

0529

120-7



THE
POLITICAL SALVATION
OF
GREAT BRITAIN.

PRICE TWO SHILLINGS AND SIXPENCE.

THE
POLITICAL SALVATION

OF
GREAT BRITAIN,

BY MEANS ENTIRELY NEW;

RENDERED NECESSARY BY THE URGENCY
OF CIRCUMSTANCES:

CONCLUDING WITH

*A Remedy for the Depreciated State of the Funds,
Highly Interesting to Stockholders.*

BY A GENTLEMAN

INDEPENDENT OF PARTY.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR J. WRIGHT,
OPPOSITE BOND STREET, PICCADILLY.

1797.

WORTHINGTON INSTITUTION

GREAT BRITAIN

LENDING LIBRARY

1841

MARKET STREET

1841

1841

1841

ADDRESS

TO

THE READER.

FEELING, as I do, that my former statements, respecting the disastrous consequences which would result from the prosecution of this unfortunate war, have been in every respect so completely verified; I hope it will not be deemed an unreasonable presumption, on the present occasion, to request an attention, equally unprejudiced by accustomed usage as by existing opinion, to the following interesting sketch; under the full assurance that no improper view prompts my pen; no party biases my judgment; that I am equally the enemy

of

of despotism and anarchy; and that the peace, welfare, and security of my country, is the grand motive by which I am actuated in thus addressing you.

In vain have I long and anxiously waited, in the fruitless expectation of gladly witnessing some more able politician promulgate measures similar to these which I am now about to recommend; and singular indeed it appears, that a necessity, long ago obvious, and which, where most important, I hinted at in a former publication, should still be left for me to point out.

To superiority of style or manner I dismiss all claim. To express my sentiments with candour, and render my positions clear and intelligible, is all of literary accomplishment I suffer myself to aim at.

There

There is that, nevertheless (more especially in politics), which, in my estimation, far surpasses these flowery embellishments---a successful endeavour to render ourselves in some way useful to the community in which we live. In accomplishing this, and thus becoming the instrument of benefiting my fellow-countrymen, I shall ever experience an honourable gratification, serenely satisfactory to

The Public's most obedient

And respectful humble

Servant,

THE AUTHOR.

THE
POLITICAL SALVATION
 OF
GREAT BRITAIN.

It is somewhat curious to observe the changeable influence of public opinion at different periods of time. Men free from interest, untouched by passion, and at liberty to declare themselves, will readily join in one voice, to pronounce war the most destructive engine to the happiness of nations. A few revolving years pass on, and the same men declare war to be just and necessary to their well-being, to the security of their property, the maintenance of their religion, the preservation of their constitution, and all that is dear to them; and this too even while Ministers of peace are holding out the olive-branch, and good-fellowship proffering the congenial cup of harmony.

B

Monfrous

Monstrous infatuation ! that so powerfully works on the sense of perception, as to blind the plainest faculties of our knowledge, and cause us to become converts to error, in despite of our better judgments : To change the flourishing state of enviable joy and peace, and voluntarily, without absolute necessity in lieu thereof, press to our bosoms the calamitous miseries of war—Gracious God ! what folly ! what extravagant madness ! So contrary, however, is such an act to the reigning principle which actuates the mass of the people, that it is never their offspring. Here both art and chicanery are wanting to rouse the latent spirit of enmity, and kindle the spark into the furious flame of barbarous contention. It is to Rulers and their Ministers that we must look for the solution of so strange a paradox. Envy or jealousy at the improvement of a foreign constitution ; want of confidence in their own, from a knowledge of some defects that require remedies, they are not willing to apply ; ambitious hopes of aggrandizement, sometimes revenge of personal insults, piques, or the like : at others, deceitful insinuations and false delusions of designing interested men held out to

weak

weak Ministers. These are among the evils which spring up to cover a land with bitterness and woe.

And yet, little difficult as this is to discern upon reflection, such is the ultimate pliability of the public mind, seldom thinking for itself till too late, that artful sophistry, seconded by eloquent address, is never at a loss for arguments to mislead and wind round to these direful purposes, the willing, dependent, obsequious, prudent, good sort of men, who, fortunately for their governors, are well and contentedly taught to leave politics entirely to them ; or when perchance they do not, may indeed, in some cases, be incapable of seeing through the deception that is thus occasionally practised upon them.

But whether or not these premises are applicable to the war we are now waging, shall be entirely left to the various opinions of the different readers. In recurring, however, to the passing incidents since its commencement, it is impossible not to contemplate the frailty of human foresight ; for whatever might have been the purposes and intents of the numerous allied Courts against the liberties of France, although supposed to have possessed an exten-

five compilation of the first abilities of Europe, they have so completely failed, that without having recourse to the old train of reasoning, they must be pronounced in the most emphatical terms of a decided verdict—Guilty—Guilty upon our honour.

This judgment is now not on the record of surmises, doubtful opinions, or any specious false colouring, that will bear an argument against it; it is tried, judged, and condemned by the first unerring maxim of sound politics, viz. that which succeeds is infallibly right, that which does not, as infallibly wrong.

That this leading truth may not be doubted by those who are ignorant of its composition, it may be here proper to observe, that as the science of government embraces the immediate interests of every individual of a realm, in the most important instances, it requires above all others that profundity of consideration, as to take in every possible miscarriage that can any way defeat the intent, by placing the subject in every light and shade which may be produced by a concurrence of all the various circumstances that can attach to it. Such is the indisputable grand tribunal which now declares upon the high ground of experience,

experience, this war against the internal regulations of a foreign country, to have been ill-judged and ill-conducted. It also pronounces the worn-out objections to the conclusion of peace with the late Convention of France, in exactly the same degree frivolous, and totally void of foundation in demonstrable fact.

Now at last indeed, when too late, our Administration having discovered that sophistry will no longer avail, they condescend to allow the government of that nation to be capable of maintaining the relations of peace and amity; and this principally to proceed from the different construction of their new form, divided into two Councils, and thereby creating a sort of distinction and inequality in their Republic.

Their opinion, or rather their reasons for that opinion upon this matter, does not however seem to be well grounded in substance; for, on the contrary, when the pressure of foreign war no longer binds them, these two Councils will become jealous of each other, and either on some question of prerogative, or other important matter of deliberation, will certainly disagree in their future decisions; the

the consequence of which must be, that of dividing their nation into two general parties, equally emulous of maintaining their power, until inveteracy bursts the bounds of prudence, and civil war alone can end their contest.

A Republican Constitution should be completely democratic; its legislative body consist of one single estate only; and the manner of election such as to be in the happy constancy of beneficial unison with the majority of the people. But in whatever manner chosen, in its sittings it should be similar to the House of Commons of Great-Britain, with the single exception of ineligibility, until the full attainment of thirty-five years of age; it should also be subject in every respect to the same identical internal forms and regulations, experience having proved these in particular to be properly adequate to the maintenance of the most dignified and respectable order; an acquirement in the utmost degree indispensable in a deliberative assembly of such high consequence.

The three separate readings upon every question gives sanction and effect to the debates, by affording time for ample deliberate reflection

reflection upon all the various subjects that present themselves to discussion, and has an admirable issue in the completion of a perfect system.

Had the former Convention of France been thus constituted, and had it been also well connected into one solid efficacious body, by a universality of representation, at the same instant legislating in one grand capacity for the whole nation, and promulging universal laws binding upon the whole people, by this means affording a promptitude and rapidity in the direction of the entire united strength and force of their Republic; this would certainly have proved for France a better and more durable constitution, and of course more capable of maintaining all relations whatever, than the two Councils she has now adopted. For any two estates, under all possible regulations, cannot in the nature of things combine the essence of good government, unless they be not only equally balanced in themselves, but have likewise superadded another also of equal proportioned weight.

Hence it appears that a well-constructed government must consist either of one singly, or of three separate independent estates, capable

pable of maintaining the supremacy by the combination of their balancing power.

The pure original intended Constitution of Great-Britain, as fixed at the Revolution, is of this nature.

The American would also be so, was it not that each state is too separate and distinct. One general law should govern one nation, and proceed from one head. A multiplicity of local laws produce endless confusion, and different jurisdictions insufficiently combined generate dissention. Now as what is understood by the maintenance of the relations of peace and amity, is in fact only the maintenance of internal order in the country alluded to, it plainly appears that the Convention of France was, or might have been, equally if not preferably adapted thereunto, as the present Councils of Elders and Youngers.

The truth, however, is, that the assertion in question, under the circumstances in which it was made, was neither more nor less than a mere farce. Can any man possessed of the smallest acquaintance with the human mind suppose that, however changeable the French might be under the grand struggle for liberty, respecting either their form of government or
their

their Executive Ministers, that the whole body politic could be insensible to the benefits they must derive in the acquirement and permanence of their new establishment, by a peace with this powerful kingdom? Can it be supposed that, whoever might have held the reins there, they would have been insensible of so obvious a necessity to their immediate security? Certainly not. There was not a Frenchman, of what party soever he might be, who could have succeeded to the direction of affairs, that would have made himself so odious to his country, so weak and contemptible in the eyes of Europe, as to have plunged France into a fresh war with Great-Britain, merely because his predecessors of an opposite party concluded the peace.

In short, the imagination of a circumstance so utterly extraneous and impossible, was and is absolutely ridiculous to a degree of no small contempt. To weigh the wisdom of nations in so prejudiced a scale is unjust, and to estimate our superiority in honour, prudence, and perspicuity, is an act both of meanness and folly, which it is very much to be apprehended will denounce to the world

C those

(10)

those with whom it originated, as characters very unfit to take the lead in this kingdom.

