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NOW OR NEVER—
NOW AND FOR EVER!

TO THE CHARTISTS.

My Friends,

Let me implore of you to be up and doing; as rely upon it, if the coming struggle between landlord and money-lord is allowed to be settled while you are not parties in the action, you will be worse off than ever.

I have referred you to my prophecies in 1841, and I will now call your attention to another prophecy, which is also printed.

On the 3rd of December, 1831, there was a large meeting of the aristocracy of the county and city of Cork, held in the County Court-house, for the purpose of aiding the English Reformers. When the great men appointed to speak had concluded their orations, it was presumed the meeting had terminated, but having come thirty miles I was determined not to remain silent.

I rose in the gallery, and made what all called the speech of the evening; and mark my concluding sentence, published in the *Cork Southern Reporter*, on the 6th of December. I said:—

"I advocate Parliamentary Reform with "all my heart, but I tell you, Irishmen, that "it will be the very worst measure passed for "your country, if not accompanied with a "REPEAL OF THE UNION; because the first act "of the first Reformed Parliament will be to "pass some Gagging Bill, to suppress the "expression of public opinion in this "country."

Now, my friends, that was my prophecy in December, 1831, and, as I predicted, the very first act of the Reformed Parliament was to pass the most bloody and atrocious Coercion Bill that ever was placed upon the Statute Book; substituting Courts-Martial for Trial by Jury, and, in fact, placing the people under a complete military despotism.

Well, Chartists, let me now tell you, in 1850, that unless you have FREE TRADE IN LABOUR, you will derive as little benefit from Free Trade as you and the Irish have derived from Parliamentary Reform.

Your opponents would now base national prosperity upon the large surplus of money now in this country; but was there ever a greater anomaly than idle land, idle labour, and idle money, with bastiles full of UNWILLING IDLE PAUPERS? There is now a strong agitation springing up in London, while I regret to say that the bees in the Northern Hive do not even buzz, as they are satisfied with their temporary activity; and they may rely upon it that some tinkering legislative measure will be based upon their satisfaction.

I have often told you, that I would never resist any movement that was calculated to confer any benefit upon you, and, therefore, I have cordially co-operated with the Parliamentary Reform Association. Meantime, if I do undertake the task of giving you public instruction—and if in that capacity I should fail to discharge my duty faithfully—you would naturally look upon me with contempt.

For this reason, then, I beg to call your critical attention to Mr. SCHOLEFIELD's anticipated hope from the Freehold Land system, at a meeting held at St. Pancras, on Tuesday night, and I will give you but a very few extracts. He said:—

He had obtained votes for five or six counties by means of freehold land societies, and he would use them in voting for persons who would even go beyond the plan at the head of which Sir J. Walmsley stood. (Cheers.) He spoke for himself only; others, of course, were at liberty to use the franchise in a different way. He considered the freehold land movement to be the most immediately practical means of effecting a reform of the Reform Bill.

Now, the thing to prove was, how this Freehold system would enable Mr. SCHOLEFIELD and his party to go further than Sir JOSHUA WALMSLEY and his party; and of what use would his votes, in five or six counties, be to the working classes? Do you suppose they would be given for a Chartist, against a Whig? Not a bit of it. They would be held as the balance of power between Whig and Tory. And then mark, if these freeholders constituted the balance of power, they would—and small blame to them—sell their votes as the best produce of their freeholds, to the highest bidder.

Again, see what a sluggish, crawling, sneaking system this is admitted to be. He says:—

It they were able to do so much in the three or four counties he had named in the course of two years, what might they not effect in other places where a much less effort was required, and where the majority against the liberal candidates had been only 109 or 150?

Now, only think of such a blood run. Think of such a steam power as this. The chance, not the certainty, of acquiring a balance of power in three or four counties, in the space of two years. Is not this "Live horse and you'll get grass?" But, then, as the real objects and probable prospects are better defined in resolutions than in speeches, let me now submit to you the two resolutions unanimously adopted at the St. Pancras meeting:—

That the first duty of the state is to endeavour to elevate the working man, and to make him feel an interest in the well-being of the country; that the procuring for him the elective franchise is the first step to raise him in his own estimation and in the social scale; and this meeting determines never to relax in its exertions till all men rated to the support of their poorer brethren are in possession of that important privilege.

That it is highly derogatory for freemen to repeatedly beg the legislature to grant that which they possess an independent power to obtain, viz., the elective franchise; that it has been proved that freehold land societies present the ready and certain means of placing men in that honourable position, and as such deserves the support of this meeting

Now, Chartists, what think you of those resolutions? The first says, that the procuring for man the elective franchise is to raise him in his own estimation, and in the social scale.

Well, in my opinion, nothing can so conduce to elevate man in his own estimation, and in the social scale, as the admission that mind, not land, should be the test of the franchise.

Well, then, what do you think of this admission being followed by the following declaration, which appears in the second resolution:—"That it is highly derogatory for freemen "to repeatedly beg the legislature to grant "that which they possess an independent "power to obtain, viz., the elective franchise."

Now, if the most critical philosopher can reconcile those two resolutions, I shall be most happy to be led out of the road of error into the path of truth.

I say, enfranchise the mind, and the Land will be speedily emancipated; but the power of the wealthy is solely based upon the disunion and antagonism of the poor. Here you have Communists reprobating all legislation; Teetotallers showing how all may be enfranchised, and opposing those who cannot; and Freehold Land advocates endeavouring to enfranchise a sufficient number to secure the ascendancy of a class; and all opposed to Chartism, which would very speedily lead to individuality of possession, and co-operation of labour—would make drunkenness a crime, and place every man as an independent freeholder upon his own land; and, therefore, what we require is such a co-operation of sound and intellectual mind as will lead to the legitimate developement of the national resources of the country, instead of—as now—being cultivated by the standard of class-speculation.

Sir JOHN TYRELL—a violent Tory—and others of his class, are now discussing the question of Universal Suffrage, in the hope, no doubt, of bidding for popular support at the next general election. The Irish people are opposed to a return to Protection; so am I, because I am opposed to all retrograde movements. But in order to give you a still further instance of the growth of mind in that country, let me submit to you the following resolution, passed in the county of Cork, at a meeting held on Sunday last, with Dr. POWER, one of the Members of the County, in the chair. Here it is:—

That the foundation of agricultural prosperity is security of tenure by tenant right or long leases, which would enable the tenant to dispose of his farm to the highest bidder, and a rent regulated by the reduction in the value of corn, &c.

That the present cry for protection is got up for selfish purposes, firstly, to divert the minds of the people from the just demand for tenant right and reasonable rents; and, secondly, to enable the Conservatives to get into the representation of the country, to oust the popular party, and to check the march of enlightened legislation, and hence we denounce the Protectionistst meetings as a mockery, a delusion, and a snare.

Now mark that, and bear in mind that I represented the same county in 1834, and could not get a single member to second a similar motion.

Now, Chartists, I have done, with this one single admonition. If you are apathetic in the manufacturing districts, in consequence of temporary prosperity, you will be handed over, neck and crop, from the grasp of the landlord, to the gripe of the money-lord, and when trade gets bad, and you squeal out, may I be d——d if you catch the RED CAT in the trap again.

Your faithful and uncompromising advocate,

FEARGUS O'CONNOR.

MR. O'CONNOR'S TOUR.

It was my intention to have made a tour throughout the country before the meeting of Parliament, but, as I have resolved never to travel a mile, nor eat a meal, at the expense of any party, and as the injustice of the millions has disabled me from making such an expensive tour, I must forego the pleasure; for Mr. MACNAMARA's action, my own expenses therein, and to save prisoners from oakum picking, I have paid nearly £500, and to prove the honour of the millions, I have received back about £70; while the receipts announced from the middle classes, upon a platform, from a very few of them, amounted to £1,500.

At foot of this letter, I give you one received from the Solicitor who defended Mr. VERNON, and you will discover what he threatens me with.

I shall be in Leeds on Monday next, because I rejoice to meet men amongst whom I have lived for seven years, and from whom I have ever experienced affection, gratitude, and support.

FEARGUS O'CONNOR.

"Barnard's Inn, London,
"17th December, 1849.

"SIR,—I think neither yourself, nor the million of Chartists whom you represent, can now complain of any want of patience on my part, in waiting for the Bill for VERNON's defence!!! How correctly does your correspondent, 'J. OLDFIELD, of Huddersfield,' in his letter to you of the 10th ult., appear to appreciate the character of the body of Chartists, when he very properly observes that—

'I think it was the duty of the Chartists to have paid the debt long ago, before it came to a trial. I am ashamed to own the Chartists as a body, for their supineness and apathy in those affairs; as I am confident, if each were to pay a trifle, they might raise funds for anything, and gain a glorious moral victory over all their enemies.'

"Now, Sir, in July, 1848, I defended Mr. VERNON, one of your Chartist leaders. My bill—about £180—up to the present time remains undischarged, much to the discredit of your Chartist constituency; and although I have been urged by many to adopt legal proceedings against you personally, I have, hitherto refrained. Not so, Mr. MACNAMARA. He—though more closely connected to you (as appeared on the trial) by friendship than myself—not getting paid, brought his action, obtained a verdict against you, and, this term, has had that verdict confirmed. Let me ask you, is it commonly decent for a large body of people like the Chartists to allow such proceedings against you? But what course has the professional man to adopt if he advances his own money and cannot get paid? Is he to work like myself, for nothing? Is he to sue a Committee not worth a groat—now in oblivion—and to increase his expenditure; or is he so mercifully to deal with his client, the imprisoned Chartist, as to sue him at the termination of his two years' incarceration? Thus am I placed. Who can I look to for payment but yourself, the fountain-head and representative of the Chartists—a body amounting to a million of people? If you are not legally bound to pay, you are morally. And I do not hesitate in saying, it is a perfect disgrace to them that they permit you for one moment to be placed in such an unenviable position. How many times have I addressed you on this subject, and how often have you appealed to the great body of Chartists—but in what manner have they responded? Not 5*l.* has been subscribed towards payment of my Bill, *although I have not brought any action against you.* But it must come, for patience is getting exhausted. Had anything been omitted on the trial of Mr. VERNON—had not every possible exertion of counsel, myself, and my clerks, been used in that great trial, I might, perhaps, have said there was reason for my not being paid, on account of negligence; but this was not so: you, as well as all others who knew how Mr. VERNON's defence was got up, were pleased to publicly say it was well and properly conducted—but, as I have said before, an angel from Heaven would not have procured any other verdict than 'Guilty,' in the then prejudiced minds of the judges and juries. But why am I to be punished?—why am I to remain unpaid for professional services to you and the body of Chartists, done for your and their benefit, and thus publicly acknowledged? Shame upon the body, to allow either you or myself to be thus situated! Shame and discredit be upon them all, I say, that will allow their leader to be their target, to cover their dishonour, whilst they cringe behind the covering, because they won't subscribe a penny or a halfpenny each to his rescue! Well may Mr. OLDFIELD exclaim, that Mr. MACNAMARA's action ought not to have gone trial, and that he (Mr. OLDFIELD) is ashamed to own them as a body, when a trifle from each might raise funds for anything, and gain them a glorious victory over all their enemies.

"Before, therefore, adopting any legal proceedings against you, to recover my just demand, I once more afford the chance of your calling the attention of the Chartist body to the subject. Let them adopt the course already pointed out by yourself, and in last week's *Northern Star* by their friend Mr. OLDFIELD. Let us see if they will allow another trial to take place, similar to Mr. MACNAMARA's, which I shall only bring when all your exhortations to them, and when I consider all other chances of your being saved from this obloquy, have failed. If such your appeals fail, why then allow me to congratulate you upon the high and distinguished honour you possess, in being the representative of such a body—whilst, on the other hand, great I know, would be your satisfaction, and, in fact, that of thousands of the Chartists, in having such a Leader, when he could proudly exclaim: 'Poor as many of ye are, still ye have subscribed your mite, and all just demands are discharged.'

"When I took up the defence of VERNON—and which I did not until I was assured from you that my bill would be paid—I came in contact with another solicitor, who said: 'If you go on with the defence without 200*l.* or 300*l.* in advance, you will never be paid.' I would not think as he did, but advanced my own money on the strength of your word—the Leader of the Chartist body. What has been the result? Exactly what my professional brother prognosticated—I am unpaid to the present moment.

"In conclusion, therefore, I once more repeat, I am exceedingly loath to adopt legal proceedings against you; but I have no alternative if I am not forthwith paid, and I trust that you will take such steps to prevent this most unpleasant proceeding to me, as you think the exigency of the case requires. It is now a year and a half back that I defended Mr. VERNON; no one can, therefore, say I have trespassed on you, or been troublesome; but all say what a disgraceful thing it is that my account has not been long ago discharged.

"I am, Sir, your very obedient Servant,

"J. E. NIXON.

"To Feargus O'Connor, Esq., M.P.,
"24, Notting-hill Terrace."

"P.S.—I have not received the *Northern Star* for the last three or four weeks.

"J. E. N."

If England with her proper power at home,
Cannot defend her own door from the dog,
Let us be worried; and our nation lose
The name of hardihood and policy.—SHAKSPEARE.

TO THE WORKING CLASSES.

My Friends,

To prove to you that "the folly of to day may be the wisdom of to morrow," let me call your attention to the following extracts from my letters addressed to the Irish landlords, from my dungeon, in July, 1841, now going upon ten years; and when you read them, ask yourselves, whether or not, every one of my prophecies with respect to the effect of Free Trade, if not accompanied by timely and prudent concession, have not been realised as regards that country. And now, in the year 1850, I tell you that, you will very shortly witness the same results as regards England, if the landlords do not come to their senses, and measure the value of their property by State necessity and national requirements, instead of by political patronage,

Your faithful Friend and Representative,

FEARGUS O'CONNOR.

My lords and gentlemen, having said so much with a view to free your mind from any prejudice which a conviction for what is called libel might have created, allow me to tell you that, however the meshes of the law may have caught me, my real crime consists in an endeavour to preserve your estates from the grasp of the English manufacturers. That is 'the head and front of my offending;' but do not mistake me—I claim no credit for thanks, inasmuch as my motives were of a far higher nature than a desire to uphold unjust powers in your hands for the preservation of a very foolish, and a very destructive monopoly. My motive was to give you the opportunity of reforming before others compelled you to transfer. My lords and gentlemen, such is precisely your present position. You have now the option, whether you will forego monopoly and commence reform, or preserve monopoly and see your estates transferred to other hands.

Lord Morpeth's Representation Bill, so fortunately defeated, would have increased the practice to an extent frightful to be contemplated; and, judging from the past, must either have depopulated a great portion of Ireland, or must have paralysed the hand of industry, and have limited the expenditure of capital, by depriving the occupying tenants of all tenure beyond your will in their farms, and, consequently, all inducements and heart to improve their holdings.

You have now the option whether you will reform your own abuses, or allow those abuses to remain as a mark for the most powerful (because the most wealthy and centralised) party in the state, against which to direct the full current of popular indignation, ministerial experiment and commercial speculation assault, with the view of transferring your estates to their own pockets.

The church, in its turn, must have known that when it became a party to the appropriation of the trust property of the poor, that its turn would one day come; and the landlords must have been aware, that when they became a party to the appropriation of church property to their own uses that their day would come; and those who now appropriate your estates to their own uses, under the specious pretext of feeding the poor, may rest assured that their day will also come.

My lords and gentlemen, I mention these things to warn you of your danger, to alarm you of the thiefs approach, to rouse you to action, in order that, profitting by the portrayal of your own folly and the folly of others, you may take the means of doing gratuitously for yourselves that which, if left undone by you, will be done by rougher hands; for done, believe me, it will be, and that right speedily. My lords and gentleman, pray, pray, pray, keep that one feature full in view,—THAT DONE IT MUST BE; and therefore the question is, WHO SHALL DO IT?

If you come forward in your political strength, and reduce expenditure, debt, wages of public servants, and all the cost of government, to that standard to which a repeal of the Corn Laws would assuredly reduce your estates, you will but nominally suffer; your rentals will be reduced, but your burdens will be correspondingly lessened; your incomes will be virtually smaller, but actually more valuable, because more secure; your position in society will not be the least altered. The most wealthy will still be the most wealthy; the several classes measured by the same graduating scale, will see no perceptible change in their social or monetary arrangements. This change you can accomplish by a vigorous and timely exercise of your political functions. However, should you still cling to high rents and expensive government, and a false pre-eminence from which a sudden shock may hurl you, you must, in such case, make timely use of your power as landlords; you must bring your estates into the retail market, to suit the habits, customs, capabilities, and wants of your own people; while you will open for the English manufacturers a trade, a *home trade*, a sure trade, larger and more remunerative than all their quackery would produce. Thus, my lords and gentlemen, you have it in your power to act as a breakwater to the rushing rapid, while you are erecting your new building; and, if you proceed with judgment, you may strike your centres at any given moment, without fear of damage from the flood; but, oppose the current, and your all will be hurried down the stream.

Does not each day's novelty furnish you with the one single object, however wide it may be of the mark; and that that object is to reduce the working people, made surplus population by machinoy, to the necessity of working at wages regulated by the mere existence point, or of emigrating to some foreign land, or of dying of hunger, or of revolting against the unnatural state of things.

My lords and gentlemen, let me, in concluding this, my first letter, warn you that, *at once*, either the corn laws must be repealed, or you must render their immediate repeal unnecessary, or put yourselves in a condition to meet the new order of things created by repeal, or defend your estates by force of arms. Again, I tell you, my lords and gentlemen, we can rob you all in less than six weeks, though you had the Court, the Lords, and the Commons with you; and, having done so, then you would be thrown into revolution with the fundholder, the parson, the mortgagee, the simple contract creditor, your mothers, your brothers, your sisters, and your dependants, who, believe me, will be loth to give up their grasp upon their monopoly, as you have been to surrender yours. Judge then, in which situation you can best arbitrate, whether before or after TRANSFER. We are called destructives, while we have borne oppression, rather than change the warfare to our oppressors camp.

II.

Have you ever known a working man in Ireland, with certain employment at 8d. a day, and *paid*, to be charged with an act of dishonesty, violence, or outrage? I have not; and my experience goes far in that respect. I have heard scores of magistrates admit the same. Do you not then, in the uncultivated state of your land, and in the unemployed state of the people, discover all the errors of society, and see just cause for self-reproach?

Take *class legislation* and GUNPOWDER for your dividend, and political economy for your divisor, and the result in your quotient will be a surplus of fictitious money; a large surplus of manufactured goods; a large surplus population rendered useless by machinery; a large surplus of non-consuming unregulated producing power; a large army; a large navy; a large church establishment; a large law establishment; a large police establishment; a large regal establishment; a large poor law establishment; a large oligarchical establishment; a small centralised, gorged slaveowners establishment; social ruin; an empty exchequer; little trade; discontent, crime, insecurity of property, gaols full of political offenders; starvation and revolution. As a superabundance of fictitious money presses hard upon, and reduces the value of real capital, so does fictitious labour press hard upon, and reduces the value of real labour. And as the bankrupt fails in the midst of surplus wealth, so does the operative starve in the midst of abundance, neither having the means of acquiring the drug. Thus you see *merchants failing* in the midst of affluence, and the people starving in the midst of plenty.

