INTRODUCTION—DECLARATION OF THE EDITOR’S PRINCIPLES AND VIEWS—
REFORM—CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM, AS DISTINGUISHED FROM PRACTICAL
REFORM—ULTRA-REFORMERS—UNWISE CONDUCT OF THE TEMPERATE RE-
FORMERS—CONDUCT OF THE MAGISTRACY—DECLARATION OF THE LONDON
MERCHANTS AND BANKERS—PUBLIC MEETINGS—LOYAL ASSOCIATIONS.

THE title of Constitutional Ad-
viser, prefixed to this publication, ren-
ders the usual introductory matter in some
degree superfluous. However, as
custom has made it a rule, we shall not
expose ourselves to the reproach, in
times like the present, of breaking
through an established practice. A wise
man is always the last to violate old
usages, whose tendency is innocent. At
the same time it would shew but little
discretion at this juncture, when a bold
and giddy spirit of innovation has mixed
in the most grave transactions of public
life, as well as in the best interests of
social man, to countenance so dangerous
a bias. In this country, where the law
of custom has so much authority, and, in
most instances, such a salutary influ-
ence, it ought to have a character of pe-
culiar sanctity. In the freest and most
enlightened states of antiquity the dread
of innovation was carried to such an ex-
tent, as to reach objects apparently insig-
nificant. But in thus gravely lecturing
upon the veneration due to established
usages, we have unconsciously intro-
duced the reader to the knowledge of
our design.

In fact this work has been under-
taken chiefly with the view of opposing
that intemperate passion for change,
by which this age is peculiarly marked.
It is not the wise, the humane, nor the
high-minded, who are the most eager to
undertake what are called grand im-
provements in the state of political so-
ciety. The experiment is commonly the
work of rash, cold-hearted, and unprin-
cipled men, who, indifferent to the mis-
chiefs they may occasion, are impelled
by any other motive but that of zeal for
the public good. For one honest man,
who embarks in so hazardous an adven-
ture, there are at least ninety-nine,
whose views are dishonest. It is not,
however, our intention to assert that a
change may not, in some instances, be
necessary, and the attempt laudable.
But the necessity should be so clear as
to overcome every objection; and, in
such a case, no enlightened lover of his
country would scruple to risk property,
and even life, to rescue it from oppres-
sion. We should never have felt an im-
pulse of the generous spirit that animat-
ed our ancestors, if we had the misfor-
tune to think otherwise. Moreover, we
should ill deserve the name of Constitu-
tional Adviser, if we entertained a
different sentiment. Our constitution,
which it was long the pride of English-
men to call excellent, has been acquired
as the reward of the noblest sacrifices.
But what we censure is the attempt, un-
der the pretence of improving upon the
good, to alter an admirable form of go-
vernment, with the moral certainty that
the greatest misery would take place
during the experiment, whilst human
wisdom could not foresee the results.
Only the utmost depravity of mind, join-
ed to the greatest obduracy of heart, or
the grossest ignorance combined with an
overweening self-love, could be capa-
bile of wantonly pulling down the present
difice, and of wading through blood,
and amidst the general wreck of pro-
erty, in order to erect another, that
after all, might not be equally conve-
nient.

The spirit of modern reform—such
at least as it has shown itself for the last
thirty years in this country, owes its
origin to no other principle but an in-
considerate love of change. It has been
kept alive, ever since, either by fraud
operating upon credulity, or by false
zeal incessantly acted upon by its own
illusions. It is true that, in the ardour
and inexperience of youth, the pursuit
of reform may be coupled with genius
and integrity. But in such minds the
passion invariably subsides as the circle
of experience expands: and they never
attempt, in the maturity of age, to em-
body the fascinating visions of youth—
Ambition has been known to use it
as a stepping-stool to power; but it
always kicked the stool away the moment
it had succeeded. We have not the least
hesitation to assert, that reform as it is
generally understood in our time, is founded upon fraud or ignorance: and that it is pursued by some to cover revolutionary designs, and by others, in the wild hope of improving the condition of society. Instead of the blessings it so confidently promises we should encounter extreme risk, without even a chance of a corresponding good; and suffer an enormous and irreparable loss of private as well as public happiness, probably for no other purpose but to raise men of desperate fortunes and abandoned character to wealth and political power.

In these remarks we have the radical reformers chiefly, though not exclusively, in view; for, if every well-organized mind turns away from that perverse faction with unconquerable loathing, it cannot, without anxiety, follow the course of their less intemperate and more plausible associates. The general characteristic of our times, as we have said before, is a strong and rash desire to innovate in political matters. This passion is the more dangerous, as it betrays in most instances, a fierce inclination to substitute theories which wisdom rejects as impracticable, for a system of government that has stood the test of long experience, and is founded upon the deepest knowledge of our national character. It moreover connects itself with means, the most violent, immoral, and sanguinary, for accomplishing its object. Life is a mere zero in its stern calculations; a sweeping change of property, instead of being an impediment, is an incentive, to its gratification; and even religion, the best solace of weak humanity, is destined amongst the first victims that are to be sacrificed to the furious zeal of the Reformers. Such is the spirit of modern reform, as it is pursued by at least nine-tenths of its votaries; and therefore whoever gives it the slightest countenance, deserves to be regarded with suspicion on the score of political integrity, and with distrust of his practical wisdom.

He knows little of the human heart, and still less of the temper of the times, who thinks it would be wise that Parliament should concede a little on this vital subject, with the view of settling the dispute at rest. If the inference were correct, we agree that it would be politic to yield. But if concession should have the effect of provoking further demands, urged too with greater vehemence, and far more chance of success; it must then be allowed that resistance in limine would be a safer course of policy. The great body of the reformers have repeatedly declared, and with an energy that leaves no doubt of their sincerity, that they will not be satisfied unless they obtain the full amount of their claims. For their sincerity on this point we give them more credit than for their pretended rectitude; and it is almost superfluous to say, that, when the human mind is strongly fixed upon the attainment of any object; when ambition and avarice at the same time are on the side of inclination, every step in advance is an additional incitement to persevere; and zeal is inflamed by the removal of every new obstacle. Such would be the consequence of concession; and every point gained would increase the strength and importance of the claimants. Every session would display the alarming appearance of new claims, urged in a more menacing manner, and opposed with less vigour. Every year a larger breach would be effected in the constitution, and greater progress be made in sapping the government; till at last a triumphant vote would overturn the present system, and consign the wealth and fortunes of this great country to the wisdom and disinterestedness of such men as Hunt and Cobbett.

We have examined, with as much attention as we could bestow on the subject, the course of the Reformers; and the result of our observations is, that it decidedly tends to revolution. From the beginning, they have made it a fixed point to reduce the constituted authorities of the state; and there is no sort of misrepresentation that they have not employed to render the executive government, as well as the Parliament objects of popular distrust and hatred. They usually seized a period of national difficulty, when they supposed the public mind open to unfavourable reports, to propagate their daring calumnies. As soon as they had made proselytes to this opinion amongst the needy, the profligate, and ignorant; for they dared not at first address themselves to any other class; they next pointed out the rich to the blind fury of the rabble. They had the hardihood to say that wealth and rank are hostile to the liberties, and inconsistent with the comforts of the great mass of the people, and that too in a country where the principle of exclusion has been long abolished. It has been said by a French philosopher, that there is no absurdity, however gross, that would not pass current for truth, if it were repeated for a consider-
able time. The Reformers have acted upon that principle; and they have even attempted to drag talent and splendid services, which always had their just value in public estimation, from their pedestals, and expose them to the abuse of the populace. Virtue itself has been mangled. Neither humanity, unaffected piety, nor the warmest love of country, have been spared. Such are the tactics that have been pursued by the leaders of the Reformers; and considering the species of warfare they are waging, they are certainly qualified to take the lead in so flagitious a service. Coarse, unfeeling, and unprincipled, they have a natural antipathy to all the refinements which the improvement of manners and the progress of mind have introduced into society. Their hearts, which, as to every generous purpose, are cold as clay, give an instinctive approval to the most dishonorable suggestions of their heads; and as no moral obligation places a bar between them and the objects of their pursuit, there is no extravagance in supposing that their hands would un sparingly execute whatever their minds might recommend. They have already condemned authority, rank, wealth, public services, and personal merit; and they only want power to carry the sentence into execution.

So peremptory a tone of censure, as we have used towards the Reformers, it may be said, does not agree with the temperate character of an Adviser. If we had the faintest hopes that advice would operate upon them, we should employ it to divert them from designs, which, it is to be feared, are founded more upon criminal than mistaken motives. If all the sages that have appeared upon earth, were to rise from the dead, and use their united powers of persuasion, they would make no impression upon this obdurate faction. They are too stiff-necked a race to be diverted from their purpose by admonition. By firm measures alone they are to be kept in awe; and it is only energy, tempered by wisdom, that can check them in their head-long course. But in our character of Constitutional Adviser, we shall occasionally address ourselves to those, who have the preservation of the public peace, and the security of our establishments entrusted to their care. They have awful duties to discharge. The multiplicity of their cares and the importance of their functions, must necessarily expose them to the danger of relaxing too much at one time, and overstraining at another, the cord of authority. They may, therefore, find the opinions of an independent and impartial observer in some instances useful. Their line of proceeding is plain, and can only be abandoned from an excessive zeal in the public service. They are liable at the same time to have false information imposed upon them by persons who have, in some measure, an interest in highly colouring their statements. The course of conduct which at this crisis might be confidently and safely traced to public men, would be strictly constitutional. Should they err within that circle, the error might be soon repaired. Every extra constitutional act recoils at last on the depositaries of power, and is sure to excite a dangerous sympathy in favour of those whom both justice and humanity were before loud in condemning. A recent and lamentable occurrence has been as favourable to the views of the disaffected as it has been injurious to the public interests. But this feeling may be carried to a pernicious extent; and we implore all those, who have the safety of the country at heart, not to permit their feelings, with respect to that transaction, to influence their opinion on the subject of Reform.

We seize this opportunity to distinguish between practical and constitutional Reform. To the latter, our aversion is incurable; because we are persuaded it would lead to the overthrow of the present form of government, and to a revolution of the most sanguinary and sweeping character. A convulsion would be distinguished by extreme violence in this country, in consequence of the arts employed to pervert the disposition of the labouring classes:—they have been taught to hold the opulent part of the community in intense abhorrence—to consider their wealth as an invasion of their comforts, and even their generosity as an insult on their poverty. But, practical Reform, conducted on wise principles, consolidates the state, and imparts additional security to the government. It also nurses the resources of the country, and reserves them for great emergencies. Its also favourable to national industry, and, by lessening the duties on commerce, gives it a wider circulation. It offers the readiest and the only effectual means for encouraging our manufactures, and, consequently, our agricultural interests. It also gratifies the enlightened and independent
portion of the public, who are always
disgusted at unnecessary expense; and,
perhaps, it is the best method to explode
constitutional Reform, and silence dis-
affection. It would secure the govern-
ment far better than any armed force;
and, if managed judiciously, offers the
best means of averting the present dan-
ger, and preventing future evils. Excess
in this, as in every thing else, would be
reprehensible, and even dangerous; but,
as the government is not likely to err in
that way, and, as we consequently feel
no anxiety on the subject, we again re-
new the assurance that we are as friendly
to practical, as we are hostile to con-
stitutional, Reform.

There is one class of our fellow-sub-
jects, upon whose exertions much de-
pends at this crisis—we allude to the
magistracy of the kingdom. If they ex-
ecute the laws honestly, they are assailed
with the basest insinuations. If they
meet the danger with firmness, they are
accused of being corrupt tools of the
government. If they reject the poisonous
embraces of the agitators, the epithet of
venal is applied to them. They have an
arduous, and, in general, a most unpop-
ular part to act at present; and we have
a fair pledge of their rectitude in the
reproaches that are lavished upon
them by the Reformers. One of the ob-
jects of the present publication is, to set
their character in a fair point of view be-
fore the public. In proportion as they
are detested by the revolutionary party,
they are entitled to the support of the
well-disposed. They have most painful
duties to perform, particularly in the
disturbed districts: they must be as anxi-
ous as other gentlemen to have the good
will and good opinion of the neighbour-
hood in which they reside; they must
see with pain the misrepresentations to
which their character is exposed. They
also incur, on several occasions, con-
siderable danger, great fatigue, and
many privations: they are obliged to
give up no small portion of their domes-
tic enjoyments, and to endure a number
of disagreeable things, which only a
strong sense of public duty could induce
any gentleman to encounter. Haras-
sed, perhaps, by the fears of their fami-
lies, annoyed by unwarrantable surmises,
and worried by the insolence of the dis-
affected, they must often stand in need
of a friendly voice, and our’s shall be ne-
ever wanting to cheer them in the per-
formance of their arduous duties.

But all the power of the government,
combined with the wisdom of Parlia-
ment, and aided by the exertions of the
magistracy, would be unable to arrest
the progress of Reform, and confound
the designs of the disaffected, unless the
gentlemen, who have a considerable stake
in the country, should generally step
forth in support of the laws. The mer-
chants and bankers of London, who
signed the Declaration on Friday week,
at the London Tavern, have given a
most laudable example in this respect.
In every period of peril, the same body
have manfully supported the govern-
ment; and as they never appear but on
a real emergency, and as their inde-
pendence is placed above suspicion, they
have always made a great impression
upon the country at large. Their ex-
ample, we have no doubt, will be follow-
ed in every commercial town in the king-
dom. There is no class of our fellow
subjects who have so vital an interest in
the preservation of our excellent Con-
stitution. A well-tempered and liberal
system of government is absolutely
indispensable to the prosperity of com-
merce. It cannot flourish amidst anarchy
or under a despotism. It wants the
vivifying heat of true liberty, and the
protection of just laws; and where those
were wanting, it never thrived. All the
encouragement of the most enlightened
despotism could only give an artificial
growth and a temporary existence to
trade. It is alone under such a system
of administration as ours that commerce
can take deep root, and spread its
branches over the face of the country.
England was sunk in poverty and indol-
ence, till commerce was reared by the
fostering care of freedom. Agricul-
ture was neglected, or acquired only a
puny growth, till commerce took it by
the hand; and this shows the deep inter-
est which every person immediately
connected with trade has in the preser-
vation of the present government and
constitution, which are more favorable
to liberty, to public order, to the security
of property, and to the growth of every
useful establishment, than any that we
have ever heard of, either in ancient or
modern history.

Should the designs of the Reformers
succeed, the stupendous commercial sys-
tem of this country would shortly melt
away. The mighty fortunes that have
been raised by trade would be the first
prey the revolutionary faction would try
to seize. The merchants would discon-
tinue business to escape the rapacious
fangs of the unprincipled tyrants who
should be selected from the most vicious
dregs of democracy to rule over the country. The manufactories would be soon gutted, and perhaps consumed by fire; as it is a principal branch of the revolutionary tactics to inflame the workmen against their employers. A similar fate would probably await the splendid mansions of the great landed proprietors, for a lawless populace would have the control, and the plunder of the rich would be their first act of sovereignty. We here raise our warning voice to admonish men of rank of the danger of associating with the Reformers. Their services would be soon forgotten; and they would perish without honour on the ruins of a government they basely betrayed, and of a constitution they had not sufficient sense to appreciate.

Reform has already made such progress as to justify in a great degree the gloomy observations we have made. We are not inclined to be alarmists, but we cannot possibly shut our eyes to the machinations of so dangerous a faction as ever conspired against the well being of a people. If they continue to advance as they have done for the last five or six years; if they increase in numbers as well as audacity; if they are suffered to give a more complete organization to their means; and should they be joined by persons of greater consequence than those who are now in their ranks, which would inevitably happen, should the events take place which we have just mentioned: in this case the government would probably be obliged to concede; and concession would be the certain sign of its approaching ruin. Not a moment, therefore, should be lost in opposing this evil manfully. Delay will merely add to its magnitude, and detract from the strength of the government. Every day that is neglected by the latter will render the struggle more obstinate, and its chances of success more uncertain. In combating against faction, promptitude is half the battle. But hesitation always does harm; and is any man so credulous as to imagine that lenity would soften the violence or relax the exertions of the Reformers? They have a powerful engine in the press; and the boldness with which it is moved has never had, we believe, a parallel. The circulation of their publications is immense; and doctrines are promulgated in them, which openly encourage treason and assassination. It is this engine, which constitutes the principal strength of the disaffected: procures proselytes to the cause, and which it will be very difficult to wrest from their hands. Should the liberties of the country be doomed to perish, it will fall in a great measure through the venality and violence of the press. Its general character at this moment is sufficient to alarm every friend to the valuable right of free discussion. It is become, with few exceptions, the base instrument of power or faction; and its arguments are as infamous for a total want of that generous warmth which zeal in a good cause inspires, as they are for an entire absence of principle and sincerity.

The press has also made a dreadful breach in the plain and manly feelings by which our countrymen used to be distinguished. The pride they were in the habit of shewing when they spoke of their country is now changed for reproach and dislike. The warm attachment they were in the habit of expressing for the government and constitution, is prostituted to the purposes of sedition, or transferred to some miserable demagogue, or some vagabond sputter at a treasonable meeting. Its spirit now consists in traducing all that is venerable and levelling all that is eminent for worth and talent: or in panegyrizing successful vice, and in paying homage to men on account of their station, and not of their services.

This, in our opinion, is the worst sign of the times, for the press is a faithful mirror of the age. However, that large portion of it which is devoted to the Reformers exceeds in audacity any thing we have ever heard of. It professes sedition and blasphemy with an appalling levity. It is labouring to make this world a scene of uproar and misery; and moreover tries to rob us of the last hope of another. For what fate the country, under the operation of so many disheartening causes, is reserved, we know not; but this we know, that no people were ever yet happy whose political and religious sentiments had become vitiated. We thank God, however, that there is still a large fund of loyalty, good sense, and genuine piety in the country. Here, also, we discover the last stay of public honour and freedom. Here, also, our weary hopes, after having explored the dark haunts of faction, usually rest, and are sure to revive.