As a further and complete proof of the truth of this reasoning, only look to the peace which France has already concluded with those Powers who in the outset of the war were our allies, and see if a disposition appears to break the treaties: no such thing. It must therefore be readily conceded, that few men can now be found so hardy as to maintain that a mere change of Ministers or party in France would, from the commencement of the war to the present hour, have caused any such effect whatever, more particularly against so formidable and awful a power as that of these realms, had it so happened that good fortune had blessed our stars at any part of that period with the happy goal of peace.

But to return to the conduct of the war. As a general condemnation, without specifying particulars, is never convincing, it may be requisite to state one or two heads touching the operations entered upon to annoy the enemy; for as to the source and origin of the conflict, that is too well understood either to leave a doubt or require further comment against it.

One

(11)

One of the most obvious faults, and the least noticed, although of perhaps the greatest consequence from the first to the last, was that of not sending a powerful expedition to the West-Indies in the very outset of the war; when it is well known such a force would have rivetted to us the whole and entire possession of our enemy's property and territory in those valuable islands: such an expedition must then inevitably have succeeded to our most sanguine wishes. There was neither army nor navy there of any consequence to oppose us, and our fleets could have prevented all succours towards their relief. Had we therefore pursued this measure during this fair opportunity, the advantages that must have resulted therefrom would have been indeed incalculable: it would both have shortened the general contest, at the same time that it must have placed the staff so completely in our own hands, that we might then have absolutely commanded not only an honourable but a permanent and glorious peace. The common excuse, however, on this subject is, that we could not fit out an expedition sooner than that which did fail; but this evasion is certainly not admissible.

C 2

For

(12)

For if this country cannot by the ordinary means equip and dispatch to any quarter of the world twenty or five-and-twenty thousand military within six or nine months from a declaration of war, extraordinary means should be used to accomplish it if necessary, otherwise the efforts, menaces, and enmity of Great-Britain are alike puny, imbecile, and contemptible. This omission in the first instance, however, quickly lost us the favourable opportunity. The French increased their force, and difficulties afterwards multiplied in great variety. We have nevertheless, it is true, since succeeded in part, by encountering all these new obstacles at a tenfold expence, inasmuch that the cost and the advantage are by many thought to be nearly upon a par. Indeed of this opinion one of our most celebrated characters in political knowledge, a noble and experienced Marquis, seems rather to profess himself. It is with great deference, therefore, to this first-rate information that the conquest of the French West-Indies is considered as an acquirement of immense general benefit, in various points of view: first, in the trade between them, and us next, in the manufactory of the raw materials;

(13)

terials; thirdly, in the exportation towards the supply of all Europe with their productions, both raw and manufactured; fourthly, an increased nursery and employ for our seamen; and fifthly, and most materially, the deprivation of one and all these advantages to France. For there the grand question hinges. If we possess them not, the French will; by which means our superiority at sea would be lost, and they must then ride triumphant on the general wreck of our commerce, and our total extinction as an independent kingdom.

By so much the greater then the value, by so much the greater has been the surprising omission of seizing the plain opportunity that presented itself of becoming masters of this prodigious source of revenue and strength; for however roundly it may be asserted, it can never be credited, nor will ever be admitted, that we were incapable of sending out a sufficient armament in time to complete the conquest by a coup de main.

Another striking fault in the prosecution of the war, has been a total want of energy in every undertaking that we entered upon. Whether we sent troops to Holland, to Germany, or to France, there was the same weakness

weakness and inefficacy manifest throughout. They either went abroad by driblets, or their full complements were equally inadequate to the task they had to perform. They were sent only to incur expence, ignominy, and defeat to this kingdom. And while no troops on earth could surpass their discipline, act with greater alacrity, manifest a more noble spirit and undaunted courage; yet were the projects to accomplish neither more nor less than the exact exemplification of Don Quixote and the windmills: for what other could be expected from the utmost possible exertion and conflicts of such a comparative handful of men.

If it was at all necessary to undertake offensive military operations upon the Continent, of which there are considerable doubts, they should at least have been centered, powerful, and equal to the object. The difference between succeeding in one, and being defeated in many, in a war like this, would surpass human belief. Such conduct might not improbably have changed the whole face of hostility, and turned the fate of abject submission into the exulting dictating conqueror.

Again

Again when we look at the enormous expence that has been incurred, our surprise encreases beyond conception. Let any man put the question to himself, What expeditions have we undertaken, or what operations pursued, that could possibly incur so prodigious a cost? One hundred and fifty millions! Good God! for what? It really seems incredible. Not one single armament of any thing like adequate consideration, either in number, force, or distance, have we dispatched from our ports, excepting that only which was destined for the West Indies; which, from being fitted out one or two years too late, together with contrary winds and storms, was rendered, in point of service, very far short of what might have been otherwise expected. In this instance, it is true, there was the appearance of a considerable force collected and transported; but this is the only one that could be called a powerful armament, dispatched, so as to act together with any hopeful effect at all.

Expeditions of from two to six thousand men, sent at different times, almost imperceptibly, merely across the Channel, has been the utmost of our mighty projects. Is it

not

not then astonishing how we can have run up this immense sum of debt? Be it as it may, it affords a most cheerless prospect, and must prove a very millstone round our necks, which, if not quickly and judiciously taken off or relieved, must infallibly sink us to the bottom in hopeless despair; and for which fearful reason, this part of the subject will presently form one of the principal aims in this summary discussion.

These are the heads of chief complaint in the method of displaying and using the immense power and vigour of which this kingdom is most certainly capable. And as Ministers carried all their points in Parliament with a high hand and great majorities, there could not have been any rational mode of annoyance which they might not also have carried through with equal ease. All blame, therefore, where blame there is, certainly rests entirely with them; for, in fact, they had nothing, with us, but mere words opposed to them in any scheme whatever they might have chosen to undertake. They had entirely their own way. Every plan, every motion they took care should be their own act and deed: and this will hereafter render either

either palliation or excuse a matter of no inconsiderable difficulty.

But as it is determined that what is now a very uncommon and rare principle shall actually form the characteristic of this Treatise, that is—decided truth, and strict impartiality; consequently, whatever shall appear to be reasonably objectionable, on this survey of the conduct and situation of the kingdom, shall be fairly and openly stated, let it proceed from what quarter it may.

Notwithstanding, therefore, that Administration have been, in the preceding instances, certainly blameworthy, there are some of their measures, nevertheless, for which they are condemned without either mercy or justice. Such as, for instance, “their conduct respecting the present coercion of Ireland,” and “the Acts which restrain the numerous meetings of the Corresponding Society.” When men openly disobey the laws of their country, and set at defiance the constituted authorities with flagrant ill intention, it is surely high time to counteract them by vigorous decisive exertions, until complete order may be securely restored. When this

order may be securely restored. When this

(18)

is done, then it is that the cause should be investigated.

In opposing the religious claims of the United Irishmen, certainly Ministers do no more than their duty urges. The demands of Ireland go at once either to let in general toleration, or to create a Roman Catholic supremacy. For God's sake where is the man who can lay his hand upon his heart, and profess himself ignorant that neither the one nor the other are the Constitution of these realms? or who is he that is absurd enough to hazard the belief, that toleration established there, a bloody and desperate struggle would not be made for it in England also. Such claims indeed can no more be admitted in that kingdom than the Test Act can be repealed with us, without so materially altering the Constitution of this country, as perfectly to unhinge the regular order of our system; an experiment much too dangerous to be ventured upon by those who wish to prevent the inroads of anarchy: for no such total change, either in this or any other respect, can possibly take place without in some measure producing that effect. To reform and renovate the Constitution will preserve, increase,

(19)

increase, and insure the continuance of order. To change the Constitution, must sooner or later unavoidably produce the contrary, and thus supplant the decreased enjoyments that remain to us by a reign of bloodshed and confusion in much the greater likelihood for years to come. In this view civil war presents itself to us with all its horrid deformities and aggravated miseries, which one would suppose fully sufficient to deter every reasonable being from courting any principle that must strike so deeply at the root of our established system of government, as the claims under discussion most certainly do.

A Roman Catholic superiority in Ireland, and a Protestant in Great Britain, are opposites that can never blend in harmony; and more than that, they positively cannot exist together: for as wide as pole and pole asunder is such a chimera from either present or future advantage equally to either kingdom.

It is therefore not more with regret than surprise that so respectable an assemblage of persons of rank, fortune, and education as that of the Whig Club of London should, in their late meetings, seemingly give their absolute approbation and countenance to the
unreason-

unreasonable boisterous present confederates of Ireland. And very much indeed is it to be wished, that this Club, which has always been held as distinguished in character, and high in honour, as famed for its constitutional principles, may consider in time the consequences which must attach to such respectable support, and that they will take an early opportunity of correcting their undoubted error, which otherwise cannot but afford plentiful obnoxious nutriment to similar seeds already sufficiently sown with us.

A well adapted established church upon an enlightened system not only very much assists towards the maintenance of order, by promoting and furthering, in the most essential degree, a reverential awe and submission to all national salutary regulations, but it certainly does also greatly tend to ward off those strange superstitious inconsistencies, those conceits of witchcraft, those pernicious customs extending even to human sacrifices, those tenets of pretended conscience counteracting the most requisite laws of a State, which general toleration, or, in other words, religion run wild, will, in the course of time, assuredly

ly produce. Look round the world, and observe the strange religious fantasies that exist. Observe also their powerful effect upon the manners, customs, life, vigour, and political power of any people, and you cannot but see the importance of adhering to a settled system of experienced benefit. But, in short, exclusive of these considerations, general toleration is not positively the Constitution of this country, and of course the reversing that Constitution must produce confusion and anarchy.

