

Members of the Society, relative to the Advantage which would be derived if the French could land 5,000 Men in this Country, to join those who should rise here.

Another leading Circumstance has appeared to your Committee, which, however ineffectual it has naturally proved, furnishes a strong collateral Proof of the Extent of the Views entertained, and that no Means, however criminal, were neglected for promoting them. The Circumstance referred to, is a Design, which has been the frequent Subject of Conversation among some Members of the Corresponding Society, of endeavouring to seduce the Army from their Duty, and the actual Employment of Emissaries to tamper with the Soldiers. In conformity with these Views, it also has appeared, that it was intended to prepare an Address to the Army; and a Paper has been discovered in Scotland, which has been already referred to, the Object of which was to endeavour to excite Disaffection in the Fencible Regiments in that Part of the Kingdom, and which has actually been circulated with much Industry among the Soldiers of that Description.

Various other Schemes of the most daring and criminal Nature are also stated, on the Evidence of Persons who were present, to have been at different Times the Subject of Conversation among Persons, the greatest Part of whom were Members of this Society. It even appears, that a Project has been particularly and repeatedly agitated among them, of striking a sudden Blow, and beginning by securing the Royal Family, and the Members of both Houses of Parliament, with the Hope (as it was expressed) "that the Army, being without Leaders, would no longer oppose their Attempts." Particular Individuals have been pointed out in these Conversations, as Objects of personal Vengeance for their Public Conduct. Evidence has been given of Discourses held concerning the Rescue of the Delegates of the Scotch Convention, while on Board the Transport in the River. An Attack on *Newgate* was meditated, according to a particular Plan referred to in the Conversation, with the View of releasing the Prisoners. A similar Conversation was held with respect to an Attack on the *Tower*; and in the Letter from the Secretary of State, which has been inserted in a former Part of the Report, it appears that there is direct Evidence of a Plan regularly concerted at *Edinburgh*, for seizing, at an appointed Time, all the Public Offices in that City, the Banks, and the principal Members of the Courts of Justice; and for making a similar Attempt (in consequence of a Secret Concert among the Members of the Societies in different Places) at One and the same Time, in some of the most considerable Towns in *Scotland*.

Your Committee do not state the various Circumstances which have been enumerated in this Part of the Report, as shewing that these extensive Projects, as far as relates to *England*, were as yet regularly digested, or in sufficient Forwardness for actual Execution; but the Evidence before them gives them every Reason to believe that these Views have been deliberately entertained, and made the repeated Subject of Conversation; and they cannot but consider them as strong Indications of the Principles and Intentions of the Parties concerned, and of the Nature of the Measures which might have been expected if they had proceeded, without Interruption, in increasing their Numbers, and in providing Arms in the different Modes already stated.

There remains another Circumstance which, however, as far as it has yet been investigated, is traced distinctly only to Two Individuals, both of whom were Members of the Corresponding Society, and principally concerned in some of their most remarkable Transactions: Whether any other Members of the Society were or were not acquainted with it, has not

appeared to your Committee. Three Copies have been produced to your Committee (in all material Parts conformable to each other) of a Paper which purports to be a Draft of Resolutions intended to be proposed at the Meeting which took Place at *Chalk Farm* on the 14th of April 1794. From the Blank left for the Place of Meeting, it seems probable that it was prepared before that Place was fixed upon: The Resolutions are different from those which passed at the Meeting, and there is no Reason to believe that they were in Fact proposed there; but distinct Evidence has been given of the Hand Writing being that of the Person in whose Possession One of the Copies was found, who is also proved to have shewn them as the Resolutions which he intended should be proposed at the Meeting: and the Two other Copies were found among the Papers of one of the most active Members of the Society, who appears, previous to the Meeting at *Chalk Farm*, to have been appointed, in Conjunction with some others, to arrange the Measures to be adopted, and at whose Suggestion (subsequent to that Appointment) the Meeting is stated to have been postponed beyond the Time originally proposed, because (as he is said to have represented) more Time was necessary to make known the Sentiments of the Society in bold and nervous Resolutions. Your Committee think it right here to insert the Paper itself, on which they will forbear to make any Comment.

