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AN ACCOUNT
OF THE
Proceedings
OF THE ELECTORS
OF THE
BOROUGH OF SOUTHWARK,
On Wednesday, the 12th April, 1809,
HELD BY ORDER OF THE
High Bailiff
SIR WATKIN LEWES, KNT.
UNDER THE
FOLLOWING REQUISITION;
WITH
AN ADDRESS TO THE ELECTORS
By Mr. FAVELL.

"England expects every man to do his duty."—Nelson.
Defend and reform it.

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1809.
PRICE SIXPENCE.

TO
SIR WATKIN LEWES, Knt.

High Bailiff of the Borough of Southwark.

WE, the undersigned, request you to call an early Meeting of the Inhabitant Householders of the Borough of Southwark, to take into consideration the Proceedings which have taken place in the Investigation of the Conduct of the late Commander in Chief, and to express their Sentiments on a Subject involving the Safety and Honor of the Country.

SOUTHWARK, 8th APRIL, 1809.

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|----------------|-----------------------|--------------|
| Solomon Davies | W. Hall | W. F. Hebb |
| S. Favell | W. Osborne | J. Hallam |
| Rt. Bousfield | W. D. Clarke | J. Toplis |
| J. Constable | M. Dixon | C. C. Hall |
| J. Burgess | R. Dolphin | J. Bull |
| W. Burgess | E. Marsden | G. Guyatt |
| J. Donaldson | Graves, Swaine, & Co. | J. Kesterton |
| J. Stratton | W. Orme | G. Scrogg |
| M. Shaw | W. H. Tuesley | J. Stewart |
| H. Arderne | N. Muggeridge | A. Putley |
| T. Bridge | J. Weaver | J. Sheppard |
| W. Hunt | J. Symes | H. Vies |
| S. Holloway | Lane and Tamplin | T. Willett |
| S. Pritchard | J. Fox | J. Willis |
| T. Palmer | J. Favell | W. Upton |
| S. Jackson | P. Reynolds | D. Imery |

BELVIDERE HOUSE.

In consequence of the above Requisition I appoint
WEDNESDAY next the 12th Inst. at Eleven o'Clock,
in the TOWN HALL.

Watkin Lewes.

TO THE ELECTORS

Faint, mostly illegible text on the left page, possibly a continuation of the address or a separate notice.

TO THE ELECTORS
OF THE
BOROUGH OF SOUTHWARK.

GENTLEMEN,

A SINGULAR crisis in public affairs makes it desirable, that your late meeting at the Town Hall should not hastily be forgotten. The conduct of a distinguished Individual, who is above all my praise, Mr. WARDLE, has so unexpectedly opened the door of reform, by exhibiting the deformity of corruption, that the people of every class appear alive to the subject; and, as it is not intended to form political clubs, which would increase the number of placemen as spies and informers, the Resolutions of great bodies of men should not be left to the fleeting passage of newspapers.

As my removal into the City of London will prevent me in future from taking much part in the concerns of the Borough, I hope you will excuse the trouble of addressing you upon those topics, upon which you have published such decided Resolutions. I know, from the best authority, there is great fear about popular meetings in London, even from the landed men in Yorkshire, and other places, who were friendly to reform in

1780, the riots in London of that period, had a most fatal influence; but it is well worthy the consideration of those gentlemen, whether the union of the high and middling class is not the best security against the possible excesses of the lower orders. What will be the result of doing nothing?—If there are any persons in the country who wish for a revolution, I verily believe such conduct would be in perfect unison with their feelings.

They would say, Let abuses accumulate, until the government overwhelms itself, as it did in France. Let us for ever remember, that it was not political clubs, or temperate reformers that laid the foundation of their overthrow; it was a corrupt and profligate government, forced by their own necessities, to assemble the Notables; and that profligacy notoriously exemplified by the French princes.