Whatever actual wrongs, however, the people of Ireland really suffer, in the name of God let them be redressed; but stand firm as the pillar of Hercules against every unconstitutional attack, that may be either lurking in embryo, or openly avowed.

As to the Corresponding Society, while the supporters of it are so indiscreet as to establish themselves upon the extravagant, inadmissible, democratic principle of universal suffrage and annual Parliaments, thus considering only the advancement and superiority of the lowest orders of the people, at the expence of destroying every spur to industry, and rivetting in its place rapine and confusion; while they still more indiscreetly ma-
nifest

(22)

nifest to the world their cloven foot, in addressing each other by the title of citizen; and while they thus dam up every opening, and obstinately continue to fix this impenetrable bar to entering upon any reform at all; it is in fact to their absurd demand and rash language the country in general must look for the evil consequences that have already resulted from their imprudence; for as their tenets, address, and political speeches, cast at least a well-warranted suspicion upon their intentions, it is not of Administration, which is under the absolute necessity of securing the peace and quiet of the kingdom by the timely checking of this Society, but of these unreasonable people, that the generality of the nation must complain at being obligated to submit to acts of the legislature, grievous in their general operation, but highly necessary on the instant to ward off a still greater evil, and to maintain order even by an unusual stretch of prerogative.

Complain then of this stretch of prerogative, but complain first of the dangerous principles, of the revolutionary titles, and suspicious appearances that emphatically mark the conduct of this Society as the grand ini-

mical

(23)

mical cause; and we shall act like rational beings.

The denomination of Citizen in particular, by which their members address each other, audibly publishes to the world that nothing short of a Republican Government can or will satisfy them; and every man knows that such a system cannot be established here but through a torrent of blood desolating every corner of the country for a long series of many disastrous years. And all men too who know any thing of politics, must also know that annual Parliaments and universal suffrage can never, in the common nature of things, be established in this kingdom otherwise than by absolute rebellion.

Is it not, therefore, rather inconsistent with the true patriot to manifest an injurious false compassion for such characters, who may be under either prosecution or punishment, until a general change to rational claims consistent with reform takes place in their Society? Indeed, it is principally to the panic for the security of property, occasioned by the principles of these misled people, that we may attribute the ill success of the arguments which have been so pointedly urged
against

against this war. To this very cause too is to be attributed the great majorities and small minorities in Parliament. And however weak and impotent the Society may be, and are in fact, as to any consequential resources of becoming dangerous, yet a combination of foreign and internal circumstances have occurred to render their absurd extravagance capable of working this effect. Pity, therefore, towards such conduct seems strangely misplaced, particularly as it originates with those who are the ostensible sufferers—the leaders of Opposition. If men will obstinately persist in crimes against the State, it is not only fit, but certainly necessary, they should receive the pains and penalties attached to their conduct, provided it is done in a legal way.

And now one point, material to the future safety and internal peace of the kingdom, is coming under discussion.

The measures which Administration should have resorted to, in order to prevent any mischief arising from all artful designing men, who, more for the means of support and getting a sorry livelihood, than from any other motive, mislead the Corresponding Society, are

are considerably different from those which have been pursued.

In the first place, an attention should be unceasingly fixed upon all Lecturing and Debating Societies, upon all itinerant preachers mixing mischievous politics with their religion, as well as upon all seditious writings. These are the grand fountains of evil; and however absurd the principles and doctrines that issue thence to persons of any information, if they are sufficient to pollute and alienate the minds of the lower order of the people from the Constitution of their country, they become objects of serious importance.

Indeed thousands and, in the course of time, tens of thousands go hence, carrying general contamination with them, tending to destroy that necessary subordination to fortune, rank, and education, which composes the acknowledged links in the great chain of social happiness. Those who were before content and happy in their stations and employments, become restless and dissatisfied, and only wait the opportunity of tumult to become riotous and criminally disaffected.

Hence it appears that the means thoroughly

E ly

ly to eradicate this growing evil becomes of no small materiality. The method which our Administration thought wise to follow, was to let these men go on till they committed some act of treason, and then to aim at their lives, that the career of their confederates might be stopped by the terror of example.

This, instead of curing, absolutely has, and will, while continued, increase the disorder. The difficulty of proving an act of treason upon men who are cautious, and upon their guard, is very great; and infinite is the mischief they are capable of doing before this happens. Sometimes too what may be supposed or stated to be treason may not amount to that.

The minds of a Jury are always alert on the score of conscience where life is at stake. They become lenient, and even, where there is cause, will frequently not condemn: and the more they perceive an inveteracy and strong endeavours on the part of the prosecution, the oftener that will happen.

Every acquittal of a prisoner in this case is, at one and the same time, a wound in the side of Government, and a triumph to the disaffected

disaffected party that evidently encourages them to proceed. Hence it was that the meetings of the Corresponding Society became so numerous, that the open fields were appointed as the rendezvous. From such a frequent assemblage of near one hundred thousand persons of many descriptions, but chiefly of the lowest order, what was to be expected? The whole kingdom grew quickly into a state of alarm. A little longer continuance, and a new spark was only wanting to the fiery combustible to spread the devouring flame of active revolution. In such a state what was to be done? All the prior constituted legal means were then far too tedious, and of no avail: they were inadequate to this emergency. The storm would burst long, very long, before their effect could possibly be felt. In short, nothing was left but a measure applicable to the moment. Nor does it appear that any more effective or more lenient than that had recourse to (the Sedition Bills), could have been devised, so as to answer the full and then highly requisite purpose of maintaining the public order: and so far, and so far only, that is, upon the score of pressing, urgent and immediate

mediate necessity, these acts certainly became justifiable.

But notwithstanding, although it is admitted that necessity then had no law, yet still that necessity might and should have been avoided.

Instead of suffering these wild politicians to go on in their impracticable pursuits till they committed acts of treason, or supposed treason, before which they would and did contaminate their principles to thousands, so that infinitude of unseen mischief was done long ere the attempt to punish;—instead of this the following plan should have been adopted, and is still recommended to be put in practice. It is likewise conceived our constitutional laws were fully adequate thereto; but if not, might satisfactorily have been quickly rendered so. Sedition, as it actually does in fact comprehend a most extensive field of action, and takes in an infinite variety in the modes of applying itself, so its definition should have been exactly corresponding, and precisely calculated to follow the evil into all its intricate windings and labyrinths. This would have been effected in its fullest extent by well and distinctly defining and de-

clarating

clarating sedition to be a wilful and intentional attempt, either by word or deed, either directly or indirectly, to alienate or disaffect the mind of one or more persons from the established Constitution of the kingdom. This material point so clearly ascertained, and a well-proportioned punishment of fine in particular, imprisonment or transportation, according to the degree of criminality, but short of the forfeiture of life, attached to it; the legislative function would here stand discharged, and all that then remained towards the full attainment of the purpose, would be merely a proper attention in the executive to the great sources of sedition before mentioned, and the immediate application of the law.

Thus either speech, writing, or deed, having the tendency of sedition, that is to say, being actually seditious according to the preceding definition, should unceasingly be prosecuted, not merely in one or two instances, but repeatedly with a perseverance of determinate resolve. And this is the most direct and, indeed, the only effectual way to quell and thoroughly eradicate all apprehension of disturbance

Every

Every man is naturally attentive to his own interest; and when honour and character is added to the call, the invitation becomes still more powerful. This measure would touch the Society on that score with the completest efficacy. The repetition of the prosecutions would soon affect their pockets, and the disgrace of conviction reflect in example a preventative sufficiently discouraging. These prosecutions too would be easily proved, and the Jury, satisfied that the pains and penalties were lenient in comparison with the enormity of the offence, would also condemn without hesitation, when convinced of the evil intention; and thus the great object must infallibly be secured without either infringement on the rights of the people, or deviation from the Constitution of the realm.

By this means too lectures on Roman History, or any other matter obviously and plainly alluding to the present, past, or future circumstances of this kingdom, as also Debating Societies (should any such there be), professing, without sincerity, to admit of no such political allusions, together with itinerant orators or preachers, and indeed all others, of whatever description,

description, seditiously offending, would, in the most effectual manner, come immediately under the beneficial restraint of this well-adapted law, infomuch that neither windings nor labyrinths, quirks nor quibbles would cause an escape from the lash, or could, in any shape, avail towards its evasion. So that very shortly a total stop would be entirely put to the propagation of inflammatory principles, and a peaceable, quiet, and happy completion of liberty without licentiousness, in connection with good order and good government, be thus easily obtained, and permanently established.

Neither could any cause of complaint be founded in reason against this proposal; because the whole instance is plainly professed to depend upon the wilful evil intention of the party prosecuted being made substantially manifest to the Court and Jury; who, if innocent, in that respect will cheerfully and readily acquit; and if not, every honest man must rejoice that a lenient punishment, so highly merited, is justly inflicted for the public benefit.

All, however, being apparently quiet here at present, some may perhaps think this advice

vice

vice superfluous and unnecessary; but a candid appeal is made to those who are well acquainted and informed upon the subject, whether there is not even now manifested throughout the country a pretty evident inclination to infubordination; and whether, upon the conclusion of the war, and disbanding the troops, there will not be a considerable degree of attention, on the part of the constituted authorities, requisite to curb and awe equally the licentious profligate marauders, as the crafty seditious politicians, who then expect to reign paramount in the zenith of their revolutionary prowess.