My lords and gentlemen, political economy has no finality, and, believe me, that the political economists will never rest satisfied till they make you tenants in your own houses, stewards to your own estates, and beggars from the Pole, the Turk, the Russian, the Prussian, and the American, upon your land. They wish to place you upon the shopboard, making breeches and coats, which the foreigner may, or not, purchase, according to convenience; while they would make you dependent upon the foreigner for that which you must have three times a day, or starve, or do that which, *I am quite sure you never could bring yourselves to, as you have transported thousands upon thousands for the same*—STEAL.

III.

Now, my lords and gentlemen, it is my intention, as assessor, faithfully to discharge my duty between you, as rivals for power. In the first place, then, the manufacturers hold out something to the people, although it is a delusion; while you, sturdy and obstinate, in your newly acquired power, have not even yet, in the eleventh hour, offered anything substantial as a set off against the manufacturers shadow. You hope to ward off their encroachments by Parliamentary majorities, while they expect to assail your granaries with a legion of starving besiegers, whose passions, by the stoppage of the mills, they hope to inflame to an extent unassailable by the voice of reason, uncontrolable by the influence of their leaders, and invincible from their numerical strength, and their masters implied consent, to see all law set at defiance to a certain point, that point being the exact one where their own object shall have been achieved. To these inducements, for revenge, add the hope of impunity, and the heavy state of life and death, and weigh them against your political majorities, and your scale will kick the beam!

What must be my fate when I feel convinced that that state of things, at which I have previously hinted, will be sure to come, and when in the bustle and turmoil, all that I have done, or endeavoured to do, will be made to appear to the starving people, by their hard, but commanding taskmasters, as the immediate cause of their pressing wants.

My lords and gentlemen, there is another anomaly, which never strikes you. It is that agricultural Ireland should have for its governor, a general, a kind of military chieftain; a kind of Don Quixotte, with his squire Sancho Panza in the Cabinet, who knows [illegible] whose whole time is taken up in the adjustment of party squabbles, political disagreements, consideration of military, police, and magisterial affairs, and changed, too, with each administration. He is a mere political tool, and in nine cases out of ten, a most agregrious fool! either a military fop, flying about the country in peacocks feathers, courting his party, or a quiet old gentleman, fearful of doing right, lest he may be suspected of doing wrong; and in his endeavour to please every body, pleasing nobody; and losing his character into the bargain. Such is your political chieftain; while the greatest recommendation which your agents can have is a steeled heart. That man only, is fitted for the collection of rack rents, who can look upon the legal act of taking the bed from under the sick woman, and the last cow from the little children, as divested of all moral turpitude.

My lords and gentlemen, you may consider it a 'great bore' to be compelled to make any such arrangements, as will suit the present times, but the question is, whether you will put up with a choice of evils—whether you will undertake the 'bore' of collecting more rent from a greater number—or be 'bored' by going without any rent.

My lords and gentlemen, once more, I caution you against the foolish notion, when an English political question cannot affect Irish property. I tell you that poverty, like water, will find its level; and I also tell you that the most rising and powerful political interest is that of the *English manufacturers, whom you will find to your cost* to be excellent engineers, and which you will admit, when they have reduced you, after payments of debts and mortgages, to the very same condition that the hand-loom weavers are now in.

IV.

In the first place, then, labour is the foundation of all wealth. That is indisputable. The barren surface of your soil, until made available by the poor man's labour, has no more value than the shapeless block of marble, rough from the quarry, before it receives value from the sculptors hands, who puts the stamp upon it; and even its value is but ideal; or rather it must be regulated by the price of the produce of the land. So with every luxury that you use in this world from the gorgeous feast, the gaudy happings of your persons, the sumptuous furniture of your mansions, and the splendour of your carriages, down to the mere necessaries of life—all, all are regulated by the price of labour; and having deteriorated the value of labour by your law of primogeniture settlement, and retail as also by your whimsical mode of leasing ground for terms of years, at fixed rents, without reference to annual produce or price, and also by bad tenure and destructive conditions annexed to occupation; having by these complicated errors deteriorated the value of labour, you have drugged the world with its cheap produce, while you have smothered the bees in the midst of their own honey, not allowing them the very meanest subsistence after all; and you now vainly hope to limit suffering to those very producers never reflecting that all other properties of every description, and however guaranteed, whether they be fixed income salaries, or fluctuating incomes, and whether insured by rents, acts of parliament, custom, or contract, must sooner or latter catch the infection, and take the disorder, which is—*poverty*.

I shall now proceed to lay before you the five measures which I proposed for immediate relief in 1834 and 1835.

To move for leave to bring in a bill to compel Irish landlords to give leases for ever at a corn rent; and in all cases where lands are now held upon lease or accepted proposal, and are considered too dear to give to the tenants of such lands the right of appealing to a jury who shall establish the value in like manner as the value of private property is now ascertained when required by the Crown, or legally authorised corporations, or individuals for national purposes.

For leave to bring in a bill to make a legal provision for the poor of Ireland.

For leave to bring in a bill to consolidate the several Stamp Acts now in force in Ireland.

For leave to bring in a bill for the better regulation of Quarter Session's Courts in Ireland, with a view of making those courts cheap courts of equity, as well as courts of law, whereby cheap justice might be brought home to the door of every poor man.

To move a resolution of the House, that it is desirable, as well for the ends of justice as for the tranquillity of Ireland, that all clerymen being magistrates, should be deprived of the commission of the peace.

V.

I now allude to the holding of a sacred month as it was called, when from the 12th of August, till the 12th of September, 1839, the working people of this empire were invited by a set of merchants to fast and pray, and be shot at, to carry a point for the said merchants. In that I saw the seeds of a revolution for which the conspirators were well prepared; and I thank God, at the risk of popularity and of even life itself, I slipped in and stopped, what in my conscience upon mature reflection, I believe to have been a deep conspiracy hatched by a set of as great cowards as ever lived, to experimentalise upon the excitability of a nation of brave and oppressed people, condemned for a month, without stores, provision, or ammunition, to sustain an equal conflict against an organised military force, and a well-supplied and thoroughly-armed community, united without distinction of sect, creed, or politics, so long as the campaign lasted.

Yes, my lords and gentlemen, it is now two o'clock in the morning, and *destructive* as I am, I lay down my pen, and with uplifted hands, return grateful thanks to Almighty God, that I was made the humble instrument to stop the effusion of human blood, and the great "weeping and wailing and gnashing of teeth," which must have followed so hellish a conspiracy, had the experiment been tried.

My lords and gentlemen, I will show you, that you cannot deal with, *check, or mould* the manufacturing interests of this country to national purposes, otherwise than through the agency of a free labour market, established by the small farm system. I defy you to deal with it by law. YOU HAVE MADE RESISTANCE WORTH A REVOLUTION. But suppose you could effect it, what then? You would but have sharpened both edges of the sword for the destruction of labour. Firstly, the manufacturer having worked the very flesh from the bones, would see through the transparent skin of the slave, before he would allow himself, with his class power, to be mulct to the amount of a penny in the pound, as his share of the impost; nay, he would make a profit of the tax, while he complained of its injustice. Secondly, you would leave all those grievances to which your monopolies expose the labourer unredressed.

However, as the rays of knowledge begin to shine through my prison bars, and as they are sure to spread their benign influence abroad over the whole face of the earth, I am nothing daunted; and shall therefore, despite the political econonomist *the-farthing-sliding patriot*, and the dread-shower statesman, proceed at once to my purpose, which is to apply details to your principle of reclaiming waste land. Of that land you have in Great Britain and Ireland more than fifteen millions of acres, capable of reclamation. It at all events can scarcely be called your own, and is therefore out of the Newcastle principle of doing what you please with it. By its proper appropriation, you not only do not suffer damage, but, on the contrary, I propose to do for you what you cannot do for yourselves: to make it valuable. I estimate that land at a rent of 1s. 4d. per acre. I calculate that each acre in the outset, taking the tenant's house and stock, and means of subsistence, till the lane is brought to bear, into account, would require somewhere ebout £7 per acre, or a capital of about £100 for every fifteen acres. The fifteen million acres allotted in farms of fifteen acres to one million heads of families, would thus require a capital of one hundred millions of pounds sterling to aid the working communities in their work of reclamation.

The value of those fifteen millions of acres, at twenty years' purchase, at a rent of 1s. 4d per acre, would cost Government £20,000,000.

Now what I propose is, that Government shall purchase the lands from you, say at that rate, and then under proper official management, at the head of which should be a Cabinet Minister, to be called the Minister of Agriculture, lease those lands at 1s. 4d. per acre, in lots of fifteen acres, with a capital of £100 advanced to each tenant, subjecting the tenant to a rent of £5 per annum for the land, and the interest of £100 at four cent., that is £1 for land and £4 for interest.

This sum of £120,000,000 I propose to consolidate into one national fund, which shall stand as a mortgage upon the fifteen millions of acres, and over which the Parliament alone shall have control; and that it should not be a transferable stock, or a stock allowed to be made the medium of exchange, barter, or traffic in the Jew's temple; but that the Government shall merely be agent for the fund-holder and fund-payer—receiving from the one and paying to the other.

I propose that after the first eleven years the tenant shall yearly pay ten pounds in liquidation of his debt; thereby liquidating the whole amount at the end of the next ten years, or with the twenty-first year of his tenancy; at the close of which period—twenty-one years—I propose that the tenant shall pay no more than the original chief rent; of 1s. 4. per acre, and all local taxes: or a pound per annum for his holding for ever and ever, and amen—until some future generation, in its wisdom, shall see the State necessity of making the then occupiers—themselves being parties—pay something more as their quota of any national requirement. Now, those who are in love with a national debt as a bond of union, have it here in the flesh and the spirit; those who so loudly call out for the cultivation of our waste lands have here the only chance by which their desire which is improvement and the bettering of the poor man's condition, can be simultaneously effected; those who "fear that population presses too hardly upon the means of subsistence" have here the means of obviating that disaster; those of the school of political economy have here the practical illustration of one of their daring principles—that "when circumstances close up one channel of speculation and industry, other circumstances open another channel;" those who would gladly find a resting place for the "surplus population," made such by the substitution of artificial for natural labour, have here the harbour open for them; those who would add to our now, as they say, "too scanty surface of wheat producing land," have here an extension offered to them; while, although I would much prefer the more improved field for the establishment of a free labour standard of value, I have no objection, provided *he gets the means*, to allow any client to work out his own salvation in the more barren field.

Here we have a means of immediately providing for seven millions of people; and in less than ten years of providing for fifteen millions of people; and at the expiration of twenty-one years, the original farms of fifteen acres each would be capable of being subdivided for the families, into farms of five acres each, if necessary. Thus would our present *waste* lands, *New* England, Ireland, and Scotland, of themselves, support on the spot, twenty-one millions in affluence, comfort, and splendour, at the end of twenty-one years and for ever.

The laws to effect this purpose need not occupy more than a folio sheet; while the difference between Three-and-a-half per Cent. at which Government could easily raise the money, and four Per Cent, cheerfully paid by the labourer, would more than cover all the expenses of adding a new and necessary department to the state machinery. But it is too visionary! 'tis complicated! because the interest of the poor man is concerned; while if two hundred millions of pounds were required for a speculation to build a floating bridge across the Atlantic, or to make a tunnel from Dover to Calais; if the subjugation of labour, or the importation of foreign troops, was the object, every angle in a fascinating drawing by some happy draftsman would be scanned, and all FOOLISH objections overruled by "*Bagman*," "*Diogenes*," "*a Working Man*," or "*Agri*[illegible] all p[illegible] land and water.

ANOTHER "RAVEN."

THE LAND.

I expect that the question of Registration of the Land Company will be argued in a very few days. The ATTORNEY-GENERAL told me on Saturday last that that was his opinion; and on Wednesday I paid £25 to fee Counsel in the case, so that we shall shortly hear the result. I also received a summons from a member to appear in the County Court of Worcester, on Friday, but I got a *certiorari*, and put a kick in his gallop. And now, to show you the manner in which this Company has been dealt with, let me call your attention to the following letter received from Mr. DOYLE, this (Thursday) morning, to prove that there is another "RAVEN"—a Government "RAVEN"—fluttering about the estates.

In compliance with the very wise resolutions passed throughout the whole country, I have handed over my grateful children at Minster Lovel to the tender mercy of the Mortgagees, and they have every one been served with ejectments, so that I am curious to know whether they will consider me or the Mortgagees the best landlord. Here is Mr. DOYLE's letter.

FEARGUS O'CONNOR.

Snigs End, January 16th, 1850.

DEAR SIR,—There is a gentleman down here, and has been since last Monday, in search of information from the allottees, as to their physical and social condition. I also understand that he asks each man whether he is an original allottee, or whether he purchased his allotment, and if the latter, how much money did he give for it? I have made every endeavour (short of questioning this gentleman,) to ascertain who he is, who sent him, and what is his object here; but I have hitherto failed. Mr. Shopland asked him what was his motive for seeking him, and putting questions to him, and he could get no satisfactory answer from him. He has, however, invited Mr. Cullingham to call upon him this evening, at the Swan Inn; and Mr. Cullingham says, ere he replies to his questions, he must know for what purpose he desires to ask them. There are many rumours afloat as to who he is, and what he is. Some say he has been sent by the Attorney-General, to glean all the information possible against you, so that a strong case may be made out against registering the Company, while others state he is the "*Morning Chronicle's* Commissioner." In fact, all sorts of stories are abroad about him, but I know not which to believe. It is certain, however, his object is to make public the information he has received, and I suppose not in favour of the principles and objects of the Land Plan; as I never knew any person of the character (a doubtful one) of the gentleman now here, who ever gave a fair and impartial report. He has been to Lowbands, and held conversations with O'Brien, Howe, and several others. He has also been with Dewhurst, for at least two hours, and you may depend that that bad man said everything calculated to prejudice his mind against yourself. It will cost me a fall, or I'll find out who he is. I will write to you again to-morrow. In the mean time, believe me, dear sir, Yours respectfully,

C. DOYLE.

RICHARD OASTLER ON FREE-TRADE.

LETTER II.

Broadstairs, Kent, Dec. 18, 1849

DEAR SIR,—I have to thank you for the first three numbers of your *Bakers' Gazette*, and for your having therein noticed our meetings in Lancashire for the protection of the Ten Hours Act, as well as for your kind letter accompanying the same.

I have often thought of writing to you on the subject of the Bill for the Protection of the Journeymen Bakers, but I seemed to have no hope to inspire me. The working classes, as well as the middle classes, are so much in love with Cobden's hoax, called Free Trade, and your bill being in direct contravention of the principles of Free Trade, it appeared to me waste of time to trouble you with my thoughts on the subject.

But Now, as I find the sad discoveries of the miserable condition of the working classes, that have recently been made through the *Morning Chronicle*, instead of leading to some grand scheme for their amelioration, are likely to have no result, save that of inducing the rich and benevolent to chime in with the cruel views of the Economists, by raising a fund to transport the poor to the colonies, instead of adopting such plans of social regulation as would find profitable employment for all here, I can no longer refrain from writing to you on a subject that is, I know, so dear, so sacred to you.

Perhaps my views may very widely differ from yours. You will, however, I am sure, give me credit for sincerely wishing success to the Journeymen Bakers' Protection Bill; you know, also, I have had some experience in such matters.

The fact, that any interference with labour and capital is contrary to the *present* national feeling, cannot be denied. In the case of the Factories' Regulation Bill, we contended (after a struggle of more than thirty years) *successfully* against that prejudice, because the objects of our solicitude were children and women, who, even some Free Traders allowed, were not free agents.

Now, the Bill for the Protection of the Journeymen Bakers must be defended on the fact, that those journeymen are not free agents. True, you and I *know* that they are not; but according to the popular, the received, the ruling opinion, they are perfectly free to fix their own hours of labour; and until that delusion is removed, I think it will be impossible that you can persuade the legislature to pass that bill.

Nor can I see how you can remove that delusion without being able to disprove the whole theory of free action called Free Trade, and to prove that the state is bound so to interfere as to prevent its members from injuring themselves and others by excessive and unnatural labour.

In striving to do so (and I am convinced that must be done *before* you can obtain an act to limit the hours of labour for journeymen bakers), most probably I should have to overcome *your* prejudices; for aught I know, *you* may be a Free Trader, although seeking for protection in the case of journeymen bakers, I am sure I should have to contend against the prejudices of many, very many working men—nay, perhaps to subject myself to their scorn, insult, and abuse. Still, rather than lose the Bakers' Protection Bill, I would submit to some persecution; and believing that every attempt to obtain that most excellent regulation must be vain, until the public and the Parliament are convinced of the falseness of the theory of Free Trade, I should be glad to be useful in removing the prejudices that now becloud the public mind, and benumb every effort to obtain justice for all, or any of the busy bees that throng our national hive.

Most likely those very bees would be the first to sting me, so fondly do our English working men hug the chains of slavery and poverty, under the charmed word—freedom of action, Free Trade; failing to preceive, that without regulation—Protection—there can be no freedom or liberty.

It would be no difficult task to prove, if the working men would listen, that there can be no true liberty under the operation of the principles of free action—that, under that system, "the weakest *must* always go to the wall." If, instead of regulating our national affairs on sound principles, so as to consume our own productions, we displace them by the productions of other countries, it cannot be difficult to prove, that those persons, who *were* employed in our own productions, must be thrown out of work and be maintained at the charge of the public.

"Ah, but," it is answered by the Free Traders, "they will soon find other employments; they will soon be absorbed in other industrial branches."

It is very easy to say so, my friend; but in *that* expression, what is the amount of loss and misery involved? What mental and physical agony must be undergone?

Look at the poor weavers of Spitalfields, how many years have they been in "absorbing into other branches?" Try, if you can, to measure their losses—their sorrows and anguish—their deprivation of every comfort—and, at last, the sad and sickening penury in which the remnant exists! Trace, if you can, the broken up homes, the broken hearts, and count the graves that point out the dreadful track to "absorption."

Then mark the effects on "other branches"—the "absorbed" ones have been compelled to throw themselves, as competitors, to those employed in other trades—to offer their services at lower wages; thus is every branch reduced to the lowest possible pittance, wretchedness and penury becoming the constant handmaids to industry. The hours of labour are thus also increased—showing, as in your trade—the necessity of legislative interference with adult labour; and strange as it may appear, "the benevolent" are thereby persuaded, that profitable employment can no longer be found in England, and are induced, "in charity," to spend their capital in removing the sons and daughters of toil, to far distant countries—nay, are urged to do so, as "a thank offering to God for the removal of the cholera!"

