Dumbell, Tohn Letter to Mr . Western

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## MR. DUMBELL'S

## LETTER

## TO MR. WSTERN,

CONTAIIUNG

Obervations upon the State of the Comency, page 1.--Steam Engines, 5-Daily Consumption of Horses, 6.- Eng:ind not an fxporter of Corn, i.-Food of the Irisir da: Americans, 7. - Mfulfiplication of Horses, S.-Emigration, 10.-Erish Union, 11.The'Landlords and the Clergy, 14.- T sing the Fumcis, I5 \&z 35. The Loyalty Loan, 16. - An Income 'Tax, 18.-Parliamentary Reform, 24.-Benefit of Gunpowder, :6. The Age of Reason, 27. Duke of Orleans, 30.-The Fundholder exompt from Stamp Disties, 32.-The Editors of Newspapers, 31.-The Currency, 40.Taxing the Lawyers, 46.-The Charter of the East India Co. 47.

## LONDON:

JAMES RIDGWAY, 169 , PICCADILLY.

## $\operatorname{mDCCCxX}$.

PRICE THREE SHILLINGS.


The alledged decline of Beitish prospenty has ariaen from our returning to that metallic currency, which was the legnl stondard of value, and the current medium of all traffic between misa aud man througlout the whole history of England, whether as a Koman, a Saxon, or a Norman, a Pagan, or Christian, an agricaltural in com-mercial,-a rude or civilized and enlightened state,--with the single and almost cvanscent, exception of 23 short years.

Is not bread dear enough? Is it not the most prodigions of all pretences, to clamour about the fall of prices, when we innoort from all parts of the world the first great article of human sustenance, loaded as it is with a duty in some cases of 30 shillings a q̧uarte ? But it is the peasantry we pity, -it is for then we feel. They, will their wretched wives and children, are really an oppressch atl ruined people; their bodily powers are impaired, thei moral quu ities are degraded, innocence and cheerfuluess have eil with the last vestiges of self dependence and comfort from theis hum is dwellings. Begin by reviving the once frank peasantry of 1.12 awi, sacrificed as they have been to the rage for enclosure-bil. for game preservation laws, for parish domineering, for pet'y le gisb ting, for enormous rents, for mechanical "productions"; -restor" that labouring population to its level, and you raise all abjve it due proportion.

Evening Male.
Cry havock! and lets loose the dogs of war.

## Shakespear.



## Howley House, January 6t/ 1830.

## SIR,

Having recently seen in the Newspapers, some Extracts from your Letter to your Constituents in Essex, I lose no time in saying, that, as you are a member of Parliament, and not merely a member for the County by which you have been elected; I presume as a Freeholder to hope, I have a right to address you. Conscious that any thing I have to say ought not to give offence: even my errors 1 trust will be forgiven, for I am not actuated by any servile purpose.

I apprehend the calamities to which you direct your chief attention, are not to be compared with the much more dreadful evils ${ }^{\text {the Currency. }}$ which are now pending over British Landlords and their Tenantry.

The present sufferings of these two classes of our fellow-creatures are very awful, as you justly describe them to be;* how then can

[^0]they bear the additional privations and severe aflictions which now stare them in the face? Afflictions more agonizing than any which have befallen English Farmers whilst England has had a King on the throne; and which appear to me the more dreadful, as, in my opinion, they cannot be averted, or compensatea for by any human means :-and to which an omnipotent arm can alone prescribe limits.

On this subject the true voice of the people must and will speedily be heard, or consequences will ensue that I dare not mention. The great bulk of mankind will deem themselves fit judges of this, to them most interesting subject, and they will act as well as judge in remonstrances; which will force attention if their interests are thwarted, or procrastinated.

The evils to which I implore your attention are coming upon us not from hidden causes, but from the abuse (as I take it) which.

[^1]man makes of his Sovereignty over the brute Creation.

I write not to torture the philanthropic heart, but my subject demands plain words, and honest dealing:-no palliative medicine can be used; and delay will cause the flame to burn with greater violence from day to day.
$I$ allude to the effects which will follow the great Improvements already made in the application of the power of Steam, and such great additional Improvements are ready to burst forth as will prove the present Steam Engine to be only in its infancy.

Yet in its present rude and imperfect state, theSteam Engine has become a substitute for Horses, in propelling and moving Carriages, and the day is at hand when it will be found capable of superseding the use of horses, wherever they have hitherto been used, not excepting cavalry in the field of battle.

And if so, a very short question presents itself;-what is to become of the hay and corn, which horses now consume? And how is the Farmer to be compensated for the loss he will sustain by Steam being used as a substitute for horses?

The Steam Engine is a sterile Machine, a non-producer even of manure, and this will
also be a serious grievance to the Farmer.
I am now speaking of the Steam Engine as a locomotive power, and although it is an expensive Machine, yet it must be recollected that it will not require corn and hay; (or a substitute for corn and hay) when it is not in motion, and in an unproductive state.

Lord Somerville observes, that, "The " number of Cart Horses employed in Great " Britain has been stated by Mr. Pitt of Pin" deford, to be about 500,000 . That each of " these Cart Horses consumes at a very mo= " derate calculation, more than the corn or " bread of seven persons; so that 500,000 " Cart Horses consume daily and annually more 'than three millions five lundred thousand " persons."?

And if this be the case in respect to the consumption of food, merely by Cart Horses; how will the calculation stand when Coach Horses are added to the list? An accurate account of the number of Coach Horses you can have from the Tax Office, to which I beg leave to refer you, but you must not forget there are other Horses to be added to that account, such as colts, brood mares, \&c. which are now eating corn and hay; as well

[^2]as substitutes now ready for those which are "daily killing off."

To me this subject appears the more formidable, as I cannot foresce that any method can be devised to afford even temporary relief to the Agriculturist. Would to God it could England not be found in making Great Britain an exporting ${ }^{\text {an }}$ Corn. country for corn! but when the supplies of Foreign Grain are excluded from the English market, to what place can they be sent for sale, and where can corn grown in England be sold advantageously out of England?

What then will speedily and rapidly become of the English Landlord, and the English Farmer?

I am aware that the blessings of Provi- The Inhabitants
 dence will not be thrown away; as for instance, $\begin{gathered}\text { Amenten be complol } \\ \text { ed } \\ \text { led to live ound }\end{gathered}$ the Irish, when the price of corn is sufficiently tatoes and yams. low, may be allowed to substitute bread for potatoes. And the Americans, when they are shut out of the English market, may be permitted to eat bread, instead of yams. The English Pauper will be ljetter fed; and the time may be at hand when Peace and Plenty may so abound that every man "may eat from his own vineyard, and every one from the fruit of his own trees." What may be in the councils of the Most High; what mighty
changes he is now commanding in the system of human affairs, we cannot tell ; but he will tell us in his own due time, and in a way, perhaps, not very flattering to ourselves.