Moderation is highly important when connected with firmness; but when used by the enemy it means indifference, or nothing. Hitherto the conduct of the people has been worthy of their cause; if any thing unconstitutional has appeared, it has been in a club of General Officers; but the army excites no jealousy; the state of Europe requires a large military force; they have a common cause with the country; their honour is implicated in the late enquiry; and I trust England not only expects, but will find, upon every trying occasion, Soldiers, Sailors and Citizens will do their duty.

It will be urged, by friends and foes—Have you any plan of reform? It would be very desirable to have one that should be generally supported. But suppose at first you cannot obtain a general agreement, are you content with the present state of the representation?—In Oldfield's History of Boroughs, you will find the number of voters, patrons to each borough; and such undisputed facts on record, as prove that about 400 persons return a majority of the House of Commons*. This is sufficient for our opening counsel, and we can easily make out the case if we were admitted to the Bar of the House. Now what is the dilemma? The house must either admit the charge or deny it, if they allow that lapse of time, or other causes, have left us only a figurative or virtual representation, any thing but a real one, but that still we have all its uses, and ought to be content. Then let us ask any honest man, if he believes in his conscience that there are 600 independent men in England, besides that house, with the same evidence before them, who would have given such a verdict as they have upon the case of the Duke of York?

If they allow something ought to be done to reform the House, they must produce their plan, or throw it upon the people, which would be rank jacobinism, to say, *let the people reform us*. It is remarkable how

* Some years ago, Mr. Horne Tooke stated in a petition to the house, that seats in a certain assembly were bought and sold like cattle at a fair; for which he was not brought to the bar, or a committee of enquiry appointed to ascertain the facts.

In the year 1793, the friends of the people offered to prove at the bar of the house of commons, that 154 persons returned a majority of the members.

easy it is to alter things when a minister is in earnest. Suppose a reformer had proposed to incorporate one legislature with another, would not ten thousand difficulties have been started? Who believes the constitution was overturned by the Irish Union, however improperly it was brought about? Again, the house of commons are continually altering the representation when they think proper. The electors for Shoreham, Aylesbury, Cricklade, and other places, have been disfranchised for bribery, and the right of election thrown open to the Hundreds. Suppose a patron disposes of a borough for a given sum; this, however palpable, is innocent; and the guilt which leads to reform is only acted upon when it is proved against the electors.

Now, Gentlemen, there is another objection which young reformers will do well to consider. Is there not money enough spent, and confusion enough excited in the places already represented? Do you want Manchester, Birmingham, Sheffield and these populous places put in a ferment? The first answer is, do you want to do away representation in toto, because that would save trouble, and leave the minister to manage the business of the country by himself? If they do not mean this, then let them view the whole of what has been proposed.

Divide counties into districts, let the poll be taken by sworn officers, in one day, that would save the candidates post chaise hire and immense expence, and there would be as much confusion as is usual in the choice of parish officers. I do not mean to discuss any particular plan, but

I wish to impress upon your minds, that if people are in earnest, difficulties soon vanish, without resorting to any wild or romantic theory. The consequence would be that men of talents, integrity, and character, would generally be elected, and the mere wealthy and political adventurer would often fail. The monopoly of parliamentary interest gives its value, and a minister must reward his supporters; you observe in the late investigation about military promotions, Mrs. Clarke says, Can you get a vote for Mr. Pitt? It is not supposed that the union of high talents with the important objects of parliament, would not always create an interest, and make a seat in the house of commons desirable, and truly honourable, especially if it was reformed; but if you recollect what labour that house duty requires, in nightly attendance, hearing or making speeches, would not always be a motive for such sacrifices; if the house was properly constituted, should we not often hear of a most suitable candidate declining and recommending another neighbour, who could travel and endure fatigue better than himself?

Are not such cases common in the first duties of social life; what is more important than the service of a juror, upon whose verdict, life, property, character, every thing dear to us, is dependant? and can any thing be more common than to hear persons say, "I have got off?"

