

Hardy bondsmen, know ye not,
Who would be free, FOR SELF MUST TILL THE LAND.

My DEAR FRIENDS,—At length we are in possession of labour's first purchase. I say at length, for so numerous, watchful, united, powerful, and cunning are labour's enemies, that I once feared, HAVING FAILED TO BUY ME OFF, they would by some hocus pocus, disintegrate me off, that is—that they would throw some obstacle in the way of making out such a title as I would have accepted. However, it is done, but not without nearly a fortnight's delay; no fault of ours; and as I am always more ready to state good than evil of men, I am bound to say that nothing could be more honourable, straightforward, and creditable than the conduct of the vendors, their solicitor and surveyor, from first to last. I now write from this paradise, a lovely spot for weather beaten, oppressed labour, to have hit upon as its first port. I have ever held, and I believe all disinterested writers, especially democratic writers, have held, that pure liberty can only spring from the possession of the soil, or such a right to cultivate it for the labourer's own benefit, as will make him independent of the caprice of employers. The mouthing patriots have denounced us as traitors for advising the people to purchase what was theirs by RIGHT DIVINE, by MORAL RIGHT, and CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHT, but those worthy philosophers appear to have forgotten that your share of those many rights are about as small as your share in the land. We can one and all admire the courage, the dignity, and patriotism of the noble Roman who threw his sword into the scale as the purchase of his country's liberty, but let us remember that in those days there was no such thing as gunpowder, no such thing as Congreve rockets and cannon and musket, that the battle was shoulder to shoulder, club to club, and fist to fist; no law of conspiracy, or sedition, or constructive treason. But this line of argument is too complimentary for mad men who would say, if you cannot TAKE YOUR OWN STARVE, OR BE SLAVES FOR WANT OF IT.

However, here I am in YOUR HOUSE, addressing you as YOUR BAILEIFF, performing all the cheerful duties of YOUR STEWARD, and in that situation I am more happy than I have been since I abandoned the cultivation of the soil, for the mad speculation of amending the Laws of the Land. Since 1823 I have been prosecuted as a White-boy; I have been persecuted and prosecuted as an Antislavery; I have been persecuted as a Radical; and persecuted and prosecuted as a Chartist. I have been plundered by process of law, and hunted by process of conventional society. I have borne more persecutions, more systematic and continuous persecution, during the whole of that long period, than any single one of my class has ever borne before, and for this simple reason, that the persecution of my predecessors has always been mitigated by the sympathy, countenance, and support of a portion of the upper and middle classes, while all have united to hunt me down. But behold, after 23 years of dangerous navigation, I have sailed through the shoals and quicksands, and have reached the looked for port in safety with my crew unscathed, their confidence and their hope of victory stronger than ever. When before has a gentleman, an M.P., a barrister, a journalist, and landed proprietor derived dignity from the occupation of Baileiff to paupers, but here I am giving employment to 50 who have long been destitute, and wanting 100 next week.

This project of ours is now beginning to inspire good men with confidence, and had men with terror; while its certainty of success does, I confess, more than repay me for the loss of friends, the law's persecution, and society's impertinence and supercilious arrogance. In Ireland we have a very appropriate and significant term for a fool; we call him a BOSTHOON; and of all the Bosthoons it has been my fate to come in contact with, the editor of the *Sheffield Times*, without exception, the very greatest. This Bosthoon has attempted to criticise our rules, and to controvert our every assertion. This Bosthoon, like Mr. Chambers, has created his monster, Mr. Smith; and, like Chambers, has also created pigmies for Mr. Smith to demolish most easily and most cunningly. He thinks, because RENT ONLY represents £6,000 of £7,000, that, therefore, only £1,000 represents the original £6,000; and this Bosthoon argues as if every location was a positive loss of £6,000 to the Society; and commencing with a purchase of £6,000, he logically—like the man that stroked the woodcock till the poor gamekeeper was afraid it would become a wren—fritters our £6,000 down to £1,000, making no margin at all for £200 a year rent, representing the original £6,000, but Bosthoon having forgotten rent confirms our profit of £1,000 upon the outlay of £6,000; and then proceeds to demolish that also, forgetting rent until it diminishes down to less than nothing. Bosthoon speaks of bad land and bad houses, and the impossibility of purchasing land for £18 15s. the acre, and complains that the Directors have not given him a finger-post to the estate. Well, he has it this week, from B, a gentleman who has long resided in the neighbourhood; and then Bosthoon is outrageous that the Directors mean something substantial, and that some parties, and those parties the "Directors, of course," are to do this, that, and the other. Bosthoon appears to think, that all the necessary work is to be done by magic; for he objects to any one doing anything, but I cannot waste time and space upon such rubbish, and shall conclude by assuring the scribbler, that if he dares to repeat his nonsense, I will publish his article at full length. I have it in pickle for him. Bosthoon thus winds up—

