special Jury, which will be called for by the Attorney-General; I will meet the Attorney-General and all his supporters and abettors. It was not, therefore, without reason that I, in my last Register, dissented from the opinion of Dr. Black, that to vote for the opponents of this Ministry, was to "vote against the liberty of the press." Just twenty years I have been writing and publishing under a series of Tory Ministers and Tory Attorney-Generals, the much-complained-of Scarlett not excepted: during these twenty years I have never heard even the whisper of a Government prosecution against me; but a Whig Ministry had not been in power much more than twenty days, before such prosecution began to be plotted, and under
what circumstances, in what manner, and with what manifest motives, I shall, I trust, be able amply to show in my defence upon this trial; for defence it shall be, without the retracting, or endeavouring to soften, one single word or syllable. I am conscious that I have done nothing but my bare duty; for doing that, the destruction of my mind or body, or both, is now meditated; but, with the blessing of God, and with the integrity of my countrymen to support me, I trust that, in this case, as well as in the former, those who premeditate my destruction will fail in their object. It was during the general blaze of the illuminations of last night (I am writing this on Thursday morning) that I received this notice of trial, while I was sitting in a room behind the curtains drawn to weaken the blaze of the illumination of my own windows. It was at this moment, and while I heard the rejoicings in the street, that this proof of Ministerial malignity was put into my hand. "What!" exclaimed I to myself, "can these men, who "well know that I have done more towards the produ- "cing this event than they have; that I have done more than "any hundred or thousand men to produce this event, his "Majesty only excepted; can these men really rejoice in "their hearts at this event!" However, I will not pur- "sue these observations further at present: but I cannot refrain from observing, that the accusations against Peel for his sentiment on "Journalism;" that these attacks upon him on this account, ought to be a little moderated by those who "call upon us to vote in favour of this liberal Ministry. I cannot help observing, too, that this present Attorney-Gen- "eral, my prosecutor, talked the other night about the tyranny "of the press; so that, while we adhere to the bill, while we "adhere to the cause of the people, let us be careful how we "sing up the praises of those who make this sort of display of "what is called their liberality. The Attorney-General will
have to present himself, in a few days, before the people of Nottingham as the friend of liberty, as the advocate of a free press, as the advocate of Parliamentary Reform, at the very moment when he will be noting his brief, perhaps, the fee upon which brief the people of Nottingham and I myself shall have to pay a part, and which brief will contain the regularly-laid plan for the destruction of the man to whom the nation ascribes, in great part, the measure for the accomplishment of which we are now called upon to struggle. I will only add, that as I always have made, so I shall now make, my own private feelings yield to what I deem the good of my country. It is just, it is necessary, it is every way proper, that my readers should be informed of the proceedings manifestly aimed at my health and life. These readers are numerous; they are to be found in every part of the kingdom; they are warmly attached to me; they will boil with resentment at this proceeding; but I most solemnly exhort them not to suffer their feelings on this account to slacken their efforts in the smallest degree during the ensuing elections; but to do everything in their power in order to ensure success to the great measure brought in by men who meditate my destruction. Upon this principle I shall act myself. Compelled by this proceeding to remain in London, I cannot do a tenth part of what I could do, were it in my power to go into the country at this time, I can only perform the duty of a liveryman of London; and, laying aside my great dislike to one of the four Aldermen, I shall, if there be any opposition, vote for the whole four, as I exhort every liveryman to do, be his personal or political likings or dislikings what they may. It is the measure, and not the men, which I wish to support. So that the measure be carried, I care not who is the instrument; and this has been my tone from the beginning of this discussion to the present hour; but I never can hold my
tongue, I never can lay down my pen, while we are called upon to vote for these men in order to secure the liberty of the press. When the public look at the thing which they call a libel; when the public behold what publications they suffer to pass without any notice at all; they will be quite astonished at this proceeding. And it will be my duty, a duty which I will not fail to perform if I have life and health, to remove this astonishment out of the minds of that public. Here I quit the subject for the present, notifying to my readers that I shall be quite ready to meet the "liberal" Whig Attorney-General when he shall return from his constituents of Nottingham, swelling with the determination to destroy me in property, health or life, and, as I dare say he hopes, in all three.

Wm. COBBETT.

Postscript.—It occurs to me to point out to my readers that which they will deem very curious. They know that this prosecution was, in fact, begun by Arthur Trevor, in the House of Commons. There were speech after speech spread all about the country, containing garbled extracts and malignant interpretations. Now, this Trevor, who sat for the borough of New Romney, vacated his seat to let in Sir Roger Gresley, who could not return to Durham; and Trevor went to Durham himself, to get elected in Gresley's place, supported in both places by the Marquis of Londonderry, and avowing his hostility to the Reform Bill. The Ministers know this very well, yet these sincere reformers are pushing on, with all their might, the prosecution begun by this very Trevor. This is a very curious circumstance, or rather combination of circumstances, and as such I leave it to the reflections of my readers. At any rate, I am determined to make a stand for the real liberty of the press.
TO THE

CONDUCTORS OF THE PARIS JOURNALS:

On the Prosecution now carrying on by the Whig Ministry of England against Mr. Cobbett.

Kensington, 1st May, 1831.

Gentlemen,

When you first heard of the above prosecution you were surprised, and one or more of you observed, that you should narrowly watch the progress of it; for that it appeared to be a "very curious thing, that a REFORMING "Ministry should endeavour to crush the most able sup- "porter of the cause of Reform." How I laughed, and how my readers laughed, when we read this! How little, alas! do you know of this "reforming Ministry!" If I were at Paris for a couple of days, and had you all assembled together for three hours in each day, and you could understand English (for in no other language could justice, nor half justice, be done to the subject), I would give you matter for laughter for the rest of your lives, by describing to you the motives, the real conduct, and the present cruel dilemma, of this "reforming Ministry." According to our laws and usages, a man by whom a woman is in the family way (enceinte) is, in certain cases, compelled to marry her, and then he is said to be led to the church in a halter. Yet, he, when in the church, promises and vows that he will love and cherish the bride to the end of their days! Just such a marriage is now taking place between the Whig Ministry and Reform; I have very kindly fur- nished the halter for the happy occasion: and they are showing their gratitude by this prosecution, which will now no longer appear to you so very surprising!
The trial will take place, at the Guildhall of the City of London, on the 11th, 12th, or 13th of this month. It is, though the person prosecuted is a private individual, a really important matter. It is not at all a question of libel or no libel; but a question of motives of this Ministry; a question of character with them; a question that may affect the durability of their power, and, perhaps, affect also the result of their present struggle against their political opponents. I will take care that you shall have a full account of all that shall take place at this trial, which, before it be done with, will throw great light upon the state in which we are as to political parties and their views. In the meanwhile I beg you not to be deceived by the puffs in our newspapers about this "liberal" Ministry. They are the mere instruments, against their will, of a measure that must, in the end, give us real liberty of the press; but they are the very greatest enemies of that liberty, the most bitter and malignant enemies of it, that the country has known for many years. Pray be not amused with names. Do not believe that Lord Brougham is the friend of the liberty of the press, when you see him endeavouring to destroy it. Do not believe this, though half a score bribed newspapers say it. Judge of the man by his acts. The Attorney-General is, observe, only a mere instrument in the hands of Brougham and his brother Ministers.

You will not see the Morning Chronicle, that "liberal" journal, find fault with this prosecution; nay, you need not be much surprised, if you see it endeavour to defend it! This paper is now devoted to Brougham, and would gladly lend its hand to reduce me to silence. I pray you to have your eye upon these things. In due time, I will place this Brougham and his colleagues before all Europe in their proper light. Always, however, bear this in mind; that the great measure which they have pro-
posed, they abhor in their hearts, and that while they are receiving support, they curse their supporters. This is my firm conviction, a conviction in which the main part of well-informed people fully participate; and circumstances which have taken place since the dissolution of the Parliament, and which circumstances will be universally known before it be long, will make every man of common sense of the same opinion. What a charming dilemma! They are striving with all their might, they are working as if for their lives, to accomplish a thing which they abhor! Such is a most appropriate punishment of hypocrisy.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your most obedient servant,

Wm. COBBETT.

Mr. Cobbett's List of Books.

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

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It was published in 14 numbers, and is now in one vol. complete.
Mr. Cobbett's List of Books. 263

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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 violations 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.

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SURPLUS POPULATION:
A COMEDY,
IN THREE ACTS.

BY WILLIAM COBBETT.

THE CHARACTERS.

MEN.
Sir Gripe Grindum, of Grindum Hall, in the county of Grindum, Baronet.
Peter Thimble, Esq., a great Anti-Population Philosopher.
Farmer Stiles.
Tom Stiles, Nephew of Farmer Stiles.
Last, the Village Shoe-maker.
Dick Hazle, Servant to Stiles.
Barebone, Man-of-all-work to Sir Gripe.
Tom Birch, Brother of Betsy Birch.
Jack Harrow, Ned Maple, and other Country Fellows.
Bludgeon, Guzzle, and Slang, three London Bullies.
Waiter, Boys, &c.

WOMEN.
Betsy Birch, going to be married to Dick Hazle.
Mrs. Birch, her Mother, who is a Widow.
Mrs. Stiles, Wife of the Farmer.
Patty Primrose, Mary Violet, and other Country Girls.

SCENE,
The Village of Nestbed, in the County of Grindum.

London: Published by the Author, 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street, and sold by all Booksellers.
ACT I.

SCENE I.—Sunrise: a Meadow and Cows in it, with a Lane on the side of it: a Farm-House in the back-ground: Betsy in the Meadow with a milking-pail on her arm, and Dick, in a smock-frock, coming along the Lane.

DICK. (Singing.)
Soft's the note of yonder wood-lark;
Softer far my Betsy's voice:
Sweet's the dew in cups of cowslips;
Sweeter something that's my choice.

BET. (Behind the hedge listening.)—And pray what may that be?

DICK. (Starting, and then jumping over a gap in the hedge.)—Why, the dew upon your lips, my lovely Betsy.

BET.—Come, come, now, let go my hands, do: Mistress scolds so when I get in late with the milk. But, Dick, when are we to go to church? You said it should be by Mayday, you know, and that's to-morrow; and the banns are out.

DICK.—It should be to-morrow, my love, if we had the money; but I have got only 40s. coming to me.

BET.—But Mistress owes me 23s.

DICK.—That makes only 63s., and what is that to get things with?

BET.—Mother says she'll lend us her bed, if she lie upon straw. Now, do; for the folks laugh at me so; and Poll Thorn jeered me yesterday, and said she'd have you yet.

DICK.—She!.. But here comes Master.

[He jumps into the lane.

BET. (To herself.)—I see he's in the mind, and I'll keep him to it now. [She begins milking.

FARMER STILES, coming up to Dick.

STILES.—Here Dick, take this letter up to the GRINDUM ARMS. 'Tis for one Squire Thimble, who is come down from London by the night-coach, something about surplus population, as they call it, and Sir Gripe Grindum wants me to have him at my house, instead of going to Grindum Hall.

DICK.—Yes, very kind of Sir Gripe, to send his friends to feed upon you. That's his old way!

STILES.—Never mind: he'd turn me out of my farm, if I were to refuse; and 'tis but a bit of bacon and pudding and a mug of beer. But now, Dick, you don't use that girl well; the banns are out, and every-body's laughing at her; and she's a right good girl, and comes of good kin; and...

DICK.—You need not tell me that, master; but we be
so poor; and suppose me to fall sick, I'd rather die than see her begging a morsel of bread from the flint-hearted hired overseer.

Stiles.—Well, Dick, I tell you what: I'll advance you five pounds, and I'm sure her mistress will advance 50s. for Betsy, and you may live at the farm for a month or two.

Dick.—Well, then, God bless you both! I'll keep my word and be married to-morrow; and I'll go and speak to the clerk directly.

Stiles.—But go and carry the letter first; and tell...

Dick. (Looking over the hedge.)—Betsy, Betsy! We shall be...

Stiles.—There, go along; do; and let the girl get her milking done. Tell the gentleman I shall be glad to see him as soon as he pleases.

[They go out, the Farmer towards his House, and Dick towards the Inn.

SCENE II.—A Room at the Inn; Squire Thimble sitting at a Table, covered with written papers and pamphlets.

Squire Thim. (Rising and going to the window)—Oh, God! Only look at that swarm of children! Why, this village of Nestbed is properly enough named; for it really resembles an ant's nest. It is all the fault of my friend, Sir Gripe, and the other land-owners. But I wonder I do not hear from him in answer to my letter, which he got by post yesterday. I know he is at the Hall, for the waiter saw him there last night.

Enter Dick with the letter, which he gives to Squire Thimble.

Dick.—My master, Farmer Stiles, sent me with this letter, Sir, and to say that he shall be glad to see you at his house as soon as you please.

Squ. Thim.—At his house? But (opening the letter) here is a note from Sir Gripe, which doubtless will explain the reason. (Reads.) "My dear Thimble, you know that "our great master, Parson Malthus, lays it down, that "population always tends closely upon the heels of "subsistence. Acting upon this principle, and fully "agreeing with you, that the country is ruined by surplus "population, I deem it a duty to my beloved country, "for the happiness and honour of which, I have so long "been toiling and making so many sacrifices, to suffer no "subsistence to be in my house beyond a bare sufficiency "to keep body and soul together. I have, therefore, told "Farmer Stiles to send this to you to-morrow morning, and
provide you with bed, board, &c. and I will call on you at his house, about breakfast time.” Umph! Body and soul together! Very laudable, to be sure, to check the population in his house; but I do not very clearly see how my being entertained in it for a day or two could have tended to increase the population in it. However (rings), I shall see how... (Enter Waiter.) Waiter, what a clock is it?

Waiter.—I’ll inquire, Sir.

Sque. Thim. (Gathering up his papers.)—These will save the nation, and will be read with wonder long after I am....

Waiter. (Re-entering.)—It’s half-past five, Sir.

Sque. Thim.—Here; get me a man to bring this portmanteau after me down to Farmer Stiles’s.

Waiter. (Reading the name on the portmanteau.)—“Peter Thimble, Esquire.” ’Squire, indeed! I should have taken him for a tailor, and a French tailor too, for ’tis the swarthiest and ugliest devil I ever saw.

[Exit with portmanteau.

Scene III.—A Cow-pen at the Farm: Dick and Betsy.

Dick,—I have, I tell you.

Betsy.—What spoke to the clerk?

Dick.—Yes, I say; and he is to tell the parson of it as soon as he gets up.

Betsy.—Gets up! What is ’nt he up yet?

Dick.—Oh, no! We work for him while he’s asleep; his pay always goes on.

Betsy.—But, when is it to be?

Dick.—At nine o’clock to-morrow morning.

Betsy.—Oh! my dear Richard (taking hold of his hand); and is the time come at last?

Dick.—Yes, it is, my little love; and mistress says that you may go and stay all day to-day and to night at your mother’s and get yourself ready against I come in the morning.

Betsy.—But you’ll be sure to come now!

Dick.—What’s the matter?

Betsy.—Nothing! I’m such a fool, I can’t help it.

Dick.—Be quiet now, there’s a dear; for....

Stiles. (In the yard.)—Dick! Dick!

Dick.—Coming!

[Exit.

Betsy.—Oh, dear! I ought to be happy; I’m sure; and yet there’s something that makes my heart sink. Now
what will become of the jeerings of Poll Thorn, and of that nasty slut, Nance Bramble, who said, t'other day, that he'd never have me? I shall wear my bran new white bonnet lined with pink, Richard will have his new coat, and good old mistress (God Almighty bless her) says that we shall be the handsomest couple that have walked into Nest-bed church these fifty years. Oh, lor! I wish t'was over; for my heart does beat so, and sink so, that I can hardly stand.

Squ. Thim. (At the house-door.)—Halloo! Nobody at home?

Bet.—Oh, dear! I forgot the eggs that Mistress sent me to get for the Squire's breakfast. [Exit.

SCENE IV.—A small Parlour in the Farm-house: Squ. Thimble sitting before the fire; breakfast preparing.

Squ. Thim. (To himself.)—I don't much like his sending me here, instead of receiving me at the hall; but I dare say he will explain it when he comes.

Mrs. Stiles. (Entering. —Hope you will excuse our homely fare, Sir, but we'll give you the best we've got.) (Betsy, entering with the eggs, lets a couple of them roll off the plate upon the floor.) What a deuce is the girl about! But (turning to Squire Thimble) I hope you'll look over it, Sir: she's going to be married to-morrow, and her head has been running upon that all the morning.

Squ. Thim.—Married, did you say! Married! That girl going to be married!

Mrs. Stiles.—Yes, Sir; they have been courting a long while, and they be desperate fond of one another.

Squ. Thim.—Desperate indeed! But do you encourage such things, then?

Mrs. Stiles. What things, Sir?

Squ. Thim. Why, the coupling together of these poor creatures to fill the country with beggars and thieves.

Mrs. Stiles. (With warmth.)—I'm sure there isn't a better young man in the parish than Richard Hazle, and as for Betty Birch, young as she is, she shall make bread, butter, cheese, or beer, with any woman in the whole county, let the next be who she will. Beggars and thieves, indeed!

Squ. Thim.—Well, if these be good people, so much the more reason to keep them from being plunged into misery; and 

Mrs. Stiles. (Interrupting him.)—Misery, Sir!
Squ. Thim.—Yes, and from adding to that great national disease, the surplus population.

Mrs. Stiles.—Never heard of that disease before, Sir; we be'nt trouble with't in these parts: though we have the small-pox and meazles terrible bad sometimes; and our poor neighbour Chopstick lost four as fin'e children last week as . . . .

Squ. Thim.—So much the better! So much the better!

Mrs. Stiles.—What, Sir?

Squ. Thim.—Yes; so much the better, I say, and (aside) if it had taken you off too, it would have been better still. (To her.) Go, good woman, and tell the girl to come and speak to me.

Mrs. Stiles.—She's going to her mother's to get ready for her wedding; but I'll call her in for a minute. [Exit.

Enter Betsy.

Squ. Thim.—So, young woman, you are going to be married, I understand?

Bet.—Yes, Sir.

Squ. Thim.—How old are you?

Bet.—I'm nineteen, Sir, come next Valentine's eve.

Squ. Thim.—That is to say, you are eighteen! (Aside.) No wonder the country is ruined!

Squ. Thim.—And your mother, now; how old is she?

Bet.—I can't justly say, Sir, but I heard her say she was forty some time back.

Squ. Thim.—And how many of you has she brought into the world?

Bet.—Only seventeen, Sir.

Squ. Thim.—Seventeen! Only seventeen!

Bet.—Seventeen now alive, Sir; she lost two, and had two still born, and . . . .

Squ. Thim.—Hold your tongue! Hold your tongue! (Aside.) It is quite monstrous! Nothing can save the country but plague, pestilence, famine, and sudden death. Government ought to import a ship-load of arsenic. (To her.) But, young woman, cannot you impose on yourself "moral restraint" for ten or a dozen years?

Bet.—Pray what is that, Sir?

Squ. Thim.—Cannot you keep single till you are about thirty years old?

Bet.—Thirty years old, Sir! (stifling a laugh).

Enter Sir Gripe Grindum.

Squ. Thim. (Rising.)—How do you, Sir Gripe; hope I've the pleasure of seeing you well.
S IR G. — Very well, very well; but rather hungry.
SQU. THIM. — Draw up, then; here are plenty of eggs and butter.
S IR G. — Yes, they think nothing of MARLTHUS here.
SQU. THIM. — So it seems, for this young hussey is going to be married to-morrow, though she is only eighteen. Her mother has had; it seems, only twenty-one children; so that you'll have your parish finely stocked.
S IR G. — Married! (Aside.) What a beautiful creature it is!
SQU. THIM. — Yes, married; and she laughs at the idea of moral restraint.
S IR G. — I dare say she does. (Aside.) And so shall I, too, if I can get her into my clutches.
SQU. THIM. — You may go, young woman; for I find I can do nothing with you. [Exit Betsy.
SIR G. (Aside.) — But I can do something with her, I fancy. (To Thimble.) Yes, she may go for the present; but it is my duty, my bounden duty to my country, to prevent this marriage.
SQU. THIM. — To be sure it is. It is a duty of humanity as well as of patriotism. But you must be quick; for she is to be married to-morrow morning.
S IR G. — To-morrow morning!
SQU. THIM. — Yes; and the farmer's wife here approves of the match! Would it not be well to find the farmer and talk to him about it?
S IR G. — I shan't, but you may; and, in the meanwhile, I'll go home and dispatch some business, and be with you again in an hour or so. [Exit.

SQU. THIM. — Business! what business? He thinks I did not perceive him staring at her. He has some scheme in his head. But, no matter; anything is better than her having seventeen children. Why, 'tis littering, 'tis pigging, 'tis hitching; 'tis swarming; and if they are allowed to proceed at this rate, there won't be room for them to stand upright in the country. I'll go and find the farmer, and see what I can make of him. [Exit.

SCENE V. — Mrs. Birch's Cottage. Mrs. Birch and Betsy, and several children of different ages.

BETSY. — Don't you think, mother, that these white bows are beautiful; and isn't my frock as white as a curd; and musn't we walk arm in arm to church? Oh! how that Poll Thorn will be provoked! I shouldn't wonder if she was to fly at me.
Two-penny Trash;

Mrs. Birch.—How you do run on, child.
Bet.—Patty Primrose and Mary Violet, my two bridesmaids, will be dressed all in white; and uncle Stephen says, that nobody but him shall give me away.

Mrs. Birch.—Ah! my dear, if your poor father had been alive, he . . . .
Bet.—Don't cry, mammy; let us be happy now.

Mrs. Birch.—And so I am, my dear child; but, talking of your uncle put me in mind of . . . . . . Here comes Barebone, Sir Gripe's footman: I wonder what he can want.

Enter Barebone.

Barebone.—Sir Gripe wants to speak to you, Mrs. Birch, up at the hall, in about an hour's time.

Mrs. Birch. (Aside.)—'Tis about the rent. (To him.) My duty to him, and say that I shall be sure to wait on him. [Exit Barebone.

Bet.—What can that nasty old skinny, greedy beast want with you, mother?

Mrs. Birch.—Oh, child! I owe him a year's rent up to Lady-day, and I can't pay him till after the harvest, without selling the cow; and then what are the poor dear children to do?

Bet.—Well, I don't know how it is, but I have had a misgiving in my mind all day that something bad was going to happen.

Mrs. Birch.—Never mind, child; God will be our protector.

Enter Dick.

Betsy.—Oh, Richard, I'm glad you're come; for I was so low-spirited.

Dick.—What about? Don't repent, do you?

Bet.—How can you ask me that? But, there's that old beast, Sir Gripe, has just sent for mother about the . . .

Dick.—Sent for her! Why, he has sent for me, too, and I'm going up to him.

Bet.—For you! As sure as death, there's something brewing, and I didn't feel my heart sinking for nothing.

Dick. (Taking her hand.)—Come, come, don't be foolish. What do you cry for? Be quiet now; and I'll go up to the old fellow, and call as I come back. [Exit.

Scene VI.—Farmer Stiles's Parlour. Squire Thimble, Stiles, and Last, the Shoemaker of the village.

Squ. Thim.—But, farmer, don't you see what a brood,
what a litter, what a farrow, what a swarm, this couple will bring to eat up the country?

STILES.—Why, Sir, I dare say they will have plenty; but God never sends mouths without sending meat.

SQU. THIM.—Not for them, not for them.

LAST.—Whom does he send it for, then?

SQU. THIM.—For those who can afford to pay for it.

LAST.—But if they pay for it out of the money that they get from tithes and taxes, God does not send it for them, but they take it by force from those who work; and it does seem strange, indeed, Sir, that you should seem to rejoice in their increase, while you are so anxious to put a stop to the breeding of those who do the work.

STILES.—Yes, Sir, as neighbour Last says, it is all as one as if I were to put a stop to the breeding of my cart-mares and breed nothing but nags and pleasure ponies.

SQU. THIM. (Aside.)—Oh! the devil! these fellows have been reading Cobbett’s pernicious Trash.

LAST.—Aye, neighbour, all as one as if you, not having corn enough to keep your nags and cart-horses too, were to knock the cart-horses on the head.

STILES.—And pretty crops I should have then.

LAST.—And pretty payment Sir Gripe would get from you at Michaelmas and Lady-day.

SQU. THIM.—But, Mr. Last, do you not know that there is, in nature, a tendency, in every country, for the people to increase faster than the food that they usually live on?

LAST.—I do not only not know that fact, but I know that, besides its being contrary to reason and experience, it is next to blasphemy to assert it. But, Sir, if there be in nature this tendency, how comes it that it never was discovered before; and that never, until about twenty-seven years ago, when that Scotch fellow, Malthus, wrote his book, no man in England ever dreamed of our having too many people?

SQU. THIM.—The evil has not existed until of late years.

LAST.—But, if it be in nature, why did it not exist before?

SQU. THIM.—Why, I suppose that there used to be more moral restraint, more prudence, as to marriage and having children.

LAST.—How could that be, when you say that the want of moral restraint arises from want of education, and when we have now fifty times as much of that nonsense as we had when I was a boy?
Squ. Thim.—But you will allow that there is a great want of employment?

Last.—Yes.

Squ. Thim.—Then you allow that there are too many labourers?

Stiles.—No, no, Sir; too little money in our hands to pay them duly for their labour. Plenty of work that ought to be done, but not enough money to pay for it.

Squ. Thim.—That comes to the same thing; for if you have not money to pay them all, there are too many of them.

Last.—By no means. Suppose Stiles, here, have 100l. in his drawer, ready to pay for hoeing that he intends to have done, and suppose a thief to come and steal the money, Stiles must leave the ground unhoed, and it must be overrun with weeds, and the crop be one half what it would have been, if his money had not been stolen.

Squ. Thim.—You are supposing a case that can rarely happen.

Last.—Not at all! for money taken away by the parson and the tax-gatherer is taken away from Stiles as effectually as if taken away by thieves.

Squ. Thim.—What, Sir; do you call the parson and the tax-gatherer thieves?

Last.—Oh, no! but, money taken away from Stiles is money deducted from his means of paying labourers, no matter by whom, or under what pretence, the money is so taken.

Squ. Thim.—You must know, however, at any rate, that the people of this country have greatly increased in number.

Last.—I neither know nor believe it; for I see churches built hundreds of years ago with scarcely any parishioners; I see many of them quite tumbled down; and I know that they never would have been built if there had not been people to go to them.

Squ. Thim. (Aside.)—These fellows have all been reading Cobbett, and, as my friends Trevor and Wilmot say, nothing can stand, neither church nor state, if that wicked fellow be not put to silence. (To them.) You think, then, that the more the merrier, and the more paupers you breed, the better it will be for you, and that, instead of checking premature marriages, you ought (as indeed you do) to offer a premium for breeding children, as we do for breeding sheep, or planting trees.

Last.—There needs no premium; for, whether married
of not, country girls will have children; but, since you talk of paupers and of a premium for breeding, pray what are those who are on the pension and sinecure lists, men, women, and children? and, as to premiums for breeding, what do you call the money that is given to poor Parsons, and to half-pay officers and their widows and children? Are not these premiums for breeding, and premiums too paid out of taxes raised in part on these very labourers? And what are the military academies and asylums but premiums to the rich and the soldiers to induce them to breed? You find no fault of these premiums for the breeding of idlers, and are alarmed only at the increase of those who work.

Squ.-I am alarmed at the increase of the paupers, who already eat up the country.

Last.-Not they, indeed: it is your idlers that eat up the country: it is they that make the working-people so poor that they are obliged to come to the parish or starve.

Squ.-Obliged to come and demand other people's property to live on!

Last.-It is not other people's property: it is their own property: they inherit a right, both by nature and by law, to subsistence out of the land, in exchange for their labour, and if they be unable to labour, or can get no labour, they have the right without the labour.

Enter Mrs. Stiles with a letter.

Squ.-Well, good morning, gentlemen. (They go out.) Ah! (reading) he invites me to the hall! I thought he would not let me remain here long (Reads): "My dear Thimble! the pleasure of your enlightened dis-
"course is always so great, that it was with the most acute 
"pain that I quitted you this morning." O, oh! this is some-
"thing like justice, "Pray do me the honour to come up here,
"and to bring with you your last admirable remedy against 
"that great national scourge, the procreation of the human 
"species. As they keep early hours at the farm, you will,
"most likely, have dined before this will reach you; if you 
"have not, you need not be in a hurry; for, as 'population 
"treads close upon the heels of subsistence,' I take care to 
"keep a short supply here." Well, well; I'll get a bit of 
"something here, and then I'll go up.

Act II.

Scene I.—Mrs. Birch's Cottage: Dick and Betsy.

Betsy.—Didn't you meet mother?

Dick.—No: she went by the lane, I suppose; and I came across the fields.
BET.—Well, what did the greedy old rogue want with you?

DICK.—What do you think, now? What do you think that the skin-flint old rascal wanted me to do?

BET.—God knows: to rob Mistress's pantry for him, perhaps.

DICK.—Worse than that.

BET.—Worse! why, then, to take false oaths for him, as his steward Scut does.

DICK.—Worse, a great deal worse than that.

BET.—Poor father always said he was the devil: but what was it, then?

DICK.—Why, he wanted me to be false to you!

BET.—Oh! the old villain! False to me! And what could the greedy old monster get by that?

DICK.—Yes, and he told me he would get me a place at London, in the King's guards, and have me made an officer, if I would set off by the coach to-night.

BET.—To-night!

DICK.—Yes, and when I refused, he got into a deuce of a passion, and . . . (seeing three men going by). . . I wonder who those rough-looking fellows are?

BET.—Oh, they are some blackguards going up to the Hall, I dare say. He never has any-body but such people about him.

DICK.—Yes, as Mr. Last says, the Hall is more like a robbers' den than a gentleman's house. But (looking up at the sun) it is twelve o'clock: I must get home to feed the oxen.

BET.—Well, good-by; but you'll come up this evening.

DICK.—Yes, yes, I'll be here about seven or eight. [Exit.

SCENE II.—A Room in Gripe Hall, cobwebs on the ceiling, a dirty floor, a dirty deal table, and two old chairs, on one of which Sir Gripe is sitting.

SIR G.—Amongst those that I have lived with, there is not one mother out of a score that would not, for a handful of guineas, be the bawd in the seducing of her own daughter; and if this woman, who owes me a year's rent, and whom I can strip to-morrow of every rag that she has, holds out against me, it will be bad luck indeed. This is the most beautiful girl I ever set my eyes on; and am not I her lord? Is she not my property? And shall this fellow, who is also my slave, take her from me? It will be better for them both, too; for they would soon begin to starve, and then to fight like dog and cat. But, better or better not, I'll have her. As to sin, either there is a hell, or there is not; if not,
there is; in this country, no loss of character for a man who has forty thousand a-year; and, if there be a hell, it is already my lot; so that I'll have my enjoyment in spite of the devil; and now for...

Enter Barebone.

Bare.—The widow Birch is come, Sir Gripe.

Sir G.—Show her in. [Exit Barebone.] If I can't prevail upon the mother to stop the marriage, I must get the girl away to-night somehow or other, and get her to London too. There's nothing like that: old Mother Carbuncle, the bawd, or Mother Lynx, the mad-house keeper, will receive her, and I can follow in a day or two.—But soft! here comes the mamma!

Enter Mrs. Birch.

Mrs. Bir.—Your servant, Sir Gripe (curtseys); I'm very sorry my rent is behindhand; but......

Sir G.—Oh! never mind, never mind the rent, Mrs. Birch; sit down, sit down. I'm not one of your proud fellows; we're all flesh and blood.

Mrs. Bir. (Aside.)—How deceived folks are in him! (To him.) I can stand, Sir, I thank you.

Sir G.—No, no; sit down, sit down, Mrs. Birch: I'm glad to see you looking so well: I hope your children are well.

Mrs. Birch.—Purely well, I thank you, Sir.

Sir G.—How many of them have you got, Mrs. Birch?

Mrs. Birch.—Only seventeen alive, Sir.

Sir G.—Seventeen! Why you look young enough and handsome enough to have seventeen more.

Mrs. Birch. (Smiling.)—Oh, dear, Sir.

Sir G.—And what do you do with them all, Mrs. Birch?

Mrs. Birch.—Nine of them are out at service, one lives with her aunt, and there are seven at home.

Sir G.—Are they boys or girls?

Mrs. Birch.—Twelve boys and five girls, Sir, and, though I say it, as good children they be as any in the parish, and, thanks be to God, not a day's sickness have we had in the house since their poor father died, and that was three years ago last Friday as ever was; and they be so dutiful to me, and comes so kindly to see me every Sunday, when they can be spared; and they do so love one another; and they all seem to do their best to make up for the loss of their poor father, who, poor soul, used, when he came home from his work, to have four or five of them upon his knees at once. Oh! Sir, never was there such a father, and never
sir G.—That's right, that's right: don't let them marry till they're thirty: only brings ruin and misery and starvation and poaching and thieving and treadmillands transportings and hangings. That's right, Mrs. Birch; that's right; keep them single till they be thirty, and then they will do well. If any of them were to marry young, I should be very angry with you; and.

Mrs. Birch. (Aside.)—What shall I do?

Sir G.—And should, in short, order my Steward, Mr. Scut, to.

Mrs. Birch.—I beg your pardon, Sir Gripe, but my daughter Betsy is going to be.

Sir G. (Angrily.)—What! not married, I hope?

Mrs. Birch.—They have courted so long, Sir, and they have been such constant lovers, and the banns have been out for these three weeks, and.

Sir G.—To tell you the truth, I have heard of this, Mrs. Birch, and I have sent for you to talk to you about it. You are a sensible woman, Mrs. Birch, and I have a great regard for you and your family, and wish well particularly to this young woman; and, therefore,

Mrs. Birch.—Thank you, Sir, God will bless you for it, and I'm sure they'll both prove deserving of your goodness; for Richard Hazle is as good a young man as any in the whole country; and he has lived with Farmer Stiles ever since he was eight years old; and they do so love one another; and Mrs. Stiles says they are the handsomest couple that.

Sir G.—Well, well; never mind that now. You are a sensible woman, and you know that this love, as they call it, is all nonsense; and that when poverty comes in at the door, this love flies out of the window.

Mrs. Birch.—Not always, Sir; for I am sure that I and my poor husband were poor enough, and...

Sir G.—Well, well; but, now, don't you think it would be better to put off this marriage for a year or two, till.

Mrs. Birch.—Lor, Sir, it would break poor Betsy's heart.

Sir G.—Oh, no! Women's hearts are tougher than you think for. (Aside.) I know that pretty well.
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MRS. BIRCH.—Not Betsy's, Sir; poor thing, she'd go crazy, and so would Richard too.

SIR G.—Now, I'll tell you what I'll do, Mrs. Birch: I'll make your daughter my house-keeper in London, and I'll make Hazle my bailiff here, and give each of them twenty pounds a year and their board.

MRS. BIRCH.—Lor, Sir!

SIR G.—Will you propose it to them?

MRS. BIRCH.—Pray don't ask me to do it, Sir.

SIR G.—Why, you can propose it, at any rate.

MRS. BIRCH.—No, indeed, Sir, I cannot. They would hate me for it, and how am I to endure the hatred of my child?

SIR G.—(Angrily.)—Better than you can endure to starve, as you will, if you don't do what I tell you to do.

MRS. BIRCH.—By the blessing of God, Sir, I have not starved yet, and hope I shall not.

SIR G.—And what is God to do for you, you perverse fool!

MRS. BIRCH.—He says, "Cursed be he that oppresseth the widow and the fatherless."

SIR G.—And you, being the interpreter; apply that curse to me, eh! You impudent hag.

MRS. BIRCH.—No, indeed, Sir; but....

SIR G.—Hold your tongue! go along; and call upon God to save your rags, when Mr. Scut comes, to-morrow morning, to bundle you into the road.

MRS. BIRCH.—I will call upon God, Sir, and he will be my help in the time of need. [Exit.]

SIR G.—Now; then, I know what I have to do. (Rings the bell.)

Enter Barebone.

SIR G.—Is Squire Thimble come?

BARE.—Just come, Sir.

SIR G.—Show him into the best room, and say I will be with him directly. (Exit Barebone.) I can't trust this half fool, Thimble; he'll have his qualms of conscience, if it be only out of vanity and conceit; if it be only to show his philosophy, as the fool calls it. I humour him with his rubbishy stuff about surplus population, which has made him as mad as the fellows that are trying to discover the longitude, and he really thinks that I half starve my servants purely from the patriotic motive of insuring their continence! But I'll sound him a little about this girl, at any rate, and see what he's made of.
Enter Barebone.

Bare.—The three men, Sir, say they are hungry and dry.

Sir G.—Send one of them to the inn for a gallon of beer and a gallon of gin, and get a pound or two of cheap cheese and a loaf. I may want them by-and-by. [Exit Barebone.

Scene III. The Best Room; the walls smoky, with torn papers; no fire, no curtains, old broken chairs, and a ragged carpet.

Squire Thimble sitting at a table with papers and pamphlets.

Squ. Thim.—Well (looking round him), if this be the best room, the worst must be some degrees worse than a...

Enter Sir Gripe.

Squ. Thim. (Rising and bowing.)—I was just saying to myself what a beautiful house this is, how tranquil, how admirably calculated for study, and especially for that species of study which I delight in; for, you must know that London does...

Sir G. (Aside.)—Oh the devil!

Squ. Thim. . . . . . not favour the flow of ideas like this quiet...

Sir G. (Aside.)—By — they sha'nt flow here!

Squ. Thim. . . . . place; and I'm resolved to finish my treatise on checking population before I go back.

Sir G.—But, where's your Remedy against Breeding, that I asked you to bring up with you?

Squ. Thim.—Here 'tis. (Giving it to Sir G.)

Sir G. (Reads to himself, while Thimble sits and looks eagerly at him.)—Admirable, admirable! Delightful! Here are grammar, logic, philosophy, eloquence, elegance, clearness, strength, and, in short...

Squ. Thim.—Oh, no! The essay is well enough, but nothing like equal to that which I have now in hand: I'll read you a passage of it...

Sir G. (Raising his voice.)—"Well enough," do you call it? I say, that the man that could write that ought to be prime minister.

Squ. Thim.—Oh, no! you flatter me; but do, then, let me read you a passage from my new work; for, as you will see,....

Sir G.—No: you sha'nt, you sha'nt: I won't hear a word of it till it comes out: I'll hav'nt all together: a taste beforehand would spoil my feast.

Squ. Thim.—Well, then, let us talk of what ought to be done as well as written.

Sir G.—Yes, I like doing.
SQU. THIM.—These positions are clear: first, part of the people must be sent out of the country; or, second, the millions must be made to live on potatoes, like the Irish; or, third, their breeding must be checked; or, fourth, those who live on tithes and taxes must be compelled to work for their bread.

SIR G.—As to the first, they won't go; as to the second, they will burn up the country rather than submit to it; as to the fourth, it is not to be thought of; and, therefore, it must be the third.

SQU. THIM.—So say I, and, therefore, I am labouring, first to persuade them not to marry, and next to teach them how to avoid having live children, if they be married, and...

SIR G. (Aside.)—What a d—— fool it is!

SQU. THIM. . . . . have we not, under our eyes, a proof of the necessity of my labours? For, look at this young woman, who is going to be married to-morrow, and who, probably, without my lessons, might breed twenty-one poor creatures as her mother has done.

SIR G.—Ah! a striking instance indeed, and all this litter is to be kept, too, out of my estate, or my farms and my woods are to be burnt!

SQU. THIM.—A man may as well have no property: it is not property: you have your estate in common with this devouring herd.

SIR G.—Aye, and they leave me here, you see, with hardly a bit of bread to put in my mouth.

SQU. THIM.—It is not only your duty, then, but your interest also, to aid me in my labours; and, when my essay is finished, which in this tranquil abode will be in about a month you will see that procreation will be effectually checked.

SIR G.—No doubt; but, in the meanwhile this brace of breeders get together. Now, I'm a practical man; I hold that an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure; and, therefore, I'm for sending the girl away, and to-night too.

SQU. THIM.—To-night!

SIR G.—Yes, to-night, and I shall want your assistance.

SQU. THIM.—My assistance!

SIR G.—You know, my dear Thimble, what a regard I have for you, and how sincerely I admire your talents. You are fit for the highest posts in the state. You only want to be in parliament to make your surprising talents
known; and when I am made a peer, you shall take my place.

Squ. Thim. (Getting up and taking him by the hand.)—Thank you, thank you; I always thought that this would be the case; but...

Sir G.—What I intend is this; to get a post-chaise and four horses over here at midnight; 'clap her and you into it, and let them carry you off like the wind, to London, where you can deposit her at my house at Pimp-place, under the care of little Panter, who, you know, breathes only through my nostrils.

Squ. Thim.—But, what would the world say?

Sir G.—World! Did you ever know the world find wrong any-thing done by a man with forty thousand a year in land?

Squ. Thim.—But, I have not forty thousand a year, and should never dare show my face again; for the newspapers...

Sir G.—A handful of guineas would bribe them all to silence. However, if you do not choose to oblige me...

Squ. Thim.—Pray do not put it in that way, I do choose it; but, let us take a little time to think of it.

Sir G.—And they get to breeding in the meanwhile.

Squ. Thim.—Besides I meant to stay here to finish my essay.

Sir G.—That's out of the question, for I mean to shut the house up to-morrow, and to go and live with my friends a few days, till I go to London.

Squ. Thim.—You know, dear Sir Gripe, that it would be violation, that it would be assault at the least; and that there would be such an outcry; and then...

Sir G.—Very true, very true, you are right, and great as will be the evil to my estate and to my country, I must, upon reflection, give up my intention, and let the devouring devils breed away.

Squ. Thim.—I hope you don't think, that...

Sir G.—Oh, no, no, no, not at all, not at all. You're quite right; you're quite right; and I really am glad that you refused; for I now see the danger. But, how will you get back?

Squ. Thim.—Oh! I shall go off by the mail, which stops here, at the Grindum Arms.

Sir G.—And what time shall you get into town?

Squ. Thim.—Why, let me see, the mail comes about one, and I shall get in about six.
Sir G.—Well, then, as I have a deal to do here, I'll send you a letter down to the farm, which, when you get out of the coach in Piccadilly, you'll be so good as to carry directly, (it's in your way) to Pimp-place, and give it to little Pander. But you'll be sure to deliver it without a moment's delay.

Squ. Thim.—Certainly. (Rising and gathering up his papers.) You'll send down the letter by ten or eleven o'clock. (Pulls out his watch.) It is past eight now: your servant, Sir Gripe.

Sir G.—(Looking contemptuously after him.)—Oh! your servant, Mr. Stitch-louse! Here's a pretty scoundrel! He has openly advised women to procure abortion, which is murder; and now he has his qualms of conscience! As Richard says of Buckingham, in the play, "I'll henceforth deal with shorter-sighted villains." And here they are at hand, in the three respectable personages that my friend, Lord Rottenborough, has had down at his election, and who have dropped in as old acquaintances, on their way back to London. They will have no scruples, I'll warrant them: they would cut the throats of their own mothers for a crown a head. [Exit bowing.

ACT III.

SCENE I.—MRS. BIRCH'S COTTAGE: MRS. BIRCH, BETSY, and DICK.

Betsy.—And see, here are beautiful flowers that aunt Martha has sent us to strew up to the church-door; and there are brothers Tom and Jack coming, and many more lads, and all the girls in the village; and they are to walk arm in arm before us; and do, Richard, look at these true-lovers' knots that Patty Primrose has sent me!

Mrs. Birch.—And look at this fine gammon of bacon and these plums that Mrs. Stiles has sent.

Dick.—Ah! she's the woman! and now I must go home to bed; for I'm to get up at one o'clock to carry Squire Thimble's portmanteau up to the Grindum Arms.

Betsy.—Well, good by; but I wish 'twas over for my heart does sink so!

Dick.—What for? What can you be afraid of?

Betsy.—Why, I'm so afraid that something will happen: it seems to be too much happiness; and there's that shocking old villain sent for mother and you; and there's the rent to pay; and he's such a spiteful monster, and so cunning!

Dick.—But what can the villain do?
Mrs. Birch.—There, never mind her qualms: go home to bed, Richard, for you must be tired to death. (Exit Dick.)

And now, my child, let us go to bed and get some rest; and, as to the rent, farmer Stiles says that old rascal shall not turn us into the road, if he turn him out of his farm for saving us. So, as I told the old skin-and-bone miser, the Lord will protect the widow and the fatherless.

Scene II.—A Room in Gripe Hall: Sir Gripe and the three London Bullies, Bludgeon, Guzzle, and Slang, all seated: a bottle of gin and a glass on the table.

Sir Gripe.—You know where the cottage is?

Blud.—Yes, we came by it in the morning, and saw a young chap and a girl at the door.

Sir G.—With dark hair and bright eyes, and . . . .

Slang.—Yes, a nice piece enough.

Sir G.—She's mad, you know.

All.—Yes, yes; we understand all about it.

Sir G.—Here's my old friend, Bludgeon, did such a job for me once before, and he knows I paid him well.

Blud.—Aye, how did that turn out, Sir Gripe?

Sir G.—Very well, very well: she got quite cured in time!

Blud.—And is now upon the town; for I met her in Drury-lane only about a month ago; but so altered!

Sir G.—The chaise will come over from Rottenborough, and will be at the corner of the lane just at twelve o'clock.

Blud.—We'll knock them up by telling that the intended is taken ill; and then seize her, and . . . .

Guzzle.—Ram a handkerchief into her mouth, to . . . .

Slang.—Tow, or cotton-wool, is better.

Sir G.—Give the two post-boys a guinea instead of a crown; and be sure to say that it is a mad woman that you are taking to St. Luke's.

Blud.—Leave that to us, Sir.

Sir G.—One of you ride on the box, and the other two in the chaise; and, when you come to Stains, go across to Kingston, and lop gently along till you get to Mrs. Lynx's.

Blud.—I know it, you know, Sir: in Dismal-lane?

Sir G.—Yes, the same place; and now go and get some supper, and then I'll give you money to pay your expenses on the road.

Guzzle.—It will want a pretty deal, Sir: four horses, you know, and two post-boys, and 'tis dry work, as the saying is.
1ST JUNE, 1831.

SIR G.—I shall be in town the day after to-morrow, and, if you do your job well, I'll give you five guineas a-piece. [They go out.

SIR G.—(Calling them back.)—Oh! here, I had forgotten: have you got pistols?

BLUD.—Look here! (Showing them.)

SIR G.—All's right, then. [They go out: he rings.

Enter BAREBONE.

SIR G.—Barebone, take this letter down to 'Squire Thimble, at farmer Stiles's. (Barebone going.) And, do you hear, Barebone?

BARE.—Sir.

SIR G.—If any one call to-morrow, be it who he may, tell him, or her, that I am not at home; that I am gone to the county-election, to work in the cause of Parliamentary Reform. What o'clock is it now, Barebone?

BARE.—'Tis a good bit past eleven, Sir, by the church clock. [Exit Barebone.

SIR G.—I'll now go and prime these fellows with money. Let me see: they will be at Old Moll's about eight; Thimble will be in about six; so that there will be plenty of time for Pander to get to Old Moll's with my letter of instructions. What a thing is forty thousand a year! All these devils hate me; nay, despise me, and they crouch to me, like so many spaniels! Yet, in one thing, I'm a slave too: I know that this Reform of Parliament will strip me of my power; I detest it accordingly, and yet I'm compelled to work for it.