Those who run may read, that an awful revolution is about to take place in respect to Land-owners and Farmers; and is it not now become the imperious duty of Ministers to bestir themselves, and provide new means to raise money for the annual and daily calls upon the Public Purse, as those supplies will speedily be cut off on which they have so long depended? The rash Youths who recently tried to hold the reins of Government, and deemed themselves competent to drive the Chariot of Phœbus, will now he taught, not any longer to trust in their self-sufficiency, in their riches, or in horses. From what we Maltiplication of read in Holy Writ, the multiplication of hors-
hirses. es cannot be expected to be attended with the Divine Blessing, Much is therein said against horses, and not one word in their favour, yet we may confidently believe that the God of mercy never created the generous horse to be abused, in the way he is abused at this day; is not his cup of sorrow at this moment so full of gall as to make an impartial bystander tremble at the thought, that He ,
who with an equal eye, sees a hero perish, or a sparrow fall; that He , to whom vengeance belongeth, will chasten a nation like this, where the inhabitants are so regardless of their political character as not to have the semblance of those individuals, who justify the assertion that a merciful man is merciful to his beast.

Shew a volatile Irishman a pampered steed, who with his wife and children are $\begin{gathered}\text { recover } \\ \text { proper } \\ \text { Sevel ineir } \\ \text { the }\end{gathered}$ living on potatoes, and tell him that this animal consumes as much corn, as would feed his seven children. Convince the more than half-famished weaver of this fact, who at this moment is undergoing that degree of hunger, which (proverbially) can break through stone walls; without a blanket to cover his wife and offspring, and destitute of an Irishman's solace, a peat stack in this severe Winter. And tell those who now feel warm themselves, not only to be grateful for the blessings they enjoy; but to hail with becoming thankfulness the happier days which are at hand, for the relief of the poor and needy, and make them Heralds of these glad tidings to so large a portion of our suffering fellow-creatures. The pationt abiding of men in sorrow, and in deep affliction was never meant to be conti-
nued forever. The steady loyalty, the manly heroism of those who amidst the greatest privations, and agonies of distress remain innocent of offence, will raise them a host of friends, and welcome the return of their better days. The great and benevolent Monarch now on the Throne, the Father of his people, has ever sympathized in the distress of the poor, and they will have the consolation of experiencing that as he will speedily be in possession of the means which will afford them relief, their cause cannot be in better hands; and the whole Island will rejoicr in seeing the poor recover their proper level in human society.

The wisdom of the aged will be no longer scoffed at by the Empirics of the day; and the cold-blooded advocates of Emigration will be be tanght, "that a bold Peasantry, their "Country's pride, are not to be tampered ": with; for when once destroyed they never " can be supplied."

Those sapient Landlords who have taken away from the poor Cottager his home, and have appropriated the land on which he formerly kept a cow, to enlarge their Farms, are about to receive their reward. They will now be severely taught, that,

## 11

> "A time there was ere England's grief began,
> "When every rood of ground naintained its man,
> "His best companions innocence and health,
> "And his best riches ignorance of wealth."

Surely it never can become a question whether men or horses have a superior right to the products of the earth. The impions and nauseous Malthus must feel himself bogfoundered. I suppose the name of this Nincompoop was originally written Malchus; that his great Progenitor was the Bumbailiff of Judas, (who had the bag,) and whose right ear was cut off by Simon Peter.*

Now, Sir, suppose for a moment, that the Landlords and Farmers are eased from the payment of tithes and of all kind of taxes, with your mind's eye next look at the wreck of that once proud vessel, and at the forlorn hopes of the crew which belong to it. And you will say with me, a great deal more yet remains to be done for them. May I be allowed to trespass on your attention a little longer, by suggesting that the prospect brightens when we look at Ireland, and when we are told that an application is forthwith to be made to Parliament, by the Irish, to dissolve Irith Unies the Union of 1800 , by that restless never-to-

* "I'll ne'er distrust my God for cloth and bread, "While lilies flourish, and the raven's fed."
be-satisfied portion of mankind, the Irish Orators. The Irish as a body, are generous, brave, and grateful ; but they form a cecided contrast with the Scotch in regard to credulity; a pretence of good intentions and mere declamation would gain few Proselytes in Scotland. A Petition to dissolve the Union would come with very great propriety from Englishmen; but certainly not from Irishmen. I applaud Mr. Pitt for the manly, straight forward path he pursued in accomplishing that great national work, but he certainly made old England "pay too dear for his whistle."

At one blow, he brought the whole of Ireland, a country consisting of 30,370 English square miles, into the enjoyment of all the advantages which England had for ages exclusively possessed, England having only 50,220 square miles. Ireland too was a country untaxed in comparison with England. Before the Union when the importation of foreign grain was prohibited in England, this prohibition extended to Ireland; but since the Union, commercial prohibitions have been so far extinguished, that Ireland has, from that time, become to áll intents and purposes (except in name and in taxes,) an English county. In
looking at the map, it used to be remarked that it was liltle Rutland, and great Yorkshire; it is now little Yorkshire, and great Ireland. The hogs in the forest devour the acorns without looking up to the parent oak : and it is insolence to be told of the intention of the Irish to apply to Parliament to dissolve the Union. At this moment too, when they are making the best of their bargain, by pouring into this Kingdom immense quantities of provisions of all descriptions, and in uniformly underselling the English Farmer, whom they have driven from his own market; nay more from his own home. It would be perfectly just and proper to whip the refractory lrish with their own rod, if it could be done without injury to the multitude, and there are such blessings in store for after ages created by the Union, as to call for hesitation before a sentence of di-. vorce be instituted between these high contracting parties. But let Ireland be treated to all intents and purposes as an English county, and bear pari passu with other counties her share of taxes ; and let each country share one another's burthens. Let the English
 and the Irish become one common family, and long enjoy the rapid communication from shore to shore, which Steam Engines are ca-

## 14

pable of affording them. And let Irish barracks be turned into malt-houses.

