

meeting that would lead you to think they thought otherwise of the bill than his Lordship has now said?

A. I heard a person the same night say it was an infamous bill and said it was too bad to be published.

Q. Was that bill countenanced by any members of the Society?

A. It was only given to two or three.

Q. Have you any reason to believe the prisoner ever knew any thing of that bill?

A. Not to my knowledge?

Q. Do you believe he would have encouraged a bill of that description, or supported it?

A. I do not believe any such thing.

Mr. Garraw. With respect to this infamous bill which was considered so by those who received it; did you receive it in a division meeting?

A. Not at a division meeting.

Q. From a member of the London Corresponding Society?

A. Yes, Mr. Baxter.

Q. Near three months before the date mentioned in it?

A. Yes.

Q. With respect to its absurdity, you having seen two or three delivered to different persons, you asked for one?

A. Yes.

Q. That was not precisely the same bill that has been produced to day?

A. No.

Q. This is a larger one, that purporting to be on the 30th of January, this is the first of April subsequent?

A. Yes.

Q. If I understand you right, you did not form any pike for yourself till after you had heard from Mr. Yorke, that the Society of Sheffield were preparing pikes for themselves?

A. I heard him say one night at the division, from Mr. Yorke, that the people at Sheffield had got pikes.

Q. How came you to go to Mr. Hardy for a direction for pike-blades?

A. Because I understood that Mr. Hardy knew the secretary, or some person in Sheffield to whom I could send.

Q. If I understand you right, the particular occasion upon which these pikes were to be made, was upon the landing of Hessian troops without the consent of Parliament?

A. No, I said I made it just at the time the Hessian troops were landed without the consent of Parliament.

Q. Then I mistake you, your making your pike had no relation to the landing of Hessian troops?

A. Not

A. Not in consequence of their landing.

Q. Nor connected with it?

A. Nor connected with it?

Q. Before you made it, and at the time Mr. Yorke communicated that the people of Sheffield had procured pikes, did you know that the Sheffield Society in correspondence with yours, had published a resolution, that the landing of Hessian troops, a ferocious and unprincipled horde of butchers, without consent of Parliament, has an alarming appearance; and that the barracks now erected may be filled with them; and that it was fit for you to be on your guard.

A. No.

Q. How soon did you hear of that resolution from the Sheffield Society?

A. Not for some time after?

Q. Upon your oath, was your pike completed before you heard of it?

A. No, it was not.

Q. Upon your oath, will you venture to say you had began to make it before that communication from the Sheffield Society?

A. No, I had not.

Q. Then I believe I am right in the way I took it, your making of that was owing to the landing of Hessian troops?

A. No, it was about the time.

Q. Was it soon after you had heard of the spirited resolutions of the Sheffield Society, on the cause of landing these troops—when did you hear of these resolutions?

A. I saw them in a book I purchased at Mr. Eaton's shop.

Q. Was he a member of the London Corresponding Society?

A. Yes, he was.

Q. How long was you in the society, met in general meetings in the committee of delegates and secret committee, without the use of pikes, or fabrication of any, antecedent to the landing of Hessian troops?

A. I should suppose two years.

Q. Had you met with any interruption at any time, except by these two police officers you mentioned?

A. Yes, some police officers came in once in Bunhill-Row.

Q. Had you met with any interruption in your general committee, or secret committees, but by the officers of the peace?

A. No.

SAMUEL WILLIAMS sworn—examined by Mr. BOWER.

Q. What is your profession?

A. A gun-engraver.

Q. Do you know the prisoner at the bar, Mr. Hardy?

A. I do.

Q. Do you know a person of the name of Franklow?

Q. Yes.

A. Yes.

Q. When did you first meet with Mr. Franklow, if you ever met with him at all?

A. At his own house.

Q. Did you ever see him at Mr. Hardy's?

A. No.

Q. Were Mr. Hardy and Franklow together at any time, when you saw him?

A. Never.

Q. Was Franklow a member of the London Corresponding Society, or the Society for Constitutional Information?

A. He was a member of the London Corresponding Society.

Q. Did Franklow ever apply to you to make any arms for him?

A. Yes.

Q. About what time?

A. I cannot positively say to the time.

Q. Were you a member of the London Corresponding Society?

A. Yes.

Q. From what inducement did you become a member?

A. The first of it was, I saw an advertisement in the daily paper, of the meeting of the Corresponding Society, about the middle of last year; I saw an advertisement in the Daily Advertiser, of a general meeting of the society to be held in the Strand, I saw likewise tickets for admission were to be had of Thomas Hardy the secretary; in consequence of which I went to Mr. Hardy, No. 9, Piccadilly, Mr. Hardy informed me it was not customary to deliver tickets to any who were not members of the society, and we had some further conversation, in which he said something respecting a Reform in Parliament.

Q. Do you mean to say, the substance of the conversation was to state what was the object of the society?

A. Yes, that it was for a Reform in Parliament, he gave me an address that the London Corresponding Society had published, and I gave him an order to make me a pair of shoes; I told him I was in a line of selling guns. I told him if he knew any person that wanted any such thing, I would be glad if he would recommend me, he said he did not know any such person, but if he heard of any such person, he would let me know. The next time I went to his house, he told me to bring a gun and the price, which I did, and he sold it for me.

Q. On your account or his?

A. On my account.

Q. How long after you first saw him did you go again?

A. It might be a week or fortnight; I gave him an order for a pair of boots, he told me to bring two or three more guns, which

which he sold likewise, and one gun was in his house which was never paid for.

Q. For your benefit?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you know a person of the name of Spence?

A. Yes, I saw him once.

Q. Was Spence a member of the London Corresponding Society?

A. I cannot say, I never had any conversation with him in my life.

Q. Where does he live?

A. In little Turnstile, Holborn.

Q. Upon what occasion did you go there?

A. To instruct persons in the manual exercise.

Q. At whose request did you go to Spence's house?

A. At the request of Mr. Franklow.

Q. How many persons did you see in Mr. Spence's house that were assembled for the purpose of learning the manual exercise?

A. Four or five.

Q. Do you mean four or five in all the times you went?

A. I saw six or seven in all the times I went.

Q. Where did they exercise, in what part of the house?

A. Up stairs, in a one or two pair of stairs, a small triangular room.

Q. Backward or forward?

A. I believe it was forward, but I cannot be positive.

Q. At what time of night was it you went to instruct these people in their manual exercise?

A. Between eight and nine in the evening.

Q. At what time in the year was this?

A. In the fall of the year, before Christmas.

Q. It was of course dark then?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you exercise them by candle-light in the room?

A. Yes.

Q. Where there any shutters to the windows, or curtains?

A. I believe there were curtains.

Q. Was there any body else but yourself to exercise them?

A. No.

Q. Did you teach them their exercise?

A. Yes, I did.

Q. What night in the week was it that you used to meet?

A. I believe it was of a Thursday night.

Q. Who introduced you at first to the London Corresponding Society?

A. I told

A. I told Mr. Hardy I should be glad to become a member of the London Corresponding Society, but I did not know any person who would introduce me, and he named several persons that I did not know, he said he would propose me, and I went by his proposition, and I became a member.

Q. How soon did you become a member?

A. I cannot say the time.

Q. How soon after your first seeing Mr. Hardy?

A. It might be a fortnight or three weeks.

Q. Did you know any thing of a society called the Loyal Lambeth Association?

A. Yes, that was the association these people I exercised belonged to.

Q. Did you ever go to Lambeth to exercise them?

A. I went to Franklow's house, No. 1, China-Walk, Lambeth.

Q. How did you find where Franklow's house was?

A. When I went to Mr. Hardy's one night, Mr. Hardy gave me Franklow's card. He said he was going to raise an association, and wanted some person to supply them with arms.

Q. When was that; how soon after you had been introduced to Mr. Hardy?

A. About six weeks or two months.

Q. In consequence of that, did you get a card of address from Mr. Hardy to Mr. Franklow?

A. Yes.

Q. When did you go to Lambeth to Franklow's house?

A. Two or three nights after I was at Mr. Hardy's.

Q. Did you find the same people there that you met at Mr. Spence's or different people?

A. Different people.

Q. What did you do when you went to Franklow's, as to the people you met there?

A. They were reading over the articles of the Lambeth Association.

Q. Do you happen to know whether the Lambeth Association was composed of Lambeth inhabitants?

A. No, it was not entirely.

Q. What was the name they gave themselves?

A. The Loyal Lambeth Association.

Q. Who were the Lambeth inhabitants that you knew of that association, Franklow lived there?

A. I cannot say that I knew any.

Q. How often might you attend there for the purpose of disciplining those men?

A. I cannot say, Franklow disciplined them at his own house.

Q. Do

Q. Do you happen to know how many there might be of the Lambeth Association?

A. I do not know.

Q. Do you happen to know from Mr. Franklow, or them, whether he had applied to any magistrate, for authority to raise this association?

A. I do not.

Q. How many arms did you yourself supply?

A. Eleven.

Q. By whose order?

A. Mr. Franklow's.

Q. Who paid you for them?

A. Mr. Franklow paid me for ten.

Q. These were besides those Mr. Hardy sold for you?

A. Yes.

Q. Had you any intimation that more arms would be wanted for this association?

A. There were to have been sixty.

Q. Do you know for what purpose that Lambeth association was formed?

A. From the articles only.

Q. Look at these articles, and tell me if these are the articles of their association?

A. Yes, these are the articles.

Jury. Were these arms fuzees?

A. They were muskets, with steel bayonets and rammers complete.

Q. These are the articles of the association; be so good as read the preamble of them?

(The Clerk reads.)

“ Rules, articles and regulations, to be observed by the members of the Loyal Lambeth Association; London, printed for the society :

“ Whereas the fear of invasion and civil commotions has alarmed several of the inhabitants of this parish and its vicinity, we have thought proper to form ourselves into a military association, to be distinguished by the name of the Loyal Lambeth Association, united for the defence of their lives and property, against all subverters and levellers whatever.”

Q. Mr. Spence's house was in Little Turnstile, Holborn?

A. Yes.

Q. That was where part of them met?

A. Yes, and part of them near the Borough, in Southwark.

Q. Do you happen to know whether there was a single person disciplined either at Mr. Spence's or Mr. Franklow's, who was not a member of the London Corresponding Society?

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A. I can

A. I cannot say, I never made that enquiry.

Mr. Erskine. I wish to have the articles read.

Mr. Bower. I have no objection, I am sure.

(The Clerk reads.)

“ This association shall consist of one captain, one lieutenant, one ensign, one serjeant, one major, sixty rank and file, two drummers and fifers.

“ Every person proposed and recommended, shall be nominated a week previous to his introduction, &c.”

Q. I see this association is for the purpose of stepping forth in case of fire, commotions, or tumults, but not beyond the parish of Lambeth—Do you know that any of them lived in the parish of Lambeth, except Franklow?

A. I knew some of them did not.

Q. How came Mr. Spence's house to be fixed upon for a place to exercise them?

A. I cannot tell no other than that they could not get any place else; it was thought proper by Mr. Franklow, if the association filled fast enough, to divide the association into ten divisions; one was to be at Mr. Spence's, another at John Sheldmerdine's, in Southwark, and others in different places.

Q. Had you, at any time that you was supplying arms to this society, any conversation among them respecting Parliamentary Reform?