But the most deadly blow, which the anarchists have struck at the constitution, for which they reserved their fiercest energies, and which was to be directed to the heart, is the scheme of collecting large assemblages of the needy and dis-
solute, under the sanction of the sacred right of petition. No government could enjoy a momentary security; no country could calculate upon tranquillity for the space of a single day, under the existence of so glaring a nuisance. How any man of worth could be found to countenance it, is one of those ideas which the mind indignantly rejects, till forced upon it by the evidence of facts. Yet these meetings have their abettors in the first ranks of the nobility, and amongst the greatest landholders of the kingdom! We implore them to pause, and to reflect without passion upon the consequences of such conduct. We endeavour to persuade ourselves that they are actuated by false popularity, or by a desire to take advantage of those deplorable occurrences in order to vault into the seat of power. On either of these grounds their conduct would be intelligible, though not excusable. To impute it to a reverential regard for the constitution, which, we perceive, is the reason commonly assigned, would impute in so flagrant a manner either their reason or their principles, that we will not insult them by affecting to believe it. Any man of understanding must have acted under a momentary suspension of intellect, when he made the unfortunate declaration, that public meetings, on the plan of the radical reformers, have a constitutional character, and are favourable to civil liberty. Let them produce a single authority out of our own history, or that of any other free state, ancient or modern, to shew that mobs are favourable to freedom. We could adduce a thousand examples to prove that they are the usual forerunners of revolution; and that they have been in all ages the engine used by ambitious men to overturn the institutions of the state. What good can such assemblages effect? Will they promote any practical plan of relief or improvement? Are they even consistent with freedom of discussion, upon a broad and fair basis. They have no deliberative character, because they hear only one side of a question; in fact they can only be compared to the political meetings of the Praetorian guard, or the Turkish janissaries. If they have not acted as yet with the same energy, they have been obviously restrained by want of means, and not of will. Those words of tremendous import "physical force" have been often uttered at those meetings, and received with a ferocious satisfaction. They have been described as the last resource—the ultima ratio of the petitioner; and who is not reminded at this passage of the beggar in Gil Blas, who implored charity in the usual tone of supplication, whilst he presented the muzzle of a carabine to enforce his prayer.

These meetings have, from the first, struck all well-wishers of the country with profound dismay; for they plainly saw in them the germs of many evils, and regarded them as signs that clearly proved the existence of some latent disease of the most dangerous character in the body politic. They instantly began to fear for the fate of the constitution, by means of which the country has become so great and free, and secured, for more than a century, a larger share of happiness at home, and of respect abroad, than has been perhaps attained under any other system of government. It must strike the most common understanding, that either those meetings, or the constitution, must cease. The latter is a system of well-tempered liberty, containing a number of salutary checks, and combining the simplicity of the best popular government with the solid splendour of the most enlightened monarchy. The principle of the meetings is founded upon that of the fiercest democracy; and if not exploded must obviously produce a fundamental and violent change in our present institutions. With this view the scheme was originally suggested; and it was the deadly blow, as we have already said, which the agitators intended to strike at the present government. The first attempts were simple experiments made to try the patience of the constituted authorities, and the pulse and vigilance of the well-disposed portion of the people. These trials, however, gave an opportunity of calculating the strength of the disaffected, of organizing their means, and familiarizing them to the idea of obtaining by force what they well know they have no chance of acquiring by petition. They are now formed into regular masses; they have their governing committees; march with banners and in military order to the place of meeting; and act with so much method in every thing, that it is obvious they now compose one great body, methodically pursuing the same purpose, and prepared to act, or temporize, according to circumstances.

It is now become part of their plan not to appear but in imposing masses. At Manchester it is confidently asserted, that their number amounted to more than fifty thousand! In other parts of
the country they have mustered from twenty to forty thousand; and will any one assert that this idea affords no ground for alarm? Against such an opinion, if it were offered, we should oppose the simple fact, that these large mobs have more than once expressed the intention of meeting on the same day throughout the kingdom! Let us suppose that a few desperadoes, like young Watson, should propose at each of these meetings, that they should take upon themselves to redress the wrongs of which they now complain. Will any one venture to say that the supposition is an improbable one; or that the past conduct of the Reformers affords any security for their future peaceable deportment? Their orderly conduct, as compared with their revolutionary plans, establishes the appalling fact, that they are no longer a loose and tumultuary mob, suddenly collected together, and as suddenly dispersed; but a vast and well-organized body of malcontents, who are watching the favourable occasion, to strike the decisive blow they have long meditated.

But it will be said that, however desolate their designs, or imposing their numbers may be, the Reformers are acting in strict conformity to the law of the land, and that the magistrates have no right to interrupt them in the exercise of an undoubted right. Such is the drift of all the arguments that have been used, rather triumphantly, on this subject. According to the same reasoning, they have a right to meet for any other purpose conveying an idea of a radical or fundamental change in the present constitution:—for example, with the view of removing the present occupier of the throne, or altering the dynasty altogether. Will any one dare assert that the right of petition may be carried to that extent; and that it would be lawful to call a popular meeting in order to alter the kingly part of the government? An Ultra-Reformer, it is true, may maintain it; but, thank God! their dictum does not, as yet, amount to constitutional authority; and, we have no doubt, that if the disaffected should act upon that opinion, they would be treated as rebels. Well; the House of Commons is as integral a part of the government as the King himself; and an attempt to produce a violent change in its constitution is as treasonable an act as to assemble with a view of proposing a change of dynasty. But even the point of right, supposing the object to be as innocent, as it is notoriously dangerous, is very questionable. It is hard to believe that the enlightened and patriotic founders of the constitution contemplated the existence of mob-meetings, when they secured to the people the right of petition. It is, we presume, a fact, that the labouring classes, at the time, never interfered in politics; that few of them were capable of reading; and that at least there were no inflammatory and blasphemous publications, written expressly to root out from the minds of the poor all respect for human and divine laws. We also presume, that the labouring classes were then as submissive as they are now, in too many instances, refractory; and that they pursued their useful avocations, without troubling themselves about abstract principles of government. The human mind cannot conceive a more glaring and pernicious absurdity, than the right assumed by the ignorant, the needy, and, in fact, the desperate, to meddle in the highest and most difficult objects of legislation; and, if they can claim at present this right, by a manifest perversion of the spirit of the constitution, we hope that, on their own account, as well as for the good of the community at large, they will not enjoy long so mischievous a privilege. It is to be hoped, that another session will not be suffered to pass, without seeing an end put to as dangerous an anomaly in politics as is to be found in the records of human experience. We wish it, for the sake of Liberty, to which we are ardently attached. We wish it, for the honour of our country, which is disgraced by that compound of fraud and folly, the seditious meetings; and we certainly desire it, on account of the mass of the disaffected, who, whilst they are occupied in mending the state, are neglecting themselves and their families, and getting into dangerous habits of idleness and insubordination.

But it can excite no surprise that the rash and the unthinking should fall into this irregular course when some of the first men in the country for fortune and rank encourage them by their example. Some evil genius must have prompted the latter to this dangerous act. Surely they are not so sated with the overflow of worldly blessings, that they are tired of their princely estates and dazzling honors; and wish to recover a sound tone of mind in the bracing school of adversity. If that be their object, they are acting not only with the greatest consistency,
but are pursuing the nearest way to arrive at the accomplishment of their wishes. But, if they are not disgusted with the possession of the greatest wealth and rank, they are acting the part of political mad-men. Let them remember the French Revolution, and the causes that chiefly led to it! It was the senseless conduct of some members of the French nobility, who, to obtain popularity at the expense of the government, or from the basest motives of faction, produced that frightful catastrophe; which was marked only by one act of justice, that of consigning to misery and useless lamentations the intriguers, who first excited the people to violence. However, if they so far forget their own interests, and the regard they owe to the public peace, as to countenance meetings which threaten all the securities by which rank and property are held, we can only say that they merit the calamities, which they are doing their utmost to bring down on their heads. However, their fully (we will not bestow on their conduct a harsher expression) is an additional incitement to all those, who duly understand the duties by which they are bound to the country, to form themselves, at this portentous crisis, into a more compact circle round the present government and constitution. If ever an association deserved to be called sacred, it is one that should be formed at this juncture for the preservation of the liberties, the property, and the peace of this great nation. There is not an individual, whose heart has ever throbbed at the beloved name of country, that should not be anxious to enrol himself in so patriotic an association; and we hope the time is fast approaching, when the loyal will unite throughout the kingdom, in order to confound the audacious hopes of the disaffected, and transmit unimpaired to their children the rights and privileges which they received as an unalienable inheritance from their high-minded forefathers.
SEDITIOUS AND BLASPHEMOUS PUBLICATIONS.

This age has been marked by excessive boldness of speculation in religion and politics. But this audacity has been carried to a greater extent in one than in the other; and whilst speculators of this stamp are compelled to admit that some form of government is necessary to preserve the relations between man and man, they reject as pernicious or absurd all modes of faith and worship, by which man is connected with his Creator. In this point they maintain that every one's reason is the best guide; that prescription is fraud; and that ceremonies pervert instead of promoting the purpose for which they are used. In politics they say at most, that existing systems are various, and that others ought to be substituted; but they have never ventured, even in their most moody moments, to assert that every form of government should be exploded. It is only with respect to religion that they propose to demolish without any design to rebuild; and such monuments as the wisdom and piety of past ages have raised, they insist ought to be levelled for ever in the dust. There has been only one instance from the commencement of the world down to this time, in which religion was actually proscribed; and it was marked by more ferocity, by a greater depravity of manners, and by more glaring symptoms of popular madness than upon any other occasion that we have read of. France, during that period, was the scene of sweeping misery, unceas-
ing alarm, and was marked by a savage thirst of blood on one side, and by as appalling a contempt of life on the other; and, allowing for the political violence that then raged, there is reason to suppose that the irreligious notions which prevailed were the prominent causes of the ferocity that was exhibited at that deplorable period.

The expediency of religion is so great, that if there were a government of sensible atheists, they would probably maintain it as a political instrument of the greatest utility. It checks so many passions and vices upon which human laws can impose no restraint, that only a madman, possessed of power would endeavour to destroy its influence. To attempt to destroy its influence is the greatest crime that can be committed against society. In this country, particularly, where the established form of worship is so admirable for its simplicity, and its spirit so untainted with superstition, no excuse can be admitted for any man who may try to subvert it. It is the foundation stone of public and private morals—the tie which binds man with the greatest force to his country and his family. In a word, it is capable of inspiring the most exalted patriotism, and cherishing the finest sympathies of private life. It is absurd to say that reason alone can produce such results. A few exceptions make nothing against the general rule; and we have the experience of all ages to prove, that as the influence of religion declined, men became worse citizens, and more remiss in the exercise of their private duties. What is this vaunted reason when it is not directed by a higher light? Its greatest influence would make only prudent egotists at most; whereas
religion insists upon the practice of the noblest virtues; and at the same time, gives the requisite courage to perform what it recommends.

It is of this grand stay in politics as well as morals that it is attempted to deprive the country. If the attempt to undermine this grand principle in politics and morals was made as a preliminary step to a political revolution, it would have an intelligible character. To maintain, however, that to destroy religion would conduce to human happiness, is a mischievous falsehood. We will wave all supernatural authority in discussing this question, and examine it by the simple and unobjectionable test of utility. Will the writers who are trying to undermine the foundations of religion produce a single instance of a man, particularly in the labouring classes, who, after having become a convert to their opinions, grew more sober, industrious and domesticated in consequence? Did he on his conversion become a better father, husband, son, or neighbour? Did he love his country with more ar- dour, or was he more prone to sympathise with his fellow creatures? If they cannot produce one example to that effect, we ask what is the utility of their labour, and upon what principle they presume to shock, as they are notoriously doing, the feelings of so many millions of their countrymen? However, as it would be easy to adduce several proofs of the disorganizing tendency of their labours, it must be admitted that they are most criminal, and deserve the highest punishment.

The wisest legislators have made religion the cement of their institutions. They knew it was the most effectual restraint upon the passions of men;
and that it moreover encouraged them to prefer their duties to interest. It is well known that it was the source of that pure and high-toned patriotism, by which the Romans were distinguished for so many ages. It is a fact equally true, that as soon as that people began to lose their reverence for the religious rites of their country, a torrent of corruption flowed in upon the commonwealth, which at last overturned the faintest vestiges of liberty, and transformed them into the miserable and crouching slaves of the most intolerable tyranny. When we consider their condition, as a religious and irreligious people, how we are struck with profound astonishment at the contrast. In the former character, with what ardour they loved their country, and with what purity they fulfilled the obligations of private life! As long as it lasted, there was not an instance of a Roman having betrayed his country; and for five centuries a Roman matron was not convicted of adultery. If such was the reverence shewn to an imperfect religion, how tenacious we ought to be in preserving the pure lights of Christianity. To this is due that active and comprehensive spirit of benevolence which distinguishes modern from ancient times; and though moral philosophy was cultivated with great ardour by the ancients, and inculcated with a force of persuasion that has never since been equalled, it produced but a slight impression compared to what has been made by the meek and unostentatious religion of Jesus.

Let us now see who the men are that are endeavouring to explode the religious rites of their country. Are they distinguished for profound research
and superior genius; for a spirit of truth and unaffected love of mankind? The apostles of infidelity, generally speaking, are as superficial in knowledge as they are lax in their morals; and perhaps there is not a more convincing proof of the progress good sense has made in the better classes of society, than the disrepute in which professed scepticism is held. This is a homage at least to the utility of religion; and it is an undeniable truth, that the best and greatest men have been distinguished in all ages by a strict adherence to the religious rites of their country.

Even when they disapproved of the popular religion, they still observed its forms; for they conceived the grossest superstition to be less dangerous than irreligion: and perhaps no circumstance in the life of Socrates has excited so much admiration as his dying injunction to his friends to perform the sacrifice he had promised to make to Æsculapius. The wisest of the Greeks and Romans, indeed, prided themselves upon the reverence they manifested for the religion in vogue.—There was no crime visited with greater severity by both; and the Romans, though they carried their religious liberty as far as it could be carried; though they usually adopted the gods of the countries they conquered, punished with death any attempt to subvert the established worship. And is it to be endured, that the most systematic efforts should be made to destroy the pure religion of this country?

We again ask, upon what ground of utility it is tried to justify this flagitious experiment? It is not pretended that the master or the servant would
fulfil the duties imposed upon each more scrupulously, if all sense of religion were excluded from the connexion. Neither is it maintained, that an infidel wife would be more faithful to her husband. What, then, is the object in propagating those doctrines? The vindication of truth is the alleged pretext. But there are no truths, but such as are founded upon utility; and what right have these men to attack an established religion, when its subversion would produce no good? They know they are offering the greatest offence to the majority of their countrymen, that they are, moreover, transgressing the laws of the land, and endeavouring to produce a violent change, without even a plea of advantage. In the records of human folly and mischief, it would be difficult, or rather impossible, to find so wanton an outrage upon society: and we certainly should not deserve the reputation we have hitherto enjoyed, of being a sensible, and particularly a religious people, unless its authors were visited with the punishment due to so infamous and deliberate an offence.

It is probable that the blasphemous publications, intended as they are chiefly for the labouring classes, are considered as auxiliary to a political revolution. This connexion would add, if possible, to the offence, and impose a stronger obligation to crush so menacing an evil. In no period of history, except, perhaps, the three or four years of the French Revolution, was the licentiousness of the press carried to the height it has arrived at in this country. It is a singular proof of the strength of our political institutions, that they have been able to withstand so much violence. But if their solidity were ten
times greater, they would yield at last to such unremitting and furious attacks. We do not exaggerate, when we assert, that those poisonous productions have already communicated their deadly venom to three-fourths of the working classes: yet there are sensible, as well as loyal, men, who assert, that the mischief arising from those writings is overrated; and that the government is so strong in the attachment of the well-disposed, that they may safely despise the machinations of the disaffected. In wishing that this opinion were well founded, we certainly cannot persuade ourselves that it is; and we fear that the mischief is greater than is commonly imagined, and that the danger is more imminent than people are willing to believe. However, this incredulity in a period of national danger is one of the most portentous signs; for it produces apathy, and favours inaction, when the highest zeal and vigilance are absolutely necessary. It also throws discredit upon such vigorous measures of counteraction as the emergency might imperiously require; and more than one government has been subverted in consequence of such unreasonable confidence. Whilst the friends of good order repose in their imaginary security, the bolt fell at their feet which withered their strength and blasted their hopes for ever. One of the reasons which are assigned for slighting the present danger, is the number and respectability of those who have an interest in maintaining the present order of things. The armed force, and the treasures the government have at their disposal, are adduced as an additional security. The poverty, and comparatively small number of the disaffected, are placed at the same
time in comparison; and it is usually asked, what danger can take place under those circumstances, and where is the necessity for extraordinary means of precaution? Most revolutions have been effected by the few, in spite of the many. It must be remarked, that the disaffected are usually desperate from the circumstances of fortune, and are constantly endeavouring to wind up their minds to the highest pitch of resolution. They are, also, incessantly on the alert, watching for the favourable moment; whilst their antagonists, generally speaking, are remiss, frequently disunited, disposed to tranquillity, and holding in the utmost abhorrence every thing that would expose them to great trouble and risk. At the same time, it is the character of popular discontent, under circumstances like those that unfortunately exist, to receive from time, and particularly from forbearance, an accession of strength;—and this, of all others, is the most urgent motive for resisting it as early and as vigorously as possible.

The great engine of the disaffected is the press, which they make to act with a tremendous force. To wrest it from them, or at least, weaken its force, ought at this moment to be a leading object with the depositaries of public authority. If measures are not taken in the course of the present session to check its audacity, the most ominous predictions that have been hazarded with respect to the issue of the present crisis, will, we fear, be realized. It treats with scoffing contempt all authority, human and divine. It speaks of King and Parliament in a tone of contumely and insolent rebuke, which one scavenger would not dare use.
towards another. It has dragged to the bar of public opinion, as the vilest malefactors, the most distinguished statesmen, warriors, and magistrates of the kingdom. It has marked them out as victims to be immolated to popular vengeance. It has even urged the propriety of drawing up a proscription list, in which every illustrious name in the country should be inscribed;—and is this audacity to be further tolerated?—Are those incitements to assassination to be permitted with impunity? And are the authors of those ferocious appeals to the passions of the rabble to be suffered to abuse, in so outrageous a manner, the privilege of free discussion? Surely that cannot be called legitimate freedom, which claims the right of wounding every public character without distinction; which recommends the subversion of the throne and the altar, and reckons assassination amongst the means which the discontented are justified in employing to obtain their ends. This nuisance must be stopped, or the state will perish from its deadly influence. It has vitiated to a frightful degree the disposition of the labouring classes; and we again press the necessity of opposing a barrier to its violence. Of this we are convinced, that if Mr. Hunt were president of this country, under the fiercest forms of democracy, and Mr. Thistlewood minister of the interior, with Dr. Watson as grand judge, that the authors of such inflammatory publications as are circulated at present would be hanged in less than three months.
SEDITIOUS MEETING.