The foregoing facts speak for themselves in a way which must compel Ministers to inquire, how the impending defalcation in the Treasury can be made good ; and what other sources of revenue they have in reserve. When the farmers cannot pay any rent; land-

When farmers cannot pay rent, landlords cannot pay taxes, and a new provision must be made for the Clergy. lords cannot pay any taxes ; and a new provision must be made for the Clergy. Fur when an arrear of rent is accumulating, from day to day, how can taxes be levied, and where can tithe be had when the ground is not tilled? Must not Ministers in losing the resources they now reap from horses, have something in the shape of an equivalent? It is in vain to skulk, and it will be found to be nothing less than madness to expect a refuge from the storm without taxing the funds. Is the Treasury in a state not to feel the loss of the duty now paid upon coach horses? To make things worse when the Harpies of the law are set to work, (for they seldom make things better) to enforce existing contracts between landlord and tenant, a new form of return' I fancy must be made by the sheriff. I submit "ex nihilo nihil fit," would not be unfit. Nuilla bont" will not be applicable,
when Lazarus is feeding upon what Dives has hitherto given to his horses.

A centinel found asleep when on duty, commits a crime which is punishable as a capital offence. The Premier of the present day knows well his duty, and he will not be found nodding at his post. That duty imperiously calls upon him, (whatever may be his privateviews and sentiments,) to tax the funds. Tax the funds. And if the necessity of the times did not demand this, let it be asked, why this great capital should not be taxed? The owners of which, the great Leviathans of the day, are devouring all before them ; watching with an insatiable appetite, the motion of that hammer which knocks down the hereditary estates, the venerable mansions, of those fumilies; the owners of which, from age to age, have ranked amongst the most valuable, the most hospitable, the most generous, and the best part of the human race, whose incomes have long been limited, and systematically plundered to protect the property of the fund-holder. Compare our ancient gentry and their good actions, with the mushroom fund-holder, and ask the latter what good he is doing in the world, and what good his fraternity can? If all landlords were supplanted by stuck-holders, what a delightful country this would be.

Every Newspaper we daily receive, contains accounts of the generosity of the landowners, and of the Clergy, in making abatements in tithes, and rent due from their tenants. But where do we find any sympathy of the kind, or any disposition to alleviate the sufferings of the farmers by the fund-holder? A Widow Lady at lver, it is stated, has recently given one of her tenants, the sum of $£ 1000$, being two years rent, on receiving the report of a respectable Surveyor, that the farm was in a good state of cultivation, and that the tenant was a most industrious man, and unable, through the depressed state of Agriculture, to pay his arrears. Here let it be asked what has the old woman of Threadneedle Street ever done for the poor. I am old enough to recollect that the great Duke of Bridgewater when the Loyalty Loan was set on foot, subscribed $£ 100,000$ and, with his name as a Subscriber sent a check for $£ 100,000$ on his Banker.

This liberal and generous Donor, received his check back with an intimation that power had not yet been given to receive money: Does not this prove that his Grace was not bargaining with administration, in order to receive a quid pro quo in return? and the gift
was void of ostentation; the Newspapers of the day merely stating that the Duke of $\boldsymbol{B}$. had given $£ 100,000$ to the Loyalty Loan. It was generally understood that this Duke of B. was the Duke of Bedford, and some time elapsed before it was publicly known that the Duke of B. was the Duke of Bridgewater. I do notrecollect that the Bank1)irectors subscribed a single sixpence to the Loyalty Loan. I may be wrong, (I wish I may be so,) I am speaking from recollection, and, most assuredly, I have not the most remote wish to rob the Bank of a scintilla of its claims in respect to generosity on this, or on any other occasion; but be this as it may, let the Bank now join the fund-holder, and shew their loyalty and gratitude, to that constitution which has protected without their assistance, every farthing now in the funds: by coming forward as the landiords are doing, in taxing themselves.*-Let the. Bank of England give up, pro bono publico, twenty five per cent of her profits, and the fund-holder twenty five per cent of his profits, and claim a merit in voluntarily doing, what, ere long, they must, in my opinion, submit to. Much may be said "to lessen or extenuate the offences" of Mr.

[^3]Pitt, he had to deal with an old, fat, unwieldy, griping and costive old woman, upwards of "three score years and three." On whom amor palera, or the persuasive tongue of her dear Billy could not make any impression without stipulations bordering upon Pin Money and Jointures; but he had so long dallied with her, and she had got such a knowledge of his secrets, and where the strength of Sampson laid, instead of quarreling with her, he let her have too much of her own way: Billy himself was generous in the extreme, he was not even suspected of knowing the value of money, and he accordingly died a beggar ; in the 47 th year of his age; but he had so long and so often pampered the old Lady's appetite, as to confirm the well known adage,
frucwey
A Loyalty Loan is a rare thing. The French who raised money to prosecute the War, which plunged England into debt; exacted it without any such ceremony; forced An income tax
paid in England
Loans
were in King Henry's England there is nothing new in an Income Tax; the Parliament granted King Henry a subsidy of two-fifteenths from the Commons, and two-tenths from the Clergy, and on the

4th of the same year granted him a further subsidy.