As I am about to surrender my account, which I trust can be done with clean hands, as your delegate on parliamentary reform in the year 1783, and as most of

my colleagues have gone down the stream of time, perhaps I owe a short account of our proceedings. My impressions at that time were sanguine and youthful, and I thought, if you could once show the gross inequality of nominal representation, reform would soon follow; but I forgot the vast body of interest and prejudice that would oppose it. The society to which you did me the honour of delegation, was called the Quintuple Alliance, consisting of London, Westminster, Southwark, and the counties of Middlesex and Surrey. The Duke of Richmond was our chairman; he was very civil and communicative to me; and when I urged difficulties, he said human ingenuity could overcome them if the people were in earnest; besides, what I told you at the hall, he said, in summing up our proceedings at the last meeting that was held in 1784, at the Globe Tavern, Fleet Street, about twelve being present, that history did not justify us in expecting such a reform as he wished, without force of arms; unless a popular leader thought it worth while, for the sake of his own power, to give the people their rights. I by no means intend to say he recommended force, because I am sure he did not; but I was much struck to see, in a few years after, sugar hogsheads planted, by his order, to secure the Tower, and throw a stigma on Reformers. I have no explanation on this subject, as I never spoke to him after he was Master General of the Ordnance, though it was hinted to me he could be of some use to a young tradesman. It was clear the ministers understood the

farce. Mr. Pitt and Mr. Dundas, being at the Trinity House soon after, one of them said with a horse laugh, "Let us go and see the Duke's sham fortifications."

It has been said, the effects of reform in parliament are over-rated. Ferret out abuses and correct them, never mind any thing else; but what security have the people in future. If the electric shocks of a Wardle could purify the house like the furnace a refiner's fire, recollect what remarkable coincidences must occur again. Princely expenditure—boundless profusion—a neglected courtesan incensed by a breach of positive engagements—eagerness in ministers, and crown lawyers to support a bad cause, operating to disclose it; and, above all, uncommon firmness in an honest and intrepid member; but if you had a house dependent on the people, the most timid of its members would never be afraid of infamy in the discharge of his public duty. It is also said, Electors are corrupt; this is too often true; but it is part of a bad system. The candidate offers the temptation of bribery. I am happy to say, that considering the number of the middling and lower class of tradesmen there is nobody of electors more independent at this time than those of the Borough. But when we reflect upon the fortunes which were sunk in former times by the Belchers and the Mawbeys in our contests, we must always feel gratitude to Mr. Tierney, for his efforts to annihilate treating and expences.

Gentlemen, you may remark, that at this time there

are few leaders in reform with title; it devolves much upon the middling class, and I believe they possess prudence and intelligence; it will require perseverance and spirit as well as moderation. Who would have expected, ten years ago, the Abolition of the Slave Trade? I well know that taxation presses hard upon your pockets and your time, but I beg you to remember, that whenever public spirit and vigilance shall cease about men and measures, Magna Charta and the Bill of Rights, are but *paper barriers against despotism*.

The common objection is, What can I do?—Remember the whole is made up of parts; but the best answer to this is given in the figurative and elegant language of an old friend upon another occasion—a distinguished member of the house of commons, and one of the 125 in Mr. Wardle's minority:—

“Nothing good or great is to be expected without courage and industry; but courage and industry must sink in despair, and human life have remained unornamented and unimproved, if men had nicely compared the effects of a single stroke of the chissel with the pyramid they were to raise; or a single impression of the spade with the mountain they were to level.” You have many encouragements,—the stale calumny of jacobinism is worn out; what new coin may be issued from the treasury mint, I know not.

You have also much less to fear than we had formerly. Sunday schools, and other means have enlightened the

lower orders; they know that riot and tumult would defeat their ends. Besides, the mischief of spies, who often excited our friends to imprudence, will be banished by open and public avowal of popular opinion. I received in 1793, anonymous letters daily—the newspapers teemed with libels (in one of which, the Times, I was described as a common cheat; and for which, if the temper of the public had afforded the probabilities of justice, I should have claimed heavy damages before a jury of my country) and the mob of gentlemen at Merchant Taylors Hall endangered my life. But calumny is the common lot of those who are disinterested in the public cause. Is not Washington now numbered by all parties with the illustrious dead; and how many of you must remember a daily wish to see his head upon Temple Bar?