An inflammatory bill, signed "Arthur Thistlewood," is posted up in various parts of the metropolis, calling upon the most desperate and uninformed portion of the inhabitants to meet on the first day of the next month, to agitate the question of radical Reform. This Arthur Thistlewood, as the caller of the meeting, will no doubt be invited to take the chair; and, if report be true, it would be difficult to find in this great city a person so well qualified to regulate the proceedings of so desperate an assemblage. The connection of this man with the most violent part of the Spa-fields business, and his subsequent trial are no doubt known to most of our readers; and those facts throw a glaring light upon his character. We understand that the other circumstances of his political life correspond with those just mentioned; and that he makes up in consummate audacity for the slight defect of a want of talent. At the same time he seems to be hurried on by an irresistible impulse towards political martyrdom; and there is a strong probability that his genius will render vain the many warnings he has received. We have thrown out these few hints, as they may serve to shew the composition of the intended meeting. If the reader will reflect on the desperate characters, who form the aggregate of such assemblages, with a chairman such as we have just described, he will comprehend the motive for the extraordinary precautions that are taken by the magistrates upon those occasions; and, for our own part, we cannot conceive any cir-
cumstance better calculated to excite deep anxiety. When those meetings terminate without mischief, it is a kind of moral phenomenon. The inference which reason would draw would be of a very different complexion; and when we read in the papers of the next day that the assemblage dispersed peaceably, we rejoice at the accident without being able to account for it. The vigilance displayed by the constituted authorities may be one of the causes; but, notwithstanding the precautions that are usually taken, there is not an individual who has studied human nature, that will not tremble for the peace and security of the metropolis, as long as those political mobs are permitted to collect.

Those meetings, if they have a constitutional character, are a singular anomaly, for they do not serve the cause of the people, and they injure liberty; whilst they shake the fabric of authority to its foundations. They are at the same time a burlesque upon the valuable right of petition; and have an ominous resemblance to those convulsive symptoms which always preceded the arrival of some great calamity to the governments and people of free states. The mobs and demagogues of Rome prepared the way for the military violence of Marius, and the sanguinary dictatorship of Sylla; till the commonwealth at last became so feeble and disorganized, that it literally sank into the arms of despotism. The efforts of its noblest citizens were unable to keep up the reeling state; and they all perished in the struggle, the victims of a generous but unavailing zeal. As long as we see the same causes which overturned regular government and public liberty in Rome working in our own
country, we shall feel anxious lest similar effects occur, and shall not cease to invoke the application of some remedy proper to meet so crying a nuisance. It would promote the interests of liberty more, if some restrictions were imposed upon the people with respect to the exercise of this privilege, than to see it carried to the present extent, and thus rendered subservient in a great degree to purposes of sedition. If a right be abused and diverted from its legitimate object, it would be just and wise to confine it within such bounds as would prevent the abuse without encroaching upon the legitimate privilege. We are aware, however, of the objection that will be made, and are prepared to meet it. It is often asserted that the country has more cause to apprehend the loss of its liberties than a revolution; and that therefore it would be imprudent to make any sacrifice, particularly as it would accelerate an event of which so many are apprehensive. If the persons who reason in this manner are sincere, we deplore their infatuation. They have examined the spirit of the age with a microscopic eye, if they think that despotism is the evil that is to be apprehended. They are capable of only seeing one object at a time; and it generally decides their opinion. A standing army frightens them out of their senses: and the immense revenue collected by the government completes the delusion. But if they would reflect upon the embarrassments in which the government is involved, the engagements it has to meet, and the difficulty it has in raising the necessary supplies, they would be forced to acknowledge that the danger they apprehend is chimerical. A comprehensive view would satisfy them that the peril is on the other side; and impelled as the human mind is at this moment throughout Europe, it is not tyranny, but popular frenzy that offers the greater cause for alarm.

As we feel that the excellent constitution of this
country is exposed to much greater risk from the disaffection that now rages, than from the encroachments of power, we think it our primary duty to denounce and resist the former. It is ridiculous to think that any man, filling a high official situation, would entertain for a moment the extravagant idea of rendering the government of this country an arbitrary one. He would be entitled more to pity for his folly, than to reproach for his guilt; and we reject the supposition as a groundless one, and not proper to be adduced as an argument in this grave question. It is not, however, improbable that the extreme violence of the disaffected may force the depositaries of authority upon acts, which, under less perilous circumstances they might be the first to condemn. But we should impeach the soundness of their understandings more than the purity of their principles, if we were to suspect any of them of a deliberate design to erect a system of arbitrary power out of the disorders of the present times. Only an unsettled mind could give birth to such a suspicion. Whereas the progress of jacobinism is plain and portentous. Its spirit is exhaled in a thousand mischievous publications. The poisonous effluvia is prepared in secret clubs, composed of the most desperate and flagitious characters in the country; and as the revolutionary press does not afford a sufficient vent for the noxious vapour, it is discharged in vast volumes, through those immense tubes of disaffection, the seditious meetings.

MEETING OF PARLIAMENT.

The summons to Parliament to meet in November is a wise measure, because it accords with the public wishes, and signifies a laudable desire in ministers to act, as much as possible at this juncture, according to the spirit and letter of the Constitution. It also clearly shews the sense entertained by government of the state of the country; for it is not probable that the responsible advisers of the Prince Regent would recommend to his
Royal Highness to call Parliament so early together, unless they felt that the necessity was clear—indeed commanding.

The two Houses will assemble under awful circumstances; and they may be called upon to perform some of the highest and, perhaps, harshest duties of legislation. Their proceedings will be watched by the country with profound interest; and the approaching session will be considered as a decisive test of parliamentary wisdom. It is certain, however, that the intelligent and virtuous portion of the community repose much confidence in the legislature; and it cannot be denied, that a favourable feeling towards that body prevails, with very few exceptions, in the well-informed classes of society.

We think that this general confidence in Parliament, on the part of the enlightened and well-disposed, rests upon solid principles. Even its systematic calumniators produce no tangible objection but as to the mode of electing the members of one house. As to talent, general information, and a deep knowledge of the public interests at home and abroad, there is but one opinion (for the calumnies of the revolutionary party are not entitled to any consideration); and it would be difficult, perhaps impossible, to select from the entire mass of our population, more able men with respect to all the higher attributes of legislation.

There is not a branch of political science which has not several luminous and eloquent expounders in both Houses. Every question respecting commerce, manufactures, and agriculture, is deeply canvassed and admirably elucidated. Political economy, in fact, receives new lights from every debate. The greatest luminaries of the law are to be found in Parliament; and it cannot be denied that, as to all the requisites for legislation, the two houses are eminently qualified. We have no hesitation to assert, notwithstanding all the clamour that has been raised of late years, that, if a diligent
search were to be made, not only in this country, but throughout the rest of Europe, it would not be possible to find fifty men, who have reached the highest eminence in all the departments of science connected with politics, that we could not triumphantly oppose as many members of the British senate.

The attacks that are often made upon the moral character of Parliament, are, we are persuaded, as loose as the charge of incapacity, which we have just refuted. Take the members collectively, and it will be found, with few exceptions, that they are men who would not compromise their honour for any human consideration. They embrace a political part generally from deep conviction, and adhere to it with a firmness which, we had almost said, is carried to an extreme. The charge of corruption, for taking office under the crown, is so base, that it does not deserve to be seriously refuted. To put the integrity of Parliament to a proper test, it would be necessary to place it in a situation in which it would be compelled to choose between the loss of national independence, and the destruction of all its members. And does any man doubt the part they would take? They would perish, probably to a man, rather than give up a single particle of their country's honour. The members are usually taken from that class in which independence is regarded as hereditary, and in which family honours are reckoned as the most valuable possessions; or from amongst persons who have raised themselves in society with the help of those qualities that have ever had the greatest claim to human esteem. Therefore, it is only reasonable to presume, that the British Parliament is composed of what is most estimable in the national character.

We shall now meet the charge, which is most frequently, as well as vehemently, urged—the mode of choosing the House of Commons. We shall treat this branch of the question upon the plain
ground of utility, and shall regard with equal contempt the declamations of the ignorant and the reveries of the followers of perfectibility. Under the present practice, men, who have illustrated their country by their political wisdom and eloquence, have been admitted, who probably would have been excluded for ever under the plan of the Reformers. If the close boroughs were to be extinguished, and the right of election transferred to counties and large towns, only wealth, or the utmost servility to the will of the multitude, would gain admission. Genius and the purest patriotism would have but little chance, if opposed to great riches and faction; and the present plan, vicious as it is in theory, will be found, upon a careful consideration of the subject, to be the best in practice.

As to the custom of buying seats, experience proves that it is not the foul blot on the Constitution which it is usually called. Men who acquire large fortunes in the colonies, are desirous on their return to obtain a seat in Parliament, as the only means of acquiring at home the consequence they possessed abroad. Wealth is hardly a distinction in a country where there are so many who have vast possessions. Where such persons get into the house, their votes are independent; for they know if they were to truckle to the minister they would forfeit that public consideration which it is their object to obtain and preserve. Though they vote in general on the side of government, they are almost sure to oppose it on every unpopular question. The same observations apply to persons who have acquired large wealth by trade: and it is our firm persuasion, that Parliament, constituted as it actually is, consults the national interests and dignity much better than they would be attended to under any other system that could be devised.
LOVE OF COUNTRY—ITS TRUE DIRECTION AT THIS CRISIS—PRINCIPAL SECURITY AGAINST THE PLANS OF THE AGITATORS.

Of all affections love of country is the most generous. It is the sentiment, that reflects most honour upon the human heart. At the same time there is none so capable of elevating the character of man, and of bringing a number of great and good qualities into play. Its effects have also corresponded with the ardour and purity, by which it is so eminently distinguished. In several instances they presented an appearance of the marvellous; and it requires some elevation of thought and a generosity of disposition, to believe that human nature could have raised itself so far above its usual standard. To conquer love of life, to which every other passion usually gives way, is only an ordinary triumph on its part. It has obtained a far more difficult victory; it has encountered neglect, obloquy, ingratitude, and the most violent persecution, without abating of its ardour, and, upon some occasions, even without a complaint. It is in free states in which this noble feeling displays itself in its utmost force. It has however appeared with lustre under absolute governments; for it is the offspring of honour as well as of freedom; though its far more rare in the former instance. In
countries that are governed by just and equal laws, it is a grand moral sentiment, which is cultivated by education, and strengthened by reflection; reason increases its warmth; and the higher a man rises on the scale of intellectual improvement, the more ardently he loves his country.

The country of the Freeman is not the rude sod he presses under foot. It implies much more than even the patrimonial field and house. It is something still more sacred, than is conveyed in the endearing word—home; which embraces kindred and family, and connects by a chain of thrilling sensations the past and present with the future. It is the sod, enlivened and consecrated by glorious recollections. It is the field and place of abode to which no violence can approach, and which convey the highest image of secure possession. It is the home that not only recals the dearest and most natural objects of affection, but presents them in the light of moral agents, who have every incitement to virtue, and possess all the advantages upon which happiness is usually founded. It comprehends more than all those; for it embraces the laws, government, religion and constitution of the country; and patriotism implies a readiness, if necessary, to sacrifice life in their defence.

It is in this wide sense that we understand the magic word—country. This comprehensive view of it wonderfully enlarges the circle of our affections and duties; whilst it evidently raises
the rank of man in the moral world. It is a grand truth, that the more we confine our attachments to what are generally denominated their natural objects, the more remote we are from moral worth and even happiness. Selfishness lowers—patriotism elevates—human nature; and the man, whose affections embrace his country, is not only a far more dignified, but a much happier being, than he who is capable of loving no object beyond the narrow circle of his family connexion. This clearly shews that it is our interest to connect public with private good; and if an inquiry were to be made into the causes of the misery or happiness of nations, one could be easily traced to the selfish principle, the other to a generous and enlarged feeling. There are several pithy sayings, which time has consecrated, and which originated in a clear sense of those obligations, which recommend to individuals not to separate their interests from those of the State. "Honour the King" is one of them; and it will be found, on referring to history, that, at the periods in which this precept was held in most reverence, they are not only celebrated for their tranquil, but for their moral, character. Faction of course disclaims this excellent maxim; and, what is the consequence, but discontent, insubordination, a passion for wild experiment, and a very sensible decay of public and private morals.

It is a fact, which merits the most serious consideration, that as our reverence for authority
has declined, the principles of national prosperity have received a corresponding degree of injury. Our reputation, of being a cautious people, has suffered at least in an equal proportion; and there is no project, however hazardous, that would vehemently shock at present. This is a frightful alteration in the character of the country; and it must be opposed by those who have the power, or the consequences may be more pernicious than we are willing to allow. The evil commenced with the first inroad that was made upon the respect due to authority. As soon as this sacred feeling receives any sensible injury, all the foundations of human reverence are immediately loosened. There never was, we believe, any country in which there prevailed so rational and at the same time so deep-rooted an attachment to the government and constitution, as in this. It was a sentiment founded upon reason, and cherished by experience. During the time that its influence was most manifest, the nation was most happy; and we consider it as one of the most pernicious errors of our time, to suppose that popular irritation proves the healthy state of a people.

During the same period there existed a free and even fearless spirit of inquiry into the conduct of public men. But the constitution was sacred; and the sanctuary of the laws was never exposed to brutal and insolent intrusion. Visionary schemes of improvement received no countenance. The country continued to adhere to the
principles that were fixed at the Revolution. They constituted for more than a century the land-marks and lights, by which its political course was guided. In this way it steadily and with unparalleled success pursued objects connected with public freedom and honour. In following this line, our forefathers raised the State to the summit of prosperity. They caused it to be respected abroad; and secured profound peace and confidence at home. It would only excite regret, if we were to describe the results as they affected public and private happiness. That period was in fact a proud one in the history of man. The nation was bold except in innovation. Its enterprising spirit was always checked at the threshold of the Government and at the portals of the Constitution. Loyalty was then the blazing star, which lighted the people on their way; and it led to content and honour. Of late this generous feeling has lost its fervour; and will any one presume to say that the mass of the public are at present as happy, or as moral as they were at the time when they felt a reverential attachment for their political and religious institutions?

That the impatience of authority, which prevails amongst the labouring poor, has not its origin in any principle of intellectual improvement, is evidently proved by experience. Mental improvement is in general associated with an honest pride; and our poor-laws shew how rare in this class that honourable feeling is at present. The
disaffection, which exists, if it were to be carefully traced to its source, would be found not to originate in greater independence of mind, but in a greater corruption of manners. The labouring classes have been taught by designing miscreants to throw off many of those salutary restraints, which religion and morals impose; and a restless feeling has ever since marked their deportment. It is absurd to suppose that they hold principles of liberty in deeper veneration than they did before, or that they understand their public duties better. They are become more depraved in their habits; their wants are consequently more numerous; and the secret of their discontent, which it is attempted to trace to laudable motives, is to be ascribed chiefly to those two causes. The distresses of the times are only a secondary pretext; the leading one is a depraved sense of their duties; and they behold an enemy in the government, because they have no peace in their own bosoms. They are moved by no other impulse in their desire to overturn the State, but that the violence of the attempt corresponds with the irregular and intemperate tone of their feelings. This motive, together with the hopes of plunder, is the source of that audacious pursuit of political change, which tries, by the employment of terror, to subject the country to the discretion of an infuriate rabble.

Honest and high-minded men cannot therefore mistake the line of public duty under those alarming circumstances. They are bound by
Every principle, which can influence human conduct, to meet the danger manfully; to oppose it at the very threshold; and not to relax till they have laid it as low, as it is now overbearing. There is as much merit in combating internal as external enemies. Perhaps the inducement is a more urgent one, and the merit greater; for the country never can want means to avert foreign hostility: her most dangerous and inveterate foe is in her bosom. Never was love of country directed towards a more laudable object. It must brace itself up to its highest tone; for misrepresentation and calumny, will endeavour to waylay it; and it must be proof against the sneer of the selfish, and the menaces of the turbulent. There is a large fund of patriotic feeling in the country. It wants only to be roused, to trample upon the disturbers of the public peace. It requires only a correct knowledge of the views of the disaffected, to crush under its heel a faction, that has no principle of alliance with the British character. There is no safety until this triumph be achieved. There is no chance of improving our situation, as long as discord prevails at home; and who would be extravagant enough even to dream of confidence, or to whisper the word—repose, whilst treason erects its terrific head in the country. Sedition stalks abroad. It is no longer concealed in dark recesses; but shews its daring front in open day. It has fixed its menacing eye on the throne and the altar. It has insulted justice in its inmost sanctuary.
threatened the depositaries of public authority with proscription, and the rich with confiscation. It has expressed in fine a stern determination not to leave a vestige of past or present glory; to root out national honour and public morals; and to make the country,—the birth-place of so many heroes, statesmen and scholars—the favorite abode of the brave and the free—a vile bear-garden for low-bred demagogues and brutal levellers.

To enter into the least compromise with such a faction would be as base as impolitic. Indeed it would be the extreme of political cowardice and folly. Instead of winking at the menaces they hold out, pains and penalties should be presented to their view; and does any one seriously imagine that there is another way of checking their audacity? We want to know upon what they ground their right of blustering as they do. Upon their strength? That is a question to be tried. Upon the purity of their principles? Irreligion and jacobinism are bad proofs. Upon the soundness of their constitutional doctrines? Universal suffrage, and the systematic aspersion of every authority in the state contain a pointed refutation of their pretensions on this head. Upon the humanity or the practicability of their views? Inspiring the multitude with feelings of the most deadly rancour, and fashioning their schemes in conformity to their grossest prejudices, contain a flat contradiction; and therefore they are guilty of insufferable insolence in holding out the me-
naces they employ. No one attempts to deprive them of any right they ever exercised; whilst they want to deprive a large portion of their countrymen of privileges to which they are sincerely attached. Upon what do they rest this daring pretension? Not upon their superior wisdom we presume; nor upon the greater stake they have in the country. As to the solution of the question by means of physical force, on which they seem to place so much reliance, time will decide; but if we were permitted to prophesy, we should not hesitate to assert roundly, that many of the present leaders of sedition will receive the punishment they amply merit, instead of giving the law to this country.