"We do not believe that there is a sensible mechanic in Sheffield, or elsewhere in the kingdom, who, if he carefully considers the question, will fail to see that the whole is a complete piece of nonsense. Let me be as dissatisfied with his condition as he may, he will see that this is not the way to mend it. The good sense of many of our mechanics is proverbial. Let them discuss the matter with those who are inclined to go into the scheme. We have not said one word of what might be said on the subject. We have gestured themselves, and from indulging in ridicule though the temptation is very strong. We profess to be of our readers who are working men, to accept in a good spirit those remarks from one who, like themselves, lives on the wages of labour, though his labour is less of the hand than that, but not on that account less wearisome, and sometimes very profitable.

"Sometimes not very profitable"—the only true sentence in his rhapsody, and more true if he had said, "and NEVER VERY PROFITABLE." Now, working men, hear my plain and simple answer to all the ravings of ignoramus who know no more about the soil and its capacities than I do. I have known of navigation, a labourer, who is now doomed to all the horrors of uncertainty and the caprice of capital—to the whim of free trade policy—to whatever terms wealth may think proper to prescribe as the condition upon which statesmen shall hold office—to the law's changes and the market's fluctuations—purchases for himself and his family, released for ever from those galling casualties by the payment of £2 12s. 4d., and health, improved station, and earthly comfort, for £5 4s. 4d. Either sum once paid, his emancipation is secure, without the possibility of failure, and without the chance of further demand upon his resources; and this is accomplished solely upon the same principle that Joint Stock Banks, Insurance, Railway Companies, Building Companies, Mining Companies, and Shipping Companies, make fortunes—the PRINCIPLE OF CO-OPERATION; a principle that has never before been tried for the slave class, upon the plan of individual possession and co-operation of means, and free from any description of religious bias or sectarian interference.

I will now describe the condition of an occupant, who has paid £2 12s. 4d., for a two-acre allotment for which he receives a good well-built convenient cottage, two acres of land, and £15 capital to commence operations; for about £6 a year, the additional £1 a year being at the rate of £5 per cent. upon the additional £20 paid upon making his cottage more comfortable. The man who pays £3 18s. 6d., receives three acres of land, a four-roomed cottage and £22 10s. capital, and pays in the same proportion. The man who pays £4 4s. 4d., receives four acres of land, a five-roomed cottage, and £30 capital at a rent of about £11 10s. per year, less than double what the two-acre occupant pays, because the increased amount expended upon his cottage will not be so large. And now to deal with a two-acre tenant's

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time, capability, and opportunities. From the middle of June, hay-time, till the latter end of August, harvest-time, the usual wages paid to men is £1 per week, which for ten weeks makes £10. There are many factories, not cotton-mills, in the neighbourhood, besides these constant DOMESTIC EMPLOYMENT for women and children in plaiting straw, for which there is always a demand, and for which the neighbourhood has always been celebrated. A girl of fourteen years of age at this work will plait ten yards a day, for which she will receive 6s. or 6s. a week—say that each family has a son, and daughter who can help her, and that between them they do for amusement in leisure time as much as one person in constant employment would do in a day, that is, that both will earn 3s. a week, or do half as much between them as one can do with ease, that is £7 16s. a year, for the work goes on all the year; put the £10 earned by the man in harvest-time to the £7 16s. earned by the wife and daughter, it makes £17 16s., from which deduct £6 for rent, it leaves £11 16s. a year and the whole produce of two acres to be devoured. Deduct the rent of four acres, £11 16s., and it leaves £6 6s., and the produce of FOUR ACRES TO BE DEVOURD. Now, February, March, April, and May, and to the middle of June, are the months the small farms would require most labour, and from that period to the end of August, is the very period that they would require least labour.

You must always bear the fact fresh in memory, that such arguments as these are merely intended as an answer to FOOLS, who cannot see the means by which the rent is to be paid. While for myself I contend, and always have done, that, inviting as a pound a week would be for ten weeks in the year, any man would find himself more profitably employed at home; and if we even take the £7 16s. earned by the amusement of a mother and her daughter, we see the means of paying rent and eating all the stuff.