I have said nothing about the loss of *capital* in this "absorption in other branches," about the ruined merchants, manufactures, and farmers, because I am writing just now, more for the ear of the *working* men, else, I could tell you of losses by tens of thousands of pounds, of breaking up of splendid establishments, and of many broken-hearted deaths, caused solely by—"they will soon [illegible] other branches."

Now, [illegible] both to the rich and poor, is inevitable, and the constantly returning consequences of freedom of action.

But still, "It is so delightful to buy *cheap*," cries the working man; "I am a *consumer*, and when things are *cheap*, I can procure more." Forgetful of the fact, that everything he buys, is *the production of labour*, and that if the *price* falls, so, eventually, must the *wages*, and that *most assuredly*, the working classes *must* be losers by universal cheapness, because they *must* always *produce* MORE than they *consume*; else, no one would or could give them employment. It may seem very strange, but it is true—*cheapness* paves the path from the cottage to the workhouse, the prison, and the hulk!

The fact is, my dear Sir, the Free Trade plot is neither more or less than a gigantic juggle—a national hoax, practised upon the people and government of this country by a few selfish, tyrannical, ignorant, but energetic and perservering "Manchester men!"

It was carried by intimidation, delusion, and fraud!—its very propounders do not believe in the doctrine they have so successfully preached! Not a man of them acts upon the principles he professes, when dealing with his servants and dependants. Enter their establishments—their mills—there you will see tyranny in its most rampant form—slavery in its most degraded attitude. Do you think the working men would patiently listen to the proof of all these facts? If not, I am persuaded, it is labour in vain to strive for a bill to protect the journeyman bakers! Before that bill can be obtained, the middle classes, the constituency, must be convinced of their error in demanding Free Trade. Not anything is more certain than this, so long as the constituency favour Free Trade, the House of Commons must resist all protective measures for adult males. I think that is evident from the reports, in your journal, of the reason why your bill was thrown out.

* * * *

Think calmly on this subject, and say—Will you and your order aid in restoring the reign of truth Thus, you will secure the passing of your bill for the protection of Adults. I shall rejoice to assist in that struggle.—And so, I conclude, remaining, dear sir, yours truly, RICHARD OASTLER.

To Mr. George Read, Secretary to the Bakers' Association, 14, Cromer-street, Brunswick-square, London.

TAILORS AND "SWEATERS."

A very numerous meeting of journeymen and others engaged in the above trade, was held on Thursday night at Exeter-hall, "for the purpose of exposing the evils of the slop, sweating, and middleman systems, and also the injurious effects of the government contracts and prison labour; and to petition Parliament to make it compulsory on the masters to have their work done on their own premises." The large hall in which the meeting took place was crowded to excess, every available space in the body of the hall, the galleries, and the platform (where there were several master tailors), being fully occupied. There were, probably, not fewer than 6,000 persons present. Mr. Thomas Reynolds presided. The meeting was addressed by Messrs. Ellard, J. Goodfellow, Bryant, Talbot, and C. Goodfellow; and the following resolutions were adopted:—

"That this meeting deplores the wide-spread evils of destitution, misery, and crime, engendered by the slop, sweating, and middleman system in the tailoring trade—a system which was at the same time destructive to the interests of the workmen, ruinous to the honest tradesmen, and which, if not held in check, was calculated to convey disease and death amongst the highest and noblest families in the empire, and ultimately to affect the well-being of the community at large."

"That this meeting is convinced that the only way of dealing with an evil of such magnitude as the slop, sweating, and middlemen system is by a law making it compulsory on all employers to have their work done on their own premises, including government contract clothing."

A petition embodying the views of the meeting was also adopted, which it was resolved should be entrusted to the Duke of Cambridge to present to the Lords, and to Lord Ashley to present to the Commons.

A vote of thanks to Mr. H. Mayhew, the special correspondent of the *Morning Chronicle*, followed, and, after the usual acknowledgment to the chairman of the evening, the meeting separated.

AWFUL CATASTROPHE AND LOSS OF LIFE.—The *Cork Examiner* of Thursday contains the following account of an awful disaster in Killarney, by which a workhouse has been destroyed by fire, and twenty-seven girls and two women killed:—"Our local reporter has furnished us with some of the particulars connected with the burning of one branch workhouse, formerly the College; and the fail of a loft in another, called the Brewery, which occurred in Kilkenny on Monday night. The consequences were indeed frightful, and have plunged the whole district into gloom. The fire burst out about eleven o'clock, when the cries of the wretched inmates from the windows, for assistance to save them from the most terrible of all deaths, were truly appalling. After ladders had been procured, the work of rescue commenced most nobly. Every man vied with his neighbour in his efforts to save life. Protestant and Catholic clergymen, magistrates, physicians, police, and people, all did their duty. But the result was a reported loss of three lives. The most dreadful part of the business, however, remains to be told. The cry of 'fire,' and the livid glare of the flames, which forced its way into the Brewery (branch house) awoke the sleeping children, Alarm for parents, friends, and relations, in the other house, made distraction and confusion. They beheld the burning pile from the windows. In their eagerness to go forth they rushed madly to the doors and windows, but they were locked or fastened. They then sought an unused loft for the purpose of egress, but the rotten place gave way—twenty-eight persons were instantly killed, and as many more frightfully mutilated."

PUFFING FOR A PREMIUM.—Kohl, in his "Russia," mentions the following curious anecdote:—The emperor wished to illuminate the Alexander Column in a grand style; the size of the round lamps was indicated, and the glasses bespoken at the manufactory, where the workmen exerted themselves in vain, and almost blew the breath out of their bodies in the endeavour to obtain the desired magnitude. The commission must be executed, that was selfevident, but how? A great premium was offered to whoever should solve this problem. Again the human bellows toiled and puffed, their object seemed unattainable; when at last, a long-bearded Russian stepped forward and declared that he could do it; he had strong and sound lungs, he would only rince his mouth first with a little cold water to refresh them. He applied his mouth to the pipe and puffed to such purpose, that the vitreous ball swelled and swelled nearly to the required dimensions, up to it, beyond it. "Hold, hold," cried the lookers on, "you are doing too much, and how did you do it at all?" "The matter is simple enough," answered the long beard: "but first, where is my premium?" And when he had clutched the promised bounty he explained. He had retained some of the water in his mouth, which had passed thence into the glowing ball, and there becoming steam, and rendered him this good service.

M. PROUDHON, though still a prisoner in the prison of St. Pélagie, has just entered into the bonds of matrimony with a Madame Piégard. The young wife has taken a small apartment in front of the prison, and visits her husband as often as the regulations of the prison permit.

THE WEATHER IN TUSCANY.—*A letter from Florence, of the 5th, says*:—"For the last forty years the cold has not been felt so severely here as it is now. All the hills near the city are covered with snow."

Foreign Intelligence.

FRANCE.

On Wednesday M. Denagrouze proposed an amendment to the ministerial bill affecting the primary instructors, proposing to place them under the care of the academy rectors. This amendment was rejected, as also one by M. Nettement, substituting for academy rectors the committees of arrondissement.

M. de Montigny then moved his amendment, to the effect that appointment of primary teachers should be left to the communal councils, the *prefet* preserving the right to dismiss. He added a clause fixing the duration of the law to six months.

M. Mole supported M. de Montigny's amendment. —Other orators followed, after which the first article of the bill, as amended by M. de Montigny, was adopted.

The bill presented the previous day by the minister of justice, for increasing the pay of non-commissioned officers by 20c. per day, was referred by the Assembly to the committee on the budget. In the course of the sitting of this day, however, on the motion of M. de Mornay, who, being struck with the political importance of the bill, thought that it should be examined by a special committee, the Assembly came back on its decision and referred it to the bureaux.

Another amendment, by M. Salmon, was carried also, by which the *prefet*, before cashiering a teacher, must take the advice of the committee d'arrondissement. However, as the 'Debats' truly says, the *prefet* will not be obliged to follow the advice given.

On Thursday evening, the 5th clause of the Schoolmasters' Bill was proposed as follows:—'No teacher when dismissed can open a private school in the commune in which he had exercised the functions from which he had been removed.' The wording of this article excited a great uproar amongst the Mountain, and the most energetic epithets were applied to M. Beugrest, who, in the name of the Committee, proposed to add the words 'nor in the adjoining commune.' The article was voted—ayes, 338; noes. 255; majority for the clause, 83.

PARIS, FRIDAY.—This day the bill for placing the primary instructors under the despotic control of the government precepts was finally adopted, the numbers being for the bill 385; against 223; majority for the bill 162.

The following is from the 'Patrie':—'We learn with the most lively satisfaction that the government has just decided, in a Council of Ministers, that it will immediately send an expedition to La Plata. It was positively stated at the Assembly that the squadron would be composed of one or two frigates and several small steamers. The expedition will be placed under the command of Admiral Dubourdieu, who will unite to the command full diplomatic powers. The effective strength of the troops to be sent, will be 2,000 men, under the immediate command of Colonel Lannes de Montebello of the 7th chasseurs.

'La Presse' contradicts the statement twice repeated of 'La Republic,' that the celebrated Madame George Sand has been ordered by the police to quit Paris. It expresses its convictions that if such a fact occurred, Madame George Sand would not fail to refuse obedience to so arbitrary a measure.

'The 'Presse,' in its number of this day,' says the 'Moniteur,'—'Publishes an article entitled 'Inconsistencies,' in which it copies the entire article of the 'Reforme' of the 2d December, for which the editor of the latter was sentenced, two days ago, by the jury, to fine and imprisonment. The 'Presse' having printed the article apart from the report of the trial of the 'Reforme,' inserted in its number of yesterday, the Attorney of the Republic ordered the 'Presse' of this day to be seized in its office and at the Post-office.'

'The 'Presse,' says its editor,—'During the fifteen years it has existed was never the object of any seizure. To-day it was seized by order of the Attorney-General Baroche, who no doubt is anxious to summon again before him M. Emile de Girardin. Why was our number seized? We did not even take the trouble of inquiring, for we are as certain of our principles as we are of our intentions. The 'Presse' already suffered two persecutions, one in June, 1847, and the other in June, 1848. Their result is known. Eight months after the editor of the 'Presse' was summoned to the bar of the Chamber of Peers, in June, 1847, M. Hebert, Keeper of the Seals, was obliged, on the 24th of February, to fly in all haste and seek refuge in a foreign country. Seven months after the 'Presse' was suspended, in June, 1848, General Cavaignac was condemned by the ballot of the 10th of December.'

'This evening,' adds the 'Presse,'—'At this Passage of the Opera, the Five per Cents., which had closed at 94f. 25c. fell forty-five centimes on the report of the seizure of the 'Presse.' This measure, which nobody could account for, was generally regarded as a political event.'

It is announced that the elections to replace the representatives convicted before the High Court of Justice at Versailles are to take place on the 3d of January.

M. Vraiee Durrieu, editor of the 'Temps,' was condemned by default by the Court of Assize of Paris on Wednesday to imprisonment for two years, and to pay a fine of 5,000f., for having published a *letter addressed by M. Vauthier from Versailles* to the electors of the Cher.

Ramon de la Sagra, an eminent writer on political economy, and who has lately attracted attention in France by a work on the anarchy of the epoch, was sometime ago expelled from the French territory. Thinking that the causes of this measure had passed away, he set out a few days ago for Paris, but was stopped in Bayonne, and, in pursuance of a telegraphic despatch, conducted again to the Spanish frontier.

The cold is extremely severe in the south of France. 'For many years,' says the 'Semaphore' —'We do not remember a more rigorous winter. *The thermometer constantly ranges several degrees* below the freezing point. At sea the north wind blows with great violence and prevents the arrival at Marseilles of a number of vessels from the colonies. We have been informed that several had been obliged to put into the ports of Spain. Others are probably detained in the Straits. It is to be hoped that the first easterly wind will enable them to reach their destination. We are happy to announce that, notwithstanding the inclement weather which has prevailed in the Mediterranean, our maritime correspondence records no other wreck than that of the Sollecito, an Austrian brig, on the coast of Sardinia, Our intelligence, moreover, indicates that countries generally less exposed than ours to the inclemency of the winter are cruelly tried this year. Letters from Italy received by the last packet mention that the country round Rome is entirely covered with snow. Our poor soldiers quartered at Tivoli and Civita Vecchia suffer sadly from the rigorous cold.'

Some curiosity has been excited by the statement that a deputy of the Mountain, named Pradie, has this day laid on the table of the Assembly a proposition, requesting the Assembly to adopt a measure of legal resistance, in the event of any *coup d'etat* being attempted by the President of the Republic.

PARIS, MONDAY EVENING.—The correspondent of the 'Morning Chronicle' writes under the above date as follows:—The 'Reforme' did not appear yesterday, nor has it done so to-day, The mystery is explained in a letter addressed by the editor to some of the newspapers. 'At eleven o'clock on Saturday night, when the paper was in type and ready to go to press, a huissier enters the printing-office and summons the printer before the tribunals for printing the 'Reforme' at a time when the caution-money of the paper was not complete. What was to be done. The public offices were closed, and the money could not consequently be paid. The following day was Sunday, when they were also closed, and the result is that by this manœuvre the government prevents the publication of the 'Reforme' for two days at least.' Without giving any opinion as to the politics of the 'Reforme,' every one will see how grossly violent and unjust the conduct of the authorities in this case has been. The statement is not given by the Red Republican papers but by the 'Siecle,' a paper as well known for its moderation as for its ability. After stating that M. Levy, the printer, has a large establishment, in which he prints no less than sixteen different newspapers of all shades and opinions (including the 'Moniteur,' 'Parision,' the 'Credit,' the 'Siecle,' and several of the moderate papers, as well as the 'Reform,') it adds:—'At eleven o'clock on Saturday night, M. Levy received an assignation to appear on the 16th of January, before the tribunal of *Correctional* Police, where he will probably see himself condemned to a month's imprisonment and a fine of one thousand francs, for publishing the 'Reforme' without that paper having its caution-money complete. Wha[illegible] facts? On the 10th of Jan the 'Reforme' had its caution-money complete. On the 11th a fine of one thousand francs is claimed, and paid out of that caution-money; and on the 12th, without any notice, and without official or non-official notification, the printer is prosecuted because he has printed a paper without caution-money. From this it would appear, that henceforth it will be necessary, before a printer consents to print a journal, that a certificate should be presented to him every day from the Minister of the Finances, acknowledging that the caution-money is complete. If the printer does not do so, he exposes himself inevitably to a month's imprisonment and a fine of one thousand francs. A month's imprisonment for an offence which he did not intend to commit, and which he committed without his knowledge! These are monstrosities which ought to strike the minds of all honest men, and we hope that there are still voices in the press to brand them. It is not a question of party, but of fairness, and we have sufficient esteem for our adversary to believe that they will protest against such acts of violence.' The following are the introductory remarks of the 'Siecle':—

'When certain journals accuse us of calumniating the government we are obliged to quote facts, which, unfortunately, always go further than the most exaggerated suppositions of party spirit. M. Baroche has just added a new article to the thousand laws against the liberty of the press; never had the fertile spirit of the procureurs-genereaux of the Restoration, never had the Belards, the Marchangys, the Jacquinots de Pampeluna, the Broes, and many others; never had the Persils, the Plougoulms, and the most fanatic men of repression, the imprudence to interpret the laws on the press and on printing, as M. Baroche now pretends to do. Yesterday morning the 'Reforme' did not appear. We have received the following letter on this subject from the 'Reforme' office:—'Last night, at eleven o'clock, our printer came to inform us that he had received a summons from the Parquet, and that, consequently, it was impossible for him to print our journal. The composition was terminated, but, notwithstanding the 'Reforme' could not appear this morning, nor will it do so to-morrow. The moment chosen by the government to shackle our publication was skilfully chosen; it was very well known that some men sought at this moment to substitute an intrigue for the traditional policy of the 'Reforme;' that on Sunday the ministerial offices were closed, and that it would be impossible for us to regularise our position towards the finance; there was, therefore, a certainty of stopping for one or two days a journal which the royalists pursue with implacable animosity. However this may be, we shall defeat their calculations, and we hope that the patriotism of our subscribers will not fail us on this occasion; to seizures may succeed measures of intimidation; we shall not stop before the exigencies of the treasury any more than we have yielded to the rigour of condemnations.'

TUESDAY.—The discussion of the organic laws on public instruction, commenced yesterday, when M. Barthelemy St. Hilaire, spoke his opposition to the bill. His speech occupied the entire sitting.

WEDNESDAY.—Yesterday M. Barthelemy St. Hilaire resumed and concluded his speech. The Bishop of Langas followed in support of the bill. Victor Hugo followed, and, according to the 'Times,' made a violent speech *in opposition* to the bill; and its delivery, which was applauded with frenzy by the Mountain, was accompanied by equally strong gesticulations. His attack on the clergy, and on those whom he accused of wishing to establish the Inquisition, was received with applause by the Left, and with indignation by the Right. Much tumult prevailed during the latter part of his speech, and the speaker was more than once reminded by the President that he was losing sight of the main object of discussion, and was only indulging in bitter personalities, and most insulting expressions. His final announcement and vote against the bill was accompanied by great violence of gestures, and was applauded loudly by the Mountain. The adjournment of the debate took place at a quarter to seven o'clock.

GERMANY.

The 'Cologne Gazette' of the 10th inst. contains a telegraphic message from Berlin, dated Wednesday at noon, stating that the royal message had just been delivered to the Chambers. The message expresses the hope that the revision of the constitution will be concluded, and that the Upper Chamber will be definitely constituted during the present session, in order that the oath to the constitution may be taken by his Majesty.

A memorial was also presented to the Chambers containing the alterations which the ministry propose to make in the constitution. A peerage is proposed for the Upper Chamber, but the Second Chamber *is to possess the initiative in all money matters*, as in England.

BERLIN, Jan. 12. — The cold has set in with intense severity. We have had the thermometer down to fourteen Reaumur for the last two days in sheltered places, and as low as seventeen to eighteen in open spots exposed to the sharp east wind. The land is, however, well covered in all parts by a thick coating of snow. The accumulation of ice upon the Vistula, Oder, Warthe, and other rivers, leads to apprehensions of serious misfortunes when the weather breaks.

The discussions in the fractions of the Chambers of Friday and Saturday on the Royal message have been very stormy, and it is now pretty certain that some of the propositions will be rejected; that of a creation of hereditary members of the Upper House is the most strongly opposed, and unites most parties against it; a large majority in the *negative is fully expected*. A Cabinet Council was held on Saturday, and it is understood that the Ministry will stand or fall by the articles. If they are rejected it will resign, and it is most probable the resignations will be accepted.

ITALY.

The 'Venice Gazette,' of the 2nd, states that a workman in that city has been sentenced to ten months' imprisonment by the military tribunal, for having in his possession a concealed musket and some fulminating powder.

Letters from Leghorn, of the 29th ult., state that more persons were arrested on the preceding evening *for singing seditious songs in the streets*.

PIEDMONT:—Letters from Turin of the 9th, state that the Piedmontese Chamber of Deputies, after a warm debate, had voted the ratification of the treaty of peace concluded at Milan on the 6th of August last, with the Austrian Government. Of 129 deputies who voted, 112 voted for the ratification, and 17 against it.