Far be it, notwithstanding, from the utmost extent of these observations, either to curtail or infringe upon the established rights and privileges of the people. On the contrary, this plan of proceeding would have absolutely rendered the Sedition Bills, that were petitioned against, totally needless; as it would have nipped the cause in the bud, and have thus proved itself the true constitutional antidote to disorder. Neither is it meant by any means to restrain reasonable and proper endeavours to reform any part of our system, that needs it; but merely to touch those only
 who

who, under that or any other mask, plainly and manifestly expose the deformity of their seditious intentions.

Legal and well adapted means of maintaining the regular order of the people, by a method at once constitutional, mild, and unobjectionable, being thus pointed out, and it is hoped to general satisfaction; the next object that presents itself, is that of acquiring the confidence of the nation, and restoring the general good opinion towards the original established government of the kingdom. And this, thank God, as the ground work of the Constitution is solid, cannot surely be a task of that enormous difficulty as to prevent the attempt. To revise, to correct, to renovate, is all that is needful.

It has been already observed; that foreign war seldom, if ever, originates with the mass of the people. A true representation, therefore, in our House of Commons, uninfluenced by the power of the Crown, and speaking their honest voice, will, for the most part, set its face against this curse of mankind.

Various, certainly, are likewise the benefits which arise from a just equipoise of this part of our Legislature, in its pure and uncorrupt-

F ed

ed state; and therefore do the people certainly demand a reform of Parliament. The plain object, merely to detach all influence from its deliberations, and to shorten the duration of its present term.

It seems very strange that on a point so clear, and apparently easy, such a discord of opinion should reign, as hitherto to prevent the general adoption of a specific plan.

That of the Society called the Friends of the People, to vest the choice of Representatives in householders, is really not well calculated for the purpose, and for these reasons:

First, That a man having property either in a city, town, or county, is, by this means, deprived of the political stewardship of it, and is further obliged to trust that which so nearly concerns him, to others not immediately interested; nay, perhaps, even to those very persons who may be inimical to the security of all property. In the next place, it would increase the number of voters so much, particularly in large cities, as to render elections so extremely boisterous, as in times when party runs high, to create a turbulent, riotous, dangerous flame throughout the kingdom.

dom. And, lastly, it would cause much more of change in the Constitution, than by any means is necessary for the attainment of the stated objects.

As to the Corresponding Society, they have the goodness to consider only themselves, in their plan of universal suffrages and annual Parliaments; they forget that every order of a community are alike to derive equal benefit by a reform. The lower, who infinitely out number the superior orders, must, by universal votes for Members of Parliament, derive the unlimited power of causing them to frame whatever laws their will might dictate.

Property would then entirely lose all respect, and the ignorant and illiterate would become masters. Yet poor there still must be, and a majority they will ever constitute. Wherefore, upon the same principle, the then masters would of course be handed out by these their successors, and so on *ad infinitum*, until all security of property, the only spur to industry, the wealth of nations, must be entirely lost. What must follow, every man's imagination is equal to describe.

Again, if merely the election for the Verdurership of the Forest of Waltham, vested in freeholders, would have created an alarm and disturbance to the county of Essex, had the late contest been persisted in, what, in the name of God, must be that for Member for the county, if every inhabitant whether rich, middling, ragged, or tattered, were to be brought forth upon the occasion? In short, every candidate in this way must bring a whole army into the field, and to blows they would certainly go. This furious flame too, once in every succeeding year! Preposterous! And with our Constitution impracticable and impossible. But even was it not so, this plan would, in the end, produce neither more nor less than the worst of all, a perpetual Parliament. So it is that this Society, in seeking to obtain the whole in their own favour, do, by extremes, entirely defeat their own ends; and what is still worse, this bar to reform which they set up, by alarming those who are of an apprehensive disposition, abominably prevents the whole community from even entering upon the moderate necessary benefit of mere renovation, and which indeed, in fact, is all that is wanting.

Does

Does it not appear most strange then, that these people cannot see, that if just and moderate principles of reform was to originate as it should do with them, that is to say with the inferior class, all apprehension being thus done away, their then purposes, instead of meeting repulsion, as at present, would in much the greater probability receive the encouragement and furtherance of every description of the community in general; by which the attainment of the grand object must consequently become infallible?

This question cannot be taken in any other than the affirmative, particularly as this advantage has been pointed out to them; and still they remain blind to their own interest.

But as this Corresponding Society, however numerous, would be rendered completely harmless and inoffensive in despite of their utmost efforts to the contrary, by the plan hereinbefore recommended for this purpose; and as its adoption must of course eradicate all apprehension of the kind, it is hoped we may still look forward to that sort of reform, which, instead of creating confusion, must, at the same time that it renders every requisite benefit to the people, also cause the complicated

cated

ated work of Government to go on more smoothly, cordially, and effectively than at present.

To expect Administration, however, voluntarily to enter upon any thing like an effectual reform, without being strongly pressed to it, would be vain indeed. Who then is to take up this matter? Where is it to proceed from, or who should it proceed from? These are questions which seem to be entirely left out of thought: and yet the Constitution points them out in the plainest possible manner. It fixes the duty where interest strongly attaches it; and that is directly upon the Nobility.

As the body-guards are to the King, so are the Nobility to the Constitution. They are appointed the constant, perpetual, hereditary sentinels and guardians; and herein, on this very point, consists the principal utility of their order. To preserve and hand down to posterity every identical part of the Constitution, but most particularly the indispensable equipoise in the three orders of the legislature, is not more their evident interest, than it is their first grand duty. Between the Crown and the House of Commons, the Lords are the mediators. Encroachments of consequence,

quence, on either side, endangers not only their property, their rights, and superior privileges, but the absolute extinction of their whole order. The internal peace of the country is at once their security and their advantage. To stand aloof therefore, and, with vacant indifference bordering upon stupidity, to witness the prevalence of royal or ministerial influence over the Parliament of the people, is in the end to affix the seal to their own downfall. The appointment or temptation of places, sinecures, and pensions, may, it is true, bias even a part of this superior rank; but certainly not to the degree of totally subverting the main design of their hereditary titles. The situation of the kingdom would, in this case, be forlorn indeed. The people could then have no option, but, ere long, to take reform into their own hands: and fine work they would make of it. Revenge for the neglect would cause a fore repentance when too late.

So different, however, is the opinion that is here entertained of the honour, independence, and judgment of our Nobility in general, that it is both hoped and believed that when the necessity of a reform in the House of

of Commons is once made obvious to their perception, they will not hesitate to take upon themselves their appointed task, and apply the proper remedies.

If doubts yet remain whether or not the period is arrived to take the matter into consideration, the clamour of the mass of the people, which has been calling aloud for some time past, must, upon mature reflection, soon dispel them. To prevent further disaffection, and replace that which has taken root, with attachment to the Constitution, is matter of no small import, and cannot be undertaken too early. Preventions are certainly preferable to cure.

To agree upon a specific plan seems to be the greatest difficulty. That which will cause the least deviation, and, at the same time, prove most effectual, must go nearest to meet the general wish: and it is upon this ground that the following outline is submitted.

Remember that the objects are merely to detach the influence of the Crown, and to shorten the term.

In order, therefore, to remedy the former, let us strike at once at the grand and principal cause;

cause; that is, the present right of a seat in the House of Commons during the enjoyment and holding of a place, pension, or sinecure in the State. Somewhere about one hundred and twenty-five Members are thus circumstanced, and the attendance seldom more than three hundred. Now as there will ever be a division of opinion even without influence, add the one hundred and twenty-five to either one side or the other, and it will be most likely to preponderate; but when the expectants are also taken into the account, it amounts nearly to a certainty.

At all events, however, it is quite necessary that the Chiefs of all the principal lines of Government should sit in the House of Commons, in order to explain their measures, and to take advice thereon. Further than this is neither just, necessary, nor admissible in a reform.

It is, therefore, proposed, that twenty-five persons of the body politic of Government should be so eligible, and no more. This may be very easily regulated, and, when done, renders little more requisite. But the right of election in the decayed boroughs may

also

also be either taken off, removed to large towns, or added to counties.

And here, as far as is immediately necessary to the attainment of the first object, thus plainly, without either difficulty or new principle, and comprised in a few lines, behold this great business atchieved with the fullest possible effect.

Every further consideration towards this point becomes merely secondary, and comparatively unimportant.

It is acknowledged, however, that it would undoubtedly be an improvement if the right of election for cities was confined to one and the same mode and limitation throughout the kingdom, with the single exception of the metropolis, if found expedient; and one single general rule of election also for borough towns. The counties require no alteration at all, the right being already equal and general for the whole in Freeholders as it should be.

Influence being already got rid of, no increase in the number of voters would be of the smallest use in any shape. Indeed, those of Westminster, it is well known, are much too numerous already, and might, by this plan

plan, be very considerably circumscribed (by fixing a certain rent and rate in the parish books as necessary for a qualification), without the smallest injury to the liberty of the subject.

In short, the influence of the Crown over the Parliament of the people would, by the adoption of this measure, be so completely annihilated, as utterly to defy either continuance or recovery by any possible method that could be devised and conceived. So that whatever alteration might be deemed expedient respecting the manner or right of electing the representatives, it neither need nor would form that bone of contention which must be the case in all other plans of reform.

As to the duration of Parliaments, instead of seven they may be reduced to the term of three years as formerly, which would be fully sufficient for keeping the staff in the hands of the people, more particularly as it is to be remembered, that all influence is already detached in the fullest extent.