SCENE III.—STILES'S PARLOUR: THIMBLE PACKING UP HIS PAPERS.

Enter BAREBONE.

BARE.—A letter, Sir, from Sir Gripe.

SQU. THIM.—What, you're going to shut the hall up to-morrow, are you, young man?

BARE.—Not that I know of, Sir; I have not heard anything about it.

SQU. THIM.—No! (Exit Barebone.) This is a lie, then, invented to get rid of me, when he found that I would not be his pimp. But (opening the letter) let's see what he says here. "My dear Thimble, I'm sorry that imperious circumstances separate us before I gather half what I ought from your instructive conversation. But bear in mind what I said about the seat, which will surely be yours. Pray do not fail to deliver the letter to Pander the very moment that you arrive; and believe me al- "ways truly yours, "GRIPE GRINDUM."
"P. S. If Pander should not be up, go up to his bedroom and give him the letter; for it is of the greatest possible importance; and a minute's delay might be ruinous to the cause of Reform." What! a minute's delay! why, then . . . . .

(Enter Mrs. Stiles.)

Mrs. Stiles.—Won't you take something, Sir, before you set off? 'Tis a sharpish night, and you won't get anything upon the road.

Squ. Thim.—Thank you; I'll take an egg.
Mrs. Stiles.—And a glass of something, Sir? [Exit.
Squ. Thim.—"A minute's delay ruinous to the cause of Reform!" "There's more in this than meets the ear." (Looking hard at the letter.)

(Enter Mrs. Stiles, with eggs, &c.)

Squ. Thim.—What is it o'clock, good woman?
Mrs. Stiles.—Just struck twelve, Sir. [Exit.
Squ. Thim.—I've a great mind to open this letter. What secrets ought they to keep from me about the cause of reform? The rascals, who owe the power they have to me, I can do it up again; so, as Old Knowell says in the play, "By your leave, soft wax." (Opens the letter and reads to himself.) Oh! the d—-d perfidious villain. (Reads out) "That stupid coxcomb, Thimble, is here, and was going to make my house his study; and I was afraid I must have swung it in order to get him out. He will carry you this letter . . . . go over to old Moll three trusty fellows . . . . post-chaise and four . . . . start from here at twelve o'clock at night." Oh! the d—-d villain. (A screaming in the kitchen: he runs out.)

SCENE IV.—The Farm Kitchen. The Farmer, his wife, men, and boys. A little boy and girl of Mrs. Birch's crying.

Little Boy.—And there's poor mammy lying dead upon the floor, and there's little Harry and little Sally crying and screaming. O Lord, what shall we do!

Little Girl.—And poor sister Betsy's gone! Oh dear, oh dear!

(Enter Patty Primrose.)

Patty.—Three fellows come and knocked at the door, put a pistol to their heads, and dragged Betsy away; and . . . .

(Enter Mary Violet.)

Mary.—They took her off in a post-chaise; mother looked out of the window, heard a screaming, and she
known Betsey's voice, and saw them go up the lane as fast as they could drive, and...

Dick comes down-stairs in his trousers and shirt.

Squ. Thim.—They're gone to London with her, I tell you. I have a letter here (Dick runs out of the house) that I have opened: I will tell you all about it by and by; but get horses and go after them; or never will you see her again.

Stiles.—Boys, men, all of you, and get the nag, and, Tom, you get on as fast as you can.

Mrs. Stiles.—I'll go up to poor Mrs. Birch, and keep her as quiet as I can.

Patty.—There's plenty of neighbours there now.

Mrs. Stiles.—Give me some vinegar, and I'll take my hartshorn. Ah! 'tis that old villain at the hall.

[Exit with the girls.

Squ. Thim.—(Aside.)—I'll stay and see the upshot of this.

Stiles.—Bad affair, Sir: black work somewhere: hope, Sir, you've no hand in't.

Squ. Thim.—If you'll come into the other room, I'll show you, farmer, that I have nothing to do with it.

Enter Last.

Stiles.—There's that old villain has...

Last.—I've heard all about it. Dame Violet came up to the village screaming, and Jack Harrow, and Ned Maple, and a dozen more got up, and run off, one after another, long before Dick came.

Stiles.—And there's that poor fellow without a shoe to's foot, or a hat upon's head: his feet will be cut all to pieces; and how be they ever to overtake a post-chaise and four?

Squ. Thim.—Come into the parlour, and I'll show you the letters, and explain the whole affair to you.

[They go into the parlour.

Scene V.—A Bed-room in Grindum-hall: Sir Gripe just got out of a filthy bed, on a stump-bedstead.

Sir G.—(Knocking on the floor.)—What's o'clock, I wonder?

Enter Barebone.

Sir G.—What's o'clock, Barebone?

Bare.—A little past four, Sir. [Exit.

Sir G.—As neat a job as ever I did! There's that d—d fool, Thimble, carrying my letter, and thinking it
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an honour; there’s the girl hastening to old Moll’s; and there’s my trusty steward, Scut, coming to bundle the saucy old mother into the road. (A shouting at a distance.) What’s that? Master Swing’s not coming again, to be sure. (Knocks upon the floor.)

Enter Barebone.

Sir G.—What noise is that, Barebone?
Bare.—I don’t know, Sir. It is up in the turnpike-road.
Sir G.—Go out and learn what it means. (Exit Barebone.) They’ll get no money here, at any rate; and as to victuals and drink, I set even their guts at defiance. They say they won’t live upon potatoes, and they’ll not find even them here.

Enter Barebone, in haste and in a fright.
Bare.—Oh Lord, Sir.
Sir G.—What’s the matter?
Bare.—Oh, Sir! it’s a great mob, with big sticks in their hands, bringing a post-chaise along, and . . . . .
Sir G.—A post-chaise!
Bare.—Yes, Sir; and Peter Skeleton heard them, as they came through the village, swear that they’d kill you.
Sir G.—Kill me? For what?
Bare.—I don’t know, indeed, Sir; but Peter says they said something about Betsy Birch; and they have got one of the gentlemen that was here last night, with his arms tied behind him. [Exit.]
Sir G.—Oh, the devil! To fly is impossible. There are some hiding-places in this old house. There’s no time to lose. [Exit.]

SCENE VI.—The Farm-house: Squire Thimble, Last, and Stiles.

Squ. Thim.—Well, gentlemen, I’m glad you’re satisfied that I have had no hand in it, and that . . . .

Enter Ned Maple out of breath.

Ned.—We’ve got um, we’ve got um; and there’s Betsy in the chaise, and poor Dick, with the blood running down his breast, holding Betsy in his arms; and . . . . .

Last.—But where are they?
Ned.—Jack Harrow and I came up with them first, and Jack knocked down one of the post-chaise boys, and I knocked the fellow off the box; and . . . .

Stiles.—But where was this?
Ned.—And then Dick came up, and pulled the chaise door window open, and the fellows shot at him, and the shot grazed
his breast; and Tom Stiles, your nephew, then pulled the fellow out, and laid on upon him till he could not stir; and Harry Hedger pulled t’other fellow out, and basted him over eyes and limbs; and......

Last.—But where was this? And who stopped them?
Ned.—Why, one of their horses fell down at the bottom of Break-neck hill, and broke both his fore-legs, and so we came up with them; and we tied the arms behind the fellow that was upon the box; and we left the other two crying murder; and Betsy was fainted, and Dick thought she was dead, and he swore he’d kill every man of them; but she came to again; and he got her into his arms, and there he sticks, and you can’t get a word out of him.

Stiles.—Poor fellow, his feet must be cut all to pieces!

Last.—But where are they now?

Ned.—They be coming round the lane, with two horses in the chaise. Hark! Don’t you hear them?

Last.—This gentleman has told us that they were going to......

Ned.—The chap that we’ve got with his arms tied has confessed all about it; and see here (pulling out a parcel of gold) is the money that old Gripe gave them.

Stiles.—There they come, there they come! don’t you hear them?

Last.—Come, let’s go up to the widow’s and meet them.

(All go out but Thimble.)

Squ. Thim.—So, then, this old hypocritical rascal! this ungrateful wretch, to whom I have been political pimp for twenty or thirty long years, and who now calls me coxcomb, fool, and stitch-louse: this pretended patriot; this weather-cock in politics; this haughty aristocrat, and, at the same time, noisy demagogue, is, at last, about to have something like justice inflicted upon him.

SCENE VIII.—The Widow’s Cottage: the crowd coming to it with the chaise, and with Bludgeon with his arms tied behind him: all the lane full of people, and crowding round the door of the cottage.

Mrs. Birch. Let me come, let me come! oh, my dear child, my dearest child! God Almighty be praised!

Dick. (Getting out of the chaise, and lifting out Betsy in his arms.)—Now, do make room, good folks; you’ll stifle her.
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SEVERAL.—How pale she is! How bloody poor Richard is! Oh! the villains; oh, the murderers! Oh! that old villain Grindum!

MRS. STILES.—There, Richard, go up stairs, and rest a little, and I'll send your things up here for you to dress for church.

LAST.—Now, lads and girls, all go home, and get ready for the wedding.

SEVERAL MEN.—Yes, but we have got to swing old Grindum first.

NED.—And what are we to do with this fellow?

LAST.—Put him into the post-chaise with his arms tied, and send him back to Rottenborough.

NED. (Pulling out the gold.)—And here, Mrs. Birch, is something to pay old Scut with, when he comes to take your cow, and bundle you into the road.

MANY MEN.—There, girls, go home, and we'll go and swing old Grindum.

[The girls disperse, and the men and boys go towards the hall.

SCENE VIII.—A Room in the Hall: Grindum coming out at a trap-door.

SIR G.—Nothing short of the devil can find me here. This is a place where the Catholic priests used to hide in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

MOB. (In the court-yard, speaking to Barebone.)—'Tis a lie, 'tis a lie, we know he's here, and if you don't show us where he is, we'll swing you.

BARE.—I'll go and look again; but I'm almost sure he's gone away.

Enter Barebone to Sir Gripe.

SIR G.—Hark! they're going to get straw to put in the low rooms, to set the house on fire!

BARE.—Pray go out to them, Sir! Hark! they are coming up stairs.

Enter five or six.

ALL.—Oh! here you are! Come along.—(They seize him and drag him away.)

SCENE IX.—The Court-yard.

MANY.—Swing him! Swing him!

OTHERS.—Horse-pond him! Horse-pond him! Down to the farm with him, and horse-pond him!
1st June, 1831.

SCENE X.—_The Farm-house Kitchen_: Squire Thimble, Stiles, Mrs. Stiles, and Last: to them a Boy running.

Boy.—Here they come with old Grindum, with a rope about his middle, to draw him through the horse-pond. — (All run out but Thimble, who opens the window and looks into the yard.)

Mob. (Three or four hundred.)—Come, drown him! Drag him through! Drown him!

Stiles.—No, no! you must not do that.

Sir G.—Stiles, I shall hold you answerable for this.

Tom Birch.—And I hold you answerable for trying to kill my poor sister, and for paying fellows to shoot Dick Hazle.

All.—Swing him! Pond him!

_They drag him across, and he sinks and comes up all over filth._

Squ. Thim.—There he rises "in all the majesty of mud." A suitable head he has now to be the seat of a coronet!

Tom Birch.—There, sneak away to London, where the wretches will still bow and scrape to you. (He slinks away out of the yard.) We'll swing you, if you come here again.

Mrs. Stiles.—Oh! if there ben't the bells ringing: they be coming from church: let's all go and wish them joy.

SCENE XI.—_The Widow's Cottage-door_: a great crowd assembled: Stiles, Last, Mrs. Stiles, and Squire Thimble. Enter the Bridegroom and Bride, with their friends: and all get into a sort of circle.

Mrs. Stiles.—I wish you joy, Betsy!

All.—Wish you joy, Richard! Wish you joy, Betsey!

Mrs. Birch.—They thank you from the bottom of their hearts, as I do; and I'm only sorry that my house is too small to entertain every one of you.

Last.—In our thanks, we must not forget this gentleman (turning to Squire Thimble); for, if it had not been for him, we should not have known which way the post-chaise was gone.

Squ. Thim.—I am very happy to have been instrumental in producing this result; but my conscience will not let me take my leave without offering to this couple one piece of advice.

Dick and Betsy.—Thank you, Sir.
SQUIRE THIMBLE.

Pray, young folks, of procreation,
Of breeding children, shun the woes;
"Check the surplus population;"
"Restraint that's moral" interpose.

DICK.

Of children full that I my quiver
Might have, you heard the parson pray:
Can you, then, where God's the giver,
Behold the gift, and turn away?

BETSY.

Di'nt he pray for God to bless me,
And make me fruitful as the vine;
And charge my Richard to caress me,
And, sick or well; not to repine?

ALL THE YOUNG MEN AND GIRLS.

Hang that Thimble, what can he know?
The Bible bids us to increase:
Back to London, then, may he go;
And let us live and love in peace.

THE END.
The Hamilton
My Friends,

The London newspapers tell us, that the newspapers in the country are full of "forebodings as to the designs of the labourers;" and the "Morning Chronicle," of the 25th June, having told us this, adds these words, "There is an article in the Kent Herald, of Thursday, which is worthy of particular attention. Dearly, do we fear, will England yet rue the having, of late years, legislated only for the higher classes, and abandoned the lower to every description of tyranny." This Morning Chronicle is a paper on the side of the ministers, and, therefore, it says

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what it pleases: if I, who am on the side of no men in power, were to write this, I should be prosecuted for it. However, why does not this paper give us this famous article from the *Kent Herald*; and why does it not give us some of those dismal forebodings of the country newspapers with regard to your designs? I, however, want no information upon the subject, for I know your designs, and I highly approve of them; namely, *first*, to secure for yourselves, in return for your labour, a belly-full of meat and bread; and, *next*, to obtain some good wholesome beer, to wash them down; and also to obtain good and decent clothes, and clean bedding, such as your grandfathers had. These are your designs, and God send that they may be accomplished, instead of being a subject of "ominous forebodings." But now, upon these projects for getting a part of you out of the country. Those that are for these projects say, that you are too numerous; that you breed too fast; and that there is not work enough for you; and they say this at the very moment when the farmers, all over the country, are complaining that they shall not be able to get in the harvest without the assistance of Irish labourers! I have often proved that there is plenty of employment for you; that the farmers wish to give you that employment, but that they have not the money to give you; and this has also been stated recently by Lord Stanhope before a committee in the House of Lords. The cause of the farmers not having money enough to give you is, that they are compelled to pay tithes and taxes to an enormous extent; and you want higher wages than you otherwise would want, because you pay taxes on your malt, hops, sugar, soap, candles, tobacco, and, in short, on every-thing that you consume; while the numerous enclosure-bills have taken from almost the whole of you the means of keeping cow, or pig; or goose.
I have frequently told you, that there is a man of the name of Malthus, who is a church parson, who was the great inventor of the doctrine, that it is your breeding so fast that is the cause of your misery. This man has long been a great favourite with the greater part of the law-makers and ministers, and it has recently come to light, that he has been, and is in the pay of the government, and that he has been receiving and is receiving a hundred pounds a year for his literary services. That which he has received would have wholly maintained nine or ten labourers' families. Such transactions as this forms part of the cause of your misery; but, though this is as clear as day-light to me and to every man of sense in the kingdom, still the schemers are at work to get some of you away; to get some of you out of that country in which you were born, while they suffer swarms of Italians, Jews, and Germans, hurdy-gurdy grinders, broom-sellers, and Scotch pedlars, to swarm over the land, like lice upon the body of a diseased animal. They suffer all these to remain and wander whither they like, and are busy about nothing but getting out of the country those who till the land and make the clothes and the houses. Swarms of pensioners and sinecure-holders, paid out of the taxes; swarms of retired clerks, and military officers, and doctors; swarms of idlers, of all descriptions, they suffer to remain, and wish to get rid only of those who do the work, and who, if necessary, are able to defend the country. In a former number I endeavoured to amuse you, under the form of a farce, with an exhibition of the folly of these people. Upon the publication of that farce, a man calling himself Edward Ludlow, who is a partisan of these getters-rid of the people, wrote me a very abusive letter, at the close of which he put to me five questions relative to population. I answered these questions, which contained the doctrine of the whole crew; and those ques-
tions, together with my answer, I will now lay before you. I pray you to read the whole with great attention, and to hand it about from one to the other; and when you have read this, I shall have other, and, to you, still more important matter to lay before you.

"Ludlow's Questions."

1. Stock a farm of 1000 acres, of the richest pasture land, with one breeding pair of the ox, horse, and sheep tribes of animals; leave them to multiply, in obedience to the unrestrained instincts of nature, and will they not multiply until the said pasture is unable to maintain the augmented numbers otherwise than in a state of the most severe privation under which animal life can possibly exist?

2. Would not the same result inevitably occur if the whole island of Great Britain were of the richest pasture, and similarly stocked?

3. To keep down the mouths on his pasture to a level with its capacity to feed them, does not the grazier have recourse to various violent means: such as slaughtering the animals of all ages, removing them away from his land, incapacitating them from breeding, by separating the sexes, and by other means? And if he were not so to do, would not his farm inevitably in time be overstocked?

4. Is not the multiplication of all classes of animal nature, biped and quadruped, or man and beast, governed by the very same laws or principles?

5. If the aforesaid violent means of physical prevention, applied, as aforesaid, to the multiplication of four-legged creatures, cannot be applied to that of two-legged creatures, will not the latter inevitably overstock the country, unless their excessive multiplication be prevented by some moral restraint thereon?

When you show that you clearly understand the preceding very simple questions, and the proper answers to them, I may probably propound some others which may lead to the elements of the momentous, complex, and beautiful science, that treats of the multiplication of the human species, viewed with reference to its highest attainable state of well-being.

You are at liberty to publish this letter, but I guess you will take good care to do no such thing.

"Edward Ludlow."

"Cobbett's Answer."

Now, nasty feelosofer, I answer the four first questions with a YES; but the fifth I answer with a NO. Here we have, then, the grand argument of the shallow and nasty beasts! Here we have the basis of their "momem-
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The nasty creatures know, that nobody can deny the truth of their observations, as they apply to stock, kept upon a farm; and not being able to discriminate between that case and the case of a nation, they think that their conclusion is unanswerable, and they rush on to it with all the eagerness and glee of a conceited fool who imagines that he has discovered some hitherto-hidden idea that he is bringing forth.

If the mind of this fellow were not as stupid as it is nasty, he would have perceived that there is no analogy in the two cases; that a nation, or people, have to provide for their own wants, have to create by their own skill, care, and toil, that which they eat, drink, wear, and are warmed and lodged with; whereas the stock upon a farm have their wants provided for by others; they create nothing; they use no skill, no care; they labour not at all; but have every-thing provided for them by the skill and labour of man, and the labour of those other animals that man calls in to his assistance.

It is curious to observe how this nasty-minded fellow, resting upon the propensities and tendencies of nature, flies off, at once, for an illustration, into a state wholly artificial, and talks of the multiplication of animals in this state, instead of animals in a state of nature, where they have to provide for their own wants; and to seek for the means of their own defence and preservation. What! nasty, impudent, and stupid beast, you want to show us how fast animals would increase, if left to the "unrestrained instincts of nature," and as a proof of it, you cite what would be the increase of a flock, guarded during the day by the shepherd and his dog, folded at night, and pampered upon grass, clover, and turnips, created for them and almost put into their mouths, by the labour of men and horses! You are a pretty beast to reason upon analogy! you are a pretty
beast to show us what would be the effect of leaving animals to the "unrestrained instincts of nature!"

To make your argument of analogy worth a straw, you ought to have gone for an illustration, not to flocks and herds, tended and fed and nursed and physicked by the hand of man, but to those untamed animals which acknowledge no owner, and which provide for their own wants and their own protection. Of these the sparrow, the rook, the rabbit, the hare, the pheasant, the wood-pigeon, the partridge, and some others, are, in part, provided for by man; yet it is not without great difficulty that some of them can be made to increase. But the foxes, the badgers, the otters, the weasels, the stoats, the pole-cats; why do they not over-run the country? They are killed by man and other animals; aye, now and then one, but not in so great a proportion as men are killed in various strifes, and by accidents arising out of their state in civil society. And why do not these animals (all great breeders) cover the land, then? They are left to the "unrestrained instincts of nature;" aye, but they are also left to get their own living; to work for what they eat. Mice and rats, indeed, absolutely demand cats and traps to "check the population" of them; and, why? because the food on which they live is provided for them by the hand of man. Take that artificial provision away, and there will be no need of cats and traps to keep them down. And magpies, now, why do not they fill the woods and devour us? Who ever kills a magpie? The most artful of birds, the most vigilant, so nearly a match for the hawk, that the latter never attacks him. Seldom is his nest molested; and yet, this is rather a rare bird. And why? Because he is compelled to pass his time in watchings and in labour. Feed the magpies, and take care of them, and they will be as plentiful and as insolent as pensioners, and you must soon begin to eat them (sweet morsels!), or to kill
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them at least, or they will fill the air with their chattering. I found, at Barn-Elm, a dove-house with about fifty-pair of pigeons. I let them get their own living: in the three years they did not give us fifty young ones, and their population fell off, at last, to about fifteen pair. I had a little pigeon-house at Kensington, set out with four pair, that soon began to take enough young ones for a pigeon-pie once a week; and yet, in about two years, they increased to such numbers, that I was compelled to slaughter the whole by shooting, and to begin again. But here they were fed three times a day abundantly, and whenever they went from home it was for diversion, and not to seek food. Here was "surplus population;" and here was the cause. These lazy devils at Kensington got all the food and none of the work; and therefore I was compelled to "check their population," and finally to destroy them.

The blackbirds and thrushes sometimes rob a man a little, but the tom-tits, goldfinches, nightingales, swallows, martens, hedge-sparrows, and peckers, and numerous other birds, live wholly on worms and buds and insects and seeds of weeds. There is never any overstock of them, though nobody kills them; but there would be an overstock of all of them, if man were to feed them, and to provide them with nests and protection, and were never to destroy any of them. My little farm-yard at Kensington, contains, at present, two cows, a bull-calf, two old sows, five male pigs, and seven females, all these about three months old, two cocks, ten hens, and about seventeen pigeons. Here, if I were to let them all remain in their natural state, to pursue the "unrestrained instincts of nature," and to go on calving, pigging, and hatching, there would be a goodly assemblage in a short time: there would be a "surplus population" indeed! But, then, I must continue to feed them all: I must continue to draw from my garden subsistence for
them, from the fruit of my care and the labour of my men in the raising of the cabbages, turnips, mangel-wurzel and corn, on which they all live. Upon this, and this alone, I ground my right to "check their population," by killing the calf as soon as he is fit, by taking the milk from the cows, by altering (as the Yankees call it) and, afterwards, killing the pigs, by taking the eggs from the hens, and by taking the young pigeons from their nests and putting them into pies. If I were to leave them to provide for themselves, their population would need no checking; and if they were to be so situated as to be able to get their own living, they would hardly breed too much, because their numbers could increase only in proportion to the subsistence that they obtained, and that, too, without injury to others; for, if they committed such injury, they would be destroyed in proportion to the amount of that injury; and this destroying would keep their numbers within due bounds.

It is exactly the same with human beings, who, if they labour, never can breed too fast, because they create food and clothing and other necessaries in proportion to their numbers, and because, indeed, the subsistence must precede the population. But if there be a government to step in, and wrest the subsistence from those by whose labour it is created, and hand it over to others who, like my farm-stock, create nothing, then the poor souls that do the work must suffer from want. This is the situation of England at this moment; and here is the real foundation and motive of all that we hear about "surplus population." Those who labour, those who create all the food and all the raiment, seem, at last, resolved not to live any longer in a state of half starvation; and, therefore, those who live in idleness on the fruit of their labour, are using all sorts of endeavours to make us believe that the working people are too numerous, and these devourers are worrying the Govern-
ment to death to adopt some scheme for thinning their numbers, not caring a straw about what the country must thereby lose in point of resources and strength. These idlers are, in one respect, not like my farm-stock, for they yield nothing in return for what they devour. They are like the nags and pleasure-fillies, who, finding the clover run short, petitioned the master to sell off, or kill, some of the cart-horses, of whom they alleged that the population was "surplus." "Oh, no!" said the master, "if there be not enough for all, I must get rid of some of you; for you create nothing, and without the cart-horses, we shall all be starved together."

There may, indeed, be a real "surplus population" of idlers; and this is the case in England now; a real surplus of nags and fillies; these are crying out for a diminution of the number of the cart-horses, and, contrariwise to the farmer, our Government is listening to the clamour of these luxurious idlers, and seems to be as busy as bees in contriving schemes for checking the breeding and getting rid of those who do all the work and create all the resources of the country, while, at the same time, that same Government does not one single thing to check the breeding, or to get rid of those who live in idleness out of the fruit of the working people's labour, and who are mere consumers and wasters of the nation's resources.

Let us try this a little, as the Yankees say; let us resort to an illustration, and see if we cannot find a better one than that of this nasty feelosopher, "Edward Ludlow," who, by-the-by, does not tell us where he is to be seen or heard of. "If Edward" should happen to know John Cam Hobhouse, Esq., who is a member under Sir Glory, for the city of Westminster, and who, along with his master, was so pelted with cabbages and turnips, at the election, in Covent Garden, last summer; if "Edward" should
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happen to know "John Cam, Esquire," that will be just the thing; for then he will have the illustration complete. John Cam married a Juliana Hay, who was a pensioner from her infancy. There were two broods of these Hays standing on the pension list; but one will be enough for our purpose.

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
- James Hay ................... 100
- Juliana Hay ................. 100

Now it is very clear that "Edward Ludlow's" doctrine would apply here; for here the parties create nothing. I will not compare such delicate ladies to "stock upon a farm;" but "like the lilies of the field, they toil not, neither do they spin." They do no work, they create nothing useful, they make come neither food nor raiment nor fuel nor bedroom nor houses; therefore they may easily be too numerous; because they do not, like the working classes, create subsistence in proportion to their numbers; they draw their subsistence, or, rather, the exciseman draws it for them, out of the fruit of the labour of others, just as the farmer brings the food to his pigs out of the fields which have been ploughed and sowed by him and the horses. Such people, therefore, if left to follow the "unrestrained instincts of nature," and if fed in proportion to their numbers, must soon actually cover the face of the earth, and devour up every-thing upon it.

But suppose that Lady Juliana had not had the exciseman to draw subsistence for her from the fruit of the labour of the Scotch people (it is a Scotch affair), how
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would the case have stood then? She must have worked for what she ate and wore; she might at this moment have been weeding in the corn, and by-and-by haymaking, reaping, and then hop-picking, and in the winter, spinning and knitting. In that case, she would have created as much as she consumed; she would have been no surplus; and if she had increased there would have been no harm, because her increase would, in the usual course of things, have brought "a proportionate increase of subsistence." Let "Edward Ludlow" go and ask John Cam (if he be acquainted with him) whether this be not sound doctrine; and when he is about it, to make the illustration more ample, he may ask the Squire how the case stands with regard even to the Squire himself, who is one, they say, of a family of TEN CHILDREN, and whose father has, as "Commissioner of Nabob of Arcot's Debts," (O Lord!) received about fifteen hundred pounds a year for nearly, or quite, the last thirty years; and, of course, about forty-five thousand pounds on the whole.

Here again the doctrine of "Ludlow" applies: here is "surplus population:" here, if the parties were left to the "unrestrained instincts of nature," they would certainly devour up the earth itself in time. But if these ten persons were not thus provided for out of the fruit of other people's labour, they might now be all engaged in occupations in which they would, in some way or other, be producers of food, clothing, houses, ships, or some other things necessary to man; and then the addition that they would make to the population would be no surplus; because they would, by their labour, cause a proportionate addition to the food and other things necessary to man, and necessary to the support of the power of the country.

The conclusion, then, is this: that of those who create useful things by their labour, either of hands or head, there
Two-penny Trash;

never can be too many in any country; because they will create subsistence in proportion to their numbers, and there will be less population in a given space of unproductive land than in the same space of productive land, because the subsistence must exist before the new mouths can come; but that, of those who create nothing useful, there may be, as there is now in this country, a great surplus population, and this may be so prodigious as to produce something very nearly approaching to general famine, as is the case at this moment in Ireland, whence the idlers bring away so much as to leave not a sufficiency even of the accursed root to keep the producing classes from starving.

To bar all cavil upon the subject, let me add, that I do not include amongst the idlers, lawyers, doctors, or teachers of any sort, as far as they be necessary in a country; nor the makers and administrators of the laws; nor soldiers, nor sailors, necessary for the defence of the country. These assist those who create and who convey from hand to hand the things created by securing to them protection and peace, and the enjoyment of the things created. The owner of the land is no idler; for the land is necessary to all; and without an owner it could not be advantageously used. But those who draw their subsistence from those who labour, without adequate services in return; these are the idlers; and they do not deserve to be put on a level with stock upon a farm, because these we, first or last, turn into meat, shoes or coats; whereas the idlers, like the vermin that suck our blood, or those that eat up our victuals in our cupboards, are, in their lives, our torment, and, in their deaths, our disgust.

There, nasty "Edward Ludlow;" now go and put forth your scheme for sending the working-people away, or for "incapacitating them from breeding;" and then go to some farm-yard, in the north of Wiltshire, and, as the reward for
discovering your "beautiful science," have your brains knocked out by the milk-maids against the posts of the cow-cribs.

Wm. COBBETT.

NEW EMIGRATION SCHEME.

Notwithstanding the article which you have just read; notwithstanding the clear proof there given that the arguments were not worth a straw; notwithstanding this, the schemers are proceeding with as much vigour as ever; and, sorry I am to tell you, that they now appear to be acting with the approbation of the Government itself, as you will clearly perceive by the following publication, sent forth in the Government Gazette, of the 22d of June.

"The King was this day pleased to confer the honour of Knighthood upon the Right Honourable Robert Wilmot Horton, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Island of Ceylon.

"His Majesty has been pleased to establish a commission, for the purpose of collecting and communicating to persons desirous to emigrate to any of the British possessions abroad, in quest of employment, such information as may be useful to the parties so circumstanced: and generally to render to such persons such counsel, advice, and aid as can be lawfully afforded to them in effecting such emigrations. The commissioners will hold their meetings at the Colonial Office, in Downing-street, and the following are the persons appointed: His Grace the Duke of Richmond, Viscount Howick, Francis Thornhill Baring, Esq., Henry Ellis, Esq., and Robert Wilson Hay, Esq.: Frederick T. Elliot, Esq. to act as secre- to the said commissioners."
But, you will say, what have we to do with this Right Honourable Wilmot Horton? Why, you have a great deal to do with him: he is the head emigration schemer; and he has just now been made the governor of an island, a post which, they say, is worth eight thousand pounds a year; and who it is that pays it, I need not tell you. However, he has schemed, it seems, pretty well for himself; but, my friends, only look at this thing! a board of commissioners, established by the King, to collect information for persons who may wish to get out of the country! a board of commissioners, with a Duke at the head of it, to show people how they may carry away out of England that which constitutes England's strength. A board of royal commissioners to get the King's subjects out of his kingdom. Strange state of things when this can be; this excites an ominous foreboding indeed. But let others do what they like: my business is to give you true information upon the subject; my business is, to guard you against listening to the suggestions of any-body, which suggestions might be injurious to you.

You will observe, that these commissioners are to collect information, and to give it to such persons only as may wish to go to British possessions abroad; British possessions, mind you; and, indeed, none was necessary to be collected for persons going to the United States of America, for they have all the information already collected, in my little book called the Emigrant's Guide. What sort of government there is in British possessions abroad, you may gather from the following account. One of the British possessions is called Demerara, and, in that colony, there was a newspaper printed, called the Demerara Gazette, published and owned by Mr. Alexander Stephenson. Now take this proprietor's own account of the manner in which his publication was put a stop to; read it attentively, it is dated George Town, Demerara, 17th March, 1831, and it has been sent to me and all the other publishers in London,
that we may let the people know how the press is treated in the colonies.

"Sir,—A circumstance having occurred yesterday in our office which, in our opinion as a precedent, deeply interests every British subject, and more especially all those immediately connected with the public press, we take the liberty of communicating it for your information, requesting that you will take such notice of it as in your discretion the case may appear to require. For the facts of the case, we beg to refer you to the notice and other documents which we published yesterday, and to a copy of our paper of the 14th instant, for publishing which our license to print the same has been arbitrarily withdrawn by the authorities named in the interdict, without subjecting the question of our delinquency to the decision of any court of justice, or affording us any notice or explanation whatsoever. This is the third time that our paper has been stopped, in the same abrupt and arbitrary manner, by the same individual, Major-General Sir Benjamin D'Urban, the lieutenant-governor of this colony. On the 18th of November, 1825, the same thing took place, and from an equally insignificant cause, viz. having published in our paper a most outrageously gross expression made use of publicly on parade by a major in the militia to a very respectable inhabitant, a private in the same corps. Our paper was then stopped for a considerable time; and it was only in consequence of making a personal application to the Colonial Secretary in London, that we were allowed to resume its publication. On the second occasion, the grounds were so trifling, that the Interdict was withdrawn in the course of two days. The circulation of our Paper is very considerable, not only in this colony, but also throughout all the West Indies, and even in Great Britain. The loss, therefore, to us, occasioned by such suspensions, must be obvious to you, and the inconvenience and annoyance to the public, occasioned by the suppression of the only paper which attempts the discussion of our local grievances, is very considerable. As a proof that our statement of the public distress here, and of the existence of most oppressive and rapidly increasing abuses is by no means exaggerated, we enclose for your inspection a memorial, drawn up and about to be transmitted by the planters and merchants of this colony, with an appendix containing the details of their difficulties and a statement of many of the abuses which now grievously oppress them. We were prepared to produce a far more detailed and well-authenticated statement of all these circumstances, and the means by which the authorities have thought proper to suppress its publication, have been the suppression of our paper in the arbitrary manner above stated. The effectual suppression of these repeated violations of the legitimate freedom of the press, in many distant parts of the empire, can only be obtained by strong public appeals to the justice and sympathy of our countrymen in the mother country. The delays and expenses of repeated applications to law for redress, would exhaust
the patience and resources of the most fortunate. To our fellow-labourers, therefore, in the same useful and arduous avocation, we chiefly look for that support which we feel confident they will not refuse to an unjustly persecuted individual, and that they will feel stimulated to afford this, not less from a kindly sympathy to another's sufferings than from an enlightened view of their own deep interest in the subject."

It is not likely that the board of commissioners, with the Duke of Richmond at their head, should communicate this information to persons who are disposed to emigrate to the colonies; yet nothing can be more useful to such persons than information like this. I question, too, whether the Lord Chancellor, who has a work published which he calls "Useful Knowledge for the People," will publish this piece of information; and so the poor fools that suffer themselves to be persuaded to go to the colonies, will, when they come there, find themselves unable to have a word to read, except that word be first licensed by the governor! It is very well worthy of remark, that the paper which caused this taking away of the license, contained an extract from the Register, describing the ill-treatment of the people in Ireland; and another from my History of Geo. IV., describing the meanness and falseness of the Whigs! "Like master like man;" like ministry like governor. It is not likely, indeed, that any of you will ever become printers or editors; but, pray, ask yourselves: if this be the law with regard to the press, what must be the law with regard to speech? and, if a man can neither write nor speak in safety, what becomes of the safety of his person and his property? Put these questions to yourselves; and then, after you have duly considered them, if you still go to an English colony, be all the consequences on your own heads. Look, on the other hand, at the United States of America, where there has been no state prosecution since the beginning of the existence of the republican government; where
1st July, 1831.

there is not only no license, but where there are none of those laws that we have here for trammelling the press; where there is no stamp upon newspapers, or upon any-thing else; where, under that good and cheap government, no man in public authority is afraid of the press.

I have given you a fair specimen of the sort of liberty enjoyed in the British colonies. I knew it well before; I could give you a description of all the wretchedness of living in those colonies; but I have chosen to content myself with this one authentic undeniable proof; and, with that proof, I am sure that you will be satisfied. It is not; however, of this species of liberty that you would most feel the want: it is of the real bodily sufferings of which I think most, and against encountering which I wish to guard you.

To go to Botany Bay, to which they now give the pretty name of Swan River, Sidney Settlement, Van Diemen’s Land, and the like, is to go a nine months’ voyage, to begin with; and then, if you outlive that voyage, to encounter every hardship that tongue or pen can describe. The British American colonies are Prince Edward’s Island, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Canada. Six months in the year, all these countries are covered with snow several feet deep. Prince Edward’s Island and Newfoundland are two banks of sand, with fir-trees growing upon part of them. Nova Scotia consists of heaps of rocks, covered with fir-trees, for the greater part, with a few narrow strips of clear land in the bottoms of the valleys. Nova Scotia is much about the same thing; and, in short, this is the description of the whole, except a part of Upper Canada, which joins on to the worst part of the United States. Every-where the snow covers the ground for several feet deep six months in the year. So poor are those countries, that garden-stuff and fruit, even cabbages, are carried from the United States by sea, to be eaten by the governors,
officers of the army, and other gentlefolks, who are paid out of the taxes raised on us. Of the poverty of those countries, I need give you no proof but this; namely, that many thousands of pounds out of our taxes are sent to them every year to pay the church parsons in those countries; for, observe, and I beg you to observe it well, that the people of those countries have never submitted to the payment of tithes. Indeed, the countries are so poor, that they could not pay them if they would; but, poor as they are, the church parsons that are in them contrive to be fat; and fat they will be as long as the means of fatness are taken out of taxes raised on us. I have told you before, and I tell it you again, that you are to look upon North America as an ox; that our colonies are the shins, the horns, the head, and the hoofs; and the best part of Canada may be called the neck; and that the republic of America consists of the ribs, the loins, the rump, the rounds, the flanks, and the kidneys; which you ought to choose, if you have a choice, I need not say, unless you have entirely forgotten what the word beef means. In short, and to give you a description more plain, if possible, do you know of any gravel-pit, at the top of which you see the little bit of soil, not more than three inches deep, and well mixed with stones—soil upon which nothing will grow, except the little hardy weeds, and in which they die in a summer like this before Old Midsummer-day; and then, on the other hand, do you know any rich piece of land, the soil deep as your head, covered with sweet grass, and an orchard blooming above: if you know of these two things, in the first you behold Nova Scotia and the rest, and, in the last, you behold the United States of America; the latter inhabited, too, by free people, afraid of no governor nor any-body else an hospitable people; a people like those of their forefathers who went from England; and not a set of crouching
creatures, afraid to have their licenses taken from them; afraid to speak, except in a whisper, unless it be to praise those who have the command of them, and who then may roar out like thunder.

But why should you go out of England at all? What should you go away for? You must still work for your bread; and those of you who may happen to try it, will remember what I tell you—that God has made no country so pleasant to live and to work in as England. To be sure, to avoid starvation, to avoid seeing a wife and children starve, a man would go any-where; but why should they starve here? Here is an abundance of food, and, as I have over and over again proved, here is an abundance of work. The coming harvest will prove, as, indeed, every harvest has proved, that there are not hands enough, instead of there being too many. Why should you, therefore, quit your country, encounter the hardships of a sea-voyage, put yourself under the command of a captain of a ship, face all the dangers of the seas, and, after all, still be compelled to work for your bread, and to endure heat and cold greater than you have ever known or even dreamed of. Any-thing, I allow, even death itself, is better than to live upon potatoes; but why need you live upon potatoes, if you be willing to work, while the land is loaded with corn and meat and butter and cheese? Your lot has been unbearable, to be sure; and it is far from being what it ought to be yet; but is this reform of Parliament to make no change in that lot? If it be not, to contempt and scorn I cast the parliamentary reform. It is to better your lot that I want the reform, and if it effect not that purpose, foolish or rogueish will be the man that praises it. But it will effect that purpose; it will make your lot better: have only a little patience: see what a reformed Parliament will do: you have borne long; bear a little longer: try a reformed Parliament, and do not
suffer yourselves to be inveigled away by any of the land-
jobbing crew of America, to pine out your lives on their
sands and rocks and swamps; do not expose yourselves to
perish amidst their snows, or to be smitten to the earth by
the burnings of their sun.

With men who have money, especially money enough to
live upon, or to purchase land or houses, or carry on busi-
ness of any sort, and who have families coming up, and who
do not wish to lose what they have, who do not wish to have
it all taken away in tithes and taxes, the United States is
the country, if their circumstances be such that they cannot
wait for the effects of reform. I am myself a sort of emi-
gration board for persons of this description; one of whom
(whose letter I have not had time to answer) has six thou-
sand pounds and a rising family, which six thousand pounds
he wishes to keep for the use of that family. Let him go to
New York, put out his money on mortgage on land, with
judgment confessed (as is the custom of the country). His
interest will give him three hundred and fifty pounds a year,
or one thousand nine hundred dollars: he may live at ten
or fifteen miles from New York, amidst peach and cherry
and apple orchards; may keep a carriage and suitable ser-
vants, and lay by a third of his interest to increase for his
children. If he have a mind to be saving and live without
show, his living will cost him less by one half than what he
is compelled to pay in taxes in England. Within these
three weeks, a gentleman came to me who has a wife and
three small children, and could muster up eight hundred
pounds to have in his pocket upon landing, and who, from
the total decline of business here, saw ruin staring him in
the face. He is now on his way to New York. He had
not positively made up his mind as to whither he should go.
I showed him the above document from Demerara. He
started at the sounds of the words license and interdict,
and of punishment without trial and without being told for what; that decided him at once. Lord Brougham, who is so anxious to instruct the people of England, as, indeed, Scotchmen generally are; he is so very anxious on this subject, that I am sure he will thank me for furnishing him with this piece of useful information, to be given to those whom he has taken under his care.

To conclude, my friends, my advice to you is, not to budge an inch from your houses: this is your country; you have a right to be in it, and to have a good living in it; but, if your fancy leads you to roam abroad, go to no country but the United States of America; and go not to that in any but an American ship, commanded by an American captain. The poor emigrants from Sussex, when writing home to their friends, make this a particular point. They guard them against many inconveniences and evils; but they say over and over again, "If you do come, be sure not to come in any but an American ship and with an American captain." However, I, who have been in all these countries, advise you to stay where you are, and to see what the reform of Parliament will do.

I am, my friends,
Your faithful friend,
Wm. Cobbett.

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STARVING IRELAND.

My Friends,

I have not room to say much to you on this subject, so disgraceful to our Government and country; but it is necessary to tell you what are the consequences which come from a working people living upon potatoes. To live upon this accursed root, this lowest of hog-meat, this food of a poor hog, reduces man to the state of beast; but this is not all; for when once he suffers himself to sink into that state,
to depend upon that uncertain crop; when once he is thus far degraded, the next step is a want of a sufficiency of that, and then comes starvation itself. Of these truths that wretched country, Ireland, now offers us the dismal proofs. I have explained to you, that, by the laws of God, the laws of the ancient church of our country, by the common law of our land, by the statute law of our land, every man, unable to provide himself with a sufficiency of food and raiment for himself and his family, is entitled to receive that sufficiency out of the produce of the land of his own country. But how fares it with the unhappy Irish, who are starving by hundreds and by thousands, while ship-loads of beef, bacon, pork, butter, and corn, are continually sent from that country to this country and others? I will make to you no statement upon my own authority; I will state to you facts that will first make your blood run cold, and then make it boil with indignation; but I will take all these facts from under the pens of the lords, the parsons, and those who are called the gentlemen of Ireland. In one report, published by authority, and signed by the Secretary of the Committee in Dublin, whose name is Francis Lynch Blosse, and who is, I believe, a baronet, is the following passage; and I am sure that you will want nothing more:

"The greatest distress prevails in forty-two parishes, or districts, and that in these are 148,041 persons now suffering under the agonies of hunger. The members of the deputation further offer themselves for examination on oath before the Privy Council—for from their knowledge of the country, and intercourse with the poor, they are able to bear out the statements made in the parochial returns. I assure you I would not by any language exaggerate the state of distress to which we are now reduced. Those on the sea-coast are endeavouring to preserve existence on sea-weed and shell-fish found along the shores. A clergyman, on whose authority I state the fact, told me that, doubting the accuracy of the reports which were brought to him, he visited families at unexpected times, and thus became a witness of the melancholy meal where a mother, surrounded by her children, picked out the fish from the shells with a pin, apportioning the scanty morsels to each in its turn, but too slowly to satisfy the cravings of their hunger. In other parts of the country the poor are living on nettles and weeds, from which experience has taught them to extract some nourishment; and they pray for a few
handsfull of oatmeal to boil up with those plants, to furnish a meal more substantial and nutritious. I can state that a miserable mother, with an infant in her arms, was found attempting to prolong the existence of her family by sharing with each child the nourishment which her breasts afforded. These facts shall be proved on oath before the Privy Council. And shall we, then, appeal in vain to the humanity of the wealthy to redeem these miserable victims of the grave from a painful and untimely death?"

Read every word of that with attention; read every word of it; and then say to yourselves, Such will be OUR fate: this is the way in which we shall end our days, if we once suffer ourselves to be brought down to live upon potatoes; and, in saying that to yourselves, you will reason like sensible men. Now, you should be informed that, in the month of February last, some of the poor creatures in this country sent a petition to the Parliament, praying for something to be done to save them from starvation. The poor creatures were very humble in their petition: they seemed to be almost crawling upon their bellies while they were praying; and their petition was presented by Mr. Stanley, the son of a lord; and he is what they call Secretary of State for Ireland. The poor creatures said, that if they had but food for their wives and families, they would be thankful, they would be industrious, they would be happy; and this Secretary said, when he presented the petition, that they did not utter a syllable of insubordination, or even of discontent. Now mark, and mark it well: he said, that, on this account; that is, because they did not express discontent, their petition was doubly deserving the attention of Parliament. Now mind this: the Parliament has done no one thing to relieve them, from that day to this; while it has been voting sums upon sums for placemen, pensioners, sinecure people; and, amongst those pensioners, pensioners in foreign countries, or rather, fellows receiving what they call half-pay for military services. I will say not another word on the subject, except this, that I recommend to you, the labourers of England, to leave nothing undone, which you can legally do,
to prevent you from falling into a state like that in which the wretched people of Ireland are; and that, if you deem it proper to petition the Parliament for relief, to express your discontent, if you have any-thing to complain of.

COBBETT’S CORN.

It gives me great delight to hear that this corn is flourishing with you in Lincolnshire and Sussex, I not having heard about it from any other of the counties as yet. Dig between the rows, and earth the plants up a little, which will make them send out shoots from the stems; keep the ground quite clean from weeds; you will have fine crops, plenty of seed for another year, and you will find it a great blessing to you, particularly as it will banish from your gardens the cursed root of slaves, called the potatoe. I introduced this corn into England, or, rather, I took it from my son, who introduced it, chiefly for the purpose of its being beneficial to you. By prevailing upon the nobility, the gentry, the parsons, the farmers, to pay attention to it, I naturally thought that they would distribute it amongst you. Alas! I began at the wrong end; I should have begun with you, and not with them. I have now begun at the right end, and it gives me great pleasure to hear that my endeavours have been attended with success. I know that you will act like men of sense; and the first act of a man of sense is, to provide the means of good living for himself and his family. I am extremely happy to hear, particularly from the county of Sussex, that you are resolved not to be inveigled out of England by any of the emigration mongers. A pretty thing, indeed, for you to suffer yourselves to be coaxed away out of your country when the good times are coming. The reform of the Parliament will take away the hired overseers, to be replaced by the native overseers of the parish, cause the transportation for poaching to be abolished, cause the malt-tax and hop-tax to be taken off, and the other taxes which oppress the farmer as well as yourselves. These are my opinions, and these are my hopes; therefore, my advice to you is, let nobody wheedle you to quit England, and I remain your faithful friend.