HUNGARY AND AUSTRIA.

The 'Magyar Hirlap' (of Pesth) publishes in its official column a decree of the court-martial sitting in that town, dated Jan. 1, which calls upon the following Hungarian leaders to appear before the court—Louis Kossuth, Meszarves Szemere, Perczel, Casimir Batthyanyi, Etienne Batthyanyi, Rameis, and others. A term of ninety days is assigned to them for the purpose.

Letters from Klagenfurt announce the serious illness of M. Georgey, late Hungarian General.

The 'Wiener Zeitung,' is still busily engaged in publishing the constitutions of the various provinces and Crownlands. It is stated that the Provincial Diets are to be convoked in October, and that the Diet of the Austrian Empire is to meet in 1851. A rumour is current at Vienna to the effect that the state of siege of the capital is to be raised in April or May. Troops are still being sent to Bohemia, and part of the army is collecting close to the frontier of Saxony. Prague and Theresienstadt are filled with soldiers and general officers, and preparation on a large scale are making for a campaign.

PRESBURGH, DEC. 30.—A paragraph has gone the round of the German papers, giving the world to understand that the mother and children of Kossuth have been set at liberty; that upon leaving their prison at Pesth they came to Vienna in order to provide themselves with a passport to Turkey. The only word of truth in this story is that this 'noble old mother,' with her three grandchildren, left their prison at Pesth, but it was to enter a new gaol at Presburg: and such a gaol! When these helpless beings were consigned to the hospital of the Schlossberg, the cholera and typhus were both raging there, and 'Death busiest from couch to couch tended the sick.' The cholera and typhus have done their work, and death is not so busy now among the patients; the grandmother and the three little Kossuths are still there, thank God, all well. Yes thank God, and not the Austrians for that. The children of Guyon are also there, behind that tall black wall, pierced with little square holes, that runs round the top of the conical hill overhanging the town. You are not to understand that, because they are in a prison-hospital, they are in a ward mixed with either the crowd of sick or criminals. Their apartments are such as, separated from such a neighbourhood, and unhaunted by such terrible associations, would probably content their modest wants. The children have a tutor appointed by the government. An attempt was made latterly to induce Madame Kossuth by the offer of liberty and a commodious residence elsewhere to leave the children, with what success may be imagined. If she had been their mother, instead of their father's mother, the proposition could not have been rejected with greater scorn. Where the wife is remains to this moment a profound secret.

Nor are these the only family at Presburg struck by the Hungarian calamity. There are some struck indeed far deeper. There is the widow of General Leiningen; there is the widow of General Damjanich, free indeed, both, to carry their sorrows and destitution whither they please. I believe that the following prayer, composed by Damjanich the night before his execution, has not before been published. On its authenticity you may depend. There is a family resemblance about such compositions that makes them commonly fall short of the interest which attaches to the awful hour which inspires them; yet rarely has a more manly farewell been breathed to the world than that of Damjanich. He alludes in the beginning to the agony of parting with his wife, who is young and beautiful.

'PRAYER OF GENERAL DAMJANICH BEFORE HIS EXECUTION.

'Ruler of the Universe, to thee I lift my supplication. Thou hast strengthened me in the fearful hour of parting; strengthen me still, oh Father, that I may endure the hard trial, the foul, dishonourable death, strongly and like a man! Hear, oh Lord of infinite goodness and mercy, my longing prayer! Thou hast guided me, oh Father, in fights and battles, hast enabled me to face many dangers and brought me unscathed out of many a doubtful conflict. Praised be thy name for ever! Protect, oh Almighty God, my unhappy country from further calamity. Turn the heart of the monarch to mercy for my companions in misfortune who remain behind, and guide his will for the good of the peoples. Give, oh Father, strength to my poor Emilia, that she may fulfil the word she has given me, and bear her lot in humility with the help of her belief. Bless Arad! Bless poor disaster-smitten Hungary! Thou hast known my heart, and no step of mine has been hidden from thee. Judge me graciously according to the same, and grant me a merciful reception into thy kingdom beyond the grave. Amen.'

Will it be believed that these two helpless women, Madame Damjanich and Madame Leiningen, after the execution of their husbands, were not only despoiled of all property in land, inherited in their own right, which is contrary to the Hungarian law, but not even suffered to retain a fraction of the personal property of their husbands? Nay, even their wardrobes were sacked, and their dresses and trinkets snatched from them. It does credit to the citizens of Arad that they would not bid for those articles of female apparel when put up to the public auction: for that they deserved the blessing of Damjanich. The dresses were knocked down without civil competition, cheap to Austrian officers. Leiningen was an accomplished scholar as well as soldier, and had composed a history of the war. This manuscript, secreted with jealous care by his widow, who valued it more than her jewels, did not escape the narrow search to which her effects were exposed, and was also torn from her possession.

Hundreds of harrowing facts, which have never oozed into publicity, are current in the society of this city, from which they cannot escape even by the post-office; no one who wished to remain at Presburg more than twenty four hours would have the imprudence to commit to a letter aught which could shame the government. As this will reach you by a private hand, I am not restrained by the same scruples. There is a young lady here, the betrothed bride of Lopresti, one of the Hungarian nobles who was degraded to the ranks. The last news she received from her future husband, who is in Italy, was that he had received fifty blows with a cudgel by way of discipline.

At Vienna on the last day of the year a soldier was condemned to run the gaunlet, His comrades turned out, as commanded, but when he ran through the lines not an arm was uplifted to strike him. I believe they thrash offenders in this way with their crossbelts. This was by no means an uninteresting incident to close the first half of the 19th century with; and is, I understand, the first instance ever known of such a demonstration of manly dignity on the part of the common soldiers. They disdained the function of executioner imposed upon them by officers less civilised than themselves. This unanimous and silent protest on the part of the men against a barbarous mode of punishment, and rejection of the base reliance laid on them to become instruments of torture, has something about it well worthy of attention. The top of society in our days must be taught by the bottom.

TURKEY AND RUSSIA.

We have received letters from Constantinople, which state that many of the Hungarian refugees have embarked in English and Spanish steamers; those who remain in the capital, are obliged to state, in writing, that they will be ready to leave it on the 1st of February. No satisfactory resolution has yet been adopted with respect to the principal Magyars.—*Hamburgh Correspondent*, Jan. 7.

The 'Wanderer' of Vienna states that the Hungarian General Kmety, who has embraced Islamism, has been appointed Governor of the fortress of Schumla.

We have the following from Belgrade:—'Simich has been named Minister of Justice. Since it has been understood that the Porte will finally make concessions to Russia on the question of the refugees, a more Russian tone prevails here, and the Prince is said to have just signed a declaration to the effect that he will not allow young Servians educated abroad to be educated anywhere but in Russia.'

Letters received in Paris from Constantinople of the 30th Dec. state that the dispute between Russia and the Porte on the subject of the Hungarian refugees has been definitively settled. Some delay was occasioned in consequence of objections made by the Baron de Sturmer, the Austrian ambassador, to the words of a part of the treaty; but at length *an alteration having been made, which was accepted* by M. de Sturmer, *ad referendum*, M. de Titoff, the Russian ambassador, expressed his wish not to prolong any longer a situation of doubt and uncertainty which weighed on the whole world. He accordingly paid the Grand Vizier an official visit, and at the period of the departure of the steamer the documents had been exchanged and the relations between the two countries restored.

The French Ambassador immediately despatched a steamer with the information for his government.

DIRT, DISEASE, AND MISERY, IN SOUTHAMPTON.—An inspector belonging to the Health of Towns' Commission is now at Southampton, inquiring into the sanitary condition of that town. He has been at the Guildhall, morning and evening, for the last ten days, receiving evidence as to the state of drainage, supply of water, street nuisances, ventilation of dwellings, the efficiency of the local boards and acts of parliament, the intramural burial grounds, the funeral expenses of the poor, the common lands, the public walks, &c. In the afternoon the inspector visits the various localities, requiring sanitary regulations. The interest these inquiries excite amongst the working classes is very great. At night the Guildhall is crowded with working men, and the intelligence and eagerness with which they give evidence, show how sensible they are of physical discomfort, and how susceptible they are of moral elevation. The inspector is accompanied in his visits to the localities by the authorities of the town, numbers of tradesmen and gentlemen, newspaper reporters, and by men employed to measure the size of rooms, windows, &c., altogether forming a body sometimes of fifty persons, who are guided by clergymen and medical men into the most obscure and filthy places. The facts collected by these investigations as to the misery, disease, and moral depravity engendered by unhealthy localities are *truly appalling*, and cannot fail to impress on the legislature the absolute necessity of abolishing every tax that interferes with the health of the population and deprives them of light and air. A large number of most valuable statistical reports as to the sanitary and social state of Southampton and its inhabitants have been handed to the inspector by resident scientific and professional men. The places mentioned in the report upon St. Michael's and Holyrood *parishes are contiguous* to the beautiful High-street, in Southampton, formed of lofty houses and handsome shops. St. Mary's parish is the parish of which the Earl of Guildford is rector. The inspector's report on the state of the town is anticipated with the greatest interest by the inhabitants of Southampton, and is expected to be both important and interesting. There can be little doubt but it will induce immediate steps to be taken for improving the dwellings of the poor, for introducing sanitary regulations, by which the health and comfort of the inhabitants may be improved, and for removing those plague spots of filth and wretchedness from whence, in Southampton as in other larger towns, disease and death stalk forth at intervals to strike down even the strong, the temperate, and the wealthy.

WILD DUCKS fly ninety miles an hour, swallows fly faster, and the swift two hundred miles an hour.

STEPNEY MEETING.—MR. CLARK AND MR. KYDD.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NORTHERN STAR.

SIR,—Your readers must have noticed that at the Stepney meeting, held on Monday, the 6th inst., I undertook to prove the correctness and wisdom of the resolution moved at the said meeting by Mr. Campbell. Mr. Clark accepted of my challenge to do so. In the columns of the 'Morning Chronicle' and 'Morning Advertiser' Mr. Clark's acceptance of my challenge is published to the world; and as it has not, either by Mr. Clark or any of his friends, been contradicted or qualified, I feel bound, in honour as a public man, to fulfil my pledge. I may state that I was in no way connected with the calling of the Stepney meeting; that I attended the said meeting unsolicited; that I am, personally, unknown to most of the parties who called the meeting together; that the only part I took in the proceedings was with a view to restore order, when confusion was great; that I will discuss the question at issue, on its own merits, apart from all party and sectional considerations; and that so far as I am concerned I am of no party but the party of truth.

Mr. Alexander Campbell moved—'That as labour is the source of all wealth, it evidently follows that the prosperity and independence of Great Britain and her colonies will be most promoted by employing and protecting, in the greatest number, a healthy, industrious, and moral population, which can be educated and comfortably maintained by their own industry; and, therefore, in the opinion of this meeting, it is the first and most important duty of the British Legislative and her Majesty's Government, to adopt such measures as will best secure employment to every one of the population, and procure for their labour an abundance of the necessaries and comforts of life.'

The first part of the resolution—'Labour is the source of all wealth'—admits of dispute, as labour *without land could not produce wealth*—neither could land without labour. Sir John Jervis, her Majesty's Attorney-General, on the trial of Sharp and Fussell, assured the Court, that labour was not the source of all wealth. But, knowing as I do, that so omnipotent is labour, that it is considered by political economists to be the source of all wealth, and that John Locke and the highest authorities of past ages have so written of labour, I accept of their definition and phraseology, in preference to the doctrines and definition of even so high an authority as Sir John Jervis. 'Labour is the exertion of power for the production of utility,' and, therefore, must have been the first price paid for the enjoyment and possession of property; for without an exercise of power for the production of utility, nothing useful could exist—no productions could be exchanged, and, therefore, no commerce could be known among men. Hitherto, in this country, the productions of wealth have been ample, but the regulations affecting the exchange and destribution of the property produced have been inefficient; the labourers have toiled, but have not possessed in sufficient quantities the product of their labour. Yet they are rigeb in unceasingly proclaiming 'That labour is the source of all wealth.' If Mr. Clark doubts the correctness of the proposition, I will feel obliged to him for some solid reasons on the opposite side, tending to prove 'That labour is NOT the source of all wealth.'

The resolution continues, 'It evidently follows that the prosperity and independence of Great Britain, and her colonies, can be most promoted by employing and protecting, in the greatest number, a healthy, industrious, and moral population, which can be educated and comfortably maintained by their own industry.'

If labour be the source of all wealth, it clearly follows that the prosperity and independence of a nation must be best promoted by protecting and employing the producers of wealth. It is lamentable to know that so plain a statement of the interests of mankind should give rise to cavil or doubt. One of the chief causes of the revolutions of all nations has been a neglect of that plain, and, to my mind, unmistakeable proposition. A population, generally employed, would not be subject to riots or disturbances of any kind, provided they had a fair share of the fruits of their own industry. In England, vast numbers of our population live in idleness and luxury, vast numbers in idleness and vagrancy; many able and willing to work, are neither half employed nor half fed, others are wholly unemployed. And in a country so situated, what can be more necessary than for the attention of government to be directed to the true sources of national prosperity. And, if the protecting and employing the producers of wealth be not the true causes of national prosperity, Mr. Clarke will oblige me by stating his reasons in favour of non-protecting and non-employing the producing classes, as related to a nation's true interest.

The last part of the resolution states, the first and most important duty of government to be the adoption of such measures as will best secure the employment, and provide an abundance of the necessaries of life to the producers. The last is by far the most important part of the resolution; and I call the attention of Mr. Clark to the following statement of the connexion between society and government, quoted from the writings of Thomas Paine:—

Society in every state is a blessing, but government in its best state, is but a necessary evil—in its worst state an intolerable one; for when we suffer, or are exposed to the same miseries by a government, which we might expect in a country without a government, our calamity is heightened by reflecting that we furnish the means by which we suffer. Government, like dress, is the badge of lost innocence; the palaces of kings are based on the bowers of paradise. For were the impulses of conscience clear, uniform and irresistibly obeyed, man would need no other lawgiver; but that not being the case, he finds it necessary to surrender up a part of his property to furnish means for the protection of the rest; and this he is induced to do by the same prudence which, in every other case, advises him, out of two evils, to choose the best. Wherefore, security being the true design and end of government, it unanswerably follows that whatever form, there appears most likely to assure it to, as with the least expense and greatest benefit, is preferable to all others.

The labourers of England have yielded up part of their property, but have not received protection and security for what they retained. It is this increased protection which is guaranteed in the declaration of American Independence, and is also the 'strict responsibility' alluded to in the preamble of the People's Charter. If government be in no *way to interfere for the protection of the producer* of wealth, and the regulation of the productions of wealth, for what does government exist? The non-interference doctrine—so popular among the monied and governing classes—is a giving up of the very principle on which authority demands allegiance, and is a teaching which I hope will never become popular among the trades of the metropolis. For my part, I think with Hume, that 'A constitution is only so far good as it provides a remedy against mal-administration.' And if the English government can do nothing towards securing employment, and providing an abundance of the necessaries of life for the producers of wealth, I wish we had an end of the FARCE of governing altogether. If it be not the first and most important duty of the British legislature and her Majesty's government, to adopt such measures as will best secure employment to every one of the population, and provide for their labour an abundance of the necessaries and comforts of life, will Mr. Clark inform us, what, in his judgment, is the first and most important duty of the British legislature and her Majesty's government? If it be not the duty of government to protect the producers of wealth and regulate the productions of labour, for what does government exist?

SAMUEL M. KYDD.

DARING HIGHWAY ROBBERIES AT BIRMINGHAM.—On Tuesday evening, about half-past six o'clock, Mr. Scott, jun., son of Mr. Scott, accountant, on his return from business to his father's residence in Moseley-road, was, near the house of Mr. Colmore, Highgate (scarcely a mile from the Birmingham market-hall), *surrounded by four men, one of* whom knocked him down, while the others held him on the ground, and rifled his pockets of a gold watch and chain, and a purse containing a small sum of money. Mr. Scott, passing the toll-gate about 150 yards nearer Birmingham, observed his future assailants standing in the road. They followed him, and on arriving nearly opposite the Highgate fields one of the party exclaimed, "Now's the time," and Mr. Scott was immediately prostrate on the ground. He attempted to give an alarm, when one of the fellows called upon his companions to "throttle him." This they did so far as to stifle his outcry, and having succeeded in their object, the thieves escaped—one or two through the adjacent fields leading from Highgate to the Pershore-road, and the others along the public highway in the direction of Bordesley. Information having been communicated to the police, Chief-Superintendent Stephens in the course of the evening saw Mr. Scott, and the place where the robbery was effected; but the footpads are as yet unknown. Similar outrages have lately been committed with impunity in other outskirts of the town. Last week Mr. Auster, a respectable manufacturer of Birmingham, residing at Carpenter's-road, Edgbaston, was returning through Church-road, when he was stopped by a man in every way answering the description of a ruffian who is supposed to have committed several depredations of similar atrocity which have occurred within the last few weeks. The man put a pistol to Mr. Anster's head, and, having obtained a few shillings, by his menacing conduct, succeeded in making his escape. Great blame is attributed to the corporation for not providing the borough with an adequate police force; for, however active and intelligent the present constabulary may be, they are not sufficiently numerous to perform efficiently the duties imposed upon them. The suburbs are almost entirely unprotected at hours when the police are most required.

A BILIOUS COMPLAINT WITH INDIGESTION OF THREE YEARS' STANDING CURED BY HOLLOWAY'S PILLS.—Mr. C. Williams, of Danganmon had been suffering for three years with a severe bilious complaint, accompanied with bad digestion, and a constant expectoration of phlegm: his afflictions from these disorders were so great, that for nights together it was impossible for him to lie on a bed. All the medicines he had taken failed to give him relief, he therefore determined upon giving Holloway's Pills a trial, and he was soon gratified with the result, for this valuable medicine speedily improved his power of digestion, removed the excess of bile, and re-established him in perfect health.

Price 1s. 1½d. per box.

THIS excellent family PILL, is a medicine of long-tried efficacy for correcting all disorders of the stomach and bowels, the common symptoms of which are costiveness, flatulency, spasms, loss of appetite, sick headache, giddiness, sense of fullness after meals, dizziness of the eyes, drowsiness, and pains in the stomach and bowels, indigestion, producing a torpid state of the liver, and a consequent inactivity of the bowels, causing a disorganisation of every function of the frame, will, in this most excellent preparation, by a little perseverance, be effectually removed. Two or three doses will convince the afflicted of its salutary effects. The stomach will speedily regain its strength; a healthy action of the liver, bowels, and kidneys will rapidly take place; and instead of listlessness, heat, pain and jaundiced appearance, strength, activity, and renewed health will be the quick result of taking this medicine, according to the directions accompanying each box.