A. Yes, there was conversation passed between them more times than once.

Q. Will you tell us what the subjects of those conversations were?

A. I really cannot recollect, I never did minute any thing down.

Q. Tell us the substance of any conversation upon Parliamentary Reform?

A. The conversation I could collect was, that if they did not get a Reform in Parliament without, they would endeavour to get it by force of arms.

Mr. Gibbs. I object to this, and the objection I have to make, is, as to what this man has heard from the Lambeth Society; for, unless they were members of the London Corresponding Society, cannot be evidence against Mr. Hardy—I understand, that the Court have determined that any thing from the members of the Corresponding Society may be evidence against Mr. Hardy, but I do not know that this now is evidence against Mr. Hardy, when he do not know they were members.

Mr. Bower. I understand you that Mr. Hardy gave you a direction to Mr. Franklow's?

A. Yes, he gave me Franklow's card.

Q. In

Q. In consequence of that, you went to Franklow's, where these persons were?

A. Yes.

Mr. Bowers. Then I submit it can be evidence.

Lord President. The evidence does not seem to go farther than in the course of trade; he buying shoes of Mr. Hardy, Mr. Hardy recommends Williams in the way of his business: it would be evidence against Mr. Hardy the moment you prove that the society at Franklow's is in connection with Mr. Hardy; and there is nothing that I can find, at present, that connects Franklow's transactions with Mr. Hardy, except as far they may be members of the Corresponding Society—and it appears to me that the examination rather fails; for the witness does not undertake to know that any of these men were members of the London Corresponding Society.

Q. Was Mr. Franklow a member of the London Corresponding Society?

A. Yes.

Q. Was John Shelmerdine a member of the London Corresponding Society?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you know John Williamson?

A. I know him, but whether he was a member or not I cannot say.

Q. Do you know James Davis?

A. I never saw him but once.

Q. Do you know if he was a member of the London Corresponding Society?

A. I cannot take on me to say.

Lord President. This association is undoubtedly an association formed by Franklow, and the transactions of that association might be let in.

Mr. Solicitor General. It has been proved, that at the dinner of the society, upon the 20th of January, he appeared in his regimentals.

Mr. Gibbs. He did so, but I will put the case to your Lordship: I do not apprehend that if any gentleman who wears a particular uniform, had dined with your Lordship that day, that your Lordship would be affected by any thing that that gentleman may have said, or any in his society; I dare say I might speak of a gentleman who did dine with your Lordship, but will it be said that what he shall say, will be evidence against all those that attend at this meeting—it seems to be an argument that cannot stand for a moment.

Another way in which it has been put, is, that because Franklow was a member of the London Corresponding Society, and, because

because being a member of the London Corresponding Society, he presided at another society, for a purpose that is not connected with the London Corresponding Society, therefore his declarations are evidence against Mr. Hardy; because he is one of those thousands of which the London Corresponding Society consists, every thing he says is to be evidence against Mr. Hardy.—It does not seem to me, upon any principle in law, that anything which any of these men happening only to belong to a society instituted by Franklow, that any of those men so sub-connected with the society of which Mr. Hardy only happens to be a member, that the declaration of any of them can, upon oath, be evidence against Mr. Hardy, to prove that he has compassed the King's death, or done acts which amount to that. I can see no principle upon which that can be contended.

Mr. Bower. I can prove by a witness, that no persons were to belong to this association who did not belong to the London Corresponding Society.

Lord President. I am sorry we have been so unfortunate as not to make ourselves understood at the bar: we understood that there was a species of evidence which had no immediate relation to the prisoner, and that there was a species of evidence that had an immediate relation to the prisoner; that some evidence being given of his having been involved in the conspiracy, all the transactions of that conspiracy to which he is made a party, he will be bound by if he is connected with the general plan, always with this reserve, that there must be evidence against him to prove him so involved in the plot as to become responsible for all the parts of it; but there may be a doubt whether this particular case falls within the principle: the first thing to consider here, is, whether there is any evidence of Franklow being a member of the London Corresponding Society.

Mr. Attorney-General. You were a member of the Corresponding Society?

A. Yes.

Q. Was Franklow a member of the Corresponding Society?

Mr. Esier. Whether previous to your admission to that society, you had any conversation about the London Corresponding Society, before you were appointed to provide any arms for the Lambeth Society?

A. I cannot recollect any particular conversation.

Q. Was you admitted a member before you was employed?

A. Yes.

Q. How happened you to be admitted a member of the London Corresponding Society?

A. Mr. Hardy told me to meet a person, a young man, to

go with him to his division, and he would propose me—and Mr. Hardy would second it.

Q. Before you supplied the arms for the Lambeth Society, were you asked if you was a member of the London Corresponding Society?

A. I do not recollect.

Q. Did Franklow know that you was a member?

A. I have no reason to think he did not; I believe he did.

Q. Mr. Hardy did know it?

A. Yes.

Q. Then tell us the substance of any conversation of the members of this society respecting the purposes of associations for Parliamentary Reform among themselves?

Mr. Gibbs. I object to that.

Lord President. They have gone so far as to prove that Franklow was a member, and two or three others.

Mr. Gibbs. It seems to me, it is not open to Mr. Bower to fix the prisoner at the bar with what he may fancy he has collected from conversation he has heard at this society, without mentioning who those persons were, and from whom he heard it; for how am I to contradict it,

Mr. Bower. Do you recollect any of the persons from whom you have heard such conversation?

Lord President. You said, that from conversation among them, you understood what they intended to do—what were those conversations, and from whom did you hear them?

A. I really cannot name the persons, I make no doubt but Mr. Nodder and Mr. Saunderson might be present.

Lord President. Who are they?

Mr. Bower. I am going to call them now.

Lord President. Are they members?

Mr. Bower. Yes, they are.

Q. Did you hear any thing from Franklow about a Parliamentary Reform?

A. I cannot say particularly what he said, but he was present I believe.

FREDERICK POLYDORÉ NODDER sworn—examined by Mr. BOWER.

Q. Were you a member of the Lambeth Loyal Association?

A. No.

Q. You never was there at all?

A. No.

Q. Was you ever at Mr. Spence's in Turnstile?

A. Yes.

Q. Was you ever there when any of the Lambeth Loyal Association were there?

A. I cannot

A. I cannot tell, for I do not know any persons of that description.

GEORGE SAUNDERS sworn—examined by Mr. BOWER.

Q. Were you present at any meeting of the Loyal Lambeth Association?

A. None of that description that I know of.

Q. (*To Williams*) Did you ever hear any conversation in the presence of Franklow from the persons that were at this association?

A. Yes, I have, but I don't know by whom.

Mr. Erskine. I object to that question.

Lord-Chief Justice. All that can affect Franklow by general evidence, is certainly admissible.

Mr. Erskine. The court has ruled, that where any member of the Corresponding or any other society, with which they were connected, have said any thing, or any member has done, would be evidence to prove the first branch of the conspiracy, going in and building up evidence that will finally affect the prisoner, therefore I think it necessary for me to state to your Lordship, what I take to be the case here. Mr. Bower stated that, which if he had proved, would have put an end to our objection, that all the members of the Loyal Lambeth Association were members of the London Corresponding Society, or if they were not, if the witness had said that what passed came from a member would be admissible evidence; but your Lordship has truly said, that Mr. Hardy does not seem more connected with Franklow, who is serjeant-major of this Association, except this man taking shoes of Hardy, and Mr. Hardy recommending him to Franklow; it would be rather too much, and going beyond the rule, to state that I heard so and so in the presence of Franklow, therefore it becomes an object of mere suspicion, and more our duty to guard against it; the witness cannot specify who they are, but thinks they are all members, *Non constat*, that it was so said by a member of the London Corresponding Society.

Lord President. The ground of the admissibility of the evidence is simply that Franklow is a member of the London Corresponding Society; then, as a circumstance of the general conspiracy, it is offered to be proved that Franklow had framed an association of armed men, to which they will impute a design connected with this alledged conspiracy; whatever therefore will fix Franklow with that has been considered as proper evidence to the general charge, and the only question therefore is whether laying, for a moment the case of the prisoner out of the question, supposing Mr. Franklow stood at the bar, whether if he meant an association of this description? and whether there are conversations passing in his presence from which a bad design can be imputed

puted to this association, whether that is not admissible evidence, as against him so far as he agrees to it; but it seems that what passes in the hearing of a man having any sort of connection with the prisoner, is evidence.

Q. Where was it that Nodder and Saunderfon were present?

A. I never saw him only at Shelmerdine's and Spence's.

Q. (To Nodder) You are a member of the London Corresponding Society?

A. I am.

Q. Were you present at Shelmerdine's, and at what time, when the last witness was there, when the persons were assembled for the purpose of being trained?

A. I do not know that I ever saw Williams but at Spence's.

Q. Was that when Williams was teaching persons their manual exercise?

A. It was.

Q. You was one of them?

A. I was.

Lord President. Which society were you a member of?

A. The Corresponding; I have my ticket.

Q. Do you happen to know whether the persons that were exercising there, were members of the Corresponding Society?

A. I don't know all, but some of them were there.

The ticket read, "No. 35, London Corresponding Society, united for a Reform in Parliamentary Representation—unite, persevere, and be free. On the back, Frederick Nodder, paid to Midsummer 10d. Samuel Hopper, 1794."

Mr. Bower. I see I cannot carry this farther.

Lord President. The court decided that you may go into evidence of conversation in the presence of Mr. Franklow.

Mr. Bower. When Mr. Franklow was present, tell me now whether you recollect any conversation, or any part of a conversation, which respected the London Corresponding Society, and the purposes of their associating?

A. I really cannot recollect the conversations.

Q. Can you recollect any part of them; by being with them various times, and hearing their talk?

A. I saw there were some among them that I took no notice of, nor gave myself any concern about them.

Q. When they met was the subject of Parliamentary Reform introduced as a subject of conversation at all?

A. No, it was not generally introduced, but they would be privately talking to one another.

Q. Where they talking so that Franklow heard them?

Mr.

Mr. Justice Grefe. We don't know who they were talking to.

Lord President. I think it is a sort of evidence that you had better not press.

Mr. Brewer. They told you they should want about sixty muskets, that you heard from Franklow?

A. Yes, from Mr. Franklow.

Q. Did you hear any thing, or had you any directions from Mr. Franklow or Mr. Hardy upon the subject of arms of any other kind?

A. I was one night in Mr. Hardy's shop when a person there asked me how long—

Q. Was Mr. Hardy present?

A. Yes, he was a stranger, he asked me how long I could be in procuring a thousand guns, I told him I could not think of getting so many in the situation I was.

Q. What said Mr. Hardy to it?

A. I don't know that he made any reply.

Q. Was any thing more said?

A. He said there might be a thousand a week got from Sheffield; I told him such a thing might be, but I could not undertake any thing of the kind, and there, as far as I can recollect, the conversation dropped.

GEORGE SAUNDERSON sworn—examined by Mr. LAW.