In 1522, Henry, standing in need of more money and not daring to call a Parliament to demand a subsidy, Cardinal Wolsey proposed a general loan of one-tenth of the property of the Laity, and one fourth of that to the Clergy. Shakspear says,
"The Subject's grief
"Comes through Commissioners which compel from each
"The sixth part of his substance."
After the severe reprimand a Salopian Member in the House of Commons, received from Lord Eldon when he was Attorney General, in explaining to him the difference between a Proporly Tax, and an Income Tax, is it not impossible to account for any writer of the present day deeming property and income as the self-same thing, without attributing to him an unworthy motive? And what can be the meaning of the words "equitable adjustment"? Where is the blind Goddess to be found who is to hold the scales of justice? Begin with this god-like work; for there is something captivating in the phrase " equitable adjustment," and you will at once find it to be a work beyond the abilities oz mortals, and perhaps not to be grappled with by immortals. Let us suppose the greatest
luminary in English Jurisprudence to undertake to draw and prepare this bill in equity ; must he take the whole of this equity case in one lump, in one mass?-()r, rather, will he not divide it into different branches? I presume he will make each Loan a subject of his separate contemplation, and that he will begin with the terms on which the first Loan was granted; and after duly weighing the importance of each clause, earnestly, seriously, and gravely, he will make out a debtor and creditor account, between government and the fundholder; but before he strikes the balance in strict equity, without favour or affection, he must debit the fundholder for the protection of his property from year to year, during the time it has been protected at your expense and mine, in the same ratio as Insurance Offices charge for protection and making good the losses. in respect to property in general. You will be pleased to bear in mind, I am speaking of equity. When the balance is honestly ascertained, if it be in favour of the fundholder, to whom shall it be paid? The property with all its profit or loss is in a greater or less degree, changing hands from age to age, and some portion' of it daily, and frequently many times in the same day. And if the balance
should be declared in favour of gorernment, to whom can administration resort for the balance found due. Is the present holder of stock to be saddled with all the defalcations of his predecessors, under the legal maxim of " Terra transit cum onere." For as to the equity of the measure, where is the difierence between land and chattels? Our equity draftsmen must not be disconcerted by being told that a property tax would be the proper remedy, and the stale and dastardly manouvre that "a properly; las, must embrace every " species of property ; land, funded property, " valuable leases, jewels, pictures, goods and " chattels of every description ; and that the " spoliation of the fund-holder would be just " as iniquitous and illegal, as the spoliation " of the proprietors of the land." The crime of spoliation can only be defended and tolerated by those who believe there is "honour " amongst thieves," and with those who can luxuriate themselves in accepting fees to protect them. But what spoliation is there in exacting a property or an income tax, when the exigencies of the state demand it. The words Property Tax, and Income Tax, doubtless mean, or ought to mean the same thing. Property here can only mean productive pro-
perty. Piclures \&c. are unproductive, they yield no income, or profit, generally speaking; as heir looms for instance, and it might be as honest to call on a nobleman to pay a tax on his mines of coal or minerals on his estate, which he has never worked, and which never may be turned into gold in his life time, as to pay for his unproductive pictures. I maintain as long as Sir Ashton Lever's Museum was in his own hands, it was an unproductive property, and ought not to be rated for the maintenance of the poor, or for the payment of any other tax; but when the lucky, or unlucky drawer of the ticket, made an exhibition of it, and converted it into productive property, it became rateable and liable to taxation, in proportion to the profits he realized. But, Sir, I am not advocating the propriety or impropriety of an Income Tax, what I maintain is, that the funds ought to be taxed.

Mr. Pitt with very great politeness, modestly proposed to the House of Commons on the 23 rd of Nov. 1795, to raise only $£ 7,000,000$; as part of the supplies for the ensuing year, estimating to take one tent/h of every man's Income, by an increase of the assessed taxes. In bearing, however, our respective shares of the public burthen, we have still sufficient
cause to lift up our hearts in thanksgivings for the blessings this island affords us ; and in contrasting them with those of any other place beneath the Sun, to exclaim ;

> "England, with all thy faults, I love thee still,
> "My Country! and while yet a nook is left "Where English minds and manners may be found, "Stall be constrain"d to love thee."

Constrained to love thee, in grateful remembrance of blessings we have received! Constrained to love thee in the hope of blessings which are in store for us! And from which no promised land can hold out an invitation to desert thee.-W What have Englishmen to fear ; with a Monarch on the throne, benevolent, upright, charitable, humane, born to fill the rank and situation he holds in society, (and here I trust I may use expressions beneath the dignity of the occasion, but I have not any other words which will so well convey my meaning, who has served a regular apprenticeship to qualify him for his post ; and who, in the days he acted as a journeyman conducted his measures with matchless success and immortal glory.-With such a king, and with an administration who will not be trifled with, or led from the straight-forward path of duty, by those who are on the alert to oppose for opposition's sake, all public measures. With
this animating prospect, let nil clesperandum be our motto.

Let our sufferings be what they may, let us trust in the rock of ages, and not call down on "our Country by a vicious propensity, those "curses which have laid provinces and fenced "cities into desolated heaps. Kingdoms rise " (if there be any truth in history,) and fame" lies flourish, according to the industry, tem" perance,justice, and other virtues of the great " body of the people: and they decay as those " virtues fail, and are made to give way to "sloth, and luxury, and dissipation, the " precursors of disgrace and misery."*

The present state of the nation in my mind proves the fallacy of the benefit which some men think the Country would obtain by

On Parliamentatry Reform. a Parliamentary Reform. Let the advocates of that measure ask themselves (if they have a sufficient confidence in their own abilities, to suppose themselves capable of undertaking the office of prime Minister,) how they would be able to carry any feasible measures for the the public welfare, if not protected from the clamours of the disaffected; he must be very

[^4]fond of power who would take office in times of jeopardy like these, and when he got into the house be treated like a bag fox, hunted as a fulimart, or abused as a fighting cock, for the amusement of the Canaille. Be assured, Sir, mien with bloody and brutal appetites, a parcel of cruel, depraved, drunken, riotous ragamuffins; beneath the rank of butchers and surgeons, who are not allowed to sit in an English jury; are the last order of creatures who ought to be allowed to intermeddle with the English constitution. I am aware that the walls of St. Stephen's Chapel were made to resound in the year 1802 with an eulogium on Bull-baiting, throwing at Cocks, and such like pastimes: as if a proneness " to ravage and destroy, a lust of massacre, was most grateful to the Idol such Savages adore. If men of this descripion get a footing in parliament so as to preponderate in the formation of our laws; they will have no hesitation in expunging in toto ; the national debt; they will treat it as
 an Ale-house score; a few grains of Gunpowder in their hands will be sufficient for the purpose. All Law even martial Law will be trodden under foot by them. Great Britain formerly was like the wilds of America, over-run with
wood; where the Wild Boar, the Bear, and the Wolf, roamed with despotic sway, until they were totally extirpated by the valour of our predecessors. And the present race of Englishmen will be found to have equal valour whenever their own welfare and that of their successors call them into Action-They will not permit a disorganization of all that is valuable to Mankind, to take place by letting the mobility snatch hold of the reins of government under the specious pretext of Parliamentary Reform. But the field of Battle, is less to be dreaded by the frrocity of brutes, since Beneft arisisg the invention of fire-arms; which have substifrom Gunpowder. tuted regularity, order, and prompt obedience to command; in place of the strength of men, and the agility of their bodies. A mere accident, the invention of gunpowder, and the great expense of nire arms have contributed in a very great degree to the civilization of mankind, by giving the rich, decided advantages over poor and barbarous nations. This invention which at first sight appears to be so pernicious, is certainly favourable to the permanency and to the extension of civilization.*

[^5]On Bishop Watson's observing to the King, relative to his improvements in making gunpowder, that he ought to be ashamed of

The Age of Reason is arrived, not by allowing the children of Belial, profligate wretches, lawless miscreants, who have no regard either for God or man, to go forth, and serve the Idols they have set up.-Not in supposing, that, by instructing mankind to read, they will use their knowledge for no other purpose than "sucling in poisons by reading Mr. Windham " newspapers."-But, as new born babes, desiring the sincere milk of the word; and in experiencing that the moral influence of education, and of civilization in general, has already been proved to have the happy ten.. dency of diminishing crimes. In bearing witness that the pious hope of the best of monarchs, that the day might speedily arrive when all his subjects should be enabled to read the Bible; was founded not only on christian charity, and philanthropy, but that such knowledge would be the means of "laying " aside all malice, and all guile, and hypo" crisies ; and envies, and all evil speaking."