MASTER BUILDERS ARE SUCH CHEATS that we, the Directors, have resolved upon building all the Cottages ourselves. This will insure the best materials, and will save the masters' profits for the shareholders, so that by next week I shall be labouring's baileiff over 200 labourers. Surely this will be a satisfactory answer to all our correspondents for the week, and will plead my excuse with the men of Kensington and Westminster, for my absence on Monday and Tuesday nights. I save the fund £2 a day, and more; and I will be to £20 a day when the building commences. To-morrow (Friday) I am going to contract for two draw Wells, in convenient parts of the Estate; and to lay out the roads, and then to commence the Buildings. And now in conclusion, my friends, hear what I have to say. My mind, my soul, is set upon this project—I have sworn in my wrath THAT IT SHALL SUCCEED. And now that your masters are likely to secure the perpetration of Free-Trade for themselves, you have no possible hope of escape but the FREE LABOUR agricultural market. Mind that I have always told you, that labour would be the greatest sufferer, and the first sufferer from free trade; and that upon yourselves rests the responsibility of mitigating the evil. Again, remember, that for twenty-three years I have been foremost in every one of labour's struggles, under whatever name they were fought. And above all, and before all, bear the fact proudly in your recollection, that I have never had a meal at your expense, that I have never travelled a mile at your expense, or received one fraction for any poor service I have rendered you. THE LAND PLAN SHALL SUCCEED. No earthly power can prevent it. Read every word of D'Israeli's noble speech and see your future prospects, if you do not improve the present opportunity of being freemen instead of slaves!

I am, my dear friends,
Your friend and baileiff,
FRANCIS O'CONNOR.

CHARTIST CO-OPERATIVE LAND ASSOCIATION.

NOTICE TO SHAREHOLDERS.
The Directors are now in treaty for an estate of between 200 and 300 acres of land, of prime quality and most delightfully situated, and will proceed on the first Monday in July to ballot for from 80 to 100 cottages. The Directors would have been in a position to have taken the ballot during Whit Sunday as originally intended, but for the unexpected delay in making out the title to the first Estate. No notice can be given of actual location of purchases about to be made until the purchase is completed, as such course would inevitably lead to injurious competition.

FRANCIS O'CONNOR,
PHILIP McGRATH,
CHRISTOPHER DOYLE,
THOMAS CLARE,
THOMAS MARTIN WHEELER, Secretary.

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE TO THE MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL CHARTER ASSOCIATION.

FRIENDS,—We are led to address you on the present occasion in consequence of an attempt which has been made to induce the Chartist Societies of Manchester, Sheffield, Barnsley, and other towns in the north, to join in a movement for the Ten Hours' Factory Bill, Efficient Poor Law, Reduction of the National Debt, &c., all of which measures are good in themselves, but which we have strong reasons to believe are urged at this particular time, not with any hope of success, but with a design thereby to defeat the Corn and other measures of ministers which are now pending in Parliament, and it is because we are not prepared to allow ourselves to be made use of for such a purpose that we feel it to be our duty to warn you against sanctioning a course which would terminate in our discomfiture and disgrace.

Public opinion, no matter how created, has doomed the old system, and to contend for its continuance would be to render ourselves contemptible and odious without the slightest advantage to any of the great interests involved in the foregoing questions. We must not shew ourselves impervious to reason and experience. We entertain the same opinions of the results of Free Trade now as we have always done, but we think at the same time that it would betray a great want of judgment on our part to get up an agitation against the Government measure, being fully satisfied beforehand that the state of public feeling is such that our efforts would be futile, and our intentions liable to be very seriously questioned. And as nothing but an actual experiment will satisfy the public mind that great benefits will result from the changes proposed by ministers, we would rather hasten than retard them, feeling conscious that all our predictions will be fully realized, and that disappointment and disgust will be the consequences of a policy which aims at cheapening labour as a means of maintaining the commercial supremacy of the country and the elevation of a class who, from their wealth and power, consider themselves entitled to wield the destinies of the empire. Any opposition which we are now capable of offering would not have the effect of preventing the measure from becoming law, and even if it would, where would be the advantage of such conduct? The present system might be maintained a little longer, but surely no Chartist is so deeply enamoured of things as he is, as to wish for the continuance of a system which would be the effect of our opposition, even if it were successful. We are aware that a demand for an