Q. Where do you live?

A. I live in Butcher-Row, Temple-Bar.

Q. You keep a public house?

A. Yes, the Bunch of Grapes.

Q. Was you ever at Mr. Shelmerdine's with Mr. Williams and Mr. Nodder?

A. Yes, the 2d of April.

Q. What was the occasion of your going there?

A. To decide a bet.

Q. Did you see any arms there?

A. Yes.

Q. Who did they belong to?

A. They belonged to the armed association.

Q. What is Mr. Shelmerdine?

A. He is a hatter.

Q. How many do you believe were there?

A. I suppose there were about seven or eight stand of arms.

Q. Of how many persons did this armed society consist?

A. I suppose of about four or five and twenty.

Q. Do you know whether all those persons were members of the London Corresponding Society?

A. I should suppose all of them; for they objected to my being a member

a member of the armed society because I was not a member of the London Corresponding Society.

Q. Did you afterwards become so?

A. I did.

Q. How many persons have you seen together of this armed association?

A. About twenty-four or twenty-five. We did not all meet at Mr. Shelmerdine's, it was thought dangerous, they met at another place, where they might with more safety.

Q. Who had you to teach the military exercise?

A. We did not exercise there.

Q. At the place to which you adjourned?

A. No, nor there.

Q. To what house did you adjourn?

A. To Worcester-street.

Q. Was the person's name Day?

A. Yes, when we went to Day's we went up stairs, we were informed that there was a private committee who had fixed upon certain places where we were to exercise.

Q. Where does that committee sit?

A. They sat with the rest at Day's.

Q. Where were those private places?

A. One was at Spence's, another was in a blacksmith's shed in Westminster.

Q. Did you assemble at any time at either of those places?

A. Yes, I went to Spence's first, and then to the shed in Westminster; we met once or twice a week.

Q. For what number of weeks did you meet there?

A. I called several times but there was no one there; the 11th of April was the first time I exercised, and I continued going to Spence's and this shed; till the first of May.

Q. Who were the persons that taught you?

A. Franklow in general, or Williams, or Hall.

Q. What was the greatest number you have met at either of these places you have mentioned?

A. I don't remember we ever met above six.

Q. And you was there taught your military exercise?

A. Yes.

Q. What was Hall?

A. I believe a taylor.

Q. Had he served abroad?

A. He had served in the French army, he said.

Mr. Erskine. You have not proved him a member?

Mr. Law. Yes, he is a member.

Q. You was afterwards admitted?

A. Yes.

Q. What was the reason that you went from Shelmerdine's?

A. It was thought not so safe to exercise at Shelmerdine's; he frequently changed his men, and the reason he gave was, that some of them might not be staunch to the cause, and therefore it might be hazardous to meet in his house.

Lord Chief Justice. To what cause?

A. If I may judge from the conversation, it was to obtain a Parliamentary Reform at the point of the bayonet.

Mr Law. The cause for which you were associating?

A. Yes.

Q. You had articles of association?

A. I never read the articles.

Q. Did not they act upon the articles?

A. I don't know, one of the articles was, that they should pay so much upon admission, one half to provide arms, and the other half to defray the expences of the society.

Q. Was you a member of the thirteenth division at Robin's coffee-house, Shire-lane?

A. Yes, I was received a member the same night as Mr. Nodder was.

Q. Do you remember any members in the month of May last, giving an account of the time when Mr. Pitt would probably be at the House of Commons?

A. It was in the month of May, I don't recollect the night, one of the members got up, and said, Citizens, Mr. Pitt—

Q. Was it at a meeting of the division?

A. It was.

Mr. Erskine. Which of the members?

A. I don't know.

Mr. Law. Was it a member of the division?

A. Yes.

Jury. Was this in Shire-lane?

A. Yes.

Mr. Law. What did this member say?

A. Citizens, Mr. Pitt will go over one of the bridges, I forget which, at twelve o'clock at night.

Q. Did he accompany that by any observation?

A. There was a general clapping upon the table; and some members said it was not proper to make any comments upon it.

Q. Was any thing further said upon it?

A. They mentioned the particular bridge, and what would occasion him to stay till twelve o'clock at night; I think it was Puddle bridge.

Q. Was there any piece of news, or any thing that was called good news announced by one of the members?

A. Yes, there was some good news, came that night, it was a defeat of part of the British army.

Q. WBS

Q. Was that called good news?

A. Yes, it was so understood, it was so described and announced.

Q. Do you recollect any thing respecting one of the King's messengers?

A. Yes, one of them said he had the pleasure to inform the society, that one of the King's messengers had been killed in the country.

Q. Do you remember one Higgins?

A. I remember his name, though I do not recollect his person.

Q. Do you remember any observation any member made concerning his relations?

A. That if the messenger had been his own son, or his own father, he should have been happy for him to have met the same fate.

Q. Was it made by Higgins?

A. I do not know.

Q. Was any thing mentioned to the society to be cautious of spies?

A. Yes, frequently, for that in all societies spies would creep in.

Q. Do you remember any proposition for subdividing the meetings, to meet in less numbers?

A. Yes, it was a proposal to prevent our meeting at public houses, that they should be divided into tythes, that the nine others were to meet at the house of the tenth man.

Q. Was that plan acceded to?

A. It was referred for future consideration.

Q. Was there any suspicion of any of the members of the committee being a spy?

A. There was some one alluded to, but who it was I did not know.

Q. Was any thing said what they would do to spies?

A. One said he would blow his brains out if he discovered him.

Q. You had a musket furnished you from one of those people that you learned your exercise of—who had you it from?

A. I had it from Mr. Williams.

Q. That musket you have now, I believe?

A. No, I have not.

GEORGE SAUNDERSON—cross-examined by Mr. ERSKINE:

Q. And so a member said he would not care for blowing any spy's brains out?

A. Yes.

Q. Was you not a little afraid when you heard that?

A. Yes.

A. Yes,

Q. Then you was a spy?

A. Yes:

Q. What is that paper you have in your hand?

A. It is merely a memorandum of dates.

Q. At what time, and what place was it that there was a rejoicing at a defeat of the British troops, and that a member said he was happy that one of the King's messengers had been killed, and that if it had been his son or his father, he should have been glad if he had met with the same fate—give me the date when that passed; you said you had taken it—what have you taken down, Mr. Spy?

A. When I was first introduced into the thirteenth division, it was on the 21st of April, on Friday.

Lord President. These observations are more proper when you come to address the Jury.

Mr. Attorney-General. Really that is not the course of examining witnesses; I remember a case in which my Lord Holt made use of very strong language, that observations of that sort ought not to be made.

Mr. Erskine. I am sure I shall always pay that attention to the court which is due from me; but I am not to be told by the Attorney-General how I am to examine a witness.

Mr. Attorney-General. I thought you had not heard his Lordship.

Mr. Erskine. I heard you though, which I ought not to have done.

Q. When was it that you heard that conversation from whence you collected, that the Reform in Parliament, was to be carried at the point of the bayonet?

A. That was mentioned in the armed society.

Q. When?

A. April 2d. at Mr. Day's.

Q. Where is Day's?

A. In the Borough, near the Grove, a place called Worcester-street.

Q. How many persons were present at that time?

A. Some were going up stairs, and some were going away; there might be three or four, or five and twenty; I did not expect to be called upon as an evidence.

Q. You did not?

A. No.

Q. I wish to know from you, whether the conversation you have stated, you collected it from one person, or was it the general conversation?

A. It seemed to be the general opinion, that a Parliamentary Reform could not be effected but at the point of the bayonet.

Q. And

Q. And you collected that it was their intention so to carry it ?

A. Yes.

Q. And you fancy this conversation was on the second of April at this place ?

A. Yes.

Q. What is it you said about a bet ?

A. The reason I went was to decide a bet.

Q. Then you made yourself a member of the London Corresponding Society, and took these notes ?

A. Yes, after I had once discovered that there was such an armed association, I staid to give notice to the Secretary of State.

Q. Should you know any of those persons again that were at Day's ?

A. Yes, I should know two or three of them.

Q. Should you know more of them ?

A. I do not know if I should ; Mr. Hall was in the chair, Mr. Franklow was there ; I think Williams was there, but I am not certain to his person : not expecting to see any thing of the kind, I was much flurried and confused.

EDWARD GOSLING sworn—examined by Mr. GARROW.

Q. Have you been any time a member of the London Corresponding Society ?

A. I became a member on the 15th April, 1794.

Q. Did you become a member in consequence of any communications between you and any magistrate of the country ?

A. I had not been positively directed to become a member of the Society.

Q. Had you communicated with any magistrate of the country before you became a member of the society ?

A. Not particularly respecting the London Corresponding Society.

Q. Who was the person that first introduced you to the society ?

A. Mr. Hillier.

Q. Did he make application to you, or you to him first ?

A. I first went to Mr. Hillier, to enquire after a person who was a member.

Q. What led you to go to Mr. Hillier ?

A. I was informed that a person I was enquiring after was a member ; upon seeing publications of a seditious nature in his windows—

Q. In what windows ?

A. In Mr. Hillier's, who sold small pamphlets ; I thought it was likely that he was a member of the society, and could give me some information.

Q. When was it you made your application ?

A. Sometime

A. Sometime in March.

Q. For what purpose did you become a member of the society?

A. When I first became a member, I was unexpectedly proposed, and on the day following I informed Mr. Wickham that I had done so.

Q. Why did you attend the meeting?

A. To discover whether they had any serious intention of arming.

Q. You had stated something to Mr. Wickham upon the subject?

A. Yes.

Q. Was it with his approbation that you attended the meeting?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you communicate to Mr. Wickham, from time to time, such facts as came to your knowledge?

A. Yes.

Q. And you went for that express purpose of getting information and communicating it?

A. Yes.

Q. Well, Sir, when was you first introduced?

A. On the 15th of April, 1794.

Q. Of what division did you become a member?

A. Number Eleven.

Q. Meeting at what place?

A. Northampton-street, Clerkenwell, the sign I do not recollect; the man's name was Holt.

Q. Did Mr. Hillier introduce you?

A. Yes.

Q. What number of persons were present at that meeting?

A. I cannot say exactly, about thirty.

Q. Did any thing material pass at that meeting?

A. There were some conversation about the proceedings.

Q. Had the meeting at Chalk Farm then taken place?

A. My first introduction was the day after the meeting at Chalk Farm.

Q. Be so good to state what passed with respect to the meeting at Chalk Farm, in the conversation of that evening?

A. I heard some persons talking that there was to be a convention; they thought it was necessary to arm, to protect that convention in the same manner as had been done in the National Convention of France—Their minds appearing to be very much heated at that time, from what had passed at Chalk Farm, I did not much think of their being serious.

Q. Were they heated with liquor?

A. No,

A. No, but with what had passed at Chalk Farm.

Q. What was described as having passed there, that had so heated their spirits?

A. A number of resolutions had passed.

Q. What was the nature of those resolutions?

A. I remember one of them.

Q. Do you recollect the tendency of any of the resolutions that were said to have passed at Chalk Farm?

A. I can remember some circumstances that occurred at Chalk Farm, I was at Chalk Farm myself.

Q. State any circumstances that occurred at Chalk Farm?

A. There were a number of resolutions read at Chalk Farm, which I cannot repeat, but one of them concluded, "That it brought Charles the First to the block, and sent James the Second from his throne;" and then one man gave a great shout. Richter had received a letter from Sheffield, I think; that a great number of persons had met at Sheffield; that they were determined not to petition Parliament any more; they said a convention was intended to be called; and I think it was to be in six weeks, or a shorter time, I cannot recollect positively the words.

Q. On this man that you spoke of shouting, were there any observation made?

A. There was some person said that they thought holding up their hands were sufficient, and this man called out he wished to be heard to St. James's.