We have not rash conjectures on which to found our calculations, we have on record two palpable and self-sufficient instances to con-

[^6]vince us, of what wili be the result of lawless jower; first, in respect to England, and more recently in respect to France. When power gets into the hands of usurpers, the house of Lords will be as it has been, voted useless, and the king's head will be cut off. Monsters of this description in 1789, assumed in France, the litle of the national assembly; and declared themselves competent to govern the affairs of that Kingdom, without the concurrence of the King, or the nobility and clergy. A dreadful insurrection ensued, and the military refused to fire on the people. The good King Louis XVI. one of the most humane and well meaning of Sovereigns, by a mock trial was by them condemned and beheaded; the nobility and the whole feudal system were abolished by these sayage blood hounds.

May Heaven forbid that miscreants of this kind should ever have any thing 1.0 do with English laws, any more than in being compelled to obey them. I am far from anticipating that our present benevolent monarch has any thing to fear from such reptiles, as long as they are excluded from approaching him as Privy Counsellors. If they obtain the privilege of the entree, (of the back stairs) his royal ear will ever be assailed by their
puerile mischievous misrepresentations, and the comforts of his life will be abridged by their base innuendoes.

For instance, let the fretfal Peler Porcupine be made a Privy Counsellor, and he will then be entitled to demand an interview with the King whenever it suits his whim or caprice; Charlatan like, he will go to him one day with a box of Pills, and another with a sweating draught, and all this from being actuated by the Amor Patrie; for can any one suspect Peter of having any other motive :but may not his promotion, to this honour, induce some other Corporal Trim, also to get access to the back stairs, whose eye may be fixed upon the Loaves and Fishes, and who will never cease to teaze and obtrude, until he he obtains some of them for himself, and the Jackalls in waiting upon him.-As long as the King commands only his responsible servaints to advise and assist him, he will have the consolation of knowing that they dare not annoy him with false, or malicious reports, the well known loyalty of his subjects will guard him from the treachery of any haughty minister, who may dare to mislead him, "every -" honest heart will burn with indignation, " every tongue will be loosened with exccra-
"tions" against such an apostate.-Let a marked difference be always duly made by every King, who may sit on the throne of England, between the advice of a responsible The advice of a minister, and that of an irresponsible Privy Privy Counsellor beneath the to be listened to. the willing; and must always feel himself in duty bound, to compel the perverse to do their respective duties as links of one common chain; the latter must be at all times an ungratifying and an arduous Task; but one much more enviable than that which the royal Duke of Orleans imposed on himself, who met with his reward.

It is in vain to mince matters, the affuent fund-holder must be aroused from his present lethargy. He must not be any longer like the foolish animal, who by hiding his head, fancies his whole carcase is safe.

Is it not an uncontradicted fact, that if the whole Island of Great Britain could be sold, and bidders could be found to buy it, at the terms on which farms in England are this day sold, that the whole purchase money would amount to a much less sum of money than the National Debt? And if so, must it not be the last hope of a Lankrupt Treasury to proceed and go on in the old road
to ruin? An honest man when he feels himself surrounded by difficulties, and incapable of paying his debts, resolves to stop in time. And if from an overweening pride, or a mistaken policy; Government will proceed in the ruinous career of raising supplies to pay compound interest on the National Debt, it, will not be in the power of man, to keep that fatal shuttle-cock flying much longer. The day of settlement cannot be advantageously procrastinated. The greater must be the accumulated ruin, the longer the sword of justice remains impending. This is the hour to bestir ourselves, we know not what a day may bring forth. Little things are not beneath the notice of a virtuous minister, he will turn to advantage the hints he may receive from others, not waiting to have them laid before him, with high soming names; he will not be too haughty in receiving when he most wants it, even a horseshoe nail, recollecting that for the want of a nail the shoe was lost, for the want of a shoe the horse, and the for want of a horse the rider was lost. If delay takes place until a civil, or a foreign war, or the ultima ratio regum take place, what is to become of the fundholder? he of all men must be most miserable.


At the best he is as a drone in a hive; as a fund-holder by what acts of generosity is he entitled, even to the sympathy of mankind: must it not then be his interest, in particular, manfully to come forward at the present awful moment, and use his utmost exertions, all his influence to avert a general wreck; and cease to act on the vile maxim of " all for ourselves, and nothing for other " people." At the disastrous hour, which is approaching, with rapid steps, if not timely prevented, acording to the old maxim, "the ". weakest must go to the wall."

At all events, is it not high time to put the question for ever at rest; whether the funds be taxable, or not? If such a question can be conscientiously raised it will be too late to discuss it when the wolf is at the door.

Fund-holder transfer his stock without paying Stamp Duties. lor


What inherent right has any person to invest money in the public funds on superior terms, to those he can invest it on mortgage to his, neighbour. A stock broker has no difficulty in finding a purchaser, and the particulars of the bargain being delivered to a clerk in the office of the bank, on finding that such stock stands in the sellers name, fills up
a form of transfer, which is signed by the seller, conveying all his right and title to the stock to the purchaser, his heirs, and assigns. A form of acceptance is then signed by the purchaser, and the seller having given him a receipt expressing the consideration paid, which is witnessed by the bank-clerk, the business is concluded.

I complain not at the adrantage the fund holder enjoys in selling this species of property, without the intervention of lawyers. But why should he, and he only, be exempted from an ad valorem stamp duty on the transfer, from a stamp daty on the acceptance signed by the purchaser, and from a stamp duty on the receipt given for the consideration money? Let us look at Shylock's Bond and ask upon what right these indulgences are grounded; let me further ask why the Bank of England is so generally or universally exempted from stamp duties? I am aware a composition is paid in respect to bills and promissory notes; and if that wound was probed to the quick, the eyes of mankind would be so opened as to cause an inquiry to be instituted relative to the great kindness and goodness the Bank of England confers on old England, in return. Let those who strut and talk so vainly of
national faith, be told there are such things as an abuse of national generosity, and of riaing a willing horse to death.