As a pleasant, safe, easy aperient, they unite the recommendation of a mild operation with the most successful effect, and require no restraint of diet or confinement during their use; and for ELDERLY PEOPLE they will be found to be the most comfortable medicine hitherto prepared.

Sold by T. Prout, 229, Strand, London. Price 1s. 1½d., and 2s. 9d. per box. Also by

Heaton, Land, Hay, Haigh, Baines and Newsom, Smeeton, Reinhardt, Horner, Rushworth, Stavelly, and Brown, Leeds; Brooke, Dewsbury; Bolton and Co., Walker and Co., Hartley and Dunhill, Doncaster; Judson Ripon; Foggitt, Coates, and Thompson Thirsk; Wiley, Easingwold; Spivey, Huddersfield; Ward, Richmond; Sweeting, Knaresborough; Harson, and Wilson Darlington; Dixon, Metcalfe, and Langdale, Northallerton; Rhodes, Snaith; Spinks and Pannett, Tadcaster; Rogerson, Hicks, Sharp, and Stick, Bradford; Arnall and Co., Wainwright, Brice, and Priestly, Pontefract; Cardwell and Smith, Wakefield; Sutter, Leyland, Hartley, Denton, Dyer and Lofthouse, Halifax; Booth, Rochdale; Lambert, Boroughbridge; Dalby and Swales, Wetherby; Waite, Harrogate; Wall, Barnsley, Atkinson, Brighouse; and all venders of medicine generally throughout the Kingdom.

Ask for FRAMPTON'S PILL OF HEALTH, and observe the name and address of 'Thomas Prout, 229, Strand, London,' on the Government stamp.

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PERFECT FREEDOM from COUGHS in Ten Minutes after Use.

Instant Relief and Rapid Cure of Asthmas, Consumption, Coughs, Colds, and all Disorders of the Breath and Lungs, are insured by

DR. LOCOCK'S PULMONIC WAFERS.

The extraordinary powers of this invaluable Medicine are now proved by a mass of evidence and testimonials, which must convince the most sceptical, that for all disorders of the Breath and Lungs, it is the most effectual remedy ever discovered.—The following are a few testimonials received by the Proprietor, many hundreds of which may be had from every Agent in the Kingdom:—

Another Cure of Asthma.

Extract of a letter from Mr. J. Sargeant, Bookseller, Linton.

Gentlemen, — Mr. Daniel Cornell, fishmonger, of this town, had for many years been suffering from asthma; and as may be supposed, he had tried almost everything within his reach, but without benefit. Last winter, however, he purchased some of Dr. Locock's Wafers of me, and found more benefit before he had taken two boxes than he had from all other medicines he had ever taken, &c.—(Signed) J. SARGEANT, Bookseller, Nov. 18, 1847.

Cures of Asthma and Coughs in Tiverton.

Extract of a Letter from Mr. Geo. Rossiter, Chemist, Tiverton.

Among the many testimonials in favour of the Plumonic Wafers for Asthmas and Coughs that come under my notice, I beg to forward by the express desire of three most respectable parties the following, for free circulation and the public benefit, &c.—(Signed) GEORGE ROSSITER, Nov. 7, 1849.

Mr. and Mrs. Wood beg to inform the Proprietors of Dr. Locock's Plumonic Wafers (through their agent, Mr. Rossiter,) that they have long been afflicted with Asthma and Coughs, and find this is the only medicine by which they can obtain relief.—Prospect-place, Tiverton, Nov 1, 1849.

Cure of Fourteen Years' Winter Cough.

Sir,—It is now fourteen years since I caught a violent cold, accompanied with a harassing cough, which returned every following year, about September, and remained during the winter. I tried various medicines, without effect; until, about two years since, I commenced taking Dr. Locock's Plumonic Wafers, when I found relief from the first box; and whenever a sudden variation of weather produces a cold or cough, I have resource to this valuable medicine, which entirely cures it in a very short time. I am thus enabled to pursue my ordinary duties with delight. I think it my duty to make this communication public, that those similarly afflicted may experience the like benefit.—(Signed) J. DAVEY, Brampton street, Tiverton. Witness, Mr. George Rossiter, Chemist, Tiverton, Nov. 5, 1849.

To singers and public speakers they are invaluable, as in a few hours they remove all hoarseness and increase the power and flexibility of the voice. They have a most pleasant taste. — Price 1s. 1½d.; 2s. 9d.; and 11s. per box—or, sent free per post, 1s. 3d., 3s., or 11s. 6d., by DA SILVA and Co., 1, Bride-lane, Fleet-street, London. Sold by all Medicine venders.

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DR. LOCOCK'S FEMALE WAFERS,

Have no Taste of Medicine,

And are the only remedy recommended to be taken by Ladies. They fortify the Constitution at all periods of life, and in all Nervous Affections act like a charm. They remove all Obstructions, Heaviness, Fatigue on Slight Exertion, Palpitation of the Heart, Lowness of Spirits, Weakness, and allay pain. They create Appetite, and remove Indigestion, Heartburn, Wind, Head Aches, Giddiness, &c. In Hysterical Diseases, a proper perseverance in the use of this Medicine will be found to effect a cure after all other means had failed.

Full Directions are given with every box.

NOTE.—These Wafers do not contain any Mineral, and may be taken either dissolved in water or whole.

BEWARE OF IMITATIONS.—The very great celebrity which Dr. Locock's Wafers have attained has induced unprincipled persons to prepare imitations, which, from their worthless nature, disappoint the just expectations of the purchaser, and injure the character of the Genuine Medicine. It is, therefore, necessary to observe, that no Medicine in Genuine but 'WAFERS,' and that outside every genuine box is the Government Stamps, in which are the words, 'DR. LOCOCK'S WAFERS' in *white* letters on a *red ground*.

OBSERVE.—There are various Medicines having words on the Stamp SO NEARLY RESEMBLING THESE, as to mislead the unwary. Purchasers must, therefore, strictly observe the above caution.—Prepared only by the Proprietor's Agents, DA SILVA and Co., 1, Bride-lane, Fleet-street, London.—Price, 1s. 1½d.; 2s. 9d.; and 11s. per Box.

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Is dedicated to the consideration of the anatomy and physiology of the organs which are directly or indirectly engaged in the process of reproduction. It is illustrated by six coloured engravings.

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Contains an accurate description of the diseases caused by infection, and by the abuse of mercury; primary and secondary symptoms, eruptions of the skin, sore throat, inflammation of the eyes, disease of the bones, gonorrhœa, gleet, stricture, &c., are shown to depend on this cause. Their treatment is fully described in this section. The effects of neglect, either in the recognition of disease or in the treatment, are shown to be the prevalence of the virus in the system, which sooner or later will show itself in one of the forms already mentioned, and entail disease in its most frightful shape, not only on the individual himself, but also on the offspring. Advice for the treatment of all these diseases and their consequences is tendered in this section, which, if duly followed up, cannot fail in effecting a cure. This part is illustrated by seventeen coloured engravings.

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Treats of the prevention of disease by a simple application, by which the danger of infection is obviated. Its action is simple, but sure. It acts with the virus chemically, and destroys its power on the system. This important part of the work should be read by every young man entering into life.

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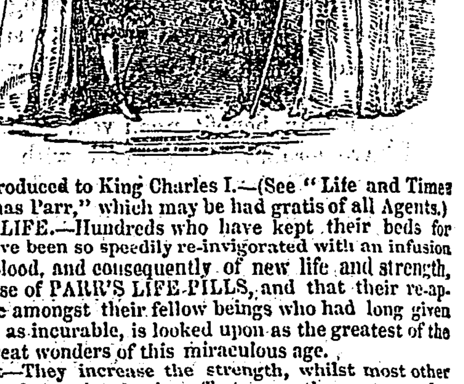
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None are genuine, unless the words "PARR'S LIFE PILLS" are in WHITE LETTERS on a RED GROUND, on the Government Stamp, pasted round each box; also, the fac-simile of the signature of the Proprietors, "T. ROBERTS and Co., Crane-court, Fleet-street, London," on the Directions.

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HOLLOWAY'S OINTMENT.

Cure of Rheumatism and Rheumatic Gout.

Extract of a Letter from Mr. Thomas Brunton, Landlord of the Waterloo Tavern, Coatham, Yorkshire, late of the Life Guards, dated September 28th, 1848.

SIR,—For a long time I was a martyr to Rheumatism and Rheumatic Gout, and for ten weeks previous to using your medicines I was so bad as not to be able to walk. I had tried doctoring and medicines of every kind, but all to no avail, indeed I daily got worse, and felt that I must shortly die. From seeing your remedies advertised in the paper I take in, I thought I would give them a trial. I did so. I rubbed the ointment in as directed, and kept cabbage leaves to the parts thickly spread with it, and took the Pills night and morning. In three weeks I was enabled to walk about for an hour or two in the day with a stick, and in seven weeks I could go anywhere without one. I am now, by the blessing of God and your medicines, quite well, and have been attending to my business for more than seven months without any symptoms of the return of my old complaint. Besides my case of Rheumatic Gout, I have lately had proof that your Pills and Ointment will heal any old wound or ulcer, as a married woman, living near me, had had a bad leg for four years, which no one could cure, and I gave her some of your Pills and Ointment, which soundly healed it when nothing else would do it. For your information I had the honour to serve my country for twenty-five years in the first regiment of Life Guards, and was eighteen years a corporal. I was two years in the Peninsula War, and was at the Battle of Waterloo. I was discharged with a pension on the 2nd of September, 1833. The commanding officer at the time was Colonel Lygon, who is now a General. I belonged to the troop of Captain the Hon. Henry Baring.—(Signed) THOMAS BRUNTON.—To Professor HOLLOWAY.

Cure of a Bad Leg of Twenty-one Years' standing.

Extract of a Letter from Mr. Andrew Brack, Blacksmith, Eyemouth, near Berwick, dated the 10th of August, 1848.

SIR,—With pleasure and gratitude I have to inform you that after suffering for twenty-one years with a bad leg, which yielded to no kind of treatment, although I consulted at different times every medical man of eminence in this part of the country, but all to no purpose. I was frequently unable to work; and the pain and agony I often endured no one can tell. My leg is now as sound as ever it was in my life, by means of your Pills and Ointment, which I purchased from Mr. I. Davidson, druggist, Berwick-upon-Tweed, who knows my case well, and will, I am sure, be happy to certify with me, if necessary, as to the truth of this wonderful cure.—(Signed) ANDREW BRACK.—To Professor HOLLOWAY.

Amputation of Two Toes Prevented.

Extract of a letter from Mr. Oliver Smith Jenkins, dated Falkirk, August 13th, 1848.

SIR,—I was superintending, about six months ago, the erection of one of our railway bridges, and by the fall of a large stone my right foot was seriously bruised, which ultimately got so bad that I was advised to go to Edinburgh to consult some of the eminent surgeons, which I did, and was told that in order to save my foot, two of my toes must be taken off. In despair, I returned home to impart the melancholy news to my wife, intending to submit to the operation, it was then a thought struck me to try your valuable Ointment and Pills, which I did, and was by their means in three weeks enabled to resume my usual occupation, and at this time my toes are perfectly cured.—(Signed) OLIVER SMITH JENKINS.—To Professor Holloway.

An Extraordinary Cure of a Desperate Skin Disease.

On the 21st July 1848, the Editor of the *Mofussilite* newspaper, published in India, inserted the following editorial article in his paper:—"We know for a fact, that Holloway's Pills and Ointment act in a most wonderful manner upon the constitution, as an eccentric Coolie, called Eliza, employed in our establishment, was affected with myriads of Ringworms, which defied all the Meerut doctors, and promised to devour the poor man before he was underground; we tried 'Holloway' upon him, and in a month he was perfectly restored to his former condition and cleanliness of skin. The effect was miraculous."

The Pills should be used conjointly with the Ointment in most of the following cases:—

Bad Legs	Corns (Soft)	Rheumatism
Bad Breasts	Cancers	Scalds
Burns	Contracted and Stiff-joints	Sore Nipples
Bunions	Elephantiasis	Sore Throats
Bite of Moschetoes and Sand-flies	Fistulas	Skin-diseases
Coco-Bay	Gout	Scurvy
Chiego-foot	Glandular Swellings	Sore-heads
Chilblanes	Lumbago	Tumours
Chapped-hands	Piles	Ulcers
		Wounds
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N.B. — Directions for the guidance of patients are affixed to each pot.

Poetry.

NOBLEMEN.

(BY C. D. STUART.)

The noblest men I know on earth,
Are men whose hands are brown with toil;
Who, backed by no ancestral graves,
Hew down the woods and till the soil,
And thereby win a prouder fame
Than follows a king or warrior's name.

The working men! whate'er their task,
To carve the stone or bear the hod,—
They wear upon their honest brows
The royal stamp and seal of God!
And brighter are their drops of sweat,
Than diamonds in a coronet!

God bless the noble working men,
Who rear the cities of the plain;
Who dig the mines and build the ships,
Who drive the commerce of the main;
God bless them! for their swarthy hands
Have wrought the glory of all lands.

LINES

On perceiving an advertisement in one of the Daily Papers, of a lady advertising for a domestic servant, concluding with the words—"No Irish need Apply."

(BY J. R. M'KENZIE.)

What mean those proud and haughty terms,
A mockery to High Heaven's decree;
Say, are we aught but dust and worms,
When in the grave from pain set free?

By God ordained, this language given,
To one brave nation, now laid low;
Would'st thwart the dread designs of Heaven,
Or spread death, famine, grief, and woe?

Is it because of titled rank,
You thus disdain our country's name;
Or, worse than all, our open, frank,
And manly language?—blush with shame.

But, in the future's misty sphere,
Methinks I see some brighter days
In store for Erin's land, so dear
To all fond hearts who freedom praise.

Strive on, then Erin, spurn their jeer,
To freedom's cause be true, be tried;
The day WILL come—ay! and 'tis near,
When "Erin's need SHALL be supplied."

Reviews.

AN ADDRESS TO THE ELECTORS AND NON-ELECTORS OF THE UNITED KINGDOM, *on the defective state of the Representative System, and the consequent unequal and oppressive Taxation*, &c., &c. By W. Williams, Esq. (late M.P. for Coventry). London: E. Wilson, Royal Exchange.

Notwithstanding certain "moderate" sentiments given expression to in this pamphlet, which meet with no sympathy from us, we can conscientiously wish Mr. Williams's work a wide circulation. Therein the reader will find a good deal of information relative to the collection and expenditure of the public money, and the crying necessity that exists for such a reform of parliament as will give the taxpayers full control over those who vote away the people's money. We quote the following from Mr. Williams's opening observations:—

TO THE ELECTORS AND NON-ELECTORS.

You, the non-electors, who are excluded from the possession of the elective franchise—the proud birthright of a free people—number, in the United Kingdom, six millions of men; while you, the electors—the favoured class entrusted with the suffrage—the great privilege which forms the distinction between the freeman and the slave—count but 1,061,000, who were invested with this exclusive privilege by the Reform Act, which, seventeen years ago, became the law of our country. In order to neutralise the opposition and secure the co-operation of the Radical Reformers, who contended for *conferring the elective franchise on all men after* attaining the age of maturity if not disqualified by legal disability, those of you who are old enough, well remember the plausible arguments used, and the confident assurances given, both in and out of Parliament, during the agitation and debates on the Reform Bill, that "the Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill," would be effectual in constituting the Commons' House of Parliament a real representation of the people, instead of being the creature of a borough-mongering oligarchy. The abolition of so many rotten boroughs consigned to Schedule A—the sale of whose seats in the House of Commons was admitted to be "as notorious as the Sun at noon-day"—and the conferring upon populous towns the right to fill those defunct seats, was ostentatiously displayed; and although the Reform Bill constituency formed but one-seventh of the adult male population, yet assurances the most confident were held out that the first fruits to be produced by the House of Commons, elected under the provisions of the Reform Act, would be, that of retrenchment and economy in the expenditure of the public money; so equalising the taxes that their burthen should fall on those best able to bear it, instead of on the hard earnings of toil and industry; and that the laws should no longer be made to favour "classes"—or more particularly the rich class—but equally for the well-being of the whole community. In confirmation of this, the public declarations of many leading men of that period might be quoted, but especially those of the then prime minister, Earl Grey, and of Lord John Russell, and other members of the government who framed the Reform Bill. In his speech in introducing that bill into the House of Commons, Lord John Russell said, that "to establish the Constitution on a firm basis, you must show that you are determined not to be the representatives of a small class, or of a particular interest; but *to form a body who—representing the* people, springing from the people, and sympathising with the people—can fairly call on the people to support the future burthens of the country, and struggle with future difficulties." Again, said the noble Lord, "Looking at the question, then, as a question of right, the ancient statute —*the 25th Edward the First—contains the germ* and vital principle of our Constitution; it thus declares, in the name of the king, "Moreover we have granted for us and *our heirs, to all the commonalty of the land*, that for no business from henceforth we shall take such manner of aids, tasks, nor prises [taxes], but by the common assent of the realm, and for the common profit thereof'"—that the people shall send to the House of Commons their real representatives, to deliberate on their wants and consult their interests—to consider their grievances—to hold the purse-strings of the nation —to lay the foundation for the most salutary changes in the well-being and comforts of the people, and that laws should not be passed for the benefit of classes by *men roused from their slumbers at* twelve o'clock at night, to vote for they know not what.

Is it not an indisputable fact, that the Reform Act has *entirely failed* to realise any of these promised national blessings, for the attainment of which it was vauntingly pretended to be passed? Does it not, then, exhibit, in a questionable character, the sincerity of its promoters—especially that of Lord John Russell—who, without venturing to assert that it has effected the promised reforms, has strenuously opposed all of the many propositions for reforming the House of Commons, whether it were Mr. Hume's comprehensive measure, shortening the duration of parliaments, establishing the vote by ballot, or even abolishing the disqualification *to be placed on the register of electors by non*-payment of the poor-rate; although, since the reign of Queen Elizabeth, a law has existed which gives the power to enforce the payment of rates due by selling a defaulter's furniture or other property he may possess, and, if insufficient, to cast him into prison, and there to remain till paid; this was the law until the last Session, when an act was passed *to limit the term of imprisonment* to three months.

It would seem that the Whigs, in framing the Reform Act, foresaw that its results would only give to them a larger share of political power, and thereby enable them to get possession of the government, and, through a subservient House of Commons, to squander the resources of the country on their minions and aristocratic connexions.

The Duke of Wellington's ministry was no sooner installed in office in 1828, than a great movement and agitation took place for Reform and Retrenchment, to which an impulse was given by the notoriously corrupt case of East Retford. The duke, either in deference to the public outcry for retrenchment and economy, or, perhaps, what may be more justly due *to him, from a sense of public duty*, effected large reductions; and at the close of 1830, when his ministry resigned office, the expenditure of that year was brought down to £52,018,000, being *less* than that of 1827 £4,318,000, and which enabled the noble duke to leave, as an inheritance to his Whig successors in office, a surplus of revenue over expenditure of £2,900,000.