A too great frequency in the return of elections, as annual or biennial Parliaments, would clearly prove a bane instead of an improvement; because, if generally attended

by the electors, it must create a continual detrimental ferment, promote enmity and disunion, and greatly disturb the settled peace and order of the country; and if not attended by the electors (which the experience of all annual elections throughout the kingdom teaches us to believe), it must, in such case, evidently produce a perpetual Parliament, which surely no native in his senses would ever wish to see established in Great Britain.

When, added to these reasons, it is also considered that a triennial Parliament creates a principle neither new nor unconstitutional, that at the same time that it is calculated to produce every desirable benefit, no ill whatever can arise from this alteration, it will, doubtless, be allowed the best calculated term to meet the general wish, and (influence, as before observed being previously detached) the best adapted to render perfect satisfaction to all ranks and descriptions of people of any that can be conceived.

There will, doubtless, be some objections interestedly started against every design of such nature that may be projected; but there certainly appears less reason for apprehension on that account from this simple clear method,

thod, than from any other that could be well thought of: for the main point here would only affect the present encroaching usage of about one hundred persons only. To be sure, it would very likely be unpleasant to, and might perhaps be called a deprivation of, the accustomed privileges of the executive body *in toto*; but this would in comparison be playing off a mere farce. The principle of this improvement is already acknowledged by the Constitution in the most direct manner by the existing laws, which regularly ordain the vacation of all seats in Parliament upon becoming one of that body, by the appointment to any emolument therein; and it would be rather curious to see men, who are in the immediate action of receiving the pecuniary favours of the country, place themselves in the unconscionable situation of requiring the continuance of an injurious custom, incompatible with the welfare of that State in whose services they were thus doubly bounden: and it may, therefore well be taken for granted, that while the agents of Government, in whatever sphere they might be, kept their places and appointments, Reason would justly seal their lips. This objection then is much too frivolous and slender

der to fet up as a bar to this important attainment, which embraces the interest, the security, and the prosperity of this great community in general.

From the secondary causes too, that is, from the organization of a mode of generalizing the elections, and annihilating all absurd inconsistent customs, other objections may also not improbably arise, according as it may touch the interests of particular individuals. The matter then comes at once to this:—Is it just, is it right, to suffer the partial to injure and absolutely stand in the way of the general good? To admit this would be to undermine the massy fabric of political wisdom, and shake the foundation of social order. In a plan of reform, undertaken at the powerful call of the united voice of a nation, petty quibbles can by no means be admissible. The voice of the individual is drowned. The people must be heard. They must also be heard with attention. To satisfy their reasonable claims is prudence, in its most amiable attire. To insult them with the neglect of indifference, is that, which it will not be supposed the discernment and education of our Nobility capable of, when once properly satisfied that moderation in the public expectation

expectation has taken place of extravagance, and reason rules the mind. It is in such presumption, therefore, that this outline of a plan for the reform of the House of Commons, containing all that is needful to the purpose, is publicly recommended. Necessity evinces, circumstances urge, and duty strongly calls for the interference of our Nobility. It is an unwelcome task to point it out; but the office is certainly their's*. So undertaken, it will be in safe hands, and must prove successful.

It does not, however, follow, that in calling upon these stationary sentinels of the Constitution, an exclusion of every other interest is to be understood. No: on the contrary, it is devoutly to be hoped that every one, not blinded by prejudice, or deterred by futile imaginary apprehensions, will cheerfully take part in their own cause, and unite in one general endeavour to fix this as the specific plan to rally round, to the exclusion of all others of injurious tendency, in order to restore that confidence in the purity of Parliament necessary to satisfy the increasing clamour of the

* If not by the Lords in their legislative capacity, by that extensive influence they possess in their individual circles.

country ;

country ; and the further assurance of a wide extended concurrence is held, under the evidence that the benefits thus to be derived (at the same time that the operation strikes at once at the root of the evil without either danger or difficulty) are equally attached to the peasant as to the Prince, alike including all ranks and descriptions of people whatever, with the most perfect and satisfactory indiscrimination.

To the final conclusion of these observations upon a reform of Parliament, one more remark is all that is here necessary, *viz.*

That when the groundwork of any Constitution combines a judicious attention to the interests and happiness of every part of a community, and when its construction is found, solid, well-adapted, and beneficial ; let such Constitution, of whatever denomination it may be, be perfectly held and maintained in its original purity, so that the same good qualities continue to be seen in it, and derived from it, and that Constitution, so preserved, will assuredly shed the bright lustre of exulting content upon its people, and, for any attack from them, must endure and prosper while this great globe of earth hath existence.

So

So far, it is judged, we have gained two very material points of improvement in our political system : first, a more lenient, constitutional, and effective manner of securing an orderly respect to the laws and constituted authorities ; and, in the second place, the promulgation of a plan to restore that full confidence in the established Government, which replaces disaffection with attachment, and adds energy and vigour to all our undertakings. And now another subject of no less importance presents itself, which is, in some measure, necessary to the lasting security of both.

The General Inclosure Bill, if not speedily prevented by a just statement of its true tendency, it is feared will shortly pass into law almost without opposition. Very much mistaken indeed is the public opinion upon this matter : and our legislature seem to be following up that opinion with a degree of thoughtlessness not very flattering to their discernment. Is it possible they can be ignorant that, where new inclosures take place, the ground is

H

imme-

immediately broken up for corn? Certainly not. They conceive the additional growth of this article will prove advantageous in an increased exportation, at the same time that it will afford new employ to thousands. And so far granted. But then at what expence are we about to obtain this? Absolutely at no less than that of risking the future probable starvation not only of these same thousands, but of the whole people collectively. And even this is not all; for there must also be superadded that of ruinously destroying the very staple manufacture of the country—the woollen trade. Good God! what an amazing want of foresight! It must surely be universally known that the commons and wastes constitute the grand, the indispensable nursery for the raising of our animal food. They may be also called too the nursery of nurseries, in the prodigious and immense quantity of that wholesome nutriment, milk diet, that is so largely produced in the gross from this beneficial source. Then add to this the useful articles of butter, cheese, and the like,

like, and it will altogether be found to amount to a high importance in the scale of our very existence.

It must be particularly recollected, that it is not in the inclosures where the grand business of breeding and rearing is carried on: it is upon the commons, wastes, and downs, where are those numerous flocks and herds, which we see grazing and multiplying in prolific abundance upon the short, sweet, suitable herbage. Deprived of this encouragement to our farmers and breeders, and our stock must rapidly decrease into a scarcity fearful to think of. Is it possible, therefore, that any man can contemplate such consequence with either apathy or indifference? Where then shall we procure the rich abundant fleece for which England has been so famed of old, as to be sought from all quarters of the world in its beautiful manufacture? To lose this principal source of our wealth, and with it the employment of such an immense multitude of hands, would be a deadly blow that never could be recovered. We should find ourselves much at a loss to discover an advantage

that would compensate the injury, or stand in any sort of competition with so vast a consequence. It is true we have had an unusual scarcity of corn for the last year, and the mind of the country is still strongly impressed with the bias it has taken therefrom. But to suffer this temporary scarcity (greatly produced by an extraordinary drought, or, perhaps, by sending more abroad than we ought to have done), to hurry us into an opposite extreme fraught with such danger, is that sort of conduct which must not be anticipated from the deliberate reflection of our legislators. They will, doubtless, remember the scarcity was that only of a single year. Before that, there was abundance, and even more than abundance, for home consumption; and if bread was then dear, exportation was the cause, not a deficiency in the growth. No man can, therefore, say that a Bill of general inclosure is necessary on the score of deficiency. More corn might thereby be grown it is true; but no benefit would be derived to the public, in any decrease of price, from that circumstance. Whenever it should come down

down to the exportation limit, away it goes, and leaves the stock to provide against temporary scarcity, as small as ever, and the price as high. To be sure, it would produce an influx of money in favour of the kingdom. That, however, must flow comparatively into few hands, and the advantage be thus partial. And here it is wished to be strongly impressed on the perception of all the leading characters, and particularly upon Administration, that an entire attention to revenue, to the total exclusion of the convenience, satisfaction, and ability of the people, is neither just nor wise. Nothing so powerfully tends to attach and give content, as the keeping provisions at a moderate price: and so *vice versa*. By a continual advance, which, according to our present usage, is in constant progression, the contrary is certain: and whatever the public opinion may still be upon the matter, this has been, and assuredly is, an undoubted defect in our system, productive of both derangement and disaffection. But, happily for us, the remedy is as easy as it is plain. For as it is obvious that it is not the

the deficiency of land under the plough, but entirely exportation, that keeps up the price, reduce therefore the exportation limit about five shillings per quarter on wheat, and other corn in proportion, and you will want no Inclosure Bill: that is to say, permit no wheat in particular to be sent abroad, except when the current price here is under forty shillings the quarter. This might, perhaps, occasion a trifling reduction of rent to the landowner, whose tenants are rackrented; but whatever was lost in this way, would be compensated in the proportionable decrease of all their annual expences: for the effect of this measure would be extensive in every direction, and cause a general corresponding reduction with that of food; and the benefit to be derived thereby flattering in the extreme to the community at large. The constancy of bread under sixpence the quarter loaf must necessarily reduce the price of labour, and that the cost of every other article in life; and then indeed might Britons rejoice in fulness and plenty. But as to the Inclosure

closure Bill, its tendency is widely different, as will now be further shewn.