Q. Do you know of Mr. Thelwall?

A. I was informed there was a person whose name was Thelwall, he spoke several times.

Q. Do you recollect any particular expressions that struck you at the time?

A. He said something that Mr. Dundas had attempted to bring the Scotch laws into England; that if he did they must repel force by force.

Q. Do you recollect what particular subject of the Scotch laws were spoken of at that time?

A. I believe they immediately referred to the persons who had been tried in Scotland, and I think he said in that infamous and ever-to-be-detested Court of Justiciary in Scotland.

Q. Do you recollect the remainder of that sentence?

A. No.

Q. Were there any resolutions about printing any number of the proceedings of that day?

A. It was ordered that a number, I cannot tell whether 100,000 or 200,000 should be printed.

Q. Which

Q. Which was the next meeting of the division that you was at after this?

A. On the Monday following I was at the meeting of another division; I was at the house of Mr. Morris, division 16, and 25, at a jack-maker's in Brick-lane.

Q. Did any thing particular pass there—Do you recollect any thing particular at that time?

A. Only that Dr. Hodson was proposed for relief.

Q. Did you go next day with Mr. Hillier to see Dr. Hodson?

A. Yes, I went to Newgate.

Q. Who was you introduced to there?

A. To Dr. Hodson, Mr Hillier was there.

Q. Was there any body else there?

A. Mr. Lloyd, Mr. Rouffel, a Frenchman, and Captain Williams from America.

Q. Tell us what the nature of the conversation was there, in the presence of Mr. Hillier?

A. The principal conversation was with Dr. Hodson; he asked me if I had seen the new constitution; I told him that I was but a young member, and I did not know any thing of it; and he informed me there was a very clever one coming out, that the society was to be divided into smaller divisions, for the convenience of the society learning the use of arms at each other's houses.

Q. What more pass at that time?

A. I have a memorandum.

Lord Chief Baron. Did you make a memorandum at the time?

A. Yes the purport of it was, they informed me, that the divisions should be formed into tythings to prevent spies from getting in among the society; he likewise stated that their number was increasing, I said there appeared no man of property among them, one of them said that when the society was in a state of organization, money should not be wanted, that was by Mr. Rouffel.

Q. Did any more pass at that time?

A. A toast was given by Lloyd, "the world a republic or desert;" Dr. Hodson said, he hoped soon to see a revolutionary tribunal established in the country, and that he despised all others.

Q. That was still in the presence of Mr. Hillier?

A. Yes, Mr. Rouffel talked of setting off for the Continent, he was going from there to Mr. Thelwall's and then to the continent; Mr. Hillier asked him if he was going to France, and he said, yes.

Q. When

Q. When you was invited to go and see Dr. Hodson and others, who did he invite you to go and see?

A. Persecuted patriots.

Q. Mr. Lloyd is in confinement labouring under a sentence from this Court?

A. I do not know; I heard he was a prisoner, but what he was there for I cannot tell.

Q. What was the next meeting of the division, if the division to which you belonged met the same evening?

A. The 11th.

Q. Who was present?

A. One Wright, a delegate, and Gordon, who was secretary, and about six and thirty others.

Q. This was at the Hoop, in Northampton-street?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you recollect any conversation of Mr. Wright, the delegate in the society, upon the subject of arms?

A. After the society had broke up, Mr. Wright asked if I had got any arms, I said no; he said he had got his musket, and it was necessary we should all have arms, as possibly we may soon be compelled to use them.

Q. And that was in the hearing of several other people?

A. Yes; the secretary said that he was sorry to leave the society just as they were going to act as well as think, and to regenerate their country; he said he was going to America, and he should take some of their spirited resolutions to the popular societies there.

Q. Did you hear any observations upon the subject of arming, from Mr. Hillier, or any body else?

A. Mr. Hillier said he had not got a musket, but he had got a pike.

Q. Do you remember being present at any time at Mr. Hillier's the same month, on the 25th of April?

A. I was at Mr. Hillier's—there was present a person whose name I was afterwards told was Hicksley.

Q. Where is Hillier's?

A. No. 80 or 81, Bishopsgate-street; there was Mr. Hicksley there, and one or two other persons, who appeared much in liquor, and a man of the name of Bennett, secretary of the 16th division.

Q. Do you know if a person was there who was a mercer by business?

A. Yes, there was; I understood Bennet was; he was secretary.

Q. What was the conversation which took place at that meeting between those persons?

A. The conversation began by Hicksley, who said he had a letter from Sheffield, that they had had a numerous meeting; and said the letter stated, that knives were making of a particular construction, that this letter contained a drawing of an instrument, with this observation, "These are the instruments we shall soon make use of." He stated, that they were to act against the cavalry.

Q. What were the knives stated to be for?

A. They were for cutting the reins; and it was further stated, the principal dependence of the society consisted in securing all the royal family, and the members of both houses of parliament.

Q. Pray, Sir, what date was this?

A. On the 25th of April last.—Hillier said, if they could resist the first shock, there would be no danger to be apprehended afterwards.

Q. If who could resist the first attack?

A. I considered it to be the members of the different societies, if they could resist the first attack there would be no fear from the army; for when the royal family were secured, the army would have no head to look up to, and would be glad to accept the additional pay that would be offered them.

Q. Who was that additional pay to be offered by?

A. I understood the societies.

Q. Do you remember any observation of Mr. Hillier's upon that, with respect to the additional pay being offered to the army?

A. There was something said, I believe it was 18d. that was mentioned; that men would not fight for 6d. a day, when they could have 18d. or something to that purpose.

Q. Whether any of the persons present at the time these observations were made, and these facts stated, made any objection to them?

A. None, except one person who was very much in liquor, and he took no part in it.

Q. Were the rest sober to whom the observations were addressed?

A. They were sober.

Q. Did they take a course tending to repress it?

A. No, on the contrary, Bennet, the secretary, went out with me, and his conversation was so violent when he got into the street, that I begged him to hold his tongue, for the people behind us were taking notice of us.

Q. Do you know a person of the name of Baxter?

A. Yes, I have seen him at divisions.

Q. At other times, since that, have you heard any observations from Hillier or Baxter, or either of them, upon the subject of arming?

A. Upon

A. Upon the 9th of May was the most material conversation I ever had with Baxter at Hillier's house.

Q. Who were present besides Baxter?

A. Mr. Bennet, Mr. Hillier, and a man whose name I was told was Hill, and some other persons whose names I do not know, were present during a part of this conversation. Mr. Baxter stated that Mr. Joyce, who was chaplain to Lord Stanhope, had reported there was nothing to fear from Stone; Stone had too much firmness to let them get any thing out of him by intimidation.

Q. Who did you understand by Stone?

A. Mr. Stone, in Newgate, I heard that he was in custody on a charge of treason; then there was some conversation about Mr. Hamilton Rowan; that Lord Stanhope's speech was then printing, with an addition that must be cautiously put in; that a committee of correspondence and co-operation, were preparing an address to the army, with some strong resolutions; he said, prudent and determined men were wanted to propogate the opinions contained in these resolutions.

Q. Where were they to propogate them?

A. He stated that one Moore had been particularly active and successful in getting over the army.

Q. Did he tell you what description of the army he had been most successful with?

A. He said they had most to fear from the young recruits; that they had succeeded best with the old soldiers at Westminster; that if one third of the army was got over the other two thirds would not act with spirit against them; he then asked me if I knew any person that would buy a pike.

Q. You have been saying all this of Baxter?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you recollect any thing of an interview of his with an officer?

A. Yes, he said he had seen an officer, who had lately been presented to her majesty, who had used a violent expression towards her majesty; said, "Why did not they blow up the whole family together," or words to that effect. He then asked if I knew any friends that would purchase a pike; I said I should have no objection to purchase one, but it was of no use, except I knew how to use it; he then said, if I went the next Thursday or Friday, and made use of his name, to the sign of the Parrot, in Green-Arbour-Court, Old Bailey, and asked for one Edwards, Edwards would be called out, and I was to tell him Mr. Baxter had sent me, and then I was to have a pike: and then I should be introduced to others, and might learn the use of it with them, that Mr. Edwards was very clever in the use of it, and would

assist us in learning the use of it. He stated, that pikes were much cheaper than muskets, that it would be impossible to procure muskets for so many, on account of the expence. There is another circumstance, he stated persons with muskets might do a great deal of mischief, if they did not know properly the use of them. I made an observation, that I thought we might come to a parliamentary reform without coming to blows; upon which he said, is there a man in the society who believes that a parliamentary reform is all we want; no, not one: he said, many men of property had hitherto kept back, on account of the irregular conduct of the French, but they were now willing to come forward, as they were convinced that a revolution might be effected in a few hours; he said, for his own part, he did not wish the king or any of his family to lose their lives, he thought they might go to Hanover; he said it must be expected that some blood must be shed, that some persons had offered such insults to the people, that human nature could not overlook it. The conversation afterwards turned relative to Mr. Thelwall's having been indicted, in which there was nothing very material.

Q. Was Mr. Hillier present during the whole of this conversation of Baxter's, which you have been stating?

A. Yes.

Q. Was it pronounced in a way that he might hear?

A. Yes, I thought as Baxter was a member of the committee of correspondence and co-operation, I might get most information from his conversation, and therefore I attended most to him.

Q. Did he state what number of pikes were ready, and at what place?

A. He said many thousands were making at Sheffield; he said that the heads only were to come from Sheffield, but that they were to be stocked in town.

Q. Did he give any caution with respect to mentioning it in the division meetings about pikes?

A. He gave a caution that nothing of it should be mentioned at any of the division meetings until the new constitution should be adopted.

Q. The new constitution of the society which Dr. Hodson had spoke of?

A. Yes.

Q. Did he give any reason for the necessity of that caution?

A. Because there were spies in the society.

Q. Was any thing said, in the course of this conversation, respecting the French emigrants?

A. It was stated still by Baxter, that it would be adviseable to let those who were prisoners out.

Q. What prisoners?

A. The French prisoners.

Q. The French prisoners of war.

A. Yes, and if the emigrants should resist, they should share the fate of the Swiss at Paris.

Q. Did he name any of those persons who had offered such insults to the people that human nature could not overlook; do you remember all he named?

A. He mentioned several, Mr. Pitt was one, Mr. Dundas was another, and Mr. Reeves another.

Q. In the course of that evening did you return to your home in company with Mr. Baxter?

A. I went part of the way home with Mr. Baxter.

Q. Did he, in the course of your going home, enlarge on any of the subjects that had been conversed about?

A. I found that the address that was to be advertised, was to excite jealousies among our troops; he stated the means Mr. Moore had employed with the army, and he told them, that by their oath they were to fight for their king and country, but, when their king and country were at variance, they had a right to fight on which side they pleased.

Q. Did he state to you any other arguments that Mr. Moore had employed?

A. That they should mix with them and treat them with beer, and enlarge upon the severity of their usage and the smallness of their pay, but we must sound their principles; if we found them aristocrats, then not to proceed.