The Whig ministry under Earl Grey, in 1831 and 1832—their two first years in office—had to submit their Estimates *to an "Unreformed" Parliament*; much disappointment was not, therefore, felt that they had only reduced the expenditure in those two years to £50,908,000, being less by £1,100,000 than that of the preceding ministry.

We now enter under the balmy shade of the Reform Parliament—"springing from the people, and sympathising with the people"—which was promised would keep a tight hold of the national purse-strings, and, in the terms of King Edward's law—"from henceforth to take no manner of aids, tasks, or prises [taxes], but by the common consent of the realm, and for the common profit thereof." The first estimates of expenditure, presented by Earl Grey's government to the Reform Parliament, in 1833, were, in amount, £49,166,000, and, for 1834, £49,223,000. Towards the latter end of that year, King William turned the Whigs out of office, and a new ministry was formed under the premiership of Sir Robert Peel, who framed the estimates for 1835, which were partly voted before their resignation of office in the month of March of that year, and were adopted, unaltered by their successors, Lord Melbourne's administration. The amount of the expenditure, under those estimates, was £48,787,000, which combined the economic efforts of both Tories and Whigs, and were the *ne plus ultra* of retrenchment by "Reformed" Parliaments, being £2,120,000 *less* than the estimates voted by the last rotten-borough Parliament, in the last year of its existence. This is the fulfilment of the "cheap and good government," which it was promised the Reform Act would produce; but even this "tight hold of the nation's purse-strings" was but short-lived. The Whig economical ministry, finding itself backed by a "safe working majority" in the second Reformed House of Commons, in the next year (1836), increased the expenditure to £50,819,000, or within a few pounds of that of the borough-mongers of old; and that, too, when there was not a ruffle—"not even a cloud of the size of a man's hand"—visible within the whole circle of the political horizon, either domestic, colonial, or foreign.

I well remember this increase of more than £2,000,000 of the public money being voted often *by less than forty members*—the required number to form a House—and that, too, without opposition or comment from any one but the faithful guardian of the people's money—Mr. Hume. I had been, then, too short a time a member to enable me to render him very efficient assistance.

A remarkable scene is presented in the "Reformed" House on a motion for going into Committee of Supply: a general flight and dispersion takes place, a *corps de reserve* of officials and expectants being kept at Bellamy's dining-rooms, ready to defeat a motion to "count out" the House, or to answer the "Division Bell;" all being thus made safe, the "Supply nights," *when the people's money is voted away by millions*, are devoted to dinner-parties and other free-from-care enjoyments.

To return to the public expenditure, which was annually on the increase:—that of 1839 reached £53,440,000, and exceeded the revenue by £1,500,000, which was quietly added to the National Debt. The increasing expenditure went on, year after year, until, in 1847—in the first estimate of Lord John Russell's ministry to the *fourth* Reformed Parliament—it reached to nearly £60,000,000 and was then only arrested by a refusal, in 1848, to increase the Income-tax from little less than three to five per cent., or from sevenpence to one shilling in the pound sterling; which, in this year, exhibited the remarkable anomaly of three budgets in the same Session, in each of which reductions were made in the estimates of the expenditure, to bring it nearer to the amount of the insufficient revenue, and this *after having been at peace thirty-three years*; for the disturbances in Lower Canada in 1838 were soon suppressed, and our interference between Turkey and the Pacha of Egypt was brought to an end by sending a few ships to take possession of Acre. The cost of Indian wars is defrayed by the East India Company, and that of the rupture with China was more than defrayed by the Chinese ransom. As to the tiffs with Louis Philippe, it would seem they were nothing more than adroit contrivances to frighten and alarm the people of France and England, the better to enable their governments to increase their warlike armaments and thereby augment their patronage.

To provide for this enormous and prodigal expenditure, the amount of the taxes was insufficient, and the Reform ministry and Parliament—during the eleven years the Whig Reformers were in possession of the government since the Reform Act was passed—have added £41,000,000 to the National Debt; of which £1,000,000 was applied to paying the Irish parsons' arrears of tithes, due from the Irish Roman Catholics, the payment of which they had successfully resisted. I well remember condemning, in strong terms, the iniquitous immorality of thus mortgaging the produce of the industry of generations yet unborn to pay the interest of a debt so shamefully contracted, and to have observed, that, if future generations should look into the items of which the debt is composed, and discover this and so many millions added to it to provide for a prodigal expenditure exceeding the revenue in a period of *profound peace*, it might shake the stability of the whole fabric.

It is but justice to Sir Robert Peel to state that, on his coming into office in 1841, having found the exchequer nearly empty, and the expenditure of Lord Melbourne's ministry in that and the four preceding years having exceeded the revenue by £6,000,000, he put an end to a financial system so ruinous, and had recourse to the Income-tax; by which means he placed the finances of the country on a solid basis, and so continued them up to his resignation of office in 1846. His "reforming" Whig successors—Lord John Russell's ministry—no sooner got possession of the government than they again adopted the spendthrift for their financial model. Their expenditure in 1847 and 1848 exceeded the revenue by £3,361,000, and that, too, was ungrudgingly countenanced by the "Reformed" Parliament.

The following extract cites a few examples as to

HOW THE MONEY GOES.

Without going into the labyrinth of the public expenditure, whence flow, from countless sources, the most profligate extravagance and waste of the country's resources to provide patronage for the government, to supply the insatiable cravings for places, pensions, and sinecures by the Aristocracy, their parliamentary supporters and creatures, denominated by Junius the "Scavengers of the Ministry," I will instance a few heads of expenditure in which great reductions may be effected. In the second Session of 1841, I brought under the consideration of the Hause of Commons the enormous increase in the Cost of collecting the public *revenue, which had been nearly doubled*. I took, as an example, the year 1806—an eventful year of war—in which the cost was not less than that of other years about that period, but because a Committee of the House of Commons had investigated the cost of the collection of that year, which amounted to £2,797,000 for collecting £58,250,000 of taxes, or a little more than 4¾ per cent. The amount of the taxes for the year ending the 5th of January last was £57,054,000, of which the cost of collecting was £4,684,000, or 8¼ per cent.! In making that motion in 1841, I showed that the cost of the necessaries and luxuries of life was much less in that year than in 1806; but they are at present still lower, and may be estimated at fully *one-third less* than in 1806. These striking facts induced Sir Robert Peel, who had just come into office as prime minister, to appoint a Commission to inquire into the whole system of collecting the taxes; but the only inquiry instituted by the Commissioners was in the port of Liverpool, and their report exhibits the system there pursued as highly discreditable, both as to the expensiveness and inefficiency. The cause, it was understood, of *cutting short the Inquiry*, was a discovery that enormous reductions might be effected, but which, if acted upon throughout the vast ramifications of the Customs, Excise, Stamps, Post-office, and the Estates of the Crown, would lop off an immense amount of corrupt Government Patronage, which is carried on *unseen* and *uncontrolled*. Parliament having surrendered its great prerogative of supervision, each department intercepts the amount of the salaries and pensions of its officers from the Taxes on the way from the people's pockets to the Treasury, and in the annual account published, the *net* amount only is given, and no mention is made of the cost of collection. This is a public grievance of long standing; in reference to which, the Marquis of Lansdowne, in 1797, in his place in the House of Lords, said, that "Every officer seems to be lord of his own will, and to have unlimited power over the purse of the Nation, instead of being—as the spirit of the Constitution directed—under the constant check of Parliament."

Soon after the Whig ministry were installed in office in 1831, a *Commission was appointed* "to examine into the manner in which the public money is received and paid in the several departments of receipt and payment." The Commissioners, in their Report, strongly recommended that, in future, all public moneys should, without any deduction whatever, be paid into the Treasury; and, as a consequence, that the salaries and pensions of the officers of the revenue departments should be annually voted. This recommendation was signed by the Commissioners, Lord John Russell, Sir James Graham, Sir Francis T. Baring, and Mr. Edward Ellice. Motions were repeatedly made in the House of Commons for carrying into effect this recommendation, but they were resolutely resisted, because this hidden source of corruption has been found *too convenient* to be relinquished. This accounts for the enormous increase in the cost of the Collection of the Taxes, which was commenced by Mr. Pitt, before whose administration it did not exceed two-and-a-half to three per cent. If the present cost of the Collection were reduced to three per cent., a saving of £3,000,000 a year would be effected; or, if reduced to four and three quarters per cent., the cost in 1806—and that eventful year of war, too—£2,000,000 would be saved.

The property of the Crown, which the Queen has surrendered to the public for a Civil List of £385,000 a year, is nearly swallowed up by plunder and mismanagement. This property is under the management of the Commissioners of Woods and Forests, who received from it in the last three years an income of £1,187,746; of this amount they only paid into the Treasury £313,316, being £874,430 *less* than they received. If this property were *honestly managed*, it would produce a sum equal to the amount of the Civil List, thereby placing our most gracious Queen in the independent position of receiving no more from the Nation than Her Majesty repays from the produce of her own estates. The great Crown Forests, which annually ought to supply the Navy with a vast quantity of timber, produce scarcely a sufficiency to pay the pensions and salaries of officials and peculators.

The Dock-yards is another department in which there is a riot in prodigality. Since the termination of the war £52,700,000 have been expended for timber and other materials for ship-building, salaries and wages of officers and workmen employed in these dock-yards; for every shilling of which there ought to be something to show. What has become of this money it would be difficult even to conjecture, as at the close of the war there were 666 ships in commission and 335 in ordinary. If stock were taken of the ships built and on the stocks, and repaired, since the Peace, I doubt if anything approaching to one half of this enormous amount could be accounted for. During the same period £9,000,000 have been expended in what is denominated "enlarging and improving the Dock-yards," although sufficiently capacious during the war for *building and keeping in repair the above 1,000 men*-of-war, store ships, &c. Pembroke is the only naval yard added, and basins for steamers. The entire system of conducting the business of the Dock-yards has been one of continuous blunder, mismanagement, extravagance, and waste; for, as has been truly remarked by *The Times*, "ships have been built two or three times over." It would be marvellous, indeed, if a better state of things existed under the present system. The qualification for First Lord of the Admiralty and the Secretary seems to be, utter ignorance of Naval affairs; and if the other Lords should have a better qualification, their being required to be Members of Parliament, the duties of which occupy so much of their time both day and night during the Session, *renders it impossible for them to attend to their* official duties. It is hardly reasonable to expect that so vast a concern as the Naval affairs of Great Britain, on which £203,000,000 have been expended since the Peace, can be otherwise than mismanaged under such a ruinous system.

Much of the same character has been the Expenditure of the Ordnance department, in building barracks in Great Britain and Ireland, and the construction of Fortifications and Barracks in the Colonies. The Expenditure under these heads, in the last five years, was £3,000,000. Upwards of £400,000 was expended in fortifying one of the Ionian Islands; and the value of our Exports to the whole of those islands is about £120,000 a year! The Ordnance Estimates for the expenditure of the year ending the 5th April last were £3,001,100; in 1790 they were only £375,000.

£4,000,000 are taken annually from the pockets of the people of this country for governing our Colonies (exclusive of India, which pays its own expenses;) besides this, the Colonists pay taxes to the amount of about £4,000,000 a year, which to a large extent is absorbed in paying extravagant Salaries to Colonial Placemen, who are imposed upon the Colonies by the Government of this Country. The return we receive for this Expenditure is, trading with them to the amount of about £9,000,000 a year: not a very profitable investment, except to the government as a source of enormous Patronage. And, as was recently observed by the *Times*, "We have spent hundreds of millions in fostering and protecting our Colonies, and are now paying millions over and above the interest of the debt for the establishments and defences of our Colonies."

The Half-pay and Pensions of the Army, Navy, and Ordnance, amount to £4,000,000 a year, which is but little less than the whole expenditure of these departments in 1790! and not quite £2,000,000 less than the *entire Expenditure* of the United States' Government.

The Miscellaneous Services amount to £3,888,600; in 1790 it was only £168,600. The charges on the Consolidated Fund are £2,811,000; in 1790 they were £1,003,000. In days of yore, the House of Commons rigidly exercised its high prerogative of holding the purse-strings of the King's Exchequer, and allowed nothing derived from the people's pockets to be expended without its authority; but, to a large extent, it has surrendered that great constitutional power to the Government. In the year ending the 5th January, 1847, it permitted the Government to spend £7,004,000 without its permission or the exercise of any control over it!

The Bank of England having stopped payment in 1797, caused a depreciation in the value of its notes; in consequence of which, a great increase took place in the salaries of all public officers and persons paid out of the public money; they are now, in very numerous cases, double what they were before 1797. Take, for example, the salaries of the *Judges*:—

	1792.	1849.
The Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench's salary	£4,000	8,000
The Puisne Judges of do.	2,400 each	5,000 each.
The Chief Justice of the Common Pleas	3,500 "	8,000 "
The Puisne Judges of do.	2,400 "	5,000 "
The Chief Baron of the Exchequer	3,500 "	7,000 "
The Barons do.	2,400 "	5,000 "

We trust this pamphlet will have an extensive sale. Its disclosures should suffice to arouse the plundered people of this country to a great and national struggle to achieve a complete and Radical Reform of Parliament.

Ketchiana, &c, &c. By the Rev. Alexander Duncanson, of Falkirk. London: C. Gilpin, Bishopsgate-street Without; J. Watson, Queen's-head Passage, Paternoster-row.

This pamphlet has been written to prove that "The Punishment of Death by the Civil Law is in opposition to enlightened reason, and growing social and political policy; and also antagonistic to the mind of God, as expressed under the Patriarchal, Jewish, and Christian dispensations." The author is evidently a man of strong convictions, enlightened sentiments, and generous feelings. The work is ably and eloquently written, and is well worthy the careful perusal of those who are giving their attention to the important question of Capital Punishments.

Mackenzie's Educational Books. London: E. Mackenzie, 5, Wine-office Court, Fleet-street.

Here are three more specimens of Mr. Mackenzie's enterprising venture in furtherance of the all-important work of popular education. First we have "Walkingame's Tutor's Assistant," complete for fourpence, or in two parts each at half that sum; second, a new system of "Short-Hand made Easy," adapted either for self-instruction, *or the use of tutors*, students, or schools; and third, "A Treatise on Phrenology," in which that science is elucidated and illustrated. The "Phrenology" and the "Short-Hand" are charged no more than twopence each! Faithfully prepared, neatly printed, and marvellously cheap, these works deserve, and, we trust, will have an immense circulation.

ASTLEY'S AMPHITHEATRE.

Mr. Batty has adopted a plan which is well worthy the imitation of all managers of theatres—namely, that of having a juvenile night once a week, when the pantomime is played first. The second of these nights took place on Thursday, when the attendance of smiling faces was more than usually numerous; the boxes being literally crowded with youngsters, at home for the holidays, who seemed to enjoy the fun of Yankee Doodle. The truly wonderful performance of *that mistress of her art*, Mdlle Angele, elicited the most rapturous applause. The graceful dancing of Mdlle Gardonic on the tight rope, also excites the admiration of the audience. The performances concluded with the grand chivalric spectacle of the Knight of the Eagle Crest, which still continues its triumphant career.

The Tuscan *Monitore of the 30th ult.* contains the following:—"We are happy in being able to contradict the statement given by the *Gratz Gazette*, and repeated by us, that Count Zichy was at Florence attacked with insanity. We quote the following passage of a letter with which H. E. Prince Demidoff has favoured us on the subject:—"For the last six weeks I have had, at San Donato, the pleasure of the company of Count Zichy, whose name is Edmund and not Edward, and who is a brother of my unfortunate friend Eugene Zichy; and his numerous friends have the opportunity of seeing him every day as healthy in mind as he is resigned in heart."

Literary Gossip.—Dickens will start a weekly journal in March, and on the 1st of the same month Douglas Jerrold will produce the first number of a new magazine. A new satirical publication is being organised. Kenny Meadows is to draw for it, and the literary contributors are men of some standing. The title fixed upon is *Pasquin*. The first number will appear on the 18th inst. Mr. Douglas Jerrold's new comedy is now nearly ready for the stage; it will be produced at the Haymarket in the course of next month.

THE MINERS OF THE NORTH.

The workmen of Seaton Deleval Colliery, together with several friends from the adjacent collieries, met on New Year's Day to celebrate the anniversary of the present organisation of the "Society for the Protection of the Labour of the Miner," which society was first established by the workmen of that colliery, in connexion with the miners of Cowpen and Blythe. It having been arranged to take tea together, about 340 of the hardy miners were accommodated in the large room of the Hastings Arms Inn, many of whom were accompanied by their wives and sweethearts. The committee of management having disposed of one essential and necessary part of this gathering, viz., the providing each with a very good cup of tea and Christmas bread, next proceeded to bring before the audience several well-known friends to counsel and advise them with regard to their future welfare. Before, however, entering upon this part of the business, it affords us great pleasure to remark the example of cordiality and harmony of sentiment which characterised the whole proceedings of this body of men, who have for the last twelve months acted in concert and union with each other, both *with regard to the proper and equal distribution of* their labour, and the fellow feeling displayed when the late epidemic raged so fearfully among them. It is pleasant to observe that those proceedings stand out in bold relief when compared with the miserable exhibition of a neighbouring colliery, where the workmen were regaled with £10 worth of ale, which only served to bury in a momentary oblivion the aches and pains entailed by the last year's competitive labour. It is also worthy of remark, that in consequence of the long and severe illness which has prevailed in this colliery, added to which, the work has been of late very much reduced, many of the workmen could not spare the necessary shilling to take tea with their brethren, but to obviate this a subscription was set on foot, and the needful raised in a *short time, thereby giving many an* opportunity of being present at this goodly gathering.

On the motion of Mr. Hall, Mr. M. Richardson was called upon to preside, and Mr. J. Manderson to officiate as vice.

The Chairman then enlisted the attention of the audience by a few brief remarks, and introduced

Mr. Thirlwell, who said: man in himself was an apt illustration of union; the feet could not possibly do without the belly, nor the latter exist without the various members which constituted the whole organism of his frame; but though man's imperfection would be visible without these combinations and dependencies, yet in the question of his co-operation with his brother man much had been said on both sides; for himself, he was decidedly of opinion that such co-operation was good for all; by it the advocates for man's redemption from slavery and serfdom were enabled to prosecute their labours, and lay bare the nefarious practice of holding in chains a portion of God's children. What fearful evils have the kings of the earth perpetrated by the congregated masses of mankind; but we unite ourselves *for the holy purpose of disseminating the* heavenly doctrine of bearing each other's burdens, and establishing a common and universal brotherhood; and let it be understood, that in carrying out those views and objects we would also embrace and connect the interests of our employers, and although we have as yet failed to impress our employers practically with this view of the question, perhaps the day is not distant when these opinions will be better understood, when upon the principle of each for all, and all for each, the moral elevation of the human family will be a necessary sequence of man's existence. A better time is on the wing, and we must endeavour to afford ourselves the consolation that each of us have done something to facilitate the onward march of human redemption. The aspect of things is improving. We have, like the Romans, sown the seed, and in due time we shall reap the fruits. Union cannot do all things at one time, but great things can be accomplished thereby. We desire to achieve the power whereby to pay all our creditors their fair due, and to banish that curse from so great a branch of our national industry, namely,—continued and necessitated degradation, by being constantly in debt to our shopkeepers. We want also moral elevation, and that we can obtain only by setting shoulder to shoulder, and by using our best efforts, the objects desired may be realised before man's journey comes to a close.