Second Report from Committee of Secrecy.

" At a General Meeting of the *London Corresponding Society*, held at on Monday, the 14th Day of April, 1794.

" Citizen ——— in the Chair.

" Resolved, That all Sovereign, Legislative, and Judicial Powers are the Rights of the People; and though the People have delegated those their Original Powers to others, in *Trust*, for the Benefit of the Community, yet the Rights themselves are reserved by the People, and cannot be absolutely parted with by the People to those Persons who are employed to conduct the Business of the State.

" Resolved, That the Constitution of *England* is held by the King, Lords, and Commons, and other Officers appointed by the People, in *Trust*, for the Benefit of the People; and though these Trustees may regulate and improve the Constitution, yet they cannot alter or subvert it without committing Treason against the Nation.

" Resolved, That *Magna Charta*, or THE GREAT CHARTER OF THE LIBERTIES OF ENGLAND, made in the Reign of King *John*; THE PETITION OF RIGHTS, assented to by Parliament in the Reign of King *Charles the 1st*; and the several Laws made at and in Consequence of the *Glorious Revolution* in the Year 1688, are declaratory of those Parts of the Constitution of *England*, which are in and by them respectively declared.

" Resolved, That the Office of KING of *England* was not instituted by the People merely as an Office of Profit and Honour to the King, but he was so appointed as chief Trustee and Guardian of the Constitution and Rights of the People; and that important and laborious personal Duties are annexed to the Regal Office, the Objects of which are, to promote the Good of the People, and preserve their Rights in full Vigour from Innovation and Corruption.

" Resolved, That it is the Duty of the King to preserve the Constitution of *England* and the Rights of the People against every Incroachment; and, in order to enforce that Duty, the following Oath is required to be taken by every King

" on

Second Report from Committee of Secrecy.

" on his Accession to the Throne of *Great Britain* ;
" to wit : The Archbishop or Bishop shall say—Will
" you solemnly promise and swear to govern the
" People of this Kingdom of *England*, and the
" Dominions thereto belonging, according to the
" Statutes in Parliament agreed on, and the Laws
" and Customs of the same."

" The King or Queen shall say, " I solemnly
" promise so to do." Archbishop or Bishop—" Will
" you to your Power cause Law and Justice in
" Mercy to be executed in all your Judgments?"
" ANS. " I will."

" After this, the King or Queen, laying his or
" her Hand on the Holy Gospel, shall say—" The
" Things which I have before promised, I will per-
" form and keep ; So help me God."—and then shall
" kiss the Book.

" Resolved, That his present Majesty King
" *George* the Third, on his Accession to the Throne
" of these Realms, did solemnly take the said
" Oath.

" Resolved, That the Constitutional Rights of
" the People have been violated, and that it is the
" Duty of the People, in the present alarming Crisis
" to assemble and enquire into the Innovations or
" Infringements which have been made upon the
" Rights of the People, and how far the Declara-
" tions of the Constitution, as they were settled at
" the aforesaid Revolution, remain in Force, and
" which of them have been violated, and by whom,
" and also whether such Innovations, Infringements,
" and Violations, have been committed from the
" Negligence or Corruption of those who have
" been intrusted with the Government of the
" State.

" Resolved, That this Society do invite the People
" to meet in their respective Neighbourhoods, to
" elect One or more Person or Persons as Delegates
" to meet in a Convention, to be held on the
" Day of next, at such Place as shall be
" appointed by the Secret Committee of this Society;
" and that the Delegates so elected do forthwith
" transmit to the Secretary of this Society, N^o 9,
" *Piccadilly, London*, the Vouchers of their several
" Elections, in order that the Place of Meeting may
" be duly notified to them.