Gentlemen, I believe our country is worth reforming, it has industry, enterprize, talent, and, I trust, morals and religion. Much will depend upon young men, and I hail, with pleasure such rising senators as Sir Arch. Hamilton, S. Oswald Mosely, and Mr. Littleton. We old reformers have passed through much vexation and disappointment, either from want of principle in the people or their leaders: we have seen many loud talkers rise to power on the shoulders of the people and betray them. You need not wonder if it requires some efforts to rekindle the latent heat in our breasts;—but youth is generous and unsuspecting.

Let them remember a Hampden—a Hutchinson—a Russell—and a Sydney who have bled for us. But, in this enlightened day, reason should exclude force, and, I hope, peace on earth and goodwill to men will be infused into the spirit of every reformer, and we must leave the issue to Providence. And now, gentlemen, if it should be the last time of addressing you, I shall take leave of the place of my nativity, (for which I can never cease to feel an interest) and of many old friends from whom I have differed in politics, but from whom I have received much kindness; with best wishes for my country in general, and in particular for the happiness and prosperity of the Borough of Southwark.

And shall ever remain,

Your Friend and Servant,

SAMUEL FAVELL.

April 20, 1809.

AN ACCOUNT, &c.

COL. DAVIES, on rising to propose the Resolutions, said, that he had always felt a diffidence in appearing before the public; he was happy, however, to reflect, that the present occasion was one upon which that diffidence was least felt; for, after the ample discussion which the question had already undergone in the House of Commons, but little remained for him to say upon the subject; at the same time, he must express his surprise at the decision of that Honourable House. If he were a jurymen, before whom the question of guilt or innocence was brought, he would not have hesitated a moment to have brought in the Duke of York guilty of the whole of the charges brought against him (loud applause.) He had some Resolutions to propose, which he hoped would meet their approbation; and he also entertained the expectation that all persons would be heard, as well those who were against, as those who were in favor of the conduct they were assembled to applaud. If any doubt had remained upon his mind as to the connivance of the Duke of York, the testimony of Miss Taylor would be sufficient to remove it—(here he quoted that part of the testimony of Miss Taylor which referred to the conversation between the Duke of York and Mrs. Clarke, with respect to Col. French's conduct to that lady). "How does French behave to you, darling? If he does not take care, I shall cut up

him and his levy too." After they had decided upon the Resolutions he had already read, it was his intention to propose another, thanking Sir T. Turton for his conduct on that occasion: though he had disapproved of much of his conduct in the Borough, his exertions in the instance he alluded to met his decided approbation, and he was desirous that they should all afford him the tribute he deserved. He concluded with moving the first Resolution.

Mr. FAVELL rose to second it. He said it was near thirty years since he had first the honor of addressing them, and never upon any occasion had he experienced greater satisfaction, because this meeting was not the result of party, or electioneering, but arose out of the genuine feelings of the people, upon a great and interesting question. It was unnecessary to detail the various matter which had been disclosed in a late enquiry; every gentleman, who had the exercise of his senses for the last two months, was sufficiently acquainted with it; and however in some parts it might afford ribaldry and fun, it was much too serious a joke for the people of England. The simple story was, that a kept mistress had differed with her protector, and from that difference had arisen discoveries in parliament of the most corrupt and profligate nature. However unworthy the instrument might be, providence often educed good from evil.

The country already owed the reformation from popery to the illicit passion of Harry the 8th for Anne Boleyn. When he recollected the privations which the people sustained, the sacrifices they were called to

make, their endurance under heavy burdens; when he recollected the army cost them twenty-four millions a year, surely the least they could require would be, that the chief who presided over it should be as Caesar wished his wife, not only virtuous but unsuspected (*loud applauses*). And he was convinced that the attorney-general could not, in a speech of three hours, convince one of them, that ——— was in this business either virtuous or unsuspected (*loud applauses*).