Wm. COBBETT.

[Printed by Wm. Cobbett, Johnson’s-court, Fleet-street.]
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

LONDON: Published by the Author, 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street, 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 Starey, 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 potato—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.

Kensington, 20th July, 1831.

Wm. COBBETT.

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 violences 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. Seagrim, 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 impaneled 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-
1st August, 1831.

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 everything 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; handcuff 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-
Two-Penny Trash;
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 barn, but I had not the least apprehension that they would assist Mr. Deacle. Neither Mr. nor Mrs. Deacle said or did anything 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 50l. 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 5,000l. for so gross and wanton an insult, and unfeeling conduct towards those who had not offered the least resistance, the defendants not adding 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 bursted 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. Seagrims 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 searching 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 22d 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 no 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, therefore, 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? aye, 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 Baring, 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 anything 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 Baring 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 Boxes 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 villainous 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, proclaims 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 trotting in the coal-cart; from the refusal of the horse, 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 infa-
mous 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,

"Lang^ord, near Bristol, April 7."
"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 totdem 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 Seagrime, 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
Two-penny Trash;

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 Owselbury. 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 satis-
"fied 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 igno-
rant 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
Wilde said, or might say, or did not say; but I know that here 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 villainous 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, Mildmay, 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 consistent 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 simple 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 mitigated 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 prosecute 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, 1831.

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

A LETTER FROM THE LABOURERS OF THE TEN LITTLE HARD PARISHES TO ALEXANDER BARING, THE LOANMONGER.

Hard Parishes, 1st September, 1831.

Loanmonger,

We have read in the newspapers what is called a speech in the House of Commons, and this speech, which is printed in the following words, the newspaper-mongers say, was made by you.

"The constitution of England 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.)

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"ought only to have that degree of power which was consistent 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 simple question—whether the influence of the people had been so reduced in the House of Commons, as to render it necessary to re-organize 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 mitigated democratic power. (Hear, hear.)"

This is the speech that the news-people tell us you made. Now, then, suppose that when we go to work for you, or for any of the farmers or parsons, we were to go with one hand tied behind us: what would be said to us? We should be ordered to let loose the other hand, and to go to work directly with both hands: and if we refused to do this, we, if single men, should be told to starve; and if married men, should be sent to old Becket's jail, or to the treadmill, for not working with both hands to support our wives and families without parish relief. If called out to serve in the militia, we must come with both hands. If we were to come with one hand tied behind us, we should receive the word of command to let it loose instantly; if we refused, it would be let loose for us; and if we refused to use both hands in handling the arms, we should be tied up and flogged.

This speech is said to have been made by you in a debate upon the Reform Bill, which, when it becomes a law, will make the members of the House of Commons more the representatives of the people than they have hitherto been for a great many years. To this (according to the above speech) you object, because it will let loose both our hands; and because the common people are like "a violent and dangerous fellow who is not to be trusted with the use of both his hands." In another part of the speech it is said, that the people are "no more to be trusted with power than children with edge-tools." These are very insolent words, Mr. Loanmonger. Whether they were uttered by you or not, we cannot say; but they have been published all over the kingdom under your name, and we have seen no publication in which you disown them.

Let us talk with you coolly a little about this matter. When it is a question about the enjoyment of rights and
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liberties, we are violent and dangerous people, and are not to be trusted with the use of both our hands; we are to be considered as children, as senseless children, or as madmen who require constant restraint. But when we are called upon to labour for the rich, or to take up arms to defend their persons and their property, which it is our duty to do, if we ourselves be well and fairly treated: we by no means deny this, because if the property of the rich were not protected by the working millions, it could not be protected at all, and then there could be no such thing as property; and then any little things that we ourselves might acquire by our industry, care, and frugality, would be taken from us by the idle and the dissolute. But when we are called upon to labour for the rich, or to fight for them, then we are, during the time that we do labour and so fight, not to be deemed unworthy of being trusted with the use of both our hands; then we are not, during that time, to be looked upon as dangerous fellows and as children. Bayonets, swords, and lances, are edge-tools, and pretty sharp edge-tools too; yet we are to be trusted with them, so much like children as we are, as long as we use them for the purposes of the rich and the powerful. Ah! Baring, you may think that we are brutally ignorant; you may think that we understand nothing but the mere labours of the field: we understand well what our rights are, and of this we shall convince you, before we have concluded this letter.

We observe, and have long observed, that the working-people of England are, now-a-days, by those who affect to be their superiors, and the greater part of whom live upon the fruit of their labour, NOT CALLED THE PEOPLE; not called the COMMONS OF ENGLAND, as they used to be called; but are called the peasantry, the population, the lower orders; and that these degrading names are given to every-body that does not, in some way or other, live in idleness upon the fruit of the people’s labour. The swarms of half-pay officers, of clerks under the government, of tax-gatherers, and of parsons, are all called squires or reverend gentlemen. The jailers are called governors, and the turnkeys are called deputy-governors. So that while those who raise all the food, and make all the houses and all the clothing, are treated as if they were something a great deal lower than the stock upon a farm, all who live upon the fruit of their labour are considered as the only
persons in the kingdom having any right to be treated with
attention and kindness, or even with civility.

Nay, we cannot refrain from observing how suddenly
even we ourselves become objects to be caressed, when by
chance we get a red coat upon our backs. To-day Jack
Chopstick is one of the lower orders, one of the popu-
lation, one of the peasantry; but to-morrow, though one
of the laziest fellows in the village, and one of the most
dissolute, by merely taking a sum of money from the fruit
of our labour, and putting a red coat upon his back, he be-
comes all at once a "fine fellow," "a hero," and he re-
ceives as much every week for subsistence, over and above
lodging, clothing, fire, and candle; over and above these,
the very lowest of the "fine fellows" receives as much in
a week as the magistrates allow for the maintenance of a
man, his wife, and two children, without any allowance for
lodging, clothing, firing, or candle. This does not escape
our observation, Barling. We do not grudge the soldier
that which he gets. We, for our parts, cannot see why
England should not now exist without a standing army in
time of peace, as well as it did formerly for more than a
thousand years. But if there must be soldiers, they ought
not to starve any more than other men. They have not too
much. But if seven shillings and seven-pence a week, with
clothing, lodging, fire and candle into the bargain, be not
too much for the single lowest soldier, is not a gallon loaf
and sixpence a week too little for the hard-working married
man, who is allowed neither of the other things which the
soldier has? We are told that there is many a weaver who
works sixteen hours every day of his life at labour as hard
as hedging and ditching, and who has not, to maintain him-
self and his family, any-thing like so much as that which is
given to the lowest soldier whose pay partly comes out of
the fruit of that poor weaver's earnings. If these be false-
hoods, Barling, proclaim them to be falsehoods; if they be
truths, then say again, if you like, that we are dangerous
fellows, and ought to have one hand still tied behind us:
then say, if you like, that it is not high time that a change
should take place and that another sort of men ought not
to be chosen to make the laws and impose the taxes.

Another curious thing we have observed, and that is, that
all those who live upon the labour of the people, are pro-
vided for, in case of their ceasing to receive pay for services
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real or pretended; we observe that, in these cases, they are provided for by pensions or allowances for the whole of the rest of their lives, though they do nothing for the public and pretend to do nothing for the public. If a man have served in the army, or in the navy; if he have been a clerk under the Government; if he have been a tax-gatherer of any description; if he have been in Government employ of any sort, he has pay for the rest of his life in one shape or another, and our earnings are taken from us in order to provide the means of that pay. Now, Baring, do loan-mongers, do bankers, do merchants, do traders of any description, when they discharge their clerks, give them pay to the end of their lives for doing nothing? you will say NO, to be sure. When you want a clerk no longer, or when he has become incapable of his business, you cease to pay him; and why are not we to cease to pay taxes for the paying of officers and clerks who have been in the service of the Government? Even common soldiers, and in the prime of life too, have pensions granted them for life. Have these men any more right to this maintenance than any ploughman or weaver has? They tell us, that they have been "serving their king and country," and have they not been well paid for it all the while? And if they, even when old and worn out, have been serving their king and country, have not the weaver, the artizan, and the ploughman, who have been working harder and living harder all the while; have not they also been serving their king and country; and have they pensions given them, when they are worn out? They have Sturges Bourne's bills, select vestries, and hired overseers to appeal to for the means of their miserable existence, after they have left the marrow of their bones in the fields or in the loom-shed. There are two cases, indeed, in which it would be just to give pensions to soldiers or sailors. First, in the case of wounds, for men are not likely to receive wounds in civil life; and next, in the case of men impressed or forced to become soldiers or sailors; but if a man enter the service of his own free-will; if it be his choice to lead the life of soldier or sailor rather than continue at useful labour, what right has that man, even in his old age and worn-out state, to anything more than relief from the parish in the usual way and in the usual degree?

But, our complaint on this score does not stop here.
This speech says that we are to be restrained, we are to have one hand tied behind us for our own "interest;" and it says, that it is "perilous to destroy the fabric which has fostered our industry and protected our liberties." We do not understand what you mean by "fabric;" but we understand that you mean, that the present mode of ruling us has fostered our industry. To foster means to suckle, to feed, to cherish. Now, Baring, has our industry been fostered by the magistrates' order, signed by your brother Thomas and seven others, allowing the labouring man a gallon loaf and fourpence a week to live upon? Has our industry been suckled by allowing less than that for a mother and children to live upon? But, that we may not be accused of misrepresentation, we will here copy the order and regulation to which we allude. Read it, Baring; read it, all England; and then let the reader of it say, if he can, that our industry has been fostered; that it has been fed and cherished. Look, Baring at the fifth resolution in particular. See the man, his wife and one child, doomed to remain upon the same spot, and compelled to live upon four shillings and sixpence a week the whole year round, or sentenced to starvation as a punishment. Of these eight fosterers of our industry; these eight cherishers of us and our wives; these eight sucklers of our children, five were ministers of Christ; each, we believe, with more than one living, if not with more than two; and one of the other three magistrates is your own brother who is so zealous in circulating amongst us that Bible which tells us that even "the ox is not to be muzzled as he treadeth out the corn." We beg you to read this magisterial order with attention, and to remember that it was most rigorously acted on until last year.

"HAMPShIRE JUSTICE.

"NEW REGULATION OF ALLOWANCE TO THE POOR.

"At a meeting of the magistrates acting in and for the division of Fawley, in the county of Southampton, at their petty sessions, held at the Grand Jury Chamber, Winchester, the 31st day of August, 1822;

"Present—the Rev. Edmund Poulter (chairman), the Hon. and Rev. Augustus George Legge, Sir Thomas Baring, Bart., the Rev. Wm. Hill Newbolt, D.D., W. Nevill and George Lovell, Esqrs, the Rev. F. W. Swanton, and the Rev. Robert Wright, eight of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace, and a large and respectable number of the yeomanry residing within the division, who were requested by the magistrates to attend on the occasion:
"The magistrates, having taken into their consideration the
allowances usually made by this bench to paupers applying for
relief, and the diminished price of every article of life,
1. Resolved unanimously, That in future the magistrates act-
ing at this bench, in making their orders, either collectively or
individually, for the maintenance and relief of such paupers,
will not exceed the following allowances:—
2. When the family shall consist of a man and his wife, with
one or two children, or a man with two or three children, or a
woman with two or three children, to each of them the price of
a gallon loaf, of the best wheaten bread, and 4d. each over per
week.
3. When the family shall consist of a man and his wife, with
three or four children, or a man with four or five children, or a
woman with four or five children, to each of them the price of a
gallon loaf, of the best wheaten bread, and 3d. each per week
over.
4. When the family shall consist of a man and his wife with
five or more children, or a man with six or more children, or a
woman with six or more children, to each of them the price of a
gallon loaf of the best wheaten bread, and 2d. each over per week.
5. And whereas a practice has been prevalent among the
labouring classes, to absent themselves during a part of the year
when their services are most required, and to return after the
harvest and become a burden to their respective parishes, the
justices recommend to the officers of every parish, when the
family shall consist of a man and his wife, or a man with one
child, to offer to each such man 4s. per week, from Michaelmas
to Lady-day, and 5s. per week from Lady-day to Michaelmas,
so that he might be engaged to serve the whole year; and any man
refusing that offer shall not be entitled to any relief. If no such
offer be made, or no sufficient employment can be found where-
by any such man can maintain himself and his wife or child, the
allowance is to be 3s. 6d. per week and no more.
6. To every unmarried man the justices recommend the offi-
cers of every parish to offer 3s. per week from Michaelmas-day
to Lady-day, and 4s. per week from Lady-day to Michaelmas-
day, so that he may be engaged to serve the whole year; and
any unmarried man refusing that offer shall not be entitled to
any relief. If no such offer be made, or no sufficient employ-
ment can be found whereby any such unmarried man can main-
tain himself, he shall be paid 2s. 6d. per week, and no more.
7. To a woman with one child, 3s. 6d. per week, and no more.
8. To every single woman, 2s. 6d. per week, and no more.
9. And the justices do declare, that all paupers maintained
and relieved by their parishes, and able to work, shall for the
allowances so to be made to them, be compelled to perform such
proper work as the parish-officers shall direct or require of them.
And it is earnestly recommended to the parish-officers to pro-
vide, as far as possible, employment for all such paupers, and if
they neglect or refuse to perform the work found for them, they
will be punished as the law directs.
"T. WOODHAM,
"Clerk to the Magistrates."
"Ordered that the foregoing resolutions be inserted in the "Hampshire county newspaper."

This was not tying up one hand, Bar ing; it is sewing up the mouth; and yet, when we stepped forward to demand better treatment than this, the bloody Times newspaper of London, which is the property of two women, one called Anna Brodie, and the other Fanny Wraith, called aloud for SPECIAL COMMISSIONS, and for the putting of some of us to death, at least! Of the proceedings of that special commission, of Cooper, of Cook, of the two Masons who were taken from their widowed mother, of Joseph Carter who was taken from his wife and eight children; of many, many others, we may speak to you hereafter; but here, Bar ing, is the way in which our industry has been cherished, in which our hard toil has been requited, in a country made fruitful by our hands; by our two hands, and by every joint and nerve in our bodies; while swarming upon swarm of idlers have been, and still are, rioting in luxury on the taxes raised upon us. You are afraid, it seems, that some degree of power should be put into our hands; you are afraid that our industry should cease to be fostered if the Reform Bill be adopted, and if people even in the middle rank of life have the choosing of members. Such fostering as we have above described will in all human probability cease to exist; but, so far from that being an evil, we shall deem it a great good; and, be you assured, that the very reasons which make you object to the Reform Bill make us most anxious to see it pass.

Not only are we compelled to pay taxes on our malt, hops, beer (for we pay a tax on it still), tea, soap, candles, sugar, tobacco, and on every-thing that we swallow, or that we wear; not only are we compelled to pay taxes to provide pensions for life for all men that have ever been in public employ, but we are compelled to pay taxes also to the widows of such men for their lives, and to their children also until they be grown up. While we are ground down to the earth, we are compelled to pay taxes to breed up swarms of gentlemen and ladies, who are to breed more in their turn, to be kept out of the fruit of the sweat of our children. There is no provision for our widows; no pensions for them, or for our children; they are left to Sturges Bourne's bills, select vestries, and hired overseers. But, relating to these pensions for widows and chil-
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dren there is something curious, which we cannot help noticing. The widows of officers in the army are pensioned, and also their children; but there are no pensions for the widows and children of the common soldiers! The common soldiers come from the peasantry, the population, the lower orders, and, therefore, there are no pensions for their widows and children; and thus it is, Bar ing, that our industry has been cherished by this "fabric" which you are so much afraid of seeing destroyed!

In short, Bar ing, we have, at last, got behind the curtain; we understand clearly how it is, that, amidst all the abundance produced by our labour, we are reduced to a state of beggary; we see clearly how it is, that, in the land of roast beef, our best living has been that of potatoes, which our forefathers would have despised, even as fatting for a hog. We know that the Tithes were established for the use of the poor; we know that, for nine hundred years, England knew nothing of church rates or poor rates, and that the churches were maintained and the poor relieved out of the tithes; we know that, agreeably to the law as it now stands, all the tithes, all the estates of the bishops, and deans, and chapters, all the estates of the colleges, belong to the public and to the poor, and can be rightfully disposed of in any manner that the representatives of the people shall please; and as we firmly believe that the Reform Bill will give the people wise and just representatives, we look to that with great hope and satisfaction, as something which will let loose the hand which you seem to think so necessary to be tied behind us. For the present, Bar ing, we bid you farewell, requesting you to be contented with what you have got; and we assure you, that when we get plenty of bread, bacon and beer, and good clothing and good lodging and good fuel, in exchange for our hard labour, we shall not grudge you that which you possess; but that, until we get them, no content will ever exist amongst

THE LABOURERS
OF THE LITTLE HARD PARISHES.

P.S.—Our next letter shall be addressed to your brother Thomas.
THE BARINGS AND MR. AND MRS. DEACLE.

TO THE LABOURERS OF THE HARD PARISHES.

Kensington, 26th August, 1821.

My Friends,

In the House of Commons, on the 22d instant, the following proceeding took place. I will make no remark upon it, but just request you to read the whole of it with great attention, particularly the petition of Mr. and Mrs. Deacle. The petition was sent from Marwell, as you will see, on the 19th of July, and was not presented to the House until the 22d of August, so that the Barings and Wilde had plenty of time to be prepared for their defence. What is farther to be done I do not yet know; but that something will be done is certain. I request you to read the whole with particular attention, and I remain your faithful friend,

W. M. COBBETT.

"Mr. Evans presented a petition from Thomas and Caroline Deacle, the persons who lately prosecuted Mr. Bingham Baring and other magistrates of Hampshire, for assault and false imprisonment. In doing so he reminded the House that he had, on a former occasion, made a motion for the production of certain documents which bore upon the case of the petitioners, and had then stated he was not actuated by any personal feelings; that he had no knowledge of, and had abstained from all communication with the petitioners, lest he might be led into making an ex parte statement, and that he founded his motion altogether upon two documents which had appeared in the public journals—one purporting to be a report of the trial in which a verdict was given against Mr. Bingham Baring, and the other a letter from that gentleman, addressed to a newspaper. Judging from these documents, he had concluded that the character alike of the gentlemen accused, as of the magistracy in general, was concerned in this matter; and therefore was it he had moved for the papers, intending, if he had obtained them, to ground thereon a motion for the dismissal of Mr. Baring, and the other magistrates concerned, from the commission of the peace: He had been met, however, in a manner for which he was altogether unprepared; the papers were refused; and although he had cautiously refrained from any-thing which might wear the appearance of an ex parte statement, honourable gentlemen, in speaking in reply, had pursued a course directly contrary, and even used parts of these documents, the whole of which were refused, and used such parts as tended to criminate Mr. and Mrs. Deacle. He (Mr. Evans) had accordingly been, although unintentionally, the cause of doing an injury to the petitioners; and therefore was it he came forward, on the present occasion, to lay before the House a petition, in which they solemnly denied the truth of the allegations which had been made against them.
"In answer to the statement made in that House to the effect, that the five Magistrates had been included by Mr. Deacle in the indictment with the view of preventing Mr. Baring of availing himself of the evidence of persons present, he begged to remark that there were eleven persons present, five of whom only were included in the indictment. In addition to the magistrates, there were Mr. Jarvis, the servants, and the three constables; and this, he contended, removed all grounds for suspicion that Deacle had, as was observed, thrown all the parties into one net. He also argued that evidence to character should not be considered sufficiently strong to overturn facts proved at the trial.

The hon. Member also declared that he had been quite astounded by the speech of the hon. and learned Serjeant, the Member for Newark, who seemed to take the guilt of the Deacles for granted. and who actually appeared to associate Deacle with a man named Boyce, who was afterwards transported, and to consider that he had appeared in company with this person at the head of a mob at the house of Mrs. Long; to compel her to reduce rent, and to contribute a sum of money, which it was stated she did to the amount of fifteen pounds. He (Mr. Evans) had since, however, had a conversation with the hon. and learned Member, and he had declared to him that he had no notion of implicating Mr. Deacle with those proceedings. It appeared, therefore, that he and other honourable Members had been mistaken in the object and meaning of the hon. and learned Member's speech.

The hon. Gentleman then proceeded to state the various circumstances which had taken place on the two trials, giving the newspaper reports as his authority throughout; he next stated, that the petitioners complained that the letters sent to the petitioners, when in jail, had been destroyed, in one of which letters there was an offer of legal assistance. The petition likewise asserted that a man named Collins had allowed, that if he had not promised to give evidence against Deacle he would have been prosecuted himself; and that another, named Barnes, was taken out of the dock, and told he would not be prosecuted if he gave evidence against Deacle. The petitioners also declared, that the allegations published in the newspapers, and professing to be a report of the speeches made by an hon. and learned Serjeant and other honourable Members in that House, were false in matter as well as in expression, and that the petitioners were ready to prove the truth of this denial by evidence at the bar of the House.

"Mr. Speaker here called the hon. Member to order, and remarked to him, that this petition did in fact comment on proceedings in that House, and denied as false and malicious allegations, which, upon the faith of the public channels of information, the petitioners took for granted had been made in that House, and which they considered defamatory of their character. Under these circumstances, he did not conceive the House could receive the petition; and he considered that the hon. Member was pursuing a line of argument which could only end in one of two things—in the House's rejecting the petition, or else establishing a new precedent by receiving it.
"Mr. O'Connell had read the petition, and thought that Mr. Speaker would find that it did not actually comment upon the proceedings of that House. Besides, there were facts stated in it well worthy of attention.

"The Speaker then suggested that the petition should be brought up and read at length. The House would be then able to judge if he were correct in the opinion he had formed respecting it.

"Mr. Hume had read the petition, and thought it was free from the technical objection.

"Mr. F. Baring wished to have the petition laid upon the Table.

"Mr. Evans said that the petitioners expressly declared in their petition that they did not presume that the hon. Members alluded to had actually used such language as was attributed to them in the public prints. He then took occasion to laud the impartial conduct of the press in this case; where, if there were any bias, it would, he said, have most probably been in favour of Mr. Baring; and he observed, that much as he honoured the wisdom of both Houses of Parliament, he considered that the influence of the press was of the highest value, or something to that effect.

"The petition was then brought up, and ordered to be read by the clerk. It was as follows:

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

"The humble Petition of Thomas and Caroline Deacle, of Marwell Farm, in the Parish of Owsellbury, in the County of Hants,

1. "Showeth—that your petitioners have read with inexpressible indignation, in the public newspapers, numerous allegations made against them which are wholly false, scandalous, and malicious, calculated to blast their characters, to injure their pursuits in life, and utterly to destroy their peace of mind.

2. "That amongst these false and scandalous allegations, Mr. Francis Baring is represented as having described your petitioner, Thomas Deacle, as one who, during the late disturbances in this county, incited men to machine-breaking, encouraged them to demand a reduction of tithes, and accompanied them illegally to demand money; and was with them when they received money thus extorted; that your petitioner, Caroline Deacle, was a person who employed the influence of her sex, and the power of her station, to ruin the poor and ignorant who lived in her neighbourhood, and that she was present with a mob when they demanded, extorted, and received money.

3. "That, amongst these false and scandalous allegations, Mr. Thomas Wild, Serjeant-at-law, is represented as having said, "In one case the mob went to the house of a Mrs. Long, headed by Deacle and Boyce, and having compelled her to sign a paper for the reduction of rent, they afterwards demanded money. "Fifteen pounds were at first demanded, but they afterwards consented to take five pounds; and after having spent the day in making collections of this kind, they adjourned to the Downs, when Mr. Deacle and Mrs. Deacle, who were with them, superintended the distribution of the money."
4. "That your petitioners most solemnly declare to your ho-

nourable House, that every-thing expressed in the words above

recited, is utterly destitute of truth; that it is false in matter

as well as in expression; that there is not a shadow of ground

for either of the above allegations; and that your petitioners, if

your hon. House should think proper to permit them so to do,

will clearly prove, at the bar of your hon. House, the perfect

truth of the denial which they here give to those allegations.

5. "That your honourable House ought to be informed, that

an indictment was, just at the close of the session of the Special

Commission, preferred against your petitioner Thomas Deacle,

but not against your other petitioner Caroline Deacle; that a

true bill was found, but that the commission was suffered to ex-

pire without bringing your petitioner to trial; that the indict-

ment was brought on for trial at the last Lent Assizes at Win-

chester: that the prosecutors produced the whole of their

evidence; that one of their witnesses, of the name of Collins,

on his cross-examination, acknowledged that he would not say

that he had not said that he knew nothing against Mr. Deacle;

and, upon being asked whether he did not believe that he would

have been prosecuted himself if he had not promised to give evi-

dence against Mr. Deacle, he said he believed he should have

been prosecuted if he had not made such promise; that another of

the witnesses for the prosecution, of the name of Barnes, a car-

penter, upon his cross-examination, stated, that during the

trials under the Special Commission, he being in the dock, and

about to be put on his trial, the jailer, Becket, called him out, and

took him into a room where there were Walter Long a magistrate,

and another person, whom he believed to be Bingham Baring,

who told him that he should not be put upon his trial if he would

come and swear against Deacle; that another person of the name

of Prickett was called as a witness by the prosecutors, and that

when the Counsel for the defence rose to cross-examine this wit-

tness, the Counsel for the prosecution interfered and said that they

meant there to stop the prosecution for want of sufficient evidence;

that the Counsel for the defence persisted in a wish to go on,

in order that the witnesses of his client might be produced,

but that the Judge interposed his authority, observing that the

defendant was honourably acquitted, and could want nothing

more; that upon this part of the subject your petitioners beg

leave to point out to the attention of your honourable House, that

Charles Seagrim, the attorney of Francis and Bingham Baring,

was the attorney employed in the carrying on of this prosecution,

and that the said Seagrim was a co-defendant in the action

which your petitioners lately brought against the said Barings

and others.

6. "That the allegations complained of are, by the newspapers,

represented as parts of speeches delivered in your honourable

House; but your petitioners having been informed that your ho-

nourable House will not receive any petition which comments

on speeches made in your honourable House, do not presume to

say that the hon. Members named in this petition did actually

utter the words which have, by the newspapers, been attributed
"to them; but they complain of the grievous hardships and in-
jurious consequences which have already resulted, and which
cannot fail continually to result, from such calumnies being pro-
pagated, as coming from Members of your honourable House
in their legislative capacities; and the more so, since it is impos-
sible for them to escape these terrible consequences, without
the interference of your honourable House, in such way as to
your honourable House shall seem meet.
7. "That with regard to the words imputed to Mr. Serjeant
Wilde, they feel themselves doubly aggrieved, as the said Ser-
jeant was retained by your petitioner Thomas Deacle, in the
action lately tried at Winchester, but that he did not arrive at
Winchester till after the trial; yet he is notwithstanding re-
presented as making a speech tending to the destruction of your
petitioner, while he had your petitioner's money in his pocket as
his advocate.
8. "That your petitioners deeply lament the necessity which
they feel themselves under, of thus trespassing on the time of
your honourable House; but that they hope your honourable
House will have the goodness to consider the extent of the in-
jury done them, as aforementioned; as an instance of which,
your petitioner Thomas Deacle informs your honourable House,
that he was in treaty for a farm belonging to his Grace the
Duke of Beaufort, which farm he was very desirous to rent,
while the steward expressed an equal desire to have him for a
tenant; but that, in consequence of the allegations made
against your petitioner, as aforesaid, the steward has announced
to your petitioner that the Duke of Beaufort refuses to receive
him as a tenant.
9. "That your honourable House must be convinced that no
individual fortune in the middle rank of life can possibly with-
stand the assaults made against reputation, as aforementioned;
that your honourable House will at once perceive that no cha-
acter can stand against attacks spread in this manner all over
the kingdom, and coming forth, as in this case, under the
pretended sanction of your honourable House.
10. "That therefore your petitioners beseech your honourable
House compassionately to lend an ear to a recital of the treat-
ment which they have experienced, a recital which they will
make as brief as possible, omitting unimportant circumstances,
but pledging themselves to prove, on the oaths of witnesses of
unquestionable veracity, the truth of every part of the statement:
which they now submit, in the hope of obtaining justice at the
hands of your honourable House.
11. "Consoled by this hope, they now state, That on the 24th of
November, 1830, at about two o'clock in the day, William Lew-
ington and John Switzer, constables of Winchester, came to the
house of your petitioners, being the bearers of a warrant signed
by the Rev. Robert Wright and one or two other magistrates
of Hampshire, and served it on your petitioners, who imme-
diately, without any hesitation, were preparing to dress them-
selves in a becoming manner, in order to go with the con-
stables, in obedience to the warrant, that, in about five minutes
after the constables entered the house, they were followed with great apparent violence, and with great rudeness, by Francis Baring and Bingham Baring (being two magistrates of the county), by Robert Wright (clerk), by Mr. Deane (banker), of Winchester, and by one Seagrime, an attorney of Winchester, who is the partner of another attorney named Woodham, who are the attorneys of Messrs. Francis and Bingham Baring; that, upon these parties rushing into the house, Bingham Baring, seeing a friend of your petitioners, of the name of Jarvis, in an outer room, who was changing his coat, put a pistol to his head, having at the same time a dagger in his hand, that he then followed the rest of these violent intruders into the inner room, or parlour, where your petitioners were; that then Bingham Baring came up to your petitioner Thomas Deacle, and struck him upon the shoulder, and then seizing him by the arm, exclaimed, 'You are my prisoner!' that at the same time, or the instant afterwards, Francis Baring also seized your petitioner by the collar, while Robert Wright seized hold of the hinder part of his coat; that thus seized, Bingham Baring having hold of an arm, Francis Baring of the collar of the coat, Robert Wright of the hinder part of the coat, Bingham Baring (in a commanding and menacing voice) said to the constable, Mr. Lewington (Switzer being sent into the yard to hold the horses), 'Do your duty!' and Francis Baring, on the constable seeming to hesitate, said, 'Do your duty, do your duty!' in a very quick and stern manner! That the constable, in a compassionate tone while putting his hand into his coat pocket, answered, 'There is no occasion for that, Sir, Mr. Deacle will go quietly;' whereupon Bingham Baring, looking sternly at the constable, said, 'Hand-bolt them!' that Lewington put the hand-bolt on one of your petitioner's (Thomas Deacle's) hands; that while he was doing this, Francis Baring quitted his hold of your petitioner's (Thomas Deacle's) collar, went to another part of the room, seized hold of your petitioner's (Caroline Deacle's) hand and arm, in order to compel her to submit to be handbolted; that in spite of the supplications of your petitioner Thomas Deacle, who represented in the most feeling manner the delicate and precarious state of health of his wife, she was brought up by Francis Baring, who held her arm until her wrist was fastened in the same bolt with that of her husband; that Mr. Lewington had been ordered at the jail to bring a pair of small hand-bolts with him, and that he had them in his pocket, but did not pull them out; that at this time Bingham Baring went into the outer room for the purpose of disabling the fowling-pieces which were placed in the corner of the room; that your petitioners were now marched off from the inner room towards the outer room, hand-cuffed together, Francis Baring still holding the right hand and arm of your petitioner Caroline Deacle, her left hand being in the bolt; that in pulling her forward through the outer room into the court, she wishing not to go without her bonnet and shawl, he pulled her with such force as to pull her hand through the bolt, except that it was held by the fingers, and by a part of the ruffle, which was snapped in the bolt, and there
"fastened; that Francis Baring, seeing your petitioner Caroline
"Deacle thus loose, put his arm round one of her arms, and held
"her two hands together under his arm with great force and
"rudeness, still refusing to suffer her to have her bonnet and
"shawl; and in the meanwhile Deane, the banker, had quitted
"the house, and Seagrims and Wright were now on the outside
"of the house, on horseback; that the cart, which had been
"guarded all the while by Captain Nevill, was stationed on the
"outside of the yard, about 100 yards away from the house; that
"Bingham Baring was now employed in knocking the caps off
"the fowling-pieces, and pouring beer into the locks; that your
"petitioner Thomas Deacle was now taken to the cart by Lew-
"ington and Bingham Baring, which latter mounted his horse, and
"rode by the side of your petitioner Thomas Deacle, and the con-
"stable; that Francis Baring, refusing to wait for the bonnet and
"the shawl, proceeded to force your petitioner Caroline Deacle
"from the house and the court, across the wet and dirty yard, in
"order to arrive at the place where the cart was stationed; that
"the servants ran after with the bonnet and a cloak and clogs,
"which they put on as well as they could, he not suffering your
"petitioner to use her hands for the purpose; that he then, not
"however till her feet had been wet, carried her across the
"yard for a certain distance, by putting his arm round the
"middle of her body, her head foremost, and her heels hindmost,
"and her person in a horizontal position, and this notwith-
"standing her earnest entreaties that he would allow her to go
"through the garden, where the way was not only clean, but
"where the distance was much shorter to the cart; that when
"arrived at the cart, by the side of which Captain Nevill was
"sitting on horseback, the Captain alighted, and got into the
"cart; that in the meanwhile Francis Baring applied his hands
"and arms to the person of your petitioner Caroline Deacle, in
"a manner so rude, indecent, and brutal, as not to be described
"by her, and thus lifted her up upon the shaft of the cart,
"while Captain Nevill seized her by the arm, and dragged her
"into it; that while your petitioner's (Caroline Deacle's) person
"was handled in this rude and indecent manner, the extent of
"which indecency she refrains from describing to your honour-
"able House, Seagrims and the Rev. Robert Wright were sit-
"ting on their horses, and looking on and laughing; that the wheel
"and other parts of the cart covered her habiliments with dirt, and
"tore parts of them; that at this time, and even in the court-yard,
"your petitioners earnestly implored that your petitioner Caro-
"line Deacle might be permitted to ride her horse, fearing, from
"the state of her health, serious injury from the rude joltings
"of the cart; that this request was positively refused by Francis
"and Bingham Baring, and that Seagrims said, 'No, if you had
"your horse, you would ride as you did yesterday!' that one of
"the constables (Switzer) said, 'For God's sake, Sir, let the
"'lady have her horse, and I will hold the reins, and will forfeit
"'my life if I lose her;' that upon this Bingham Baring made
"answer, 'Do your duty, Sir, or I'll report you;' that the cart
"was driven by Lewington, and that the horse was a wretched
pony; that Bingham Baring urged Lewington to drive faster,
which having done for a little while, he said, upon a second
application, 'The lady complains of being ill, and says that
the jolting hurts her;' whereupon Bingham Baring again ex-
claimed, 'Drive on—make your way to Winchester!' that Lew-
ington still not driving so fast as Bingham Baring wished, the
latter came up, and with a large black stick which he carried,
gave repeated blows across the back of the pony; that the
pony now went considerably faster, causing the cart to jolt so
much, that your petitioner, Caroline Deacle, felt great pain, and
rose up, by bearing upon the side of the cart, and turning
round a little, said to Bingham Baring, 'Really, Sir, I cannot
bear this—it will be the death of me—I shall be shaken to
death;' that your petitioner Thomas Deacle, putting out his
hand, said, 'Sit still, my dear—bear it as well as you can,' and
that hereupon Bingham Baring struck across your petitioner
Caroline Deacle a severe blow with the beforementioned black
stick, which fell upon the arm of your petitioner Thomas
Deacle; that the cart was accompanied by Francis Baring, Bing-
ham Baring, Captain Nevill, the Rev. Robert Wright, Mr. Deane
the banker, and Seagrim the attorney, as a troop of guards
assisting the constables; that when the cart had reached about
half a mile from the house, Mr. Deane went off to Win-
chester, leaving the rest to attend the cart; that when the cart
arrived at the top of Winchester Hill, about two miles from the
city, it was met by a post-chaise, into which your petitioners were
put, in company with the jailer, who was in it, and were thus
conveyed to the common jail at Winchester; that when arrived
at the jail, the six persons before-mentioned had disappeared;
that the jailer hurried your petitioner Thomas Deacle into a
room where certain magistrates were assembled, amongst whom
were Sir Thomas Baring, as he believes, and the Rev. Robert
Wright the elder; that in the meanwhile your petitioner Caro-
line Deacle was put into another room, being the jailer's kitchen,
but afterwards was brought into the same room; that the ma-
gistrates deferred any examination for that night, on the alleged
account of want of witnesses, and refused to let your petition-
ers out on bail; that after this, the jailer Beckett took your
petitioners into the passage and informed them, that he must
take your petitioner Thomas Deacle and put him into a ward,
and that he would give your petitioner Caroline Deacle a bed
along with the women; that upon hearing this, your petitioner
Caroline Deacle, understanding that her husband was going to
be locked up amongst felons, fell into a violent hysteric fit,
and was falling backward upon the stone floor, which was
luckily prevented by your petitioner Thomas Deacle catching
her in his arms; that the fit was very strong, and rendered
it necessary to open her clothes, cut the lace of her stays, and
thus expose her in the presence of numerous persons of various
descriptions, the inmates or the visitants of a common jail; that
after this your petitioners were permitted, at the expense of ten
shillings a day, to live in the apartments of one of the turnkeys,
situated on the felons' side of the jail, and surrounded by felons
on every side; that in this situation your petitioners remained
from the evening of the 24th of November until the evening of
the 27th of November; that on the 25th of November your peti-
tioners were brought before the Magistrates sitting in the jail, and
were told that the evidence against them had not arrived;
that on the morning of the 26th of November they were brought
before the Magistrates again, always guarded by the jailer or
under-jailer, as if they had been felons, and were now told that
the evidence was in their favour, but that as all the evidence
had not arrived they must detain them longer: that in the after-
noon of the same day, the under-jailer again brought them into
the presence of the Magistrates, always sitting in the jail; that
the Magistrates there told your petitioner Thomas Deacle, that
they had nothing against him, and that he might go, but they
must detain your petitioner Caroline Deacle until the next day,
when they expected some evidence against her; that upon
this your petitioner Thomas Deacle begged to be permitted
to remain with his wife, to which the Magistrates answered,
"No!"—that thereupon your petitioner Caroline Deacle fainted
away, and was held in the chair, the Magistrates, with Sir
Thomas Baring at their head, exclaiming, 'Take her away, take
her away—she must not remain to interrupt our business;' that
in consequence of this she was carried out of the room in the
chair, and your petitioner Thomas Deacle was afterwards
permitted by the jailer to remain with his wife; that on the 27th
your petitioner Caroline Deacle was brought before the Magis-
trates by the under-jailer, and had read to her a deposition of
Robert Wright the younger, one of the defendants in the late ac-
tion, but that she was not confronted with any accuser, nor were
either of your petitioners ever confronted with any accuser
from the first to the last; that finally your petitioners were re-
leased upon bail given for your petitioner Caroline Deacle,
and your petitioner Thomas Deacle, without bail in the first in-
stance, and afterwards with bail, when new pretended evidence
had been discovered; that in the meanwhile your petitioner
Thomas Deacle had declared his intention of bringing an action
against the Magistrates for assault and false imprisonment;
that after this the indictment before mentioned was framed
against him, and the bill found as before stated, just at the
close of the proceedings of the Special Commission which pro-
duced the trial at the Lent Assizes, ending in the honourable
acquittal of your petitioner; and that, during the imprison-
ment of your petitioners, the letters sent to them were destroyed
by the jailer, in one of which was an offer of legal assistance.
12. "Your petitioners earnestly pray that your honourable
House will be pleased, in order to afford them a chance of
relief from the most direful oppression, to permit, if compa-
patible with the rules of your honourable House, evidence in
the premises to be brought to your bar; in which case they
solemnly pledge themselves to prove, by witnesses other than
themselves, all and singular the allegations contained in this
their humble petition; and with all submission to the superior
judgment, and in a firm reliance on the justice, of your honour-
able House, they further pray that you will be pleased to adopt
such other measures, relative to the premises, as in your wisdom
you shall deem to be most meet.

And your petitioners will ever pray.

(Signed) "THOMAS DEACLE,
Marwell, July 29.
"CAROLINE DEACLE."

Colonel Evans moved that the petition do lie on the table.

Mr. F. Baring had taken the opportunity of stating, on a for-
mer occasion, the circumstances of this case; and though there
were many things in this petition that might seem to call for a
further statement, yet, considering the time he had already
taken up on the subject, he felt a delicacy in further encroach-
ing on the public time upon the present occasion. Still, how-
ever, he trusted the House would bear with him, for a few mo-
ments, while he noticed one or two of the particulars stated in
this petition. He did not intend now to repeat the statement he
had formerly made. When he made it, he did so partly in con-
tradiction of the allegations that had been advanced respecting
his cousins, and his own conduct, on the occasion referred to,
and partly with a view of making the House acquainted with
circumstances which had not previously appeared before the
public. With regard to the present petition, he was prepared to
meet it with a full contradiction. He had already made his state-
ment of the circumstances to the House, and there was no con-
tradiction of his statement contained in any part of that petition
that would induce him to withdraw one assertion that he had then
made. The statement now made by the petitioners was contrary
to all those put forth in evidence at the trial, and sworn to as true
there. There was hardly one point in which the two statements
concurred with each other—there was but one in which he and
the petitioners agreed together, and that was in the declaration
that the evidence given at the trial was a false account of the
circumstances that had taken place. It was said at first that Mrs.
Deacle came forward in the room and gave her hand to be hand-
cuffed; it was now said that he (Mr. Francis Baring) had dragged
her forward to be handcuffed. At first it was said that his cousin
had shown a gun, and had used it to intimidate; now it was
stated that a pistol and dagger were employed, and the gun was
sunk! He wished that the two statements could be published
parallel by parallel. The plaintiff's statement, as it was now
made, and as it was then made by his witnesses, did not at all
agree together, and of course no credit whatever was to be given
to either. There was one point to which he wished particularly
to call the attention of the House. It was this:—It was origi-
ally stated that his cousin had carried Mrs. Deacle to the cart;
that statement had then been denied; and he (Mr. F. Baring)
had said that he was the person who had carried her to the cart.
It now turned out, even on the petitioner's own statement, that
it was not Mr. Bingham Baring, but he, who had carried the
lady to the cart. When he had ventured to state that in the
House, all the persons who took a different view of the matter
said that was a matter which could not be mistaken. Now at
the time that the witnesses swore Mr. Bingham Baring carried
Mrs. Deacle to the cart, *Mr. and Mrs. Deacle were both in Court;*
they had the means of knowing whether the statement was true
or not, yet they heard it made, *allowed it to go to the Jury, and to
be commented upon by the Judge,* and never once pretended to
express even a doubt of the correctness of the statement when
the charge was afterwards brought forward. Mr. B. Baring de-
nied the fact—his attorney wrote a letter in answer to the charge,
and declared the statement not to be true; and even then Mr.
Deacle did not admit it to be mistaken, on the contrary, he re-
asserted the fact. It was now found that the charge, as against
Mr. B. Baring, was wholly unfounded, and the truth of the
statement he had made in the House was now admitted, yet up
to this time the poison had been allowed to circulate in the
country, though now the same charge was laid to him. The at-
tornies who had conducted the cause on behalf of his cousin,
were the Clerks of the Peace for the county, who had in that
character prosecuted all the parties at the suit of the Crown.
They were not the attorneys either for his father or his uncle, and
they had only been employed in that instance at the recommenda-
tion of the attorneys for the family, because they were thought to
know all the facts of the case. He had felt himself bound to state all
these circumstances, because he could not be silent when these
accusations were brought against his cousin, and brought against
him too, *in a motion to strike his name off the list of gentlemen in the
Commission of the Peace—a motion which could not but affect his
character.* He would now make no further observations, except to
say, with reference to the gallant officer’s *eulogy on the public
press,* that it would have been fairer if it had not been dragged in
as the gallant officer had dragged it in on the present occasion.

Sir T. Baring said, that as his name had been introduced in a
manner not very creditable to him, he was desirous of troubling
the House with a few words upon this subject. He was well
aware that every person who acted in a public capacity in that
House, or out of it, was liable to have his conduct traduced, and,
his character calumniated; and for himself, he could only re-
joice, that when this was done with regard to him, he had the
opportunity which that House afforded of answering the ca-
lumny. The hon. Member who had introduced this petition had
not had the *common courtesy to give him the slightest notice of
it—a conduct which he should not have pursued towards the
hon. Member under similar circumstances. He was charged
with having at first resolved upon committing Mr. and Mrs. Dea-
cle to prison. That charge was not true. It was said that Mrs.
Deacle had fainted in the chair, and that, notwithstanding her
state, he had ordered her away, saying that the Magistrates
could not be troubled with her, or some expressions to that effect.
He utterly denied having ever said so. He had not, to the best
of his recollection, heard her utter a single word; he had only
come into the room accidentally at the moment when Mr. Dea-
cle was having some evidence (he believed it was Deacle’s own)
read over to him. At that moment he (Sir T. Baring) saw a fe-
male in a chair, but he did not hear her utter one word. He
looked over the evidence cursorily, and the cruelty of which he
was then guilty, was to suggest to his brother Magistrates that
Mr. Deacle should be admitted to bail. He took no other part whatever in the proceedings. When these statements were thus found to be unsupported by the fact, he thought that the House would not feel much inclined to give great credit to other statements in the same petition. At the time that these persons were brought to prison, he was occupied at a distance of eight miles, in endeavouring to suppress a riot occasioned by other parties, and to take those parties into custody. On his return he again read over the evidence in Deacle's case, and then, upon a more attentive perusal than he had before given it, he found the evidence stronger than he had before supposed, and he surrendered his own opinion to that of the other Magistrates. These were the facts of the case as far as he was concerned.

Mr. F. Baring wished to be permitted to say, that there were other statements in the petition which he had not noticed, but he hoped he should not be taken to have admitted the truth of them because he had not contradicted them.