We ground this prediction upon the good sense of the nation. Its public spirit is also a pledge that no effort will be neglected which circumstances may require. At the same time an excellent feeling has manifested itself recently. The loyal are preparing with proper energy to protect the state against violence; to preserve the government from overthrow, and their persons and property from the effects of popular rage and rapacity. The public feeling is, in general, good. The delusion that existed respecting the designs of the disaffected, is rapidly dissipating. Their machinations will be soon uncovered; and British patriotism, which has triumphantly braved so many perils, and surmounted so many difficulties, will speedily scatter a band of conspirators, who have the effron-
tery to attempt to subject this country, with all its mighty interests and glorious recollections, to their vulgar and savage control.

**BLASPHEMOUS LIBELS.**

The verdicts, obtained against Carlile, will probably put an end, at least for a time, to one crying nuisance—the open sale of blasphemous publications. Every man, who feels the least regard for the most useful and venerable establishments of the country, must have rejoiced on learning the issue of the trials. There have been few convictions for any offence, which afforded more general satisfaction; and this circumstance shews the prevalence, not only of religious sentiments, but of good sense in the country. We know some persons, who have the misfortune to think as Carlile does; yet they condemn his conduct; for they are obliged to confess that the doctrines they reject have a useful tendency. All of them, with whom we have conversed on the subject, also paid, without being aware of it, the greatest homage to Christianity, by ingenuously declaring that they would have insurmountable objections to engaging a servant, who should deny its tenets. They moreover acknowledged that the conviction of Carlile was a proper measure; and that he deserves the highest punishment the law allows in cases of libel.
To such as believe in the truths of Christianity, the verdicts must have afforded unqualified satisfaction. At the same time every man, feeling the least interest for the morals of the rising generation, cannot but rejoice at the event. The blasphemous publications, for the most part, found their way to the hands of the young and uninformed, on whose minds the poison worked without an antidote. Also the vile motive, which actuated the Publisher, should be taken into consideration. He deliberately violated the law of the land, with the view of making money of the crime. He coolly weighed his profits against the penalties; and after this cold-blooded calculation of profit and loss, he made his selection. Is any one weak enough to impute his conduct to a better motive? If there be such a one, we request him to alter his opinion; for it is founded on error; and to reserve his sympathy for a more deserving object. The libeller himself would probably be the first to laugh at his simplicity.

Those daring offenders should be stripped of their assumed purity. The good intentions which they find it convenient to proclaim, are put forth for no other purpose but to enhance their infamous profits. There is no object, however sacred or useful, that they are not ready to attack, if they can make money of it. Good intentions, forsooth! a likely plea for a man, who wantonly attempts to overturn the established religion of the country, and who makes a considerable profit of the adventure.
The two trials, whilst they have confounded the party, with whom Carlile acts, have placed our Courts of Judicature, if possible, in a brighter point of view than that in which they stood before. The mild dignity, with which the Chief Justice met the vulgar effrontery of the accused; the firm moderation, with which his Lordship opposed the crude notions of Carlile on the law of the question; together with the lenity, whenever the severe duties of the judge allowed him, with which he treated the criminal, notwithstanding his abhorrence of the crime, are the subject of general admiration. We are sure we are correct in saying, that the judicial proceedings in this case will not only confirm, but tend to raise, the estimation in which our Courts of Law are so deservedly held.

A few more convictions of this kind would intimidate the disaffected, and might be the means of preserving them, and, what is of more consequence, the public from much mischief. The intemperance, which they display at present in their conduct, must inevitably lead, if not checked, to the most melancholy results. They act with a desperate hardihood, which would render ordinary means of coercion ineffectual; and though the consequences of any violence that might happen would attach to themselves; yet we should sincerely deplore the event; notwithstanding the guilty designs of this daring faction. The legal punishment of the most incorrigible of the party would, in all probability overawe the mass, and prevent the necessity of coercive measures, at the
idea of which humanity shudders, but which their audacity, if not restrained, will it is to be feared, render unavoidable. To their other offences they have added the calumny upon the public, that it would not be possible to obtain a British Jury, that should find against them a verdict of guilty. They have already in two instances suffered the penalties of this insult upon the character of the country; and we hope we shall have to record some more examples. This hope partly originates in pity towards themselves; for, if they are suffered to provoke much longer the indignation of the country, and to mature their execrable projects, they will inevitably draw down such a weight of vengeance upon their heads as must crush them. Humanity therefore as well as policy would recommend to extinguish so criminal an association by punishing the most guilty of the leaders. At least the experiment is worth trying; and should the result not correspond with the design, it would be said at least that the persons, who should be punished by way of a salutary example, had amply deserved it.

The mention of Carlile's conviction reminds us of proceedings in the same Court, in which Hunt was the prominent personage. The deportment of this man, on the occasion we allude to, was so entirely stripped of all decorum and even prudence, that we can only compare it to the disgusting hardihood, which, in a few instances, has been exhibited upon the conviction of the most hardened malefactors at the Old Bailey.
Even in this severe experiment upon his patience, the Chief Justice did not, we understand, for a moment, lose his dignity. But this dignified conduct in the Judge served to place in a stronger light the impudence of the "bold" man, as he called the offender. Even Hunt felt the impolicy, if not the impropriety of his conduct; for at the next sitting of the Court, he made an apology. It is plain he acted in this bullying manner, in order to prove to his party that he is worthy of being their leader; for hardihood is the virtue of desperadoes; and, to insult the most venerable authority in the State, must be considered by the disaffected as a meritorious act. High-spirited as his insolence may appear to his own party, it has been condemned as brutal and ill placed by every other person. It has also undeceived those weak men, who thought they saw something to admire in the conduct of Hunt at Manchester; and who gave him, in consequence of that illusion, credit for qualities which are utterly unknown to himself. Had it not been for the blustering conduct he displayed in the sanctuary of justice, he might have passed some time longer for a man, possessing the talent of acting according to circumstances, and who rises to the summit of the favourable occasion. But he has dashed this opinion to the ground; and probably he sets no value upon it. His ambition is to be the leader of the rabble; and we believe he disclaims every other distinction.

If Hunt is to be considered as a fair specimen, or rather as the ornament of his party, (his character of leader countenances the latter supposition,) the respectable part of the public are bound to take timely precautions to prevent their success. If Hunt be hardy enough to insult at present one of the most venerable personages of the State, and through him the country at large, to what excesses would he not pro-
ceed, if there were no check upon the violence and brutality of his temper! The country has still much to learn respecting that faction; and we have only to hope that the knowledge will not be the fruit of bitter experience. Whatever impius and sanguinary acts marked the triumph of jacobinism in France, even under the furious domination of Marat and Robespierre, would, we fear, be exceeded in atrocity in this country. The fiercest leaders of the French jacobins were men of cultivated minds and of considerable talent, if compared with the heads of the revolutionary party in this country.

CONDUCT OF THE WHIGS.

The Whigs are engaged at their old game, at this moment of grand and frightful expectation. They are shewing much skill, as might be expected from such old and experienced players. But they are also playing with great hazard, which can only be accounted for by the rich prize they have in view. Their skill consists in praising the constitution vehemently, and in professing an unalterable and ardent attachment for the government; whilst they pretend that both can be saved, at this alarming crisis, by their exertions alone. The hazardous part they are acting, which is rather strange in political gamesters of their experience, consists in their conniving at, and even secretly encouraging, one of the most daring and unprincipled factions that ever endangered the peace and political existence of this or any other country. They no doubt hope by means of the terror the disaffected inspire, to vault into power; for sliding into office would not suit their present pretensions. Whilst they profess to condemn the designs of the radical reformers, and whilst their real sentiments correspond in this instance with their professions, they join them in their meetings, and imitate in
some degree the violence of their resolutions. This is certainly a hazardous game; and it is like staking their all—their rank, their fortunes, may their very existence on the turn-up-card. In the vehemence of their desire to turn out ministers, they make concessions to the advocates of revolution, which may be attended with results, that no after-wisdom would be sufficient to correct. Had not views of ambition made them giddy at this crisis, they would perceive the extreme danger of playing with the lightning of popular discontent. More able politicians have been consumed in its fierce blaze; and they may perceive too late that, instead of making the radical reformers the tools of their ambition, they are themselves the unconscious instruments of their supposed dupes.

We, who are mere spectators, clearly see that the revolutionary party are playing their cards with at least as much address as the Whigs. In fact, from what we have seen of the game, the former are the more skilful players. The Whigs have staked deeply; but they have won little; whilst their partners in the bank are making enormous profits, and are evidently determined to permit no division of the spoil. It is clear to the most ordinary capacity, that the cause of revolution has made more progress of late, than that of Whigism. And is this the vaunted sagacity of the Whigs? Is this monstrous alliance a proof of their zeal in the cause of constitutional liberty? We entreat them to beware, for we perceive with grief as well as alarm that they are acting with indiscretion; and one false step might precipitate them, the government and the country, into the gulph of revolution.
The removal of this nobleman has been ever since the subject of irritable discussion. It was certainly a decisive act; and its propriety rests upon the following points:—whether the offence, imputed to his Lordship, merited it; and whether concession or firmness would be the wiser course of policy at this moment. As to the alleged offence, we shall wave it for the present; and shall merely ask, if a person of a less elevated rank, and filling an official situation of less consequence, had taken as prominent a part on the occasion alluded to—whether his removal would have been considered as harsh or impolitic? Waving still the imputed offence, we have no hesitation to say that no distinction in such cases ought to be made between the highest nobleman and the most ordinary individual—between the lord-lieutenant of a county and the constable of a parish; or if any, it should be made in favour of the humble individual. It is the strongest proof of a feeble government, to wink at offensive actions if they are committed by men of rank; and to visit them with stern vengeance on persons who have not the advantages of high birth and fortune. A high-minded government would act in an inverse manner; and this settles
in our opinion the question as to the propriety of displacing a potent and wealthy nobleman at a period of great alarm.

It has been the policy of this reign (and we believe it to be a generous line) to mark political offences with a displeasure exactly corresponding to the rank of the offenders. When the first peer of the realm, in times as agitated as the present, gave an improper toast, he was immediately struck off the list of privy-councillors by our afflicted and venerable Sovereign. Nothing shewed in a stronger light the justice and firmness of his Majesty than that very act; and it was by means of those qualities that his government was able to overcome the unprecedented dangers by which it had been assailed. This upright and inflexible character inspired the good with confidence, and appalled the guilty. It afforded a resting point for loyalty, and made faction tremble. The consequence was, that, though the perils of the time were unparalleled; though several thrones were overturned, and the rest violently shaken, that of this country was proof against the storm; and England was preserved from the horrors of revolution and the scourge of invasion.

The removal of Earl Fitzwilliam from his high post may be considered as a part of the same policy—as a link of the chain; and it shews at least that the government does not want nerve to meet the difficulties of our situation. In times of faction, a course of feeble and vacillating
measures, is certain of exposing authority to contempt, and, frequently to irreparable evils. Disaffection was never disarmed by lenity, or arrested by time-serving expedients. As often as it has been overcome, the victory was due to firmness: and the least show of hesitation only retarded the event. The crown and life of Louis XVI. might have been preserved, had his councillors acted with becoming energy. But the majority recommended a temporizing course; whilst those, who urged a vigour equal to the emergency, were dismissed. The trusty adherents of the throne, together with the loyal magistrates of the kingdom, were thrown into suspense; and they hesitated to act, when action alone could have saved themselves, the royal family and the nation from the inexpressible misery that followed. The disgrace and overthrow that befell Prussia some years back, originated in the same cause; and it will be found, upon a careful perusal of history, that most of the calamities arising from foreign invasion, or civil troubles, are to be traced to a principle of feebleness or pusillanimity in the depositaries of power.

The propriety of displacing the noble Earl has nothing to do with his elevated station, or even his private worth. It depends entirely upon the dangerous or innocent tendency of his conduct, as lord-lieutenant of one of the most disturbed districts of the kingdom, in taking so conspicuous a part in collecting a large assembly of the people at a moment of the highest
popular irritation. If the example was a dangerous one, his rank and private character only aggravated the danger; and his official situation served to give it a darker complexion. We assert again that if the act was bad, the circumstances we have just mentioned only made it the more indefensible, and rendered it a more imperative duty on the part of government to express their displeasure. They might have safely overlooked in a private gentleman, what it would be neither prudent nor high-spirited to wink at in the proud peer. They might have disregarded on the part of an ordinary magistrate an act, which they could not have neglected in a lord-lieutenant. The circumstances of the country are critical, and call for great examples. When authority is firm and consistent, its adherents are not at a loss in what manner to act. They unite in that case all their energies to repel the common danger. It is only the most perfect union on the part of the loyal, which can save the State from the evils with which it is menaced; and if the government will meet the crisis manfully, the well-disposed will most assuredly follow the example.

Those remarks shew at least the expediency of a measure, which has been canvassed on both sides with so much warmth, and condemned in a tone of such acrimonious reproach by the Opposition. According to the latter, the most offensive part of the transaction is the removal of a person of such high birth and vast wealth. Had it been an inferior individual, such an exercise of
power, according to this doctrine, would not have been so questionable; and such then are their principles of political justice—such alas! is their practical exposition of the impartiality with which, particularly in free States, rewards and punishments ought to be distributed. There is nothing, after all, so blind as faction; and if we wanted another proof of the irregular spirit that prevails in our time, we should find it in the illiberal and partial manner in which this question has been examined by the soi-disant friends of liberty. They rest their charge chiefly upon the public rank and private worth of his Lordship; as if those circumstances would not aggravate the offence; and even his constitutional knowledge and political experience would tend to the same effect. Also the "venerable" age of that noble personage, which is so often urged, really constitutes an aggravation; for age is the season of caution, of slow deliberation and safe council, and not of rash adventure, or headlong determination.

Hitherto we have studiously abstained from passing any judgment upon his Lordship's conduct. We have pursued this course, not in consequence of doubts on the subject, but from a desire to strip it previously of such false ornaments, as declamation and sophistry have hung round it. Before giving an opinion, we wished to dispel the mist of delusion, in which factious writers have tried to involve the question. As the rank, wealth or even private character of the
noble Earl ought to have no influence upon the
decision of this question, we shall try it upon its
broad merits. If the inquiry referred to any
other person, we should conduct it in the same
manner; and if the present government were not
interested in the issue, we should proceed in the
same straight line of impartiality. If the event
happened in France or any other country, our
course would be precisely the same; for this is a
period, when honesty of investigation cannot be
departed from, without endangering the best in-
terests of society. This remark applies particu-
larly to political inquiry; and every thing like
spurious sympathy, or over-strained liberality,
should be severely excluded. A false decision
upon a point like the present, would probably
involve the highest interests; and if it were to be
established as a fixed rule, that a person, filling
a public situation of great confidence and digni-
ty, to which he is appointed by the Crown, might
inflame popular discontent at a moment too of
the greatest alarm, without the least liability to
censure, or the slightest risk of being displaced
—in that case, we would not insure the existence
of the government for the short period of two
years.

As soon as we saw Earl Fitzwilliam's name to
the Requisition, we confess we expected the de-
velopment with extreme anxiety. It immedi-
ately struck us as an act, pregnant with conse-
quences of the first moment. The large stake he
has in the country, his former line of conduct
under similar circumstances, his high aristocratical principles, his professed attachment to the present system of government, together with the irreproachable tenor of his life, seemed to us so entirely inconsistent with the part he was disposed to perform, that we have ever since tried in vain to reconcile them. The country was at the time in an extraordinary state of agitation. That part of it in particular, in which a large portion of his Lordship's princely possessions is situated, was convulsed almost to frenzy. Here he also exercised the important functions of lord-lieutenant; and when we compared those circumstances, we instantly said, "this is as decisive and precipitate a step, as ever was taken by any man in any situation." At the same time it was breaking off, in the harshest manner imaginable, the connexion that subsisted between him and the government. It was in fact impossible he could afterwards retain the lieutenancy; and if he consulted the dignity of his situation more than personal feeling on the occasion, he would have sent in his resignation, as soon as he signed the requisition. But his Lordship (we hope from inadvertency) threw this harsh duty upon the government, and, to their honour, they have not shrunk from it. Had his Lordship seriously meant to add to the difficulties of the country, and to the embarrassments of the Executive, he could not possibly have fallen upon a more effectual method; but we must have the most conclusive proofs, before we can make up our minds
to entertain so serious a charge against a nobleman, whose character previously stood upon such high grounds. Weakness and precipitancy were probably the sole motives of his conduct.

The line of duty, which was prescribed to the government under such unexpected circumstances, was at once severe and unavoidable. The removal of his Lordship, as he neglected from some unexpected cause to tender his own resignation, was a measure of commanding, though harsh, necessity. At so critical a juncture, every ordinary consideration ought to bend to the safety of the State; and, in fact, elevated rank ought to be an additional inducement to the Crown to visit with its displeasure political transgressions. Upon the most mature consideration we do not hesitate to say, that ministers could not act otherwise than they have done, without disgracing themselves and endangering the public safety. The only thing we see to lament in the transaction is, that Earl Fitzwilliam, when he resolved upon the course he has taken, did not resign of his own accord, as he was bound upon every principle of consistency, custom, and, indeed, honour, to do, instead of imposing upon the government so harsh a duty.
HUNT AND THISTLEWOOD.