He had been sitting for many years on that bench, without fee or reward, as chairman, to enforce the collection of taxes, and in many cases it wrung his heart to see the persons upon whom it was his duty to levy them; surely every sentiment of honour and humanity called for the legal and honest application of taxes so collected.

Besides the time spent upon this business, they had been required to assume military habits; and, however circumstances obliged him to decline that duty, he should always reflect with pride on the formation of the Loyal Southwark Volunteers, who had never been second to any other corps for military duty.—The principal officers were composed of men who were branded as reformers or jacobins,—how had they displayed their jacobinism under the administration of Mr. Pitt, with whom they differed on political topics, not by sycophant flatterers of the court, not by addressing the king with the offer of their lives and fortunes, but by drawing the sword—by presenting their bayonets

against the common enemy! What they wanted was not French reform, but thorough English reform! (*loud and continual applause*).

Who could say what the consequence of such a disclosure as had lately been exhibited before the House of Commons, might have upon the regular army. If an officer with the gallant Moore, fainting under the hardships of the retreat to Corunna, had said to his brother officer.—“Never mind, we shall get preferment—our country will do us justice.” Suppose the reply to be—“Brother, do not depend upon merit,—do you know Mrs. Clarke?—our general officers say that is the road to get advance.” How would his spirits and ambition be depressed by such a fatal influence (*loud applause*). Unless a radical reform took place, he had no hesitation in declaring, there could be no security for the people of England. He stood rather in a peculiar situation upon that question in 1783; he was appointed a delegate from the Borough of Southwark, to meet those from Westminster, London, Middlesex and Surrey; for obtaining a parliamentary reform. They were unsuccessful; but he trusted he could now face his constituents, because in the year 1784 he did his duty by the reformers; he stood by them in their retreat to the very last meeting, the Duke of Richmond was in the chair. And he could never forget, among other things, what he said in accounting for their disappointment.—He told us, “That the great men of England knew the authority which they possessed under the old system, but none

of them knew what they would possess under the new.” When a nobleman espoused the cause of the people, he was then a truly *noble man*; but it was by the middling ranks of people that that reformation was to be principally promoted, and the country most effectually to be preserved. It was said upon some occasions, that the reformers might leave the country; but he was certain they would agree with him, that the country was worth fighting for and worth reforming; and, if any party was to leave it, he was sure it ought to be the abettors and friends of corruption—it ought to be the drones who suck the honey from the industrious bee. (*loud applauses.*) The constituted authorities were sufficient to collect the sense of the people. If county meetings were not resorted to, parochial meetings might, and as ministers had formerly encouraged them for their purposes, he saw no reason why the people should not resort to them for their own. (*loud applauses.*)—Admiral Wardle has hoisted his signal for reform, and it becomes us to observe that signal (*applauses.*) He would conclude in the words of the great Nelson, “England expects every man will do his duty;” and the way to do that duty, will be to defend and reform it.

Col. ALCOCK said, that he could not give a silent vote upon that occasion. The patriotic and independent manner in which Mr. Wardle had conducted himself entitled him to their warmest approbation, and he was confident he would meet it. He regretted extremely to have seen, in the morning papers of that day, a para-

graph, which noticed a concealment which might have led to the development of corruption more effectually than any other occurrence. (Here he read a paragraph stating the destruction of the Duke of York's letters, in consequence of a pecuniary consideration, by Mrs. Clarke.) He wished that these letters could rise like a phoenix from the ashes, that the country might see the scandalous manner in which its affairs were managed, and its confidence abused. The first, second, third and fourth resolutions were then carried unanimously. The fifth was carried with only five dissenting votes. On the sixth being proposed,

Mr. JACKSON objected that it went to cast a censure upon the Borough, that it was intimating as much as if they had hitherto acted upon a contrary principle from that of selecting independent representatives. The sixth resolution was then put, and passed with a great majority.