Mr. Serjeant Wilde said, that from his having mistaken the order of the proceedings in the House, he had not been present when this discussion began. He begged to express his regret at that circumstance. It seemed that he had been made a subject of accusation in the petition, and he found that he had been reduced to that situation from his having discharged what he considered to be his imperative duty as a member of that House. The petition, so far as it referred to him, was not expressed in those courteous terms that might be expected; but he looked to the substance, not to the form of it. He wished to recal the attention of the House to what had occurred on the former occasion. He had not then expressed any opinion of what had taken place; for he had not been present at the trial; he had not gone into those parts with which he was not personally acquainted; he had merely stated what he knew from the depositions that had been laid before him. He was accused in the petition of having made certain statements in that House. He did not know how the petitioners became acquainted with what he said there; for he had looked into the Times, and he did not find that he had been reported to the effect now represented in the petition. The report was substantially correct, indeed much more correct than could under all circumstances have been reasonably anticipated. He denied that he had ever sided with heartless injustice and oppression, as the petitioners accused him of doing. What he said had been founded on the depositions that were brought to his notice in the discharge of his duty in assisting the King's Attorney-General in the public prosecutions. Unfortunately, on account of the absence of Mr. Chambre from town, he had not been able to bring those depositions with him. He now came to speak upon a matter more immediately connected with his professional practice and his character as a member of that House. A retainer had been left at his chambers some time before the trial. It was anticipated that he could not be able to attend at the Winchester Assizes. The person who left the retainer was told so. He thought he was bound before every-thing to discharge his duty in that House. A letter was written to the effect he had stated, by his clerk. That retainer gave him no in-
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formation of the nature of Deacle's case. Honourable members
must not confound a retainer with a brief. A retainer only con-
tained the names of the parties. He (Mr. Serjeant Wilde) had
never seen Deacle or his attorney—he had no communica-
tion whatever with them—and it was not to be supposed that the
leaving a retainer with a one guinea fee was to prevent a mem-
ber of that House from doing his duty there. If any persons did
suppose that, he begged that they would keep their retainers to
themselves. He considered that his duty in that House was par-
amount to all others. He had no knowledge whatever of the case.
Mr. Hume called the attention of the House to the fact, that
the depositions against the Deacles, on which the learned Serjeant
had so much relied, were disbelieved by the Jury. It was most
unfair that any-body should judge of the conduct of the Deacles
from those depositions, and without any knowledge of his own,
whether they were true or false. He (Mr. Hume) knew nothing of
the petitioners; but knew that the treatment they had received was
cruel and unjust. One ground of reasonable complaint on their
part was, that in despair of establishing any other charge, they
had been accused of a conspiracy, which was a symptom in the
modern administration of justice. The question involved in this
petition was one of great importance, not merely to the Deacles,
but to the public, and it was this—how far Magistrates were re-
sponsible for their conduct to the King's subjects. It was fit that
the people should know why Mrs. Deacle had been handcuffed
like a common felon. It was quite clear that the petitioners had
been mistaken regarding the person of the hon. Baronet (Sir T.
Baring); but he (Mr. Hume) did not know whether the hon.
Member denied that he had ordered that Mrs. Deacle should be
handcuffed. If he had not done so, it was of great consequence to
ascertain who was the Magistrate who had given the order. He
(Mr. Hume) put it to the House, whether it was not a point
worth deciding, whether power should be continued to such an in-
dividual? Simple justice required that the petition should be
laid upon the table; and that, on a future day, it should be refer-
red to a Select Committee. If the magistrates had not been guilty
of an excess of power, it was fit that the fact should be ascer-
tained, in order that all imputation might be removed.
Mr. C. Fergusson referred to the denial of the hon. Member
that he was present when Mrs. Deacle was handcuffed, and to the
oath of a witness to that effect. He also urged that the Jury
would probably have given larger damages than 50l. if they had
believed the aggravations that were charged in the declaration.
At the same time he, too, was anxious to know who had ordered
Mrs. Deacle to be handcuffed, and if he were a Member, the
House ought to be ashamed of his association. Both she and her
husband had had much to complain of; and it was most unjust
that any notion should go forth to the public that the House
thought either of them guilty of what had been disproved on the
trial.
On the question being put that the petition do lie on the table,
Sir George Clerk objected, on the ground that the petition,
in substance though not in form, complained of what had passed
in the House in the speeches of Members. It was drawn up with
great skill to avoid the standing order upon the subject, but he apprehended the House would not allow that to be done by evas- 
ion which could not be done directly.

"Lord Althorp said that he had seen the petition yesterday, and that it undoubtedly was drawn up to evade the order of the House: it complained of what had been contained in the speeches of Members; but as the House, contrary to its own order, allowed the publication of those speeches, it seemed hard upon petitioners to refuse them the opportunity of vindication from charges contained in speeches. On all accounts, therefore, he thought the House ought not to be very scrupulous upon the point, and for one he should not object to the laying of the petition upon the table.

"Mr. Estcourt said, that as long as the order in question stood upon the Journals, it ought to be enforced. It might be very proper to recall it, but at present it was the rule by which the House declared it would be guided. He urged another objection to the petition, viz., that it sought redress from the House in the first instance, whereas the Deacles ought to have come to it only in the last resort, and after they had in vain tried other remedies that were open to them. The whole appeared to him a very disorderly proceeding, and he should, therefore, oppose the receiv- ing of the petition.

"Mr. O'Connell contended, that if the hon. Member were for enforcing one standing order against petitioners, he ought to go farther, and enforce another against the publication of debates. (Hear.) He should like to see the hon. Member move that the proprietors of all the newspapers in the United Kingdom should be brought to the Bar, for infringing the order that the speeches of Members should not be published. (Hear, hear.) If those speeches went forth, as in this instance, injury might be done; and when injury was done, it was mere justice to allow a remedy. Mr. and Mrs. Deacle had suffered severely; but the appointment of a committee to inquire into the facts might end in the triumphant acquittal of the magistrates accused by them.

"Sir F. Burdett was decidedly in favour of receiving the petition, relating as it did most importantly to the administration of public justice. The power under which the Magistrates had acted in this instance required investigation, and he was strongly of opinion that the power exercised by Magistrates generally needed great vigilance. The petition seemed to him very proper drawn, and certain it was that the parties had suffered severely both in purse and person. It would indeed be an ex-
traordinary proceeding if a petition containing such allegations were rejected, and all inquiry refused.

"The petition was then laid upon the table, and it was ordered 
that it should be printed."

COBBETT'S CORN.

During my late journey in Hampshire, and through Surrey and back through Berkshire, I had great pleasure to see many very fine parcels of my corn; and I do not think that I saw one that will not produce more than a hundred
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bushels of shelled corn to the acre. I was particularly gratified at seeing several patches of the corn in the gardens of the working people in the little hard parishes. I found it all as fine as my own, and I think I shall have nearly or quite a hundred and sixty bushels of shelled corn from my one acre of ground. My corn was planted on the 12th of May; the grain is now beginning to be hard, and it will soon be time to cut off the tops and the blades. I have begun to do it already, but I do not recommend to others to begin before about the 7th of September, and not then, unless the silk has all disappeared from the tips of the ears. When that is the case, cut off the top down to within two inches of the topmost ear, and cut off all the blades clear to within an inch of the stem. I give these tops and blades to my horse and my cows; and I calculate that they will keep the horse and two cows for two months; and the horse will need no corn while he is eating these.

Now, then, for the great FOOL-LIAR, and the infamous circular, which he sent by means of his privilege of franking, to all the gentlemen to whom I sent corn as a present, last spring, for the purpose of gratuitous distribution amongst the labourers. They all keep the circular very carefully; and three or four of them have told me, that, when the corn harvest comes, they will put him to shame; and, if they do, I shall not despair of seeing a blush upon the face of the brazen Achilles, in Hyde Park. One gentleman, who has a whole neighbourhood of labourers, with fine crops in their gardens, says, "I have a rod in soak for the great LIAR." I have told him, that it is not, here, a question of rods, but of broom-sticks at the very least; that, here, "ten bull hides" have to be penetrated, and that there is only that one susceptible part which little Morley found out with the point of his shoe, and which is generally looked upon as being by far the most intelligent extremity of this particular body. After the tops and blades are taken off, let the stalks and the ears remain, till the grain is as hard as a stone, which it will be, this year, by about the middle of October.—N. B. At my house we have, every day, a pudding, made of the flour of this corn. At Mr. Sapsford's, Baker, No. 20, corner of Queen Anne and Wimpole-streets, both the flour and the bread are sold.

[Printed by Wm. Cobbett, Johnson's-court, Fleet-street.]
"Never esteem men merely on account of their riches or their station. Respect goodness, find it where you may. Honour talent wherever you find it unassociated with vice; but honour it most when accompanied with exertion, and especially when exerted in the cause of truth and justice; and, above all things, hold it in honour when it steps forward to protect defenceless innocence against the attacks of powerful men."

Cobbett's English Grammar, Letter XXIII.

TO ALL THE
PEOPLE OF ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, AND IRELAND,
BUT PARTICULARLY TO
THE PEOPLE OF HAMPSHIRE,
ON
THE AFFAIR OF THE BARINGS AND THE DEACLES.

Kensington, 1st October, 1831.

FRIENDS AND COUNTRYMEN,
The affair of the Barings and Mr. and Mrs. Deacle, involving the alleged conduct of other persons, and particularly that of the magistrate, Long, of Preshaw; if this

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affair affected only the parties; if it were merely a wrong alleged to have been done by some persons to some other persons, all private parties, then it would not be of that great importance which it now is. If a powerful man, in his private capacity, had done some wrong to a poor neighbour, it would be a subject worthy of the attention, and fit to call forth the resentment, of all the people of the neighbourhood. But, here the evil could not be extensive: here would be a bad man doing a bad act; but not an act likely to operate to the injury of the whole community. Not so in a case where magistrates and men acting under public authority commit acts of oppression; for in this case, the example may endanger the whole of the community; the cause of the oppressed party is the cause of every man and woman making part of that community; for the oppression which has been thus exercised on one party to-day, may be exercised on another to-morrow, and the magisterial office, instead of being a terror to evil-doers, and a reward to those who do well, may become the general scourge of the innocent, and a terror to those only who are unable to resist the strong arm of power.

It is in this light that I take up this matter, and with all this solemnity lay it before you. I do not take upon me to pronounce whether the allegations against the Barings and Long be true or false; but I know that they have been made; that they have been made in the most solemn manner; that the parties making them have pledged themselves to prove them to be true; that they have prayed the House of Commons to suffer them to produce proof of that truth; and that the House of Commons, upon the motion of the Ministers themselves, have resolved not to let them produce that proof, while they call the accused parties their honourable friends, and declare, upon the honour of gentlemen, that they believe them to be innocent. Many of you will
remember that, on the 11th of May, 1809, Mr. Maddox made a motion for leave to produce proof at the bar of the House of Commons that Perceval and Castlereagh had sold a seat in that House to a Mr. Quinten Dick. A great majority of the House declared that they believed the parties innocent of all blame; but that same great majority voted that they would not hear the evidence produced. Those who are of my age, or under, can recollect the unanimous indignation which that vote excited throughout the country; and there is no man who is at all acquainted with these things who does not well know that that refusal, to hear the proof offered by Mr. Maddox, was a blow which that House has never recovered.

It is my desire, and it shall be my endeavour, to lay the whole of this matter before you with perfect fairness and impartiality; and, before I enter upon it, it seems to me necessary that I should satisfy you that I have not, in this case, any personal motive whatsoever, arising out of any reason that I have to have any particular liking or disliking for either of the parties. I think this necessary, because I have been informed that the Barings have given it out that I have some personal grudge against them; and I believe that they have thus given it out, because I see it stated in the Morning Chronicle, in a paragraph purporting to be a report of a speech of Alexander Baring, that "a powerful writer" (meaning me) "had stated that he would ruin the Barings." Now, I once received a very short and civil letter from Sir Thomas Baring, which I immediately answered in a most satisfactory manner and with equal civility, touching a mortgage of which he became the manager, in consequence of his having become the executor of the mortgagee. With this exception, I never wrote to a man of the name of Baring, nor received a letter from a man of that name; I never, to my knowledge, saw a man of
the name of Bar ing; much less did I ever speak to one, in the whole course of my life; except that I have seen Sir Thomas Bar ing twice at public meetings at Winchester. I never had any transaction with a Bar ing, either directly or indirectly, in the course of my life.

What reason, then, can I have for doing anything against the Barings, other than some public reason? When Lov ell and Cook were up at Kensington on the day before my and Sir Thomas Denman's trial; and, when they were about to give me an account of the transactions which formed the subject of the affidavits which they made, and which will be found inserted in the published account of the trial, I said, to Lov ell in particular, "Now, Lov ell, "mind, I hate the Barings; and, therefore, do not you say "anything that you may think will please me: 'tis not ne-
"cessary that I should tell you why I hate them; but it is "right for me thus to put you upon your guard; and, as you "work for the Barings, and apparently find them good "masters to you, tell them what I say if you please." I have never disguised my dislike to them; and have never de-
sired that anything that I said about them should not expe-
rience any abatement that this well-known dislike might entitle it to.

But, my friends, though I did not think it necessary to
tell Lov ell the reason why I hated the Barings, I will
tell you; and then let it go, if you like, in abatement of any
thing that you shall find bear against them in this paper
which I am now about to write. I have always, since I had
understanding of these matters, hated public loan-makers;
because I know full well that their works have been the ruin
of my country; that these works have caused misery inde-
scribable to the people of this kingdom; that at this moment,
these works cause more than one half of the tax upon malt,
upon hops, upon sugar, upon all that we consume; because I
know, in short, that they have made this England, the working people of which were once the best fed and best clad in the world, a race of miserable ragged beings with half a belly-full of victuals. My friends, to show you that this is no new opinion of mine, and to show you also that the greatest and most virtuous statesman that this country has known for two hundred years entertained a similar hatred towards loan-makers, I will here insert part of a speech of the great Lord Chatham, made in the House of Lords on the 22nd of November, 1770, that is to say, sixty-one years ago; and to show you how long this hatred has existed in my bosom, I will take this part of the speech from my own Register, in which I inserted it as a motto on the 25th of January, 1806, long before the Barings became conspicuous in a hundredth part of the degree that they have now become conspicuous; and long before their loan-making transactions had even been a subject of observation with me. Now, then, take the words of this famous English statesman:—

"There is a set of men, my Lords, in the city of London, who are known to live in riot and luxury upon the plunder of the ignorant, the innocent, the helpless; upon that part of the community which stands most in need of, and that best deserves, the care and protection of the legislature. To me, my Lords, whether they be miserable jobbers of 'Change Alley, or the lofty Asiatic plunderers of Leadenhall-street, they are all equally detestable. I care but little whether a man walks on foot, or is drawn by eight horses or six horses; if his luxury be supported by the plunder of his country, I despise and detest him. My Lords, while I had the honour of serving his Majesty, I never ventured to look at the Treasury but at a distance: it is a business I am unfit for, and to which I could never have submitted. The little I know of it has not served to raise my opinion of what is vulgarly called the 'Monied Interest'; I mean, that blood-sucker, that muck-worm, that calls itself the 'friend of government;' that pretends to serve this or that administration, and may be purchased, on the same terms, by any administration; advances money to government, and takes special care of its own emoluments. Under this description I include the whole race of commissaries, jobbers, contractors, clothiers, and remitters. Yet I do not deny, that, even with those creatures, some management may be necessary; and I hope, my Lords,
"that nothing I have said will be understood to extend to the
"honest industrious tradesman, who holds the middle rank, and
"has given repeated proofs, that he prefers law and liberty to
"gold. Much less would I be thought to reflect upon the fair mer-
"chant, whose liberal commerce is the prime source of national
"wealth. I esteem his occupation, and respect his character."
—Speech of the great Earl of CHATHAM, in the House of Lords, on
the 22d of November, 1770.

These were the opinions of the last really wise and upright
statesman that England has heard. He detested these
money-lenders, whether walking on foot or drawn by six
horses; he called their immense profits "plunder;" he
charged them with living in riot and luxury upon the plun-
der of the ignorant, the innocent, the helpless, which stood
in most need of, and best deserved, the care and protection
of the Parliament. He expressed his detestation of this de-
scription of men; of all these contractors and jobbers and
remitters, whom he contradistinguished from the fair mer-
chant and honest and industrious tradesman, whose occupa-
tion he esteemed and whose character he respected. Now,
I have never expressed detestation of the Barings; I have
never spoken of them in terms a hundredth part so harsh as
this great nobleman spoke of the whole race. If these were
his sentiments then, how would he have expressed himself
now? Have I not, then, a right to have my opinions and
my feelings with regard to this race of men as well as he or
anybody else? This family, the very beginner of which has
not had his name known to the public more than about thir-
ty-four years, and who was a mere merchant's clerk, or some-
thing of that sort, about forty-six years ago; the very father
of all this race would not now, if he were alive, be able to
claim a standing in society for more than thirty-five or thir-
ty-six years, at the utmost; and this family, who have
twenty-eight thousand acres of land in one spot in Hamp-
shire, have, in England, if I am rightly informed, upwards
of a hundred and twenty thousand acres of land, besides
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houses countless in number; besides mills; besides church livings. In short, they possess half a dozen lords' estates; and though I accuse them of nothing unlawful in getting all this; though I impute to them nothing that is called cheating or robbing or swindling, or anything unlawful, I am sorry that they have it, and I hate and abhor the system of government under which they could have acquired it, without any talent beyond that of mere ordinary tradesmen; without having performed any one thing meriting public gratitude or applause; without any one of them having done anything to benefit or reflect honour upon the country or its institutions. If I be asked what is it to me how many estates they have, and how many noblemen and gentlemen they have sup- planted, I say, It is something to me, and a good deal too. I have a right to feel concerned for the good and the honour of the country. I know that there can be no good and happy community, aye, and no real freedom, unless the people be governed by that natural magistracy which grows out of long-settled proprietorship of land; I know that there can be no willing obedience; that there can be no just distribution of property and of power, unless a very great part of the submission to the laws arise from the habitual and the traditional respect of the people towards the immediate magistracy. I know that, when this natural magistracy is destroyed, there must come coercion, and that force must command an unwilling obedience; I know that this system of upstarts has a direct tendency totally to destroy the good laws and customs of England, and that it has, in a great measure, destroyed them.

Here would be quite enough to justify the antipathy which I entertain towards this whole race of men, of which the Barings have, by their own act and deed, and, in the indulgence of their own vanity, arrogantly placed themselves at the head; for Sir Thomas Baring, in setting forth his
pedigree, tells us that his arms are "azure, a sesse, or, in " chief, a bear's head proper, muzzled and ringed, or." I like the "bear's head" monstrously, and particularly I like to see it "muzzled and ringed." It does not seem that the bear's paws are hand-cuffed. What pity that the whole band, the banker and all, did not go to Marwell equipped like the Baring-Arms! We should not then have had all this fuss! In this pedigree, Sir Thomas tells us that his father was "enabled, by his affluence, to assist " the minister" (just as Lord Chatham said!) "in the " various loans required, and that he soon became the lead-
ing member of the monied interest, and even the pros-
"perity of England, at certain periods, may be said to " have revolved around him, as its primum mobile." I take this from the "Baronetage of England," published by Debrett in 1819; and anything, at once, so stupid, so insolent, and so grovellingly vulgar, I never not only took from any book, but never read in any dirty newspaper, even that of Jacob and Johnson, in the whole course of my life. Why, if there were nothing but this to make me hate them, this would be quite sufficient. The prosperity of England revolved round him! The prosperity of England revolve round a fellow that had been a mere city go-
between of old Lord Shelbourne, and had not been known to the community for more than five-and-twenty years! A pretty thing England must have become! England is my country, at any rate, and I have certainly a right to resent this upstart, beggar-like insult.

If, indeed, any of the family had ever performed any service to the country, real or pretended, it would be another matter. If one had seen a great parcel of estates in the hands of Lord Nelson and his heir. Instances of that kind happen so rarely, that the precedent is not dangerous; and besides, the country has something to show for the cost;
the deeds are so ennobling that they silence all political reasoning about the matter. But, what do we behold here? In one single spot a great slice of a county; three Lords supplanted upon one spot by these loan-mongers; and just on the skirts of their domain, there sticks the descendant of Lord Rodney, who really revived the character of England at a time when it was at a very low ebb, cooped up in a little bit of ground, not much more than enough to be a cabbage-garden for the Barings; and there is that poor Cranley Onslow too, descended from one of the greatest and most upright lawyers, and most learned and best men that ever lived, and owing to him and his fame the name of Cranley, a little village in Surrey, the name of which the Speaker Onslow chose for his title of Baron. I have been called a jacobin and leveller: this is your true levelling, stripping lords of their estates, by the means of taxation, and giving them to those who have thriven upon that taxation. And if it be asked what harm this does, again I say, It destroys the natural magistracy of the country; it takes away the salutary influence of habitual and traditionary respect, and it demands coercion in its stead; and coercion casts aside the sheriff's wand and the constable's staff, and brings the standing bayonet and the gendarmerie.

These are the grounds, fully and frankly stated, of my hatred of the Barings; but what hatred, what preconceived hatred, did it require to bring me forth to the cause of Mr. and Mrs. Deacle? Now, reader, look at the motto which I have placed at the head of this paper. The words of that motto were addressed to one son, and were, of course, addressed also to all the rest of my children, and to the hundreds and thousands (and I may say hundreds of thousands) of young people; for the Grammar, as its title expresses, was "intended for the use of schools, and of young
"persons in general; but more especially for the use of "soldiers, sailors, apprentices and plough-boys." What other motive do I want than the precept inculcated in that motto? The motto was written in Long Island thirteen years ago. I could know nothing then about the small handcuffs: I could have no such thing in my eye. The precept had been the rule of my conduct all my life-time; and what have I done other than act upon it now? Here are Mr. and Mrs. Deacle, in my opinion innocent; proved to be innocent in a court of justice; a jury have pronounced them innocent; and I find them attacked by "powerful men." I find in them people wholly unable to defend themselves against such power. I find them attacked in the newspapers, under the names of men of great wealth and power; I find them, after their acquittal in a court of justice, branded by the newspapers, under the names of Francis Baring and Sergeant Wilde, as having been guilty of felony; I examine all the newspapers, and find them all to agree in the infamous libel; I see the villainous libellers, Jacob and Johnson, spread the calumnies all over the county, and even to the very door of Mr. Deacle; I see these printers refuse to publish a letter from Mr. Deacle, defending himself against these calumnies: in short, I see them innocent and defenceless, and attacked by men who have power in their hands; and then it is, and not till then, that I take up their cause. Is not, therefore, my conduct straight and consistent? What am I doing but acting upon the precept which I have constantly and sedulously taught, and as constantly made the rule of my conduct? And what is to become of defenceless innocence, if talent will not step forward in its defence when attacked by powerful men?

Here, then, I cast aside all these imputations about private malice and denunciations of ruin: let the Barings
howl, or, rather, growl, like the animal whose head they take for their crest: let them talk about motives as long as they please; and let me, my friends, now go into the merits of this case in as plain a manner as I can consistently with the necessary brevity. On the 23d of November last, the rioting and machine-breaking took place in the parishes round about Marwell, where Mr. Deacle lived on a farm which he rented of Mrs. Long. The rioters, or, rather, the working people who were demanding a rise of wages, went to Mr. Deacle's, broke his thrashing-machine, pressed his men to join them, and made him give them two pounds in money. From his house they went to that of his neighbour Smith, another farmer, whither Mr. Deacle followed them, in order to prevent them from doing acts of violence to his neighbours. Being in Mr. Smith's house along with other farmers who had joined them, they, in Mr. Smith's parlour, drew up a paper, to be signed by landowners and land-occupiers, the former promising to reduce rents and tithes, and the latter to give the men twelve shillings a week. This paper was shown to the men in order to quiet them; and, at the desire of the whole, it was carried round by farmer Boys to the several farmers and gentlemen's houses that the people went to. Mr. Deacle went as far as Mrs. Long's, and, when the paper had been signed there, he went away. By fifty credible witnesses, it can be proved that this was the conduct of Mr. Deacle, on the 23d of November, and that this was all that he had had to do with the matter. As to Mrs. Deacle, she was out taking a ride, and she rode, out of curiosity, to see what the mob were doing. One charge against her was, that she sat upon a horse looking at them and smiling. I know of no law, either from the pen of Ellinborough, Lansdown, or Peel, to forbid smiling. Such was the conduct of these two parties,
doing no one thing that was either unlawful or unneighbourly, during the whole of the day, being greatly injured in their property, but humanely submitting to the injury, from reflecting on the starving state of the labourers.

Notwithstanding this offensive conduct, the next day warrants were issued against them and for apprehending them, upon depositions that have never yet been produced; and three constables, with a coal-cart and handcuffs, small handcuffs as well as great, were sent from the jail of Winchester to bring them from that jail. Two magistrates, Francis T. Baring, son of Thomas, and Bingham Baring, son of Alexander, accompanied by Robert Wright, a parson, Captain Nevill of Easton, one Seagrim an attorney, and Mr. Deane, a banker of Winchester, went off on horseback to assist in the capture and in the bringing to jail of these two innocent persons. I assert them to be innocent, because the lady has never been brought to any trial at all, and because Mr. Deacle was indicted for the pretended offence, and acquitted, without producing any evidence of his own; acquitted at once, in consequence of the evidence given by his accusers’ witnesses; all which you will please to bear in mind; and of course you will bear in mind always, that these are two persons who have been falsely accused, and who have been proved to be innocent, of the alleged crimes with which they were charged.

Quite bad enough, quite oppression enough, if we were to stop here; but we have now to see the manner of the arrest; the manner in which innocent persons were seized and treated; and here I proceed to state facts which the parties accused affect to deny the truth of. The facts which I have before stated relative to the perfect innocence of Mr. and Mrs. Deacle of all crime whatsoever in this case, are facts which neither the Barings nor anybody else pretend to deny.
1st October, 1831.

But the facts I am now about to state are facts for which I do not vouch, but which rest on the evidence given by Lewington, Switzer, and Mr. Deacle's servant girl, at the last Summer Assizes, upon a trial on an action brought by Mr. Deacle against five of the afore-mentioned parties for the violences committed by those parties at the time of the seizure as aforesaid. Lewington, who was the chief of the constables, says that he went to Mr. Deacle's house with the persons before-mentioned. That he went into the house with the two Barings, and with Wright, the parson; that Bingham Baring told him to handcuff Mr. and Mrs. Deacle; that he, Lewington, hesitated, but that he finally handcuffed them, one to the other; that Mrs. Deacle wished to put on her bonnet and shawl, but that Bingham Baring said he could not wait; that Bingham Baring pulled out a pistol, and put it to the head of a man who had Mr. Deacle's gun and told him to give it up; that Mrs. Deacle was put up into a cart; that the road was very rough; that Bingham Baring ordered him (Lewington) to trot, which made the cart shake very much; that Bingham Baring struck Mr. Deacle a back-handed blow with a stick while Mr. Deacle was handcuffed in the cart. The evidence of Switzer corroborated this, and the servant girl swore that Bingham Baring took Mrs. Deacle under his arm, round the waist, and carried her, her legs dangling one way and her head another.

Now, observe, I was not in Court when this evidence was given; but such is the evidence, according to the report published in all the newspapers. The jury gave a verdict of fifty pounds against Bingham Baring, and nothing against any of the rest. Such was the evidence in the Court given upon the oaths of these witnesses; there was much more, but this was the substance of it. Now, we go
to the petition of Mr. and Mrs. Deacle, which they presented in consequence of the atrocious slanders put forth against them by the newspapers, under the title of the report of speeches in Parliament. They say, that Bingham Baring seized Mr. Deacle by the collar, that he then held one of his arms, that Francis Baring held another, and that the parson held him by the skirts, while Lewington, by the positive order of Bingham Baring, put the handcuff upon one of the hands of Mr. Deacle; that Mrs. Deacle was sitting in another part of the room; that Francis Baring went and hauled her up to have her hand put in the other part of the same handcuff, so as to have them fastened together; that after this, in pulling her along to get them out of the house, Mrs. Deacle's hand came out of the handcuff, and that it was Francis Baring, and not Bingham, that dragged her and carried her across the yard to the cart, into which Nevill, captain in the navy, got, in order to pull her up. There is this difference between the evidence in Court and this statement in the petition; that the servant girl ascribed the carrying and the dragging to Bingham, and not to Francis Baring; but the girl had never seen either of them before, and did not know one from the other. It is not denied that the cart was made to trot in a very rough road; it is not denied that the constable, Switzer, pledged himself to be answerable for Mrs. Deacle, if they would let her ride her horse; and that they refused this. When the cart arrived at Winchester Hill, there was the jailer, Beckett, in a post-chaise, and into that chaise they were put along with this common jailer, who took them to the jail, where they were treated as felonious malefactors.

Now, observe, as far as relates to this statement of Mr. and Mrs. Deacle, the statement at present rests upon their word only. We cannot say the same, by any means,
with regard to the evidence in Court, for that evidence was
given upon oath before a judge and jury, and the jury found
a verdict against Bingham Baring at any rate; and we
are to observe also, that the constables were persons in the
employ of these magistrates; that they depended upon them,
in some measure, for their bread, and that their evidence had
always been thought very good, when given against persons
that were prosecuted.

Mrs. Deacle, as I have before observed, was, after
about three days' imprisonment, let out of the jail, and has
never been called to any account since. Mr. Deacle also
was let out without bail of any sort or for any purpose; but
having threatened to bring an action against the magistrates,
he was indicted for a misdemeanour, in going about with a
paper to compel landlords and parsons to reduce rents and
tithes. The trial of this indictment, however, was put off
to the Lent Assizes, when he was tried and acquitted, as I
before observed, in the most honourable manner, according
to the declaration of the judge himself. He was acquitted,
without having an opportunity of producing a witness in his
defence, and without counsel being heard in his defence:
the evidence against him was so manifestly good for nothing,
that the judge would not suffer any witness to be called in
his defence. Well, then, here we have the innocence of the
parties completely established: here we have proof that they
ought not to have been seized at all; ought not to have
been taken up, or troubled for a single moment, even in the
mildest and most gentle manner. If, then, the evidence
produced upon the trial of the action be taken to be true;
if Lewington and Switzer and the servant girl be not
declared perjurers upon the bare word of the Barings,
what are we to think of the handcuffs, what are we to
think of the dragging across the yard, the joltings in the
cart, the cramming into a post-chaise with a common jailer, and the cramming into jail as felonious malefactors?

Now, please to mark. Lewington's evidence and the other constable's were given in the trial of the action at the Summer Assizes, when the result was a verdict of fifty pounds against Bingham Baring. This verdict astonished the whole world, as far as the news of it reached. Every one exclaimed, "Fifty pounds!" But Mr. Deacle did nothing. He was, probably, not very well contented with the verdict; but he was content to let that, and the report of the trial, imperfect as that report was, produce their natural effect upon the public mind. He and Mrs. Deacle had suffered a great deal, to be sure; but he was content with what he was sure would be the decision of the public. He was not wrong in his calculations. The public cried aloud against the actors in the scene at Marwell; and the press, urged on by the public, inveighed most bitterly against those parties. Bingham Baring had now to contend, not with Mr. and Mrs. Deacle, but with the public and the press. He published; and he made the matter worse. In this state of things, Colonel Evans, a member of Parliament (without any intimation of his intention to Mr. Deacle, observe), brought the subject before Parliament in the shape of a motion for the judges' notes, or something of that sort. But, though he gave no intimation to Mr. Deacle, he had taken care to give intimation of it to the Barings; and there were they and Mr. Sergeant Wilde. It is not for me to say what these men said in Parliament; but it is for me to say that the Morning Chronicle published under their names the most outrageous abuse and most atrocious accusations against Mr. and Mrs. Deacle; under the names of both these men, the Deacles were again accused of acts of felony, though
honourably acquitted at Winchester, in the manner before described; and while the dirty printers, Jacob and Johnson, circulated these calumnies against Mr. and Mrs. Deacle, they refused to publish a letter of Mr. Deacle, written in his own defence against those calumnies.

Thus stood the matter for a little while; but Mr. Deacle, unable to get any means of rebutting these slanders, petitioned, along with Mrs. Deacle, the House of Commons, by petition dated 29th July, and which petition was presented by the same Colonel Evans, on the 22d of August. It is from this petition that I have taken the statement above-mentioned. This petition, which told all the story about Long and about Barnes, seems to have astounded the men of millions. A committee was talked of, after the petition had been presented; but that went off somehow or another, and nothing was done; and nothing would have been done to this moment if the people had not taken up the matter; but they did take it up. Petitions came pouring in from all parts of the country, praying for an investigation into this affair. During two or three nights, the excuse for not appointing a committee was, that the Barings intended further legal proceedings. Member after member declared that a committee ought to be granted, but that, as further legal proceedings were intended by the Barings, the proceedings of a committee might prejudice those proceedings. Now, do mark this. Alexander Baring, saw, of course, that if the committee was prevented from this consideration, further legal proceedings must be commenced; and, therefore, he then confessed that the family had consulted lawyers, and that they had resolved not to take any further legal proceedings. Oh! now then, a committee, of course; and Colonel Evans appointed Tuesday, the 27th of September, to move for that committee; after Mr. Hume had presented a second petition calling for a
committee; after this, Colonel Evans did move for a committee, when, to the utter astonishment of all London, he was, by the mouth of Lord Althorp, opposed by the whole Government, who, upon this occasion, were joined by Peel, Goulbourn and Burdett, all of whom said that they believed that the honourable gentlemen, the Barings, most anxiously desired the committee, in order that they might clear themselves in the eyes of the public; but that it was a case which would render a committee improper.

The House at last divided, when there was a great majority against the committee. So that here are a parcel of people, telling us that they believe the Barings to be innocent, calling the Barings their honourable friends; having the greatest confidence that they would be able completely to disprove, not only the assertions of Mr. and Mrs. Deacle, but the sworn evidence of Lewington, Switzer and the servant girl. Here are they almost solemnly declaring this; and, at the same time, refusing their honourable friends the only possible means of making their innocence appear! But, my friends, mark particularly what the reporter ascribes to Lord Althorp. The reporter says, that he pledged his honour, as a gentleman, that "he opposed the motion with great unwillingness, because he had a high esteem for the honourable member for Portsmouth (Francis Baring), and it gave him great pain to do anything which might prevent that gentleman from setting himself right in the estimation of the public." This he declared upon the word of a man of honour and a gentleman! After which, I think we may with propriety call him "the man of honour, and the gentleman."

People of Hampshire particularly, if any of you, either at Portsmouth or Winchester or anywhere else, have entertained a thought of electing any one or more of these Barings to represent you, and especially if any one should apply
to you to promise them your votes, give the applicant this sensible and honest answer: "It is my duty, above all "things, to take care that the man that I vote for, shall not "be suspected of a disposition to put the liberty and lives "of myself and my countrymen in jeopardy: two of these "Barings stand accused of the memorable acts com- "mited at Marwell; and, until they be cleared of that "charge, I should regard myself as an infamous villain if I "voted for either of them, or for any of their abettors or up- "holders." If the applicant answer, that the Barings most earnestly want an investigation in order that they may clear themselves; but that the Ministers and the House will not let them have it, your reply is, "That is very strange: "the Ministers call them their honourable friends, and one "of them is a Lord of the Treasury, and a relation of the "Prime Minister: most strange it is, therefore, that, if the "Ministers believe them to be capable of proving their "innocence, they will not grant them the means of proving "it, and of thereby crushing the Deacles for ever; of re- "moving completely the accusation from the families of the "Grange and Stratton, causing the whole people to rush "forward in their behalf, making them the most popular "men in the county, and, in fact, giving them the com- "mand of it." If the applicant for votes for the Barings shall persevere, and say that the Ministers are obstinate, are resolved not to give their friends an opportunity of proving their innocence, which they so easily might do, the final an- swer of every honest man will be, "Well, then, I cannot "help that; I cannot be sure of their innocence until Mr. "and Mrs. Deacle's prayer be granted; I cannot be sure "of their innocence until it be proved, and therefore, if the "Ministers do not give way in behalf of their honourable "friends, I must choose somebody else; for this is a thing "such as was never heard of before in the world. Suppose
"my son to be accused of some great offence which
"makes him wholly unfit to associate with anybody
"but downright tyrannical brutes: Suppose me to be
"thoroughly convinced of his innocence; suppose the
"case to be such as that he can prove his innocence in
"a minute, and without a farthing of expense, and that it
"only requires my consent to his going into that proof,
"would not all the world condemn me as the worst brute
"in nature, if I refused that consent? If, indeed, I believe
"him to be guilty, or if I strongly suspected it, then I should
"prefer his continuing without an attempt to produce the
"proof of his innocence, to his having a trial that must end
"in his conviction." Here is not a son here; but here is
something very near it. FRANCIS BARING is accused by
Mrs. Deacle of hauling her up, and holding her arm while
the handcuff is put upon it; then dragging her along with
such violence as to pull her hand out of the bolt which is
held to her merely by the ruffle which has caught in the
snap of the bolt. She further accuses him of dragging her
into the yard without any cover upon her head, of lugging
her across the yard like a furze bavin, under his arm,
then hoisting her up into the coal-cart, where there is
Nevill to pull her by the arms as if she were a calf
or a sheep going into the cart of a butcher. This is
what Mrs. Deacle asserts respecting the conduct of
FRANCIS T. BARING. This man has married the niece of
the Prime Minister, Lord Grey. Lord Grey must have
seen this over and over again. He must have talked the
subject over with this Baring himself, as well as with
others. He must have talked to the ATTORNEY-GENERAL
about it; now, then, suppose yourself, reader, in the place
of Lord Grey; here is the husband of his niece; here is
a Lord of the Treasury immediately under himself in his
own department; here is the heir of his father, who has a
great estate. Now, if Lord Grey thought this man innocent of this charge, do you believe that he would refuse him the only means that there are in the world of proving that innocence? I desire you, reader, once more to look at all the circumstances; once more to look at the nature of the charge which Mrs. Deacle prefers; once more to see what danger, not only from present unpopularity, but from lasting impression, this young man is exposed to from this charge remaining disproved; once more, then, put yourself in the place of Lord Grey, and consider him to be a man of sound judgment and of great experience, feeling most acutely, as he must, the doubts which this affair is exciting with regard to the motives and character of his ministry; knowing, as he must, the uneasiness, the troubles, the ceaseless anxieties that it is causing in the several families of the Bарings, in his brother's family and his own family too; knowing, as he must, that the eyes of the whole nation are upon him, watching his conduct as to this affair; and well knowing, as he must, that a committee which would prove the innocence of the Bарings, would, in one single day, scatter all these troubles to the winds: put yourself in his place, reader, and then say whether you believe, that, if he was convinced that the Bарings were innocent, he would refuse this committee.

At any rate, and at all events, until the committee be granted, you have a ready answer to every one who attempts to bespeak your vote for a Baring. You cannot give the vote until the charge be removed; if these Ministers will not consent to suffer it to be removed; if the honourable friends of the Barings will not suffer their innocence to be made appear, they must wait with patience till their enemies get into Parliament, when that which friendship will not grant enmity probably may!
Two-penny Trash; 1st October, 1831.

Here the case stops at present; but here it cannot stop long. The people will continue to petition. New petitions will come, and those who have already petitioned, will petition again. Every petition gives the thing a stir up; and, at last, we shall get justice. If justice acquit the magistrates, if justice declare Mr. and Mr. Deacle culpable and the Barings and Long innocent, then we shall be satisfied; then we shall not think ourselves in jeopardy; then we shall know that an innocent woman has not been handcuffed and jolted in a cart and crammed into a jail; and then we shall have the satisfaction to know that Beckett did not call Barnes out of the dock to Long, who was a grand-juryman at the same time; but, unless there be a committee, unless the honourable friends of the Barings will grant them a committee to prove their innocence, while the other parties are praying for it too, it would be to proclaim ourselves to the world as brute beasts, to entertain any doubt at all upon the matter, or to act upon any other ground than that of the allegations as they lie before us.

I am, my Friends and Countrymen,

Your faithful and most obedient Servant,

W.M. COBBETT.
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Mr. Cobbett's List of Books.

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For the Month of November, 1831.

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TO THE

WORKING PEOPLE,

ON THE SCHEME FOR WITHHOLDING THE

TEN-POUND SUFFRAGE IN GREAT TOWNS.

Winchester, 27th October, 1831.

My Friends,

You, who do all the bodily labour, who make to come all the food, all the drink, all the clothing, all the houses, all the horses and carriages; you, without whose help those who do not work would be starved to death, or would die with cold; you, who are at once the only source of the country's wealth, and the only means of its security; to you I now address myself on the subject of the Reform Bill, and especially on that part of it which relates to the Ten-Pound Voters. Since the Bill was rejected by the Peers, or, rather by the Bishops, the disputes on the subject have chiefly turned on the intention of the ministers with regard to the next bill: first, with regard to the time

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of proposing it; next, with regard to the means of carrying it; but with me, the main consideration has been, the provisions of the next bill. The ministers confess, that it is not to be the same bill; but they say that it shall be one "quite as efficient;" though they, all the while, take special care not to tell us what it is to be! I, therefore, do not confide in them, and I am persuaded that all those persons who have been expressing confidence in them, will find that they have been the sport of those who have, in a very crafty manner, been urging them on to adopt addresses containing such expressions, at the moment when the ministers themselves say, that there are to be "alterations" in that Bill (by which Bill they said they would stand or fall), and when they will not tell us what those alterations are to be!

The slang of the day is, that it is to be a Bill "quite as efficient" as the last. But here is a phrase, here are three words, about the meaning of which, as applied here, whole volumes may be written, and with a fair show of sound argument on both sides. They say, however, that there are to be "alterations;" and, as they will not tell us what those are to be, we have, in the first place, a right to presume that they will make the Bill less consonant with the rights and wishes of the people. This we have, at the very least, a clear right to presume; and, then, we are at perfect liberty to guess at the intended alterations, and to offer, beforehand, our objections to them. This is what I am now about to do with regard to one of what I believe to be the intended alterations; namely, the raising of the sum of rent, required as a qualification for voting, in large towns. I believe, that there will be many alterations in the Bill, every one tending to abridge the benefits which the people would have derived from the late Bill; but I shall at present confine myself to this one alteration; the nature
and tendency of which, I ought, however, clearly to explain before I proceed to show how unjust, how insolent, how foolish, and how dreadfully mischievous, such an alteration would be.

The Bill, which the Bishops have caused to be rejected, provides, that in all cities and towns, which are, in future, to send members to parliament, every man, who pays a rent of ten pounds a year, shall have a vote; and, as the rents in great towns are high, this would give votes to great numbers of persons; and would, of course, give to the working people some share in the choosing of members of parliament; and this I believe to be the main thing, or one of the main things, that it is now intended to alter, so as to make the yearly rent in great towns higher than ten pounds; and thereby to cause the voters to be four-fifths, if not nine-tenths, less in number; and by that means give the working people no share at all in the choosing of those who are to make the laws affecting their liberties and lives!

The pretence for doing this is, that it is not fair to give a vote to a ten-pound renter in a great town when you give no more than a vote to a ten-pound renter in a small town, where rents are not half so high, and where no working man pays a rent of ten pounds. "Not fair!" Why, then, to make it fair, give votes to five-pound renters in small towns! That is the way to make it fair, unless you have the impudence and the folly to declare openly that you mean, by hook or by crook, to EXCLUDE THE WORKING PEOPLE ALTOGETHER, and even every parent, relation, or friend of the working people! Declare this openly at once, and then the working people will know how they stand, and what they ought to do; but, do not attempt to deceive them by false pretences about "fair-play!" The Bill that has been rejected, effectually shuts all the working class out of the voting in counties and
in small towns. In the choosing of seven members out of eight, they would have no share at all, even according to the rejected Bill, which was sufficiently bad in that respect; but if the alteration that I am speaking of be made, it will shut them out altogether, and they will enjoy no more of political rights than the slaves in Virginia or Jamaica enjoy.

But do I believe, can I believe, that such a monstrous scheme is on foot, and that such an alteration is intended? I can believe it: I do believe it: and, it is because I do believe it that I condemn, in any one and in every one, all expression of confidence in the Ministers. But why do I believe it? That is well asked; and I will frankly answer. In the first place, the ten-pound suffrage was the most weighty objection, the thing most bitterly complained of, by all the Lords who opposed the Bill: secondly, this part of the Bill was not defended by any of the Ministers: and, thirdly, the Lord Chancellor, who spoke at nearly the close of the debate, clearly, to the best of my comprehension, expressed himself ready to make alterations in this part of the bill; and, of course, those alterations were to have been such as to remove the ground of the objections of the opposing Lords; that is to say, such as to raise the standard of the suffrage in all the great towns. This is a matter of vast importance: it is a vital matter: it is the all in all of the Bill, because it is here, and here only, that it holds out anything like hope to the millions: and, therefore, let us have, here, the very words of the Lord Chancellor.

At the beginning of his speech (8th Oct.) he said, "I have " listened with profound attention to the debate, of which " this, I believe, will be the last night, and which has al- " ready occupied five days, and having heard a vast variety " of objections, having weighed the arguments on both sides,
"and careless whether I give offence in any quarter, I must say, that I am so far moved by some points urged as to be ready to reconsider some matters upon which I had deemed that my mind was sufficiently made up." After an hour or two of very unmeaning stuff, he came to this: "In London and the great towns, in the Tower Ham-" lets, in Lambeth, and the like, ten pounds is a low quali-" fication; but in other places it is not. TWENTY " POUNDS was ORIGINALLY DESTINED for the " qualification; but, upon inquiry into the circumstances of " the small towns, we were induced to abandon it. But if " noble Lords, speaking upon the question in general, choose " to object to this qualification that it is uniform, and say " that it ought to be different in divers places—lower in the " smaller towns, and higher in the larger—I will not say " that I agree with them; I will not say what was originally " my opinion—I will not tell the reasons that now recom-" mend the bill, as it stands, to my support; but I will say " that whoever holds that doctrine will find me ready to se-" cure for him the most ample—the most scrutinizing—the " most candid discussion of the subject in the Committee. " I speak as an individual; candour compels me to say " thus much. But I, at the same time, say that it is em-" phatically a subject for the Committee."

Now, mark; I, in commenting on these passages, said, that they showed two things; first, that Brougham meant, by his declared carelessness about whom he might offend, to indicate his readiness to abandon Lord Grey; and next, that Brougham was ready to give up the ten-pound suffrage. Mark, I say! Mark, that he has most stoutly and vehemently disclaimed all intention to quit Lord Grey; but he has not said a word, nor has Lord Grey said a word, in the way of disclaiming the intention to give up the ten-pound suffrage! Pray mark that! Observe, besides, that twenty pounds was, at first, intended. Ay, my friends, and it
was, at first, intended not to disfranchise any one rotten borough; but, merely to take one member from each of the very rottenest of them, open the voting to the hundreds around them all, make them all still more rotten than they are, and to give members to a few great towns with a twenty-pound suffrage! That, I say, was their first Bill. If that be not true, let the Courier deny it, and tell us how the first Bill differed, substantially, from what I have here described.

Such are my reasons for believing that the intention of the Ministers is to take the ten-pound suffrage from the great towns, and thus to shut out from all share in the power of choosing members of Parliament every man of those working millions, about a quarter of a million of whom the leaders at Birmingham are causing to shout for confidence in these very Ministers, and which shout, and the like shouts, for confidence in them, will, if anything can, enable these Ministers to carry their intention into effect!

Let us now look at the injustice, the insolence, and the folly of the thing intended. For the people, for the working people, to have consented to give a trial to the rejected Bill, was showing unparalleled forbearance, was making an enormous sacrifice of clear right for the sake of peace; no right, not even that of enjoying life and limb, being clearer than the right of every man of sane mind, and unstained by indelible crime, to have a voice in the choosing of those who are to make the laws affecting his liberty and life. Let me, however, upon this occasion, throw down the gauntlet to our foes; let me prove the right; and, when I have done that, let those who have the audacity to call the ten-pound suffrage "a boon" which they have a right to withhold, again call upon the nation for "confidence." This right is the great and important matter; and, therefore, my friends, lend me your patient attention, while I go to the very foundation of it, and show that it is built upon the rock of reason and of justice; that it is founded in the law of nature.
itself; that it belongs to man as completely as does his right to eat or to breathe. Attend patiently, my friends, while I prove this; and, when I have done that, let us, if we be able, express suitable scorn at those who are bawling for "confidence" in men, who will not tell us that they do not intend to withhold the pitiful portion of this right which the ten-pound suffrage would restore to you.