It has been already stated, that it is not on the ground of a usual deficiency of corn for home consumption, that this Bill is brought into the House of Commons; consequently it must follow that we have a sufficiency of land under the plough. When, therefore, we look at the present records of Parliament, and see under our present laws the prodigious increasing number of private or partial Inclosure Bills that are now continually passing, so far from encouraging the further progress of inclosure by a general law for that purpose, it may not improbably be found necessary to check the rage which already takes place. Let those who have still a doubt on this point, ask themselves whether we have at the present moment too much land in pasture or meadow? and the question will be answered on the instant by the late price of hay, fodder, and butcher's meat of every kind. In the name of God, what must be the consequence then of the deprivation of all our breeding pastures,

tures, whereon the great stock of the country is fed and kept up to the highly requisite standard in numbers? Should Ireland, however, be adduced as a proof that no apprehension need to be entertained from the prosecution of this scheme, it is necessary to call to the public recollection, that the more humid atmosphere, and moist rich nature of the soil, together with custom, and the inferior population and luxury of that country, all unite and combine to cause meadows and pastures for both breeding and fattening, to prevail as the principal husbandry of Ireland. Whereas, on the contrary, in England, the quantity of land which is naturally adapted in quality and situation to these purposes is comparatively insignificant to that which is better suited to the growth of corn, and therefore no availing influence can be drawn from this circumstance.

It is well known by experience, that farmers here are obliged to be bound down in their leases not to plough up even the fine old enclosed meadow or pasture grounds, the richest in herbage of any. What, therefore,

therefore, would be done with the new inclosures may be judged to a certainty. Fresh soil, by which is meant that which has been long down in meadow and pasture, when newly ploughed, always produces largely in corn; and this, with the effect of exportation, must outweigh every other consideration. Interest will prevail. So that it is in vain to expect farmers to turn themselves to the breeding of stock, without the stimulant of commons, wastes, and downs. And these, once ploughed up, whatever might be the distressful consequence, and however much wished or wanted, they could not, under any course of husbandry, recover their full natural sweet herbage for near twenty years to come. In the mean time, it is rather more than doubtful the sleek skin and plump ruddy visage of Britons would experience a sad change for the worse. Our lank jaws and shrivelled appearance might scare ourselves, though not our enemies. The roast beef of old England would no longer be the theme of our song. The only melancholy resource would be in lamentation at our precipitancy and want of foresight, which

which must prove a sorry relief to hunger and famine.

Yet this is but a faint sketch of what we may expect to experience, if the General Enclosure Bill in question should unfortunately pass into a law; and to obviate which it is therefore hoped these observations (in case of the failure of other more able opposers) may cause a timely intervention, to assist in warding off a misfortune of the first magnitude, from whence might not improbably be dated the ultimate ruin, and consequent downfall of this comparative plentiful kingdom.

There is still one more consideration on the same subject, which presses strongly on our feelings for a candid and liberal discussion, which is this: All who have now rights of common (among whom the cottagers are very numerous) will, it is understood, receive a proportionate share of land corresponding with the extent of their right; and so far, it is granted, the present race of poor will be compensated by this or some other equivalent. But then what is to become of the new race of all posterior poor, who will by no means decrease in number by the

the operation of this Bill? It must be evident they will be totally deprived of an original established legitimate privilege, and to them very high advantage, which the commons, wastes, and downs have ever afforded to a multitude of this class of people. Numerous indeed are their numerous families, whose great support are hence derived; in so much that a cottager may call these wastes, from old and constant usage, his true and native birth-right as a Briton. Hence then comes forward the material question of conscience, How far, or whether at all, the present holders are justifiable in accepting an equivalent to themselves, at the expence of the total annihilation of a right, so near and dear to the posterity of their order, as the matter now treating of?

It is true it does not follow, that because a man is poor, he is entitled to a right of common; but then it is as true, that the laws of this country have invested him with the satisfaction of knowing that he may look up to that right, and, if he chuses, to avail himself of it, by means of either renting or purchasing an entitled cottage; the choice is at his own option, and under various cir-

cumstances, particularly with a large increasing family, that option may to him be invaluable and indispensable. In short, deprived of this principal assistance to their maintenance, and without further resource of any kind during long and severe winters, he can only have recourse to the parish, which must consequently become incumbered with the whole family. Such then is the direct action of this Bill, that it will clearly go to create additional poor, and of course increase the rates of parishes in a very high degree.

Upon the whole, therefore, exclusive of the dangerous tendency explained in the preceding part of the discussion upon this subject, it really seems also to be an unwarrantable infringement upon the privileges, benefits, and birth-rights of a very numerous and useful body of the people; who certainly, while they demean themselves orderly and peaceably, are entitled by a conscientious claim to the attention and unceasing protection of their superiors. And when is also added to these objections, those of an increase both of poor and poor's rates, as well by the deprivation of the woollen manufacture,

manufacture, as by the natural operation of the bill, the measure altogether will be found so fraught with ills, of such extensive importance, that it will be dreadful to behold it receiving the sanction of our Legislature; and which, therefore, all who hold the welfare and future security of their country dear, will, it is hoped, exert themselves to prevent.

Having now ran over most of the ostensible considerations which affect the immediate interests of this kingdom, with the principal lines of present politics; there yet remains one, equal at least, if not more than equal to any which have preceded, in the magnitude, and extent of its influence upon every branch of our system, which will now be entered upon; and which constitutes one of the principal causes of introducing these sheets to the public notice, and that is the immediate urgent situation of our finances.

There has been very much said, both in and out of Parliament, relative to the stoppage of the Bank; yet, notwithstanding the long and able discussions it has received, the true and actual cause has not absolutely been explicitly and perfectly stated to the people.

A national bank should, beyond the smallest doubt, be as independant of the calls and influence

ence of Government as possible; in order to retain a fund and source of circulating credit for the benefit of commerce, as well as to prevent a total discomfiture and confusion, when the circumstances of a country may render that of its funds or Government securities no longer available. Hence it is obvious, although indubitably well intended, the Company were certainly too liberal in their acquiescence of grants to Administration; as the necessary return of the seven millions now about to be repaid, proves beyond dispute. Notwithstanding this, however, it is averred, in the most pointed manner, that it was not owing to any discredit which attached to the Bank in particular, that occasioned the commencement of the run for specie, and of course the ultimate necessary preventive restraint; for when it first began, no living soul doubted the validity of Bank notes in the least; but the run once occasioned, apprehension naturally succeeded, from the knowledge of the impossibility for an establishment of that extensive nature, to fulfil all its engagements in cash.

Such being the case, it becomes perfectly clear that it was in fact neither more nor less than the deficiency of public security itself, and not that of the Bank, which pointedly produced the disaster.

after. The dismal bird's-eye prospect, with ruin sufficiently legible in the back-ground, forwarded by the alarm of invasion; caused, with many, that sort of despair which involves in it a total distrust of all credit whatever, inasmuch as to have destroyed all confidence in factitious property.

In this situation, of course, coin became the general object of attainment, and wherever that could be come at, whether from the hands of private bankers or the Bank itself, was matter of indifference; and their sufficiency or insufficiency, in other respects, entirely out of the question. Actual property, specie, was the object; and of course all the sources from whence it could be procured, of which the Bank was the principal, must quickly become exhausted.

This, rendered still more effectual by the money exported, was the grand and fundamental cause; which must, under similar circumstances, ever produce a similar effect.

And hence it is much too obvious, that until peace is restored to reinstate confidence, the smallest flurry, either from the apprehension of invasion or otherwise, cannot fail to reproduce the same distressing operation, unless very different

ent methods are taken to prevent it, from those hitherto made use of.

That such prevention becomes a matter of the first rate importance, requires no great conjuration to discover; and the difficulty of ascertaining the means, keeps at least full pace with its consequence. Under the present exigencies into which the kingdom is brought, by this calamitous war, no common efforts can produce that effect. Every experiment, which applies to the Bank merely, is to all intents and purposes superficial. Our endeavours must go far beyond that. They must take in the whole system of property, or they do nothing. To revive and preserve inviolate the full and continued credit of this indispensable establishment, we must strike deep at the very root of its debasement. We must restore universal confidence. We must give new life, new stamina, to invigorate the general mind with an irresistible sense of security in all the various channels through which factitious money flows. Here is the grand aim, the point upon which all depends.

In order to accomplish this, therefore, it is necessary to begin with Government securities; and, in so doing, a successful beginning will be found at once to prove the happy wished for

end;

end; the great effect instantly spreading through every inferior channel indiscriminately, whether corporate or individual; for certainly, so long as fears and doubts continue to hang on national credit, their proportion must alike be imparted to that of all other concerns, of what nature soever. The property of every person throughout the kingdom, whether in their single capacity, whether in private or corporate company, banking, commercial, or otherwise, becomes inevitably affected, even to the extent of landed estate. And hence it is evident, that nothing short of the reinstatement of all Government engagements in their usual and accustomed value, can possibly suffice, or be of any effectual avail.

Restore then the credit of the public funds; restore solidity to the pecuniary engagements of Administration; at the same time holding the Bank sacred from their touch, and all doubts of this great national source of circulation are at once dispelled; all run for specie completely done away; and the stability of this chartered institution, necessary to the existence of the State, permanently secured, and finally sealed with universal content and satisfaction.

Even to attempt, much more to complete an object so difficult and extraordinary, seems truly

K however

however to be an Herculean task ; for such is indeed the enormous weight of the national debt, that even peace itself will by no means singly accomplish it. The numerous taxes which will be requisite to wind up the large arrears of the war, must unavoidably prove so extremely burthenfome, when laid on, as to multiply obstacles (which at present are well nigh insurmountable) in such a high degree, that even then Government securities will scarcely be able to bear up against so powerful and prodigious a drain of interest.