When great men violently disagree, and are indiscreet enough to publish their differences to the world, curious disclosures usually follow. We see this exemplified in the case of the two political worthies, who are the subject of the present article. An irreparable breach has been effected between these towering rivals, both of them candidates for the highest meed of popular favour, and for the last prize of unsuccessful patriotism. Such genius spurns at the quiet and snivelling mode of quitting this sublunary scene. Men of their soaring ambition, also, admit of no equal: Hunt, in particular, is so intoxicated with his triumphs in Lancashire, that, since his return, he has treated his former associates in the good work of reformation with an insolence, which they have had too much spirit to submit to. The first symptoms of disagreement were manifested on the occasion of Hunt's triumphal entry into London. He, rather coarsely, and, we think, ungratefully, declared at the first interview that those illustrious triumvirs — Thistlewood, Watson and Preston, were too officious on the occasion. This was certainly a scurvy return for the Apotheosis they procured for him. But it was at the feast which followed that the rupture assumed a decisive and irreconcilable form. The authors of the triumph and entertainment naturally wished
to complete the glorious labours of the day by appointing a trusty confederate to the chair. The proposal was rejected with contempt; and Hunt the Great, to show his disdain of forms, occupied a place which, according to the laws of custom and courtesy, ought to have been filled by another. After this marked disgrace, the Spenceans were doomed by their haughty associate to sustain further contumely; and he made the very scene, which they looked upon as the consummation of their illustrious labours, the theatre of their degradation and disappointment. This was a cruel stroke of policy; and shewed the domineering genius of their haughty rival. They sank for a time under the blow.—They fell without resistance into the secondary part which was assigned them.—They were, in fact, crushed into insignificance for the evening; but they vowed vengeance, and have religiously fulfilled the vow.

The leaders of the Spenceans, as soon as they began to recover from their stupor, set about the mine which was to blow up their former hero. Nightly consultations were held. The Committee of two hundred were declared to be in a state of permanent sitting. All the emissaries of sedition and folly, of reform and madness, were put in motion. Loud yells from the dark recesses of treason declared that Hunt had ceased to merit well of the country. An active correspondence was set on foot with the Pro-
vivial Committee, in which he was accused of a design to make himself Dictator. He was not only charged with the ambition, but with the capacity, which impel men to mount to that giddy height. Charges of embezzlement were also preferred; and Mr. Secretary Blandford received instructions to draw up a document substantiating the charge. This important State Paper has been since published, in which Hunt is accused of attempting to defraud the Treasury of the Spenceans of the amount of £4 16s. and some odd pence. While this train was in preparation, the intended victim obtained intimation of the threatened danger; and, with a genius for intrigue, which leaves his enemies at a vast distance, he determined to strike the first blow, and denounced them as traitors to the cause—as spies, in fact, of Government. This was a master-stroke, and clearly proves his vast superiority over the half-witted faction, whom he deigned, for a time, to employ as the instruments of his ambition—to be used, or neglected, according to his potent pleasure.

It is necessary, however, to a clear knowledge of all the springs and threads of this famous plot and counter-plot to say that Thistlewood had journeyed into Lancashire for the purpose of undermining Hunt's ascendancy in the very focus, or, rather, hot-bed of sedition. The mission was considered to be of such importance, that the most daring of the Spenceans was chosen
for the purpose. This man is a red-hot revolutionist—an utter contemner of time and circumstances—an Abershaw in the sweeping work of reformation; and he was, moreover, entrusted with the intricate and hazardous commission of effecting another seditious meeting in Manchester. It was this occasion which Hunt seized, in order to strike his master-blow. He drew up a letter, addressed to his friends in Lancashire, in which he designates the ambassador of the Spenceans as a spy, and exhorts them not to meet. Thus, the thunderbolt, which was directed at himself, he made to fall on the heads of his enemies. It was this grand stroke of intrigue and effrontery which produced the recriminating letter of Thistlewood, in which Hunt is accused of political cowardice, (a fatal taint in the character of a Radical) and of having neglected to strike a decisive blow, or, in plain English, to overturn the Government on the day of his triumphant entry into the Metropolis, "when five hundred thousand persons," says the letter-writer, "were assembled for the occasion!" Such, gentle reader! are the worthy persons who, in the overflowings of their patriotic zeal, have undertaken to regulate the destinies of our beloved country.
We should feel no slight share of anxiety, lest Monday next might be cited hereafter as one of the blackest days in the annals of the Metropolis, if we did not feel re-assured by the vigilance of the Government and the activity of the Magistracy. On that day all that is vicious in principle, desperate in circumstances, and depraved in character, may be collected in one spot, under the guidance of acquitted traitors. If such an assemblage convey a practical illustration of modern reform, we implore Heaven to save the country from the threatened pestilence. As long as this nuisance, by a perverted interpretation of the spirit of the Constitution, is respected as a legal custom, it would be extravagant to calculate upon security. As long as it receives a pernicious tolerance, it will be an object of commanding policy to augment the military force of the country.

We cannot recollect, at this moment, any circumstance, which places in so glaring a point of view the inconsistencies of the pretended friends of economy and retrenchment, than the countenance they give to meetings of this description. To sanction so dangerous a principle, and call, almost in the same breath, for a reduction of our military establishments, cannot be reconciled either with honesty or judgment. If they are sincere in their vaunted professions of economy, we cannot comprehend how they can, at least upon honest grounds, encourage the
populace in asserting this pretended right. To uphold seditious meetings, and, at the same time, try to weaken the arm of the Government, may be consistent in their opinion, with reverence for the Constitution; but to us it appears something like a design to overturn the Constitution.

As long as the Whigs attempt to reconcile such flagrant contradictions, they cannot be admitted to power, without endangering the existence of the present government. We are aware that they profess to disclaim the least approbation of the spirit which has marked the seditious meetings; but their professions and their acts are at variance; and whilst they affect to condemn the violence that may ensue, they cling to the principle, and vindicate the practice. It is this inconsistency that disqualifies them for office; and it is their great error, that they are ever labouring to blend irreconcilable things. They aspire to be practical Statesmen, and, at the same time, bold projectors. In like manner, they do not set sufficient value upon the power of circumstances. They seem to act upon the opinion that the same line of policy would suit all occasions, the favourable and the unfavourable. Man, according to their doctrine, is a mere creature of reason; the seasons are subject to no variations; the fluctuations of commerce are governed by the same regular laws that direct the ebb and flow of the tide; and political society, under this uniform system, has the same wants, the same facilities, and the same passions. Therefore, they reject coercion and indulgence
as inapplicable to their theory; and they seem to insist that men ought to be governed under all circumstances in the same manner. At least, such is the drift of their arguments; and it renders intelligible the many crude notions they have broached of late, respecting the policy to be pursued at this alarming juncture.

A meeting, like that on Monday next, is a disgrace to a civilized country; an insult to a government of law; an annoyance to all honest men, and a satire upon our high pretensions to national glory and greatness. We hope that one of the first acts of the next Session will be a remedy against this scandalous nuisance. One of our motives for expressing this wish is to preserve the invaluable right of petition, which is obviously endangered by the present abuse. Another reason is the regard which every man ought to feel for public tranquility. The proposed meeting, considering its composition—the audience—the leaders, will form one of the most dangerous assemblages, which the imagination can conceive. It furnishes a pretext to the most daring and desperate characters in this great city to collect at the same time, and in the same place. The man who is expected to preside is a political desperado—half madman, and half ruffian; and it will depend upon the discretion of such a fellow, whether the meeting shall disperse peaceably, or not.

LOYAL DECLARATIONS.

In every number of this Publication, since its commencement, we have endeavoured to fix the Reader’s attention upon the extreme activity of the traitorous and disaffected. We have now a very different object to fulfil, that of adverting to the efforts that are making at this moment by the loyal. Everywhere they seem to feel an inflexible determination to preserve that excellent Constitution
and system of Government, which we have received as the most valuable legacy from our high-minded ancestors, and which we hope to transmit unchanged to posterity. If the people of this country were capable of resigning, under any pretence, such a legacy, they would fully deserve the fate, which, in that case, would certainly await them. They would soon become the victims of designing and unprincipled traitors, and the slaves of the most intolerable of all tyrannies—that of a brutal rabble. No; such degradation is not reserved for this land of the brave and the free. It would be better we should be extinguished as a nation than submit such a fate. It would be better that this island, with all its glories and riches should be swallowed up by the surrounding ocean, than to see it subject to the fierce control of traitorous and impious demagogues. We are sure that so horrible a calamity cannot arrive, until some extraordinary change take place in the feelings and character of the nation.

That we have a right to entertain the hope we have just expressed, may be seen from the number of loyal declarations that have already appeared. These are distinguished as much by the excellent sentiments they contain, as by the rank, talent, and services of many of the persons who have signed them. Others are in preparation; and there is no doubt but every county in the kingdom will express its steadfast attachment to the Government and Laws at this eventful crisis. In fact, we expect that every town will act in the same laudable manner; and that the loyal will form themselves throughout the country, into permanent associations, if necessary, with the view of overawing the disaffected, and preventing traitors from carrying their designs into effect. Party-writers may sneer at those declarations; but the sneer is a forced one, and they tremble at what they affect to ridicule.
NORFOLK MEETING.

The meeting which was held last week in Norwich, though convened in pursuance of a requisition, signed by the leading Whigs of the county, was by no means so numerous as some of those meetings in different parts of the country, at which Hunt and other demagogues presided. This is another proof that high birth, vast possessions, and even liberal principles are not held in much estimation by the populace, as soon as the latter have lost that reverence for the government, which they are bound by interest and duty to feel. It is a melancholy fact that in times of popular ferment, men of rank and education are not held in much repute by the multitude, who generally transfer their favour to persons, whose chief, if not sole, recommendations are boldness and vulgarity. To obtain the same sway, a man of rank must divest himself of the polish acquired in good society; and, when he mixes in their deliberations, he is obliged in some measure to imitate the favourites of the rabble in the coarse strength of their style, and the unguarded violence of their sentiments. Upon those occasions the noble candidate for popularity speaks
with an intemperance which his good sense would disdain to employ in any other situation. This necessity is the more to be lamented, as it compels him to proceed beyond the bounds which his unfettered judgment would have traced out, and to give his countenance to proceedings, which every sound motive of interest, private or public, would urge him to disown. Though the inducements to this line of conduct are not what may be properly called criminal, the consequences are not the less pernicious; and the populace had been inflamed to madness, strong and incurable, when it was intended to raise them only to a momentary transport. Whenever persons of an elevated rank took a part in popular effervescence, the impulse, it thus received, became so powerful, that it forced upon the government the adoption of means the most energetic. Therefore, as often as they interfere, it is usually the signal of extreme irritation on one side and of as jealous precautions on the other.

At the Norfolk Meeting, as at all the other county meetings that have been held on the subject of the Manchester proceedings, the principal speakers were Whigs, whilst the audience for the most part was composed of persons, who detest Whigs and Tories alike; and admit no other title to patriotism, but such as is founded on an avowed dislike of the present government, and on an expressed determination to alter the constitution. The aristocratical tone of the Whigs would not suit such hearers; and therefore they
were obliged to lay it aside for the moment. They were also obliged to flatter the revolutionary feeling; and to assert their own principles in a very qualified manner. Instead of regulating circumstances, they are governed by them on those occasions. It is true they condemn in words the mischievous designs of the radicals; but they unfortunately countenance them by their conduct; and whilst they express their veneration (which no doubt is sincere) for the constitution, their proceedings have an obvious tendency to procure its overthrow. They must know that revolution has many advocates in the country. They ought at least to know that those men are most active, most unprincipled, and most persevering, in the prosecution of their design. They ought likewise to be aware that the present circumstances of the country are favourable to the views of the disaffected. The pressure of the times exposes the labouring poor, particularly in the manufacturing districts, to the infection of those deadly doctrines. Low wages and high prices are powerful auxiliaries in the cause of sedition; and whilst those lamentable causes operate, which no human wisdom could prevent, and no course of policy can immediately remove, it is the extreme of political infatuation to sport with the irritable feelings of the multitude.

It is on this account that we consider the speeches, resolutions, and address of the Norfolk Meeting as having a most dangerous tendency.
Whatever may have been the provocation, the language was too intemperate; and in resenting the supposed wound on the constitution, the Earl of Albemarle and his friends have prepared for it, we fear, a far more serious injury. What is proper spirit at one time, is the height of extravagance at another. What was patriotic zeal last year, might be political frenzy the next. In fact all acts should be subjected to the control of circumstances; and we should not look upon that man as a friend to his country, or as an enlightened supporter of its liberties, who should visit the errors of the government, or canvass the exercise of its authority, with too much rigour, in turbulent and factious times. The best test of wisdom, public and private, is the good it produces. An attempt to agitate and inflame the public mind, at a crisis like the present, will not bear to be submitted to that test. It was irritated too much before. The jealousy of a large portion of the people was at least equal to any ambitious views the government could have possibly entertained. At the same time disaffection was rapidly gaining ground. The press displayed an audacity, which never had an example. Speeches were made at every meeting, which would have almost petrified the most fearless and impudent demagogues of former times. The palate of the multitude was so depraved that it could not relish any other food; and was it wise, under those circumstances, in some of the first men in the country to throw their weight, influ-
ence, and talent into the scale of popular discontent?

The troubles in the reign of Charles the First had the same origin. We beg leave, however, to make a clear and formal distinction between that government and the present; for none of the pretexts for resistance, which are said to have existed at that time, can be honestly adduced in ours. However, a violent passion for change, and a great disregard of authority marked the conduct of the multitude at that period, as they do at this. Designing miscreants, as at present, took advantage of their passions and prejudices. The government was forced upon counteracting measures; and the last calamity might have been prevented, had not some leading men, both as to rank and wealth, violently interfered. The populace, from that moment allowed no restraints upon their turbulent disposition; and are the Whigs in our time so infatuated as to expect that the countenance, they are pleased to give to the passions of the multitude, is calculated to produce a different result? They know little of the human mind, if they form such an opinion. They know still less of the spirit of the age, if they imagine that liberty has more to apprehend from the encroachments of power than from the licentious spirit that prevails. There is no public man who has any claim to political sagacity, who is not friendly, in a period of general refinement like the present, to the just rights of the people. Therefore the charge of tyranny is the most vague
which can be preferred; and resistance to popular licentiousness is too often confounded with designs favorable to arbitrary power.

We acquit the Whigs of any criminal intention, and, above all, of revolutionary designs, in the line of political conduct which they are pursuing at the present moment. But we cannot, with the same sincerity, acquit them of imprudence. They are treading exactly in the footsteps of the leading men, who, in the time of the First Charles sided with the disaffected against the government. In the same manner they overlook the revolutionary spirit in their excessive fears of the crown. They seem to tremble at an imaginary evil, whilst they are insensible to a real danger. We cannot possibly account for this extreme jealousy in one case, and for this extraordinary apathy in the other. It is one of those moral phenomena which reason cannot explain, but of which experience furnishes frequent instances. It is cherished, however, if not engendered by the rank spirit of party; and when we recollect how many foolish things the most able men, and how many criminal acts the best men were guilty of, from that cause alone, we are almost tempted to ascribe the present conduct of the Whigs to its bewildering influence.

They are wrong, however, if they imagine that, in the triumph of disaffection, they could preserve their estates from confiscation, or their persons from proscription. We are willing, however, to believe that so base a consideration has but little influence upon their conduct. Yet, as the idea
may obtrude itself upon their attention, it may not be amiss to warn them against the mischievous illusion. Any number of Cobbett's Register would soon undeceive them; and that demagogue faithfully pourtrays the feelings that would prevail against the rich and high-born, in the event of a revolution. The violence would be sweeping; the vengeance unsparing; and avarice and want of feeling would have to decide upon their fortunes and lives. The result of two revolutions, that of France and England would irritate the natural cruelty of levellers; and they would probably endeavour by the stern and ferocious character of their precautions to prevent the possibility of restoring the former order of things. We wish to persuade ourselves that the Whigs are as fully alive to that circumstance as we are; and that they are too high-spirited to enter into a compromise with disaffection for safety. But however high their spirit, or honest their intentions may be, they are pursuing, at this juncture, a line of public conduct which may involve themselves, the government, and the country in the worst of calamities. As we believe their conduct to be founded upon temporary error, and not to proceed from motives of criminal ambition, or from the fumes of false zeal, we have expressed ourselves on the subject freely. We implore them to pause, and reflect that a false step cannot be easily retraced by men of their public consideration in a period of civil contention. Pride, and the irritation peculiar to political feuds, would urge them to advance, should they
have the misfortune to move an inch too far, instead of falling back; and they ought to be aware that popular resistance in this age of violence, immorality and irreligion, would not lead to improvement, but to overthrow; not to order, but anarchy; and, instead of conducting to renown and a higher state of freedom, it would lead to the worst and most debasing of all tyrannies—that of unprincipled and unfeeling demagogues.

**MEETING OF RADICALS IN FINSBURY MARKET-PLACE.**

We are really at a loss in what manner we should treat this subject. Madness and mischief are so prominent in the picture; and it is so difficult to decide which of the two prevails, that we are absolutely unable to determine whether the keeper of St. Luke’s, or of Bridewell, ought to be intrusted with the future care of the principal actors. Pity and disgust blended with a slight tincture of anxiety, and a strong disposition to laughter, are so closely connected with a review of the proceedings, that we know not, as yet, whether we shall adopt the grave or burlesque style in the following observations. When we are inclined to be serious, as the object of the meeting, which was notoriously revolutionary, and the character of the persons who composed it, which was in the highest degree depraved and desperate, would fully justify, we cannot preserve our gravity for a moment, when we reflect on the scene which marked the close of
the meeting. It is probably known to our readers that, before the end of the entertainment on the coal-waggon, the mob got up another in honour of their entertainers, and pelted the orators most lustily with mud, in return for the filth which the leaders of the Spenceans are in the habit of slinging upon every man in the country, who has the aristocratical distinctions of a clean shirt and clean hands. We were not prepared for this part of the feast; but it convinces us that the London rabble disdain the poor, half-witted, and muddled Spenceans, as leaders, and require persons of greater talent and consequence, though of more dangerous views in that capacity. Had Hunt, or Wooler, or Carlile been present, their reception would have been different. The former preach up violence, only because any change would improve their circumstances; and they deal in sedition from the same motive which prevailed with Shakespeare's apothecary to vend poisons.