Time was when all the inhabitants of this island laid claim to all things in it, without the words owner or property being known. God had given to all the people all the land and all the trees, and everything else, just as he has given the burrows and the grass to the rabbits, and the bushes and the berries to the birds; and each man had the good things of this world in a greater or less degree in proportion to his skill, his strength, and his valour. This is what is called living under the Law of Nature; that is to say, the law of self-preservation and self-enjoyment, without any restraint imposed by a regard for the good of our neighbours.

In process of time, no matter from what cause, men made amongst themselves a compact, or an agreement, to divide the land and its products in such manner that each should have a share to his own exclusive use, and that each man should be protected in the exclusive enjoyment of his share by the united power of the rest; and, in order to ensure the due and certain application of this united power, the whole of the people agreed to be bound by regulations, called Laws. Thus arose civil society; thus arose property; thus arose the words mine and thine. One man became possessed of more good things than another, because he was more industrious, more skilful, or more frugal: so that labour, of one sort or another, was the foundation of all property.
In what manner civil societies proceeded in providing for the making of laws and for the enforcing of them; the various ways in which they took measures to protect the weak against the strong; how they have gone to work to secure wealth against the attacks of poverty; these are subjects that it would require volumes to detail: but these truths are written on the heart of man; namely, that all men are, by nature, equal; that civil society can never have arisen from any motive other than that of the benefit of the whole; that, whenever civil society makes the greater part of the people worse off than they were under the Law of Nature, the civil compact is, in conscience, dissolved, and all the rights of nature return; that, in civil society, the rights and the duties go hand in hand, and that when the former are taken away, the latter cease to exist.

Now, then, in order to act well our part, as citizens, or members of the community, we ought clearly to understand what our rights are; for, on our enjoyment of these depend our duties, rights going before duties, as value received goes before payment. I know well, that just the contrary of this is taught by those who fatten on our toil; for they tell us, that our first duty is to obey the laws; and it is not many years ago that Horsley, bishop of Rochester, told us, that the people had nothing to do with the laws but to obey them. The truth is, however, that the citizen's first duty is to maintain his rights, as it is the purchaser's first duty to receive the thing for which he has contracted.

Our rights in society are numerous; the right of enjoying life and property; the right of exerting our physical and mental powers in an innocent manner; but the great right of all, and without which there is, in fact, no right, is, the right of taking a part in the making of the laws, by which
we are governed. This right is founded in that law of Nature spoken of above; it springs out of the very principle of civil society; for what compact, what agreement, what common assent, can possibly be imagined by which men would give up all the rights of nature, all the free enjoyment of their bodies and their minds, in order to subject themselves to rules and laws, in the making of which they should have nothing to say, and which should be enforced upon them without their assent? The great right, therefore, of every man, the right of rights, is the right of having a share in the making of the laws, to which the good of the whole makes it his duty to submit.

With regard to the means of enabling every man to enjoy this share, they have been different, in different countries, and, in the same countries, at different times. Generally it has been, and in great communities it must be, by the choosing of a few to speak and act in behalf of the many: and, as there will hardly ever be perfect unanimity amongst men assembled for any purpose whatever, where fact and argument are to decide the question, the decision is left to the majority, the compact being that the decision of the majority shall be that of the whole. Minors are excluded from this right, because the law considers them as infants, because it makes the parent answerable for civil damages committed by them, and because of their legal incapacity to make any compact. Women are excluded because husbands are answerable in law for their wives, as to their civil damages, and because the very nature of their sex makes the exercise of this right incompatible with the harmony and happiness of society. Men stained with indelible crimes are excluded, because they have forfeited their right by violating the laws to which their assent has been given. Insane persons are excluded, because they are dead in the eye of the law, because the law demands no duty at their
hands, because they cannot violate the law, because the law cannot affect them; and, therefore, they ought to have no hand in making it.

But, with these exceptions, where is the ground whereon to maintain that any man ought to be deprived of this right, which he derives directly from the law of Nature, and which springs, as I said before, out of the same source with civil society itself? Am I told, that property ought to confer this right? Property sprang from labour, and not labour from property; so that if there were to be a distinction here, it ought to give the preference to labour. All men are equal by nature; nobody denies that they all ought to be equal in the eye of the law: but how are they to be thus equal, if the law begin by suffering some to enjoy this right and refusing the enjoyment to others? It is the duty of every man to defend his country against an enemy, a duty imposed by the law of nature as well as by that of civil society, and without the recognition of this duty, there could exist no independent nation and no civil society. Yet, how are you to maintain that this is the duty of every man, if you deny to some men the enjoyment of a share in making the laws? Upon what principle are you to contend for equality here, while you deny its existence as to the right of sharing in the making of the laws? The poor man has a body and a soul as well as the rich man; like the latter, he has parents, wife and children; a bullet or a sword is as deadly to him as to the rich man; there are hearts to ache and tears to flow for him as well as for the squire or the lord or the loan-monger: yet, notwithstanding this equality, he is to risk all, and, if he escape, he is still to be denied an equality of rights! If, in such a state of things, the artisan or labourer, when called out to fight in defence of his country, were to answer: "Why should I risk my life? I have no possession but my labour; no enemy will take that from
"me; you, the rich, possess all the land and all its pro-
ducts; you make what laws you please without my parti-
cipation or assent; you punish me at your pleasure; you
say that my want of property excludes me from the right
of having a share in the making of the laws; you say
that the property that I have in my labour is nothing
worth; on what ground, then, do you call on me to risk
"my life?" If, in such a case, such questions were put,
the answer is very difficult to be imagined.

In cases of civil commotion the matter comes still more
home to us. On what ground is the rich man to call the
artisan from his shop or the labourer from the field to join
the sheriff's possé or militia, if he refuse to the labourer and
artisan the right of sharing in the making of the laws?
Why are they to risk their lives here? To uphold the
laws, and to protect property? What! laws, in the mak-
ing of, or assenting to, which, they have been allowed to
have no share? Property, of which they are said to pos-
sess none? What! compel men to come forth and risk
their lives for the protection of property; and then, in the
same breath, tell them, that they are not allowed to share
in the making of the laws, because, and ONLY BECAUSE,
they have no property! Not because they have commit-
ted any crime; not because they are idle or profligate; not
because they are vicious in any way; but solely because
they have no property; and yet at the same time compel
them to come forth and risk their lives for the protection
of property!

But, the paupers? Ought they to share in the making
of the laws? And why not? What is a pauper; what is
one of the men to whom this degrading appellation is ap-
plied? A very poor man; a man who is, from some cause
or other, unable to supply himself with food and raiment
without aid from the parish-rates. And is that circum-
stance alone to deprive him of his right, a right of which he stands more in need than any other man? Perhaps he has, for many years of his life, contributed directly to those rates, and ten thousand to one he has, by his labour, contributed to them indirectly. The aid which, under such circumstances, he receives, is his right; he receives it not as an alms: he is no mendicant; he begs not; he comes to receive that which the law of the country awards him in lieu of the larger portion assigned him by the law of nature.

Is it, then, consistent with justice, with humanity, with reason, to deprive a man of the most precious of his political rights, because, and only because, he has been, in a pecuniary way, singularly unfortunate? The Scripture says, "Despise not the poor, because he is poor;" that is to say, despise him not on account of his poverty. Why then deprive him of his right; why put him out of the pale of the law on account of his poverty? There are some men, to be sure, who are reduced to poverty by their vices, by idleness, by gaming, by drinking, by squandering; but the far greater part by bodily ailments, by misfortunes, to the effects of which all men may, without any fault, and even without any folly, be exposed: and is there a man on earth so cruelly unjust as to wish to add to the sufferings of such persons by stripping them of their political rights? How many thousands of industrious and virtuous men have, within these few years, been brought down from a state of competence to that of pauperism! And is it just to strip such men of their rights, merely because they are thus brought down? When I was at Ely, in the spring of last year, there were, in that neighbourhood, three paupers cracking stones on the roads, who had all three been, not only rate-payers, but overseers of the poor, within seven years of the day when I was there. Is there any man so barbarous as to say, that these men ought, merely on account of their misfortunes, to be deprived of
their political rights? Their right to receive relief is as perfect as any right of property; and would you, merely because they claim this right, strip them of another right? To say no more of the injustice and the cruelty, is there reason, is there common sense, in this? What! if a farmer or tradesman be, by flood or by fire, so totally ruined as to be compelled, surrounded by his family, to resort to the parish-book, would you break the last heart-string of such a man by making him feel the degrading loss of his political rights?

Here, here is the point, on which we are to take our stand. There are always men enough to plead the cause of the rich; enough and enough to echo the woes of the fallen great; but, be it our part to show compassion for, and maintain the rights of, those who labour. Poverty is not a crime, and, though it sometimes arises from faults, it is not, even in that case, to be visited by punishment beyond that which it brings with itself. Remember, that poverty is decreed by the very nature of man. The Scripture says, that "the poor shall never cease from out of the land;" that is to say, that there shall always be some very poor people. This is inevitable from the very nature of things. It is necessary to the existence of mankind, that a very large portion of every people should live by manual labour; and, as such labour is pain, more or less, and as no living creature likes pain, it must be, that the far greater part of labouring people will endure only just as much of this pain as is absolutely necessary to the supply of their daily wants. Experience says that this has always been, and reason and nature tell us that this must always be. Therefore, when ailments, when losses, when untoward circumstances of any sort, stop or diminish the daily supply, want comes; and every just government will provide, from the general stock, the means to satisfy this want.
Nor is the deepest poverty without its useful effects in society. To the practice of the virtues of abstinence, sobriety, care, frugality, industry, and even honesty and amiable manners and acquirement of talent, the two great motives are, to get upwards in riches or fame, and to avoid going downwards to poverty, the last of which is the most powerful of the two. It is, therefore, not with contempt, but with compassion that we should look on those whose state is one of the decrees of nature, from whose sad example we profit, and to whom, in return, we ought to make compensation by every indulgent and kind act in our power, and particularly by a defence of their rights. To those who labour, we, who labour not with our hands, owe all that we eat, drink, and wear; all that shades us by day and that shelters us by night; all the means of enjoying health and pleasure; and therefore, if we possess talent for the task, we are ungrateful or cowardly, or both, if we omit any effort within our power to prevent them from being slaves; and, disguise the matter how we may, a slave, a real slave, every man is, who has no share in making the laws which he is compelled to obey.

What is a slave? For, let us not be amused by a name; but look well into the matter. A slave is, in the first place, a man who has no property; and property means something that he has, and that nobody can take from him without his leave, or consent. Whatever man, no matter what he may call himself or any-body else may call him, can have his money or his goods taken from him by force, by virtue of an order, or ordinance, or law, which he has had no hand in making, and to which he has not given his assent, has no property, and is merely a depositary of the goods of his master. A slave has no property in his labour; and any man who is compelled to give up the fruit of his labour to another, at the arbitrary will of that other, has no property in his labour, and is, therefore, a slave, whether the fruit
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of his labour be taken from him directly or indirectly. If it be said that he gives up this fruit of his labour by his own will, and that it is not forced from him; I answer, To be sure he may avoid eating and drinking and may go naked; but then he must die; and on this condition, and this condition only, can he refuse to give up the fruit of his labour. “Die, wretch, or surrender as much of your income, or the fruit of your labour, as your masters choose to take.” This is, in fact, the language of the rulers to every man who is refused to have a share in the making of the laws to which he is forced to submit.

But, some one may say, slaves are private property, and may be bought and sold, out and out, like cattle. And, what is it to the slave, whether he be the property of one or of many; or, what matters it to him, whether he pass from master to master by a sale for an indefinite term, or be let to hire by the year, month, or week? It is, in no case, the flesh and blood and bones that are sold, but the labour; and, if you actually sell the labour of man, is not that man a slave, though you sell it for only a short time at once? And, as to the principle, so ostentatiously displayed in the case of the black slave-trade, that “man ought not to have a property in man,” it is even an advantage to the slave to be private property, because the owner has then a clear and powerful interest in the preservation of his life, health and strength, and will, therefore, furnish him amply with the food and raiment necessary for this end. Every one knows that public property is never so well taken care of as private property; and this, too, on the maxim, that “that which is every-body’s business is nobody’s business.” Every one knows that a rented farm is not so well kept in heart, as a farm in the hands of the owner. And, as to punishment and restraints, what difference is there, whether these be inflicted and imposed by a private owner, or
his overseer, or by the agents and overseers of a body of proprietors? In short, if you can cause a man to be imprisoned or whipped if he do not work enough to please you; if you can sell him by auction for a time limited; if you can forcibly separate him from his wife to prevent their having children; if you can shut him up in his dwelling place when you please, and for as long a time as you please; if you can force him to draw a cart or wagon like a beast of draught; if you can, when the humour seizes you, and at the suggestion of your mere fears, or whim, cause him to be shut up in a dungeon during your pleasure: if you can, at your pleasure, do these things to him, is it not to be insolently hypocritical to affect to call him a free man? But, after all, these may all be wanting, and yet the man be a slave, if he be allowed to have no property; and, as I have shown, no property he can have, not even in that labour which is not only property, but the basis of all other property, unless he have a share in making the laws to which he is compelled to submit.

It is said, that he may have this share virtually though not in form and name; for that his employers may have such share, and they will, as a matter of course, act for him. This doctrine, pushed home, would make the chief of the nation the sole maker of the laws; for, if the rich can thus act for the poor, why should not the King act for the rich? This matter is very completely explained by the practice in the United States of America. There the general rule is, that every free man, with the exception of men stained with crime and men insane, has a right to have a voice in choosing those who make the laws. The number of representatives sent to the Congress is, in each state, proportioned to the number of free people. But as there are slaves in some of the states, these states have a certain portion of additional numbers on account of those
slaves! Thus the slaves are represented by their owners; and this is real, practical, open and undisguised virtual representation! No doubt that white men may be represented in the same way; for the colour of the skin is nothing; but let them be called slaves, then; let it not be pretended that they are free men; let not the word liberty be polluted by being applied to their state; let it be openly and honestly avowed, as in America, that they are slaves; and then will come the question whether men ought to exist in such a state, or whether they ought to do every thing in their power to rescue themselves from it.

If the right to have a share in making the laws were merely a feather; if it were a fanciful thing; if it were only a speculative theory; if it were but an abstract principle; on any of these suppositions, it might be considered as of little importance. But it is none of these; it is a practical matter; the want of it not only is, but must of necessity be, felt by every man who lives under that want. If it were proposed to the shopkeepers in a town, that a rich man or two, living in the neighbourhood, should have power to send whenever they pleased, and take away as much as they pleased of the money of the shopkeepers, and apply it to what uses they pleased; what an outcry the shopkeepers would make! And yet, what would this be more than taxes imposed on those who have no voice in choosing the persons who impose them? Who lets another man put his hand into his purse when he pleases? Who that has the power to help himself, surrenders his goods or his money to the will of another? Has it not always been, and must it not always be, true, that, if your property be at the absolute disposal of others, your ruin is certain? And if this be, of necessity, the case amongst individuals and parts of the community, it must be the case with regard to the whole community.
Ay, and experience shows us that it always has been the case. The natural and inevitable consequences of a want of this right in the people have, in all countries, been taxes pressing the industrious and laborious to the earth; severe laws and standing armies to compel the people to submit to those taxes; wealth, luxury, and splendour, amongst those who make the laws and receive the taxes; poverty, misery, immorality, amongst those who bear the burdens; and, at last, commotion, revolt, revenge, and rivers of blood. Such have always been, and such must always be, the consequences of a want of this right of all men to share in the making of the laws, a right, as I have before shown, derived immediately from the law of nature, springing up out of the same source with civil society, and cherished in the heart of man by reason and by experience.

Such is the foundation of this right, and such are the general consequences of a want of the enjoyment of it; of all which consequences, the last only excepted, we have already amply tasted in this country. If this right had been enjoyed in England, should we have seen the families of the aristocracy fed from the pension and sinecure lists; that is to say, on the fruit of the people's labour? Should we have seen men transported for seven years for what is called poaching; that is to say, for taking, or attempting to take, wild animals, and thereby disturb the sports of the rich? Should we have seen laws inflicting ruin, and, contingently, destruction of body, on the people, for turning barley into malt, or gathering hops from their hedges? Should we have seen old men, and even women, harnessed and made to draw carts and wagons like beasts of burden? Should we have seen a law to hang a man for striking another without doing him any bodily harm? Should we have seen Lords Guildford and Walsingham (both of whom voted against the Reform Bill) with four church-livings each, while those
who do the duties of the parishes are little better off than labouring men? Should we have seen the Dean and Chapter of Ely taking away the great tithes of the parish of Lekenheath, a Vicar (who has another living) taking away the small tithes, while a curate with ten children, has seventy-five pounds a year allowed him, and no house to live in, and who digs, like a common labourer, to raise potatoes as his almost only food? Should we have seen the military and naval academies, for the purpose of educating the children of the rich, by means of taxes raised on the poor? Should we have seen the magistrates allow, for the maintenance of the hard-working man, not half so much as the subsistence of the lowest common soldier? Should we have seen that soldier receive and send his letters postage-free, while the working man is compelled to pay an enormous tax (besides the cost of carriage) on his letters? Should we have seen any of these things? Should we ever have seen Pitt's and Sidmouth's and Castlereagh's dungeoning and gagging Bills? And would our miserable fellow-subjects in Ireland ever have seen laws to shut them up in their houses from sun-set to sun-rise on pain of transportation? Would they ever have seen any of the scores of horrid scenes of which that of Newtownbarry is only one? And, should we ever have been covered with the eternal disgrace of leaving them without poor-laws, while thousands upon thousands of them have died from starvation, after having eked out their existence by feeding on sea-weed and other such things, while the ports of their fine country were crowded with ships and steam-boats, carrying away its beef, pork, flour, butter, sheep, hogs, and poultry? Should we ever have heard of a surplus-population and a surplus-produce at the same time? Should we ever have heard of taxes, raised for the purpose of getting the working people out of the country, while the lands are half cultivated; and (for I must
stop somewhere) should we ever have seen, at the same
time, enormous taxes raised in order to give premiums to the
idlers to increase their numbers? No: none of these things
should we ever have seen; nor any of these corn-laws, com-
bination-laws, or laws about truck, or about Sturges
Bourne; for neither of these things would have found a
place in the mind of man.

Well, then, if such be the foundation and nature of this
right; if the consequences of a want of its enjoyment be
such; and if, with the exceptions above-stated, it is clearly
a right belonging to every man, what injustice to attempt
to withhold it even from the small portion of working men
to whom this rejected bill would have yielded it! And
what impudence, what insolence, to accord this right to a
tax or tithe-eater, who is, only by taxes or tithes, enabled
to live in a house of twenty pounds a-year, while you with-
hold it from the man from whose labour come those taxes
and those tithes! The bare thought of such insolence awakens
indignation that sets utterance at defiance! Go, Denman;
go to Nottingham again, and tell them there that you
belong to a ministry who think right to take away,
directly, the suffrages of out-lying voters, and, in future,
of all burgesses and freemen; and who have now found out,
that a rent of ten pounds a year, in great towns, is too low
to qualify a man to give a vote for a member to serve in
Parliament! Go, Denman; go and tell them that! You
need not, then, put forward your claims on them for your
trouble in the prosecution of me and for your mighty and
anxious labours in Hampshire and Wiltshire. You have
only to tell them that! Ah! but, will you not be pre-
served from this for six years to come! I verily believe,
that even that will be attempted.

Let it! I would much rather it should, than that this
withholding of the ten-pound suffrage should take place.
1st November, 1831.

What did I support the Reform Bill for? Not because it gave all that I thought it ought to give. It was expressly stated by the advocates of the Bill, that the ballot and the duration of Parliaments were to become subjects of distinct and subsequent discussion. The suffrage was the great matter; and though it fell far short of justice to the working people, I saw that, by making the standard so low as ten pounds rent in the great towns, the working people would, in a few years, return from fifty to a hundred members, who would be likely to maintain their rights. I saw the injustice of shutting out the agricultural labourers, as the Bill completely did; but then I knew, that it was impossible for a member to be faithful to the interests of the weaver and to neglect those of the hedger and the ploughman. I saw but a few members, comparatively, to be returned by the working people; but then I knew that those few would be REAL MEN; and that Baring saw too, when he foreboded that the great towns would send “pushing men, who would look into all the papers laid before the House.” I saw these things; and on this ground, and no other, I supported the Reform-Bill.

But, if the ten-pound suffrage be to be raised, or, if it be to be so altered, by transferring it from rent to rate, or in any manner to lessen the number of voters in the great towns; then I say, that the bill is an evil, clearly an evil, instead of a good; for then it will be a bill to disfranchise the few working men who now have votes, and not to enfranchise one single working man in the whole kingdom! It will immediately disfranchise the out-lying burgesses and freemen, and also disfranchise the scot-and-lot voters; and it will, in a short time, disfranchise the resident burgesses and freemen; while to not one single working man in any part of the kingdom will it give a vote; and, with regard to political rights, all the working millions of this
Two-penny Trash;

kingdom will be "virtually represented;" that is to say, by their masters, precisely as the blacks in Virginia are by theirs!

And I am to express my "confidence," am I, in a ministry who, I fear (and have given reasons for my fearing), entertain a design to do this act of insolent injustice! Of all men I shall be the most ready and the most happy to find, and to acknowledge, that my fears have been unfounded; and, in that case, I shall again be ready to give "the whole bill" a "fair trial;" and shall be the last man in England to cavil at the acts of ministers, or to do anything to annoy them, or make their course difficult. But, as things now stand; with announced "alterations" in the Bill; with the nature of those alterations kept a secret from us; and with the speech of the Lord Chancellor before our eyes, it would not only be folly, but downright baseness, in me, and treachery to you, the working people, were I to refrain from expressing beforehand my opinions upon the subject.

If this foul deed should be attempted in a new bill, I shall lose not a moment in petitioning against that bill myself; and I shall advise all others, and especially the working people, to do the same. I would fain have ground for hoping that the necessity will not arise; but, if the new bill contain any-thing, no matter what, to lessen the number of voters in the great towns; then let the working people in those towns, and in the small towns and the counties also, turn with scorn from the preachers up of patience! What was the ground on which I gave my support to the Bill? I saw that it would immediately disfranchise all non-resident voters, and, in a short time, all the working people who now have votes; but I saw, on the other hand, that, by giving a vote to ten-pound renters in the great towns, it would insure the return of from fifty to a hundred members, by the free and uncorrupt voices of the working
people; and I knew that those members would soon cause to be done those things which ought to be done. But, if this provision of the bill be taken out, or damaged, am I still to approve of the bill! Am I to see disfranchised all the working men who now vote, and to see no working men enfranchised in their stead; am I to see, by a false and base pretence about "ununiformity," the qualification in great towns so raised as to lessen that number of working voters, which is, according to the bill, already too small; am I to see, in addition to the working country-people, those of the great towns premeditatedly stripped of their rights; am I to see the few oligarchs of the boroughs exchanged for a swarm of oligarchs, one of whom is to be found in every counting-house, and in every great homestead; am I to call that "a Reform" which will be manifestly intended to disfranchise the whole of the working people, and to make them, for ages, the slaves of a grinding, an omnipresent, never-sleeping, oligarchy of money, with little finger heavier than the loins of the boroughmongers: suspecting this to be intended, am I to express my "confidence" in those by whom I think the intention to be entertained! Paralysed be my hand when I write, blistered and burnt up be my tongue when I pronounce, such "confidence;" and, eternal shame be the lot of all those who (suspecting as I do) are calling on the people to express or repose such "confidence!"

My friends, be not deceived, be not cajoled, be prepared! The moment I arrive at the certainty that the Ministers intend to do this thing, I will give you my advice as to several steps that you ought to take. In the meanwhile,

I remain, your faithful Friend,

Wm. COBBETT.
Mr. Cobbett's List of Books.

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.

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 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 Poor Man's Friend (Price 2d.) 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 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 Abbeys, 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 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.

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.)


Mr. WM. Cobbett's Law of Turnpikes (Price 3s. 6d.)

[Printed by Wm. Cobbett, Johnson's-court, Fleet-street.]
My Friends,

There never was a subject of such importance as this, presented to the attention of any people in the world; for, if I be correct in my opinions, here are the means pointed out of doubling, at the least, the quantity of food, which the land of this country can be made to produce without the cultivation of this corn. My eldest son, to whom belongs all the praise due to the introduction of this article of food, urged me to the undertaking, on the ground that the introduction of the plant into general use would have such prodigious effect; and the impression made upon my mind by his calculations and his reasoning, induced me to yield to his request.

London: Published by the Author, 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street; and sold by all Booksellers.
It is to speak greatly within bounds, to state, that, on an average, this corn would produce, at least, ten quarters of grain to the acre, which is more than three times as much as the average crop of wheat throughout the kingdom. It stands upon the ground but five months; and admits of a crop of tares or cabbages during the other part of the year. The fodder, as I shall further on prove as clear as daylight, is worth eight pounds an acre, to speak greatly within compass. I shall prove, from incontestable evidence, that a bushel of this corn produces more flour than a bushel of the very best wheat. I shall also prove, that, in point of real utility, it is of more value, pound for pound, than wheat flour; and if I do prove all this, is not the introduction of this corn the greatest and most laudable undertaking of which mortal man ever had to boast? And what a wonderful effect is here from a cause the most trifling in itself! My son brought three little miserable ears of this corn to England in the year 1826, neither of them longer than my middle finger, and neither of them bigger round than a common mould-candle. I have plenty of ears from several parts of the country, seven inches long, and some ears approaching the weight of half a pound. The corn goes on increasing in size as well as in goodness of quality. I can show a bushel of ears equal even in size to the average of the corn-ears of the general run of crops in Long Island; and, as I shall prove before I have done, our crops are four times as great as their crops, while the quality of our corn is, beyond all measure, superior to theirs. This, therefore, I scruple not to say, is the greatest thing that individual ever did for his country; and such it must be acknowledged to be, if I prove the truth of the assertions I have here made.

But it is, first of all, necessary to prove that this corn will come to perfection in this country; and that I am now
going to prove, in a manner which would close up the gain-
saying jaws of any one upon earth, the Liar only ex-
cepted. In giving an account of the corn which I have
received from the several counties, I shall begin at the
north, come on towards the south, and then go into the
east; then to the west; and then into the four southern
counties of Surrey, Kent, Sussex, and Hampshire,
ending with a very particular account of what has been
done in the parishes round about Battle, and in the little
bunch of hard parishes in the north of Hampshire.

From Mr. Duncan Anderson, of Paisley, I re-
ceived two very fine ears of corn that were gathered in the
month of September: they were not ripe, nor anything like
ripe, nor was the season come for their being ripe even in the
south of England; but Mr. Anderson had a friend coming
from Paisley to London; and he gathered the ears a
month before the time in order not to lose that opportunity.
Paisley is, I believe, four hundred miles to the north of
London. I have received a large bunch of very fine ears of
corn; not so long nor quite so large as some others, but
perfect in form, and perfectly ripe, growed, this year, by
Mr. Blakey, at Morpeth, in Northumberland, for
which I am very much obliged to that gentleman. At
Preston, in Lancashire, Mr. Wilcoxson, the editor of
the Preston Chronicle, to whom I sent a bag of corn in
the spring for distribution, informs me that several persons
to whom he gave the corn have had very fine crops at and
near that place, where it seems eight or ten persons have
cultivated the corn.

In Lincolnshire, at and near Great Grimsby, the
corn has been growed with great success. Mr. Joshua
Plaskitt, of that place, has sent me twenty-one samples
of corn, growed in and near it, all ripe, sound, and perfect,
and marked with the names of the several growers, amongst
which I have the pleasure to see that there are those of some labouring men. Mr. Paddison, of Louth, in the same county, has sent me a fine sample of corn grewed in that neighbourhood. He cannot speak to the amount of the crop, but says his corn is as fine as any that he ever saw of my growing, which indeed it appears to be, from the sample which he has sent. Seven other persons in his neighbourhood have grewed the corn, and have had very fine crops. Doctor Snaithe, at Boston, in the same county, tells me, that he himself has had a fine crop; that the ears are generally finer than those that he received from me; that he has received eight or ten samples from those to whom he gave the corn; that all who have cultivated it have had good crops, excepting one person; that the whole neighbourhood is delighted with it, and that several farmers have applied to him for information about it.

From Norfolk I have not received any specific information, nor any samples; but from Suffolk, I have received from Mr. Robert Child, of Bungay, samples of very fine corn, growed this year in several parishes of the eastern part of that county. From Mr. Clouting, of Eye, in Suffolk, I have received two ears of beautiful corn. He tells me that the corn amounts to twenty coombs per acre; that is to say, ten quarters per acre; and he tells me, that he has seen Mr. Kent, of Stanton, who tells him that he has growed, this year, full twenty coombs upon an acre, and that the shelled corn weighed 234 pounds the coomb, which is fifty-eight and a half the bushel. This falls a little short of my weight, which I shall have hereafter to state. From Ipswich I received a very fine sample of corn, and it was the first I received this year; but I mislaid the letter, and beg pardon of the writer for not having answered it.

I now go towards the west. In Berkshire I have
only to speak of some samples of very good corn raised by Mr. Budd of Burghcleare, Mr. Gray of Newbury, and Mr. Forsburg, who lives, I believe, at Newtown. In Wiltshire some beautiful corn has been grown at and near Malmesbury. I ought to have accounts from Pewsey and that neighbourhood; but they have not arrived. The corn has been grown at Fisherton, near Salisbury, by Mr. Barling, and by others, to whom he gave some of the corn sent by me. There is no better situation in the kingdom for the growth of this corn; but the farms in Wiltshire have always been large, from the very nature of that fine and beautiful county. The labourers have worse gardens than almost anywhere else; and they have been brought down closer to the infernal potato level.

From Gloucestershire, I have received a letter from Mr. Daniel Croome, of Berkeley, and twenty ears of his own crop of most excellent corn. This gentleman distributed eighty-eight ears of the corn that I sent to him to an equal number of persons in the parish and neighbourhood. He tells me, that he finds that the corn has been very productive, and ripened well; and that he finds that the leaves, and even the stems, of the corn-plant, are very good food for horses, which I well knew before, and which I have amply experienced this last summer. From Mr. Richard Iles, of Fairford, I have the following account, which I am compelled to give in abridgment; namely, that he has had, on three quarters of an acre and nine rods, an average of sixty-eight bushels of shelled corn to the acre. He having encountered many disadvantages not to be expected to be experienced in the ordinary course of things; but here, under all these disadvantages, Mr. Iles has eight quarters and a half of shelled corn to the acre, which is more than double the average amount of a crop of wheat upon regular wheat-land; and, observe, always when the wheat is seven
shillings and sixpence a bushel, the corn will be worth six shillings the bushel. From Mr. Gomme, bookseller, of Gloucester, to whom I sent a bag of the corn for distribution, I have a letter, in which he tells me that he gave the corn to fifty-seven persons, nearly all labourers; that they have all had excellent crops, and that next year, as he believes, the planting of the corn will become very general.

I now return to the south. At Farnham, in Surrey, some very fine corn has been growed by my nephew, who is a schoolmaster there; but it was small in quantity, and his land is exceedingly good. There is a part of that extensive parish called the Bourne, which in some sort resembles the seat of the Benedictine Monks in the times of the ancient and desolating wars; it is a wild common, covered with heath, with here and there a green dip, lying between the innumerable little hills; at least, such was its state when I was a little boy; and there I spent many a day, digging after rabbits'-nests, rolling down the sand-hills, and whipping the little efts that crept about in the heath. But this scene is quite changed; the land being generally too poor to attract the rich, this common has escaped enclosure bills; and every little green dip is now become a cottager's garden or field, appropriated on the principles of the law of nature; and, the Bishop being the Lord of the Manor, while the herbage is hardly worth looking after by his tenants, these appropriators have been suffered to go on, till they have formed a grand community of cottages, each with its plat of ground and its pigsty. Humble as are the dwellings of the "Bourners," they have not, it seems, wholly escaped the viper tongue of envy; and though I do not pretend that their community, like that of the ancient fathers of Saint Benedict, is, to quote the beautiful description of Mr. Southey, absolutely "a green Oasis amidst the desert;" and that, "like stars in a moonless night, it shines upon
the country round with a tranquil ray;" though I do not pretend that the Bourners are equal to the Benedictines, either in learning or in piety; though I do not pretend, that the Bourne is that "Goshen of God, which enjoys its own light amidst darkness and storms;" I do pretend that this community of cottages, "trespassers" as the occupants are, is a good thing, seeing that it gives bacon to hundreds who, without it, would have to live upon the soul-debasing potatoes. And if I live till next spring, and can possibly find the time, I will go down, and make all these Bourners cultivate my corn; and I hereby, to save postage (and not run the risk of losing a letter to Farnham, as I lost one from it), request my nephew to rent for me twenty or thirty rods of pretty good ground, in the Bourne, on the side of the Bourne towards the town, or on the flat; to give a good rent for it, and to have it dug up deep, and laid rough, as soon as he can. Standing upon their pristine privileges; like the exemplary mistress of the unfortunate Abelard,

"Scorning all laws but those by nature made;"

being stronger than I, and seeing the corn to be a good thing, the Bourners may perhaps come and exercise on it le droit du plus fort: in plain English, take it away; at which I shall not repine, if they observe but one condition; namely, not to take it till it be quite ripe! The mode in which I intend to proceed is this: to carry down a bag of corn, and to go to every Bourner that has got a pig or a fowl, show him an ear of the corn, and then toss it down to his pig or his fowl, letting him draw his information in at his eyes. They will all soon hear that I have planted a piece of that corn; and when they see the crop, the business is done, whether they see me take it away in a lump, or whether they themselves take it away in detail. Now, quitting the Bourners till the spring, I go to Chilworth, in
the same county, which lies on the south side of St. Martha's-hill, near Guildford, where Mr. Rowland's son tells me that he gave some of the corn to a labouring man, who brought him, the other day, a sparib, weighing ten pounds and a half, from a hog fattened, as Mr. Rowland understood, with the produce of the corn. At Redhill, near Reigate, in the same county, Mr. Clarence had twenty rods, which produced nine heaped bushels of corn in the ear, and from six to seven bushels of shelled corn; but he says that a great part of his corn did not ripen; and that he used part of it in the green state. He is of opinion, and so am I too, that it will not answer to grow it in considerable quantities, without the assistance of a kiln; and that is what I am going to show most clearly before I have concluded this paper. As Mr. Clarence says nothing about the fodder, I suppose he did not think of using the leaves and tops in that way; this is the worst account of the corn I ever received; but it is right that I should give the bad as well as the good.

From Kent I have received beautiful samples of corn, raised by Mr. Fish, brewer, at Maidstone; and from Tonbridge a very good account from Mr. Kipping, who says that the crops are large and well ripened, and who sends me some very beautiful samples.

In Sussex, I skip over Battle and its neighbourhood for the present, and go to Pevensey and its celebrated Level, whence Mr. Thos. Plumley writes to me, that he had destined forty rods of ground for the corn, which he planted in May, one part a little later than the other; that early in June, a flock of forty geese got in, and pulled up all that was out of the ground; so that he was obliged to transplant, and not having plants enough, he fell ten rods short; a part of his ground was planted on the 28th of May; and the plants were not out of the ground when the geese got in. He had therefore but thirty rods of ground in corn; and he says, that he shall have twenty
bushels of shelled corn, notwithstanding the injury his crop received. He says that his corn was neither topped nor bladed. He sends me six ears, which he says were taken from the plants planted on the 28th of May, and gathered about the 12th of November; so that this crop was upon the ground from the putting in of the seed to the gathering of the corn, only a hundred and sixty-eight days. Mr. Plumley says, at the close of his letter, "I have had one sack ground; it weighed two hundred and forty-eight pounds, which very much surprised me, not thinking it would weigh so much." The six ears sent by Mr. Plumley are amongst the finest that I ever saw; and one of the ears is the very largest and heaviest that I ever saw of the Cobbett-corn. Being here, just upon the edge of the water, I will step over to Guernsey, whence I have received a box of most beautiful corn. I thought it exceeded everything till I saw that of Mr. Plumley; and Mr. Plumley surpasses it only in one single ear. Some of my own is, I think, equal to the Guernsey-corn; but not quite equal to the corn of Mr. Plumley. It is truly surprising that this corn never should before have been cultivated in Guernsey and Jersey, though it has for ages and ages been cultivated at Brittany, where it is still cultivated, but in a miserable way. The gentlemen who send me these samples of corn from Guernsey are full of expressions of gratitude for the good that I have done their country.

Strange thing! The land is the same, the climate the same, that they always were; the corn has existed in the world always; its qualities have always been the same; and yet it never was cultivated even in these southern islands, until I put pen to paper on the subject. If the whole of the whig ministry were to live to the age of Methuselah, they would not do so much good in the world as I have done to these little islands alone. If this should reach the eye of
any of those gentlemen who have corn to sell, this is to inform them, and everybody else indeed, that Mr. Sapsford, corner of Queen-Anne and Wimpole streets, will purchase any quantity at three shillings for a bushel of ears of sound and dry corn. Thus, we have the corn ripening to perfection from the island of Guernsey to Paisley in Scotland! Coming back now to Sussex, I have received, through Mr. George Robinson of Lewes, a sample of very fine corn, growed by James Collins of Isfield, which, Mr. Robinson tells me, has been very much admired by many farmers and gentlemen. From Lodge farm, in the parish of Worth, Mr. Samuel Brazier sends me a very fine specimen of corn, and also a specimen of Swedish turnips, growed from my seed, one weighing nine and a half pounds and one seven pounds. Endless are the lashes which these letters lay upon the back of THE LIAR. It would be almost repetition to insert the passages describing his baseness; but I cannot help inserting the words of Mr. Brazier, so truly rustic and apt are they. "I can say nothing about Hunt, as he holds with the hounds and runs with the hare!" Brazier knows the fellow of old, and he knows Brazier well! From Chichester, in the same county, I have received a great many samples of very fine corn, the ears all ticketed, and the names of the growers put to them, and accompanied with the following letter from Mr. Richard Cosins of Chichester.

St. John's-street, Chichester, Nov. 21, 1831.

"Dear Sir,—With great pleasure I assisted Mr. Gray in the distribution of the Cobbett-corn, which you kindly sent to Chichester, in order to be planted last spring.

"We now send you some samples of the corn. The ticketed ears are the growth of the respective growers; on which tickets a few remarks are made as to the quantity planted and as to the goodness of crop; the quality of the corn will speak for itself. The unticketed ears are mostly the growth of labourers living in different parishes in the neighbourhood of Chichester, who planted
patches in their gardens, and who in most instances used a great part of it in its milky state, and the remainder of the corn has since been given to their pigs or poultry, but who in every instance have made a reserve of some of the corn to plant again; regretting they have not more ground to plant it in. Now, Sir, you may rely on it that in every instance where the corn was planted, it more than realised the expectations of the grower; and depend upon it that numbers of others will plant the corn next spring. I aspired to the honour of being your host had you reached Chichester when on your tour from Lewis to the west, an honour which I still hope to have. With sincere wishes for your health and happiness,

"I remain, dear Sir,

Your obedient and humble servant,

"RICHARD COSINS."

"Chichester, Nov. 21, 1831.

"Dear Sir,—Immediately on the receipt of your parcel of corn last April, I took the whole to our mutual friend Mr. R. Cosins, who being a retired farmer, and having leisure, I thought would do the thing better than I could, to whose annexed account I refer you, which, together with the parcel of corn sent by the bearer, our friend, Mr. Adams, of our town, will be enough to make Hunt blush, if his skin is not too thick. Hunt did not send me one of his circulars.

"Mr. Cosins has no objection to his name appearing in print, if you think proper. I think if his letter appears in your publication, it may do good, as he is much looked up to as an upright man, a consistent politician, a good farmer, and well known through west Sussex and east Hampshire. At any time you may command my services, I shall be proud to oblige you in any way.

"Your humble servant,

"JAMES GRAY."

I now go into HAMPSHIRE, beginning at Portsea, whence I have received, through Mr. BIGWOOD of Queen-street, fifteen samples of very beautiful corn. He executed my request very punctually, and has taken great pains in rendering me an account of the result. His indignation against the LIAR is too great for him to express. One of the samples of corn sent by Mr. Bigwood was accompanied with a letter, which is of so interesting a nature that I cannot refrain from inserting it here.

_Elm Cottage, near Kingston Cross, Nov. 21, 1831._

"Sir,—This year I planted a piece of land with corn in open ground in rows three feet eight inches apart. On the 18th of
April, when the corn came up, I found that some had failed. I then transplanted and made good the rows, and seeing they looked wide apart, I planted a row of York cabbage between each row; I cut the cabbage and hoed the corn, and then planted broccoli in the same rows, which is now growing. The ear I have sent you is a fair sample, there being from two to three on a stalk, and on some I had four. Now, Sir, I sowed at the same time a piece of land with barley equal in size to that the corn was on. The produce of the corn was half as much more in measure and weight than the barley. I had a loaf made of half corn and half wheat last year, and it was very good bread. But Mrs. King keeps the corn for poultry, finding they fatted quickly and firm, and laid much finer eggs than with barley feeding. I find it has the same effect with pigs as with poultry. I gathered several ears of corn, quite ripe, on the 2d of September, and all was gathered in by the middle of October.

"I remain your humble servant,"

"WM. KING."

I cannot sufficiently thank Mr. Bigwood for the pains he has taken; but he is a really "public-spirited man, and requires no thanks; with him to do good to the country is to do good to himself; and that is the case with every man who communicates with me on this most interesting subject. From Lymington, Mr. John Templer writes me, that the corn has succeeded everywhere. I have received ears from a lady living in the neighbourhood of Lymington. Mr. Templer adds, and "yet Hunt calls the corn that "you gave away a fraud! Why, what an impudent brazen "LIAR the fellow must be! And this is the use, is it, "that the fool makes of the power of franking given to "him by the people of Preston!" At Alton, in the same county, I saw some as fine corn as I ever saw in my life, last summer. From Old Alresford, from a Mr. Roberts, who is I believe both a miller and a farmer, I have received a bunch of ears of corn as fine as ever grew from the earth; not quite so large, so long, nor so heavy, as some of mine, as the Guernsey-corn, and as Mr. Plumley's of Pevensey; but certainly rather exceeding all the other samples, except perhaps one which comes from Suffolk,
in which county all the corn appears to have been exceedingly fine. From Mr. Blount of Up-Husband near Andover, in the same county, I have a little box of very fine corn. Mr. Blount planted twenty-two rods of ground, and he says that he had twenty bushels of prime ears, which is at the rate of eighty bushels of shelled corn to the acre, or thereabouts; that this was not half the produce, the rest being brought in, stalks and all, and tossed down to the cows, pigs, and poultry. He says that his crop of corn was plundered by the boys, who found out that the ears were good to eat when green; just, I suppose, as the Disciples did, when they were going up to Jerusalem on the Sabbath-day. This is a sort of instinctive task, that will require Lord Brougham's "parish libraries" to correct; for Mr. Brazier, of Worth, tells me, that the hop-pickers' girls and boys took a good deal of his corn in the hop-picking time.

Here, at Up-Husband, I am within a few miles of the bunch of little hard parishes; but I must slip over to Battle, in Sussex, and come back to the hard parishes again. Always when we are thinking about doing good to the country, we, in spite of ourselves, have some particular part or parts of it more immediately in our eye than the rest. When I first contemplated the gratuitous distribution of the corn, I had just been in Hampshire, and I had gone from Winchester to Bullington, to see and console the widowed mother of those two excellent young men the Masons. I could not see that bunch of parishes without feeling a desire to do good to the labourers there, reflecting, as I could not help doing, on the proceedings of the recent SPECIAL COMMISSION. I promised the widow, that I would return in May, to plant for her a piece of ground to fat a pig or two, which I afterwards did by Mr. Enos Diddams, shoemaker of Sutton Scotney, who was so kind as
to be my agent in the business. Returning home my ideas expanded. In getting the parcel ready for Mr. Diddams, it came into my head to send a number of ears to be distributed by him to labourers in all the parishes round about. From that came the notion of sending corn to other persons for distribution; and hence the general spread of the corn over so many counties. But next, after the hard parishes, came into my mind, the little town of Battle, in Sussex, and the good and true and virtuous people of its neighbourhood. Mr. James Gutsell, at Battle, who is a tailor, with a great deal more sense than one-half of the law-makers that I have ever known, was my agent in the distribution; and he has now sent me samples of corn, ticketed with the following names, which I record to his and their honour. He sends me two ears from each grower. But I must first insert his letter.

"To Mr. Wm. Cobbett.

"Battle, Nov. 23, 1831.

"Dear Sir,—The ears of Cobbett-Corn which accompany this are the produce of the seed sent by you for distribution. They are not the very best that were grown, but may be taken as an average specimen of the crop in the neighbourhood. In collecting the ears I made it a point to collect also the opinions of the growers, as to its uses and advantages over other grain. There is but one opinion of the advantages which a cultivator of it would obtain in point of production, though there is a difference respecting the probable amount of an average crop. Some think that 100 bushels to the acre would be a fair crop; others, particularly Messrs. Graw and Gibson, appear confident of a bushel to the rod, that is, with skilful management. The labourers are very proud of it; they hang it up in their windows as an ornament. I have often thought of the "fraud" when I have seen it. I heard yesterday, that Mr. Plumley, of Pevensey, has this year grown 40 bushels on a quarter of an acre; the land there is richer than it is here. I have received some written opinions of some growers, one of which (Mr. Gibson's, schoolmaster) I send you; and I must add, that he is not the only one who thinks it would make good malt; the same thing had been stated to me before by men who are better capable of judging of the matter than I can pretend to be. You ask 'what use the labourers make of what they get.' They give a little of it to their hogs by way of experiment; and they tell me 'the hogs
are crazy for it.' A few have had some ground, and made a loaf or two; they like it better than any other substitute for wheaten flour, and they think it would be a most excellent thing in times of scarcity. Some of the specimens which I send have been grown under great disadvantages, being stuck under the shade of a tree, or squeezed in between potatoes or beans. Another year we shall see it planted pretty generally in the labourers' gardens; they keep a great quantity to distribute to their neighbours; next year it will share the ground with the potatoes, and will, I have not the least doubt, eventually supplant them, except as a vegetable. The answer I got from nearly every one that I questioned as to its principal good was, 'hog-fattling.' A few of the small farmers intend trying it next year. Even your greatest enemies think there is some good in it.

"Your most obedient servant,
"JAMES GUTSELL."

I shall now insert the names of the growers, observing that some of the tickets appear to be rubbed off. Mr. Gutsell had not the means of making the collection so extensive as he would have done if I had given him time to send or go into all the villages; but, short as the time was, the reader will see that my endeavours have been attended with great effects in this quarter of this good, honest, spirited county. The following is a list of the names of the growers that Mr. Gutsell has been able to collect samples from.

