

by the Crown; in second, by the Crown agent, Lord Advocate, &c. at Edinburgh; and, in the third, by the Justiciary Lords, who tried the cause. These last, arbitrarily appoint the fifteen particular persons who are to sit upon the accused. The strongest objections are mere air, as the Lords alone are the judges of the validity of them. A majority of the fifteen condemns. If, therefore, ministry, with their all-extensive influence, can in these countries find only eight servile tools subservient to their views, the fortune, the liberties, the lives of all Scotland are at their mercy. Trial is condemnation. The sentence is appointed beforehand by the minister, and mine was known a full week at Edinburgh before it was uttered. They can ruin, or even murder, whom they please. This infamous robbery of the first right of Englishmen, a trial by Jury fairly chosen, I have endeavoured to set forth in a letter to the editor of the Morning Chronicle, last October or November, of the date (if I remember rightly) of the 22d or 27th, of which I now avow myself the author; to which I beg leave to draw the attention of the Society for Constitutional Information.

Farewell, Fellow-Citizens.

I am, with respect and esteem,

Your equal brother,

T. F. PALMER.

Letter, dated April 17th, 1794; signed W. Skirving, Surprise Transport, Spithead; addressed to the President of the London Constitutional Society.

MR. PRESIDENT,

Permit me, Sir, to assure you, and the respectable Constitutional Society, that the very consoling address, received agreeably to their resolution of the 28th ult. has excited in me, as also in the hearts of each of my fellow-martyrs for the important cause of universal suffrage and annual Parliaments, the most lively sensations of gratitude and esteem. The Constitutional Society was the foremost of true patriots to raise the standard of reform, for the purpose of redeeming from the contaminating and contagious influence of corruption those venerable, but almost lost principles, of the British Constitution, wrought into it by the blood and irresistible energies of our forefathers, many of whom, rather than that these principles, upon which depend the virtue and felicity of society, should be lost sight of, exhibited their high esteem of them on scaffolds and in dungeons, that all, even the most callous spectators, might be persuaded, that the truths, for which they did not reckon even their lives too dear a sacrifice, were surely worthy of the unprejudiced

judiced investigation of all. Your remark, therefore is just, and it is very soothing to us---“we do not, we cannot suffer for such a cause in vain.”---The resentment of our enemies, driving them into such absurd measures towards men against whom vice of any kind is not even alledged, must have moved, in every unprejudiced mind, the restless question---Why? why are men, who seek the improvement of their species, thrown with felons into dungeons? And full information must follow sincere enquiry, and at length convert all to the side of truth and righteousness. I therefore cheerfully consent to suffer, to promote the general good.

We are blamed as having, prematurely at least, exposed ourselves to the necessity of sealing, by our sufferings, the cause we would promote. If, in this case, we have erred, I will readily take the whole blame, as having strained every nerve to press forward the measure of a General Convention, as being the only means to avert impending ruin. I sought to arouse and alarm my countrymen to consider their extreme danger. I feared, that the necessity for such association would be on us before we were prepared for it. Besides, what measure could possibly interest so much the public enquiry? What has so much encreased public information? It excited counter associations, and caused every man to see, who were on the side of truth, and who were on the side of corruption. It exposed the selfish and interested designs of the one, and the unfeigned prosecution of the public good by the other. I speak so with the greater confidence before a society that must have marked the progress of information so long under their own auspices. You must know, that this progress, the exciting the enquiry of the public, has been more extensively effected during the last year, than during the ten preceding ones. The cause was the General Convention. The terror and hatred of ministry to it proves the truth. Who then would have refused even his life, to have been instrumental in promoting so much good?

Your explicit approbation of our conduct has prompted this self-exultation---forgive, therefore, my freedom. I may be mistaken. The important revolution in human affairs, to which every Christian looks with anxious hope, may be yet distant. If it is, tyranny may still triumph. But God forbid it. It would then be better to die than to live. But, though I hope the reverse, I know, as you justly observe, “that the importance of the cause of freedom is too great to the world, to expect its accomplishment without opposition,” and the opposition of despairing tyranny will be dreadful, it will be destructive. And why? Because nothing but its ruining last struggle will rouse mankind from their idle dream of security. They regard not,
they

they pity not its present victims. They put off the evil far from themselves, and hence it overtakes them suddenly, "when their strength is gone, and there is none shut up or left." Hold fast, therefore, what you have attained. Your association alone can prevent the dreadful consequence of such indifference. Uniting love is the strength as well as solace of mankind. Cement, by reciprocal kind communication, the union of hearts, of interests, of measures which have been solemnly resolved. By so doing, you will escape the destruction which is coming on all the earth.