EFFICIENT POOR LAW does not imply an approval of the present horrible and barbarous state of society, but it cannot be denied that a movement for such a measure just now is meant by its Originators as a mere ruse to attract popular attention, with the hope of entrapping the democracy into the support of a decaying and tottering aristocracy. Property ought to be taxed, and taxed heavily, for the support of the unemployed poor, but where is the party in the House of Commons who has done more than to support a proposition to that effect? The abominations of the present Poor Law was made a hustings cry, a clap trap, at the last general election by the very party to whom we are now called upon to give a qualified assent, and to establish an "efficient" Poor Law founded on the 43rd of Elizabeth." But what has been their conduct during the present Parliament? Have they shown themselves friendly to the principle of the 43rd Elizabeth? Has a bill

been introduced for the repeal of the present law, and the establishment of a better? Or have they shewn any disposition whatever to carry out in practice, what they so glibly pronounced in theory? We say they have not! and therefore to expect their support now would be a delusion, and lending ourselves to a party who would use us for their own purpose and afterwards prosecute us as a reward for our confidence and credulity. Such has ever been the fate of those who have received for assistance, and rendered to their "friends" when such "friends" have been incapable of serving themselves.

THE "TEN HOURS' BILL."
Is another of these great public questions in favour of which you are called upon to petition the House of Commons, and were it not meant more for oblation to other measures, than as a means of forwarding the question itself, we could cordially join in the request that petitions from all parts of the country should be immediately poured into Parliament in favour of Mr. Fildes's Bill, which has been so strenuously opposed by Sir James Graham on the part of Government. Treachery and impudence have been too beset this House on all hands and at every stage. During the session of 1844, it was decided by two divisions in the House of Commons that ten hours per day was long enough for young persons and women to labour in factories, but on the Government's expressing a determination to resign, if the measure was allowed to pass through without reaching the parties who now wish to make it a stalking horse, were base enough then to undo what they had so justly sanctioned, and in order to retain the services of the "Renegade Premier," voted themselves knaves, and doomed the women and children of manufacturing districts to continued torture and the destruction of life.

You, therefore, if under these circumstances, it would be wisdom to place any reliance upon the promises of those who, when they had the power lacked the courage or principle to serve the people, but who, when labouring under adversity, would feign court the aid of those whom they have betrayed and deceived. We have only one course open to us, and that is to demand the decision of the Convention held at Manchester in December last, viz: To remain as a separate and distinct body not assisting any other political party who will not consent to make the principles of the "People's Charter" the basis of their action. Such was the resolution of the Convention, and we cannot see any other course open to us, and that is to demand the decision of the Convention held at Manchester in December last, viz: To remain as a separate and distinct body not assisting any other political party who will not consent to make the principles of the "People's Charter" the basis of their action. 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THE STRUGGLE.

THE CONFERENCE—THE STRIKE.

Not only from England and Scotland, but from Ireland as well, we continue to receive the most grateful and gratifying thanks for the manner in which we have brought labour's question to bear upon the mind of the industrious classes, and if we have not grossly deceived ourselves and egregiously miscalculated upon the machinery which labour's battle is to be fought, we can come to no other conclusion than that the firmness of her sons will insure the triumph of their order. If the venal, the corrupt and profligate press of the country devoted to a title of that space which it devotes to the unjust cause of capital to the meritorious side of the question, the struggle would be short and decisive, but when we read such rampant, rabid, blustering, swaggering nonsense as that indulged in by the *Dispatch* of Sunday last, followed by an article in the *Times* of Monday, and which we have printed

elsewhere at full length, we confess that we enter, tain but slight hope of assistance or even justice from the press of England.

It is well, however, that the working classes should have both sides of the question, and it is with that view that we have reprinted *The Times* article at length, and, in the absence of all other evidence upon that article alone we undertake to establish the innocence of our clients and the justice of their cause, while from its tone we may reasonably deduce their prospect of success. *The Times*, after a tortuous construction as to what the law would consider conspiracy, and after stating in the outset that the Central Association is an illegal body, is drawn to the confession at last that its objects are legal, but that the confession of their legality, that is their reliance upon legal means, alone constitutes the illegality of the Association. This is reasoning more absurd than ever was ventured upon by the rawest school-boy. But, shifting the argument from the Central Association to the sectional strike, *The Times* selects some things that those on strike have done, and some things that they may yet do, as proof of the illegality of the Central Association.