Q. In the course of the evening when this conversation was had, was Mr. Hillier's pike produced?

A. I don't recollect that it was.

Q. Was it produced at any other time when these persons were present?

A. It was produced after that on the 16th of May.

Q. At some other meeting?

A. Yes, at another meeting.

Q. This was not at a division meeting, but a meeting of a few of you. Who were the persons present upon the 16th of May.

A. I believe I am wrong in point of date, it was on the 17th of May.

Mr. Garrow. Whether I should go into facts after the prisoner, Hardy, was taken up, we submit it entirely to your Lordship.

Lord Chief Baron Macdonald. When was he taken up?

A. The 12th of May.

Lord President. No I think it would not be proper.

Mr. Garrow. Then we don't wish to examine to it.

Q. Do

Q. Do you remember the circumstance of Mr. Hardy's being apprehended?

A. I heard of it.

Q. There was a conversation with respect to the House of Commons, was that after Mr. Hardy was apprehended?

A. Yes.

Q. Then I do not inquire into it.—Do you remember a paper being distributed speaking of the ins and the outs?

A. Yes, that was at the meeting at the Coach and Horses, Cross-street, Hatton-Garden.

Q. Was that before Mr. Hardy was apprehended?

A. It was after.

Q. Did you communicate all these circumstances to Mr. Wickham, and still go on with his approbation?

A. Yes.

Q. And you attended them for the express purpose of giving information?

A. I did.

Edward Gosling cross-examined by Mr. Erskine.

Q. What is your christian name?

A. Edward Gosling.

Q. Are your father and mother living?

A. Yes.

Q. What are you by employment?

A. I am at present employed by Mr. Wickham.

Q. Do you mean in this business?

A. Yes, in writing.

Q. What sort of writing?

A. Both in public business, and in private business. I was employed before that by Mr. Colquhoun, in writing.

Q. He is an attorney?

A. No, a magistrate in Worship-street.

Q. How long ago have you been employed by Mr. Colquhoun?

A. About a month past.

Q. When did you leave him?

A. In September or October last.

Q. What way of life was you in before that?

A. I kept a broker's shop.

Q. Was you a dealer in naval stores?

A. I never in my life, upon my oath, bought a store that was the property of his majesty, if that is the question meant to be asked, as I know I can safely take the oath I do.

Q. Then perhaps you never said to any-body the direct contrary of what you now say to me?

A. I did, and I will give you my reason for saying so; I was asked

asked by Mr. Worship, when I went to buy some prints; what I was; I told him I was a dealer in naval stores; I made that excuse instead of giving him a direction.

Q. Did you not say you dealt in naval stores, and would think no more of cheating the king than of guillotining him?

A. Never.

Q. I am speaking to you, Mr. Gosling, have you always gone by that name.

A. Yes, and I will explain why, as means were used yesterday to prevent my giving evidence; I call for the protection of the court.

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. As to any question which tends to criminate you, I will prevent it from being put; in the meantime the best thing you can do, is to keep your temper, and answer questions directly.

Mr. Erskine. Did you ever go by the name of Douglas?

A. I did.

Q. When did you first assume the name of Douglas?

A. I believe it is as much as ten years since.

Q. How long did you continue the name of Douglas?

A. I would wish to relate the circumstances under which I assumed that name.

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. You had better answer the questions.

A. I believe I carried on the business of a hair dresser in that name for I believe near seven years.

Q. Where did you reside at that time?

A. In Westminster.

Q. Where in Westminster?

A. No. 3, Petty France.

Q. When did you first come to No. 3, Petty France, as a hair dresser, by the name of Douglas?

A. About ten years since, I don't know that I can state exactly the time; I believe it must be about the year 1784.

Q. Mr. Gosling, I don't want to be in any of your secrets, if there is any reason why you should wish not to answer it; but have you any objection of telling why you changed your name?

A. My father had a business in the city, his business was chiefly in the wig and shaving way; for improvement I wished to come to the west end of the town: I went and worked with a man of the name of Penman; it was from a false pride that it might not be known that I was a journeyman, when my father kept four or five; I was asked what my name was, and I chose Douglas, it struck me from the play-bill.

Q. I have no objection to a decent pride; so that from seeing a play-

a play-bill, it struck you in a moment; how long did you play this part of Douglas?

A. I continued seven years.

Q. Do you know a gentleman of the name of Lincoln?

A. I do.

Q. Who is Mr. Lincoln?

A. He collects rents for Mr. Macnamara.

Q. Did you at any time borrow any money of him?

A. I will explain the circumstance.

Q. How long ago is it you borrowed any money, and what sum?

A. Upon my oath I cannot state the sum, nor the time; it was either 10l: or 10 guineas, it may be so much as four or five years back.

Q. Did you give a note for it?

A. I gave my note for the money, part of which I paid, part my wife paid.

Q. And the rest has been paid since?

A. No.

Q. Did not Mr. Lincoln come into the London Coffee-house, by mere accident, where the witnesses for the crown are, I believe, provided with what is fit for them to have, and see you there, and say, How do you do Mr. Douglas?

A. Permit me to explain that, Mr. Macnamara first came, whom I never had seen, and asked me several questions; I told him the staircase was not a proper place for such a subject.

Q. I am not asking about Mr. Macnamara, I am asking about Mr. Lincoln, did not Mr. Lincoln come into the London Coffee house?

A. It was from Mr. Macnamara's conduct to me, that I was confused: I did not know what I said.

Mr. Garrow. I wish Mr. Macnamara would come upon the bench, and not repeat the witness's words, but be quiet while the witness is cross-examining; I take it for granted the honourable gentleman would not do any thing that is not perfectly correct, but probably some impression may have been made; I have seen that gentleman highly agitated; that sort of thing, I apprehend, is not perfectly in order.

Mr. Erskine. Mr. Macnamara had been there before, and behaved in such a manner, that you was so flurried, that you did not know what you said to Mr. Lincoln when he came in?

A. I certainly was, I did not recollect Mr. Lincoln's person.

Q. But you recollect what you said to me, not two minutes ago

ago, that Macnamara had been there just before, and had behaved in such a manner, that you was so flurried you did not know what you said; is that so?

A. Yes, he came and asked me several questions upon the stair-case, which I refused to answer; says he, I came out of humanity to you: you know there is a note, part of which is not paid, and he said when I appeared in Court the note would be produced in Court, unless it is paid; I told him I had not the money, I offered to pay him the money the next day; I offered the money afterwards.

Q. Do you know where Mr. Lincoln lived in the interval, between the time you borrowed the money; had you seen him in the interim?

A. I know where he lived, I paid a part of the money, and my wife paid another part of it.

Q. Will you give me leave to ask an explanation of something that I did not understand. Let me ask you, how you came to say to Mr. Worship, that you dealt in naval stores?

A. Because I thought it would prevent enquiry, and I did not choose to give him my direction.

Q. Who is Mr. Worship?

A. A secretary to one of the divisions of the London Corresponding Society.

Q. Did you never make use of the expression, that I made use of before, that you would no more mind cheating the king, with the expression I before made use of?

A. Never.

Q. Now I ask you, whether many of these expressions you have been using to-night, you did not make use of yourself in order to excite them to do these things, and was reprimanded by them?

A. No, never, on no one occasion: the only thing I did belonging to the society, was on the Tuesday after the apprehension of Mr. Hardy, I mentioned what had passed at a division in Compton-street, relative to a committee of emergency, and to know if it was their intention to do the same.

Q. I ask you, upon your oath, whether you were not in the constant course of using inflammatory expressions, going about from one society to another, to excite these people to say what you wanted them to say?

A. In some respects I have appeared to approve of their proceedings, with a view of entering into their designs. With regard to Mr. Baxter, I did not wish to lead him on, nor did I find fault with it, from this circumstance, that as I had reason to believe arms were secreted, I wished to know where they were secreted, that they might be discovered before the mischief ensued.

Q. I did not ask if it was most natural for you to go there for purposes the most beneficial to the public good, but I ask you, if you did not go about, from place to place, using the most inflammatory expressions?

A. Never, I swear that most positively.

Q. Do I understand you to swear positively you never made use of any inflammatory expressions; I will put you in mind of some of them, as, Why did not the society learn the use of arms? it will be of great use, there is nothing to be done without arms?

A. I never made use of such an expression in my life.

Q. Nor nothing of that nature?

A. I am sure I never did.

Q. Do you mean to swear that positively?

A. I do swear it, I never used any means to excite men to do this, or any mischief whatever.

Q. Now, sir, go to your notes, and tell me at what place, and on what days, you attended on the prosecution of that which is extremely laudable if it is honest?

A. The times and the places——

Q. But before you come to that, do you know a Mrs. Coleman?

A. No, I do not know a Mrs. Coleman now.

Q. Did you ever know a Mrs. Coleman?

A. Yes.

Q. Had you any dealings of any kind with her?

A. She rented a shop of me.

Q. Had you no other dealings with her; I am not putting a question of an immoral nature to you?

A. Yes, she died at my house, and I buried her.

Q. Did she leave any will?

A. Yes.

Q. Who did she leave her property to?

A. Partly to one Burrows, and partly to one James Leach.

Q. Who made the will?

A. I wrote it.

Q. Do you know Mrs. Biffin?

A. No, I do not.

Q. You got into some trouble about it?

A. No.

Q. Was there no complaint made against you?

A. There was no just cause of complaint against me.

Q. I am not asking that; was there any complaint made against you upon the subject by any body?

A. I cannot say I recollect the particular circumstances that might pass; there was a brother came up out of the country, a brother of a former husband.

Q. I am

Q. I am not asking you to confess any thing criminal, I am only asking you if any body was wicked enough to complain of your conduct in that case?

A. I don't know that there was any complaint.

Q. Upon your oath, was there no complaint made against you on the subject of this will?

A. I don't know what complaint might have been made.

Q. Upon your oath, was there not a complaint made against you, to your own knowledge, for fabricating this will?

A. Never, that I know of.

Q. Will you swear that?

A. I will swear I never heard any such thing.

Q. Pray who is this Mr. Leach?

A. A man who formerly was my apprentice, and kept a shop nearly opposite me; he set up in opposition to me in the same business of a hair-dresser.

Q. And the woman who died in your house, left her property to this man who set up against you?

A. I told you she left her property to one Burrows, and one James Leach.

Q. Who was this same James Leach to whom this woman left this money, was this the same James Leach that set up against you?

A. No, my wife's son.

Q. And who was this Mrs. Biffin?

A. A cousin of Mrs. Coleman's.

Q. What connection had you with the woman?

A. I had no connection no farther than lending her every service in my power, during a long illness, at which I was at a considerable expence.

Q. How long did she live at your house?

A. I cannot say.

Q. A year?

A. I don't know.

Q. Six months?

A. I cannot recollect the time.

Q. Was it two months?

A. Longer than that.

Q. Three months?

A. Longer than that.

Q. Four months?

A. I cannot exactly state the time.

Q. Was the will made by an attorney?

A. No.

Q. Do you mean to swear that no complaint was made against you, as having fabricated and forged that will?

A. I never heard it, to the best of my knowledge or recollection.

Q. Will you swear positively you never have; can a man be charged with a capital felony, and forget it?

A. I never heard such a charge brought against me.

Q. Will you swear positively that no such charge was brought against you?

A. To the best of my knowledge it never was.

Q. I am asking if there was not a complaint made to yourself, you being charged in your own presence, whether you had ever done it?

A. Never, to my knowledge.

Q. Will you go to the length of swearing nobody ever did.— Don't you understand my question, whether you recollect anybody ever made a charge of it to you in your own presence?