John Archer, shoemaker, Seddlescomb.
James Plumb, labourer, Battle.
Mr. Gibson, Robert's-bridge.
James Britt, labourer, Hollington.
Henry Hades, labourer, Battle.
James Child, Battle.
Mr. Henry Reace, Seddlescomb.
Samuel Britt, labourer, Battle.
Mr. John Weller, farmer, Westry.
John Waters, gardener, Robert's-bridge.
Edward Cox, labourer, Battle.
James Crowhurst, labourer, Battle.
Robert Parkes, farmer, Battle.
Spencer Tollhurst, labourer, Brede.
Mr. Biner, Seddlescomb.
John White, labourer, Battle.
Mr. Pearson, Battle.
William White, labourer, Battle.
John Crouch, millwright, Battle.
Mr. Gutsell, if he had had time, would have sent into the parishes more distant from Battle, to Burwash, Crowhurst, and all round about. However, through his kindness, through his real goodness and public spirit, here is more good done than would be done in a whole lifetime of the great, gaping, stupid LIAR, if his life were to begin again, and if his intentions were as benevolent in the new life as they have been malignant in this. I shall keep this box of Battle corn, and the box from the hard parishes, to plant next year as seed. Generally speaking, it is not equal, in point of size of ear, to some of the corn that I have mentioned before; but it is all perfectly sound and good. I shall have bags made to hold these samples of corn from the different counties; and what a convenient thing one of these bags, when a third part full, would be to lay about the head of the great stupid LIAR! He would take it quietly, I will warrant him. Let him now go and show himself in any of these counties, let him go to that "estate," of which he told the poor Prestonians, the other day, that he had "just received the rents!" Is "Charley" Pearson his receiver I wonder?

I now come back to the hard parishes, in the north of Hampshire, to which, as I related before, I sent a parcel of corn to be distributed by Mr. Enos Diddams, shoemaker, of Sutton Scotney, which is a hamlet, belonging to the parish of Wunston. Mr. Diddams has not had time to collect samples from more than five or six parishes out of perhaps twenty, in which the corn has been growned. I shall insert the list of names, occupations, and parishes, as I did in the case of Battle. But I must first insert Mr.
Diddams's letter. I saw Mr. Diddams's crop in the month of August, I am sure that he had not a rod and a quarter at the utmost; and he has, you see, nine gallons of shelled corn, which is at about the rate of twenty quarters to the acre; and I am certain that this is to be done upon a whole field of good land with skilful cultivation. I insert the letter to Mr. Diddams's honour, and the list to the honour of those who cultivated the corn.

"Wm. Cobbett, Esq. London.

"Sutton Scotney, Nov. 23, 1831.

"Sir,—I shall send off a box to-morrow morning with all the ears of your corn I could collect of the men I gave it to last April. Most of them put the ticket to their own corn themselves; as you will see. All the corn has ripened excellently, and most of it was gathered by the 11th of October. I planted about one rod of ground, and I have got nine gallons of shelled corn. Mr. Shrimpton of Downhurstbourne, planted three rods of ground. He has three bushels of corn. William Hunter, of Longparish, planted about one rod; he is sure that he has quite a bushel or more of shelled corn to the rod of ground. And a man of the name of Froom, of Longparish, planted seven or eight rods of ground. He sent word to me, he had about one bushel to the rod. He had his corn shelled and ground, and then gave it to his pigs; and so did Hunter, which is the reason I have not sent you an ear or two of corn from them. You will see two ears marked Francis Ray, of Bullington, and Jacob Ray, of Sutton; both of whom planted about a rod of ground, and had a good corn. You will see some corn marked Thomas Bye, of Stoke Charity, who planted about one rod of ground, I think the best crop I ever saw. Mrs. Mason's corn is particularly good. I gave corn to about 70 or 80 persons; they generally planted a row or two in their gardens, except Lovell and Smith, at Northington, who planted a considerable piece of ground each. When I saw them, some weeks ago, they told me their crops were excellent. There was some planted at Stratton and Micheldever, but I have not had time to go there; I hear it ripened well, and indeed in no one instance have I heard it fail. You will see two ears marked Samuel Phillips, an old Chopstick, which I would wish particularly to notice; he is a good old man, having bred up a large family by hard labour, and now his work is not quite done. He was the first man I applied to for the corn. I told him my instructions from you to give him 6d. for two years. He said, 'No, I planted 24 corns, and I have these bunches of fine ears. I have put some short ones by for seed and Mr. Cobbett, God bless him, he is welcome to the whole of them if he wishes it.' I will give you more particulars about the corn when I write again. Please to write to me as soon as convenient.

"I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

"Enos Diddams."
Enos Diddams, shoemaker, Sutton Scotney.
Thomas Malt, labourer, Bullington.
John Diddams, carpenter, Barton Stacey.
Thomas Bye, labourer, Stoke Charity.
James Croucher, labourer, Sutton Scotney.
George Forde, labourer, Bullington.
James Diddams, shoemaker, Barton Stacey.
William Shrimpton, Down-Husband.
Jacob Ray, labourer, Sutton Scotney.
Isaac Farmer, labourer, Barton Stacey.
Widow Mason, Bullington.
Antony Anthony, tailor, Barton Stacey.
Richard Withers, labourer, Sutton Scotney.
John Hoar, Sutton Scotney.
Thomas Webb, bricklayer, Barton Stacey.
Mrs. Tarrant, Barton Stacey.
Thomas Melsom, Sutton Scotney.
Mr. Jacob Cotton, Barton Stacey.
John Basten, labourer, Bullington.
Samuel Phillips, an old worn-out chopstick, Sutton Scotney.
George Ball, labourer, Barton Stacey.
William Bye, labourer, Sutton Scotney.
Francis Ray, labourer, Bullington.
William Goodhall, labourer, Barton Stacey.
William Lock, labourer, Barton Stacey.
Daniel Harmswood, Sutton Scotney.
Widow Ireland, Sutton Scotney.
John Twinney Cooper, Sutton Scotney.
Richard Cleverly, labourer, Barton Stacey.

William Shrimpton writes me a letter himself, and tells me that he sent me two very fine ears by the guard of one of the coaches, but that the guard told him he had lost them on the road! A very good hint never to trust to guards again; for, though they may be very good guards of other things, they do not seem to have much ability in guarding the ears of corn. Shrimpton, who lives very near to the spot where the Liar used once to swagger about as lord of the manor, relates; at the close of his letter, a very pretty fact concerning the Liar; which fact he will relate to the Liar's face, if he dare to show that face in Hampshire again. I hope that I have not omitted to notice any communication that I have received upon this subject. I very much wished to insert the whole of the details expressed on the tickets of the various parcels; but I found it impossible
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to do this within the space that I have at my command. I have done this in the cases of Battle, and of the hard parishes, for several reasons: in the case of Battle, because the excellent people of that town and neighbourhood acted so just and manly a part in the case of Thomas Goodman, and, by acting that part, blew to atoms that foul conspiracy against my liberty and life, in which the bloody old Times was a conspicuous actor; in the case of the hard parishes, because from them those two excellent young men the Masons were taken and sent from their widowed mother for life: and, in both cases, because the cultivators of the corn have been almost exclusively labouring men. I am equally obliged by the kindness of those gentlemen who have sent me ticketed corn from other parts; but I trust that they will see the reasonableness of the motives from which the distinction has arisen.

Now, then, we have it incontestably proved, that this corn will flourish in all the soils and in every degree of climate in this kingdom. I have samples from Bungay, in Suffolk, to Berkeley, in Gloucestershire; and from Pevensey Level to Paisley. I have it from all soils; marsh, loam, gravel, clay, sand, and chalk. The ears are longest and biggest upon the fat land; but there appears to be no better, closer, or sounder corn than that grown in the hard parishes, which is a flinty soil at top, and chalk at bottom.

WILLIAM COBBETT.

TO THE
FARMERS AND TRADERS,
on the
ARMING OF PERSONS OF PROPERTY.

Kensington, 25th November, 1831.

Farmers and Tradesmen,

The winter before last, Lord Stanhope said, in his place in the House of Peers, that there was rising up, in
the country a general hatred of the poor towards the rich; and he suggested the propriety of measures being adopted in time to correct this mighty evil. It was not rising up: it had risen up long before. It is indeed an evil far surpassing in magnitude any other that I can conceive: it has led to all the horrible scenes which we have been beholding during the last fifteen months; and yet never do we hear from any persons, in power, anything to make us hope that they mean to propose anything tending to put a stop to this evil, of which they do not appear to have the smallest idea of the real cause.

Totally ignorant of the causes of the evil, they look upon all the discontents of the working people as being unreasonable and unjust; rejecting all the evidence of facts, they attribute the loud complaints and the violent acts of the working people entirely to their bad disposition; to their laziness, their greediness, their dishonest propensities; and, which is very curious, they, at one and the same time, ascribe their violent acts to want of education and to the reading of cheap publications. The fable of the town in danger of being taken by an enemy tells us, that, upon a consultation amongst the tradesmen upon the best means of defending the town, the Tanner said, "If you have a mind to have the town well secured, take my mind for it there is nothing like leather;" and we now hear the publishers of the London daily papers, whenever they hear of a riot or a fire; whenever they hear of a workhouse-keeper's or an overseer's head being broken, or a tread-mill being demolished, burst out in indignant rage, that the poor creatures that commit the violences cannot get a London broadsheet to read. Judging from my own feelings, I should say that it is happy for the grinders and the starvers that the working people do not get these sheets to read; for the effect which the reading of them has upon me invariably, is to fill me with revenge and with rage; and to such a degree,
that, if I could be induced to set fire, the reading of these, at once stupid and atrocious publications, would urge me on to the act; and operating on me as the music of Timotheus did upon Alexander, I really am ready, sometimes, upon flinging down their mass of paragraphs, to seize a flambeau, and rush out to burn up the whole of this infernal Wen; this collection of filth, moral as well as physical; this poisoner of the mind and destroyer of the bodies of the whole kingdom; but, above all things, this collection and amalgamation of literary conceit, corruption, and stupidity.

Never looking at the true causes of the evil; brutal enough to believe that the people would have their minds changed and be made as quiet as they were formerly, by being generally what these stupid men call educated; being brutal enough to believe this, at the same time that they are making reports which show that, where one working man could read and write formerly, twenty can now; being so stupid as this; but finding that the education, as they call it, does not tend to produce that submission which they teach, they have recourse to the last remedy known to the minds of such men; namely, to punishment in all its shapes, forms, and degrees of severity. Jails of a new sort; dungeons of a new sort; hanging in a new fashion and in new places, and in some cases on the tops of the new jails; the treadmill, the hulks, and an endless variety of new modes of inflicting punishment. The progress has been very curious. As the taxes increased, the working people became poor and miserable. Exactly in proportion to the increase of taxes has been the increase of the poverty and the misery; exactly in proportion to these has been the increase of larcenies and felonies. The old laws provided imprisonment and transportation for the larger part of these; but a prison was a paradise compared to starvation and sleeping under a hedge; and, though transpor-
tation took a man from his kindred and friends, it took him also to something to eat, and to drink, and to wear. To the prison, therefore, the dungeon and the treadmill were added, as *improvements of the age*; and, instead of transportation, it became necessary in numerous cases to inflict death. To check rioting and poaching, *Ellenborough*’s act, improved by *Lansdown*, made it death even to strike a man, without doing him any bodily harm, if the jury should determine that the striking was with intent to do him grievous bodily harm. It was upon this act that *Henry Cook*, the ploughman of Micheldever, was hanged for striking *Bingham Baring*. Cook was one of a party of labourers who were going about demolishing thrashing-machines. *Bingham Baring*, with a party of his men, went up to the party to which Cook belonged and seized one of them by the collar, upon which Cook, with a little sledge-hammer, which he was carrying about for the purpose of demolishing machines, gave *Baring* a blow, which did him no bodily harm whatever, he, Baring, being out on horseback the next day. For this *Cook* was hanged by the neck till he was dead, prosecuted by *Denman* and *Wild*, and sentenced to death by *Vaughan*, the two other judges being *Park* and *Alderson*, with whom were associated in this Special Commission, Denman, Wild, Wellington, Pollen, and Sturges Bourne.

I could enumerate, if I had time, more than three hundred instances, in which the criminal code has been hardened during the time that Sir *Jemmy Mackintosh* has been receiving the praises of the hypocrites and fools for the softening which he has produced in it. At last, the very word liberty, as applied to the state of things in England, has become ridiculous. Peel’s new trespass law has made it unsafe for any poor man to set his foot upon any spot of earth except the mere highway. Suppose an En-
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Englishman to be walking along the turnpike-road, and, pressed by feelings of nature and decency, to get over the gate of a field; slap comes the farmer, under Peel's new trespass law, seizes him by the throat, and drags him away as a malefactor. To shun the penalties of Peel, he is compelled to set decency at defiance; but, as nature will not be defied, he reluctantly yields to an exposure of the person; slap comes the informer with Chetwind's exposure act in his hand, and off he drags him to fine and imprisonment. Duly sensible of both these dangers, on he goes carrying with him the consequences of his salutary fears; and slap comes upon the surveyor of the highways, who indicts him as a filthy nuisance; so that, of all the slaves that the earth was ever ashamed to bear, the free-born Englishman is become the most perfect.

Yet, to carry on the system of pension, sinecure, grant, retired allowance, debt, and dead-weight, such abrogation of the liberties of the people was absolutely necessary: it is impossible for a people to enjoy anything worthy of the name of civil liberty, and to be made to live upon potatoes at the same time: that is impossible: it is impossible to make English working people live upon potatoes without Peel's new felony laws, Peel's new trespass laws; without Ellenborough's and Lansdown's act, and without a standing army in time of peace, as great, or greater than in time of war. But even these are not sufficient; for, in comparison with starvation, English people will set even hanging at defiance, besides which hanging the parties will not restore that which they have taken away. So that, at last, it becomes necessary to superintend their movements day and night. Hence the half-military police, of which there are now thousands prowling about this hellish and all-devouring Wen. Hence the new and monstrous power of swearing in special constables, and thus enrolling, beforehand, the tradesmen in towns, against the working people
in the towns. Even this is now found not to be enough; and, therefore, there are projects for actually arming persons of property in the towns; actually furnishing them with arms by the government!

And, FOR WHAT is all this? For what have we now a permanent standing army of more than a hundred thousand men? For what have we yeomanry cavalry corps paid out of the taxes? Against whom are persons of property in the towns now to be armed? The yeomanry cavalry and the volunteering in the brilliant times of Pitt, Dundas, and Grenville, men could understand. Fools regarded them as necessary in Yorkshire to keep the French from landing in Sussex and Kent. Fools regarded them as absolutely necessary to keep Atheism out of England. Men of experience and sense looked upon the dread of the French as a mere pretence for these armings, and also for bringing the German troops into England and Ireland; but, at any rate, there was a pretence, which there is not now. If you asked the government then what all that arming was for; why farmers and tradesmen were turned into soldiers, the answer was, "The French! the French!" That was the answer of Pitt, Dundas, and Grenville; but, Lord Grey, I ask you, what this thundering army in time of peace is for; what have you augmented that army for; what are the yeomanry cavalry for; what are the town armings for; what, for instance, is that of Chelsea for, where the plan, signed by two of your Magistrates, is to exclude all men who are not renters or owners to the amount of twenty pounds a year? What are all these armings for? Against whom is all this arming? You cannot answer: you could if you would, but you will not.

Wm. COBBETT.

[Printed by Wm. Cobbett, Johnson's-court, Fleet-street.]
TO THE YEOMANRY CAVALRY:
ON THE FIRES.

I cannot call you friends, and I will not call you gentlemen. This plague of the country is now raging with greater fury than ever, and I think proper to address you upon the subject. You are called yeomanry cavalry; though perhaps more than one half of you are loan-mongers, tax-gatherers, dead-weight people, stock-jobbers, shag-bag attorneys, bailiffs (mostly Scotch), toad-eating shopkeepers, who are ready to perform military duty towards the "lower orders," in order at once to give evidence of your gentility, and to show your gratitude towards your rich customers for their paying your long bills without scruple. A very great part of you come in under one or the other part of this description; but to those of you who are farmers; that is to say who have land in your occupation; and who grow corn, and rear cattle, and who have barns, ricks, and other things, liable to be set fire to; to you only do I address myself upon

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this occasion, being well aware that my arguments would produce no impression whatever upon your comrades above-mentioned. First of all, call the roll of your corps over, and see how many of them there are who are not interested in the taxes and the tithes, either immediately or through their relations, landlords, or somebody else. When you have called the roll, and have separated yourselves from the rest, get into a plain room, pull off your hairy caps, your particoloured jackets, and your Wellington-boots; put on your own Christian-like clothes, your high shoes well nailed; and then pick out some one with a good strong voice to read to you that which I am now about to write.

You are not philosophers; but you have memories; you have eyes in the front of your head, ears on the side of it, and, generally speaking, you have brains wherewith to enable you to draw rational conclusions from the facts which have been communicated to those brains by the eyes and the ears, and which have been retained there by those powers of memory with which God has been pleased to endow you.

The FIRES are blazing more furiously than they were last year at this time. You go to bed in fear, and do not ride home from market, or from a neighbour's house, without apprehension; you are compelled to have guards or watches to see to the safety of your property; in some parts of Norfolk you have entered into associations to burden your land with a tax at so much an acre, in order to give rewards to such men or women as shall assist in bringing their neighbours to the gallows; and, lastly, to the neglect of your business, you have enrolled yourselves as soldiers, mounted your horses which ought to be at plough, and armed yourselves with deadly weapons, in order, if need be, to wound or kill somebody or other.

This being your state, and this state being hell upon earth, if ever there was hell upon earth, it is worth while for you
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to consider a little, whether your dressing yourselves out, and arming yourselves in this manner, be at all likely to put a stop to the fires; because as to any other immediate evil, you appear not to be afflicted with it. If your swaggering about with hairy caps on your heads could possibly tend to put out the fires, even then I should despise you; but it has not that tendency, and it has a directly contrary tendency; and I am perfectly convinced, as every reflecting man must be, that the very existence of a corps of yeomanry in a neighbourhood, in time of peace, has a direct and natural tendency to produce these fires; and this you will see clearly, if you will but cast aside the instigating falsehoods of your loan-mongering and tax-eating and petty-fogging comrades, and listen to your own reason.

You have seen all your lifetime, that nine tenths of the hostile and vindictive proceedings of men, proceed from provocation arising from words or acts of challenge, threat, or defiance. Even a dog will let you go by him quietly, until he sees you take up a stick or a stone; and does not the very existence of your corps speak a threat to the labourers? Does not the bare sight of it tell them, that you mean to shoot them or chop them down, if they do not quietly submit to live upon what all the world says is insufficient? You do not tell them in words, that you will shoot them, or chop them down; but your swaggering hairy caps tell them so; aye, and it has been over and over again stated in speeches in Parliament, that the object of embodying you is to repress disturbance in your counties; and have you so great a contempt for the understandings of the working people as to imagine that they do not fully comprehend the meaning of these words? Will a parcel of labourers, working in a farm-yard, see the farmer mount his cavalry horse, and go swaggering out with pistols in holster, and sword by side; are you such jolterheads as to imagine, that
they do not ask one another *what that can be for?* They know that the swaggering blade ought to stay at home; they, better than anybody, know how much his absence will cost him; and they discuss amongst themselves, to be sure, what can be the motive of his thus acting, at which motive they arrive by a process of reasoning, the brevity of which is not less admirable than the conclusion on their minds is impressive.

*In time of war,* indeed, there might have existed in their minds' *doubts,* with regard to this motive. Then they were told, that the yeomanry corps were destined to *fight the French,* if they should land, which French, they were told, would, if not defeated, come and take from them, not only their potatoes and water, but also the chastity of their wives and daughters, and their belief in the Christian religion into the bargain. When, therefore, the labourer's wife saw the fat-jowled yeomanry cavalry man prancing along by her cottage, she was filled, stupidly enough to be sure, with feelings of admiration at the self-devotion of the patriotic defender. But, *NOW,* at the end of sixteen years of profound peace, with the word war never pronounced, and having almost lost its meaning, even the women, who used to terrify their children with the name of "Bonny," must be filled with astonishment, to see the Government, especially when it is in the hands of the *liberty-loving* Whigs, calling out corps of yeomanry cavalry. As if for the express purpose of making the thing complete, the yeomanry corps were *disbanded* in the year 1827, as being *unnecessary in time of peace,* and *especially in the agricultural counties.* To behold them rise up again now, especially after the riots of last year, what must be the conclusion in the minds of the labourers? Why, they know to a certainty that the corps are raised to make them submit to that which they would not submit to without compulsion;
they know that, scattered and divided as they are, they cannot resist that force; but this does not make them love those who exercise the force; but on the contrary, fills them with hostility to a degree which they did not before entertain, and produces in their breasts revenge which otherwise never would have existed there, and that revenge stimulates them to deeds, at the thought of which they would otherwise have startled with horror. The whole of the history of this horrid plague lies in a very few words. By orders of magistrates; by evidence given before the House of Commons; by numerous documents of character the most authentic, it has been proved, that the labourers have, especially since the passing of Sturges Bourne’s bills, been reduced to a state, and to a manner of living, beneath those of hounds and pointers; that they have been treated with the greatest possible harshness and insolence; that hired overseers have been set over them to make them draw carts and wagons, and otherwise to treat them as beasts of burden; that old men, little boys, and women, have been harnessed and worked in this way; that men have been put up at auction and sold for length of time to labour for the highest bidder; that husbands and wives have been forcibly separated, as the males and females of live stock are, in order to prevent the natural consequences of co-habitation; that young women applying for relief have been, by the hired overseer, by this salaried hireling and his myrmidons, laid upon the floor, held down by force, and have had the long hair cut from their heads with shears, as wool is cut from the body of the sheep; and that they have been compelled to submit to this, or to starve, or to become prostitutes.

You cannot deny, that such has been the barbarous treatment of the labourers and their families; and your landlords, while they have been moulding four farms into one for their own profit, have not only connived at all this, but have
upheld you in it, in their capacity of magistrates and parsons. The labourers know well, that it is unjust to treat them thus: common sense tells them that God never intended that those who raise all the food, who make to be all the clothing, all the fuel, and all the houses, should be turned out into the wild waste to perish with hunger and with cold. Common sense tells them that God never intended that they should be fed worse than gentlemen's dogs, lodged far worse than those dogs, and treated worse than the least valuable of farmers' horses. When they read the Bible, or hear it read, which they all do, they find, from one end of the book to the other; the most positive commands of the rich to treat the labourers well, to consider them as brothers, by no means to keep from them a sufficiency of food and of raiment; and they find endless denunciations against those who have the hard-heartedness to disobey these commands. They find God commanding that even the ox was to share in the produce of the harvest; that even he was not to be muzzled while treading out the corn; they find God forbidding the employer to keep back the wages of a labourer even for a day; they find Him commanding the master, at the end of the labourer's servitude, to send him away amply provided for out of his granary, his flocks, and his wine-press; they find Him denouncing vengeance and punishment on the oppressors of the widow and the orphan, those who drove the needy stranger from the gate, and particularly on those who should lay "hous: to house and field to field, so as to cause the poor of the land to fail." They find Him threatening miseries unspeakable upon those who should grudge to give the labourer his due hire. They have read, or heard read, the following passage in the epistle of St. James, which Luther, the founder of this Church-of-England religion, "called an epistle of straw." You seem to think it an epistle of straw too; but remember the labourers have all heard it read; and they
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know that if that be straw, all the rest of the book is straw; and that then all that the parsons tell them about Christianity is a farce. I advise you, however, not to consider it as straw; but to consider it as valuable grain; and that you may have it to read, here it is in the fifth chapter of the epistle of St. James. "Go to now, ye rich men, weep and howl for your miseries which shall come upon you. Your riches are corrupted, and your garments are moth-eaten. Your gold and silver is cankered; and the rust of them shall be for a testimony against you, and shall eat your flesh like fire. You have stored up to yourselves wrath against the last days. Behold, the hire of the labourers who have reaped down your fields, which by fraud has been kept back by you, crieth; and the cry of them hath entered into the ears of the Lord of sabaoth. You have feasted upon earth: and in riotousness you have nourished your hearts, in the day of slaughter. You have condemned and put to death the just, and he resisted you not."

You may be well assured that the labourers all understand this. They have read too, or have had it read to them, that the children of Israel were ill-treated by the Egyptians; that they had task-masters set over them, who compelled them to make bricks without straw, though we are not told that they made them draw wagons and carts like beasts of burden; they have read that Moses, seeing one of these villainous taskmasters strike one of his brethren, he looked about him, this way and that way, and seeing no one there, he slew the taskmaster, and buried him in the sand; and they have read, that after this Moses became the servant of the Lord, and the leader and the guide of his people.

Besides this the labourers well know that the tithes were not given for the parsons alone; but that they belong to the public generally, and particularly to the poor: they know that by the ecclesiastical law, by the common law of Eng-
land, and by the statute law of England, that every indigent person has as much right to relief out of the tithes, whether clerical or lay, as any landlord has to his rents, or as any farmer has to the stock upon his farm.

Thus taught by common sense, by the word of God, and by the well-known laws of the land, they demand that they shall not be compelled to live upon potatoes, while you are living on the best of meat and bread, and have beer and wine always on your table, and are dressed in the best of clothing. Your answer to them is: We do not want your labour; to which they reply, Give us then some of the produce without labour, or give to us some of the numerous farms, four, five, or ten of which you have turned into one; at any rate, give us relief according to the law. To prevent this the Parliament changes the laws; it enables you to set hired overseers over them, who treat them in the manner before described; till at last all relief is pretty nearly refused. After long endurance they assemble in groups, arm themselves with clubs and with hammer, and go about compelling you to promise to raise their wages; and here and there they ask for money from you and the parsons, to get them some victuals and drink. For the former they are imprisoned for great length of time; for the latter they are condemned to death, some of them transported for life, and others of them hanged; though in the whole course of their proceedings they have neither shed a drop of blood, nor inflicted a wound. Fearing the natural consequences of this; namely, a more general rising and more violent proceedings, you arm yourselves, mount your horses, form yourselves into military corps, assume a menacing attitude, and prance over the country. They, on their part, unable to collect into large bodies, and unprovided with sharp and deadly instruments, see that they cannot answer your threats by open defiance and attack; but they know that there is one destructive ele-
ment, one irresistible arm always at their command; and, thus reduced to extremity, this arm they are now employing with the most deadly effect, as every newspaper from the country is now proclaiming to the world. Against this arm, which they employ at their convenience, and with not the smallest danger to themselves, you have no possible de-
fence; and this curse to you, and disgrace to the country, must go on until the cause be removed.

Here then you have the fires traced to the real source. It is very true, that, while the present taxes and tithes exist, you have not the means of duly rewarding your labourers; but this is what you never tell them; your answer to them is, that they ought not to have more than they get: and therefore they are at issue with you; and they are not called upon by reason to look any further than to you. You are at your wit's end: offering rewards is of no use; setting guards and watches is of no use; arming yourselves is of no use; the labourers have determined to live upon potatoes no longer; and live upon potatoes they will not. A writer in a stupid and base paper, called the Norwich Mercury, which appears to be edited by as grovelling a beast as ever fed at manger, trough, or crib, tells the labourers, that in setting fire to farm stock they do not injure the farmer, because his property is always insured! Very well, then, why do you offer rewards for detecting the burners; why do you pay watches and guards? If the fires do you good by getting you a market in the lump, ready money down, instead of being plagued with the thrashing and sending to market, why do you hire watchers, at high wages, and pamper them with suppers and with spirits, to prevent these beneficial fires? Why do you form yourselves into parochial patrols; why do you burn candles all night in your houses, and lie down on your beds with your clothes on; wearied, as you must be, with the military performance of the day?
Poh! The Chopsticks know well how the fires affect you; they see that at any rate the fires induce this beastly writer in the *Norwich Mercury* to suggest, as a remedy, *better treatment of them* than they have experienced for many years past. Just so, gentlemen yeomanry cavalry; that is the remedy, and the only remedy; and if this filthy slave of the bull-frogs of Norfolk should prevail upon you to follow his advice in this respect, I shall be almost ready to forgive the dirty fool for ascribing the fires to the instigation "of miscreants who mean to make use of these fires as the means of accomplishing a political revolution!" He includes, I suppose, amongst these miscreants those who do not think that the old veteran patriot Whig Coke of Norfolk ought to have received four thousand pounds a-year of the public money, in a *snug sinecure*, for more than half a century; and that he ought to be made to *refund* that which he has so received. I am one of these miscreants at any rate; and I can tell you, that your hairy-caps and Wellington-boots will not at all tend to prevent the accomplishment of my wishes, revolutionary as those wishes may be.

*Wm. Cobbett.*

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**TO THE LABOURERS,**

*On the Folly of their putting their Money into Clubs.*

**My Friends,**

It is the general practice of those who invent something to delude and cheat other people, to give a *good name* to the thing which they invent; and, accordingly, those who have invented this scheme for inducing you to give up your earnings, to prevent them from paying poor-rates, have christened
these clubs "BENEFIT clubs," instead of calling them, as they ought to have done, clubs to wheedle money out of the hard-earned pence of the working people, in order to spare the purses of the landowners, big farmers, and other rich men. It was not till about seventy years ago that clubs like these were ever heard of in England. Before this Protestant Church of England sprang up, the poor were relieved out of the tithes. Since that, the parsons, the bishops, the deans and chapters, and the nobility and gentry, have taken all the tithes to themselves; and the poor have been relieved by what are called the poor-rates. The same may be said with regard to the church-rates, which also formerly came out of the tithes.

There needed no clubs before this Protestant Church establishment came, because the priests relieved all the poor out of the tithes, and out of the rents of lands, and other property which had been bequeathed to the clergy for that purpose. There was therefore no occasion for poor-rates, for all poor persons were sure to be taken care of, whether in sickness or in health, to the end of their days; and besides so happy was the state of the country, that there were few persons poor in any one parish; the wages paid to labourers were so good, that no man who was able to work, ever stood in need of relief; and in case of sickness, people in general were so well off, that there were few who could not be conveniently relieved by their relations. This fatal change took place about two hundred and fifty years ago; and it is about two hundred and thirty years ago that the poor-rates were enacted. For many years poverty was not so great, wages were not so low, in proportion to the price of provisions, as to compel many persons to apply for parish relief. When I was a boy, it used to be deemed a shame to apply to the parish. But the desolating and extravagantly expensive, and long and bloody, wars of George III. plunged the nation into debts, so
great, made the taxes so heavy, and made wages so low, in proportion to the price of provisions, that labouring men were compelled, in case of sickness especially, either to expose their families to be starved, or to obtain assistance greater than their relations were able to give them. In this state of things the cunning fellows, who had to pay the poor-rates, invented what they called "BENEFIT clubs," which was a scheme for drawing out of the wages of the labourers, who were able to work, the means of relieving those who were unable to work; or, in other words, to make the healthy labourers pinch their bellies and their backs, in order to relieve the sick labourers, and thus save the pockets of these cunning rich fellows.

Every penny that a labouring man pays into these clubs, is a penny given to the rich; and, besides that, it is a penny given to uphold Sturges Bourne's bills, and to pay hired overseers, and in short to pay for causing himself and his neighbours to be put into harness and to be made to draw carts and wagons like beasts of burden. If you could have any doubt in your minds about the tendency of these clubs, you would only have to look at the persons who are the most eager to promote such clubs, and to uphold them and perpetuate them. There was a fellow, some years ago, a Scotch fellow, named Old George Rose, who had been a purser in the navy; who was a famous tool of the famous Pitt; from a Purser he became a right honourable privy councillor; he received for many years not less than ten thousand pounds a year of the public money; he got a sinecure place settled upon him for life of three thousand pounds a year, and settled upon his son, George Rose, for his life also. This man became, about forty years ago, the great promoter of benefit clubs; he lived at Cufnells, in the New Forest, in Hampshire; he was himself a member of a club there; he used punctually to pay in his pennies;
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he used to dine with the club; and thus he drew in, thus this cunning Scotchman humbugged, all the poor chopsticks about that country, taking good care never to tell them that his carriages, and horses, and fine park, and deer, all came out of their labour.

Another great patron of benefit clubs is that Fleming (whose name was Willis), who was lately a member for Hampshire, and who was so pelted off the hustings at Winchester. Can this man want to do good to the people? Can he be the friend of the working people? Can he, who was the tool in the hands of the parsons in Hampshire, mean to do the working people any good? Besides, you see all the greediest of the big farmers, the most eager to promote and uphold these clubs.

Then, again, mark the conduct of the Government! What business had it and the Parliament to meddle with the affairs of these clubs? What right had they to interfere with the management of these concerns? What right had they to meddle with the management and distribution of money belonging to the members of a club, any more than with money belonging to any partnership whatsoever? Yet they have interfered; they have passed laws to give their magistrates a superintending power over these clubs; they have passed laws to prevent the members from dividing the money at their own pleasure; they have passed laws which, in effect, take the money from under the command of the members of the club; and, in a great measure, take it away and make it a part of what is called the national debt.

The savings banks, as they are called, were invented by that same cunning Scotchman, old George Rose. The money collected by these things is, what is called, put into the funds, and the poor people imagine that the funds mean a chest or box where the money is locked up. Alas! my
poor friends, there is no such chest or box; the *funds* mean the national or government *debt*; and the putting of money into the funds is the lending of money to the Government; and the Government pays the interest of it, not out of any *fund* that it has, but out of the taxes, a part of which you pay in every gallon of malt, pot of beer, pound of sugar, bit of soap, or candle, that you consume, and upon every bit of tobacco that goes into your mouth; so that, first, you put your earnings into the clubs, or the banks; next the Government borrows it; and next, if you ever get any interest, you get it out of the taxes that you yourselves have paid! Nothing that ever was heard of in the world before is equal to this delusion and folly on your part; and to the craft of those who induce you to put your money into these clubs and banks.

When a club man is ill, the parish give him *no relief*; because he has an allowance out of the club. When a man becomes seventy years old, he has an allowance from the club for the rest of his life; and, whether sick or well, the parish never give him any relief to the day of his death! One would think that this was enough to open your eyes: one would think that here was enough to make you see why the big, the grasping, the grinding farmers, are so eager to get you into clubs, "into *benefit* clubs;" that is to say, into clubs that are of great benefit to them, and of great injury to you; here is enough to make you see why they do you the honour to come and dine with you once a year, though, all the rest of the year, they treat you far worse than they treat their dogs.

If a man earn more money than is necessary to supply him with food and with raiment and the other things that he wants, *cannot* he *keep his money himself*? Cannot he take as good care of it, as the grinding farmers and the Government can? yes, and if he happen to be sick, he has
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relief from the parish, and his own money too, and he ought to have both; for the money that he has saved he ought to keep till old age, as the just reward of his extraordinary industry and frugality. A drunken and dissolute life produces illness; and as there will naturally be some drunken and dissolute persons in the club, they will be sick oftener than the rest; so that the sober and orderly man has to work to maintain the profligate in his sickness. Then, again, some men have hereditary diseases, such as consumption and king's-evil. These unfortunate persons are entitled to compassion from the healthy labouring man; but they are entitled to support from the lands of the parish, and ought not to be made in this manner to extract their maintenance from the healthy labouring men.

The depositing of money in this way, has a very bad moral effect; it makes men less careful to adhere to such conduct as is necessary to the preservation of health. It tends to make them drunkards, and to be less cautious how they expose themselves to bodily harm. In many cases it makes them successful hypocrites; makes them either sham illness altogether, or to affect its existence after it has ceased.

But, after all, and if all the other objections were removed, what sense is there in the thing? What is there in it but pure folly? What is there in it but giving away your money? All the men that enter the club must be young and healthy at the time; and why should a young and healthy man give his money to any-body else to keep for him against a day of sickness? Either he pinches his back or his belly for the sake of lodging this money in the club, or he has this money over and above that which he wants for his back or his belly; if the former, then he enfeebles himself; makes himself a poor mean-looking fellow; undermines his health and strength, solely for the advantage of those who live in luxury and splendour on the fruit of his toil: if the
latter, why not keep the money in his own chest? In the course of the year he pays thirty or forty shillings into the all-swallowing club. In the course of five years he pays in ten pounds perhaps. But suppose it to be only twenty shillings a year, how many times does a man see an occasion in which, by the means of this little bit of ready money, he could, to very great advantage, purchase a pig, plant a bit of ground, or do something by which the money would produce him more to eat, drink, or wear, than two pounds laid out from hand to mouth? Many are such occasions that present themselves; but you cannot avail yourself of them, for your money is locked up in the club. You cannot brew without malt and hops; the club has got your money, and you must go to the ale-house, and purchase your beer by the pot. So that these clubs, view them in what light you will, are injurious to the working people, and serve no other purpose than that of making their lot harder than it would have been without them. Young men deem a bastard child a great burden; but, not to mention, that, in this case, there has been something like value received, and that time, and reasonable time too, takes the burden from your shoulders, which, besides, you may at any time remove by doing justice to the mother: whereas the club sticks to you all your life long, while you have health and strength sufficient to enable you to sit all the day and crack flint stones with a hammer.

Therefore, my advice to all young men is, Never give a farthing to one of these clubs; and if you have begun to give, cease to give immediately; to have been foolish, is no reason for being foolish still; and be you well assured that the first loss is the best. Stuck on to one of these clubs, you cannot remove out of the kingdom; nor even very well from one part of the kingdom to the other, without losing all that you have put into this craftily-contrived trap. Get out of it if you be
in; keep out of it if you be out; and trust to God, to your own industry, and sobriety, and to the law of the land, for aid in case of sickness; and thus merit the commendation of Your friend,

Wm. Cobbett.

THE FIRES.

The London papers have come to an agreement, it seems, not to give any account of the fires that are blazing all over England. The wise politicians, who conduct these daily supplies of intelligence and knowledge, are constantly telling us that the fires arise from the working people not being able to get at the sight of a London paper; and yet these patriotic philosophers suppress all mention of the fires, lest such mention should encourage the labourers to proceed in the burnings. These patriots appear to be very pious men, and to be duly convinced of the existence of a future state. So great is their awe, that these present transient fires seem constantly to remind them of the fire everlasting, at the bare idea of which they seem to tremble. It is very curious that the two assemblies down at St. Stephen's seem fully to participate in this reverential feeling; they talk of the unsettled, the dangerous, the horrible state of the country; they talk about political unions, about unlawful combinations, and about all sorts of things; but as if they had bound themselves by an oath upon the altar not to do it, never does any one of them, even by accident, or in a figure of rhetoric, pronounce the word FIRE! Nevertheless, that the fires do blaze, will appear from the following paper, which I have received in a great staring placard, printed by Baker, of Dereham, in Norfolk, and dated on the 28th of November, 1831. It comes from that part of Norfolk which is called the hundred of Launditch, in which, it seems, great sums
of money have been raised; a large subscription has been made for giving rewards to informers, and for employing guards. I will insert this paper just as it stands in the placard, except that I shall number the paragraphs, in order to be able to refer to them with more ease.

FIVE HUNDRED POUNDS REWARD,

In addition to any Sum which Government may offer:

To the Well-disposed Cottagers of the Hundred of Launditch.

Friends and Neighbours,

1. Will you listen for a few minutes to a friendly address from persons who, though unknown to many of you, are well-wishers to you all? We would talk with you of the dreadful scenes which many of you have witnessed with your own eyes. You have seen the darkness of night suddenly lit up with a terrible blaze. You have asked the cause of this unnatural sight, and you have been shocked to learn that it was the wickedness of man destroying the bounty of God. As your heart has sickened at the sight, you have said to yourselves,—"What wretched times are these!" Wretched times indeed they are, and such as call upon every man of right feeling, whether high or low, rich or poor, to do his best to improve them. We are persuaded that we are now speaking to persons who detest these horrid practices. We believe that most of you, whoever think seriously upon the matter, would rather thrust your hand into your own fire than employ it in setting fire to the property of others. Some of you have, perhaps, grown a little corn yourselves: almost all have had a little gathered in by the gleaning of your family. If any person, who fancied himself ill-treated by you, should steal to your little store, and set fire to it at the risk of burning you in your bed, what a vile and wicked fellow would you call him! You would all agree to scout such a villain from your company. Nay, if you knew of any one's intending to do such mischief to a neighbour, your conscience would never rest without giving your neighbour notice of it. Now the wickedness of such a man is exactly of the same kind as that of him who steals to a stack or barn and sets fire to it, careless whether or not any lives may be lost. We trust, therefore, your conscience will not rest without giving all the information you can, if you happen to hear of any one who threatens to set fire to stacks or houses, or who has already done so. By so doing you will certainly gain the favour and encouragement of all good men; and we are sure that if you do otherwise, you will carry a sadly-burdened conscience to the grave. There can be no doubt but that in the sight of God, as well as in the eye of the law, a person who allows any crime to be committed,
which it is in his power to prevent, is as guilty as he who actually commits it. And little less is the guilt of any one who encourages such crimes by helping to conceal them after they are committed. It is great folly for such a one to talk of not liking to injure his neighbour. He is really injuring an innocent neighbour in order to spare a wicked one. And can this be right? But, as we said, we believe far better things of you. Our fear is most for young and thoughtless men, who give themselves up to the feelings of the moment, and bestow no thought upon the awful consequences of what they are doing. Some of you may, perhaps, have some such thoughtless connexions or acquaintances. We would help you to open their eyes to the madness of such practices. We would recommend you solemnly to show them, in the first place,—

2. How wicked such burnings are in the sight of God. It is almost impossible to look at a yard full of corn-stacks without lifting up our hearts in thankfulness to that bountiful Providence who has given such a provision for the support of his creatures. And when one of those creatures dares to commit this provision to the flames, does he not seem to throw back the blessings of God in his face, and to say, "I despise the gift of thy hand?" The wickedness of man did once, you know, provoke God to curse the earth, and make it bring forth thorns and thistles. Is not such base ingratitude almost enough to bring down a second and a heavier curse—that it shall bring forth nothing but thorns and thistles? Show them next,—

3. How foolish such burnings are in respect to their own wants. A moment's thought must show them, that if they could destroy the whole property of their employer, instead of paying them better, he would be able to pay them nothing at all; and that the very last means to make bread cheap is to make wheat scarce. Show them again,—

4. How little after all these burnings injure the property of the corn grower. This indeed is a wretched reason for not doing a wicked act: but they who will listen to no other, may perhaps stay their hand, from the knowledge that almost every grower of corn takes care to protect himself by insurance of his stock to its full amount in some public office. Show them again,—

5. How thoroughly un-english these burnings are. A bad character enough is the open robber who dares to commit his crime in the face of day. But the villain who skreens the workings of his deadly malice under the darkness of night,—who has courage only to do that which a mere infant might do,—whose villany is of so black a kind that he dares not confess it to his most intimate acquaintance, but is obliged to skulk about and hide his crime in solitary silence, scarcely daring to look an honest neighbour in the face;—does such a wretch deserve the name of an Englishman? As you value that high title yourselves, we call upon you, FRIENDS AND NEIGHBOURS, not to allow it to be disgraced by such miscreants as these, but to take the first opportunity of dragging them to justice.—Lastly, show your young friends,—

6. How dangerous to themselves these burnings are. All the honest part of the public are joining together to detect and punish
these destroyers. In your own hundred an association has been formed, headed by gentlemen of the highest character and largest property, and joined by almost every man of substance and respectability, for the express purpose of preventing and punishing this horrid crime. A number of active men will be on the constant look-out against these practices. When a fire has taken place, they will be soon upon the spot, and spare neither time nor labour to detect the criminal. Nor will expense be grudged. A large subscription of money has been made to furnish the means of detection and the reward of discoverers. The very first person who shall be the means of bringing to justice a single offender on the property of a subscriber, will receive the above reward, a sum which may place him for all his life out of the reach of poverty. When once convicted, the criminal can have no hope of mercy: the law will assuredly take its course, and the miserable man will quickly end his days under a load of infamy and remorse of conscience and forebodings of the vengeance of God.

7. We would hope, friends and neighbours, that if you press these considerations closely upon the thoughts of the young and heedless, they may be sufficient to check the first rising of any desire to do these deeds of darkness.

8. We have taken up more of your time than we intended: but we cannot conclude without one other friendly caution to all of you, young and old. Our country is overrun with strangers, of the most mischievous character. They hope to prosper by the progress of crime, and will therefore leave no stone unturned to make others as wicked as themselves. They will tell a thousand false tales to delude the unwary, and lead them into practices which may end in their ruin. Be on your guard against these men, and believe nothing that they say. The county of Norfolk was always famous for its honesty: do not endanger your character, your conscience, perhaps your life, by listening to these artful and wicked strangers.

9. We speak on the part of the association which we have mentioned above, and with sincere wishes for your welfare are your faithful friends and neighbours,

November 28th, 1831.

The Committee.

First of all, let me observe that this Committee do not choose to tell their names; and this clearly proves that there was no man amongst them bold enough to sign this, at once, canting, threatening, and stupid address. In paragraph 1, we have a deal of cant and one lie; for whoever had the impudence or the folly to say before that a man, who has had it in his power to prevent the commission of a crime, and does not prevent it, is equally guilty with him who actually commits the crime? If for instance I were to see a chopstick about to give this canting fool a drubbing, I should be able to prevent him from doing it; but I certainly should
not prevent him; but must I then be guilty of an assault? Poh! impudent canter. This is not the way to produce a cessation of the fires. In this first paragraph a miserable attempt is made to persuade the labourers in general, that they are not suspected; that they are now become "friends and neighbours," who used to be low orders, peasantry, and mob. Yet the writer is very much puzzled to find out somebody to whom to impute the fires; and in short it is impossible for any labourer to read this without being filled with contempt for the writer; he must see the insincerity of the stuff; he must see the meanness of the coaxing; he must clearly perceive the wretched motive; and the impression upon his mind must be quite the contrary of that which the writer intends to produce.

In paragraph 2, this wise Committee call upon God. They tell the labourers, that when they see a yard full of corn-stacks, they ought to lift up their hearts in thankfulness for this provision which God had made for his creatures. They seem to have forgotten that the labourers know that the provisions have been made by their hands; and they should have shown them, that they were amongst the creatures who partook of the provision. Poh! foolish canters! they know well enough that the land will bring forth something besides thorns and thistles; they know that it will continue to bring forth potatoes. In paragraph 3, the labourers are told that the burnings will not raise their wages, but will make the farmers unable to pay them any wages at all; and that they will make bread dear instead of making it cheap. They should have showed them that what they get now, in the shape of wages, is sufficient to keep them from being half starved; and when they were representing it as desirable to them that bread should be cheap, they should have explained to them very clearly, what it was that made Daddy Coke and the rest of the land-holders and big farmers, especially in Norfolk, never cease to worry
the Government, till they had got the Corn Bill passed for the express purpose of making bread dear, for what they called the "protection of agriculture." But it would not have answered to mention this, because the burners might then have proceeded in their work, looking upon themselves as protectors of agriculture. The foolishness, the shocking emptiness of paragraph 4, are fully exposed by the contents of paragraph 5 and 6; for if the fires do the owner of the consumed property no harm, why be in such a passion with the burners? Why call them villains, scullking cowards, wretches and miscreants; why keep guards constantly on foot; why make subscriptions; why offer a reward so enormous; as to "place the informer for his life out of the reach of poverty;" why hold out this temptation to perjury, the like of which was committed in Berkshire last year; and why put into print the infamous lie, that death is sure to follow conviction, when it is notorious to all England, that THOMAS GOODMAN, who set five fires with his own hand, and for private malice too, had his life spared?