The chief argument that I am aware of, which has been raised against taxing the funds is, that it would be a breach of national faith. But let the advocates of this specious and fallacious piece of sophistry, recollect themselves in time ; they may fancy that they will gain popularity amongst a wealthy body, by thwarting ministers, and in creating a violent, yet it must be a short-lived, and fruitless clamour against this measure. The immortal hero who was not to be daunted by the swaggering threats of Buonaparte, is not likely to be cowed down by news-mongers.

Editors of newspapers not so omnipotent as
they pretend to they

> "Magna est veritas et prævalebit."

The editors of newspapers seem to think themselves omnipotent in these days, and presume, perhaps rather too much, in dictating to the public: recent experience, however, ought to teach them, the great bulk of mankind are getting every day more capable of judging for themselves; and that editors are not placed on a rock immutable, in this mutable world. The smutty gazette, for instance, was not uncommonly profitable to the pro-
prietors, and the new way of charging merely for advertisements, and letting the public have the newspapers gratis, may make a difference in the oldest establishments. I am aware it was arrogantly said by Fletcher of Saltoun, "Let me make the ballads of a nation, " and I care not who makes the laws." But ballads in these days must be made of wholesome materials, and such as can be relished by the discriminating taste of men of enlarged and patriotic minds. For my own part, I am not over fond of forced-meat, or Grub Street sauce : yet no one has a higher respect for the honour and integrity displayed in our leading journals than I have, all I wish to urge is, that it would be a little more palatable to the reader; if a little more modesty, a more gentleman-like deportment was evinced, when opinions are criticised, which prima facie may not be in unison with those of the self-created critic.

Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox did not hesitate about taxing the funds, and to avail themselves of this great source of revenue; but the weak and imbecile successor of Mr. Percival rather than.
meanly submitted to forego and to relinquish the advantages which his Predecessors had $\begin{gathered}\text { Lerd bentey } \\ \text { ter. }\end{gathered}$
honomahly gained, and as they thouglit for the permanent good of their Country.

National faith would have been supported to the utmost both by Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox, I had almost said to an unlimited extent; was not this their common plea and pretext, for war and desulation? But both these statesmen who contracted the National Deht, never thought that the National Faith was in clanger, when they taxed the funds : and let it be asked, if without such a precedent, the question was now to be honestly argued, about taxing funded property, whether the first thing to be done must not be to call upon those who oppose this tax, to prove by what authority the fundholder can claim a right not to be taxed?*

* The new freach Loan. - Whilst this Letter has been at the Press, the Newspapers have informed us that Messrs. Rothsch:Id have contracted to pay to the French Government 102f. $7 \frac{1}{2} \mathrm{c}$. for every four francs of annuity. The Capital of the Loan is rather more than three millions sterling. The greater portion of it, it is believed, will be taken in the first instance by English Capital. Several minute particulars are mentioned, and the Lonus, it is said, will be somewhat below par. But amongst these particulars there is not one word said of any stipulation being made, that this fnnd is never to be taxed, and it is more than probable that such an idea Messrs. Rothschild, or his Competitors for the Loan, Messrs Hagermann, M. Aguado, and the Syndicate of the Reviewers-general, did never even dream of. And if such a stipulation had been made, must not a less Bonus have been accepted of. Doubtless a cautions, plodding, calculating Citizen of London, if called upon to advance a Loan of money to a body corporate, who, in respect to former Loans, had held all laws divine and buman in derisíon, except when they could be available in answering diabolical purposes, and who, without blushing, never paid their former Creditors a farthing in the pound. Such Citizen would either stipulate for future protections, or charge at once a Bonus sufficient to indemnify the risque he was running. A Bonus it is evident would
"National Faith" are high sounding words, but, a priori, ought it not to be shewn how national faith can be implicated by taxing the funds. Let the fund-holder be called upon to produce a fair honest excuse, for his protection from, and non-liability to this imposition, hitherto the advocates against this tax have been reputed wise for not attempting to prove his claim to be exempted from this general rule, the ipse dixit of a valiant tar from such an exemption must be more allowable in the eye of God and man, when he is impressed and called upon to serve his King and Country. Every true born Englishman is prone to admit that all wickedness is weakness, and he will spurn at the idea of the national faith of Old England being put into jeopardy, or of being suspected; and although he will keep faith with Jews and Heretics, he will not be trampled under foot, by them or any one who may attempt to cajole him, or by taunts and ironies raise unjust claims on himself or his country. The bravado of a bully, or the swaggering of a desperado will not

[^7]terrify him: he will ask the one and the other to shew him on what ground he founds his claim. Shylock when he urged his claim produced his bond; he swore he would have his bond. 'The due and forfeit of his bond; and when requested to have a surgeon ready to stop the wounds he was prepared to inflict, he asserted that no such condition was nominated in his bond. He could not find it in his bond. Let the fund-holder produce his bond, his title deeds, and let him also have justice, and his bond. There was a bargain made between Anthonio and Shylock; there was also a bargain made between $\mathrm{Mr}^{\text {. Pitt and the Shy- }}$ locks of his day. Mr. Pitt was like other spendthrifts, not nice about the terms on which he borrowed money, but the money lenders felt no regard for posterity, or ever had a wish to lower the premium, the bonus of the day, by making any kind of stipulation in favour of their Successors. The Contractors for the Loans merely regarded self, as tradesmen usually do, in making good and profitable bargains for themselves, careing as little for their successors, and future representatives, as'men do who buy slaves or coach horses, regardless of the interest of those who were to come after them; and the like honour-
able motives have descended from time to time, amongst their representatives, who daily traffic with each other, never supposing that they, or any one for them, hold a bond of indemnification from taxation, but because they can thus invest their overplus money more profitably than elsewhere. I feel conscious that I should be injuring the cause I wish to espouse, if I allowed you to suppose that I rank amongst those who have not an interest in the funds; should they be taxed, my stake and interest now vested in them, will cause me to be a very considerable sufferer, and the loss I should sustain would be to me a very serious one. I feel myself called upon to make this avowal, to stop the mouths, and check the vituperations, of those who judge of other men by their own feelings, and lay it down, as a general rule, without an exception, that self-interest is the primum mobile of all men's actions in this world.

The usury laws limiting one subject from
 borrowing and advancing money to another subject, at a greater rate than five per cent, gave Mr. Pitt the money market to himself; he had the sole power, without a rival, of borrowing and raising money, at any rate, above five per cent: if six per cent was not a sufficient premium,
he, and he only could give $7,8,10$, or even cent per cent; and he did not hesitate to give the money-lender a tempting bonus: now if no exemption from taxation was given to the original Contractors, how could they give to their Successors privileges they themselves never enjoyed?