A. I never recollect any such thing.

Q. Do you know a Mr. Cox?

A. Yes, I know a Mr. Cox, a cheesemonger.

Q. How long have you known him?

A. I cannot exactly say how long; I have dealt with him in cheesemongery, and butter, and things of that kind, and hams.

Q. For the use of your family?

A. No, for sale.

Q. I thought you was a hair-dresser?

A. No; for my customers. My wife kept a shop of that sort, and I dressed hair.

Q. Have you had any other dealings with Mr. Cox, but in the fair and ordinary course of business?

A. I don't recollect any thing else; if you can make any particular question, if it comes within my knowledge, I will tell you. I bought a great many hams of him, and there were a great many holes filled up with mortar and stones: I don't think he used me very well.

Q. Mr. Macnamara came to intimidate you from appearing as a witness here?

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. If Mr. Macnamara has been so imprudent to go into a coffee-house and talk to the witnesses in that way, I hope it is what neither he or any other gentleman will do again.

Mr. Erskine. Am I to understand you to say that you deal in naval stores; I do not mean dishonestly or improperly?

A. What sort of stores? I have purchased old stores, cording, and such things as that; I have purchased old ropes, which is usually called hand stopping, to make paper.

Q. What they call paper stuff?

A. Yes.

Q. Now I will put a question to you; Did you never say this, that you was a dealer in raw materials, and then the person who spoke to you asked you to explain it, and you said that you attended sales, that you was well-acquainted with the store-keeper, and that you generally bought them at a fifth of their value, by seeing the keepers to condemn them?

A. I wished to get information respecting that that I went about, to inform Mr. Colquhoun the magistrate. Hillier was likewise inquisitive to know what I was, and as I told Hillier one thing, I told Mr. Worship the same; Hillier said that he had a relation a Quarter Master there.

Q. But did you tell Mr. Worship that you see'd the keepers to condemn them?

A. I never told Mr. Worship that.

Q. Did you not say you had followed that practice for years, and thought it no crime to cheat the King?

A. Never.

Q. Was it in the service of Mr. Colquhoun that you bought that paper stuff and things?

A. Upon my oath, I never, to my knowledge, had any charge of dishonesty for it.

Q. Perhaps you was both a dealer in stores yourself honestly, and was an informer respecting stores?

A. I obtained every information I could, and gave it gratis, to prevent children and other persons from purloining the stores; it was merely to prevent robbery.

Q. What was the reason you told Hillier that you had been in the constant course of cheating government in that fashion?

A. He mentioned to me his having a relation a Quarter Master, to whom he meant to send some of these resolutions.

Q. Is that an answer to my question; I ask you, why you told Hillier that you had been in the course of doing what I have been now stating?

A. I never told him any such thing; I told him that I was a dealer in naval stores, and nothing further.

Q. Did not you tell him that there were great quantities of copper conveyed out of the docks, and the manner in which it was conveyed out; did not you tell him that there was a great quantity of copper conveyed out of the dock in butter firkins?

A. No, I have given information to Mr. Colquhoun, that copper was sent away, but not from the King's stores.

Q. I ask you, whether you did not tell him you had been employed yourself in conveying this copper away?

A. I never told him I was employed, I told him that I heard such a thing.

Q. Did you ever tell him you was acquainted with a woman, who lived somewhere about Tooley-street, and that twelve hundred weight were found upon her premises?

A. I did;

A. I did; I told him that I had such a thing, but I never saw the woman in my life.

Q. Now I have nothing more to ask you except the dates, which you will please to give me with great correctness—when was the first time you attended any of these societies?

A. I was at the meeting at Chalk Farm, but I was not a member till the 8th of April.

Q. In what part of the meeting was you at Chalk Farm? was you in the room?

A. No, I was out in the ground, in the crowd.

Q. What was the first time that you was at any division of the society—on what day?

A. On the 15th of April.

Q. At what place?

A. The Hoop, in Northampton-street.

Q. When was the next time?

A. The Monday following: I have not the dates of every paper.

Q. But such as you have, let us have them?

A. On the Monday following, the 15th, I was at Morris's in Brick lane.

Q. What number of persons were there at that time?

A. Five or six and twenty.

Q. Who were they, did you know their persons?

A. I knew some of them, Bennet and Hillier.

Q. Who else?

A. There was one person's name I believe Captain Williams, an American gentleman, and about four or five and twenty persons.

Q. What was the next place?

A. The Tuesday following I was at the Hoop, I believe.

Q. Were Hillier and Bennet there?

A. Yes.

Q. What is the next date?

A. The 22d of April.

Q. Were Hillier and Bennet there?

A. Hillier was.

Q. How many persons might be present at that time?

A. Seven or eight and twenty.

Q. What was said at that night that you was at Morris's?

A. At that night at Morris's, I did not hear any thing about arming.

Q. Which was the night that you heard about arming?

A. The 22d April, the delegate Wright made these observations to me.

Q. What was the next night upon which you heard any of those abominable expressions that you read to us to-night?

A. On

A. On the 29th of April, there was a conversation about arming.

Q. Now, Sir, at what night, and at what place, was that horrible expression made use of respecting the King?

A. That was not at a division, that was at Hillier's house, upon the 25th of April.

Q. Who were present?

A. A man of the name of Wicksey, Hillier, Bennet, and myself, and another man, whose name I don't know, and a man who appeared to be in liquor.

Q. Now, Mr. Gosling, I ask you upon your oath, whether you are prepared to swear positively, that you heard those expressions which you have sworn to?

A. I have already sworn them, and they are true.

Q. And you stick to that?

A. I do.

Q. Where was you upon the 29th?

A. At the Hoop.

Q. Who were present at the Hoop?

A. There were two divisions met there that night, No. 11, and No. 6.

Q. What number were there of each?

A. I suppose there were 40 or 50 persons together. There was a print produced by Worship the engraver, recommended to the use of the society.

Q. Were there any conversations about arming that night, or about overturning the government?

A. There was no talk of overturning the government, but it was recommended to them to learn the use of arms.

Q. But for what purpose?

A. There was no particular purpose stated, that I recollect.

Q. Then at what times did you hear the expressions you have related?

A. I have heard particular persons speak, members of the society.

Q. What members?

A. One Birks, who talked of the same at Chalk Farm; I have heard him frequently talk of arming.

Q. What did he say?

A. I cannot swear to any particular conversation: I have likewise heard Kelly talk of arming after the apprehension of Hardy.

Q. I am not talking of arming merely, but arming for these wicked purposes?

A. I don't recollect.

Mr. Garrow. You say Worship produced an engraving at one of the meetings; will you be so good as to cast your eye on that, and see if that is the engraving that was brought?

A. It

A. It is one of them, it is a figure of the manual exercise, and platoon firing; he mentioned that they were *Sans Cullottes*, and they were to have red-caps on their heads.

Q. How long is it ago since you gave to Mr. Lincoln, Mr. Macnamara's agent, that note?

A. Four or five years.

Q. Was it given to Mr. Macnamara, or Mr. Lincoln?

A. Mr. Lincoln.

Q. How much to this moment is due upon it?

A. About three guineas.

Q. Have you ever had, for all these years, any application from Mr. Macnamara, till after you was attending this Court, by virtue of his Majesty's writ of subpoena, and attended the as witness for the crown?

A. I never saw Mr. Macnamara in my life till yesterday, to my knowledge.

Q. Have you had any application upon his part to pay this money?

A. I had heard, three or four years ago, that Mr. Lincoln had called upon me.

Q. Did Mr. Macnamara come to you alone?

A. Yes; I was sitting alone, and I went down to him.

Q. He said he came to you out of humanity?

A. I will state what he said—He said that he was a man of property, of a large estate in the country, that he was a friend to the King and Constitution, that he would see strict justice done, and he came out of humanity to let me know that this note would be produced against me in Court.

Q. Did he desire you to pay the money?

A. He asked me if I remembered the circumstance; I told him that was an improper place to talk of it, and if it was so, I must meet it in Court.

Q. You have been asked a great number of questions about Mrs. Coleman's will; was there any complaint instituted in a court of law respecting it?

A. No.

Q. Was there any complaint ever made against you respecting it?

A. No: the brother came to town, and never found any fault with it.

Q. Was it, upon your oath, as far as you had any thing to do with it, a fair and honest transaction; yea or no?

A. It was.

[Adjourned to Friday Morning, Nine o'Clock.]

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.



APPENDIX

OF

PAPERS AND DOCUMENTS,

REFERRED TO IN VOL. I.

No. I.

The London Corresponding Society's Addresses and Resolutions:

(Reprinted, and distributed gratis.)

ASSURED that man, individual man, may justly claim liberty as his birthright, we naturally conclude that, as a member of society, it becomes his indispensable duty to preserve inviolate that liberty for the benefit of his fellow-citizens, and of his and their posterity.

For as, in associating, he gave up certain of his rights, in order to secure the possession of the remainder, and *voluntarily* yielded up only as much as was necessary for the general good, so he may not barter away the liberties of his posterity, nor desert the common cause, by *tamely* and *supinely* suffering to be purloined from the people, of whom he makes a part, their natural and unalienable RIGHTS OF RESISTANCE TO OPPRESSION, and OF SHARING IN THE GOVERNMENT OF THEIR COUNTRY; without the full and uninterrupted exercise of which RIGHTS, no man can, with truth, call himself or his country free.

Yet, of late, the very men who have dared to oppress the nation, have also dared to advance, *that all resistance to their oppression is illegal*; while, on the other hand, FRAUD OR FORCE, sanctioned by custom and blind submission, has withdrawn, and now withholds, from a very great majority of the tax-paying, industrious, and useful inhabitants of Great Britain, the RIGHT of sharing in the Government of *their own* Commonwealth, and in the management of *their own* interests.

The *few* who are now permitted to elect representatives, and those who are chosen by this *small number of electors*, disgrace the country at large, by *buying* and *selling* votes, by *corrupting* and being *corrupted*---the former by their behaviour at elections, and the latter by their conduct in the Senate---more than sufficient to prove, that THE NATION IS UNREPRESENTED, and

that THE PRESENT SYSTEM IS TOTALLY UNCONSTITUTIONAL, if, by the word Constitution, any thing is meant.

Rouzed, at last, from their torpor, and eager to remedy the evil, various, numerous, and respectable societies have been formed by the people, in different parts of the kingdom; several have also arisen in the metropolis, and among them *The London Corresponding Society*, with modesty, but with firmness, claim the attention of their country to the following Resolutions:---

Resolved,

I. That every individual has a right to share in the government of that society of which he is a member, unless incapacitated.

II. That nothing but non-age, privation of reason, or an offence against the general laws of society, can incapacitate him.

III. That it is no less a RIGHT than the DUTY of every citizen, to keep a watchful eye on the government of his country, that the laws, by being multiplied, do not degenerate into *oppression*; and that those who are entrusted with the government, do not substitute *private interest* for *public advantage*.

IV. That the people of Great Britain are not *effectually* represented in Parliament.

V. That in consequence of a *partial, unequal*, and therefore *inadequate representation*, together with the *corrupt* method in which representatives are elected, *oppressive taxes, unjust laws, restrictions of liberty*, and *wasting of the public money*, have ensued.