We do not agree, however, with the inferences which the opposition writers would draw from the entertainment provided for the Spenceans. They have the hardihood to maintain that, because a half-witted and bankrupt apothecary, disgusted the populace by his stupidity, that all the accounts of treasonable designs are founded in deception. We believe, ourselves, that the mass of the labouring poor, with the exception of the manufacturing districts, are still averse to political violence, notwithstanding the unremitting efforts
that are taken to make them converts. We also believe that they have more reliance in the integrity of the constituted authorities, than those writers are willing to admit. But this does not disprove the existence of revolutionary designs. It only proves that the virus has not spread as much as the agitators wish. For the proofs of a spirit hostile to the present form of government, look at Cobbett's Register, the Black Dwarf, the Republican, and other publications of the same character. As another proof look at their vast circulation, and at the rank of their purchasers. Instead of its being surprising that the government exhibits alarm, we think the real cause of astonishment is that the government exists. It is the only government upon earth that could exist under such a system of attack. It has not escaped, however, without injury; and its extraordinary precautions at this moment, are a proof of the serious apprehensions it feels, and not, as the factious insinuate, of its tyrannical disposition. The present system of detraction and irritation creates every week new enemies to the established order of things. Every week the hostility becomes more inveterate, and more disposed to burst out into open resistance. Yet, the Times and the Chronicle are pleased, in the plenitude of their wisdom, to assert that no danger is to be apprehended from sedition; though their columns teem every day with new instances, not only of its existence, but of its hardihood.

Every meeting like that which has been held in Finsbury Market is an alarming nuisance.—
The result only shows the incapacity of the leaders, but not the innocence of the practice, or the legitimacy of the principle. More able demagogues would on any occasion collect ten times the number of hearers. Even the Radicals have an aristocratical taint; and they require of their favourite some appearance of a gentleman, and, at least, some display of talent! But, in the late instance the orators were not a jot superior to the meanest of their hearers, either in appearance or intellect; and this accounts for the contempt with which they were received. Had Hunt presided how different would have been the conduct of the assemblage. But the Spenceans are crazy and vapid projectors; whilst the others go methodically to work, and wait the favourable moment to pervert the minds of the poor, and to extinguish in their hearts all traces of attachment and respect for the constituted authorities of the country. In those meetings the multitude are taught to look on the government with abhorrence, and the distinctions of society with envy. Their numbers, on those occasions, necessarily impress them with an idea of their strength; and their frequency renders them less liable to the terrors which always attend the first experiments in treason. Every meeting renders those who are in the habit of attending them more determined in the line of conduct they have adopted, and more persuaded as to the right.

What is the general object of the radical meetings? The speeches and resolutions afford
the answer. Is it possible to conceive any thing more violent than the former, or more disorganizing than the latter. Both are received with feelings which cannot be mistaken. The intemperate expression invariably produces the corresponding impression; and if the audience sometimes refuse to sanction, by their applause, an undisguised appeal in favour of treason, it is the indiscretion and not the sentiment they condemn. They fear also that it proceeds from a false and not a real confederate. The treasonable expression is unseasonable, but not unpalatable; and we appeal to every careful observer of passing events, if the object of those meetings has not been to produce an inveterate hatred of the present government, and a determination at the first favourable moment to effect its overthrow. The writers, who deny those consequences, know better, and are at once guilty of a deliberate falsehood, and of secret connivance. Their affected disapproval is an impudent farce, which, bye-the-bye, does not deceive a single man of penetration; and which they get up in order to avoid pains and penalties; and with the view of imposing upon persons, who would resent the plain and open act of approbation. They are far more criminal and dangerous than avowed traitors; for they procure converts, whom the open advocates of sedition would revolt; and they incredibly embarrass the government by their pretended integrity. They keep at the same time within the camp of
the loyal, where they try to excite distrust and apathy; and they are, on another account, far more culpable than the undisguised conspirators, because they are actuated by the basest and most inexcusable of all motives—sheer avarice. We admire their effrontery, when they speak of their disinterestedness. They know well that sedition is much more profitable than loyalty at the present juncture. They also know that this is the sole cause of the zeal they manifest in the popular cause; but they dare not avow it; and in fact they carry on a base trade of calumny, which they dignify with the title of legitimate censure; and of incendiary language which they deck out in the trappings of patriotic zeal.

Because meetings like that on Monday last, and like those in the manufacturing districts, have no other object, but to prepare the minds of the people for a violent change of government, the friends to public order, to rational liberty, and to the security of property, should regard them as a nuisance, and oppose them with all their influence. If there were the faintest chance that the condition of the labouring poor could be improved in consequence, there would be some excuse for the practice. If they offered any prospect, however remote, of vivifying commerce, employing the labouring poor, and of promoting the great interests of religion and morals, we should respect the principle, whilst we deprecated the intemperate use that is made of it. But those assemblages are productive of
unmixed evil to the country; because in the first place they familiarize the poor to desperate remedies. They also accustom their minds to schemes of visionary relief; whilst they divert them from such as are practicable and attainable. They also encourage idleness, dissipation, irreligion; and are as hostile to the morals as to the comforts of the people. Associations, though seemingly innocent, are always injurious to persons in humble circumstances and of laborious avocations. They draw them away from their work and their families; but when they are formed for purposes of crime, they should be visited with the harshest penalties. Surely those meetings are not the way to reform the State, and to promote the confidence that ought to subsist between the governing and the governed; and which is absolutely necessary to the wellbeing of both. It would be as wise to invoke the aid of a hurricane to clear a fruit-garden in full blossom of caterpillars, as try to remove public abuses by means of a furious rabble.

POOR-LAWS — EFFECTS UPON THE MORAL AND INDUSTRIOUS HABITS OF THE LABOURING CLASSES.

This subject imperiously calls for the immediate and searching attention of the Legislature. Though the laws for maintaining the poor by means of public contributions originated in hu-
manity, and in the clearest policy at the time of their original enactment, they have since become the source of incalculable mischief. They were formed with the view of meeting a temporary pressure, which followed the suppression of the monasteries; and they have since been continued to the disgrace of our legislation, to the vital injury of the community at large; and to the ruin of the morals of a large portion of the labouring classes—till they have at last acquired a menacing grandeur, against which legislative interference is almost vain. However, the subject is too alarming to be left without some attempt at counteraction; and we rejoice to hear that it will engage the serious consideration of Parliament in the course of the next Session. Like every evil of long growth, it will require great management and much time in the correction; but as to its entire removal, we fear the roots have struck too deep to permit of its being effected. However, the diminution of so crying a mischief would be a benefit; and we do not know one circumstance connected with the policy of the country, which has so urgent a claim, not only to the consideration of the Legislature, but to the exertions of every man who is capable of throwing any light upon the question.

To the effects of the poor-laws, mischievously administered as they have been, we have no hesitation to ascribe much of the immorality and disaffection, by which the country is both disgraced and endangered at present. They have
nearly extinguished every principle of true independence in the minds of the poor, and substituted that spurious kind, which manifests itself in disobedience to the law, irreverence for religion, and a refractory spirit towards masters and employers. Formerly the labouring man knew no greater disgrace, and contemplated no greater calamity, than to be reduced to the necessity of soliciting parish-relief. How changed is the picture at present! It is such that the mind of the patriot recoils from it with dismay. It absolutely forms a foul blot upon the country. Pauperism is become so prevalent, that it has ceased to become a mark of ignominy. At the same time, it has so completely unhinged the notions, habits, and morals of the labouring classes, that they are almost entirely altered in character from what they were thirty years ago. They were then celebrated for their peaceable and loyal demeanour, their industry, comforts, and independent character. Their cleanliness gratified the eye; the air of contentment and health that marked their appearance spoke to the heart; and their entire being expressed such a total absence of the vices and defects by which the same class were distinguished at that time in almost every other country; that they were the pride of the nation, and a living monument of the wisdom and virtue of the government.
MEETING OF PARLIAMENT.

It is probable that the approaching Session will occupy a very prominent place in the parliamentary annals of the country. It is generally expected that questions of vital importance will be immediately agitated. The inquiry cannot be postponed; its necessity is palpable and urgent; and though it may excite great irritation, it cannot be deferred without exposing the civil and religious establishments of the State to imminent danger. Delay would only aggravate the deplorable circumstances, which so loudly call for legislative interference. It would also impart a more acrimonious character to the discussion. Political distempers always acquire from time irritation as well as inveteracy; and their cure meets with more resistance and difficulty. It is therefore the soundest policy to entertain the question as promptly as possible; and this we presume is the course which the responsible Advisers of the Crown are determined to pursue.

There are a few points connected with the principle and exercise of public discussion, at present too loose and undefined, which peremptorily re-
quire to be settled. The undoubted right of the people to assemble and pronounce upon questions affecting their interests, has been converted of late into a flagrant abuse, as incompatible with due subordination, as it is with true liberty. The extent, to which this right is now carried, was never contemplated by the enlightened and liberal Founders of the constitution. It was never, at any former period, seriously asserted by even the most zealous advocates of popular rights. It is, in fact, utterly inconsistent with our present form of government. The principle is plainly democratic; and it is matter of great doubt, whether that form of government could long subsist together with such meetings as have recently agitated and disgraced this country. It is certain, however, that they are decidedly hostile to our present institutions. Their tendency in fact is revolutionary. But they have this execrable singularity, that, in presenting the prospect of a violent change, they hold out no chance of improvement. They would plunge the country into all the horrors of anarchy, without any hope, that order would arise at last from its bosom. As sure as effect corresponds with cause, so certain is it, that a revolution, which should proceed from the furious and unprincipled demagogues, who mislead the rabble of radical reformers, would bear all the marks of their character.

This abuse calls aloud for redress. It keeps the country in a state of agitation, which threatens
to banish every trace of calm and honest deliberation. It also encourages the fiercest spirit of faction. It moreover tends to erect an impassable barrier between opinions which are only marked by a trifling difference. At the same time it keeps the government in a feverish anxiety, and drives them upon measures of counteraction, which are as unpopular as they are unavoidable. A corresponding jealousy is the necessary consequence; and thus the principle of incurable feuds may be introduced into a country, which has been heretofore famed for good sense, cool reason and sound patriotism. Besides, this abuse has the baneful effect of separating the acknowledged friends of the present government and constitution; and placing them in a state of deadly hostility. It is connected with one of our noblest privileges; and has, on this account received the countenance and support of men, who are bound by every motive of public duty and private interest to oppose its disorganizing effects. It manifestly contains the seeds of the greatest irritation; and we have no doubt but it will receive the early and earnest consideration of Parliament.

It would be too much, however, to calculate upon a perfect concurrence of views, or even upon much moderation in the important discussion. We fear the reverse; though we have no apprehension of the results. The friends of order and peace, and real liberty, will not shrink from the difficulties
of the question. They will neither be intimidated by clamour from the prosecution of a commanding duty, nor induced by public opposition to abandon the public interests. There are many men in both Houses, who would rather serve than please the people; and who can dispense with their favour, if they are conscious of having promoted their good. They examine and decide upon every question according to the principle of utility, and not by the deceitful standard of popularity. They would with the same spirit oppose the least encroachment upon the just rights of the people, as they would their undue extension. They are, in fact, as hostile to the abuses of power, as they are to popular licentiousness; and their vote in favour of any measure may be considered in most cases as an unerring test of its expediency. Those truly independent members are probably alive to the alarming abuse into which an excellent privilege has been perverted by factious individuals; and they will not fail to support the ministers of the crown in every attempt to preserve the right and put down the nuisance.

There are others, as may be expected, who pursue a very different course of parliamentary conduct—who prefer the noisy applause of the many to the silent approbation of the few—who vote not from judgment, but prejudice; and who consider popularity as the sole pursuit and reward worthy of a public man. They decry every mea-
sure which does not meet the public feeling of the moment; and as the highest as well as the most imperious measures of state-policy seldom agree with this standard, they are opposed with the utmost heat and pertinacity by the friends *par excellence* of the people. They always fiercely support the flimsy side, and as obstinately resist the solid view of a great question. They are a dead weight upon the machine of government; and pervert all the best purposes of legislation. If they are naturally humane, their humanity wanders abroad to seek objects, that in the eye of reason are undeserving of pity, and whose defence they undertake with no other view but to impeach the honour and justice of their own government. If they are capable of admiring glorious acts, they reserve their sensibility for those which an enemy may perform; whilst their hearts are dead to such achievements as illustrate their country. They see every object at home and abroad through the same disfiguring medium. They judge almost every thing by its name, and not its property; and whilst they are disposed to undervalue the most generous acts of a legitimate sovereign, they are as ready to palliate the greatest atrocity on the part of an usurper. Their mental eye is so constructed, that it beholds every object in an entirely perverted point of view. Licentiousness they call liberty; precautions, tyranny; successful violence, true glory; and the triumphs of justice, fortunate villany. They are also the most dangerous
enemies of public liberty; for they only value its excesses; and, as they endeavour to communicate to the public their own preposterous sentiments, the abuse is at last substituted for the reality; and tyranny or revolution usually follows.

However, their number and their influence are still comparatively insignificant in the British Parliament. Such legislative measures as the state of the country may require will be carried in spite of them. They will speak in a high and menacing tone at first; but, as firmness always gets the better of blustering, they will be made to descend before the end of the session from the proud station they will try to occupy at its commencement.

The abuse, which has of late disgraced and perverted the privilege of public meetings, will most probably be rectified. The dissemination of blasphemous publications will, we hope, be effectually checked; and then Parliament can honestly say to the public, "We have restored to you the constitution as you received it from your forefathers." It is the extreme of delusion to suppose that the rabble meetings are sanctioned by the constitution, or that they are favourable to liberty. It is an insult to human reason to connect the propagation of impious works with the right of free discussion; and it is downright madness to imagine that religion may be undermined without injuring the
morals of a nation. It is as absurd to suppose that a State without morals can be virtually free; and it will be hardly denied, that the best guarantee of a people's rights is their submission to the authority which has been instituted for their protection. A spirit of insubordination, and a constant disposition to resist, are more characteristic of slaves than of freemen.

It requires no spirit of prophecy to foresee that the proceedings of the next session will materially affect not only the security of the government, but all the interests upon which a highly-civilized people place the greatest value. True liberty has been always the work of the most cultivated classes of society. By them it is also preserved in moments of danger; and the interference of the multitude only serves to obstruct their designs. But when the many act from their own impulse, they begin by desolating; and if they erect any thing from the ruins, it is as fantastic as their own character, and as unsteady as their will. It is always a period of calamity in the history of free states, when the multitude have the presumption, or rather the madness, to interfere in public matters. If they are not checked by the wisdom and firmness of the few, they are certain to destroy all that is excellent in the frame of political society,—the work of profound thought and of the highest virtue; and to leave only the rude parts which inexperience, necessity, or passion may have
ereected. Whenever they begin to act; the good and the wise should sink their political differences for the moment, and cordially unite to oppose their headlong fury. We presume that Parliament will act as a body upon this principle in the course of next session. The members who will act otherwise are the most dangerous, though probably unconscious, enemies of that freedom they affect to venerate. They cannot aspire either to the character of patriots or of statesmen, if they do not unequivocally express their abhorrence of the wild pretensions advanced by the rabble of radical reformers. In like manner they are not qualified to legislate for a free and enlightened country, in a period of popular ferment, if they have not the courage to secure the great interests of civil society, from the inroads of violence and ignorance, by new fences, if they are deemed necessary. Even the goodly tree of liberty may require pruning at certain seasons; but when it is suffered to shoot out with too much luxuriance, its fruit is neither so good, nor so plentiful. We are sure the experience of the world proves that freedom stands in need of being carefully watched and regulated; and that too much indulgence eventually detracts from its strength, and accelerates its downfall.

Men of sense cannot fail to read with disgust and indignation the arguments that are employed to dissuade the legislature from passing laws to restrain the violence of mad or criminal
projectors. They ought to be checked, if it were only for their own sakes; because, by acquiring a deep contempt for all authority human and divine, they must necessarily suffer in their moral character; and, by passionately pursuing the objects for which they are totally unqualified, the pursuit will only lead them to fantastic hopes, mischievous designs, bitter disappointment, and to the injury of those laborious habits and simple enjoyments, which would secure their own happiness, and at the same time promote the prosperity of the State. It is said by the apologists of those bad or weak men, that their designs do not justify the alarm manifested by the government, or the least interference on the part of the legislature. Is there no danger from a faction who make no secret of their abhorrence of the existing institutions, and who avow their intention to take advantage of any great embarrassment in which the government may be involved, or of any calamity that may befal the country, to subvert those institutions? Does the existence of so desperate a party afford no just ground for alarm and precaution? But then their apologists say that the constituted authorities are strong enough to overpower those desperadoes, should they ever attempt to carry their plans into effect. As it would be much wiser and more humane to prevent than punish, we should rather see the evil met in a legal way, than wait till it should acquire such an alarming growth, as would render
the terrors of military execution necessary. At present the nuisance may be stopped by the means we have recommended. But we would not venture to assert that it would succeed two years hence. It is a lamentable truth that the disaffected receive every week a considerable accession of strength. It is equally true that their hostility assumes every day more consistency, and is marked by greater art and hatred. Should any calamity happen to the State, (and what human power can ensure it from the visitations of misfortune?) we should despair of its safety, if a numerous, well-organized and desperate band of malcontents were in its bosom at the time. Will any one guarantee the neighbouring States from convulsion? The concussion, aided by the attacks of an inveterate enemy at home, would probably shake the social edifice of this country to its foundations.

This country is not in that rotten condition, that its inhabitants should anticipate its fall with indifference. It is not yet sunk in that degradation, moral and political, which extinguishes every sympathy. It still contains much to warm the bosom of the patriot, and stimulate the exer-
tions of the Statesman. It also presents many advantages which the philanthropist might contemplate with rapture. After all, we have more reason to rejoice, than repine, at our lot. We see as yet no cause to envy the condition of any
other people; and if our actual situation were compared with that of the most favoured nation in any other part of the globe, we are sure this country would not suffer from the comparison. There is much to admire, much to love, and much to be proud of, in our character as a nation. The accounts that are given by the vagrant class of our countrymen, of foreign improvements, will not bear close examination. They are generally drawn up by unskilful hands and prejudiced heads, and receive their high colouring from passion. An Englishman, whenever he looks abroad, has many motives to be thankful for that portion of happiness which Providence has allotted as his share. If curiosity prompt him to visit other nations, he must have a miserable head or a miserable heart, if he does not, on his return to his native shores, feel more satisfaction and pride at the idea of being an Englishman. And will he consent to abandon those advantages, in order to receive a new system of morals and politics, of domestic enjoyments and national honour, of private worth and public consideration from the intellectual and patriotic magazine of the radical reformers?