The writer did not see that we contended for the necessity of the Central National Association for the express purpose of keeping all sectional movements within the strict limits of the law, and thus has the Thunderer unintentionally acknowledged the necessity and the value of the Central Association, while no attempt has been made to show the necessity or the value of a combination of the tyrant masters. There is not a single argument urged against labour's combination that does not tell powerfully against the master's combination, and yet this defender of labour's rights has no difficulty in seeing the beam in labour's eye, while his vision is too obscure to see the mote in that of capital. We presume that few working men will have perused the article in the *Times* without coming to the conclusion that it is a government feeling—ascertain how far the strong government with its reckless Home Secretary may experimentalize upon the few remaining rights and privileges of the working classes. Again we remind labour that we were the first to announce the coming of the projected Masters' and Servants' Bill, and that we are now the first to announce the coming of a much more TERRIFIC MONSTER.

We have already stated that its advent is only postponed until the objects of the United Trades shall be fully developed in the forthcoming Conference. And it is in order that the delegates should be prepared for such a result, and that they should protect their great leader against the charge of being associated with an illegal body, or a body, though legal in itself, having recourse to illegal means to carry out its objects, that we would impress upon the minds of the delegates the necessity of courage tempered with proper caution—that we would remind every man who rises to speak, that when the battle is transferred to the "cock pit" of the capitalists, where the "MAIN" of labour must be fought, the more unfettered and untrammelled and unsalable their champion is, the more successful will be in the advocacy of their cause. We learn from the press again that the combination of the masters goes bravely on—indeed, there is nothing to impede them in their progress, while there is everything to inspire them with confidence. They have money, as the *Dispatch* triumphantly tells us, to live in idleness and security, while the men must pine in uncertainty. They have law to protect them, and where it appears weak they have law makers of their own selection ready to strengthen their hands.

Nevertheless they evidently see a danger in the combination of the men to overcome which they will ultimately be compelled to appeal to the legislature for powers BEYOND THE ORDINARY LAW. As we anticipated, they labour force has neither been apathetic or unwarlike, for it will be seen from the cheering and magnanimous resolution of the members of the Leicester Chartist Co-operative Land Society, that solicitude about a project which it was supposed would numb all political feelings has not prevented them from rendering their mite to aid in labour's struggle; so that what in the outset appeared to be the cause of a single trade, has by the tyranny of the masters been converted into a national labour struggle. The men, as we anticipated, have remained firm, they have boldly performed their duty, and it now remains with their representatives and the governing body to give confidence to the soldiers who have so bravely suffered in the cause of their order.

On Sunday week, the 31st of May, Labour's Champion, the member for Finsbury, will arrive at Manchester. On Monday the 1st of June, labour's parliament will be opened under his auspices, and, however lightly the actors in this great drama may look upon their respective parts, we tell them that not only are the eyes of the civilised world upon them, but that upon their deliberations may depend the peace of the world, but certainly the happiness of the labouring classes. From the accounts that we receive from all parts of the kingdom we have reason to anticipate not only a large but independent representation of the Trades, while the importance attached to their proceedings by their enemies and the government will ensure for their cause an amount of circulation which under no other circumstances could they have insured. Having then so long and so boldly resisted the insolent conditions proposed by their tyrant masters, we have only to congratulate the brave sufferers upon the aid now so near at hand, and to assure them, that, however the servile press, supported by their calumniators may burke or misrepresent their feelings, our columns at least shall be devoted to the fullest representation and to the unbiassed criticism of their proceedings. The men have fought a glorious struggle, and again we say to their representatives and governing body, "Upon you depends the issue of this great struggle."

Woe to the conqueror!

Sir Robert Peel has conquered that is, so far as triumph over party and conversion from the opinions of a long life of study to the adoption of new fangled notions without reflection can imply conquest, he has conquered. The great conservative party elected to him as their chief, they placed him as their sentinel to guard their camp and to watch the movements of their enemies. They robbed him in a power never before enjoyed by chief, they strengthened him with a confidence never before conferred upon leader. They had fought the battle of the hustings and were proclaimed victors, and appointed him plenipotentiary with unqualified power to stipulate the price of victory, and his terms are

SURRENDER.