Mr. Bell said, when this union was first originated it was purely a defensive one: our wages were threatened a considerable abridgment; and when we perceive the uncommon amount of good done in so short a time, we are wishful to apprise our Seghill brothers that the "feast of reason and flow of soul" is much more preferable than the debasing practise of closing the year's labour with drunkenness and disorder; we are enabled to enjoy ourselves at our own cost, thus securing our independence, whilst they, although the recipients of £10 from their master, have but received it as a premium in exchange for their birthright. This country is the most wealthy, perhaps, under Heaven, yet what a terrible mass of misery does it contain! Experience proves that until there shall exist a powerful pressure from without, the burdens of the people will still increase. Let us demand, then, a proper share of that wealth which we produce, and we shall obtain it. Our assembly here this day is an omen of future good, and, perhaps, we shall not long be witnesses of the disgraceful manner in which our hard-earned wages are nefariously taken from us. This would not be if union, instead of competition, had been in the ascendant. We wish for justice and fair play, and if united we shall obtain it.

Mr. Hardy observed, that many people were at the present time suffering keenly from the contracted means of subsistence, but what, indeed, would have been the miners' condition if the union had not commenced? Previous to its formation, wages were tumbling to pieces—reduction followed reduction, and we were fast approaching the lost and forlorn condition of the weaver who was enabled, in 1812, to earn his £2 per week, but who could only at the present time earn five or six shillings per week, for exactly as much as was formerly done for the larger amount. He could well recollect when a putter, was bound to a bond which guaranteed a fixed price for a year, at which a certain amount of work would be paid for, but many of them, as well as himself, could testify their astonishment at the terrible increased size of the corves by which that amount of labour was calculated, and which increased quantity was a fraud upon the hewer and putter, who were paid by the piece; and the amount thus taken from them was not less, upon the average, than *fifteen per cent*. There was at present some stir about educating the miners. Why no children got so early an education as the trapper; doomed to sit twelve hours in a dark corner beside the door, he hourly had his attention drawn to the curses and imprecations given expression to by the putters, who are apt, on the smallest interruption to their work, to vent their rage in horrid oaths, and unseemly language. Thus it was that the miner's child was educated, and his young mind—like a blank sheet of paper—*became readily and indelibly im*pressed with that stamp of wickedness which, in after life only fits him to act the schoolmaster to the next generation. However, it is gratifying to learn that the miners have improved, and that a few of them are enabled to break through the coarseness of the pit college, and it was to the efforts of these men that a great deal of their altered and improved condition may be ascribed. Yet a great work remains to be done; hundreds and thousands of miners at the present day have no time nor leisure to attend to any instruction. The severity and lengthened nature of their toil unfits them to take advantage of attending any lecture or address that any party may feel disposed to give them, and thus they pass away the time between work and rest—from the bed to the pit—and from the pit to bed. History furnishes us with a picture of the condition of the labouring people in the fifteenth century, when Sir J. Fortesque declared that every man in England was well clothed—well housed—and had plenty of good and substantial food, and that no man drank water except in doing penance. It is only by union that we can restore so enviable a state of things, and by attention to the principle of supply and demand we may, at least considerably nullify the extent of the sufferings now endured by our brethren—procure fair wages for our dangerous toil—and get clear of the degrading system of receiving our wages by tommy tickets, which is to some extent yet in existence in this district.

Mr. G. Hall said, our progenitors have, through ignorance, allowed themselves to be deprived of their birthright like Esau of old, and it remains for us to work out our own salvation. Let us exert ourselves to improve our condition, and then may we expect to present to the world an aspect of comfort and peace. He expected to witness the period when our rulers would remove the taxes upon knowledge, and that also which kept the sun of Heaven from shining into our dwellings. The former had much to do with our mental darkness, and the latter most assuredly operated against our physical comfort.

Mr. A. Stoves said, he would call their attention to the necessity of adopting and carrying out that most excellent rule—"Love thy neighbour as thyself." It unfortunately happened, that our lawmakers left out a great portion of the principle embodied in the scriptural injunction; but there was one law, namely, "Hume's Act," which, if it did not fully enjoin love, yet gave us liberty to fight our employers. By these laws we are enabled to meet together, and discuss the various matters connected with our earthly welfare, while, at the same time, our employers have the same power to act in what seemed best for them. Upon this law we must meet our masters, and endeavour to get the best possible price for our labour. All other trades had taken up this matter, and were more or less organised upon its provisions, and why not the pitmen? He was fully persuaded that the moral and intellectual elevation of the miners depended very much upon the relaxation of their present excessive and severe toil, and to the diminishing of the long and wearisome day's work. Every colliery enjoined the boys to work twelve hours, and many even at the present time were fourteen hours at work, especially where the men were not united; and at the West Moor one man had worked so hard and long, that he had lost his eyesight. Let us imitate the brave men of Broomside Colliery, where if a man is weaker than his neighbour, the latter helps the former, and thus they work together in harmony and love.

The Chairman then introduced M. Jude to speak upon the subject of ventilation, and the necessity of the same being improved. Mr. Jude addressed the audience at considerable length upon this subject, wherein was clearly shown the great necessity for a change in our present mode of ventilation of the mines of this country. It was also intimated, that we, as miners, did not desire any vexatious enactments, but that there existed a necessity for an inspection of mines, and in a great degree for compulsory inspection. The speaker then adduced some practical illustrations of the above necessity, wherein it was demonstrated, that sometimes the air of a pit was so ventilated that a candle would not burn, and that in many collieries the workmen had to light two or more candles at a time, to clean their coals, and to ensure the continuity of such light; and even then, in many instances, both candles have gone out, and left the miners in the dark. In a general way, the pits were worked up to the verge of danger, thus exposing the lives of the workmen, the slightest derangement in any part of the machinery; such as a trap door being left too long open, or a sudden change in the atmosphere, brought immediate destruction to many of them. Explosions are often due to a parsimonious spirit in laying out the general arrangement of a colliery; for example, when the high main seam was worked out at Walls-end, one shaft only was sunk down to the Bensham seam, which was a much more fiery seam than the one worked out, and to which there had been two shafts sunk; the consequence was, that in a very short time an explosion took place, and killed fifty-two persons, after which another shaft was sunk; so that the economy, as it is termed, exercised in the first instance was of no avail, inasmuch as the second had to be put down, and that, with all the additional expense engendered by the explosion. But this example did not mend the matter, for at the present time there are about five pits down to the Bensham seam in that colliery; yet each successive pit was put down after an explosion had taken place; there having been at Walls-end four great sacrifices of life, making in the aggregate upwards of 160 lives; and it was not until after each explosion that the next pit was sunk; so that the parsimonious spirit thus displayed, served but to shew the bungling judgment of the manager, who either could, or would not be guided by experience, in looking a little more beforehand, and adopt the necessary means to prevent these accidents again. The Committee of the House of Commons who sat in examination upon the causes of accidents in coal mines, had their attention drawn to the invention of Mr. Goldsmith Gurney's plan of ventilation by high pressure steam; yet fourteen years have elapsed before a single colliery in this district made the attempt to introduce and make trial of its merits. And even now—when by the results of the experiment, double the quantum of air has been got, and when the evidence of Mr. Foster, the viewer, (under whom the invention has been tried) before the Committee of the House of Lords last year, gave ample details of its superiority, and assisted and corroborated by the evidence of Mr. J. Mather—we cannot hear of any generel attempts on the part of other proprietors to follow the example. Many such omissions can be adduced, which fully prove that all is not done that can be done to prevent such calamities, and hence the necessity of parliamentary interference. Mr. Jude then read several letters received from various members of Parliament, promising to aid the miners in their desired object, and also letters from parties eminent for their scientific attainments, all breathing a spirit of humanity for the miner; likewise a very humane and philanthropic note from his Royal Highness Prince Albert, expressive of his sincere desire that something may shortly be done to meet the desired purpose. After a few more remarks relative to the necessity of being prepared with the outward pressure by our petition, &c., and the utility of apprising the Parliamentary and Financial Reformers that more than 20,000 miners in this district are without the vote, and are likely to continue so if any rate paying clause is retained, inasmuch as the houses are made to form part of their wages, and thus they pay no rent, and therefore cannot be put upon the rate book. The proceedings were brought to a close by a vote of thanks to the parties who presided, and with three times three cheers for the union, &c., &c.

Heugh Hall, Durham.—The men of this colliery met on Saturday last to celebrate the anniversary of the present organisation of labour amongst the Miners of the north. They met at eleven a.m., and heard a public lecture from Richard Hodgim, one of their own order, and one against whom the master party have taken a spite on account of his union principles. Besides the lecture, we had some recitations, amongst which were "Tell's Soliloquy," and a portion of "The Doom of Toil." At one o'clock we sat down to a good and excellent dinner, which the host of the house provided for us. After dinner we had more recitations, and several excellent songs were sung. We continued together till five o'clock, when the meeting broke up satisfied with the day's proceedings.

The Weavers Strike at Wilsden.—This strike has at length terminated. The weavers have nobly fought the battle, and won the victory. At a public meeting on the 5th of November last, they passed a resolution not to work for Mr. Richardson any more, at any price whatsoever. They have stood to that resolution like men, determined to conquer, and the consequence has been that Mr. Richardson has been compelled to shut up his mills. When he gave them a statement of the wages he was about to give, he repeatedly told them that they were not bound to take his offers, but that if they did not comply with them, he would shut up his mills, and take his machinery to Manchester, and in order that he might do so without fail, the weavers determined not to work for him. Although Mr. Richardson spoke as if he would rather shut up the mill than not, yet he sent one of his men to Manchester to inquire for weavers, telling them that there were plenty of work, and plenty of wages; and that they might do very well and save money, if they were steady and willing to work. Wilsden was represented as a paradise. When the people inquired if it was a strike, the man replied, "No, there was nothing the matter in that respect;" the people here were all to idle to work, and that was the only failing there was. Mr. Richardson would pay the fare of all married people, and their families, and their goods, if they would come to the promised land, but he would not pay the fare of single persons, *nor would he pay the fare of a father to come* and see the work, and then if he found things as represented, to take his family. No, those that intended to have their fare paid must first break up their homes, and give up their work,—if they had any—and depend upon his word, for the glorious fare they would meet with; through such means as these he succeeded in decoying a few families to this place. They were destitute of house or habitation, excepting such as Mr. Richardson had provided for them, and these were of a sorry kind. Ten had to be crammed into an old hay chamber; they had no food, but what Mr. Richardson provided for them, nor had they any money, and thus they were at his mercy. When the weavers' committee learnt their case, they kindly offered to pay their fare back, and if they had nothing to go back to they would support them until they could get work elsewhere. Some twenty were sent back at the expense of the committee, and Manchester was placarded, warning the people of the strike at Wilsden. The weavers here were determined that not a tittle of Mr. Richardson's threat, that he would take his machinery to Manchester, should pass away unfulfilled. They have been fulfilled to the very letter. Mr. Richardson is gone, and this is a proof of those valuable words, "Union is Strength." The weavers have found it so. May the working classes of every trade in England begin to value this motto, and their freedom is secure. On behalf of the weavers, A. Robinson, Hallasbridge, Wilsden.

Foreign Potatoes and Grain.—The supplies of potatoes from abroad continue to form a very important item in the general list of imports from foreign countries. They are principally from France, Belgium, and Holland; and in many instances comprise in a day several entire cargoes containing more than a hundred tons weight of the vegetable, *the produce of those countries. Several* vessels have also arrived from Dunkirk and other French ports laden with grain and flour.

The Poisoning in Paris.—Aymet, the man in custody for sending poisoning pastry to two women, stated that he had bought the basket and box in which the pastry was placed from a hawker on the Boulevard Montmartre. He was accordingly on Saturday week taken by the police to the Boulevard, to point out, if possible, the person who had sold them. He indicated a woman, named Triboulet; but this woman refused to answer the questions of the police, and heaped insults upon them. Her husband having come up at the time, likewise began abusing them, and refused to sell them articles similar to those sold by Aymet. The other hawkers gathered round, and also insulted the police, and at one moment a serious conflict was feared. One of the hawkers raised a hammer over the head of one of the police, and was about to strike, but was prevented. A crowd having assembled, the police feared they might lose their prisoner, and they retired; but subsequently Triboulet and his wife were arrested.—*Galignani.*

Varieties.

A Vagabond!—When Prince Gonzaga de Castiglione was in England he dined, in company with Dr. Johnson, at the house of a common friend, and thinking it was a polite as well as gay thing to drink the doctor's *health with some proof that he* had read his works, called out from the top of the table to the bottom—that table being filled with company—"At your good health, Mr. Vagabond," instead of Mr. Rambler.

Out of your Inside.—A little boy who was playing with money swallowed a small piece by accident. All the neighbourhood was raised; the aunts and cousins ran about in consternation, for nobody could tell how it was to be got again. Presently the schoolmaster came hurrying up. "Don't you know how to get at the money?" said he. "Send for the tax-gatherer; he's the man to manage it, for he can get money from anywhere—out of your very inside!"

A Vile Pun.—"Pray, Mrs. Zabriska, why do you whip your children so often?" "La! Mr. Worthy, I do it for their enlightenment; I never whip one of them in my life that they didn't acknowledge it made them smart!"

Practical men are apt to sneer at poets as being entertaining perhaps, but idle dreamers. They forget that every great truth in life has originated not with the men of action, but with the men of thought.

A Ministerial Manœuvre.—Sir Robert Walpole, once wanting to carry a question in the House of Lords, and not being quite sure of some of the bishops, prevailed upon his friend, the Archbishop of Canterbury, to stay at home for two or three days. In the meantime, Sir Robert circulated a report that his grace was dangerously ill. On the day of meeting the house was, as might be expected, remarkably crowded with lawn sleeves, not one of whom voted against the minister!

Before and After Marriage.—A man named Chamberland was brought before the Correctional of Police for thrashing his wife. "Did you beat your wife?" asked the President. "I did, sir, on the Place Maubert." "There is nothing to be proud of. It is a shameful thing to strike a woman." "Oh, but President, I'm *en regle*, look at that!" and the accused handed up a dirty marriage certificate. "Well! It gives you no right to beat your wife!" "Oh, stop a bit, President! I lived with her some time, and she had me sent to prison for thrashing her. When I came out she said that if I would marry her she would let me beat her as much as I liked: I did marry her, and I have a right to beat her!" "What you say is absurd," said the President. "Perhaps you think so, but ask my wife. Here, Elizabeth, tell these gentlemen whether I have the right to thrash you or not?" "I promised you that you should beat me when I wanted to get married," answered the wife. "People always promise many things when they want to get married, but after marriage it isn't the same thing." "For you, perhaps, Elizabeth," said the loving husband, "but I have your promise, and am satisfied." Police agents having proved that the accused not only beat his wife cruelly, but smashed the furniture, and threw it out of the window, whereby a passer-by was seriously injured, the Tribunal condemned him to a month's imprisonment. "No matter!" said he, as he walked away, "my right to beat her is there!" and he held up his marriage certificate.—*Paris paper.*

Crime is madness; madness is disease.—*Shelley.*

Whenever you doubt whether an intended action be good or bad, abstain from it.—*Zoroaster.*

RATES AND TAXES.

I envy you, sweet butterfly,
So sportive on the spray;
Your life's a short and sunny one,
You have *no Quarter Day.*

You live but in the noontide glow,
All happy is your fate;
You die before the rain comes on—
You have *no Water Rate.*

From flower to flower you idly rove,
In industry so lax;
But then they cannot call on you
For any *Income Tax.*

A rose or violet your home,
No family—you're blessed;
No carriage need you for a ride,
You cannot *be Assess'd.*

You only rise up from your grub
To spend a pleasant day,
Then in the evening settle—but
You've not a *Dump to Pay.*

A Grand Truth.—The constitutional guarantees of the operative have yet to be settled; his bill of rights lies yet unwritten.—*Fraser's Magazine.*

High Wages.—If it were possible for the working classes by combining among themselves, to raise or keep up the general rate of wages, it need hardly be said that this would be a thing not to be punished, but to be welcomed and rejoiced at.—*Mill.*

An Irish Similitude.—"Ha, ha, and afther all now, Oonah, a pipe is like a Christian in many ways; sure it's made o' clay, like a Christian, and has the spark o' life in it; and while the breath is in it the spark is alive; but when the breath is out of it the spark dies, and then it grows cowld like a Christian!" "Faix, some Christians isn't pleasant companions at all;" chimed in Mrs. Rooney, sententiously. "Well, but they ought to be, said Larry, "and isn't a pipe sometimes cracked like a Christian, and isn't it sometimes choked like a Christian?" The most improvonist thing in the world is—" (paugh!) and a parenthetical whiff of tobacco smoke curled out of the corner of Larry's mouth—"is smokin', for the smoke shows you, as it were, the life o' man passin' like a puff—(paugh!)—just like that, and the tabbakky turns to ashes like his poor perishable body."—*Lever.*

Balance of Beauty.—A man of fashion, who was remarkably ill-looking but very vain, kept a valet, whose countenance was not much more amiable than his own. One day the servant, while dressing his master, offended him, and he exclaimed, "What an ugly dog!" The fellow, who observed his master at the same time very attentive at his glass, said, "Which of us do you mean, sir?"

Innocence.—Innocence is simply ignorance. Such is not desirable; but virtue which has known evil successfully to resist it. We should not look back with regret upon our childhood's innocence. To the christian there is a second youth as pure as the first. It is vain to attempt to keep the young in ignorance of vice. This is but to send them forth into the world a ready prey to temptation. Evil will come sooner or later; and it is best to forewarn that the man may be forearmed.

A true picture of despair is a pig reaching through a hole in the fence to get a cabbage that lies a few inches beyond his reach.

A Drummer's Penance.—The drum is of great importance in orchestral music. Its measured beat gives clearness and distinctiveness to every species of rhymical movement—imparting lightness and spirit to the dance, firmness to the march, and solemnity to the funeral procession. In Handel's chorus in *Joshua*, "Glory to God," where the walls of Jericho are represented as levelled with the ground at the sound of the Israelites' trumpets, the sudden burst of the drum is terrific, and, to the excited imagination of the listener, appears to be in the very crash of the fallen ruins mingled with the trumpets, and exciting shouts of the besiegers. Notwithstanding the extreme simplicity of this instrument, to play it well is no easy matter. It requires boldness and decision, a thorough knowledge of effect, and a mind capable of entering into the grandest conceptions of genius. It is told of the late Mr. Jenkinson that during the performance of the chorus in *Joshua* at a great music meeting, he, by some inadvertence, burst in with his drums a bar too soon, and marred the sublime effect intended to be produced; on which, mortified and enraged at his own blunder, he applied his drumsticks in good earnest to his head, and inflicted summary punishment on himself, to the astonishment of the audience.