We perhaps owe an apology to the reader for having appeared to cast a doubt upon the superior advantages the country enjoys; and for having seemed to concede so material a point to the disaffected. Will any man point out a country,
that possesses equal advantages? Surely it is not France, notwithstanding her acknowledged superiority of soil and climate, and the vaunted ingenuity of her people. In all that embellishes and dignifies life the French are still behind us. They are inferior to us in what constitutes the security of political existence, and the mild happiness of domestic intercourse. We excel them in public administration, judicial proceedings, course of education, in most of the arts, and particularly in all the higher attributes of mind. In commerce, manufactures, and agriculture they are far behind us. Have they such canals, high-roads, and bridges? Are their towns as clean, their houses as neat; and, above all, can they boast of the same purity, intimaey, and happiness in their domestic relations? No; there is still a vast difference between the two nations; and we have made this declaration not from national bias, or from a desire to depreciate the French nation, but to refute the calumnies cast by Englishmen upon their own country. Whoever has visited the United States of America, and examined them with an unprejudiced mind, admits that they are still in most points behind the State by which they were first peopled and cultivated. America is the paradise of political visionaries, and the Utopia of Republicans; but it is still inferior in honour, public spirit, high sentiment, chivalrous feelings, and, generally speaking, in private worth to the mother country.
If military glory be a legitimate object of national pride, and it has been considered as such in every age and by every people, have we not a right to feel high exultation when we reflect on the trophies we have raised, and on the brave foes we have defeated? What country can shew more splendid and solid monuments of that species of renown than we can? Our warlike achievements, particularly in this age, have been consecrated by the humanity of our warriors, and the justice of the cause. Frenchmen, as often as they speak of the exploits of their armies, always do it with feelings of proud exultation. In this sentiment their statesmen and scholars agree with the multitude; and, if it be a prejudice, it has been in all times the prejudice of great minds and towering spirits. It was reserved for English levellers to depreciate this species of honour; and, with the same unhallowed hands with which they want to strip the altar of its sacred ornaments, and the throne of its splendour, they wish to strip the brows of the brave of their well-earned laurels. As to naval power and enterprise we have no competitor; the ocean is our domain; and here we have no rivalry, and hardly any envy to apprehend. If the possession of freedom be a source of pride, England has ample cause to indulge in the proudest reflections. There is not a part of her soil that cannot shew traces of its vivifying influence. It has softened the rigours of her climate, and quickened her sluggish soil. Even the disaf-
fected, when they speak most loudly of slavery and oppression, feel that they are free; and their calumnies merely prove that they are unworthy of a blessing which they so scandalously abuse. And it is of a system of government, which has secured so many proud advantages, that traitors are endeavoring to deprive this favoured country. But let us hope that one of the first acts of the approaching session will be to confound their hopes, and make their execrable projects burst over their own heads. We expect this result from the wisdom of Parliament. The country has a right to demand it; and we have no reason to apprehend that the two houses will disappoint public expectation upon a subject in which the public are vitally interested.

The country, it is true, has great difficulties to contend with; but it is equally true that they are grossly and wantonly exaggerated. They have proceeded from causes which cannot honestly be traced to her councils. The late war was a calamity which flew out of the Pandora-box of revolutionary France. No moderation or disposition to peace on the part of the British government could have averted the evil. No assurances of neutrality would have satisfied the men who, about that time had converted France into a vast charnel-house. It is as impudent a misrepresentation as ever emanated from faction, to maintain, that England could have preserved pacified relations with the Atheists
and Executioners who then governed the French nation. The war was, on our side, an unavoidable calamity; and we met it as became a brave and gallant people. The question was, whether we should consent to sacrifice our independence, and become the bondsmen of French jacobins; or forfeit part of our wealth. We are now suffering in consequence of the pecuniary sacrifices we resolved to make; and is it just or reasonable to repine? Submission would have caused a tenfold loss of wealth. However, we hope that the pressure, will be only a temporary one. The enterprising spirit of the country, if it were suffered to act with undivided force, would soon reduce the weight. It should be considered that other countries are in a worse condition than ours, and from the operation of the same causes. However, popular discontent would only aggravate the distress. Confusion might render it desperate and incurable; and, to obtain prompt and effectual relief, the country must combine her energies, and direct them to the attainment of the same object. We are now wasting in fruitless contentions, or in the prosecution of frantic projects, those powers, which, if combined, would soon extricate the State from its embarrassments. In the mean time, it is plain that traitors are trying to take advantage of those difficulties. They suppose that distress would goad the labouring classes to violence. They have the audacity to hope, that in the con-
fusion they should be able to execute their nefarious designs. But in their presumption they seem to forget that knaves often fail in their calculations; and that traitors are frequently the victims of troubles they have created themselves. We also hope, that such will be the results of the present agitation; and perhaps the time is not remote, when profound peace, the cheering buzz of employment, smiling plenty, and undisturbed confidence shall shed their combined blessings on a land, which had been long their favourite abode. Let Parliament only do their duty, and our predictions will be verified.
MEETING OF PARLIAMENT.

We suppose that one of the first acts of the approaching Session will be a solemn inquiry as to the causes of the agitation into which the country has been thrown, and which has begun to assume most alarming appearances. The Legislature would not do their duty, unless they should in the shortest possible time, consistent with the forms of their proceedings, enter upon the examination. The least delay would show an apathy, which we hope never to behold, under any circumstances, in a British Parliament. If ever that Body lose the moral energy, they have heretofore displayed on every trying occasion, confusion and violence would soon displace order and security in the political world. During the storm of dark and fierce passions, which, for thirty years, has swept with little intermission the most civilized portion of our globe, the British Parliament, by its firmness
and magnanimity, has been the chief means, that the best and highest interests of society have been preserved from a general wreck. When the tempest raged fiercest—when it swept away in rapid succession the mounds and the land-marks, which the experience or humanity of ages had erected—when it began to howl round our own shores, the conduct of Parliament was calm and firm in proportion to the danger. When this island alone raised its head above the furious flood, and its waters were seen to lash with foaming rage the battlements of our country, it was in that moment of grand and anxious expectation, that the British Senate appeared as cool and as collected, as if not a cloud obscured the horizon, and no wind furrowed the waters. By their self-possession at that dreadful period, they not only preserved this country from the desolation, which had overspread the most cultivated regions of the earth; but they roused at last by their glorious example the oppressed nations from the deep stupor into which a succession of calamities had thrown them.

It is true that many of the illustrious men, who directed the vessel of the State at the most violent period of the storm, have since that paid the debt which nature exacts from the great and the good as well as from the base and the vicious. But they have left their spirit behind them, which has never ceased to animate men, who have been formed by their example, educated in
their principles, and have acted in strict conformity to their views. These have also completed the work which was begun by their masters in the art of government. They have exhibited the same ardour, firmness and wisdom, in the completion of the glorious task, that were displayed at its commencement. It is therefore but reasonable to hope that the same firm hearts and clear heads, that preserved the country from the contagion of foreign revolutionary principles, will be able to oppose with equal success the treasonable schemes of domestic enemies. Perhaps the present emergency requires more firm and enlightened councils than were requisite upon that memorable occasion. The labouring classes were then but little infected with the disorganizing doctrines, which have since undermined their religious and political faith. They honestly revered a government which they felt was established for their protection; and had implicit trust in the consolations of religion. They cordially detested demagogues and blasphemers; and would have been ready to tear the wretch to pieces, who should have endeavoured to weaken the principle of their dependence on God, or their allegiance to their King. The example of rigicide and impious France could make no impression upon minds thus happily constituted; and the Statesmen of that time received powerful aid, instead of obstruction, from the unadulterated and truly national
feelings of the humble class of their countrymen.

The chances of revolution depend in a great measure upon the disposition of the labouring poor. When they are loyally disposed (and they are always so when the regular authorities of the state take care to prevent traitors from imposing on their credulity) ambition may rage in vain, and disaffection impotently conspire. Therefore the Legislature cannot mistake the course which the present circumstances of the country prescribe. The certain way to defeat the plans of the disaffected is to rescue the poor from their maddening influence. This can only be done by correcting the abuse into which the principle and practice of public meetings have recently fallen. The gross licentiousness which marks at this moment the character of the public press likewise calls aloud for restrictions. When censure sinks into calumny and an inflammatory appeal to the passions, it not only injures the great interests of truth, but strikes at the foundations of legitimate freedom. The privilege of animadverting upon public men and measures has been perverted to such abominable purposes, that there is not the least doubt but it is at the present moment more productive of injury than benefit. It has assumed so furious a character, as to induce many honest as well as enlightened men to look upon it as a
convulsion of expiring liberty. They cannot reconcile the idea of the social body being in a healthy state with so pernicious a principle; and it is our own firm persuasion, that, if this nuisance be not removed, it will speedily destroy whatever is most valuable in our political institutions. It teaches the multitude to detest what it is their duty as well as their interest to revere. It tries to impress upon them a belief that subordination is a fraud; Government itself, an oppression; and that the distinctions of rank are founded upon usurpation. This is in reality only a faint sketch of the mischief which the disaffected press is labouring to propagate; and it is plain that either it must be restrained in its licentious course or that it will destroy the capability of the country for the enjoyment of rational liberty.

Those are the prominent causes of the agitation that prevails in the country. To them is to be traced the discontent, that embitters the condition of the labouring man, and urges him to indulge in wild and criminal hopes of relief. The Legislature must go to the roots of the mischief, or their efforts will be unavailing. The multitude will be ruined in morals and feeling, unless they are entirely rescued from the control of their present leaders. They will otherwise become an inflammable mass, spread over the surface of the country, which art or even ac-
incident may set in a general blaze. In that unfortunate case, distrust would be the standard of policy, and terror the instrument of rule. The constitution itself would be a positive evil; and a more simple and vigorous form of rule would become necessary in order to restrain an unfeeling and unprincipled rabble. Even the most enthusiastic friend of liberty would consent to a voluntary abandonment of his principles, in order to keep the elements of society together. In truth freedom is a curse, when the mass of the people have lost all reverence for the great principles of justice, and a sense of voluntary subordination to the law. An arbitrary government becomes then an object of necessity; and as we all wish to see our country remain as free as it was heretofore, we should all concur in the earnest desire to remove the causes which militate against that wish. The causes are seditious and tumultuary meetings together with a grossly licentious press; by means of which the labouring classes are taught to consider themselves as plundered and oppressed, and to pant in return for revenge. Humanity alone would urge the propriety of delivering so large a portion of our countrymen from the miscreants who now inflame their passions, and abuse their ignorance. A sense of patriotism presses it as a commanding duty to remove the stain, which is reflected upon the country by the consequence, into which men without talent and ho-
nour, and with no other recommendation but effrontery, have raised themselves. Half measures will not meet the evil. Palliatives would ultimately add to its violence and inveteracy. Measures of temporizing policy would only leave the alternative of revolution or tyranny; and there can be hardly a doubt but that the Legislature in their choice and application of the remedy will be governed entirely by their knowledge of the disease.

It is not possible to conceive any thing so anomalous, or teeming with danger and inconvenience, as the present state of affairs. Something loose, undefined and vacillating seems to pervade all the relations, subsisting between the government and the mass of the people. The old confidence and union are entirely loosened; and society absolutely hangs by a slender thread, which any accident might snap. The great moral principle of connexion is nearly dissolved; and all the interests of social man are held together in a manner that excludes the idea of security and duration. It has been attempted to impress, and we fear too successfully, the multitude with an opinion that property is unjustly distributed; and that they have a right to insist upon a more equal division. They also want a share of political power; and appear to be impressed with a notion, that there is no violence or even atrocity, that it is not their duty to
commit, in order to obtain what they madly call their right in this respect. It is not their present leaders alone, who encourage them in this frantic pretension. Men, whose property and rank would render them the earliest victims of its practical application, have been induced, from reasons it is impossible to comprehend, to countenance this monstrous claim. A greater impatience of authority, a more determined aversion to subordination, a more impassioned desire to remove the distinctions of rank and the inequalities of fortune, have been the necessary effects, as applicable to the minds and feelings of the multitude.

Under those circumstances, every attempt to paralyze the powers of government is an attack upon the first principles of political society. Authority should be rendered strong; when obedience becomes loose; and whenever a passion for change manifests itself in a country, it should be met by increased means of resistance. When the mass of a people yield a reluctant submission to the law; its ministers should receive new means of enforcing it. A government, weak in the means of coercion, and a multitude impatient of controll, have been aptly compared to a ship without a rudder in a storm. It is plain that Parliament must legislate at this crisis according to the necessities of the State, and not in conformity to prescribed forms. When once
a law, or a custom, ceases to answer the intended purpose, it ought to be discontinued. When its virtue is gone, it is a nuisance. When it does not operate beneficially, it acts in an inverse manner. There is no neutral principle in politics; and a right, or a privilege, however beneficial in its consequences at first; however venerable from time, or consecrated by opinion, should be cancelled, as soon as its tendency is proved to be injurious. Even the right of public meetings, justly dear as it is to Englishmen, ought to be renounced, if it should be perverted to treasonable purposes, or made more subservient to the overthrow, than the preservation, of the Constitution. However, to this necessity we are not reduced as yet; and the benefit may be retained, if the abuses to which it is liable, are more strictly guarded against. In fact the question for the consideration of the Legislature is this;—Shall an excellent custom be given up in consequence of the mischievous use that has been made of it recently; or shall it be preserved, by more strictly defining its properties? We have hardly any doubt as to the decision; and we cannot conceive how any man of sense and honour can feel the least hesitation on the subject. The privilege must be entirely renounced, if traitors can wield it, when and where they please, as an engine for the subversion of the state; and is any man so profligate in principle, or so depraved in feeling, as to
maintain that a convulsion, which would let loose the passions of the multitude, and realize the schemes of their Jacobinical leaders, would not be as great and sweeping a calamity, as fortune, brimful of wrath, could inflict upon the country.

That Parliament will meet the present alarming state of affairs with corresponding firmness, we think we may take for granted. If it will not be in their power to destroy the hydra of dissatisfaction; they may bind the furious monster round and round with chains of adamant. They are aware of the sacred trust confided to their charge—the charge of maintaining the tranquility and honour of the country unimpaired. They are at the same time guardians of monarchical principles; and perhaps the last stay of royalty in Europe, with all those chivalrous sentiments, proud recollections and high sense of honour, recorded in the history of modern monarchies—is to be found in the wisdom, dignity and virtue of the British Parliament. Should that body become the servile instrument of the multitude—the organ of their inconstant will, and the echo of their wild passions; the same results would ensue, that happened in the reign of Charles the First. They would be first degraded to the worst purposes of faction; and next made the base and worthless tool of some successful adventurer. Every high feeling of security and
justice would disappear; and an altar be raised, upon the ruins of a nation's morals and happiness—upon the broken sceptre and coronet—upon the wreck of ancestral pride and family honours, to upstart success and fortunate villainy.

The best and noblest interests that perhaps were ever yet confided to human guardianship, are intrusted at this season of alarm to the care of the British Legislature. The fortunes of this mighty Empire, with its vast fund of fame, wealth, genius and moral worth, are placed under the protection of their wisdom and vigilance. What other people could boast of as many advantages. In what other place was man so secure, and at the same time so independent? Where was real merit so amply and certainly rewarded? Here prudence, joined to talent, is never disappointed of success; and human nature is exhibited with more attributes of its highest destination than it has been in any other country. Here a man may move in the walk, exposed or retired, which his inclination may suggest, without the slightest hindrance from the laws or opinion; and he may fix upon an occupation with the moral certainty, that with diligence, ability and perseverance, he will arrive at wealth and distinction. If he love retirement, he may enjoy it undisturbed. If he prefer fame, the road is open. Nothing arrests the course of honest in-
clination, or of honourable enterprise. It is over this inestimable treasure that the dragon eye of the British Senate will have to watch. Rome, in the meridian pride of victory, morals and public spirit, did not probably equal this country in all that is entitled to human consideration, or contributes to private happiness and public honour. When letters flourished amongst the Romans, freedom had disappeared. When riches and the refinements of life were introduced, their enjoyment was embittered and disturbed by civil feuds. But, in Britain, freedom and learning; wealth and security; arms and civil arts; the highest refinement of manners and the most lofty independence of mind, have flourished together; and reflected a blaze of glory upon the nation, and shed so kindly an influence upon the character of the people, that it would be a crime, which humanity could never pardon, to attempt to subvert such a system.

It can only afford matter of surprise to fools, and of harsh animadversion to traitors, that the Government, when such interests as we have described, are endangered, display more than usual energy and vigilance. What! must the ministers of the crown adopt the same measures in a period of the highest agitation as in a season of profound tranquility. Must they take no extraordinary precautions against designing traitors, who are screened by the nature of our in-
stitutions, from the ordinary course of penalties; and who are protected, by the mischievous illusions of public opinion, against that abhorrence which ought to pursue great criminals! This is a new and strange version of the duties of Government. The servants of the Crown would merit the hatred of the peaceable and well-disposed, the marked disapprobation of their royal master, and the indignation of the country; if they did not employ all the means of prevention that their official situations afford, against the abominable faction, who are striving to consign the country to the horrors of revolution and the soul—unnerving effects of irreligion. They would be as cowardly as improvident, if they did not step even beyond the precise limits of law; if the public safety required it. The preservation of the State is the supreme law; and if this glorious Empire be doomed to perish; it will fall through an obstinate and short-sighted adherence to forms, to the exclusion of the spirit which alone gives them value and life. It will fall, when opinion is arrayed on the side of mischievous errors; and sympathy flows in an impure stream in favour of disaffection. It will sink never more to rise when calumny shall pursue those, who, honestly and zealously endeavour to preserve the state; and public favour accompany every attempt to effect its overthrow. When this confusion in judging public actions shall unfortunately prevail; the fate of free and
moral England will be decided; and the independent mind and patriotic spirit will spread their wings, and take their flight for other regions.