Strong in numbers, closely knit in zeal, kneaded as it were in one common leaven of interest, and linked in an unbroken chain of confidence in their unanimously elected chief, they abated much of their individual energy, and like all other troops flushed with victory, they relaxed into quiet apathy; he seized the moment of their confidence and handed them over an easy prey to the very party whom he had been elected to fight against.

In our first comment upon these measures which have now received the sanction of the *Lower House*, we made the distinction between the measures and their proposer. We hailed the settlement of a question, which, more than all others had perplexed the democratic councils as prophetic of good; while with the great bard we were, nevertheless, compelled to exclaim, "Though I like to hear the treason, I hate the traitor." We have followed the slow and tedious debate in its progress through the several stages, in the hope of discovering labour's share of the minister's triumph, but until the last night of the debate we were kept in ignorance. The speech of Sir ROBERT PEELE upon the last night of the debate was a mere heaving, a childish ravelling of the follies of Mr. CORNWALLIS and Mr. GALEY, without even a passing comment upon the copious, the full, the statesmanlike, the comprehensive and unanswerable, because unanswerable, speech of Mr. D'ISRAELI.

The question of Free Trade has been elaborately discussed for years in the House of Commons, on the hustings, and the platform, and the threadbare arguments have been repeated ad nauseam throughout the present controversy, while we assert, broadly and without fear of refutation, that, with the exception of Mr. D'ISRAELI's speech last Saturday morning, the working man's side of the question has never been even hinted at in the house, while in that speech we recognize an able and convincing confirmation of every shape and form in which for years we have placed the question before our readers, and however the defenders of inconsistency and "so forth" may attempt to evade argument, in a maudlin sympathy for a defenceless minister and an assumed reprobation of glowing and not unmerited sarcasm which towered above their imagination, their expression, or their courage, yet we tell them that D'ISRAELI's speech, which we print without the omission of a single line or word, will outlive the ribaldry of a prostitute press, the scoff of a degenerate Whig leader, and the sneers of those deserters upon whose subservient the minister has wrecked his party and his fame. We have heard speeches in the House of Commons; we have read speeches delivered in the House of Commons, but we candidly confess that it never fell to our lot to hear or read such a speech as that upon which we now write. It was terse, argumentative, and eloquent; comprehensive, conclusive, and convincing, and in the present state of parliamentary ignorance of the subject can only be answered by the sad realization of the anticipations of the hon. member.

Here are his points:—the Corn Laws, I admit, are a great fiction, but they are a fiction by which the universal traffic of the world has been regulated, and in that traffic labour has been a gainer rather than a loser by the fiction. Under this great mantle are concealed the fiction of your currency, the fiction of your taxation, the fiction of rents, the fiction of titles and church property, the fiction of debts, loans and interest, the fiction of prices, the fiction of incomes fixed and fluctuating, THE FICTION OF WAGES, and the fiction of REPRESENTATION itself, partially acquiesced in upon the grounds that labour had its share in the GREAT FICTION. Then mark how the great logician solves the problem relied upon by the free-traders. See how he demolishes the arguments in favour of free trade in corn, deduced from the increased importation of other articles of consumption. Observe the masterly manner in which he assigns to each crime and people the power of extending their produce according to the wants of newly-created consumers, and how he winds up his catalogue of labour's prospects out of the unconnected threads from which economists would weave the veil to obscure the workman's vision.

Mark how he distinguishes between the thing produced and the thing producing. He shows that the importation of all the articles employing labour and used for the sustenance of labour have been abundantly increased since the duties upon these several articles have been reduced. And then, in answer to the folly of those who have asserted "THAT THE WORLD HAS NO FEARFUL SURPLUS OF CORN TO SEND US," he triumphantly offers the increase in the importation of FLOUR FROM CHINA, an article in which there is no competition, and from it he shows that the price declined from 2s. 5d. to 9d., while the importation within the same period increased by millions upon millions of pounds. China has a monopoly of that article, and yet the INCREASED DEMAND insures the increased supply. He next shows, as we have shown a thousand times over, that the wages of the agricultural labourer are kept up by the fiction of the Corn Laws, and that all other countries capable of growing corn will be invited to the pursuit by the opening of the RICH MARKET, and that, as a matter of course and of necessity, the wages of the English wheat grower will be capriciously regulated by the FLUCTUATING STANDARD OF FOREIGN SUPPLIES. English prices of corn, notwithstanding her Corn Laws, have been more equable and less fluctuating than the prices in any other country, and of course the opening of her ports will now subject her to still more lamentable fluctuations, while we are confidently told that FIXEDNESS is the one great desideratum contemplated by free trade.