I now arrive at that part of the task which originally induced me to take up my pen to address you, and which affords me relief, when I contemplate the present distresses of my Country, as I do not entertain a doubt of pointing out an unobjectionable way of obviating and removing, all your diffiRelative to Mr. culties about Mr. Peel's Bill and the CurrenPeel's Bill and the Curency. $c y$; which you seem to be much more alarmed about, than the operation of Locomotive Steam Engines. On this subject be of good cheer; for here I see my way quite clear, and I now pledge myself to do away all objections to a free Currency.

The measures 1 have to recommend will not require any breach of national faith. They will not prop up the Bank of England, even if that overgrown porpoise should be again reduced to the necessity of paying in sixpences; they will not prop up the tottering credit of any town or country banker. They
will not add to the facility which France now enjoys, of draining England of her specie. They will rank superior in the eyes of mankind. to the arrogant and dastardly threats of those who boast of, and glory in, a presumed ability to destroy the rags and the rookery. If the means I recommend be resorted to, the quality will not be ciebased, or the nominal value of the current coin of this realm be raised : and 1 hold it to be impossible that any discontent or clamour should thereby arise, as no class of the community will be plundered for the benefit of another. The relief I propose has novelty also to recommend it to your attention; I was going to say much more in its favour, but the proper time for this has not yet arrived. These you may say, are assertions which you do not entertain a hope of being realized; be it so, but ought this to silence me , as all I require is to be put to the test: those who best know me will vouch that I am not given to gasconade. Try me. I do not ask for aid, or the contribution of a single shilling, to prove and verify my assertions I am prepared to set my machinery in motion, and to justify the practicability and solidity of my modus operandi at my own ex-
pense, and I will go so far as to say, that even those who vote for Mr. Peel's Bill, will, I anticipate, support my project; have I not then a right to insist upon a claim to the morit As कzwech. which may belong to it. A quantum meruit. I have lived too long in the world not to know that I must anticipate undeserved opposition,

> "Trutins wonld you teach or save a sinking land?
> "All fear, none aid you, and few understand."

If I speak with the zeal of Columbus, I am not unprepared to be told, as he was, that there is no merit in my discoveries, owing to the simplicity and certainty of the beneficial application of them. And yet every thing human approaches perfection in proportion to its simplicity.

I will therefore keep my vantage ground, and not give the malevolent an opportunity of destroying my foundations, before my superstructure is properly called for; it is now ready to be exposed to public view. When I am invited I will come forward undauntedly, without stipulating for any reward, honorary or pecuniary, except on the basis of a quantum meruit. Having obtained this stipulation honourably ánd irrefragibly, I will define my modus operandi, and if parliament should act according to my suggestions I shall claim a
proper acknowledgment; if not acted upon, then I shall not expect one farthing. Here I may be allowed to observe, that it is most unwise in administration, and a want of sound policy in the legislature, that suitable rewards cannot be generally claimed, as justly due to the author of any new discoveries which may benefit the human race; to be valued and assessed by a jury, (or otherwise) without the intervention of the patronage of the great; or bribes to be given to the hirelings of office. How can so small a part of "the candle ends, and cheese parings" be better applied? As a case in point, allow me to mention that when I was at Glasgow, in my youth, Professor Anderson had an invention of firing cannons on the backs of horses; he laid it before those who were in power, and tired out with the proud man's contumely, he caused his discovery to be laid before Buonaparte, who at once saw its merits, applied it against our forces, and gave it the name of Artillery D'Anderson.

This able Professor would have been much more gratified, if our administration had given him a mere honorary reward, which would have put the nation to no expense, and which might have been conferred upon him in a few words from the mouth of his So-
vereign ; an honour of which he was worthy, as a meritorious man, in a number of instances.

The state is capable of deriving great advantages from the experience of the aged, which ought to be obtained before they sink into the silent tomb; but it too often happens that they are so sick of the gibes and jeers of self-sufficient detractors of merit, that they prefer repose and quietness, to posthumous fame; and like the great Dr. Adam Smith; burn their books before they die, rather than let "folly be furnished with laughter," should any thing be found in their manuscripts which, on reconsideration, they would have corrected, had an inducement been held out to them, to publish their laborious researches in their life time. Bishop Watson tells us, that he burnt a great many chemical manuscripts, written at sundry times whilst he was Professor of Chemistry, which only wanted a careful revision to have been produced with credit to the world, such as those concerning blood, milk, urine, fermentation, wine, ale, vinegar, putrefaction, sugar, balsams, resins, glass, precious stones, metallic substances', \&c. His account of this most melancholy conflagration the greatest misanthrope must deplore; what painful re-
flections must arise from it, to wound the feelings of those who are able to estimate the merits of this consummate Chymist? And wherever merit is entitled to reward, why should it go unrewarded until the bonus becomes insipid, like salt which has lost its savour. Dr. Johnson, "the brightest ornament of the eighteenth century," paid dearly for posthumous fame, his sedentary life, and the devotion of his time in making his great talents, and herculean labours serviceable to mankind, brought upon him the severe maladies of the palsy, the gout, a sacocele, a spasmodic asthma, dropsy and scrofula. And he himself tells us on publishing his Dictionary, "that he had protracted his work till " most of those whom he wished to please " had sunk into the grave, and success and ". miscarriage were to him empty sounds ; that " he dismissed it with frigid tranquillity, hav" ing little to fear or hope from censure or " from praise."

The subject of rewarding merit has been very judiciously treated by a committee of the House of Commons, on the subject of patents for inventions.

In conclusion I have no doubt but you will agree with me that "something is rotten in
the state of Denmark:" the times are so much out of joint, I am apprehensive that merely the taxing of the funds will not be sufficient to preserve the state. Most cordially do $I$ subscribe to the dogma laid down by the celebrated orator I have before quoted, "peris/ commerce, if the constitution be safe," to protect which, every sacrifice should be made, and the resources of England for this honest and honourable purpose, I am confident will be found inexhaustible, as long as taxation is fairly and impartially imposed; but i repeat, that I am apprehensive a mere tax on the funds will be inadequate to shelter the treasury from the impending storm, and if not, other taxes must be levied. I would point out the propriety as well as the necessity of Tax the Lawyersvesorting to a tax on the honourable profession of the law; and ask why a barrister on receiving from $£ 500$ to $£ 1000$, (or any other sum) with his brief, should not contribute a fair proportion of his profits towards the payment of taxes, as a quid pro quo; a fair consideration for the peaceable and quiet possession of all the good things he uninterruptedly enjoys. Without which protection his house would be as little regarded as Lord Mansfield's was by the mobility, in the year 1780.