" Resolved, That is the Right and the bounden
" Duty of the People to punish all Traitors
" against the Nation, and that the following Words
" are now not a Part of the Oath of Allegiance ; to
" wit, " I declare that it is not lawful, upon any
" Pretence whatever, to take Arms against the
" King."

Before the Committee quit this Part of the Subject, they think it not immaterial to take some Notice of the different Means used to disseminate such Principles as have been stated through the lower Orders of Society, and to familiarize their Minds, by every possible Artifice, to such Ideas as might prepare them to be the Instruments of the most dangerous and desperate Designs. Some of these Means may at First Sight be considered as too trivial to be mentioned on an Occasion of this Importance ; but they appear to your Committee in a very different Light, when they recollect that an essential Part of such a Plan as has been in Agitation was to seduce and corrupt the thoughtless and uninformed, and to make use of the Channels of Communication best adapted to this Purpose. The Appearance of Insignificance and Levity, which belongs at First Sight to this Part of the System, is, in Truth, only an additional Proof of the Art and Industry with which it has been pursued. The Measures employed for this Purpose appear to have been deliberately prepared, and every Contrivance used to mix them (in the Shape most likely to capti-

vate Attention) with the ordinary Occupations or Amusements of those on whom they were intended to operate. Accordingly Lectures have been delivered on Political Subjects, calculated from their very Extravagance to catch the Attention of the Audience, and in the Course of them every Topic has been employed that could inflame their Minds, alienate them from the Laws and Constitution of their Country, and habituate them to Principles of Sedition and Rebellion. The most violent Publications to the same Effect have been secretly, but generally, circulated in Hand Bills, both in the Metropolis and in the remote Parts of the Country. Every Point that could excite Discontent, according to the Pursuits, Interests, or Prejudices of different Classes, has been successively dwelt on, and always in such a Manner as to connect it with the leading Design. The Attempt to accomplish this End has appeared in the Shape even of Play Bills and Songs ; Seditious Toasts ; and a studied Selection of the Tunes which have been most in use in *France* since the Revolution, have been applied to the same Purpose, of endeavouring to render deliberate Incitements to every Species of Treason familiar to the Minds of the People.

HAVING thus stated the Points which the Committee have thought it material separately to lay before the House, they will now proceed to those Particulars which will give a full and distinct View of the Rise, Progress and Nature of the general Design with which the Facts already stated are essentially connected ; for this Purpose your Committee will state in their Report the Points which appear most worthy of Attention, inserting in the Appendix a more particular Statement of the several Proceedings to which they refer. In doing this it will be necessary to advert to Transactions, some of which took place at an early Period, and have already attracted Observation ; but which it is nevertheless material to insert in the Order in which they took place, because they are highly important in explaining more recent Proceedings, and giving a connected View of the whole System.

The Period from which it appears to your Committee material to trace in this View the Proceedings of the Society for Constitutional Information, is that of the Publication of the Pamphlet so well known under the Title of " Rights of Man, by *Thomas Paine*."

Your Committee have already referred, in their former Report, to the Approbation given by the Society to this Work ; and this is One of the Points on which they should not think it necessary now to dwell, if they did not feel it essential to the Object before stated, of developing the Rise and Progress of the System which they are tracing, to call the Attention of the House to the leading Features of a Work thus approved and recommended, in order to compare it with subsequent Transactions of which it may be considered as the Foundation.

In this Pamphlet, published in the Year 1791, the National Assembly of *France* was represented as occupied in establishing a Constitution founded on the Rights of Man, and the Authority of the People, the only Authority on which [it was stated] Government had a Right to exist in any Country ; *Monarchy* and *Hereditary Succession* were treated as Absurdities ; the *Revolution* of 1688, and the *Succession of the House of Hanover*, were also made the Subject of Ridicule ; and a Distinction was drawn between Two Modes of Government, which were stated to prevail in the World : First, Government by Election and Representation ; and, Secondly, Government by Hereditary Succession. The former generally known by the Name of Republic, the latter by that of Monarchy and Aristocracy. On the 23d March 1791, the Society resolved, " That