Worthy citizens, I will solace my mind, when drooping, with the kind assurance which you have vouchsafed by your masterly address, that I, with my brethren, have a place in your affection and prayers; and I will believe with you, "that the day is not very distant when you will again receive us on British shores, the welcome children of a free and happy people." When, indeed, it shall be demonstrated, "that our enemies are the enemies of public liberty, the men who conspired against the happiness of mankind." But though the mighty are combined, though they should so far prevail as to scatter utterly, in their vain apprehension, the friends of truth, the principles of it, which are already established, is the "stone cut out without hands, and shall become a great mountain, and fill the whole earth;" for He who first commanded the light to shine out of darkness, is its Almighty Patron.

Be assured, my dear brethren, that I have already realized the pleasures of conscious integrity; and can reflect, with the sincerest satisfaction, that I was influenced, in all my exertions for the cause of reform, by that benevolence which I would ever cultivate as the principle of every kind of human excellence.

With sentiments of the most unfeigned esteem and respect,
I am, your sincere well-wisher,
W. SKIRVING.

Letter from Thomas Muir, on board the Surprize Transport, to the London Society for Constitutional Information, dated April 24, 1794.

That the spirit of freedom is not extinguished, but still retains its former energy, in defiance of the artifices and of the violence of despotism, is an object of high consolation to my mind. Engaged in the sacred cause of man, individual man is an atom of little value; and, in speaking of himself, when he recollects and contemplates the principles of his conduct, should disdain to make use of the term suffering. Without a vain affection for myself,
I disclaim

I disclaim the assumption of extraordinary merit. The man who has acted in obedience to the law of his own conscience, has simply discharged his duty, and the contrary supposition would involve him in guilt. I am deeply persuaded, that many of the men whom I now address, in a situation less circumscribed, with abilities more powerful, but not with hearts more honest, after having atchieved what I could not accomplish, would, with the same silent scorn, have regarded each feeble attempt to shackle and to repress the free-born mind.

Your preceding exertions, in attempting to procure a fair representation of the people in Parliament, have been meritorious. They are a solemn and sure pledge of their future continuation. In proportion to the number and to the rapidity of those tremendous scenes which daily in succession pass before the eye, *all, all* of them deriving their existence from this violation of our constitutional rights, let your endeavour in procuring a rectification of what is wrong be encreased; confident you will obtain the blessing of that Being whose great design is the happiness of his creation.

THOMAS MUIR.

It being recommended at a former meeting, to the members of the Society for Constitutional Information, to peruse two printed Sermons of the Rev. J. H. Williams, preached at the Public Fasts of 1793 and 1794, as productions of singular worth, the society came to the following resolution:

London, April 25, 1794.

Resolved, That the grateful thanks of this society be paid to the Rev. J. H. Williams, Vicar of Wells Bourn, Warwickshire, for the publication of his two inestimable Sermons on the Public Fasts, of April, 1793, and February, 1794. The doctrines and sentiments which they contain are in perfect unison with the principles of this society, and we trust that the motives and springs of action which he recommends will ever be found to direct our conduct.

By order of the Society,

D. ADAMS, Secretary.

Society for Constitutional Information, May 2, 1794.

This being the anniversary of the society, upwards of three hundred dined together at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, in the Strand, John Wharton, Esq. M. P. in the Chair---Stewards, Thomas Thompson, M. P. John Chatfield, John Bellefden Gawler, Robert Knight, George Wingfield Sparrow, Jeremiah Joyce, John Williams, John Pearson, Arthur Blake, William Sharpe, Thomas Wardle, Charles Goring, John Binham,

During the time of dinner, and between the toasts, a numerous band played the popular tunes of *Ca Ira*, the *Carmagnol*, the *Marfellois March*, the *Democrat*, and a new piece of music called *The Free Constitution*.