The new tax here proposed is one of the best kind of taxes, as it can be levied without expense, and without the intervention of that most cursed of all scourges, a tax gatherer. It would merely require a stamp receipt ad valorem for the fee received. A receipt to be filed in court both by the plaintiff's and defendant's counsel, before a cause can be opened.

In taxing the funds, the minister will be gratified in having it in his power, kindly and compassionately to convince those most worthy of his attention (the honest fund-holders, who have never been gamblers on the Stock Exchange,) that on caliing upon them to pay a small tax out of their usual dividends, in order to preserve from devastation the whole of the principal; administration will have the power of making them an ample compensation, when the Charter of the East India Company y the Chartre of are company alluld expires; and without waiting a single day to ediop do this, might not this means of relief at once be made available, by impignorating this resource?

Lastly, I trust you will accept of these suggestions, as coming from a man who means well, and on this account entitled to solicit your patronage and support, in forwarding
the measures he proposes. In doing this I am aware it is my imperious duty to tell you ing to the Life of the Writer of this Letter. something of myself, which is to me a very irksome task. I offer myself to your notice as a plain Country Gentleman. I never have received a single penny of the public money at any period of my life, but on the contrary, I have contributed large sums of money to the exigencies of the state; I am not in trade or business; but having a large Corn Mill on my paternal estate, 1 am , and have been for a long time, rated within a small fraction at three times the amount of the Lord of the Manor, and the richest individuals in this populous Parish, (Warrington, in Lancashire,) in respect to poor's rates. I have appealed over and over again to the unpaid Magistrates, for relief, at the Kirkdale Quarter Sessions, but ineffectually ; and I feel this kind of treatment the more harsh and unjust, as having laid out, and caused to be laid out, more money in fur-. nishing the poor with employment in this Township, than any other individual in my life time.

And as it is my determination to bring this business before Parliament, 1 think it right to mention it in this place. About forty years ago I was offered the honour of being
appointed one of the unpaid, but which I respectfully declined accepting. A neighbour of mine, however, who had not the same misgivings in respect to his own abilities, was easily found for the post. He and all who were at that time on the Warrington Petty Bench, are gone before me to give an account of themselves. Had I been less fastidious, I consequently might have had the supreme honour of being the senior acting Justice in this Division, "Dies benedictorum." I must be allowed to repeat that these egotisms are to me, irksome in the extreme, but in imploring your attention to a very great public measure, I feel myself called upon to enter into this explanation. and in speaking of the days I have spent, I may be justified in pleading the examples of two of my early friends and neighbours, (Pennant and Wakefield) who respectively published an account of their own lives. Perhaps I might now purchase a short-lived popularity, by treating with less contempt, the petty tyrants of the present day, who set up an Orlean Duke as their Idol. But as long as there is a legitimate King on the Throne of England, I will never transfer my allegiance from him ; I claim no merit on this ground, I must be refabricated before I can doff my hat
to the majesty of the people. Let me tell you what I am not; I am not a misanthrope, I am most angry with myself for my own credulity, and for placing confidence in the representative of Princes; for my complaints do not end here; between thirty and forty years ago, it occurred to me that the law was very imperfect, in respect to the stamp duties imposed on newspapers. I called at Somerset House and told the Commissioners of Stamps, that the law might be easily evaded; they listened to me, and I made a bargain with them; I proposed to communicate to them my ideas on the subject, on their giving me one thousand pounds, which they agreed to do, provided they counteracted my measures, by obtaining an Act of Parliament to prohibit the prosecution of my suggestions ; I failed, however, in not having required this undertaking in writing. The present Earl of Eldon was at that time Attorney General, and he advised without loss of time, a bill to be presented, and a prohibitory Act of Parliament was instantly obtained; but I have never received one farthing of the promised reward up to this day.

# I have the honour to be, <br> Sir, <br> Very respectfully, <br> Your most obedient humble Servant, JOHN DUMBELL. 

Howley House, Warrington.

To Chas. C. Western, Lsq. M. P.
Felix Hall,
Essex.

## ERRATA.

Page 18 line 4, for paterx, read patrix. Ditto 18 ....10, .. laid, .... lay. Ditto $18 \ldots .10$, .. quarreling .... quarrelling. Ditto $19 \ldots$. 7, .. to, .... of. Ditto $31 \ldots .24$, dele the word "the" Ditto $42 \ldots . .26$, for irrefragibly read irrefragably.

[^8]HJ Dumbell, John<br>2615 Letter to Mr. Western<br>D8

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[^0]:    * On the 16th of Dec. the Grand Jurors of the County of Kent "nanimously addressed a Letter to the Duke of Wellington, in which hey say "in justice to our respective neighbours, we ought not to
    separate without communicating to your Grace, for the information

[^1]:    " of his Majesty's Ministers, the deep and unprecedented distress " which; from our personal and local knowledge, we are enabled to "i state prevails among all classes throughout this County, to a degree " that must not only be raineus to the interests of individuals, but ". must also, at no distant period,' be attended with serious conse" quences to the national prosperity.
    "In making this communication to your Grace, it is our only " object to call the attention of his Majesty's Ministers to the real " state of the country, in the hope that speedy and effectual mea"s sures may be taken to alleviate those distresses which press so " severely on the several classes of society."

[^2]:    *Vide Lord Somerville on Sheep, \&ic. Third Edition, page 119.

[^3]:    * During the last three weeks, the Newspapers contain the names of forty five Land-holders who have, unsolicited, reduced their rents from ten to thirty per cent.

[^4]:    * Imperium facile us artibus retinetur, quibus initio partum est. Verûm, ubi pro lahore desidia, pro continentiâ et equitate libido atque superbia invasere; fortuna simul cum moribus immutatur.

    Sal. Owen.

[^5]:    * Vide Dr. Adam Smith's Wealth of Nations. B. v. C. H. 1.

[^6]:    himself, insomuch as it was a scandal for a Christian Bishop to instruct men in the mode of destroying mankind, the King answered, "s Let not that afflict your conscience, for the quicker the conflict, "the less the slaughter."

[^7]:    be preferred by all men; it would be the "Bird in Hand."-Stipulations to operate at a distant and remote period of time, made by Ministers of State (in particular,) who are in place today, and displaced tomorrow, would be lightly esteemed at the Stock Exchange, "Govermments and Nations have their passions and prejudices as " well as individuals."

[^8]:    PRINTED BYC. MALLEY, WARRINGTON.