If, in paragraph 7, the "friends and neighbours" had been requested to press some good lumps of beef and bacon and some good beer down into the bellies of the "young and heedless," instead of pressing this rubbishishing threatening stuff upon their "thoughts," there would have been some sense in the request; but even this would have been swept away by the stupid stuff of the next paragraph, about the country being overrun with STRANGERS, which impudent lie is still kept up for the basest of all purposes. Whether the county of Norfolk always was, as this fellow says it was, "famous for its honesty," I know not. I believe that, in that respect, it always fully participated with the rest of this once-happy country; but if it had that fame, this canting, mean, lying, and at the same time, threatening Committee have done their best to deprive it of that fame.
In the sentiments expressed in the concluding paragraph I heartily concur; that is to say, I sincerely wish for the welfare of the labourers; but the welfare that I mean has something tangible and even corporeal in it; namely, good wages to the labourer, paid him by the farmer, at the fireside, over a familiar mug of ale, as in former times; and not half wages, handed to him by a bailiff from one of the out-house windows of Daddy Coke’s agricultural villas. “The young and thoughtless! Those young and thoughtless, ought to be sleeping in the farmer’s house, and not driven out to make room for the music and the dancing master. Here is the root of all the evil; and until this root be torn up, you may cant and coax and bully and threaten and watch and offer rewards and lie till you be black in the face, you never will have peace again. But, how is anybody to compel the farmers to take yearly servants into the house as formerly? An Act of Parliament, without anything unconstitutional in it; without any injustice to anybody; without any direct interference in private affairs; without any penalty inflicted on anybody, would have accomplished the whole thing in one single year; but, to have such an Act of Parliament, we must first drive away the candles and Bellamy and his regiment of cooks and cork-drawers. In short when Daddy Coke shall cease to pocket the proceeds of the light-house, the young and thoughtless country people will again live in the farm-houses, and then the fires will totally cease.

Wm. Cobbett.

Of the Labourers to the above-Canting and Bullying Address.

Mr. Committee, We have read the following in the Cambridge and Huntingdon Independent Press, of the 10th Dec.: “We last week copied from a Tory paper, the Hertford
"County Press, a statement of a poor man at Ware, who "having been yoked by the neck to a gravel cart, was "dragged beneath the wheel and crushed to death. Is it "to be wondered that the minds of the poor become brutal-"ized while their tasks are assimilated to those of beasts of "burden?"—There, Mr. Committee! Now come and cant again to us, and call us your "neighbours and friends." That is our answer to you. Go, you hypocrites! Nothing but that fire, to which the Bible dooms you, will ever soften your iron hearts!

We read also, in the Scotsman newspaper of the 30th November, the following:—"Barbarity.—A case, indicating such a total want of feeling as Scotland could scarcely "have been expected to exhibit, occurred a few days ago "in Calton, Glasgow. The child of a poor man having "died, he was under the necessity of applying to the elder "of his district for a coffin. It being a rule lately adopted "by the heritors of the Barony, that the elders are not to "be allowed to give any occasional aid during the interval "of their meetings, in other words, to give no aid to a pauper "without authority obtained at the monthly meetings, the "elder applied to was not at liberty to do more for the poor "man than to give him the coffin, but out of his own pocket he "gave him 1s. 6d. to aid him in burying his child. The "body was enclosed in the coffin, carried to the church-yard "and deposited in the grave; but there it was destined not "to remain. The poor man was unable to pay the ex-"penses required by the bailie of the burying-ground, "and the elder not having authority to pay them from the "funds of the parish, the body was disinterred and given "back to the parent, who carried the coffin home under "his arm! Could it have been believed that in Scotland, "enlightened Scotland, such barbarity would have been "practised?" "Enlightened!" Oh no! You, Mr. Com-"mittee, are more enlightened than these poor Scotch people! And, in time, you will be, and they too, most effectually enlightened! Poh! you fools! keep your breath to cool you. Go, and get justice for this Englishman and this Scotchman, before you call on us to fear the vengeance of God!

[Printed by Wm. Cobbett, Johnson's-court, Fleet-street.]
TO THE WORKING PEOPLE:
ON THE NEW DEAD-BODY BILL.

Stockport, in Cheshire, 21st Jan. 1832.

My Friends,

The above subject is very interesting to you, and I beg you to give it your particular attention. You have been informed of the horrible murders in London, committed by the bloody Bishop and others; and I will now explain to you the cause of those murders. When you clearly see this cause, you will know how you ought to think and feel upon the subject.

There are in London and some other great towns, places where men are engaged in cutting up dead human bodies. What they do this for; that is to say, under what pretence they do this, I will speak by-and-by; at present I have only to speak of the fact, and to show you that it is the cause of the horrible murders that you have lately read of. The cutters-up of human bodies, or body-cutters, purchase dead bodies to cut up, and with

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Two-penny Trash;

just as little scruple and ceremony as cutting-butchers purchase the dead bodies of pigs or sheep from the carcass-butchers. The law, as it now stands, makes it only a misdemeanor, that is to say, a crime punishable by fine and imprisonment, as a common assault is, or as a libel is, to steal, to sell, or to purchase, a dead human body; and I pray you mark, that to steal the dead body of a sheep, or pig, or calf, or ox, or fowl of any sort, is a capital felony, punished with DEATH; and that to receive any such body, or to have it in your possession, knowing it to be stolen, is also a felony, punished with TRANSPORTATION. This law extends to all sorts of moveable property; and a bookseller named Cahuack (or some such name) was transported, some few years ago, for purchasing and having in his possession some copies of a book which had been stolen out of the warehouse of Mr. Bensley, in Bolt-court. This bookseller had a family, carried on a respectable business, and bore a fair character; and he alleged that he did not know the books to have been stolen. From the circumstances, however, the jury were satisfied that he did know them to have been stolen; and he was transported; and very justly transported; for he was as criminal as the thief himself.

But, my friends, if it be just (and it is so) to punish with transportation a man who receives the dead body of a pig, knowing it to be stolen, what are we to say to the law which punishes so slightly, and, in practice, punishes not at all, he who receives and cuts up the dead body of one of the people, though he MUST KNOW that it has been stolen, if not murdered? What are we to say of such a law? And while the law stands thus, what is the protection that the labouring people receive from the law?

On the 12th of December last, the following letter was
published in all the London newspapers. I beg you to read it with attention.

"Sir,—Having dined yesterday with some of my brother magistrates, I learned, upon information which I have no reason to distrust, that beside the confessions published, another was made on Sunday last, which comprehended a catalogue of about sixty murders, and would have probably gone on to a much greater extent, but for the interference of the ordinary. When to this is added the large supply which by the published confessions, Bishop appears to have furnished for dissection, the great number of persons employed in the same way, the probable profligacy of such persons, and, as asserted, a great falling off in the number of burials, notwithstanding the increased population of this metropolis, there is certainly but too much reason to believe that this system of murder amongst the poor, which Bishop said he resorted to as both less expensive and less hazardous than collecting from cemeteries, is become extremely common, that it is in a state of progression, and that new and extraordinary modes, however inconvenient to the professors and students of anatomy, MUST BE HAD RE COURSE TO, FOR THE PREVENTION OF SUCH ATROCIOUS CRIMES."

"J. Sewell"

"21, Cumberland-street, Portman-square, Dec. 8."

This Mr. Sewell is a police magistrate, and, besides this, his statement is notoriously true. Thus, then, sixty poor persons, at the very least, have been murdered in London alone. Probably hundreds; but sixty at the least. And, observe, they have all been RECEIVED by the cutters-up; and no detection, of the murderers ever took place, until that of the bloody Bishop and his associates,
whose conduct was so open and unwary that the receivers saw that they were liable to be implicated themselves in the crime of murder. The apology, the impudent, the audacious excuse of the cutters-up, is, that "they cannot "always distinguish the body of a person who has been "murdered from that of one who has died a natural "death." This is stated by the council of the Royal College of Surgeons, in their letter to Lord Melbourne of the 10th of December last; a document the most impudent and unfeeling (see it, Register, Jan. 14,) that ever was put upon paper. Well, then, since they declare, that even they are unable to distinguish a murdered body from one that has died a natural death; and, since it is notorious that there are hundreds (ay, hundreds!) of cutters-up of human bodies; and that there are many places for the receiving and purchasing of human bodies, and that, too, in open defiance of the present law; what ought the Parliament to have done the moment it met, after the detection of the recent horrible murders? Why, pass a law, to be sure, making the stealing and the receiving of the dead body of a human being a crime as great, at the least, as the stealing and the receiving of the dead body of a pig or a sheep. This is what the Parliament ought to have done at the least. And, indeed, it ought to have done much more. The College of Surgeons allow, that even they are not, in all cases, able to distinguish between murdered bodies and bodies stolen from the coffin. The cutter-up and the receiver never know that they are not accessories to the commission of murder: they proceed in their bloody work, knowing that they may be such accessories. No man, nothing short of a monster, will deny that it is as great a crime to steal the dead body of a human being, as it is to steal the dead body of a sheep or a pig. Therefore, that crime ought to be punished with death as is the crime of
stealing the dead body of a pig or sheep; and death ought also to be the punishment of the receiver and the cutter; because they can, according to their own confession, never know that they are not wilfully and premeditatedly engaged in an act which makes them accessories to the commission of murder, both before and after the fact. In short, an act ought to have been passed, the moment the Parliament met, to punish as murderers, all those who should, in future, be found to have in their possession any human body, or part of any human body, not delivered up to them in consequence of a sentence in a court of justice.

This is what the Parliament ought to have done. And what have they done? Why, one Warburton has brought in a bill, which is now before the House of Commons. I have not seen this bill; but the following has been published as an abstract of it; and this abstract is quite enough for me. I will first insert it, and then remark upon it.

SCHOOLS OF ANATOMY.

The preamble of this bill states, that whereas a knowledge of the causes and nature of very many diseases which affect the body, and of the best methods of treating and curing such diseases, and of healing and repairing divers wounds and injuries, to which the human frame is liable, cannot be acquired but by anatomical examination; and whereas, therefore, it is highly expedient to give protection, under certain regulations, to the study and practice of anatomy:—

Clause I. therefore enacts the Secretary of State to appoint Inspectors of Schools of Anatomy.
II. Name of Inspector, and District to which he belongs, to be published in the London Gazette.
III. One Inspector to reside in London, and one other in Edinburgh.
IV. Inspectors to receive returns and certificates.
V. To visit any place where anatomy is carried on.
VI. Salaries to Inspectors.
VII. Executors may permit bodies to undergo anatomical examination in certain cases.
VIII. The same not to be removed from the place where such person may have died, without a certificate.
IX. Professors, surgeons, and others, may receive bodies for anatomical examination.

X. Such person to receive with the body a certificate, as aforesaid.

XI. Persons described in this Act not to be liable to punishment for having in their possession human bodies, nor for any offence against this Act, unless the prosecution is instituted by the Attorney-General.

XII. This Act not to prohibit post-mortem examination.

XIII. So much of 9 Geo. IV., c. 31, as directs that the bodies of murderers may be dissected is repealed.

XIV. Bodies of murderers to be buried in the highway, or hung in chains.

XV. This Act not to extend to Ireland.—[And why not?]

Pray look well at clauses 9 and 11; especially at clause 11; and observe, that nobody is to prosecute but the Attorney-General! Pray mark that. THIS SAME WARBURTON brought in a bill, in 1829, to authorise masters of workhouses, overseers of the poor, keepers of hospitals, and keepers of prisons, to dispose of (and, of course, to sell) the bodies of all persons dying under their keeping, or power, unless such bodies were claimed by relations; and, even then, such relations were not to have the bodies, unless they could give security for the burial of them according to the rites of the church. Thus were the very poorest of the poor to have their bodies sold to be cut up! Thus were the Parliament to fulfil the command of God, and to show their belief in his word. "Despise not the poor because he is poor," says the Bible. What would this law have said? Why, "cut him up because he is poor?"

This bill passed the House of Commons; and was carried to the Lords, who, to their great honour, rejected it. When it went to the Lords, I petitioned against it. I gave my petition to the Bishop of London, who presented it on the 26th May, 1829. Now, my friends, read this petition attentively. It states your case. It puts forward your claim to protection against the cutters-up and the grave-robbers and the murderers.
To the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled.

The petition of William Cobbett, of Kensington,

Most humbly sheweth,

That a bill has just passed the Commons' House of Parliament, which bill gives authority to overseers, or other persons who have the charge of poor-houses and hospitals, to dispose of (and, of course, to sell) the dead bodies of those paupers and patients who may die in workhouses and hospitals, and whose bodies are not claimed by their relations, those relations giving security that they will, at their own charge, cause the said bodies to be buried.

That your humble petitioner is quite sure that your Right Honourable House will clearly perceive that such a law is just the same thing as a law to authorise overseers and hospital-keepers to dispose of the dead bodies of all poor persons whatsoever, dying under their charge; for that the bare fact of the death taking place under such circumstances, is quite enough to convince every one, that the bodies of such poor persons will, on account of the poverty of their relations, never be claimed, especially if the claim be to compel the claimant to give security for defraying the expense of an interment; and that, therefore, this is, in short, a bill to enable the agents of the rich to dispose of the dead bodies of the most unfortunate of the poor, and that, too, for the benefit of those rich.

That your humble petitioner begs to be permitted to state to your Right Honourable House, that those poor and necessitous persons, whom the law calls paupers, have a clear and undoubted right to be relieved out of the property of the owners and occupiers of the houses and the lands; that this law is, as stated by Blackstone, founded in the principles of civil society; that it has been confirmed by the canon law, by the writings of the Christian fathers, by the law of nations as laid down by civilians, by the common law of England, and, lastly, by the statute law of England; and that this right extends to interment after death, according to the rights and ceremonies of the established church.

That the unfortunate persons who die in poor-houses and hospitals have, in numerous cases, seen better days, and have, during many years, contributed by direct payments towards the maintenance of the poor and the sick; that those of them who have not thus contributed, have all been, as long as able to work, compelled to pay heavy taxes out of the fruits of their hard labour; that every working man, of whatever description, pays full the one-half of his wages in taxes; and that, therefore, when he becomes so poor, helpless, and destitute, as to die in a poor-house or in a hospital, it is unjust, cruel, barbarous to the last degree, to dispose of his dead body to be cut up like that of a murderer, and to let him know beforehand, too, that his body is thus to be treated, thereby adding to the pangs of death itself.

That your humble petitioner beseeches your Right Honourable House to bear in mind, that, in 1802, a Return, laid before Parliament, stated that upwards of two thousand persons, men, women,
and children, belonging to noble or rich families, were receiving annually large sums of money out of the taxes in the shape of pensions and sinecures, and that none of these persons had ever rendered any service to the public for the sums thus by them received; that your petitioner does not think it probable that a less sum is on this account now paid out of the taxes than was paid in 1808; that, in like manner, large sums of money, amounting in the whole to more than a million and a half of pounds sterling, have, within these few years, been given by the Parliament for "the relief of the poor clergy of the church of England;" that those who are now paupers have, during their whole lives, been paying taxes to support these poor nobles and clergy; that they have, in fact, for the far greater part, been reduced to a state of pauperism by the taxes, and by the taxes alone; and that those bodies which have been worn out or debilitated by labours performed and privations endured for the benefit of the rich, are now, when breathless, to be sold and cut up for the benefit of those same rich.

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 those rites as an infamous punishment and signal disgrace; that in the 15th chap. of Genesis's, 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. 2.), when the men of Jabesh-gilead had buried Saul, blessed them for his 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 latter 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. 6, 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. 39, 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. 14, 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. 7 and 8, 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. 14, 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. 16, foretelling the ruin of the Jews, says that they shall die of grievous deaths, 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. 22, pronounces judgment on Jehoiakim, King of Juda, for covetousness, for shedding innocent blood, for oppression and violence, that he shall be buried with the burial of
an ass, drawn and cast forth before the gates of Jerusalem; that in the New Testament, we find that devoted 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 the bodies of poor persons can be disposed of 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 your humble petitioner is firmly persuaded, that a belief in the resurrection, and in a future state of rewards and punishments, cannot exist for any length of time in a country where human bodies are by law permitted to be disposed of, and that, too, for the avowed purpose of being cut to pieces for the use of the parties acquiring them; and that, therefore, atheism, generally prevalent throughout the country, must be one of the natural consequences of this bill, if, unhappily, it become a law.

That your humble petitioner hopes that your Right Honourable House will perceive, that if this bill were to become a law, the hatred of the rich by the poor must become implacable and universal, while the latter would be taught by this bill atheism, and obduracy of heart, and familiarity with ferocious ideas and bloody deeds; and that it would require greater powers of persuasion than even eloquent men generally possess, to convince the poor that they ought to be restrained by anything but want of power, while the same Government which takes from them a large part of their earnings for the support of the rich, condemns their bodies to be disposed of after death, for the benefit of those same rich.

That, for these reasons, your humble petitioner prays, that your Right Honourable House will not pass the bill afore-mentioned, but will protect the poor against a species of oppression more odious as well as more cruel and more hostile to feelings of humanity than any ever before heard of in the world.

And your petitioner will ever pray. Wm. COBBETT.

London, 22d May, 1829.

Now, my friends, the present bill differs from the former one, in some respects; but its main tendency is the same.
What it will be at last, we cannot as yet precisely say; but, in the meanwhile, look at the following report of a debate, which took place in the House of Commons on the 17th instant.

Mr. Warburton moved the second reading of the bill for providing subjects for the anatomical schools. The honourable member, who spoke in a low tone, was understood to say, that as the bill had been twice before the House, which has assented to its principles on former occasions, he thought any explanation unnecessary.

Sir Robert Inglis did not think it sufficient that this bill had been twice before the House formerly, to induce the House to pass it. He required further explanation. He was glad to observe that in the present bill there was a distinct enactment separating the dissection from the crime of murder; he was satisfied that the study of anatomy was necessary for the successful practice of medicine, and that, therefore, some means must be taken to remedy the present state of the law. He had ascertained that during last year there were only eleven bodies which could be legally disposed of as subjects, and these were to supply eight hundred students of medicine. While the principles of the bill were deserving the attention of the House, so were its details. There was one of these to which he objected. He thought the relations of persons dying in jails, workhouses, &c., should have their bodies if they chose to demand them. He would not oppose the second reading of the bill.

Mr. Cresset Pelham opposed the bill, and contended that it merely gave a legal encouragement to the traffic in human blood.

Mr. Hume supported the bill, and expressed his surprise that the honourable Baronet, the member for Oxford (Sir R. Inglis), should not perceive that the bill would make subjects cheap, and that its provisions were therefore the more likely to put an end to the traffic of those who calculated on a high price as a reward for the perpetration of crime.

Mr. Percival recommended that the mere possession of dead bodies should be held to be a felony. The knowledge of surgery could not be lost in the short space of two years, and if they were to try an experiment for that time, he was sure that medical men would then resort to the dissection of animals, and obtain from it when conducted under proper regulations, all the knowledge necessary for their profession.

Mr. F. Pollock defended the principle of the bill, and expressed his surprise to see it maintained as just that medical men were to be civilly, aye, and criminally punished for ignorance of their profession, and yet punished at the same time for any attempt to acquire knowledge. He was convinced that the bill would effect a most beneficial change, without in the slightest degree wounding that sensitive feeling among the lower classes, which he should be one of the last to wish wholly obliterated.

The Attorney-General was in favour of the bill. It made no alteration in the punishment of those who were guilty of
crime. Burking was still murder, and punishable with all the severity it deserved; but the bill took away one of the incitements to the crime, by diminishing the expense and the risk of procuring subjects.

Mr. Warburton briefly replied. The bill was intended to do equal justice to the poor and the rich, and it excepted only two cases from its operation. The first was when a person specially requested that his body might not be dissected; and the second was, when the next of kin was decidedly averse to the performance of the operation. Nothing could be more idle than to exclaim that the rich were solely benefited by the diffusion of the knowledge of anatomy. The very contrary was the fact. The rich employ those who had obtained, at a great cost, their knowledge of their profession abroad, while the poor were compelled to accept that kind of assistance which was within their reach, and which, if it did not include practical information on the structure of the human frame, would soon be lamentably inefficient.

From this we are to conclude, that the bodies of the poor, who die in prisons, hospitals, and poor-houses, are to be disposed of to the cutters-up. No matter on what condition: I care not a straw about that: here will be a law to give up the dead bodies of the poor to the hackers and cutters; and that is quite enough for me. I agree with Mr. Pelham and Mr. Perceval; and I abhor the expressions of Hume and of Denman about making dead bodies CHEAP! Pollock will find, I fancy, that it will "wound the sensitive feelings of the poor." He has not read that part of my first Lecture at Manchester, which related to this matter. It is curious that the Whig reformers are for this bill, and that the Tories are against it! What sort of a reform the Whigs have in view we may guess from this circumstance. For my part, I am very hard to believe that those who are for this bill mean the people any good by the Reform Bill: I repeat here my words at Manchester; namely, that if a reformed Parliament cannot find the means of protecting the dead bodies of the working people, while such ample means are found for protecting the dead body of a hare, a pheasant, or a partridge; then, indeed the bishops did right in opposing the Reform Bill; for a greater delusion, a greater fraud, never was attempted to be practised on any part of mankind. Let me stop here to request your particular attention to this matter relating to the want of law to protect the dead bodies of the working people. You all know, or at least every Englishman ought to know, that for an un-
qualified person to have in *his possession* the body of a hare, pheasant, or partridge, was, a few months back, *a crime*, punishable by fine or imprisonment; that to have in his possession *wires*, or other implements, for taking any of these wild animals, is still *a crime*, punishable in the same manner; that, to be out in the night *in pursuit of*, and seeking after, the bodies of either of these wild animals, and carrying with him the implements wherewith to take or kill them, is still *a crime*, punishable with *transportation for seven years*, and this punishment may be inflicted, too, and has been, and is, frequently inflicted without the sanction of a *judge*, and at the sole discretion and pleasure of the justices in quarter-sessions, who, as you well know, are the game-preservers themselves. Yet those who could, and so recently too, pass over this last-mentioned law, and those new and "*liberal*" members who have been able to sit quietly; and say not a word about this law for transporting men for making free with the bodies of wild animals, which, according to Blackstone, are the property of no man, and which belong in common to all men; those who could make and so vigilantly enforce this law, cannot, for the lives and souls of them, find out the means of passing a law to protect the bodies, *alive or dead*, of the working people; other than that of making it lawful to *sell their bodies when dead*, to cut up and cast away like the bodies of murderers or traitors. From everything that I have ever heard here in the North, and particularly in this town, I believe, that if the horrible bill to which I have just alluded had become a law, that law would have never been acted upon by the parochial authorities of Manchester. I hope that the same would generally have been the case; but I have no scruple to say, that an attempt to enforce the law in any of the agricultural counties would have produced open and desperate rebellion. Judge you of the feelings of the country people on this subject, when I tell you that there are *clubs* in the country parishes in Sussex, Kent, Surrey, Hampshire, and, I suppose, in all the southern counties, which clubs are for the purpose of forming *a fund* for defraying the expenses of *watching the graves of the relations of the members of the club*, if any of them should die, or the graves of the *members themselves* if they should die! How honourable to the feelings of the work-
ing people, and how disgraceful to the Parliament, is this fact! Judge you what would have been the consequences of an attempt to enforce amongst such a people the atrocious bill for selling their bodies to be cut up like those of the most heinous malefactors! A labouring man, James Ives, who worked constantly for me some time ago, came to me, with tears in his eyes, to get 12s. in advance of his wages, to pay (that being the price) for watching the grave of his daughter, who was just then about to be buried! Why what government-protection could this man discover? What had this man to make him willing to be obedient to the laws? Great care is taken of the property of the rich; the law hunts it with inflexible eagerness go whither it may; here the law has grown harder and harder, till it has made the receiving of stolen goods a felony offence, punishable with transportation. But those who passed and have enforced so rigidly this law, have not been able to find out by any means whatever to punish the RECEIVERS OF STOLEN BODIES; though they MUST of necessity KNOW them to have been stolen, if not murdered as well as stolen! Common justice, even natural justice, would make it felony, punishable with death, in any one to have in his possession a dead body, or a part of a dead body, unless able to produce proof that he obtained it in consequence of a sentence of a court of justice.

If reform be to bring us laws like this; if it be to give us rulers, who think it a good thing to make the trade in human bodies free; if this be the "free trade" they mean to give us; if this be a specimen of their political economy; if "cheap" human bodies be their sign of national prosperity; in short, if measures like this be to be the result of Parliamentary reform, better, far better, remain as we were, poor and oppressed; but not put upon a level with the beasts that perish, and see the flesh and bones of our relations, parents, wives, and children, tossed about to be devoured by the fowls of the air; or, like the body of Jezebel, to be torn about by dogs. Warburton's is a miserable attempt to make us believe that the cutting-up is for the benefit of the poor, and that the law is to be impartial. The very preamble of the bill is false: and this I will now show to you in the words of a very eminent physician, who wrote to Warburton on the subject, when
he brought in his first bill, and whose letter was published all over the country at the time. This physician proved, that the proposed law was not only unnecessary to a thorough knowledge of surgery; but that it was the contrary; that the cutting up of human bodies was injurious to the science of surgery. Here is his letter: I beg you to read it with attention. This physician recommends that which I recommend; namely, to make grave-robbing a capital felony. I pray you to read this letter: it will show you that bloody practice is not at all necessary to the making of a man a skilful surgeon. If it were, I am prepared to prove, that this bill ought not to become a law: but first of all, read this letter; and you will be satisfied that the law is wholly unnecessary for the purpose for which it professes to be intended.

"'Culibet in arte sua credendum est.'"

"Sir,—As an ardently devoted and experienced member of the profession, pardon my questioning your philanthropy regarding the general expediency of 'Human Dissections.' He who has dissected and anatomized so much, from pure inclination, cannot reasonably be thought to be prejudiced against them. My firm conviction is, that they are by no means essential to the successful practice of the physician, nor, indeed, ordinary general practitioner. "The study of anatomy and physiology (i.e. structure and function of the human body) I admit to be essential to the perfection of medical and surgical science. I repeat study, for the knowledge of both is perfectly attainable, without the aid of dissections, from our present fruits of them, in the way of preservations, engravings, explicit lectures, and scientific records.

"I canvass, primarily, the physician's vocation—and what have dissections performed for him? First, as to the knowledge of disease. Disease, at its onset, indeed throughout, consists mainly of functional derangement; and what discovery of function has been made through dissection? For by function the symptoms and distinctions of disease are elicited. The perfection of this vitallyimportant branch of the profession (pathology) is acquirable only by experience, which enables the physician to distinguish functional from organic affection. What information derived of vital function (i.e. brain, heart, lungs, stomach, and alimentary passages) by our minutest dissections? Has the discovery of injury of brain, after death, thrown any important light on the valued functions of its particular parts? Anatomy (i.e. dissections) throws no light whatever upon those prevailing and appalling maladies, St. Vitus's-dance, epilepsy, palsy, and apoplexy; and why? because, generally speaking, they are functional rather than organic affections. Much the same might be said of inflammations of mucous and serous surfaces, where life had been sacrificed to them; the blood, at the moment of dissolution, receding from arterial to venous cavities, leaving such surfaces more blanched than florid by it.
Now this I affirm, not from mere prejudice or hypothesis, but experience. Again, consumption illustrates another ground of position, viz., as to the ulceration of the lungs. We know full well, without the forlorn aid of dissections, or stethoscope itself, that ulceration is consequent upon the inflammation of mucous and serous surfaces; nay more, that such ulceration of internal and vital organs, almost without exception, is death. We prevent, therefore, but cannot cure consumption, as lamentable experience has taught us. In a word, we need not dissections to tell us that the organic affections of vital parts usually prove fatal. Be it no longer said that they are essential to successful practice; for it is most disreputable to science and the profession to have it supposed even that one consigned to our skill, should have expired without our knowledge (care being out of the question) of his malady.

Seeing clearly our weapons must be such as to combat with morbid (i. e. deranged) function, it remains to be inquired what aids towards relief or cure have been derived through dissections? Our remedies, of any real efficacy at least, for the relief (cure, if you would rather) of functional derangement, are few; and these with a view to subdue inflammation, correct secret secretion, promote or restrain excretion, and give tone or vigour to the system. We are not assuredly indebted to dissections for our treatment of inflammation, morbid secretion, or debility; but rather to the lights of function and regimen, aided not a little by pathological and therapeutic experiences.

I pass over the absurdity of medical testimony (grounded on dissections) in cases of abortion, rape, infanticide, idiotsim, and insanity; and, from motives of delicacy, forbear the discussion of them. Under dread of poison, dissections at best are fallacious, and our knowledge derived more from chemical than anatomical acumen.

"Your 'report,' Sir, if I comprehend it aright, is to the effect—first, that all must dissect to qualify them for successful practice; secondly, that the bodies of executed criminals are insufficient for the purpose; and, thirdly, that the repeal of such Act, and the substitution of another (confessedly more productive) are essential to the perfection of medical science, and the well-being of mankind."

"Now, first, as to the expediency! 'Tis obvious; pardon me, Sir, that by far too much importance has been attached to the testimony of Sir Astley Cooper and Mr. Abernethy, who are teachers of anatomy, and not physic, in London. I mean no disrespect nor disparagement towards these gentlemen; but why this stress upon their testimony? Sir A. C., after many years' painful and toilsome experiences, is doomed to confess that the operations are a reproach to surgery. Mr. A., to his honour be it said, has ever been opposed to them. It would be superfluous at this moment to speak of their physical attainments (apart, at any rate, from dissections and operations), notwithstanding I affirm that these, and not dissections, are the very bulwarks of surgery. It were as manifest as the 'sun at noon-day,' that bodies became needful in support of the college law and rage for dissections; but your honourable Committee required, bona fide, to know whether such dissections were demanded for the benefits of science and prosperity of the
human race; for requisite assuredly they had made them for stu-
dents passing college, or becoming licentiates of the Society of
Apothecaries. I may humbly be permitted to suggest—teach
students upon more rational and physical principles; require them
to possess a sufficient classical education; sound physiological,
pathological, therapeutical, and chemical knowledge; and afford
them ample physical and surgical experiences; then hopes may
be entertained of their becoming expert and skilful practitioners.

"Be it not said, for mercy's sake, that we require many operative
surgeons (when, in fact, were matters managed better, few, very
few, indeed, would be needed); and let these be select, so that
matured by much experience, they may be fully competent to the
important duties thereof.

"Clinical experiences, beyond all your dissections, prove a trea-
ure to the student; these eminently and truly teach him to
distinguish between functional dérangement and organic affection;
to perceive the operation and the effects of remedies themselves,
and, I had almost said, the divine influence of regimen. Em-
boldened by such, and the like, experiences, with confidence ere
long he predicts the convalescence, or perchance the dissolution, of
his patient. To sum up—the true doctrines of physic are founded
upon unerring and fundamental principles; and such, believe me,
as are eminently calculated to avert pending calamity; i. e. to
supersede the necessity for operations, which, at best, are painful
and calamitous to the afflicted.

"By the judicious treatment of gravel and stone; hernia and
aneurisms; glandular affections and white swellings; fractures
and dislocations; to the honour of science and the profession be it
said, we save much and calamitous suffering in the world.

"Not to encroach upon your valuable time, Sir, or be thought
prolix, I proceed, secondly, to remark, briefly, on the insufficiency
of the bodies of executed criminals for scientific purposes. Immor-
tality to our predecessors, we require not dissections at this day
for the acquirement, much less the perfection, of physiological
and physical science. The mechanism of the human body is
amply displayed through the medium of engravings and preserva-
tions; and its functions, derangements, and diseases, are to be
known and amended only upon the living body.

"Most unwillingly I advert to morbid dissections, the last refuge
of the inexperienced, and the blot of our art. Few things have tended
more to cast a stigma upon the profession, and afford a disrelish for
dissections, than the heartless performance of them in private life.
Perish, indeed our hope, if we expect to attain skill or eminence
in the profession through such dissections. I speak not from pre-
judice, personality, or mere hypothesis, but from long and exten-
sive observation and experience. Why most of our sudden deaths
originating in derangement of vital functions, leave no traces of the
source of dissolution behind them; and such as expire under more
lingering indisposition, manifest to the experienced at least, organic
affection peculiar to the structures of the affected organ or organs.
We require not, therefore, to ascertain such appearances, nor would
our doing so aid us at all in the knowledge or cure of them. To be
brief—civilized beings naturally are averse to dissections; and God
forbid they should ever become reconciled to them, or adieu to the
ties of consanguinity, and those devoutly-to-be-admired sympathies
of our nature, for which Britons, I am proud to confess, have been
renowned from time immemorial. Thirdly, Sir, you resolve to
legalize pauper dissections, after the provisions of foreigners, and
speak of the advantages to be derived from them. The thing itself
may be politic enough in the way of trade; but, for the honour of
science, the credit of the profession, and the peace of society, I
conjure you to pause ere your Committee sanction with their ho-
noured names so degrading, and at the same time so uncalled-for
an expedient. Since, however, we must model our practice and
schools of physic after the fashion of the French, I claim privilege
briefly to advert to the benefits which science and the profession
hitherto have derived from them.

"In anatomy and physiology, it must be confessed, the French
have excelled; but have they comparatively benefited physic or
surgery by it? Have Drs. Gall and Spurzheim, by their minute
dissections of the brain, added anything to our knowledge of it?
We required not to know the seat and directions (nor indeed the
functions) of its vast nerves and blood-vessels. Why, therefore,
perplex ourselves about its mental developments, placed, doubtless,
for the wisest of purposes, by an inscrutable Providence, beyond
the reach or the scrutiny of man? Nor have we yet to learn,—
thanks not to dissections, but experiences—that the brain's de-
rangeent of circulation is productive of correspondent derange-
ment of function, and its organic affection, death. Bichat, Brous-
sais, and Majendie, it is due to them to say, have called attention
to mucous and serous surfaces, hitherto but insufficiently regarded
(and imperfectly understood by many) in practice. Notwithstanding
such acknowledged advantages, the French, I affirm, are in-
efficient practitioners. Do they not to this day, under the most
acute inflammations (and inflammations, moreover, of vital or-
gans), content themselves with ptisans, syrups, anodynes, leech-
ings, and enemas, calculated for the relief only of particular symp-
toms, leaving the malady itself to commit its ravages upon the af-
ected organ, or constitution generally? How calamitous the con-
sequences of tampering with the inflammations of vital organs!—
take, for example, the lungs. Has not consumption afforded us a
lesson; bid defiance to our every exertion, in spite of our discove-
ries and dissections; and are we still at a loss as to its origin, or the
prevention (cure I maintain to be out of the question) of it? If not,
why trifle (worse than trifle) with palliatives, which, under fevers
and inflammations, (without more efficient measures) seal the
doom of the patients? A breath as to their surgical eminence, and
I am done. Baron Larry and Dupuytren have distinguished them-
seives in surgery; but have they not been indebted mainly to their
experiences? The former had most extensive field and hospital
practice during the campaigns of the immortal Buonaparte; and
the latter for many years has been engaged in the performance of
vast hospital duties, being at this moment chief surgeon to the
Hotel Dieu, in France.

"Impressed with the firmest conviction (inspired by an almost
unparalleled devotedness to the profession) that experience, and by
no means dissections, qualify alone for successful practice, I have been induced to impart these solemn convictions to you, Sir, in justice to a much-injured profession, and compassion towards a suffering public, whose condition (in lieu of the Act contemplated) you would best ameliorate by rendering exhumation felony, and quackery fraud.

"Finally, Sir, would mankind benefit their health or condition in society, I conjure them, without delay, to petition Parliament against a measure confessedly uncalled for, and fraught with sufferance and degradation to them. 'Virtus in actione consistit.'

"I have the honour to be, Sir,
"Your obedient, humble servant,

"WM. HORSLEY, M.D.

"North Shields, Dec. 1828."

Now, my friends, observe, that no answer was ever given to this letter. Doctor Payne, an eminent physician of Nottingham, has just published a letter, sent by him to Warburton, expressing similar opinions, and concluding with the following words:

"There appears to be a path now presenting itself, by which the detestable crimes of burking and violating the remains of the dead may be no longer practised. The remains of murderers should as usual be given for dissection, but the bodies of none others; and transportation for those who steal or receive dead bodies. A law should also be passed to compel the teaching of anatomy by the artificial subject as in France.

"I hope the idea of giving up the bodies of the unclaimed dead will be immediately abandoned, as it increases the exasperation which is constantly souring the minds of the working and middle classes, and rendering it unsafe to dwell in the land. It reminds them of the words of Southey the poet:

"Wretched is the infant's lot,
Born within the straw-roof'd cot;
Be he generous, wise, or brave,
He must only be a slave!
Long, long labour, little rest,
Still to toil to be oppressed;
Drain'd by taxes of his store,—
Punished next for being poor.
This is the poor wretch's lot,
Born within the straw-roof'd cot."

"Yes, the people make their remarks, 'When we have lost our all, and have outlived our friends and relations, our bodies are to be given up for dissection!'

"I remain, with much respect,
"Yours respectfully,

"H. PAYNE, M.D.

"Nottingham, Dec. 10, 1831."
Thus, then, the preamble of the bill is false: this cutting up of human bodies is unnecessary to the learning of surgery. But now, if it were necessary to the perfection of that science, still a law like this ought not to be passed; and nothing ought to be done tending to put the bodies of the people on a level with the bodies of beasts. The assertion of the advocates of this carcass-cutting system is this: that unless the carcass and cutting fellows be allowed to carry on their practices, the knowledge of surgery will be imperfect; and that, therefore, the hacking and bloody practice must continue, and dead human bodies (to use the vulgar and unfeeling phrase of Hume) must become "cheap" in the market; or that some complaints to which we are liable must remain without a cure, and that many persons would, of course, die sooner than they would die, if the cutting and hacking system continued, and if Hume's cheap human flesh continued amply to supply the market.

This is the ASSERTION on which Warburton, Hume, Denman, and the rest of them, ground their project for making human bodies "CHEAP," as Hume calls it; and the bill, taken along with this argument of these men, will, if it become a law, say this to the nation: "Your "dead bodies must be made to come cheap to those who "deal in them and cut them up; or some of you will die "sooner than you otherwise would die." This is the sum total of all that they have to say. Hume has totted the matter up; and this is the "total" of it. And now, my friends, hear my answer to these advocates of free trade in your flesh, blood, and bones.

First of all; we have not only the opinions of Dr. Horsley against the utility of the butchery, but his opinion that it is mischievous; and he produces other high authorities in support of his opinions. But we have his reasons in support of the opinions; and we have, as far as I have observed, had no answer to these reasons.

Next; if this cutting-up work be so necessary, so indispensable, to the learning of surgery; how comes it that this did not use to be the case? How comes it that this traffic in human bodies, that the making of human flesh and bones "cheap," as Hume calls it, was never found to be necessary BEFORE? Men's bodies have
always been constructed as they are now; they have always been subject to the same ailments that they are subject to now; life has always been valued as highly as it is now; and yet never until now was this cutting up and hacking to pieces of the dead people deemed necessary to the health of the living people; and never until now did a band of surgeons take it into their heads to apply to the government to set aside the ancient law of the land, in order that they might have free trade in human bodies, to cut up and hack about at their pleasure! This is like the case of the poor-law: it did very well for two hundred and fifty years; but now it is found out that it does harm, and that STURGES BOURNE'S BILLS, and HARNESSING the poor, and that DISPOSING OF THEIR DEAD BODIES to be cut up, are necessary. Strange thing, that this WARBURTON should tell us, that he means his law for the benefit of the poor, while he talks of no law to repeal Sturges Bourne's Bills; no law to put a stop to the harnessing of them, and making them draw like BEASTS OF BURDEN; no law to prevent hired overseers from cutting off the hair of young girls; no law to prevent them from being treated like beasts; and only a law to make it no crime to receive their dead bodies and to hack them to pieces; and this too out of kindness to them!

So much for authority and experience to show that the horrible traffic in human flesh is not necessary. Indeed, as Dr. HORSLEY says, 'it is of no use to anybody but illiterate quacks: it is, as he says, the scandal and disgrace of a most learned, honourable, and useful profession. Rousseau said long ago, that a great increase of the number of medical and surgical practitioners was a sure sign of the decay of a nation: and this is one of the signs of our decay at this moment. But, all this aside; setting all these arguments against the horrible practice down for nothing; and admitting the above assertion of the advocates of free trade in human bodies to be true: admitting that your dead bodies must, in the words of HUME and DENMAN, be made "cheap" to those who cut them up: admitting that "your dead bodies must be made to come cheap to those who deal in them and cut them up, or that some of you would die sooner than you
otherwise would die.” I deny it; but, let us, for argument’s sake, admit it in its fullest extent; and then let us see, whether it be not far better that we should be exposed to the endurance of some, and even to great bodily ills; and that some, and even many of us, should die sooner than we should if the horrible butchery were to go on: the question is, whether this would not be preferable to the suffering of this traffic to continue: whether it would not be better for us to endure these ills, and be subject to these dangers, than to insure, even to INSURE, ourselves against them, by sanctioning this horrible traffic in dead bodies? This is the question: and this question every man that has anything of real humanity left about him, every man who cannot coolly tot-up the value of human feelings, will, without any hesitation, not only answer in the affirmative, but will feel somewhat offended at the question being put to him.

Those who make the above-stated assertion, and who, on its being admitted, seem to think it conclusive for their purpose, proceed upon the truly base idea, that there is NOTHING SO VALUABLE AS LIFE; an idea just upon a level with the instinctive feeling of the most insensible of brutes. But, is this the idea of those who are worthy to be called men and women? Where is the man (worthy of that name) who would not prefer the death of a wife or daughter to her prostitution; where is the man (worthy of that name) who would not prefer his own death to his assent to such prostitution? In thousands of instances, men (and working men too) have gone to certain death, rather than live with the reproach of having betrayed other men. There is, then, something more valuable than life; and is the value of life, then, to be put in competition with the value of all those feelings which distinguish men from brutes? And all, yea all, these feelings must be banished from the breast, before the mind will cease to contemplate with reverence and awe the remains of the dead.

As to the CHRISTIAN RELIGION, it is pure, not hypocrisy, but sheer impudence, to pretend to believe that it can long exist in a country where the law makes human bodies the subject of open traffic; where it authorises the cutting of them up, the ripping and hacking of them to pieces,
with no more ceremony than the cutting-up of the bodies of sheep and pigs. We all know, for we have all first or last felt, that the bare sight of a dead human body fills us with serious thoughts, and that even a funeral, passing by, has, in some degree, the same effect. Can this continue to be the case, if it shall become a fact familiar to every mind, that a human body has belonging to it nothing more sacred than the body of a hog or a dog? People of all the sects of Christians have been careful to set apart places for the burial of the dead. However they disagree in other matters, they are all of accord in this, to reverence the remains of the dead. But how is this feeling to exist, when they shall know that the trade in dead bodies is free; and that, as Sir Robert Inglis states it, there are always "EIGHT HUNDRED MEN in London" engaged in learning how to cut human bodies to pieces!"

If this law pass, what becomes of the "consecration of ground?" What becomes of the Church Service? What becomes of the Rubrick; what of "the burial of the dead?" Dispense with that; declare, by law, that that is useless; and, then, where will there be to be found even a parson, though with half-a-dozen benefices, brazen enough to tell any of the people of any of his parishes, that any part of the Book of Common Prayer is worthy of their attention? What, if a law like this be passed, will any parson, after that, demand fees for saying prayers over dead bodies? It is as well, for morals and religion, that those bodies be sold and cut up, as that they be buried in a church-yard with the usual solemnities; or, it is not. If the latter, the intended law is injurious to morals and religion: if the former, we have long been paying burial fees merely to fatten the parsons. In short, it must be evident to every man who reflects but for a moment, that a belief in a future state of existence is impossible to be kept alive, for any length of time, in a country where the law makes (as law would make) no distinction in the treatment of the dead body of a man and that of the dead body of a horse; both being alike articles of traffic; both being openly cut up for the use of the purchaser; both being hacked about with an equal absence of all ceremony.

We all know the power of habit; we all know that the
blackest crimes proceed from small beginnings; theft, robbery, burglary, murder, is generally the march. The habit of our thoughts has made the most of men hesitate at the commission of the last horrid crime: they have hitherto seen something in a human body that held back their hands: but when, as in the case of the monster Bishop, they have been accustomed to consider human bodies as nothing more sacred than those of pigs and sheep, what is to restrain them from resorting to the killing of those bodies? This bill may, perhaps, not directly, authorise the selling of the bodies of poor people dying in poor-houses and hospitals and prisons; but that such are the tendency and intention of it nobody can doubt. It is well known, that the rich have the means of protecting the dead bodies of their relations, and that the poor have not. And where is the man so brutal as to say that his heart is not chilled with the thought of proclaiming openly to the unfortunate poor, that their carcasses when dead are to be sold for dissection? What! is there a man in England to propose this? And is this proposition to be made even to the Parliament, and that too in a country where the depositories of the dead, and the decent interment of dead bodies, have always been objects of such attention? Are there men hardy enough for this? What! the poor labourer, who, after having toiled all his life; after having brought himself to death, at a premature old age, very likely, by the excess of his toil; is he, because in his old age he is compelled to resort to the parish for relief, to be harassed in his last moments with the thought that in a few minutes the butchers will have their knives in his belly, and be hacking and chopping him to pieces like the carcass of a dead dog? Oh! no. England will never see this. Is the husband to see his dead wife taken away in the butcher's cart, and carried to the slaughter-house, instead of having the mournful duty to perform of following her to the grave? Are fathers and mothers to see their children, and are children to see their parents, tossed into the bloody cart and carried away for dissection? The very thought fills me, and I trust it will fill every Englishman who is worthy of the name, with indignation not to be expressed.

The working people in the country have given the best
possible proof of their abhorrence of any law, having such a tendency, by forming themselves into CLUBS for the purpose of providing the means of WATCHING THEIR OWN GRAVES, AND THOSE OF THEIR NEAR AND DEAR RELATIONS; a fact to their everlasting honour, and to the everlasting disgrace of those who have rendered this measure necessary. Talk of Reform, indeed! The people will be able easily to estimate the character and views of those "Reformers" who want to make dead human bodies "cheap" in the dissecting market! This is now, apparently, become a measure of the "Reforming Ministry." The people will at last have to rely, I dare say, upon the Lords again; and if they drive this bill from them with indignation, they will not only act justly, but wisely; and will, by this one act, do more for the honour and stability of their order, than by all the other means that human wit would be able to devise.

Now, my friends, keep your eye on all those whom you perceive to be in favour of this bill. I will do my best to place them safely upon record. For my part, my determination is, that if this bill pass, to do my utmost to cause its repeal, and never to hold any confidential intercourse with any one of those who may have supported it. And in the meanwhile I remain your friend,

WM. COBBETT.

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COBBETT'S

TWO-PENNY TRASH

For the Month of April, 1832.

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

TO THE

PEOPLE OF PRESTON,

1. On the Cultivation of Cobbett's Corn.
2. On the Lies of the FOOL-LIAR respecting it, and particularly on his Lies relative to Mr. Diddams, of Sutton Scotney in Hampshire.
3. On his Charges against MITCHELL and SMITHSON.

Kensington, 1 April, 1832.

My Friends,

Great as has been my satisfaction at seeing the success of my corn generally, it has in hardly any case been so great as in learning its success at, and in the neighbourhood of, Preston, where I saw so many fine specimens, and where I saw every prospect of a great extension of the cultivation of the corn. I am now about to repeat my instructions for raising the corn; and I address myself to you in particular, because you have the misfortune to have to do with the FOOL-LIAR, who has been making all the efforts that his beastly stupidity would permit him to make for the purpose of preventing the working people from benefiting from this, as Arthur Young calls it, "the greatest blessing that God ever gave to man." It is curious enough

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that the fool-liar should so cordially pull with the parsons in this affair; for I have heard of several of them who have told the working people that the corn was good for nothing; and I know one of the latter, who had fattened a pig upon the corn, held up a piece of the bacon to the parson, saying, “Is't good for nought!” However, I will first give you my instructions for the raising of the corn, and then the fool-liar shall yield us some sport, and we will find out, if we can, where that “patrimony” is of which he told you he had “just received the rents,” when he was called upon to pay for “the medals.”