So that distrust will long, very long, pervade the people, and the least flurry renew the danger; and consequently, still more, much more, than peace, is yet wanting to our purpose.

But it is possible, also, that (however much to be desired) respite from war may not be attainable for some time to come; and, as what is done should be done quickly, we must endeavour not of will, but of necessity, to surmount all difficulties.

As, however, a discussion of this nature requires to be proceeded in with a clearness and sincerity perfectly void of deceit, or keeping back any truth which may be attached to it, it may be here well to caution the stock-holder not

to

to take alarm at the following explanation, which on proceeding, he will perceive to constitute a material ground whereon to build the reinstatement of his present depreciated property. He will find the deduction ultimately to his advantage.

That the funding system is not certainly that which a wise people would willingly adopt, as a salutary means of furnishing the expences of their Government, is demonstrable to the evidence of the meanest capacity. For when extended upon a large scale, and it is in its very nature calculated to become so, there is not, in the whole catalogue of political evils, one mischievous tendency of which it is not capable. It first encourages war, bloodshed, and desolation by a destructive facility of raising money. Next it perpetuates a high and increasing degree of annual expenditure, until ultimate ruin follows the adoption, and in its course disperses its baneful operation with a most liberal hand. Oppression in every direction marks its way, and is the prominent feature it exhibits. For what by the unavoidable increase of office upon office, and officers upon officers of every description and denomination, and what by the consequent train of expectants and dependants, to all intents

K 2

and

and purposes out of number, that are so created, ill disposed Governments are thus enabled, at will, to trample under foot the privileges of the people; and the more the system is extended, the easier the step from liberty to despotism. Not only so, but millions of persons, whose property is in the stocks, are also held in public bondage: let the measures of Government press ever so hardly upon their rights. They are both tongue tied and hand tied. Their property is at stake. This system also sows, in a wide extended cast, the certain seeds of discontent and disaffection until they grow to full maturity in endless taxes, heavy duties, and Excise laws, the internal curse of nations. That important consequence too the high price of provisions, and every other article in life, are the direct inevitable fruits of this most stupid custom of finance, thus setting up an insurmountable impediment and bar to the continuance and prosperity of our manufactures, and so, in the end, decreasing our exports, the very source of the influx of wealth; and, in short, by these, with other means too tedious to mention, it ostensibly becomes the grand fountain of misery and distress to the general multitude.

That

That enlightened nations, therefore, should continue this bane to their welfare and happiness, may certainly seem extraordinary to those who do not consider the extent and power of ancient custom upon the mind of every community; which, indeed, is almost rendered impervious to conviction, by the continual force of an education biased both in habit and sentiment. Under this contemplation, however, our admiration presently ceases; more particularly when it is also considered how few there are who think and act from themselves. Opinions of any kind, long admitted and early imbibed, are seldom scrutinized; but important political practices so circumstanced, it is held almost sacrilege to investigate; and so it is that errors of the first magnitude are handed down to the courtesy of posterity.

To this, therefore, is to be attributed, in a very considerable degree, our continuance to raise the annual expenditures of war by the fatal means of loan. And another cause is, the heedless ease with which money to any amount is procured in this way. Give the lenders from fifty to one hundred and fifty per cent. advantage, as at present, according to circumstances, and comply with their demands, and whatever the ultimate consequence

sequence may be, no sum is too large to be attainable. Profit is the object of the lender, and that of the Minister to satisfy the instant exigency. Taxes likewise are easily laid on, and the only difficulty consists in the patience of the people to pay them. While that continues, without reference to further consequences, the end, to a heedless Government, is answered.

It is now then necessary to open the eyes of the public, to one of the greatest errors that is so widely extant in every circle without distinction, as to form, one general most important misconception; and that is, the universal detestation in which annual requisitions of money without interest is particularly held by the people of Great Britain. What adds too to the peculiarity of the circumstance is, that when the question is put to one or all, whether they are not perfectly willing, and do not conceive it to be just, right, and necessary that each should contribute their quota, according to ability, to defray the national expenditure, they immediately pronounce an affirmative, pointedly contradictory of the former opinion. To unravel this strange contradiction, so as to produce consistency, would equally puzzle the wisdom of either astronomer, astrologer, philosopher, or politician. It is nei-

ther

ther more nor less than consummate folly dressed in the garb of the would-be Patriot.

Good God! is it not amazing that men should have preferred the payment of sixteen millions a year, merely for interest of debt, to the original application of it during the urgencies of war, towards the actual expences of their country? It is impossible to continue any longer blind to this error. So powerful is the conviction of truth that it must force its way to perception. If the established surplus million of revenue, will pay off the old debt of two hundred and forty millions, in the course of sixty years from its origin, what amount are the public losing in such time by the constant annual drain of sixteen millions? exactly 3,840,000,000. Or let the amount that has been appropriated from the commencement of the funding system to the discharge of interest incurred thereby, be calculated in the same manner, with interest upon interest, and the produce would astonish and exceed all human belief. Yet, whatever that amount may be, exactly so much has this system cost the nation.

How infinitely preferable, therefore, would it not have been to have raised merely the money wanted, by requisition proportionate to property and income. That is to say, by a war tax, which

raises

raises within the year the whole annual expenditure thereof. This might, it is true, bear hard upon the kingdom for the time, but it would be only temporary; there would be no interest to pay; and, upon the conclusion of the war, joy and content would reign unalloyed by taxes or imposts of any kind that would injuriously affect the people.

War being, at all times, a most direful evil, it is therefore highly fitting the effect should be felt on the instant; as that would prove, in the end, the surest means of warding off the calamity in future. War or no war, however, whatever money is wanting for the national expences of the year, be the sum much or little, within the year it should be constantly raised, not borrowed. When the annual produce of the capital of the country will not suffice, it should be taken from the capital itself. The ultimate saving to the people would thereby be immensurable. Can any thing be more absurdly farcical than the expectation of interest for money furnished for the public expenditure? Was every person to pay their due proportion, no such absurdity would exist. The notion of lightening the burthen in time of war, and appropriating it to that of peace, in endless accumulation, is both weak and destructive in the extreme; for, instead of temporary,

tutes

tutes incumbrances, not only continual, but necessarily increasing, and ruinous also, and of which the original application of the money to the current expences, freed from the drain of interest, would not have amounted to a decimal part.

But to those who look for the discharge of our present national debt within the term of fifty years, it is necessary to ask, what new sums they imagine we shall incur by various wars in that time? The average of eight or ten years peace is all which can ever be reckoned upon. And each war must infallibly add to the continued increase of price of every article whatever. So that, at the very least, seven or eight hundred millions of money will be the new debt which will be incurred between this and then, if we continue in the same course. Such is the nature of the funding system which has been adopted and pursued by this country so long, until by its natural quality of increasing, we are now brought to the brink of destruction by the immense debt and calamity that increase has entailed; inasmuch that, at the present moment, the value of the 3 per cent. consol. stock is reduced from 100l. to the alarming decay of 48l. 10s. The profit too, which Government was obliged to give upon the last loan of money, was about

L

125l.

125l. capital stock per cent. that is to say, for every 100l. money, the lender obtained about 225l. 3 per cent. stock; and such an enormous increase of capital debt as this must occasion, certainly calls aloud for further prevention.

In such situation then, to talk of the great and inexhaustible resources of this kingdom, without endeavouring to apply them, is at least inconsistent, if not criminal. This is the time which requires their being brought forth. The run upon the Bank has been greatly produced by the neglect of relieving the depreciated state of the national funds; for to have continued the system of borrowing under such depression, was so clearly the manifestation of approaching ruin, that it is not to be wondered at the people took the alarm, and sought specie with avidity wherever it could be come at.

But another powerful consideration now presents itself, which is, that in suffering this immoderate decay in the value of funded property, you depart from one of the first maxims in the political science, that of preserving the accustomed level and equality between real and established property; the necessity of which is so highly important, that its omission must constantly throw every thing into confusion. When
the

the consols are below 60 per cent. they produce a superior interest to the legal rate of the kingdom, and consequently put a stop to the circulation of all private trust; for by this only five per cent. can be obtained according to law, whereas the stocks produce much more. The whole commercial world, and many other people likewise, become sorely injured by a consequent stoppage of circulation, and the want and distress arising from the deficiency soon becomes general, and increases with the continuance, until a total want of confidence pervades every channel of paper currency.

In weighing, however, the necessity of preserving the just balance between property of different descriptions, another question also arises upon the score of justice, right, and equity. The value of all real, compared with that of funded estate, is at the present hour out of every sort of proportion. For instance, the value of land has experienced no diminution in price from the war. From twenty-seven to thirty years purchase is still the demand for every landed estate; and, in some instances, it has produced even more. So that the land-owner experiences neither a deficiency of principal or income, at the very time when the stock-holder

has absolutely lost near half his capital. Can this be called either a wise or just practice in an equitable system of governing? Is it right that one property should lose half, while the other retains its full value? Or shall one man lose half his estate, in a public cause, and another nothing? This surely seems the summit of unreasonableness, and is neither to be justified by circumstances or argument.

Indeed the case is such as to warrant the assertion in its most extensive latitude, that the present debt of this kingdom is grown much too large for the capacities of continuance; and therefore so far from proceeding in further additions thereto, by a perseverance in the system of funding, the enormous load should be instantly narrowed within such a compass as the people can bear, without detriment or danger to the State. The injurious low price of the stocks proclaim this aloud with an unerring voice. It is a fact which demonstrates itself beyond the power of refutation.