After dinner the following sentiments were given with unbounded applause:

1. The rights of man.
2. A free constitution.
3. The swine of England, the rabble of Scotland, and the wretches of Ireland.
4. Equal laws and liberty.
5. May despotism be trodden under the hoofs of the swinish multitude.
6. The armies contending for liberty.
7. Wisdom, firmness, and unanimity to all the Patriotic Societies in Great Britain.
8. The reign of peace and liberty.

A Citizen then rose, and in a short speech observed, that the Stewards seemed to have forgotten in their lists of toasts a person who had done more than almost any man towards the reign of peace and liberty. He would, therefore, propose as a toast, Lord Stanhope.

An amendment was proposed, that instead of Lord Stanhope Citizen Stanhope should be drank, which was received with unbounded applause.

9. May the public revenue never be applied to purposes of corruption.
10. The victims to the cause of liberty suffering under the sentences of the Court of Justiciary.
11. Archibald Hamilton Rowan and the patriots of Ireland.
12. The persecuted patriots of England.
13. May the abettors of the present war be its victims.
14. The Chairman; and success to his exertions in the cause of freedom.

Mr. Wharton thanked the company for their marked approbation of his conduct, and pledged himself to continue his efforts in the cause of liberty. He then said, he would propose as a toast—

15. That steady friend to liberty, John Horne Tooke.

Mr. Tooke said, he hoped it would be the last time his health would be drank; his ambition was, that hereafter his memory should be given.

16. May all governments be those of the laws, and all laws those of the people.
17. Thomas Paine.

The Chairman then gave, as a concluding toast, a sentiment directly in opposition to that of Mr. Windham:

18. Prosperity to the commerce and manufactures of Great Britain.

No. III.

Hymn, for February 28th, 1794, being the day appointed for a General Fast.---Referred to in page 395.

(To the tune of the old hundredth Psalm.)

I.

O God of hosts, thine ear incline,
 Regard our prayers, our cause be thine;
 When orphans cry, when babes complain,
 When widows weep, canst thou refrain?

II.

Now red and terrible thine hand,
 Scourges with war our guilty land:
 Europe thy flaming vengeance feels,
 And from her deep foundation reels.

III.

Her rivers bleed like mighty veins;
 Her towns are ashes, graves her plains;
 Slaughter her groaning vallies fills,
 And reeking carnage melts her hills.

IV.

O Thou! whose awful word can bind
 The raging waves, the raving wind;
 Mad tyrants tame, break down the high,
 Whose mighty foreheads beat the sky.

V.

Make bare thine arm, great King of Kings!
 That arm alone salvation brings;
 That wonder-working arm, which broke
 From Israel's neck th' Egyptian yoke.

VI.

Burst every dungeon, every chain,
 Give injur'd slaves their rights again;
 Let truth prevail, let discord cease---
 Speak, and the world shall smile in peace!

London Corresponding Society, united for a Reform in Parliament.

Committee Room, March 20th, 1794.

Resolved, That the Society approve the sentiments contained in the serious lecture delivered to the Constitutional Society at Sheffield, on the 28th of last month, and earnestly recommend it to the perusal of all who think civil and religious liberty a blessing.

Resolved, That the commanding a general fast, for the purpose of imploring the Divine Father of Mercy and Peace to support and prosper us in the horrid act of deliberately destroying our fellow-creatures, is repugnant to the true spirit and principles of Christianity, where we are commanded to pray for our enemies, &c. and further, considering that a great part of the people are unacquainted with the nature of the present war, either as to its justice or necessity, (every endeavour being used to keep them ignorant of the real principles and design for which it was commenced,) to approach and to supplicate the OMNISCIENT POWER, under such circumstances, and for such a purpose, must indeed be dreadful, since knowledge and conviction are wanting.---The worse than hypocritical hearts of those who are the authors of such a measure, although they at present impose upon the ignorant and credulous, by such detestable, such pretended shew of devotion, cannot escape the chastisement of that Power whom they thus insult, and from whose judgement there is no appeal.

T. HARDY, Secretary.

Society for Constitutional Information.

March 21, 1794.

Resolved, That the Secretary of this Society be directed to write to the "Friends of Peace and Reform" at Sheffield, and to assure them, that this Society views with pleasure their steady exertions to obtain a fair representation of the people of Great Britain in Parliament, and the proper methods which they have taken to employ usefully those days which may be appointed for public fasts.

D. ADAMS, Secretary.

END OF APPENDIX TO VOL. I.