Before I proceed further, however, I ought to notice, that when I returned home the other day, I found numerous parcels of corn from different counties, and amongst the rest, one parcel grown in Westmoreland. So that I have now received fine well-ripened corn from every county in England, Cornwall excepted. The corn which I have now received from Sutton-Valence in Kent, from High-Wycombe, Bucks, and three ears that came without any name, wrapped up in wool, are amongst the finest samples that I have seen, and all of them finer than the average of my own corn; and I am very much obliged to all the gentlemen who have taken the pains to send me these samples. I would write to each of them if I had the time; but I have it not. They will have the satisfaction to see their cares and public spirit rewarded by the success of our undertaking; and they will have the pleasure to reflect, that the thing has been accomplished, notonly without the aid, but, apparently, solely against the wishes of the government! Oh, no! it is not corn; not puddings and bread and bacon that they want the working people to have: “nice ’tatties” are their favourites; so that they may have the meat and bread for themselves, and for those who uphold and wait on them! The Irish-diet (for English labourers) is their favourite; but the English labourers will not, thank God, live on it; and I hope that the Irish will not do it much longer. The sword-bearing police do not, I warrant them, live on “nice meaty tatties.”
Instructions to Labourers for Raising Cobbett's Corn.

I will first describe this corn to you. It is that which is sometimes called Indian corn; and sometimes people call it Indian wheat. It is that sort of corn which the disciples ate as they were going up to Jerusalem on the Sabbath-day. They gathered it in the fields as they went along and ate it green, they being "an hungered," for which, you know, they were reproved by the pharisees. I have written a treatise on this corn, in a book, which I sell for two and sixpence, giving a minute account of the qualities, the culture, the harvesting, and the various uses of this corn; but I shall here confine myself to what is necessary for a labourer to know about it, so that he may be induced to raise, and may be enabled to raise enough of it in his garden to fat a pig of ten score.

There are a great many sorts of this corn. They all come from countries which are hotter than England. This sort, which my eldest son brought into England, is a dwarf kind, and is the only kind that I have known to ripen in this country: and I know that it will ripen in this country in any summer; for I had a large field of it in 1828 and 1829; and last year (my lease at my farm being out at Michaelmas, and this corn not ripening till late in October) I had about two acres in my garden at Kensington. Within the memory of man there have not been three summers so cold as the last, one after another; and no one so cold as the last. Yet my corn ripened perfectly well, and this you will be satisfied of if you be amongst the men to whom this corn is given from me. You will see that it is in the shape of the cone of a spruce fir; you will see that the grains are fixed round a stalk which is called the cob. These stalks or ears come out of the side of the plant which has leaves like a flag, which plant grows to about three feet high, and has two or three, and sometimes more, of these ears or bunches of grain. Out of the top of the plant comes the tassel, which resembles the plumes of feathers upon a hearse; and this is the flower of the plant.

The grain is, as you will see, about the size of a large pea, and there are from two to three hundred of these grains
upon the ear, or cob. In my treatise I have shown that, in America, all the hogs and pigs, all the poultry of every sort, the greater part of the oxen, and a considerable part of the sheep, are fatted upon this corn; that it is the best food for horses; and that, when ground and dressed in various ways, it is used in bread, in puddings, in several other ways in families, and that, in short, it is the real staff of life, in all the countries where it is in common culture, and where the climate is hot. When used for poultry, the grain is rubbed off the cob. Horses, sheep, and pigs, bite the grain off, and leave the cob; but horned cattle eat cob and all.

I am to speak of it to you, however, only as a thing to make you some bacon, for which use it surpasses all other grain whatsoever. When the grain is in the whole ear, it is called corn in the ear; when it is rubbed off the cob, it is called shelled corn. Now, observe, ten bushels of shelled corn are equal, in the fatting of a pig, to fifteen bushels of barley; and fifteen bushels of barley, if properly ground and managed, will make a pig of ten score, if he be not too poor when you begin to fat him. Observe that everybody who has been in America knows, that the finest hogs in the world are fatted in that country; and no man ever saw a hog fatted in that country in any other way than tossing the ears of corn over to him in the sty, leaving him to bite it off the ear, and deal with it according to his pleasure. The finest and solidest bacon in the world is produced in this way.

Now, then, I know, that a bushel of shelled corn may be grown upon one single rood of ground, sixteen feet and a half each way. I have grown more than that this last summer; and any of you may do the same if you will strictly follow the instructions which I am now about to give you.

1. Late in March (I am doing it now), or in the first fortnight of April, dig your ground up very deep, and let it lie rough till between the seventh and fifteenth of May.

2. Then (in dry weather if possible) dig up the ground again, and make it smooth at top. Draw drills with a line two feet apart, just as you do drills for peas; rub the grains off the cob; put a little very rotten and fine manure along the bottom of the drill; lay the grains along upon that six inches apart; cover the grain over with fine earth, so that there be about an inch and a half on the top of the grain;
pat the earth down a little with the back of a hoe to make it lie solid on the grain.

3. If there be any danger of slugs, you must kill them before the corn comes up if possible; and the best way to do this is to put a little hot lime in a bag, and go very early in the morning, and shake the bag all round the edges of the ground and over the ground. Doing this three or four times very early in a dewy morning or just after a shower, will destroy all the slugs: and this ought to be done for all other crops as well as for that of corn.

4. When the corn comes up, you must take care to keep all birds off till it is two or three inches high; for the spear is so sweet, that the birds of all sorts are very apt to peck it off, particularly the doves and the larks and pigeons. As soon as it is fairly above ground, give the whole of the ground (in dry weather) a flat hoeing, and be sure to move all the ground close round the plants. When the weeds begin to appear again, give the ground another hoeing, but always in dry weather. When the plants get to be about a foot high or a little more, dig the ground between the rows, and work the earth up a little against the stems of the plants.

5. About the middle of August you will see the tassel springing up out of the middle of the plant, and the ears coming out of the sides. If weeds appear in the ground hoe it again to kill the weeds, so that the ground may be always kept clean. About the middle of September you will find the grains of the ears to be full of milk, just in the state that the ears were at Jerusalem when the disciples cropped them to eat. From this milky state they, like the grains of wheat, grow hard; and as soon as the grains begin to be hard, you should cut off the tops of the corn and the long flaggy leaves, and leave the ears to ripen upon the stalk or stem. If it be a warm summer, they will be fit to harvest by the last of October; but it does not signify if they remain out until the middle of November or even later. The longer they stay out the harder the grain will be.

6. Each ear is covered in a very curious manner with a husk. The best way for you will be when you gather in your crop to strip off the husks, to tie the ears in bunches of six or eight or ten, and to hang them up to nails in the walls, or against the beams of your house; for there is so much
moisture in the cob that the ears are apt to heat if put together in great parcels. The room in which I write in London is now hung all round with bunches of this corn. The bunches may be hung up in a shed or stable for a while, and, when perfectly dry, they may be put into bags.

7. Now, as to the mode of using the corn: if for poultry, you must rub the grains off the cob; but if for pigs, give them the whole ears. You will find some of the ears in which the grain is still soft. Give these to your pig first; and keep the hardest to the last. You will soon see how much the pig will require in a day, because pigs, more decent than many rich men, never eat any more than is necessary to them. You will thus have a pig; you will have two flitches of bacon, two pig's cheeks, one set of souse, two griskins, two spare-ribs.

It is quite sufficient, that the corn will fat hogs better than any other thing will fat them: it need do nothing else, considering the amount of the crop, to make it more valuable than any other crop. But, as food for man, it is more valuable even than wheat; because it can be conveniently used in so many ways. 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 dumpplings, 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.

Now, to make BREAD, the following are the instructions which I have received from Mr. Sapsford, baker, No. 20, the corner of Queen-Anne-street, Wimpole-street, Marybone. As I have frequently observed, the corn-flour is not so adhesive, that is to say, clammy as the wheat and rye flour are. It is, therefore, necessary; or, at least, it is best to use it, one-third corn-flour and two-thirds wheat or rye flour. The rye and the corn do not make bread so bright as the wheat and the corn, nor quite so light; but it is as
good bread as I ever wish to eat, and I would always have it if I could. Now, for the instructions to make bread with wheat-flour and corn-flour. Suppose you are going to bake a batch, consisting of thirty pounds of flour; you will have, of course, twenty pounds of wheat-flour and ten pounds of corn-flour. Set your sponge with the wheat-flour only. As soon as you have done that, put ten pints of water (warm in cold weather, and cold in hot weather) to the corn-flour; and mix the flour up with the water; and there let it be for the present. When the wheat sponge has risen, and has fallen again, take the wetted-up corn-flour, and work it in with the wheat sponge, and with the dry wheat-flour that has been round the sponge. Let the whole remain fermenting together for about half an hour; and then make up the loaves and put them into the oven. The remainder of the process every one knows. These instructions I have, as I said before, from Mr. Sapsford; and I recollect also that this is the way in which the Americans make their bread. The bread in Long Island is made nearly always with rye and corn-flour, that being a beautiful country for rye, and not so very good for wheat. I should add here, that there is some little precaution necessary with regard to the grinding of the corn. The explanation given to me is this: that to do it well, it ought to be ground twice, and between stones such are used in the grinding of cone-wheat, which is a bearded wheat, which some people call rivets. This, however, is a difficulty which will be got over at once as soon as there shall be only ten small fields of this corn in a county.

Now, my friends, observe, that, do what you will, you cannot get more than about two gallons of wheat on a rod of ground (16½ feet square), when you can always, with proper care, get eight gallons of corn; that half a single ear of corn will plant the rod; that a rod of wheat requires for seed a tenth-part of the crop; that there must be a floor to thrash and winnow the wheat, and that the corn may be shelled by the fire-side. If a poor man have a little bit of wheat, he finds it very difficult to do anything with it; but a bit of corn he can manage as well as a great farmer can manage his fields. If he have a garden of only ten rods, only think of the value of ten times 215 pounds of flour; 2,150 pounds, or within a trifle of six pounds of flour a day.
for the whole year, besides 210 pounds of offal, enough to
fatten, with some properly-cooked potatoes, a good hog! But
while the instances of this crop of a bushel to the statute rod
are innumerable, let us suppose the average crop to be one
half of this. Then there is nearly three pounds of flour
a day all the year round, and half enough offal to fatten a
hog; and, observe, I do not here include the value of the
fodder, which is very great; and, mind, the corn is only
five months on the ground.

But, in short, I need write no more on this subject: the
fine corn that I have received from all parts of the country
convinces me, that I have done this great thing for my
country, and especially for the Labouring People, to reduce
whom to live upon potatoes was the damned scheme,
which the sensible and resolute Labourers have defeated.
"WE WILL NOT LIVE UPON POTATOES." When
the men of Kent raised that motto, the fate of the tithes
and the funds was sealed. If Englishmen could have been
reduced to live upon potatoes; if they could have been
brought down to the Irish scale, the basest of slavery would
have been the lot of us all! The whole people owe their
deliverance to the men of Kent. Ay, ay! The Whigs
may go on with their arming and with their other works;
but all will be of no avail, since they cannot make the mil-
lions of labourers live upon potatoes. I read, in the pro-
ceedings of the new Mechanics' Institute, at Manchester, a
speech, in which it is remarked, and with apparent pride,
that the members of Mechanics' Institutes NEVER RIOT!
No, "intellectual" souls: not they! They commit no
violences! "Nice tatties," and sea-weed and nettles, and
shell-fish that have died a natural death; these keep their
"intellect" unclouded by the load on the stomach. I am
for loading the stomach with bacon and bread: the load
may, indeed, be rather less "celestial," less abstracted from
everly matter; but, the body is all the better for the load-
ing; and, one would think, that mechanics stood in need of
bodies too.

But, now for the FOOL-LIAR, in connexion, in the first
place, with this corn. The fellow has as much low cunning
as any animal that ever existed, and his disregard of truth
is equal to that of a Negro. Those who have had to do with-
Negroes, know how difficult it is to make them perceive the difference between falsehood and truth. Not one in a thousand of them can be made to see any reason why they should not say that which it suits them to say at the moment. The master of a black fellow, in Long Island, who had been sent to fetch up a cow out of the pasture, said, when the fellow came with the cow, "Did you put up the bars to keep the oxen in?" "O yes, Massa!" There was a barn, round the end of which he had come with the cow, and the words were hardly out of his mouth, before the oxen came round the end of the barn! "Why," said I, "that fellow cannot reason any more than a beast; for, otherwise, he must have known that you would detect the lie in a minute." "Oh!" said he, "a minute is a long while: he would swear that he was not eating peaches, if you were to tax him with it, with peaches in his hands and with his mouth crammed with the pulp." Your FOOL-LIAR seems to be, in this respect, upon a perfect equality with the Negroes. He has all their animal-cunning; and all their disregard of truth; or, rather, their want of capacity to distinguish between truth and falsehood. These two qualities would carry him very far, were it not for the counteracting power of his all-predominant malignity. The lying of the Negroes is of little avail to them, because nobody believes them; because it is the fashion of the community never to believe a word that they say. But, it is difficult to bring ourselves to look upon a white man in this light. Yet, as you will presently be convinced (if you be not already), as far at least as relates to this corn-affair, your FOOL-LIAR must be looked upon in precisely this light; and it is truly curious that, at the last Somersetshire election, they should have held up a Negro to call him "brother Blackey-man!"

Last year, at this time, I published the names and addresses of the gentlemen, in each county, to whom I was about to send corn, free of all cost, even carriage free, for them to distribute gratis, in their several neighbourhoods, especially amongst the labourers. It seemed impossible for the devil himself to find a bad motive in this; yet the FOOL-LIAR, seeing in this list the names and addresses of a number of persons, who, he naturally supposed, had a
respect for me, availed himself of the power that YOU HAD GIVEN HIM TO FRANK LETTERS, to send to each of these persons a printed paper, most infamously slandering me, signed with his name; and, to this infamous publication he added, in manuscript, that the corn was "A FRAUD;" and he begged the persons to whom he addressed the letters, not, by any means, to give it to the poor people to plant!

As I said before, as to truth and falsehood, he is on a level with the blacks; but, having low cunning also equal to theirs, one wonders how he could have thus made sure of his detection as LIAR, by so many documents under his own hand; and at this every one must wonder, until they reflect on the power of the fellow’s malignity, which is so great that it overpowers all his Negro-like cunning. I remember Farmer Brazier of Worth, in Sussex, where THE LIAR lived for a while, saying, that at times, his very look was so malignant, that if a drop were to fall from his eyes, it would burn cloth, or any other substance, like aqua fortis! This was a strong figure, to be sure; but really if we look at the fellow’s conduct about this corn, we cannot help believing that the farmer was right. The fellow is monstrously ignorant, to be sure: I remember him telling his audience, “I have lautely bin in Normany, Genmun; a great forren country in Vrance, Genmun.” But brutally ignorant as he is, he knew that his lies upon this subject must be detected at the end of about six months. Yet so great was his malignity, so deadly was his hatred of me, that he put forth this lie with as much alacrity as if the saving of his own carcase from a beating (upon which point he is very tender!) had depended upon the success of the lie.

The six months ended; the lie was exposed; two thousand and forty-three persons, more than half of them farm-labourers, have (by themselves or neighbours) sent me samples of their crops; all sending expressions of gratitude; all delighted with their future prospects; many of them execrating the slanderous liar; and more of them expressing their contempt of so beastly a fool, who has thus sent documents all over the country, signed by himself, to be at all times produced, if necessary, to prove him fool
1st April, 1832.

and liar, without an equal in the world, amongst either blacks or whites. But now let me exhibit to you in detail some of the works of this malignant liar; and then, I think, you will agree with Farmer Brazier in the aqua-fortis opinion.

You may remember that, in the Trash for December last, and in the Register of the third of that month, I published a letter from Mr. Enos Diddams of Sutton Scotney, near Winchester, giving me an account of the fine crops of corn, grown by the labourers and others, in that and the adjoining parishes, composing those which I have called "The Little Hard Parishes." Mr. Diddams is a village shoemaker, a man very much respected, and he recommended himself to my notice by his zealous endeavours to save several of the men who were transported by the Special Commission in Hampshire. I went, in the fall of 1830, to find out the Widow Mason, and I was directed to this Mr. Diddams, as a person likely to give me information. I have known him ever since, and from all that I have seen and heard of him, I believe him to be a worthy man. Now, observe, on the 4th of December last, I heard that THE LIAR had been received into, and entertained in, the house of a man in Hampshire, who had been, and was, in the habit of corresponding and otherwise communicating with me; whereupon I at once told the latter that the communication between him and me must cease. Upon this he observed to me, that THE LIAR had been received also by Mr. Diddams, and that Mr. Diddams would, he was sure, hold correspondence with THE LIAR. I believed neither of these: I did not believe that Mr. Diddams would let the fellow into his house, if he knew who he was; and, as to corresponding with him, I was sure that Mr. Diddams would have his hand chopped off rather than do it.

However, I wrote to Mr. Diddams to tell me what THE LIAR said to him, and how he received him. In answer I received two letters from Mr. Diddams, which I shall insert here, without the smallest alteration, either in spelling, pointing, or anything else. It is the plain statement of a plain and sensible man, and a man of honesty and sincerity. When at Manchester, I wrote to Mr. Did-
Two-penny Trash;

DAMs, asking his leave to publish the letters: he gave me leave, as you will see in an extract from a third letter. After this I showed the letters in Lancashire and Yorkshire, particularly at Leeds. You will see what use THE LIAR made of his having got into Mr. DIDDAMS's house; and I told my other correspondent in Hampshire that this would be the case; and that, therefore, I must cease all correspondence with him.

MR. DIDDAMS'S FIRST LETTER.

Sutton Scotney, Dec. 6, 1831.

SIR,—Hunt call'd on me munday week past. You wish to know what he said to me and how I received him. I do not know a better way to explain it to you than to relate the whole of the conversation that passed between us as far as I can recollect. He stopt at the Wicket in his gig, I went out to him, I did not know who he was, he call'd me by name, and asked me if I was not a grower of Cobbett's corn, I said yes, he said he should like to see some. I said walk in Sir, I will help you to the site of some Directly. I showed him my corn what I had in the ear and also what I had shell'd. He said it was very fine, never saw any riper or better, he asked me what I meant to do with it; I told him, that in the ear I should save for seed, the other I should have ground, he asked me what it was good for then, I told him it would make very good puddings I was sure as I had tasted of it in that way, and I had been told it would make Bread, but I did not know that, but I should try it and then I should know. He said his opinion was otherwise.—He then asked me if there was many that planted the corn in this neighbourhood, I told him a great many in small quantity. Did it ripen well, I told him yes, in every instance. Did I think it would answer to plant a whole field. I told him yes, under proper cultivation it would pay better than any thing else. He thought it would not. Then he asked me how Mrs. Mason's Crop was, I told him very good. He said he had heard that this corn would kill the pigs fed with it by giving them the murrin, and by making puddings and bread with it it would give people the yellow janders. I told him that was not very likely in my opinion. Then he asked me if I did not know him. I said no. He said his name was Hunt, he asked me if I did not know what the people said of him. I told him most people said he had sold himself to the Tories. He asked me if I thought so. I told him I did not know, but if he had I was sorry for it. I thought at this time particularly every man ought to do his duty. He said he had not nor never would. I told him I did not wonder at his speaking against the corn now I knew who he was, as I had a letter by me which he sent last april saying it would not ripen and that it was a fraud, he did not seem to recollect any thing about it. I said it appears that you and Mr. Cobbett have a quarrel between you, but the nature of the Quarrel I do not know neither do I wish to know, but I think you have acted
very wrong in Speaking against the corn as you have and do now, when you see it will ripen well, and I as well as many more in this part of the country are sure it will answer a good purpose and prove to be a great good. And I said I would not talk any more on that subject. Then we began talking about the Reform. He said the Bill would do no good. I told him Mr. Cobbett's opinion was it would do much good, I mean the first Bill. He said he had a quarrel with Mr. Cobbett, but nevertheless he Eseemed him highly as a publick man. I told him if so how wrong it was in him to try to set the nation together by the ears through a personal Disspute; then he asked about the masons, and Cook that was hanged, and asked me if I did not recolect he made a motion in the house about the men that was transported. I told him yes. He said he had been about to get information on that subject, and he meant to face the Attorney General again when the parliment met. He said he was going to Wallop and could not stop longer. He said he knew the corn would ripen, but did not think it would come so fine in this country. This is all that passed between us as far as I can Recolect now. This is the substance of it at any rate, and I believe he went away some what Disappointed, he gave me three Little papers somthing about his Speech at Leeds, some time past, but I have not had time to Read it. I heard he was at Whitchurch the day after he was with me. I think he was with me about half an hour. I hope you and your good family are well, and I remain, Sir,

Your obedient servant,
E. DIDDAMS.

SECOND LETTER.

Sutton Scotney, Dec. 13, 1831.

Sir,—When I wrote last to you I told you all I could recolect about Hunt's visit to me since that time I have thought the matter over more particularly to myself, and what I have heard since fully confirms me in the belief that he is a — and that the object of his Journey to this part of the country, and his visit to me in particular was for no good; before he made himself known to me he asked me many strange questions. Such as did I know the Barings, what I thought of them, what I thought of the state of people's minds, and if they were Quiet, and did I think they would continue Quiet, and many such like Questions, but to all of them I gave no positive answer, or made no reply, for I asure you I received him as I allways do those that are Strangers, with great caution. Before he made himself known to me and was at the door he asked me if I had any fire within, as his feet was very cold, I said yes, he went in and warmed his feet, and then he asked me if I had any Bacon in the house, which I thought was a very Strange Question. He said he should like some fat Bacon and Bread, at these words I was very much surprised. I thought surely there is something wrong. I said I had none but a piece of lean Bacon which was not fit to be Brought out to him nor did I offer to do it, though I had a nice peice of Bacon in the House
that we dined off the day before (which was Sunday) with some of the cabbages that those plants I had of you produc'd. And then he asked me how far it was to Wallop, I told him about eleven miles, he said he could reach there in time for dinner, and when he found he could get no Bacon of me he left directly. He never asked me to correspond with him, only after he was up in his gigg, and got as much as ten yards from the wicket where I was standing he looked round an said good buy, I should be glad to hear from you at any time. I noded my head but made no answer. I have not wrote to him nor had I ever any intention to do it, for as soon as he was gone, my wife and me talked over the nature of his visit and we concluded between ourselves that there was somewhat of a mystery in it, and you must know Sir that it is not likely but I have been visited by many persons that I have had every reason to believe was —, and that is the reason I receive all Strangers and also many other persons with great caution, and I know he cannot do me any harm if it was his intention. When I wrote to you about the corn I had forgot to tell you that I had sent a good parcel of corn to Longparish, to another person (besides Hunter and Froom). Last Sunday I heard from him, he distributed it to several of his neighbours, he sent word to me they all of them had excellent crops, and are going to plant a considerable Quantity next year, and so are several about this place, I believe there will be some acres planted in this parish next year. Hunt went also to Longparish the day after he was with me, and tried to persuade them that the corn would give them the Jaundice and the pigs the murran, but they laught at him, but whether he got any Bacon there or not I do not know; one more thing I forgot to tell you in my last letter about the murran. He said that you killed a great many pigs with the corn at Barn elm farm, they all died with the murrian, which I said was very strange if true, seeing you so strongly recommended the use of it in the same way to other people; then he told me a good round lie to finish with which I thought not worth telling you about in my last letter, but I will tell you now Just to make you laugh, he asked me if I thought the corn was better than potatoes, I said yes a great deal, he said he thought otherwise and Mr. Cobbett may say what he pleased about it but he once dined with Mr. Cobbett and other Gentlemen when there was all sorts of meat and every thing that was good. But he saw Mr. Cobbett take a great Quantity of potatoes on his plate he thought half a gallon, with some butter, and he made his Dinner on that and nothing else, and after Dinner saw him Drink as much as three Bottles of wine. And as soon as he was gone my Wife said if I was in that mans place I would lie if I did lie as some one could lie with me, for that lie was too bare faced. I will go to Longparish soon and get all the particulars about his foolishness. I hope the Reform Bill that was to be brought forward munday evening will be satisfactory to the country, for I assure you we are in a dreadful Situation, the Fires are Blazing almost every night, and on Sunday night last Cockham farm in the parish of Barton Stacey was Burnt, Barns Ricks Stables and every thing but the House and a Rick or two that stood
at a Distance from the farm yard, if you have a paper that you
have done with and can spare that gives the particulars of minis-
ters plan of Reform, I should be much oblig'd if you would send it
me, as I want to know how it is like to be and so do many of my
neighbours particularly the Chopsticks that gets no news but what
they gets from me, and we want to know if possible before Satur-
day. I hope you and your good family are well.

And I remain, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
ENOS DIDDAMS.

Extract of a Letter from Mr. DIDDAMS, dated Sutton Scotney,
Jan. 21, 1831.

Respecting my letters relating to Hunt and the Corn, there is no-
thing in them but what is strictly true, and you are welcome to pub-
lish them if you think proper. For I think Hunt has used me very ill,
for, since he was with me, he has sent me another Circular with two
of his penny papers enclosed, No. 8 and No. 9, where he has
thought proper to publish a part of our conversation, and some of
it is not true by a great deal. If ever you should see this paper,
he reports that I told him my opinion was that the Corn was too bad
to give to pigs alone without something with it. He was talking
about the murrain, and that the Corn would give it to pigs, parti-
cularly young ones. Now what I did say was this, I had been told
the Coru was too Strong, to give to young pigs alone. And I thought
the best way would be to have it ground and mix it with some
pollard, particularly for young pigs, and if you should publish my
letters, I wish you to put this mistatement with it, for I do not
like his conduct towards me, and I should like for him to know it,
and to know that I want no more of his letters, nor any thing to
do with him, as he has not confined himself to truth respecting me.

Now observe, the words put in italicks are so put by me,
in order to point them out to you as worthy of particular
notice; and I have left out two words, which it was not
necessary to insert. But, observe, in the extract from the
letter of the 21st January, the danger of even being where
THE LIAR is! Mr. DIDDAMS said, that he had been
told that the corn was too strong, if given alone, for young
pigs: that is, too rich, or too good; and this fellow pub-
lishes, that Mr. DIDDAMS said, that it was too bad for
young pigs! The lie suited him for the moment; it seemed
as a momentary gratification to his malignity, and that was
enough.

Now, people of Preston, I do not state these things to
you for the purpose of preventing you from sending this
fellow to Parliament again; for that I know to be im-
possible. I lay them before you, in order to show you what a false thing it is; what a shameless LIAR it is; how clearly everybody sees this; and with what just scorn your letter-franker is treated by those chopsticks of the South, whom some of you consider as ignorant people. "The people at Longparish laughed at him." Do you not feel a little ashamed at reading these words? They laughed at your Cock: those "ignorant" clod-thumpers laughed at so barefaced a LIAR; and they wondered, I dare say, what sort of people those must have been who could choose such a fellow a second time!

But now let us view him as the traducer of Mr. MITCHELL. For years one of his charges against BAINES OF LEEDS was, that he had designated Mr. MITCHELL to have been a government spy in the days of Oliver; and now, he himself calls Mr. MITCHELL a spy. And when did he change? Up to the month of August, 1831, or thereabouts, Mr. Mitchell was, in his letters, his "dear friend Mitchell;" he was to him "as the apple of his eye;" and always concluded his letters to him with "may God bless you and your family." What, then, caused him to see that Mr. Mitchell had been a spy? Why, read Mr. Mitchell's history of the finances, published in the PRESTON CHRONICLE of the 26th of November last, and then you will know. You will know that Mr. Mitchell became a spy precisely at the time when the subscriptions became exhausted, and when he would give or lend no more money out of his own pocket. Mr. Mitchell has not done his duty, his bounden duty, either to himself or to the cause of reform. His account of the expenses of the travelling of THE LIAR; his account of the Stamford-street payments; his account of the cost of the processions; his story of the ten-pound trip to Liverpool; and, above all, his account of the subscription to the Catholic charity ball; all these taken together, and especially when viewed in the same picture with the asking for bacon at Mr. DIDDAMS's, do indeed present us with the "beau ideal of a sturdy beggar;" but this is not enough. We want from Mr. Mitchell's pen, not reflections, not censure, not sarcasm; but a dry and plain statement of sums paid, to whom, and for what, or under what pretence. This is what we want: the whole is, in
this case, a mere matter of money. Put down the "lodgings," and in short every disbursement, and to whom paid; into whose hands paid. This is what is wanted; and it would be more amusing than any farce or novel that ever was published. There was, in consequence of the appeal of the people of Preston, a good sum instantly raised in the City, and I had a sum sent from Lynn. But when we found the channel into which it was going, we held our hands, and I sent my money back to Lynn. We saw how the money would go; and we wanted it to go to the people of Preston, who, we soon discovered, would never get a farthing of it.

However, to come back to the SPY-LIE. For more than ten years THE LIAR had called this a false and infamous charge against Mr. Mitchell, and now he makes the charge himself. Mr. Mitchell was put into jail two years by the government, after the charge was made. No new proof has arisen to support the charge: so that THE LIAR has been calling Mr. Mitchell his "dear friend," and "the apple of his eye," for years, while he believed him to be a government spy; or he now, when the subscriptions are exhausted, calls him a spy, and does not believe him to be one.

When at Leeds, on the 4th of March last, I put Mr. Mann to the test upon this point. I said to him, "THE LIAR calls Mitchell a spy; do you believe that he was one?" Mr. Mann answered, "Well." Oh! no "well," said I. Two years ago, when I was here at Leeds, one of your grounds of reproach against Baines was, that he had falsely and basely called Mitchell a spy of the government; and do you now hesitate upon the subject? "Well," said he, "ask Mr. Johnstone, of Manchester." "I have asked him," said I; "that matter was fully discussed when I was at his house. At the very utmost nothing "but indiscretion was ever brought home to Mitchell; and "after hearing everything, Mr. Thomas Smith of Liver- "pool was of opinion, that no proof whatever was ever pro- "duced to make out treachery in Mitchell." But, added I, "the worst of it is, that YOU could not discover any proof, "or presumption, of this sort, till it was wanted to uphold "the brazen assertions of THE LIAR; and he could never
"discover any presumption of guilt in Mitchell, as long as "the funds lasted! However, this I know, that when I "was here last, YOU called Baines 'a black-hearted "scoundrel' for having called Mitchell a spy; you have "been upon the most intimate terms with Mitchell since "that time; and now, when the Preston funds fail, you "have, all of a sudden, found out that he was a spy; and, "what is very curious, YOU and THE LIAR make the "discovery just, at the same time!"

With regard to Mr. Smithson the charge is just as groundless and just as malignant. You are aware, that when Lord Morpeth presented the petition from Leeds for applying the tithes in Ireland to the relief of the poor, a base LIAR published in the newspapers, that the meet- ing at which this petition was passed was "got up by one Smithson, a man who had roasted the Bible." Smith- son contradicted this by petition to the House; but his pe- tition could not be received. This was clearly an attempt, on the part of this MALIGNANT LIAR, to throw discredit on this important petition; and this too in order to favour the notorious Tory, Sadler. When therefore I got to Leeds, I was resolved to get at the bottom and at the motive of this malignant lie. I asked Mr. Mann (the de- clared enemy of Smithson) what ground there was for the story, which seemed to me to have been hatched up for no other purpose than that of injuring a petition which every good man in the country approved of. He did not tell me what ground; but said that he believed the charge to be true. When I asked Mr. Smithson about it, he treated it as a vile lie, invented for the occasion. But now finding Mann, whom I have long known for a very honest and punctual bookseller, and Smithson, who is a joiner, and also keeps a beer-house, and whom I had not known before, but of whom very worthy men gave a good character; find- ing these two at daggers drawn, and causing great division amongst the working-people, I wished to come at the bottom of their quarrel, in order that I might produce reconciliation if possible. I began by asking Mann what deadly offence Smithson had committed against him; because I was not to be made to believe that the Bible-roasting was his real offence. Mann told me, that Smithson had accused him
of having been accessory to the death of Thistlewood. Here was something indeed to ground hostility upon. I then saw Smithson, and besought him to retract the charge, which appeared to me to be absurd. Smithson said, that he never made any such charge; but that seven pounds and some odd shillings had been collected by some persons (whom he named) to send Mann to London, early in 1820, or late in 1819, to caution Thistlewood against placing any reliance on support from the country, and to beseech him not to attempt anything desperate or unlawful; that Mann took the money and never returned it; that he never went near Thistlewood to caution him; and that, if he had done it, that unfortunate man might have been restrained from making the attempt that cost him his life. When I asked Mann for his answer to this, he acknowledged that he took the money; that he had never returned the money; said that he went to London for the purpose of executing his mission; but that he was advised not to go near Thistlewood; and that he did not go near him. When I asked him WHO it was that advised him thus, he said “Major Cartwright for one.” I reminded him, that I was in London at that time; that I frequently saw him there and frequently conversed with him; and yet, that he never even mentioned to me this mission to Thistlewood, much less did he ask my advice, and that if he had I most assuredly should have advised him to execute his mission faithfully.

Now, men of Preston, honest and sincere as I believe you, I pray you to attend to what I am now going to say. Major Cartwright is dead; and dead men are not witnesses. Mann did not ask MY advice in this case; and I am alive. What other live man’s advice he asked I know not; but he named nobody but the dead Major. But there was another man, with whom he was almost constantly, while in London at that time; and that was Hunt. Now Mann did not tell me that this was one of his advisers in the case aforesaid; and I do not know that he was; but take the following undeniable facts, and then judge for yourselves. 1. That when Mann was in London, at that time, he was almost constantly with Hunt. 2. That Thistlewood had called Hunt a coward for his
conduct at Manchester in the preceding month of August. 3. That, when Thistlewood and his associates were taken in Cato-street, Hunt published in the newspapers, that they meant to assassinate him and me as well as the ministers. 4. That I published a paragraph expressing my disbelief in this, as far as related to myself. 5. That, while Thistlewood and the others were waiting their trial, Hunt said, that, if nobody else could be found to hang Thistlewood, he would do it with his own hands; "aye, and that b— his wife too, for she hates me as much as he does."

You will observe, that all these facts can be proved upon oath; and you, like just and sensible and humane men, will consider them well; and the good and honest and deceived Radicals at Leeds ought to consider them well. They ought to see the true object of Mann's recent mission to Hunt at Manchester. They ought to see that the Bible-roasting lie is the offspring of this old accusation, now revived by the provocation given by Mann, in his attempt to cram the great CORN LIAR and FOOL down the throats of the people of Leeds and SADLER along with him! But now for the proof of this lie.

You will bear in mind, that a petition was agreed upon at Leeds, founded on a motion of Mr. Joshua Bower; that Smithson having supported that motion, Mann opposed it, though the very best petition ever presented in our day; that when the petition came before the House, a BASE LIAR published, in his newspaper the next day, that the Leeds meeting had been got up by one Smithson, who had roasted the Bible; thereby saying, in fact, that those who petitioned against tithes were INFIDELS. When therefore I got into Yorkshire, and was met by Mr. Mann; at Halifax, and afterwards at Dewsbury, I asked him what foundation there was for this charge against Smithson, which had been attempted to be turned to so mischievous an account. He said, that he believed the charge to be true; but he did not mention any proof that he had. Smithson treated the charge as a base calumny, invented for the purpose of throwing discredit on the meeting and on the petition. Both Mann and Smithson sold tickets for the Lectures, and I had to see them both frequently. On Friday, the 24th February, my servant, who had been at Mann's
shop for something, brought me word, "that he had seen an old man there, who had a Bible in a handkerchief, and who said that "he saw Smithson roast the Bible, and that "he wanted, the Saturday before, to roast that which he "had in his handkerchief; that, upon hearing this relation, "Mr. Mann CRIED; that the old man said he would "make an affidavit of it; and that Mann took him away "to make the affidavit." Soon after hearing this wonderful story, the old man came to see me, having a large thing, in form of a Book, in a handkerchief. My servant I kept in the room all the time he was there. He said nothing about Bible-roasting; but, told me, that he was about ninety years old, that he lived eight miles off, that his name was Walker, and that a kind friend always gave him a bed when he came to Leeds, as he was not able to walk back the same day, and that he had come in to hear the Lecture, and to see a man whose writings he had so long admired, and that, as the Lecture was put off till Monday, he had come to see me at the Inn.

The old man had been gone about an hour, perhaps, when Smithson came to settle something about the Lecture, and he expressed his sorrow for the postponement, because there was an old friend of his ninety years of age who had come in on purpose to hear it, and that he (Smithson) always gave the poor old fellow a bed when he came to Leeds. I asked him the old man's name; he said it was Walker! It would have been to partake in the perfidy, not to tell Smithson what this man had said at Mann's, and about the affidavit. He was horror-stricken; and well he might. In about an hour or so he returned to the Inn in great haste, and begged that my servant might go to his house with him. There this old man, in the presence of my servant, said that the Bible-roasting took place in 1795, when Smithson was a child in petticoats, and that, as to the last Saturday's affair, it was a mere joke in derision of the lie in the House of Commons. In short, the old man here negatived all that he had said at Mann's shop, and that had made Mr. Mann CRY! I told Mr. Mann how false this old Walker was, and besought him to confess his error. He said he had other witnesses. But honest men of Leeds, if he have other witnesses, why did he not name them to me, and why, O why!
did he go away with this old Walker to get HIS AFFIDAVIT! And why, O why! was NOT that affidavit made! Why, when the story came before persons not bereft of their senses by feelings of deadly enmity, it was seen that it was false, and that the attempt to uphold it by such means must cover all the parties with everlasting infamy.

Now, good people of Preston and "Radical Union" men of Leeds, it is in the nature of honesty and sincerity not to be suspicious; not to be suspicious is to be exposed to deception by cunning knaves and bold impostors. You have been deceived in consequence of your own frankness and sincerity; any errors that you may have committed in consequence of that deception are excusable; but when you are undeceived, then to persevere in error is not excusable. I can neither gain by the correction of your errors, nor lose by your perseverance in them. In addressing you upon this occasion, I have no motive other than that of wishing you to act a part tending to the good of the country, and to your own well-being; and in the hope that you will act that part, I remain your obliged and faithful friend, and most obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.

TO COUNTRY PEOPLE.

Let nobody persuade you to quit England to go to COLO-NIES. You are sure, either to die speedily or to lead most degraded and miserable lives. If you can get to live under the cheap government of the United States, it may be worth the voyage; but if you go to Colonies, misery for life is your lot. However, there is this to be said; that those who go to these Colonies are such stupid and base creatures as not to be fit to be treated in any way other than as cattle. But you, good bat-men of Kent and Sussex, stay you at home, and keep the invaders away; or, if you do move, move only to the United States.

WM. COBBETT.
SEEDS

FOR SALE AT MR. COBBETT'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., 9½d. a pound; any quantity above 50lbs., 9d. a pound; above 100lbs., 8½d. 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. PEPPERCORN (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 Barn-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 Barn-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 grewed; though, indeed, there was little room for selection, where all were so good and true. I got my seed from Mr.
Pym, 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:

| 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 |

Printed by Wm. Cobbett, Johnson's-court, Fleet-street.
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.
sinecures, grants, retired-allowances, dead-weights, military ascendancies, and military and naval half-pay to persons! 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 super-abundance 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 (I am 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 Boroughmonger 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 Sedlescomb 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 Northiam; 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 Sedlescomb; 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 nine 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 Sedlescomb. 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 eighty 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 cut 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
pocket-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, 2l. 10s. per barrel, of 196 pounds weight; butter, from 1s. 3d. to 1s. 6d. per pound; mutton and beef, from 5d. to 6d. 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 60l.; 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 al-
most an entire wilderness through which we passed. From Que-
bec we proceeded up the river St. Lawrence to Montreal; from
thence to Kingston, 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 prin-
cipal 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 ho-
nest, industrious man can maintain his family better by three
days' work here, than he can in England by six. It is the univer-
sal custom here for the employer to find the person employed in
vituals. 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 pennyless, 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 one 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.

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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 dollar 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 in 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 Sedlescomb,
   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-
ruary 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 Freeland’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. 1¾d. of your money, which last 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 received a kiss, 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 start 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 he 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 Exciseman, 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.


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 milch 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 person 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 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 Joanna; 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, 1828.

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 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-york, sugar loaf, curtle, savoy, and red cabbage seeds; and trefoil, 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 United 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 fundholders, the swarms of clerks in offices; 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 villainous 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 curses
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 pro-
duces; suppose we were to admit this; what are the mea-

sures which a wise lawgiver would take to remedy the
evil? Why, to cause those, who do not now produce any-
things, to produce something, if able; or, if lessening the
number of mouths were the remedy, to send away these
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
Trash, that this conduct is precisely the contrary to that
which is pointed out by reason, by justice, and expressly
by holy writ, 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, nei-
ther shall he eat." In making this last quotation, a cu-
rious fact occurs to my recollection; and it is, too, illustra-
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 Castlereagh 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 Maidstone-Inscription, which was, of course, put up by authority of the magistrates (parsons as well as others), 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 in-
troduce 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 ve-
racity of my informant, who had first seen it there be-
tween 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 inscrip-
tion 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-
tle 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 impu-
nity.

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 coun-
try 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. COBBETT'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 10 lbs., 10d. a pound; and any quantity above 10 lbs. and under 50 lbs., 9½d. a pound; any quantity above 50 lbs., 9d. a pound; above 100 lbs., 8½d. 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. Peppercorn (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 Barn-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 10 lbs., 7½d. a pound; any quantity above 10 lbs. and under 50 lbs., 7d. a pound; any quantity above 50 lbs., 6½d. a pound; any quantity above 100 lbs., 6d. a pound. The selling at the same place as above; the payment in the same manner. This seed was also grown at Barn-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.
Cobbett-Corn Flour.

Pym, 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:

If planted in rows 3 feet apart, and the plants 8 inches in the row,

| 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 |

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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
Two-penny Trash;

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 housebreaker, 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 arts which will be made use of to cheat us out of all the good that a reform ought to produce us; 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 Wellington 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 Grey 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 Auckland; 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 whom 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 ov 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-
1st June, 1832.

was an extraordinarily long Easter adjournment, for the manifest purpose of giving time for the Birmingham soporific to work; but the soporific 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 Lyndhurst'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 russians
who 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 us to complain of
this excellent Ministry on any account; and, as to asking
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 flummery:
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
defection) my opinion decidedly is, that the Whig faction
mean to make use of the Birmingham Political Union
as their tool in getting up addresses of thanks to the Mi-
nisters, 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 frankly stating my opinion; but the
effects of that offence are nothing, when compared with the
probable consequences of neglecting my duty. To those who
live in 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 hell 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
1st May, 1832.
honour by any proceeding so general and so solemn as that which is here proposed by the Council.

But, Sir, I am 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 Ministers 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 Masons 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; aye, 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
awful, though legal, judgments filled that unhappy county with mourning; made it re-echo with the screamings 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 cajoled and caressed and feasted and freedomed 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 delusion, to say a little what the things really now are. The Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of London have the fingerling of the City funds, partly consisting of the revenue of estates, and partly of the enormous taxes of various kinds which the boroughmonger Parliaments have enabled them to lay upon us. With these funds they have proceeded in much about the same way that the boroughmonger Parliaments have proceeded with the funds of the nation. They have contracted a debt greater
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 *thrusted* 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 Portsoken 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 freemen 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 Portsoken Ward represented by a man whom they have not chosen, while this brazen corporation has the audacity to rail against rottenboroughs, 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'-tinker. 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 Man-
chester appear to have crept into the society of Charley
and the Lord Mayor, under the skirts of the grand deputa-
tion from Birmingham. One of those deputies (Mr. John
Fielden) returned home immediately, as soon as
the duties of his mission had been performed. Whether
Mr. Shuttleworth were present at this "feast of rea-
son," I do not know; but our prime Lord Mayor, in toasting
the reformers of Manchester, put Mr. Richard Potter
at their head, recollecting, perhaps, that "Dick was elo-
quenter." This was of a piece with all the rest; for this Mr.
Potter is no more at the head of the reformers at Man-
chester 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 un-
worthy 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 unde-
ceive any body but my own readers. To undeceive them
was my duty; and from a sense of that duty I have be-
stowed 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 roguish 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.

This has been a fine season for planting the corn, which 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 21st 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 100l., 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 100l. 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 100l. 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 Eng- 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 100l. at once.

"The umpire appointed to judge of my crop, must be one that Dr. Mitchell, Mr. Tredwell, 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 Castlereagh'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 of the murran, or their peepul ov yaller janders." They seem to laugh at this fool-liar stuff, as the people of Long-farish 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 ov 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 Wonston, 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 50,000,000l. 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, securities, &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 650,000l. 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 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 40,000L. 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 1,000L. per annum, the small tithes 450L., and which belong to the Dean of Winchester. A curate is hired for about 100L. per annum, and who does duty twice on every Sabbath day; that the 1,350L. 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 insult 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 oppression, 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 a 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 redress, showing partiality, and which has been proceeded on with such coldness as to denote insincerity on the part of its projector. 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.

Enos Diddams
Andrew Diddams
William Snow
Jacob Bay
George Diddams
Henry Wooderson
John Wheeler
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

WONSTON.

William Fisher
Thomas Newman
Joseph Newman
Thomas Wheeler
John Reynolds
James Whicher
George Gamster
Michael Chives
Richard Dollyer
Nathaniel Newman
Charles Collis
William Monday
Henry Pitter
John Lewis
Charles Goodfellow
Robert Groves
James Groves, jun.
Joseph Carter
James Leach
James Taylor
Charles Leach
John Romble
Charles Marks
William Rudun

Charles Newman
Stephen Newman
John Pearce
James Wits
Thomas Butcher
Thomas Stock
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 Hopgood
William Goodall
Thomas Self
Thomas Stub
William Jones
John Tomkins

BULLINGTON.

Robert Mason
Thomas Malt

Jacob White
Richard Ventham

Emanuel Baverstock

Ambrose Courtney
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<td>John Pane</td>
<td>Thos. Bexyman, jun.</td>
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*May God speed your petition.*

Mr. Thomas Alexander  Mr. James Pritchow.

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 Bullington, 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,

II. 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 Peel. 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 Peel." 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, fatted 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 sufficiency
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 Grey 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 Stoke 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. Dowden. Here Joseph was caught; but Robert escaped. On the same day, however, he was clapped into another indictment, when the Reverend James Jolliffe, 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 "he 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. Wick-
ham and Mr. James Wickham, the two principal land-
owners in the neighbourhood, gave him, as they before had
given his brother, the best of characters. Mr. Enos Didd-
dams 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 newspa-
paper, 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 sove-
reign 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 Win-
chester, 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 Baring'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. Enos 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 Coventry, to the young women who had their hair chopped off by the hired overseer 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. Enos Diddams 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 approaching 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. Enos Diddams 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
1st July, 1832.

should hope that the farmers hard by would give us stable room for a short space of time. But I request Mr. Did- Dams 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 Scotney, 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 Scotney; and I trust that we shall so act our part as to put our inso-
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 Scottney 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 carcasses 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 inexhaustible 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 those rites as an infamous punishment and signal disgrace; that in the 15th 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 latter 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. xii., 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.

Kensington, 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.

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