VI. That the only remedy to those evils, is a fair, equal, and impartial representation of the people in Parliament.

VII. That a fair, equal, and impartial representation can never take place until *all partial privileges* are abolished.

VIII. That this Society do express their abhorrence of tumult and violence---aiming at reform, not anarchy---reason, firmness, and unanimity, are the only arms they themselves will employ, or persuade their fellow-citizens to exert, against
ABUSE OF POWER.

Signed, by order of the Committee,
T. HARDY, Secretary.

April 2d, 1792.

The London Corresponding Society to the Nation at large.

Whereas it is notorious that very numerous, burthensome, and unnecessary taxes, are laid on the persons and families of us and others, the industrious inhabitants of Great Britain, an exceedingly great majority of whom are, notwithstanding, excluded from all representation in Parliament:

And

And as, upon enquiry into the cause of this grievance, which is at once an obstruction to our industry, and diminution of our property, we find that the constitution of our country, (which was purchased for us at the expence of the lives of our ancestors,) has, by the violence and intrigue of criminal and designing men, been injured and undermined in its most essential and important parts; but particularly in the House of Commons, where the whole of the supposed representation of the people is neither more nor less than an usurped power, arising either from abuses in the mode of election and duration of Parliaments, or from a corrupt property in certain decayed Corporations, by means of which the liberties of this nation are basely bartered away for the private profit of members of Parliament.

And as it further appears to us, that until this source of corruption shall be cleansed by the information, perseverance, firmness, and union of the people at large, we are robbed of the inheritance so acquired for us by our forefathers; and that our taxes, instead of being lessened, will go on increasing, inasmuch as they will furnish more bribes, places, and pensions, to our minister and members of Parliament.

It being resolved by us, the members of this society, to unite ourselves into one firm and permanent body, for the purpose of informing ourselves and others of the exact state of the present parliamentary representation---for obtaining a peaceful, but adequate remedy, to this intolerable grievance---and for corresponding and co-operating with other societies united for the same objects; the following regulations, for the internal order and government of our Society, have been unanimously adopted:---

First. That every person, before he is admitted, shall be proposed by two members, and shall answer in the affirmative to the three following questions, viz.

Question I. *Are you convinced that the parliamentary representation of this country is at present inadequate and imperfect?*

Q. II. *Are you thoroughly persuaded that the welfare of these kingdoms requires that every person of adult years, in possession of his reason, and not incapacitated by crimes, should have a vote for a member of Parliament?*

Q. III. *Will you endeavour, by all justifiable means, to promote such reformation in Parliament?*

Secondly. That the whole body shall go under one common name, of *The London Corresponding Society, united for the reform of parliamentary representation.*

Thirdly. That for the more easy and orderly proceeding of the Society, it be separated into as many divisions as there shall be thirty members to make up the number requisite for such

division; and that no division shall divide again, till it amounts to double such number of members; at which time notice shall be given to the Committee of Delegates hereafter mentioned, by the then delegate of such division.

Fourthly. That each division shall meet weekly, on any evening, (Thursday excepted,) at some house to be chosen by themselves, and appoint a chairman for the good order thereof; and also shall name a delegate as hereafter mentioned.

Fifthly. That each member shall pay to the secretary of his division one penny per week, or one shilling and a penny per quarter, which shall be credited to the account of such member in a book to be kept for that purpose. That all money so paid shall be transmitted monthly, by the delegate of such division, to the treasurer, who is to account with the body of delegates for the same, on the four usual quarter days.

Sixthly. That the sums so paid to the said treasurer shall form one common stock, to be applied by the said delegates in the postage of letters, in stationary, and in printing such matters as may be good for the information of the Society: but that before any expence whatever shall be incurred, the said delegates shall enquire of the treasurer what balance he has in hand.

Seventhly. That the delegates so appointed shall meet on Thursday in every week, and shall continue in office for three months; subject, however, to be recalled or superseded by their several divisions before the expiration of that time, if thought necessary. That being assembled, they shall name a chairman and secretary, who shall both sign all the public acts of the Society.

Eighthly. That such delegates so assembled shall, in the first place, communicate the wishes of their several divisions relative to any objects of the Society. That they shall be authorised to answer any correspondence, which may require immediate attention; and afterwards, that each delegate shall report the same to his respective division. Also, that they shall consider of the general state of the Society; but shall, on no account, publish any new principle, or set of principles, until the same shall be approved by a majority of the individual members of the Society at large.

Ninthly. That it shall be necessary for two-thirds of the said delegates to form a Committee for the dispatch of business. And,

Tenthly. That these resolutions and regulations be printed for the members of the society, and that a copy be given to each member on his admission.

MAURICE MARGAROT, Chairman.

THOMAS HARDY, Secretary.

Forasmuch

Forasmuch as it is possible that the grounds of our complaint may be denied, and that our views and principles may be misrepresented, we desire that every one will seriously consider and treasure in his memory the state of scandalous facts which follow. Let him then ask himself, whether it be the part of a good citizen to sit quiet under such abuses, which have not only encreased, but are at this moment encreasing; and which ought, therefore, to be remedied without delay.

Till the reign of Henry VI. it was not necessary for the inhabitant of a county to have a freehold estate of 40s. a year, in order to vote for the representative of his county. But the statute of that King, passed in the year 1429, under pretence of preventing disputes at elections, most unjustly deprived a great part of the Commons of this nation of the right of consenting to those taxes, which, notwithstanding, they were compelled to pay, just as if such right had not been taken from them.

Till the reign of Queen Anne, it was not necessary for the inhabitant of a county to have 600l. a year, freehold or copyhold estate, in order to his being elected the representative of his county. But the statute of that Queen, passed in the year 1710, under pretence of the freedom of Parliament, excluded all persons not possessed of such a property from our representation, whatever be their principles, their abilities, or their integrity.

Till the reign of William III. Parliaments were of RIGHT to be called *once a year*, or oftener if need be. But the statute of that King, passed in the year 1694, under pretence of calling them more frequently, enacted, "that they should be holden once in *three years* at the least."

Till the reign of George I. Parliaments were therefore of three years duration. But the statute of that King, passed in the year 1715, under pretence of "a restless faction" then existing in the nation, usurped a power of enacting, "that Parliament should respectively have continuance for seven years."

As for the supposed representation of the people, which is called "the Commons of England in Parliament assembled;" the county of Cornwall contains in itself alone the privilege of sending *forty-four* members to Parliament, which is just one less in number than those of the whole kingdom of Scotland, containing upwards of three millions of people.

Of these *forty-four* supposed representatives, two are elected by the freeholders of the county: the rest sit for twenty-one corporation towns; of which,--

Electors.

Launceston has only 10 & is the property of Lord Elliot

Leskeard 9 Ditto

Lestwithiel 7 D. of Northumberland

Truro

Truro has only	13	is the property of	Lord Falmouth
Bodmin	18	.	Sir Francis Basset
Helfton	3	.	D. of Leeds, &c.
Saltaſh	16	.	Sir Francis Basset
East Loe	20	}	Judge Buller.
West Loe	20		
Grampound	30	.	Lord Somers, &c.
Camelford	6	.	Lord Camelford
Penryn	50	.	Sir Francis Basset
Tregony	50	.	Lord Hertford
Bosfiney	20	.	Lord Bute
St. Ives	60	.	Mr. Praed
Fowey	26	.	Prince of Wales, &c.
St. Germain's	6	.	Lord Elliot
St. Michael	14	.	D. of Northumberland
Newport	30	.	Lord Lovaine
St. Mawe's	15	.	M. of Buckingham
Callington	30	.	Lord Falmouth.

Electors 453---Members 42

To these we might add, of the same description, twenty-eight Corporations, consisting of 354 electors, which send 56 members to that House of Commons, which is so frequently and so falsely called the Democracy of the Nation; while the towns of Sheffield, Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, Wolverhampton, &c. containing above three hundred thousand people, have no electors or representatives whatever.

Upon the whole it appears, that 257 supposed representatives of the people, making a majority of the House of Commons, are returned by a number of voters not exceeding the thousandth part of the nation.

But as Providence has kindly furnished men, in every station, with faculties necessary for judging of what concerns themselves, shall we, the multitude, suffer a few, with no better right than ourselves, to usurp the power of governing us without controul? Surely not. Let us rather unite in one common cause, to cast away our bondage, being assured that, in so doing, we are protected by a Jury of our countrymen, while we are discharging a duty to ourselves, to our country, and to mankind.

Ordered, that the Secretary of this Society do transmit copies of the above to all the societies in the nation, engaged in the same cause.

London, May 24, 1792.

Address

Address from the London Corresponding Society to the Inhabitants of Great Britain, on the Subject of a Parliamentary Reform.

“ Unblest by virtue, Government a league
 “ Becomes, a circling junto of the great,
 “ To rob by law; Religion mild, a yoke
 “ To tame the stooping soul, a trick of state,
 “ To mask their rapine, and to share the prey.
 “ What are without it Senates, but a face
 “ Of consultation deep and reason free,
 “ While the determin'd voice and heart are sold?
 “ What boasted Freedom, but a sounding name?
 “ And what Election, but a market vile,
 “ Of slaves self-barter'd?”

THOMSON'S LIBERTY.

FELLOW-CITIZENS,

Of every rank and of every situation in life, rich, poor, high, or low, we address you all as our brethren, on a subject of the highest importance, and most intimately connected with the welfare of every individual who deems liberty a blessing, who partakes in the prosperity of his country, and who wishes to transmit as much of either as he possibly can to posterity.

Uninfluenced by party pique or selfish motives---no ways affrighted at the frowns of power---not in the least awed by the evidently hostile preparations of a much-alarm'd Aristocracy, We, the London Corresponding Society, united with a view of obtaining a THOROUGH PARLIAMENTARY REFORM, anxiously demand your serious and most collected attention to the present VITIATED state of the British Government; we entreat you to examine coolly and impartially the numerous abuses that prevail therein, their destructive consequences on the poor, and their evil tendency on all, as also the rapidity with which these abuses increase, both in number and magnitude.

We next submit to your examination an effectual mode of putting a stop to them, and of thereby restoring to our no less boasted than impaired constitution, its pristine vigour and purity; and we thereunto warmly solicit the junction of your efforts with ours.

This great end, however, we believe attainable, solely, by the whole nation; deeply impressed with a sense of its wrongs, uniting, and as it were, with one voice, demanding, of those to whom for a while it has entrusted its sovereignty, a restoration of ANNUALLY ELECTED PARLIAMENTS, UNBIASSED AND UNBOUGHT ELECTIONS, AND AN EQUAL REPRESENTATION OF THE WHOLE BODY OF THE PEOPLE.

Leaving

Leaving to the enemies of freedom all violent, tumultuous, and unconstitutional proceedings, we invite you to peaceful, well regulated, and neighbourly meetings, wherein industrious, worthy citizens may, as honest men, as good patriots, in a reasonable and sensible manner, laying aside prejudice, seriously and earnestly take into consideration their rights, and the welfare of the present and succeeding generation.

As men can never barter away the rights of their posterity---as encroachments on liberty or property cease not to be grievances from their being customary and of long standing, and as a grievance is not the less felt for being denied by those who cause it---feeling grievances enormous---seeing our liberties encroached upon, and endeavoured to be entirely purloined from us---as also that our complaints are derided by government, and ourselves unlawfully menaced by those in power, We call upon you all, Britons, to remember your privileges as such, and to assert your rights as men---to pay all proper regard to your native freedom, and to consider that, being the property of no one man, nor of any set of men, it is highly disgraceful for you to suffer yourselves any longer to be thus enslaved and disposed of as cattle in a fair, as irrational beasts in a market, to the highest bidder.