Thus warned then by certain positive appearances, not to relieve the present, and ward off the dreadful consequences which approach, would be that sort of negligence as to be absolutely unpardonable.

The

The attempt, however, must by no means be superficial. We must probe the wound to the bottom, or disappointment and confusion may otherwise prove the result.

It is well known that from the commencement of the funding system to this very hour, it has always been invariably declared, understood, and universally admitted, that the whole real property of the country, whether landed or otherwise, constituted the real *bona fide* security for all monies lent to Government for the public use. And this is not to be considered as mere words void of any capable meaning, but to be held sacred, as having been firmly bound by the plighted honour and good faith of every Administration, of every leading man individually and collectively, and of every Parliament, the Lords, Commons, the King and all.

To put forth the breath of slander by the smallest doubt, or in any shape to impeach such high honour and sanction by distrust, therefore, would indeed be to commit a crime against the glory of Great Britain. Taking this statement then for granted, the particular time for its application, becomes the next question.

It will be readily allowed that, under any probable

probable circumstance in which the country may require an execution of this principle, difficulties must present themselves in various directions; but it must also be undeniably evident that the greater the incumbrance of debt, the more such difficulties become multiplied; and, further than this too, it must be equally so, that funded property may increase, and arrive at such an enormous amount, as to render this sacred pledge of security a mere phantom of chicanery, void equally of honour, efficacy, or practicability. To prevent, therefore, such a fatal consequence (a degradation too infamous in the breach of faith for the noble spirit of Britons to suffer), is now the immediate purpose.

To the present debt of four hundred millions, the security in question may perhaps, with good management, be so applicable as to reduce the enormity of the amount within such bounds as may be judged prudent and safe to remain. So overgrown, however, is the accumulation of stock already, that to pretend to the reduction of the whole of it, would not only be highly mischievous, but utterly impracticable. What then must be the case, if suffered to go on in progressive increase till it arrives at the extent of two hundred millions more? And if no prevention

vention is used in the course of ten or twelve years, it will assuredly become so. It is dreadful to contemplate the consequence.

From hence, therefore, it can surely be no difficult matter to perceive that the present is the precise period of time to seek shelter from the gathering storm, under the fostering wings of this salutary preserver. And in order to accomplish so desirable an end, it is perfectly clear that a very large sum of money must be taken from all real estate and trading income, to apply to the immediate reduction of the national debt. And this, to be at all effectual and serviceable, cannot possibly, under the existing imperious state of affairs, be less than 100,000,000 sterling, so that by taking from the scale which is too heavy, and placing it in that which is too light, the just and necessary equipoise may yet be restored, although certainly not without occasioning some degree of temporary distress.

Now then with the present price of consols at 48, and the prospect of falling lower and lower while the war continues, if the stockholder made 65 per cent. of three-eighths parts of his funded estate, and 100 per cent. of the remaining five-eighths parts, his conscience should, doubtless, be completely satisfied, supposing the same

(80)

same proportion to run through every other Government stock. Lay out, therefore, the 100,000,000 in the purchase of stock at 65, and it buys up 153,000,000 11-13ths of the national debt; which would be such a glorious reduction of this bane to our comfort, as to set Great Britain firmly upon her legs again, and raise the remaining stock to the full price of 100 per cent. To attain such an advantage would obviously be, of all things upon earth, the most desirable for this country, now, as it were, prostrate, and exploring her way in darkness and embarrassment. And if we are true to ourselves and our own interest, it is absolutely to be done by one vigorous and determined effort. The sum is great to be sure intrinsically; yet, when compared with the vast and immense combined wealth of the kingdom, in capital and trading income, which may be computed together at full twenty times as much or more, it is nearly lost in the reviving contemplation. Such a draft from the country in one year is certainly a new thing, and may stagger the belief of many respecting the possibility of its accomplishment. But let it be recollected that it is the particular interest of every one indiscriminately who own property, to exert themselves to the utmost, in order to preserve

(81)

preserve internal peace and quietness. Their whole fortunes are at stake; and surely there can be no doubt that it is better to sacrifice an inconsiderable part than the whole, particularly when it is considered that it is in fact no sacrifice at all; for in the event of things remaining in *statu quo*, it is but an anticipation of what a few years of additional taxes will amount to. And the consequent decrease in price of all articles of life too would likewise nearly produce an equivalent, and, in the course of time, more than an equivalent; so that it is equally to the advantage of that property it takes from, as well as that to which it gives security and permanence.

But the interest of the capital of the kingdom will not in this case suffice—we must positively have recourse to the capital itself of real estate; the rental of which is estimated at 30,000,000 per annum, and at thirty years purchase, produces a capital of 900,000,000. Take, therefore, one fifteenth part of this, so proportioned only as to bear lightly upon those of small fortune in regular gradation, and it gives 60,000,000. As many, however, might be at a loss for ready money to pay their quota, the Bank should in this case furnish it by notes, on the security of

M

such

such a proportion of their estates (pointed out by the owners at their own free choice) as, by fair appraisement, to cover the sum advanced; and if not repaid to the Bank with interest in the course of two, three, or four years, to be then sold to the best bidder, and the surplus, if any, returned to the proprietor. As to the trading capital, that must not be touched. But the income arising from trade in general in every point of view must undoubtedly contribute; and the rate at which to fix the payment might be for an income of

£.	per annum, the sum of	£.	s.
100		2	10
1000		100	0
2000		400	0
3000		800	0

and so on, with due regard to proportion, in all intermediate profits of trade. By this means the remaining 40,000,000 might certainly be collected without injuring, in any material degree, the general commerce of the kingdom. The ascertainment of the quantum here might be by the oath of the individual, under a large pecuniary penalty; exclusive of the statute of perjury; and

and thus happily might this grand business be finally accomplished.

The measure is strong most certainly, and such as we should not willingly adopt where circumstances were less pressing; but considering that it is only for one single year, considering also the extreme urgency of our situation, and likewise that as long as the great debt remains undiminished, the people at large are groaning under oppression, while the country is neither capable of exertion, nor the means of commanding attachment, support, or security, it must be evident that we are not at our own disposal in opinion; we have no choice but either to act with energy in support of that which will evidently save us from destruction, or sink at once, with fullen apathy, into the opening gulph of irretrievable ruin.

This plan, once entered upon, not a shilling more should, upon any account, be borrowed upon further loan; but the remaining debt be left to be brought up gradually by the excellent establishment of the sinking fund. Then indeed away with runs upon the Bank; its credit would be sealed:—away with lamentations and despondency: they would no more be heard of.

Serenity would follow, and loyalty and confidence reassume their sway.

It will now be generally supposed that what has been already recommended is the very utmost stretch of pecuniary resource of which Great Britain can possibly be capable; but the fact is absolutely otherwise.

Large indeed as the sum of 100,000,000 is to be taken from the country in one year, yet, God be thanked! such is the luxuriant wealth of this kingdom, that even still more than this might be obtained, if judged well to embrace the suitable expedients which present themselves for the purpose. This assertion may perhaps be doubted by some, and by others pronounced impossible. It may be asked, where is the good fortune to be found? how is it to be done? and what are the substances, the materials, and the tools which can possibly work this beneficial deed? As, however, they are not to be employed or wrought upon here, having already furnished a sufficiency, it will only be shortly answered: The Church, the forest, and the Crown lands. From these sources a very important sum of money might also be certainly procured, which would now, or will at any future

ture period, stand in farther aid of renovating and establishing a sound and independent stamina for the basis of our political existence.

The funding system has, it is true, here been made rather free with. It has been set in its true light, and exposed in its true colours, in order to shew, in the first place, to Government the certain evil of its continuance, that, by timely warning, it may be renounced for ever from the practice of this country; and, in the next place, to shew to the people the necessity of coming forward like men, convinced of the error of that system, to support the Constitution with zeal and timely effect, inasmuch that in lieu of increasing the excessive burthens which they are no longer capable of bearing up against, their much mistaken antipathy against requisition and contribution may be utterly foregone, and the institution of this preferable principle be adopted, as well for the present as for the future ways and means of raising money for the public expenditure of the kingdom.

Having now then sufficiently shewn the capability of financial arrangement to stem the rapid torrent which threatens so strongly to overwhelm us, and having also gone through all the essential

essential lines of politics which can any way tend to preserve the shaken fabric of our glorious Constitution, the Author submissively throws himself upon the liberality of his countrymen, and hopes he shall stand excused in taking the liberty to exhort the Administration and their adherents most cautiously to withhold themselves from all scurrility and exasperating expression toward those who happen to differ from them in opinion, and particularly such of the leading characters whose fortune, rank, and respectability entitle them to be considered as men most highly interested in their country's welfare, and whose honour and loyalty it can be nothing less than sacrilege to blow the smallest breath of doubt upon.

To the Opposition and Whig Club the Author also most humbly presumes to recommend one determined impassable line of moderation, joined to a strict and constant adherence to principles perfectly constitutional, that so the present sharpened edge of political rancour may be happily blunted, and the community at large be left unimpassioned to judge fairly of the title and claims of each party upon their favour, patronage, and support. And, last of all, the Author
further

further begs leave emphatically to exhort the people in general to peace, good order, and respect for the laws and constituted authorities at home, and the Government in particular, to use every consistent endeavour to put an honourable end to this destructive war, and this done, to keep at peace with all the world; so that thus, finally, an indissoluble seal may be joyfully affixed to the Political Salvation of Great Britain.

FINIS.