The honourable gentleman shows how the importation of cocoa, tea, coffee, sugar, cotton, and other articles has increased, while we presume economists, who hold out the ideal happiness of plenty, would have told us that it would be impossible for all the world to have met so large an increase in our demand for those articles within so short a period. Who does not recollect the statistical ravings of the Thunderer? Who has forgotten the balm administered to the bleeding wounds of the afflicted aristocracy? Who that does not remember the nursery tales of Printing House Square? They are fresh in the recollection of panting infants and wondering old age. America for six long years could not favour us with 500,000 quarters annually, while the rest of the world was not only an empty granary but a barren wilderness, where mouths, gaping as the Irish, were anxiously expecting relief from any kind and condescending neighbour. We saw every ministerial patronage or League gold, or mayhap both, under the storyeller's mask, and we marvelled how paying impudence ventured upon so bold a speculation as palpable falsehood. Well, despite the Croney's tale of comfort, we have since heard her lamentation over BENDING GRANARIES; SHIPMENTS WAITING THE PIAT TO DISCHARGE AT HOME AND TO LOAD ABROAD; Capitalists made nervous by the unsettled state of the question, and not daring to speculate until they could buy upon some SOUND PRINCIPLE of exchange. Our great friend was deaf, or at least dumb, when we assured him that the prices abroad would not regulate the price at home. That it was not what could be conveniently spared by other countries, but what could be capriciously speculated on by capitalists, that would find its way to the wealthy market, and that a little from each would give us a destructive surplus, which would scare labour from the domestic market. We laid down the scale by which risk, freight, and insurance—corn-growing countries could sell with a profit in our market. We showed that speculation would produce surplus, that surplus would produce low wages and unemployed hands, that unemployed hands would produce crime, expense, heavy poor rates, agitation and fluctuation of prices. We showed that wheat capriciously bought abroad must be capriciously sold at home, and always to the disadvantage of the home grower, who was the labourer; who was the best customer in the manufacturing market, and who, when neglected, was the most dangerous customer in the political market. We have never been answered, we never can be answered, but we have been confirmed. Mr. D'ISRAELI has logically confirmed our every assertion. He used his inanimate figures well, he might have used his animate figures better. The non-arrival of foreign cattle is not consequent upon religious faith, it proceeds from the facts that at the time we stated, namely, that cattle was a commodity of which no country could have a surplus. It is a surplus that cannot be stored for speculation; and, as we stated at the time, there not being an existing surplus of a commodity that required at least five years for its growth, the effect of the cattle tariff could not be felt till the autumn of the present year. Cows that were served by the TARIFF BILL in August, 1842, would not calve till May, 1843, and their produce would not be fit for the English market till next autumn, (and barely then), the period we assigned for the development of the Cattle Tariff.

In 1842, the *Sun* and the *Chronicle* childishly answered our arguments, by showing us that because Spanish *beasts*, imported as an experiment, and sold for £12 10s., could not bear the cost of £4 10s. transit, that we were safe from intruders. But we explained, that while 35 per cent. was a large outlay for conveyance of experimentalists, that a suitable arrangement for the transit of heavy beasts, worth from £25 to £40, would reduce the cost of transit to 5 per cent., against which the English feeder could

not contend. We showed, that the present scarcity is a consequence of the panic of 1842, and that cattle which ought to have been held as stock, were foolishly sold; whereas now, stock is dear, because graziers and feeders are supplying the place of that which they ought not to have sold, and because a superabundant crop of turnips has induced farmers to overhold their sheep.

However, we hail the repeal of the Corn Laws, not for the substantive or the immediate benefit that the change will confer upon the labouring classes, but for the many collateral issues that will arise from the experiment, and which must be adjudicated upon according to the position assumed by labour in the struggle which is assuredly at hand. We hail the change because it will strip ignorance of its prophetic importance; because it will exhibit the real complexion of pale-faced philanthropy; because it will teach the credulous, who have confided in the sophistries of a hollow-hearted, interested, reckless, speculating faction, the folly of supposing that the same parties can feel an equal interest in the well-being of living man, and in the success of his inanimate, unconsumable competitor. We hail the revolution because it must be bloodless, as the disorganisation of party confederation will ensure the union of labour against which ignorance, sophistry, and inconsistency, will struggle in vain. We hail the change because it will knock the last crutch from under limping Whiggery; because it will tear the new mask from off the face of hypocritical Toryism. We hail the change because IT WILL MAKE ONE OF the mighty class of labour, which, to say the truth, has been disinherited by the promised benefit from cheap bread, high wages, and plenty to do—the exploded trinity of the unity of humbug. And, while we hail the change, we cannot fail to express our admiration of the incomparable speech of Mr. D'ISRAELI, which will go far to prepare the national mind for the result of Ministerial inconsistency—a speech which, we feel convinced, every working man in the kingdom will read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest.