An individual having inquired why their members were not present?

Col. ALCOX said, that they were in the neighbourhood, and would attend if it was their pleasure. (*Here there was a loud cry of Send for them! Send for them*)

The members being accordingly sent for, made their appearance.

Mr. THORNTON said, that he perceived, from the paper which he held in his hand, that a resolution was passed, returning Sir Thomas Turton thanks, in which

his name was not included; as therefore his vote in the House of Commons appeared to have given them some displeasure, he was anxious they should understand the ground upon which it was given. He had voted for Mr. Bankes's amendment, but the nature of that amendment was not sufficiently understood; the main point which the House of Commons had to decide was, in his opinion, whether the Duke of York should be removed or not, and to that point Mr. Bankes's amendment went, and for that amendment he (Mr. Thornton) had voted; he thought it the most effectual method of proceeding. If the House of Commons was to pronounce guilty or not guilty upon the charges, and had resolved that the Duke of York was guilty, they should have ordered a prosecution in the House of Lords, or in the Courts of Law; but the instance of Lord Melville had proved to them how futile such a proceeding must have been, and therefore it was that the resolution of Mr. Bankes, which called for his dismissal upon the general ground of misconduct, was preferable in his mind; he did not acquit the Duke of York of connivance; he had voted against Mr. Percival's motion, which went to acquit him. He thought he had a right to go out of the great question of malversation in office, and decide upon general grounds of misconduct. He had voted with Mr. Whitbread in the case of Lord Melville. As to corruption, no man was more anxious than he was to eradicate it; if he had not been there he should have been sitting as chairman of a committee, whose business it was to inquire into abuses.

Here an Elector cried out, "Did you not vote for the Duke of York?"

Mr. THORNTON replied, that he had voted against Mr. Wardle's amendment, because he preferred Mr. Bankes's; he would have voted for the dismissal of the Duke of York. As to corruption, he was always happy to find that his constituents agreed with him as to the necessity of banishing it, and his endeavours were not wanting upon a business of such moment. The three last administrations he had occasionally supported, but never had he asked the slightest favour from either of them; his support was that of an independent man acting from conviction.

Here an Elector enquired what was his opinion upon Parliamentary Reform?

Mr. THORNTON replied, that although he had been frightened from it at the time of the French revolution, he was favorable to it now.

Col. ALCOCK said, that if there was no other motion proposed than that of Mr. Bankes's, he would have been satisfied that their members had voted for it; but as there were others of a far more efficacious nature, he would not feel himself content, and he would ask of both gentlemen, how they came to vote that the Duke of York was not guilty of connivance at corruption?

Mr. THORNTON said, that he strongly suspected connivance: but as there was not strict legal ground

for a jury to convict the Duke of York, he preferred the alternative of dismissing him, upon the ground of general misconduct.

An Elector said, that he was sure there were not twelve honest jurymen in the country who would not have brought him in guilty. (*Loud applauses*). But what he wished to learn from the hon. member was, whether, if parliamentary reform was brought forward this session in parliament, he would give it his support?

Mr. THORNTON said, that if by parliamentary reform he meant a reform in the representation of the people, he would support it; if it meant the abolition of sinecure places, it should also have his support. (*Loud applauses*).