Only knaves or idiots are in the habit of tracing every strong measure of a government, so subject to public opinion as ours, to profligate motives. Good opinion is one of the highest rewards of public services; but there is one superior to it, that which the approving conscience of the actor bestows. There is this difference between an upright statesman, and one who merely affects honesty, that the former would serve the public, should even the service provoke their ill-will; whilst the other would try to please them, though by so doing he should inflame their passions, and injure their interests. Popular favour, instead of being a just criterion of public merit, is often transferred, particularly in turbulent times, from the wise and honest to the most unprincipled flatterers of the multitude. Unjust censure at such periods may be considered as a test of merit; and applause as a proof of treachery to the public. When faction rages, the most unpopular man is often the most able and upright; and the idol of the many may be entirely destitute of honour and real talent. However, public favour, when it can be acquired honestly, is worthy of being pursued by genius and virtue; for it facilitates the execution of
generous designs; and cheers public men in the discharge of their duties. It would be the extreme of folly to imagine that a statesman would wantonly incur popular displeasure; and it may therefore be laid down as a rule, that, under a limited government, harsh measures are almost always dictated by commanding necessity, and a sincere regard for the public interests.

The highest offices of the state are no beds of roses at the present juncture. On the contrary they are the source of never-ceasing anxiety and vexation; and no man of sense, who should merely consult his own ease, would submit to the painful though splendid drudgery. But it is one of the alarming peculiarities of the present situation of the country, that if the nation had cause to be dissatisfied with the party now in power, the Prince Regent could not, without risk, form another administration from the body of the Whigs. These have so identified themselves with popular feeling, that they would be compelled in some degree to flatter the passions and prejudices of the multitude. They might also acknowledge the necessity of yielding several points, which it would be hazardous to concede. Concessions might be made without risk in quiet times; but to offer them in the hope of silencing clamour, and disarming disaffection, would be an experiment at once useless and hazardous. The Legislature will therefore, we pre-
sume, propose such measures as the agitated state of the country may require, without recommending the execution of them to the Whigs.
STATE OF POPULAR FEELING IN SOME PARTS OF SCOTLAND.

There is not one circumstance connected with the present distracted state of the country, which has excited more universal surprize, if not pain, than the spirit of disaffection, we had nearly said rebellion, which has manifested itself in the northern division of this island. There, as in the south, the evil is nearly confined to the manufacturing districts. But those districts are not only the most populous; but they have facilities of combination and communication, which give them a dangerous importance at a juncture like the present. There is also a tendency to immorality, by which the manufacturing system is distinguished from every other industrious occupation; that renders the persons, who are employed under it, disposed to engage in any mischievous enterprise. It is a painful truth, that whilst it enfeebles the body more than almost any other laborious employment, it gives a pru-
human heart. Sedentary labour, in close and crowded work-rooms, particularly when the sexes are mixed, is not only injurious to the physical well-being, but to the moral health, of those who derive from it a livelihood. Immorality destroys the kindliest and most social feelings of our nature. It renders men incapable of every honest attachment; and roots from their minds all reverence for the good, and all regard for objects of general utility. In fine, it makes them gross egotists, who despise or hate whatever virtue and wisdom have ordained for the common benefit. And this is no doubt the cause, that the cold, unsocial and disorganizing doctrines of the radical reformers have made so many converts in the manufacturing districts of this country.

This was probably the reason, that the wisest men of antiquity considered this branch of labour as incompatible with real liberty. Plato absolutely refused to draw up a constitution for a people under those circumstances; and it is a corroboration of our remark, that, although manufactures cannot flourish without political liberty, they prove fatal at last to the principle to which they owe their prosperity. The history of Italy in the middle ages proves our assertion. Freedom begat industry and wealth. Those produced a licentious and refractory democracy, always prone to sedition, and ready to support any intemperate scheme, which was directed against the government or the rich. A corres-
ponding jealousy and alarm were created; and the consequences are known. The same results proceeded from the same causes in Flanders. Thus the effect, when it is fully developed, destroys the cause; or, to speak figuratively, the child, when it grows up, devours its parent. Nothing is so fatal to the system of perfectibility, as this progressive march of society from freedom to great opulence, and then to the abuses and at last the loss of liberty. There is nothing that pulls down the pride of human speculation so much; or so manifestly discourages those fascinating hopes, which men of ardent imaginations are so disposed to entertain with respect to the progressive improvement of society, than the fact we have mentioned. At least it shews the danger of suffering liberty to shoot into licentiousness. It moreover proves that the high assertors of popular rights are the greatest enemies to free States. By encouraging the multitude in their natural disposition to riot and insubordination; they produce a collision between the poor and opulent classes, which, in general, proves fatal to a mild system of government. The excesses of the mob provoke jealous and energetic precautions. Perhaps the only way of reconciling freedom with wealth is by strictly defining the limits of the former, instead of extending them into the region of licentiousness. At least experience proves that our present overgrown manufacturing system requires a strong, and not a weak government; and it is to
be feared that the violent spirit of insubordination, which has unfortunately seized the operative manufacturers throughout the kingdom, will ultimately destroy both the government, and the manufacturing system itself, unless the administration of the law be rendered more prompt and vigorous in its effects. As this appears to be the intention of ministers, they deserve, on that account, the thanks of the good and enlightened.

We have no hesitation to repeat our former assertion, that the greatest enemies to the rights and liberties of the people, are those very persons, who have the baseness or folly to encourage, however indirectly, the multitude in the mischievous and impracticable schemes, which they pursue so passionately at this moment. They are also the deadliest foes to the morals and comforts of the labouring classes; who learn to neglect and despise, in the pursuit of an unattainable good, the simple but solid advantages, which industry and regularity, accompanied by a due submission to the law, would place at their disposal. By urging them to pursue a refractory course, and to consider the depositaries of authority as their oppressors, they inspire them with a dislike for all the wholesome restraints, as well as for the most indispensible rules of political society. At last the labouring man, when thus excited, extends to his employer the distrust and dislike, which he is taught to feel towards the government. He soon imagines that labour i-
self is a curse; and that he is a fool to work, because others, according to his infatuated mode of reasoning, derive the chief profits from his exertions. In this manner discontent invades a breast, in which contentment would otherwise dwell; and a condition is embittered to which happiness has easier access than perhaps to any other. At the same time all the fences, which distinguish right from wrong, are levelled in succession; and the poor man learns to recognise no other standard of duty, or rule of conduct, but such as perverted reason, or demoralized feelings may suggest. This then is the pretended regard for the happiness and morals of the many, which is proclaimed at this eventful period by the most zealous and noisy assertors of popular rights.

That this spirit of growing impatience and dislike of the most just and useful regulations of society should manifest itself with more violence in the northern than the southern division of the island, is as strange as it is painful. The sober, steady and reflecting character of our Scotch Brethren is so inconsistent with the accounts that are given of their present disposition, that we can hardly bring ourselves to believe them. Yet our information on the subject is too positive and too clear, to be rejected; and we can only regard it as a new and more melancholy proof of the avidity, with which, in our time, the human mind is disposed to embrace opinions that are as extravagant in theory, as
they would be mischievous in practice. To this disposition alone we must ascribe the repulsive fact that so intelligent a people as the manufacturing classes in Scotland display at present so much violence and inconsistency. The advantages of general education and religious instruction, by which they are distinguished, are so entirely irreconcileable with the frantic and immoral designs, which they are accused of entertaining at this moment, that the idea provokes a train of painful reflections; and furnishes arguments to the enemies of universal education, which it would be no easy task to refute. The Scotch had honourably distinguished themselves by their loyal sentiments and peaceable deportment. With the progress and expansion of those exhilarating appearances, it is notorious that the state of the country and the condition of its inhabitants improved. Wealth was the reward of national tranquillity; and a great augmentation of public and private happiness was the consequence of the loyalty which the people exhibited.

It is plain that Scotland has received incalculable benefits from her union with England under the same happy government. In proportion as the tie became close, the advantages of her situation increased. It put an end to the local feuds, which, for ages had distracted the country. It substituted security for violence, habits of industry for idleness, and great wealth for comparative poverty. It absolutely redressed the rigours of
the soil and climate; and Scotland has presented as memorable and as gratifying an instance of the effects of cheerful submission to arrangements which the powers of reason conquered from prejudice, that are to be met with in history. Scotchmen attained to the highest places of trust, honour and profit, in the empire, in a proportion much beyond the principle of numerical calculation. They shone with lustre in the cabinet and the field, which was reflected back in a full and splendid stream of light upon their country. The nation was enriched, embellished and honoured; and all those proud and substantial distinctions were derived in a great degree, if not entirely, from the union with England, and from a participation in the benefits of the English security and wealth.

The wild scheme of radical reform, which has unfortunately so many converts in the manufacturing parts of Scotland, would, if reduced to practice, destroy that system under which it has derived the many advantages we have described; and perhaps fling the country back to the situation from which she was with difficulty rescued. A country, which is naturally sterile, requires two causes to become and remain rich. The one is undisturbed tranquillity and the other an intimate connexion with a State, which from situation has great and certain means of wealth. The efforts of the radical reformers have a manifest tendency to provoke civil war, and cause the dissolution of this rich and mighty Empire. In
this case Scotland might be left to her own resources, and compelled to contend for trade and power, with the superior advantages and against the never ceasing jealousy of England.

The magistracy of the disturbed districts of Scotland, are under those circumstances, entitled to the thanks of the public at large, and to the unqualified confidence, as well as the gratitude of their own countrymen. Their active, unremitting and yet conciliatory exertions to preserve the peace of the different places in which they reside, are only equalled by their efforts to recall the misguided men, whose mischievous errors have excited so much alarm, to a sense of those duties, which they owe to God and their country. If any part of the Empire has more right to express a decided abhorrence of traitorous and revolutionary designs than another; that part is Scotland.

THE SPEECH—ADDRESSES OF THE TWO HOUSES—IMPORTANT DISCLOSURES ON THE STATE OF THE COUNTRY.

The Speech delivered from the Throne has affixed the stamp of the highest authority to the reports of revolutionary practices in the manufacturing districts. Those reports had been received with evident distrust by a large portion of the public; and we are not disposed to blame a feeling, which may be traced to innocent and
even laudable motives. It is so difficult and at the same time so painful to believe, that a consider-
derable number of our countrymen could be found, so destitute of sense and so desperate of purpose, as to be prepared to engage in the horri-
ble design of subverting the government, and push-
ing the country headlong into the gulph of anarchy. From whatever motive those doubts may have arisen, they had however the effect of encourag-
ing treason, and screening the traitors. They also conveyed an indirect censure of the government; which no part of their conduct, at least in this instance, could possibly justify. In-
stead of having over-rated the evil, it would seem, as if the Ministers of the Crown did not watch its progress with sufficient jealousy. They have displayed a spirit of forbearance, which with the information they possessed, tended rather to im-
peach their vigilance, than to convict them of undue and unseasonable rigour. However, the existence of treasonable practices is unfortunately placed beyond the possibility of denial. The disclosures, made in both Houses, not only estab-
lish the fact, but loudly demand the immediate adoption of counteracting measures. Distrust would now mark a criminal indifference to the machinations of the disaffected. It would even look like connivance; and merit the utmost re-
probation, if it did not justify punishment. But the least attempt to defend those abominable de-
signs would justly deserve the imputation, if not the penalties, of treasonable concurrence.
It fills the mind with indignation to reflect on the unqualified abuse, heaped by prejudice and malice on the magistrates of the disturbed districts. They have been assailed in this coarse and daring manner for having faithfully, as it is now proved, performed a commanding, though unpleasant duty. They have been exposed to every species of calumny, and even menace, for the last three or four months, merely for having executed a signal service at a moment of great alarm and peril. Is this a fit return for the trouble and risk that are necessarily incurred in the vigilant exercise of the magisterial functions? This unlimited licence of blaming every act of authority, however praiseworthy, is disgraceful to the country, and most injurious to the public interests. Unless the prominent agents in this system of calumny and intimidation be brought to punishment; the occupation of a libeller will be considered honorable and patriotic; and every person of respectability will shrink from the office of magistrate. The present is the worst time imaginable to hold out the prospect of impunity to political guilt, and of ingratitude and persecution to such as honestly and fearlessly endeavour to preserve the public tranquillity. If it be impolitic to prosecute the most daring of the offenders, it is only another and a very alarming proof of the moral confusion that is gaining ground. It would more evidently establish the necessity of new laws on the subject; and, in fact, the present frame of
political society must fall to pieces, unless the mode of libellous attack, which has prevailed with increasing fury for some time, be immediately met, and vigorously repelled.

How much the proceedings at Manchester have been misrepresented! How grossly the conduct of the magistrates with respect to the meeting held there on the 16th of August, has been traduced! However, the time is close at hand, when the mist of delusion, which has been thrown round the events of that day, will be entirely removed. The period is also, we hope, fast approaching, when that justice, which has been so clamorously called for, will be done to all the parties concerned. Until the discussions, which have taken place in Parliament, threw a proper light on the proceedings; the instigators to treason—the base deluders of the multitude, were covered with the mantle of public sympathy. In the mean time the magistrates were exposed naked to every missile that ignorance or malice could fling, for having, as it is now clearly ascertained, acted with zeal, promptitude and courage at a most perilous emergency; when an appearance of indicision on their part would probably have consigned the rich and populous town of Manchester to the rage of an infuriate and vindictive rabble. It is proved almost to demonstration that plunder was one of the objects of the meeting; and that it was intended on the same occasion to gratify long-cherished feelings of revenge. It
would be as base as cowardly to conceal, or even gloss over, matters of this serious description in an inquiry, which takes truth and impartiality as its bases. The charges have been repeatedly made by persons, whose veracity can scarcely be questioned, and whose information is derived from local sources and long intercourse.

Making every allowance for political irritation, it would be unfair to suppose, that it could urge men of respectability to have recourse to a dishonourable subterfuge; and we are astonished at the effrontery of certain writers, who have more than once indirectly charged English gentlemen with that foulest of all offences—a deliberate and malicious falsehood. We have had unfortunately too much experience in our time of the excesses of which a lawless mob are capable, to be disposed to deny the alleged intentions of the Manchester Meeting. The systematic plan, the long preparations, the formidable array of revolutionary banners, caps of liberty and bludgeons, give a frightful probability to the reports that the assemblage meditated some violent outrage. The imposing numbers, in which they met, do not weaken our suspicions; and it is our firm persuasion that if the magistrates had not acted as they did, i. e. given orders to arrest the ring-leaders, and disperse the mob of radical reformers, the consequences would have been most fatal to the peace of the country. The immediate results must lie on the heads of those, who
evidently provoked them, and who, by their refractory and menacing conduct, rendered them unavoidable. However, it is known that the magistrates had not predetermined to act in the manner, to which the violence of the meeting compelled them to have recourse. The military were brought on the ground by way of precaution; and it was never contemplated to employ them, till it was found that the peace officers, numerous as they were, could not execute their warrants. Had the magistrates, at that decisive moment, hesitated to call in the aid of the military, the mob would have become ungovernable; and proceeded in all probability to the commission of every outrage, which large bodies of men, let loose from the restraints of law which they had just laid prostrate at their feet, and engaged in a criminal enterprise, are capable of perpetrating. The firmness, displayed at that critical moment by the Heads of the civil and armed force, preserved Manchester from the worst effects of popular fury, and the surrounding country from insurrection. It would be at once pusillanimous and criminal to disguise the truth in those transactions. It would be sacrificing the interests of justice to a meretricious humanity. It would be laying truth at the foot of a base popularity; and it is therefore a sacred duty which no man can honourably or conscientiously evade, to try to dissipate the clouds of prejudice and misrepresentation, in which this irritating question has been too long involved.
In the mean time, it is evident that the disaffected have been inspired with a salutary awe ever since the transactions at Manchester. They do not give that bold utterance to their wishes, which they were before in the habit of doing. They do not speak of resistance with the same hardihood; and their hopes of revolution are not expressed in so confident a tone as before. If their projects are still the same, their language is more measured. They are intimidated; and it must be allowed that this is a great point gained over inveterate malcontents. Their former plan of acting, which was decidedly aggressive, has been given up at least for the present. Confusion has introduced itself into their ranks; and indecision into their councils. The thread of the conspiracy is broken; and this result is obviously due to the firmness of the magistracy, and to the decisive measures adopted by government. Though overawed, they have not abandoned their revolutionary designs; and the least relaxation of energy and vigilance on the part of the constituted authorities would be the signal for their resuming a menacing attitude. Also any grave embarrassment, in which the government should be involved, or the appearance of a dark cloud in the political horizon, would urge them to prosecute their abominable schemes with increased and more virulent activity. Let us not deceive ourselves or others at this eventful period: energy alone and unremitting vigilance can keep them down. The
existing laws are plainly insufficient to confound and eventually annihilate a party, who threaten to subvert the throne and the altar; who profess open hostility to the constitution; who detest whatever has obtained from the consent of ages the denomination of great; and who, from an obliquity of reason, and an entire confusion of moral ideas, despise the truly useful and good in our social arrangements. Their existence is a frightful anomaly in the political world. Their tolerance is a disgrace to authority, and a poignant satire upon the country. Any other State, ancient or modern, would have crushed them at once; and humanity would offer its hand to policy, to promote any scheme, which should employ legal, instead of violent, means for the suppression of so alarming a nuisance.

It would be an outrage upon the mild and enlightened system of liberty that exists in this country, to permit any discussion upon the extravagant claims and pretended rights of a set of political desperadoes, who advance as their first principle, a sweeping and fundamental change. It would be endangering all the safeguards as well as the most valuable interests of society to enter into the slightest compromise with professed levellers. Royalty, they insist, ought to be abolished, as too expensive, and as incompatible with true liberty. Titles of nobility, they say, are an impudent violation of the natural equality of men. Religious establish-
ments they have declared to be inconsistent with the pure religion of reason. Parliament in its present form they have pronounced to be an intolerable nuisance; National faith has no sanctity in their estimation; and, in fact, according to their creed, an obligation, however sacred, when it is inconvenient, ceases to be binding. Even property they have stripped of its inviolable character; and the sole standard of right or convenience which they acknowledge, is regulated by their desires, and fashioned according to their necessities. It is not reform, but confusion, which they aim at; because in a scramble every sturdy villain has a chance of obtaining a prize. Let us hear no more of the inferences which some persons are pleased to draw from the impracticability of their schemes. Every thing is practicable to boldness and perseverance; and they will to a moral certainty realise their objects, execrable as they are, if the government be not invested with greater powers to crush disaffection and punish traitorous designs, than they possess under the operation of the existing laws.