Laying aside all pretensions to originality, we claim no other merit than that of re-considering and verifying what has already been urged in our common cause by the Duke of Richmond, Mr. Pitt, and their then honest party, years back; now differing from them, we support with candour and zeal (thereby proving ourselves no courtiers) the banner of truth already displayed against the oppressors of mankind; and we take a pride in acknowledging ourselves a part of that useful class of citizens which placemen (pensioned with the extorted produce of our daily labour) and proud nobility, wallowing in riches, (acquired somehow,) affect to treat with a contempt too degrading for human nature to bear, unless reconciled to it by the reflection, that though their inferiors in rank and fortune, we equal them in talents, and excel them in honesty.

Still, friends and fellow-citizens, possessed of souls far superior to the evil spirit influencing these oppressors, these debasers of mankind, instead of hating, we contemn them, and our motive is not vengeance, but redress.

A constitution we are said to possess---we are willing to believe it: if good, it allows redress to a complaining people; if excellent, as many assert, it must naturally point out the means thereof. Let it therefore be publicly and carefully examined: if it is really what it ought to be, it cannot be too well known; if faulty, it cannot be too soon amended; nor can that be done
by

by a more competent judge than the thus collected sense of the whole nation.

It is the right of every individual to be well acquainted with the laws that bind him; but how is the peasant, the mechanic, the manufacturer, to obtain that necessary knowledge--his time fully employed in labouring hard to provide a scanty meal for his family, and in earning wherewith to satisfy the frequent and peremptory demands of surly tax-gatherers? He has no leisure for such intricate political researches; and even was he, by stealing that leisure from his labour or his sleep, to acquire the desired insight, still with spirits depressed by his sufferings, with fears increased by the clamorous threats of the pensioned all-devouring locusts in office, the sore oppressed subject feels the remedy to be far out of his reach, and dreads the consequence of being even supposed to know how greatly he is wronged.--Such being the forlorn situation of three-fourths of the nation, how are Britons to obtain information and redress? Will the Court, will Ministry afford either? Will Parliament grant them? Will the Nobles or the Clergy ease the people's sufferings? No. Experience tells us, and proclamations confirm it, that the interest and the intention of power are combined to keep the nation in torpid ignorance!

The only resource then, friends and fellow-citizens, will be found in those societies which, instituted with a view to the public good, promote a general instruction of our rights as men, expose the abuses of those in power, and point out the only constitutional, the only effectual means, of forwarding a public investigation, and obtaining a complete redress for a people, in whose credulous good nature originate their present difficulties.

We will not hurt your feelings by a minute detail of our common grievances: you cannot be ignorant, friends and fellow-sufferers, how generally power, place, pension, and title, are the rewards of men whose services to the Court have been of the greatest prejudice to the country. You painfully feel the consequences--increased taxes, a great part of which are most vilely squandered; a heavy national debt, begun with a design of forming a powerful and monied Court Party, continued with nearly the same view unto its present enormous bulk, and from its commencement militating against our liberties. Too visible are the numerous encroachments on our rights, too common the insolence of office, the venality of magistracy, the perversion of the laws, the letting loose the military on every occasion, and those occasions eagerly sought. The subject's complaints derided--the one part of the nation turned into spies and informers against the other--the--but wherefore more? Is here not

enough to prove, beyond a doubt, that while we boast the best constitution, the mildest laws, the freest government, we are in fact slaves?

Yet, fellow-citizens, numerous as are our grievances, and close rivetted as weighty the shackles on our freedom, reform one abuse, and the others will all disappear: if we once regain an annually elected Parliament, and that Parliament to be fairly chosen by all, the people will again share in the government of their country, and their then unbought, unbiaſſed ſuffrages, muſt undoubtedly ſelect a majority of honeſt members, while the very few unſound ones that may accidentally obtain ſeats, will, from the conſideration of their annual dependence on the people, think it highly adviſeable to continue the diſguiſe that procured them their election, and at laſt wear the mask of honeſty--a mask neither at all times neceſſary, nor at all times worn in a ſeptennial Parliament.

Let no man imagine himſelf unconcerned in the propoſed reform--let no one think ſo meanly of his ſituation or abilities, as to ſuppoſe his coming forward will be of no ſervice to the cauſe of Liberty! Numbers, union, and perfeverance, muſt in the end be crowned with ſucceſs, while compared with the ſmall efforts of each individual, aſſociating and thereby countenancing the demand of the nation to be reſtored to its conſtitutional rights, how great will appear the advantages reſulting therefrom!

An honeſt Parliament!

An annual Parliament!

A Parliament wherein each individual will have his repreſentative!

Soon then ſhould we ſee our Liberties reſtored, the Preſs free, the Laws ſimplified, Judges unbiaſſed, Juries independent, needleſs places and penſions retrenched, immoderate ſalaries reduced, the public better ſerved, taxes diminiſhed, and the neceſſaries of life more within the reach of the poor; youth better educated, priſons leſs crowded, old age better provided for, and ſumptuous feaſts, at the expence of the ſtarving poor, leſs frequent.

Look not upon this, dear countrymen, as an enthuſiaſtic viſion, but rather let us together take a calm and reaſonable review of ſuch an honeſt Parliament aſſembled--let us in idea curtail their ſeſſion unto even the ſhort duration of three months in one year, or ſixty-four meetings for doing the annual buſineſs of the nation--ſtill five hundred honeſt men, meeting ſixty-four times, with both intention and capacity to ſerve their country, muſt do ſomething, muſt employ their time ſomehow. Contended elections none, or very few, and ſoon determined

determined---party debates none; the interest of the people being one---long speeches much diminished---honest men seeking reason, not oratory---no placemen in the Senate, corrupt influence dies away, and with it all tedious, obstinate, ministerial opposition, to measures calculated for the public good. Detesting chicanery, oppression, and injustice of every kind, this honest Parliament, finding that the laws wanted simplification and arrangement, would set about it, however destructive their labours might prove to the sordid interest of an ambitious Judge, a prostituted Council, a packed Jury, or a vile herd of Pettifoggers, Trading Justices, Bailiffs, or Runners.

Finding that a most extraordinary waste of public money had taken place under the different pretences of Places, Pensions, Contracts, Armaments, Subsidies, Secret Service Money, &c. our honest and annual Parliament would, after narrowly scrutinizing the same, retrench every sum needlessly or wickedly laid out.

Recalling to their mind that wise and wholesome provision of the 12th of William III. Chap. 2. enacting, that *All resolutions taken in the Privy Council shall be signed by such of the Privy Council as shall advise and consent to the same.* They would call for an immediate renewal of that long-suspended law, and by so doing all destructive secret influence would be rooted up, and the people could then, at all times, discover who were their friends, and who their foes.

The people's Parliament, finding that under various pretences grants of common land had been obtained by sundry persons no ways to the benefit of the community, but very much to the distress of the poor, the same would be soon restored to the public, and the robbed peasant again enabled annually to supply his distressed family with an increased quantity of bread, out of the profit arising from the liberty regained of grazing a Cow, two or three Sheep, or a brood of Geese thereon.

With detestation would that Parliament view any man enjoying the emoluments of six or seven places, either needless and overpaid, as requiring altogether but one officer; or else their several duties neglected, and the public thereby deprived of that service for which they pay their money.

Numerous other reforms would undoubtedly take place, even in the first session of Parliament so elected, dependent only on their electors, the people; untorn, therefore, by faction, undivided by party, uncorrupted by ministry, and uninfluenced but by the public good. Every transaction would tend to reform, and a strict oeconomy, its natural consequence, might soon enable us to reduce our taxes, and, by the integrity of Parliament,

that reduction would light upon such objects as best might relieve the poor; this, to the people, would prove an advantageous and a novel session, and, to an honest Parliament, not a tiresome one.

Therefore, Britons, friends, and fellow-citizens, with hand and heart unite, claim what is your right, persevere, and be free; for who shall dare withstand our just demands? Oppression, already trembling at the voice of individuals, will shrink away and disappear for ever, when the nation united shall assert its privileges, and demand their restoration.

Signed, by Order,

M. MARGAROT, Chairman.

T. HARDY, Secretary.

Ordered, that the Secretary of this Society do transmit copies of the above to all the Societies in the nation, engaged in the same cause.

London, 6th August, 1792.

No. II.

Proceedings of the Society for Constitutional Information, referred to in page 313.

Society for Constitutional Information, March 28, 1794.

Resolved, That the following Address be sent to Mess. Muir, Palmer, Skirving, Margarot, and Gerald.

FRIENDS AND FELLOW-CITIZENS,

Although we have been hitherto silent, yet we have by no means been the unconcerned spectators of your conduct and sufferings. We have seen and approved of your exertions for your country's happiness—we have marked with honest indignation every step that your enemies have taken to bring you to your present situation. Your enemies are the enemies of public liberty—the men who are conspiring against the happiness of mankind. The cause in which you are embarked, and to which you have borne an honourable testimony, is worthy of every exertion, and its importance to the world too great to expect its accomplishment without opposition.

The history of liberty, for whose sake you are doomed to a long and unmerited exile, will afford, in the present instance, that consolation that former martyrs to the same cause have experienced—the consolation that you will not, you cannot, suffer in vain.

Men may perish, but truth will prevail; neither persecution, nor banishment, nor death itself, can finally injure the progress
of

of these principles, which involve the general happiness of man.

While, therefore, we join every friend to humanity in lamenting what you have already endured, and with anxious hearts anticipate the perils to which you may be exposed in a barren and uncultivated country, yet we can rejoice that the sources of happiness are limited to no place, but are as extensive as the dominion of God. Under the protection of that Great Being, may you at all times and in all places feel the pleasure that arises from conscious integrity!

Fellow-Citizens, we assure you, that the memory of your virtues shall never be effaced from our breasts; the cause for which you have struggled is a glorious cause. The world that has witnessed your exertions shall witness ours also.

A full and fair representation of the people of Great Britain we seek with all the ardor of men and Britons; for the sake of which we are not only ready to act with vigour and unanimity, but, we trust, prepared also to suffer with constancy.

Our best wishes will ever attend you; and we do believe, that the day is not very distant when we shall again receive you on the British shores, the welcome children of a free and happy country.

By order of the Society.

Letter, dated 16th April, 1794, signed Thomas Fishe Palmer, Spithead; addressed to the Chairman of the Society for Constitutional Information.

FELLOW-CITIZENS,

I have long since looked upon your society with admiration and esteem, considering it as the source of and school of most of the political information, which, by the blessing of God, has overspread the island. I have been instructed by the wisdom of your papers, and animated by the spirit of your addresses. That my conduct is approved by such a society, is my pride and my joy.

You say, (and the consideration is the support of my life,) that the history of liberty will prove, by the experience of her former martyrs, that sufferings in her cause cannot be in vain. That my sufferings may not be in vain, I ardently wish that the eyes of my countrymen were open, not only to the illegality and despotism of my sentence, but to the alarming measures by which it was brought about. My Jury was three times packed by the servants of the Crown before it sat upon me. In the first instance, by the Sheriff's deputy, placemen immediately appointed by