Sir THOMAS TURTON thought, the course of conduct which he pursued in the House of Commons, was of a nature to preclude the necessity of any such question as that proposed by the Honourable Gentleman (Colonel Alcock). His conduct, he trusted, was sufficiently open and decisive, conceiving the main question for the consideration of the House, to be, whether the Duke of York was guilty of conniving at the corrupt disposal of military commissions; he called upon the House to pronounce a distinct opinion upon that question. He could not agree with Colonel Wardle's Address, because the latter part of it appeared to him, to amount to this proposition, that even if the Duke of York had no knowledge of the mal-practices of Mrs. Clarke, he was

unfit for his office; but he could not bring his mind to such a conclusion. If the Duke of York was innocent, he ought not to be removed, and it would be unbecoming any idea of British justice, that punishment or disgrace should be inflicted unless guilt was declared and proved. He thought it, therefore, unbecoming the character of the House of Commons to call for removal without any declaration of guilt. This was the ground of his objection to Colonel Wardle's Address, and the motive of his opposition to those who argued, that there might be knowledge without connivance, or connivance without knowledge, for their distinctions were hardly intelligible, must be obvious to any reflecting man. He considered such arguments as an outrage against common sense and common justice, as a mere palliative for indecision—as a temporizing policy. It appeared to him more just and manly, at once to come to the question, whether the Duke of York was guilty of connivance, or not? And he felt peculiarly gratified to find that his conduct on that occasion met the approbation of his Constituents, whose opinion he always highly valued, as indeed the whole country must, for the judgement and independence of the Borough of Southwark, was proverbially respectable. The result of the decision upon the question he alluded to was, he could not help adding, exceedingly honourable to the character of the House of Commons, not, however, because the Chancellor of the Exchequer had obtained a majority, but because the minority amounted to 137. After an eulogium upon the motives which actuated the conduct of his

worthy Colleague, the Honourable Baronet adverted to the question put to him upon the subject of Parliamentary Reform. The necessity of such a measure had always been strongly impressed upon his mind. (*Loud applauses*). That impression derived force from experience and observation of the House of Commons, on both sides of which there were several Members who were the nominees of certain branches of the Aristocracy, instead of being the Representatives of the People. But although a warm advocate for the general principle of Reform, he could give no distinct answer to the question of the Honourable Gentleman, or make any pledge, until some specific plan of Reform should be brought forward, upon which he should endeavour to decide according to the best of his judgment.

Mr. FAVELL observed, upon the closing part of the Honourable Baronet's speech, which was in his opinion, and he believed in the opinion of the Meeting, by far the most important:—When the question of Parliamentary Reform was brought forward in his early days, he remembered that the general manner in which the enemies of that great and desirable measure endeavoured to thwart its progress, and prevent its success, was by recognizing the justice of the principle; and by calling for some specific plan which they uniformly opposed when brought forward. Yet they never brought forward or suggested any plan themselves, and notwithstanding their professed regard for the principle of Reform, whenever it was proposed to appoint a Committee of

the whole House, or even a private Committee, to devise any plan, to carry the principle into effect, that proposition was resisted also. Such, the Honourable Gentleman remarked, had been the general system, at least of the more insidious foes of Reform, who did not think proper to avow a direct hostility to the measure, and therefore, he cautioned the Honourable Baronet, as a friend to Reform, to beware of being imposed upon by the old trick of its enemies. (*Applauses, mixed with cries of "take care of them Sir Thomas, if you wish to take care of yourself and regard our esteem."*) Mr. Favell proceeded—the state of the House of Commons was such as must have impressed every unbiassed mind with the conviction that it was indispensibly necessary to the character and interest of this country that it should be most materially changed, by purifying the Representation. Recent events must indeed have operated to remove any doubt that was on the subject. Mr. Pitt, when in his early and better days, he was an advocate for Reform, told the House of Commons that several of its Members were rather to be considered as the Representatives of the Nabob of Arcot, than of the People of England;—but what was to be said of that House now, when it was to be found that 364 of its Members had voted against the unanimous and decided sentiments of the country. (*Loud plaudits*). After such an event, he would appeal to the common sense of the country, whether a Parliamentary Reform was not indispensably necessary? He concluded by saying, that this was a Meeting highly

honourable to a free country for having candidly heard and questioned their Representatives; and, however he differed with Mr. Thornton, he thought, as Chairman of the Committee of Finance, and for his general resistance of abuses, he was entitled to the thanks of the meeting.