PARLIAMENTARY REVIEW.

The Corn Bill and the Tariff have at length escaped from the limbo of the House of Commons and made their appearance in that awful "other place" so often mysteriously alluded to, and in which their strangulation has been predicted, with more or less confidence, by various Protectionist prophets. How much of truth there was in these predictions will soon be seen. At present the appearances are by no means of a favourable nature for the minister. His pet measures for the session have escaped popular mutilation or shipwreck either on the Scylla of Protectionist opposition or the Charybdis of Irish tactics. But the delay caused by both, has impaired the prestige with which they would have been invested had their introduction to the House of Lords been two months earlier. To be sure, PEELE has maintained his original majority with the addition of one, but the month of May, which was to be witness of a universal famine if the Corn Bill did not pass, has waned into old age without exhibiting such general destitution and disease as the potato-panic mongers at the close of last and the commencement of the present year unanimously predicted both for Ireland and this country. Had the minister, despising any temporary or factitious aid to be derived from such a source, relied entirely upon the great principles and the wider experience to which he afterwards referred, the position of his measures in the Lords would not be in the slightest degree weakened; but the great stress laid by himself and his lieutenants on the potato failure, and the manner in which we are approaching another crop of that useful root without the realization of the predictions in which they freely indulged, will no doubt put a power into the hands of the Peers which they will not be slow to avail themselves of.

These and other damaging circumstances contribute to produce a general feeling of doubt as to the fate of the ministerial policy in the Lords. The Duke of Richmond announced the most determined opposition, under the leadership of Lord STANLEY. A meeting of Protectionist Peers, very numerous attended, has taken measures for organizing the strength of the party, and bringing it to bear effectively on the divisions. The liberal journals speak dubiously, and the *Post* triumphantly, of the approaching struggle. It is within the list of probabilities that a resignation for a dissolution, or both, may intervene before the certain victory of the League and PEELE. Be it so. The people's cause gathers strength from the collision of hostile parties. Each defeat sustained by a political party sends it back to the people for support. The people are beginning to learn at what price they should give that support, without which no party whatever can long exercise power in this country.

With the exception of the discussion on the Lacey Bill, in the Commons on Wednesday, the proceedings in Parliament this week have been of a very dull description. One whole evening was devoted to a debate arising out of the disputed Bridport Election. Upon such subjects, members are afflicted with a *cacotheca loquendi*, an itch for talking which would be unexaggerable if we did not recollect that, however stupid on other matters, they must be all tolerably well versed in the mysteries of a contested election. No doubt most of them are better acquainted with a tariff of votes than of customs' duties, and it is always pleasant to talk about what one knows than upon topics of which they are wholly or partially ignorant. "Bribery and corruption," to use the hackneyed parliamentary phrase, are, however, inherent vices of our present vicious representative system, and disputes between the two great factions, or individual members of either, on such a subject, are simply disgusting because neither of them are in earnest, neither of them feel the system itself to be immoral and degrading, neither of them sincerely desires its reformation.

The only people's questions discussed this week and last, were the Lacey Bill of Mr. DUNCOMBE, and the Ten Hours' Bill of Mr. FRIEDEN. The Commons, on a division, threw out Mr. DUNCOMBE's bill by a majority of 85, the government were only saved from being beaten by a majority of 30 or 40 on Mr. FRIEDEN's bill on the previous Wednesday by putting up Mr. CARDWELL, the Secretary of the Treasury, to speak against them.

These contradictory decisions upon cognate subjects are somewhat puzzling, and especially so when we find among

rests, and bring about a domestic revolution. But what will be the effect of this? It will be directly or indirectly threefold. First, it will be a perilous, why is it produced? Second, it will be what so many ask, and what so many fear, a world war. Third, it will need not ask what is the state of the world, but what is the state of the mind.

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