Mr. LITTLE asked Sir Thomas Turton, upon what grounds he opposed Mr. Whitbread's Poor Bill?

Sir THOMAS TURTON replied, that although a sincere friend to the principle of the measure, and also to its benevolent author, he could not overcome the objection he felt, to the expence it would occasion, and still more to the provision for compulsory instruction. Let the poor have all the facilities of education, but let not parents be compelled to send their children to school when they wished to employ them elsewhere; and let not the Poor Rates be subjected to an enormous increase for the purpose of supporting such a system.

In the sequel it was proposed, that a separate Vote of Thanks should be passed to Mr. H. Thornton, and the 195 other honourable members who supported the motion on the Address of Mr. Bankes. A warm discussion took place on the point of form, such a proposition being considered extraneous to the purpose of the meeting. At the close of this debate the question was put from the Chair, and negatived by a small majority.

AT a Meeting of the Inhabitants of the ancient Town and Borough of Southwark, convened on the 12th of April, 1809, for the purpose of considering the propriety of a Vote of Thanks to Gwyllim Lloyd Wardle, Esq. and the Members of the House of Commons who supported him in the late inquiry into the conduct of the Commander in Chief, the following Resolutions were moved by Mr. Davis.—

1. Resolved, "That the late inquiry before the House of Commons, into the conduct of His Royal Highness the Duke of York, as commander in chief, has exposed the most flagrant abuses in the administration of public affairs. It appears peculiarly alarming, that at a time when the continent of Europe has been nearly overwhelmed by military power, such facts have been proved as tend to sully the honor and damp the ardour of our brave soldiers, and thereby threaten the safety and existence of the British Empire."—Passed unanimously.

2. "That the independence and patriotism of Gwyllim Lloyd Wardle, Esq. in the institution and conduct of the inquiry, have eminently entitled him to the thanks of this meeting, and the gratitude of his country; and they trust that the result of such singular perseverance will encourage him, and every other honest member, to detect and bring to justice, the agents of corruption in every department of the state."—Passed unanimously.

3. "That the thanks of this meeting be given to Sir Francis Burdett, Lord Viscount Falkstone, Lord Milton, Lord Althorpe, Samuel Whitbread, Esq. J. C. Curwen, Esq. T. W. Coke, Esq. Sir S. Romilly, Knight, General Ferguson, and the rest of the hundred and twenty-five honest members who voted in the minority on Mr. Wardle's motion."—Passed unanimously.

4. "That the hostile conduct of ministers' threats of infamy against the hon. member who proposed the inquiry; and above all the large majority who voted for the acquittal of the Duke, have convinced the meeting, and, we trust, will convince the people of England, that a substantial reform in the representation of parliament is the only barrier against corruption, and may afford some indemnity for the past, and security for the future."—Passed unanimously.

5. "That the thanks of the meeting be given to Sir Thomas Turton, Bart. and the hundred and thirty-seven members who voted for his amendment. We observe, with pleasure, that he manifested an open hostility to corruption, in which, if he steadily and uniformly perseveres, he will insure the confidence and support of his constituents."—Passed with only five dissentient.

6. "That from a conviction that an honest representation of the people in parliament is the best and only security against the existence of abuses similar to those which have now been brought to light, we will, whenever we shall be called upon to exercise an elective fran-

chise, support those only who shall appear worthy by a steady opposition to corruption, and a firm attachment to the pure and uncontaminated principles of the British constitution."—Passed with a great majority.

7. "That these resolutions be printed in the morning and evening papers."—Passed unanimously.

8. "That the thanks of the meeting be given to Sir Watkin Lewes, the High Bailiff, for his readiness in convening the town hall."—Passed unanimously.

9. "That the thanks of the meeting be given to John Townshend, Esq. Deputy Bailiff, for his able and impartial conduct in the chair."—Passed unanimously.

(Signed) JOHN TOWNSHEND, Dep. Bailiff.

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