The Naval Force of England.—The following is a statement of the naval force afloat of this country, in ships, guns, and men, at the present moment:—

Stations.	Ships.	Guns.	Men.
Portsmouth	16	176	2267
Devonport	8	163	1612
Falmouth packets	7	41	264
Sheerness	5	108	958
Woolwich	8	61	638
Deptford..............	1	1	16
Chatham	2	11	302
Pembroke	2	12	44
Queenstown	8	111	1164
Lisbon..............	8	315	3095
Mediterranean	28	800	8223
West Indies	13	200	1794
Pacific..............	12	228	2343
Coast of Africa..............	25	165	2152
South-east coast of America	11	152	1694
Cape of Good Hope..........	6	68	827
Discovery and surveying ..	21	80	1213
Store and troop-ships........	4	26	372
Admiralty packets	12	16	241
Total	199	2718	29,217

There are about 1,000 supernumeraries not included here, and this number is exclusive of marines ashore at their respective divisions.

John Wesley used to say, "No man can ride to Heaven in a coach and four."

Money—the largest shareholder in the world.

Bachelor—a target for fair hands to shoot at.

Boy—the first volume of an interesting work.

Jealousy—one of the sours arising from having a sweetheart, or a spark thrown by Suspicion into the magazine of Love.

The *Dublin Commercial Journal* admonishes Young Ireland orators: "We will listen to them, certainly, with the attention due to men of imagination, who understand English; but, if they expect us to believe that there is a meaning to their threats or a substance to their shadows, they are wofully disappointed. We are quite up to the trick, and know right well that there are *not* "three hundred men fully caparisoned to follow *Alonzo* to the field."

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Mrs. Hughes, Sunbury:—It cured four corns and three bunions amazingly quick, and is the best and safest thing I have ever met with.

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Second.—That his genuine, improved, Hygeian Vegetable Universal Medicine (Pills), are the best, safest, and cheapest, for preserving health, and curing every disease, of old and young, on sea and land; also, that the needy have received from him, more gratuitous medicine, attendance, and cures, than they have from all the M.D.'s in Glasgow.

Third.—If the pulpit, the press, or the people, can prove that Dr. Greer has spent one hour, or £1 to his shame, during the last fifty years of his manhood, he will pay them double the amount of this challenge. As Dr. Greer has to keep a clerk, correspondents will please to remember clerks require payment.

N.B.—More agents wanted at home and abroad, and a per centage for the Land and the Charter given by Dr. G.

On Saturday, January 19th, will be Published, in Weekly Numbers, price 1d., and Monthly Parts, price 6d, No. I. of

THE COMIC FAMILY HERALD,

An Illustrated, original facetious publication, with first-rate engravings by first-rate artists, and the funniest contributions by the funniest fellows—intended as a witty companion, and humourous assistant, to the four most popular weekly periodicals—The Family Herald, the London Journal, and Reynolds's and Lloyd's Miscellanies.

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PRISON DISCIPLINE!!

WILLIAM J. VERNON WILL DELIVER TWO LECTURES

On the above subject, at the Literary and Scientific Institution, John-street, Tottenham-court-road,

On Monday Evenings, January 21st, and 28th, 1850.

In the course of which he will detail his own experience of Eighteen Months' Imprisonment, and depict the horrors of the vile and debasing silent system!!

The proceeds will be given to the Victim Fund.

To commence each Evening at Eight o'clock precisely.

Admission—Hall, Twopence, Gallery, Threepence.

The Policy and Proceedings of the Chartist Leaders in relation to Free Trade, Protection to Native Industry, and Social Reform.

A LECTURE on the above subject will be delivered by

Mr. WALTER COOPER,

Next Sunday Evening, January the 20th, at the

FARRINGDON HALL,

King's Head-yard, at the bottom of Snow-hill,

To which the Leaders of the different sections of Political Reformers are invited, and to Publicly Discuss the subject.

Lecture to Commence at Seven, Discussion to Begin at Eight, and to Conclude at Ten.

Free admission for this occasion only.

To Correspondents.

Mr. J. Bland, Chester-le-street.—Received.

Sunshine and Shadow.—The readers of the *Northern Star*, Newtown, Montgomeryshire, thank Mr. T. M. Wheeler for his contributions to this paper, under the above head, and hope to see more of his productions.

Mr. Clark, Bristol,—Forthcoming meetings are subject to the Advertisement Duty.

Mrs. M.Douall.—The money acknowledged by Mrs. M'Douall, in our last, as being received from Mr. John Arnott, was a subscription sent by the shoemakers of Stockport.

Nottingham.—J. Sweect acknowledges, the receipt of the following sums (sent herewith,) viz;—For Macnamara's Action.—Mr. S. Hudson, 3d; Mr. G. Cummings, 2d; Mr R. West, 2d; from Chilwell, 1s. 6d.

Mr. Willis.—The address of this gentleman, which was given in an advertisement last week, as 'Shrewsbury Barn,' was wrong, it ought to have been the Shrubbery Great Barn, near Birmingham.

Geo. Wray, Leicester, while avowing that he has but little confidence in the 'Parliamentary Reformers,' deplores the apathy of the working classes. He expresses a hope that the Chartists of Leicester will rally again, and organise themselves to aid the movement for the Charter.

Feargus O'Connor, Esq., M.P., G. W. M. Reynolds, Esq., and Mr. T. Clark, will be in Leeds on Monday night next; and on the following day, (Tuesday) Mr. Reynolds and Mr. Clark will be at Manchester, to address a meeting there also. It is hoped that at both of these meetings the ranks of the Association will be swelled.

THE NORTHERN STAR.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 19, 1850.

THE FRANCHISE.

The "demonstration" at the London Tavern on Monday, was a seasonable, and, we doubt not, will be an influential one. It will add to Lord John's nervousness on the subject, and convince the Middle Class Reformers, that their only safe course is, to adhere firmly to the claims they put forward, as the *minimum* Reform with which they will be satisfied. Without some such manifestation of the fact—that Chartism exists in an organised and vital form, willing to waive for the moment its own demands, in order not to neutralise a parallel but less decided movement—both the Ministry and the National Reform Association might mistake their real position in relation to the Chartists.

The Premier might be induced to hope that an adroit use of the thousand influences always at the command of a man in power, would detach the most powerful leaders of the Middle Class movement, and cause them to acquiesce in some sham measure of Reform, ingeniously devised, for the twofold purpose of making them appear consistent, and of imposing upon the public. On the other hand, Sir Joshua Walmsley and his friends, not being aware of the real amount of popular strength by which they are aided, *might* have entered into calculations how far it would be advisable in them to accept a measure "modified" to suit Ministerial stomachs.

The meeting of Monday must have dispelled such illusions, if they existed on either side. If any doubts had crossed the mind of either party, as to the existence of Chartism, as a living and powerful element in the State, they must have been set at rest for ever. The heart of the people of London beats in unison with that of the people in the provinces. The Charter is the political creed of the unenfranchised masses. Its attainment is only delayed, because, in the moral and political world, all large, powerful, and permanent growths are gradual.

Inspired by the knowledge that the aid and co-operation of the Chartists is not a mere hollow pretence, but the support of a party which can be retained only in proportion as it is honestly dealt by—the leaders of the Middle Class movement will have solid reasons for pursuing a bold, straightforward, and uncompromising course. We, on our part, will faithfully co-operate with them, while they do this, and *no longer*. Should there be the slightest hesitation, defection, or compromise, from that moment the bond of union will be severed, and the party, which is now a powerful ally, will become a more formidable opponent.

But, indeed, the National Reform Association has everything to cheer it on in the honest and unwavering pursuit of its objects. Not only has it secured the co-operation of the extreme Suffragists, it is also promised—if not the direct aid, at least the neutrality, of the "country party." There is an old proverb which advises that "gift horses should not be looked in the mouth;" and it would, perhaps, be scarcely proper to inquire too curiously into the reason of this policy on their part. They *may*, perhaps, calculate on thereby embarrassing the Ministry, and of bringing about a dissolution of Parliament—an object they are at present working hard to attain. Whatever the real object may be, however, the ostensible grounds on which such a policy is advocated are well worth the attention of Suffrage Reformers. They tell us, that for the old system they had respect, on account of its antiquity, and because, with all its faults, it "worked well;" but the existing system, as left by the Reform Bill, *is neither one thing nor another*—that a dozen better plans could be easily fabricated—and that, as to Universal Suffrage itself, it is not so very frightful a thing as certain old lady alarmists have painted it. For the Reform Act, they have neither respect nor regard—for the existing system, they have not the slightest affection. Whatever Lord John may think or feel, they disclaim emphatically the doctrine of Finality. Nay, they even point to the "next kingdom to our own," to prove "that a Parliament, elected by Universal Suffrage, may be a very Conservative assembly."

For these, and sundry cognate reasons, the "country party" are recommended to meet "the proposal of a new Reform Bill with *reserve*, but no *vehement* disapprobation." If the "thing is to be done at all," they are to "demand that it shall be done thoroughly." No more patching or cobbling of the present system, because *it will not bear it.* "*It must* either remain as it is, or be cast away for a far better plan." Such is the *ultimatum* of the *Morning Herald*; and of the two alternatives, as far as we can see, it would rather prefer the latter.

But who is to decide which is the better plan? By what test is it to be tried? *We* are content to take the criterion of the *Herald* itself. *We* demand that it shall be "*done thoroughly,*" in order to destroy "the facilities which the present system gives to trickery and jobbing." The only thorough preventive of "trickery and jobbing" we *know of*, is to give the franchise to every male adult of sound mind and good character. By making the basis of the suffrage co-extensive with manhood, and dividing the country into equal electoral districts, it would be beyond the power of any individual, or any class, to tamper with it. Give us Universal or Manhood Suffrage, the Ballot, Equal Electoral Districts, the Payment of Members, and Annual Parliaments, and we promise the *Herald*, and the "country party," that the facilities for "trickery and jobbing," and the "bribery," which it is alleged fills the City of London, shall be destroyed for ever.

Whether a Parliament elected by such means, would turn out a very conservative or a very communistic assembly: whether—to use the language of our contemporary—"a House of Commons, elected by Universal Suffrage, would cast Free Trade overboard in less than a month after its meeting," or not, we neither know nor care. As advocates of the People's Charter, we demand for the whole people, of every class, sect, and party, the full enjoyment *of the rights of citizenship*. We demand, that all who pay the taxes shall have a voice in their composition—that all who are called upon to obey *the laws, shall, through their representative*, have a share in making them; and that the institutions of the country shall be based upon the popular will, and popular affection, instead of the assumed wants and interests of selfish and privileged classes. Let the whole people be enfranchised, and we shall not dispute their decision on any of the great questions of the age. If wrong, we shall endeavour to instruct public opinion better, but we should not deny the validity of the decision. At present, the representation of the country is a swindle. It pretends to rule in the name of a *people* who are excluded from all share in political power. It enables privileged and powerful classes to rob the weak and defenceless, by means of laws made avowedly for their protection. It violates the first principles of political justice, and with such a system, we can hold no terms. Our warfare against it can only be terminated by death or victory!

One thing is certain, Lord John, whether he wishes it or not, will be obliged to do something this Session. "The straw does begin to move." Not the least significant sign, is Chartism; at the London Tavern, with reporters from all the Morning newspapers. The Premier had better think of it. Chartism has made its *debut* in the City and in high places. His constituents have heard for themselves.

A GLANCE AT THE NATIONAL PURSE.

"Wonders will never cease." The Whigs have a surplus in the Exchequer! Nay, they have actually applied some *three* hundred thousand pounds to the reduction of the National Debt! As the said Debt is, in round numbers, eight hundred millions, three hundred thousand pounds will not very perceptibly affect its pressure. But that does not matter. The wonder is that the Whigs should have had "a surplus" at all. All their previous financial experience in office has been to convert surpluses into deficits. The Debt originated with the Whigs, as a party; and, although it certainly attained its present enormous amount under Pitt, yet, whenever for a long or short period the Whigs have subsequently had anything to do with the Government, it has been augmented, not reduced, by them. Their incapacity as financiers had passed into a proverb. Even their friends felt this was a tender place in their political reputation, and took the ground of apologists rather than advocates. But under Sir Charles Wood's administration, the marvel has actually taken place of a Whig Government receiving more money in a year than it has contrived to spend.

The *Times*, of course—as in duty bound—had a flourish of trumpets on the occasion. We are told, that a vigorous process of economy is at work in every department of the public service; and, that comparing nine months of last year with a corresponding period of the previous year, a saving of three millions three hundred and forty thousand pounds has been effected. In point of ready money we are told, that the Treasury is only two millions and a half better off now than nine months ago; and that altogether the balance now in the Treasury is about ten millions. It is not likely, therefore, that Sir Charles Wood will be obliged to have recourse to the Bank for assistance for some time to come, or to raise the rate of interest on Exchequer Bills; while at the same time, money is what is called plentiful, at easy rates, in the City.

It would not be very difficult to show that, for this state of things, Sir Charles Wood can claim but a very slight amount of credit, and that he is merely inheriting the natural consequences of the policy of the late Ministry, and of that returning tide of trade which invariably succeeds a protracted period of stagnation. But our object is not of a personal or party, but of a national character; and we prefer to ask what ought to be done with any available surplus, either now in hand, or that may be hereafter realised by farther saving in the national expenditure, or accruing from the increased productiveness of the revenue?

There are two ways of answering this question. One mode—and that which will most readily suggest itself to the generality of persons—is to apply the surplus to the reduction of the most burdensome taxes. Already, there are in the field parties calling for the abolition of the window tax, the duties on paper, advertisements, newspapers, tea, malt, hops, and other articles—and each of them making out a good *prima facie* case. We are not inclined to dispute the grievance imposed by many of these taxes. On the contrary, we have frequently denounced them—exposed their unjust bearing upon the different classes of the community, and the manner in which some of them militate against both the physical and the intellectual health of the community.

But there is another method of looking at the difficulties by which we are surrounded. Instead of merely considering what is calculated to give immediate, though, perhaps, only temporary relief, we might aim at a great and permanent reduction of the national burdens. The most experienced financiers and practical men see great danger in allowing our monstrous Debt to remain untouched, and all agree that, until it is in some way or other effectually grappled with, there can be no very large reduction of the annual taxation of the country. Mr. Samuel Gurney has solemnly warned our statesmen, that the Debt will, if not vigorously grappled with, drag the nation into the gulf of ruin, in the case of any extraordinary or protracted effort being required from it.

Hitherto, however, this question has been sedulously avoided by every party in power. The National Debt has been treated as one of the most sacred and most inviolable of our institutions. Now we have no desire to alarm those who live upon national credit, or who would be injured by its breach of faith. On the contrary, we would rather deal with this great evil in time to avert a violent and disastrous catastrophe for all parties. Sooner or later, it will have to be dealt with in some way or other, and it will be infinitely more wise for Shylock to accept of a fair compromise now, than to insist on the letter of his bond, and find at last that though he has bargained for his pound of flesh—he is not therefore to be allowed to drain away the very life-blood of the nation.

As a matter of justice to posterity—as the most rational and effective manner of easing our own burdens, therefore, we are of opinion that a large portion of the present and every future available surplus, should be applied to a reduction of the National Debt; that a favourable state of the Money market should upon all occasions be turned to account, by way of reducing the interest payable upon it; and that, as speedily as practicable, the whole should be converted into Terminable Annuities.

By the second of these modes Sir Robert Peel, when he was last in office, secured an immediate saving of 650,000*l.* and a prospective one of 650,000*l.* more, which will shortly take effect; thus making a total annual saving of 1,300,000*l.* If the present Premier understood financial matters equally well, we have no doubt but at the present moment he could effect an annual saving of two or three millions more. Why should the national creditor be paid a higher per centage than his money would bring in the open market? But the question need not be argued in the abstract. The measure has been adopted, from time to time, by various Administrations. It is therefore a recognised piece of financial policy. What has been done may be done again. *Verb. sap.*

RESPECTABLE REVOLUTIONS AND PHILOSOPHICAL CONFISCATIONS.

One thing has been very clearly decided by the contest now waging between the Protectionists and Free Traders. The latter aim at the rents; and, therefore, in many instances, the very existene of the landlords, as a class: "You take my life, when you do take the means by which I live." The effect of our recent legislation will be as complete a confiscation of the incomes of the landed proprietors, as if it had been decreed by a Government of Red Republicans. All disguise on the subject is now thrown away, and the landlords now know that they are fighting for bare life.

In *Blackwood's Magazine* there have appeared a series of elaborate tables, drawn up by farmers of high standing and large capital in Scotland; that land of model farming on the large farm system. These tables were not speculative, but actual abstracts of the facts in each case; and the inference deducible from every one of them was, that with prices one-third lower, it was impossible to cultivate the land in this country.

The gauntlet thus thrown down has been taken up by Mr. James Aytoun, of Edinburgh, on the part of the Free Traders. After giving a synopsis of the contents of each table, and allowing the farmer all his charges for labour, manure, implements, interest, &c., he sets the *estimated loss in the price of produce against* the rent now charged on the farms, and coolly tells them it must be taken out of that. In some cases the loss will swallow up two-thirds of the rent, in others a half. Mr. Aytoun, in a most philosophical and edifying manner, with a gravity and self-possession of countenance which would be invaluable on the stage, demonstrates to the landlords who are thus to be mulcted, that it is all according to the canons of Political Economy. That they may have an objection to be thus flayed alive, never seems to have entered into the imagination of this thorough-going disciple of Ricardo. "You know, gentlemen," says Mr. Aytoun, to the insects he is experimentalising upon, in the course of his lecture, "that rent is merely the difference between the produce actually raised, and that which is required to pay the farmers all the expenses of cultivation. Recent legislation has reduced your share, that's all. Take it, or go without altogether; as the case may be. Political Economy requires the sacrifice. Q.E.D."

Now this appears to us a very cavalier and off-hand way of treating a grave question. Sir R. Peel and Mr. Cobden made something like an attempt to show farmers and landlords a way out of their difficulties, however imperfect and unsatisfactory; but Mr. Aytoun "lets the cat out of the bag" at once. Free Trade, as far as the landlords are concerned, means confiscation. If the Chartists or the Communists had made a similar sweeping attack on the "rights of property," what an outcry there would have been from one end of the country to the other! The very journals that now preach up this crusade against rent, would have come out daily or weekly with appeals to the Attorney-General, showing the necessity for prosecuting and punishing the parties who held such atrocious doctrines; and on being arraigned before prejudiced Judges and panic-stricken Juries, verdicts as unreasoning, sentences as vindictive, as those passed upon Ernest Jones, Shaw, and Cuffay, would have been the result. But the case is altered, it seems, when one propertied class attacks another. Then all is fair game. Nobody must interfere, but let the parties fight it out.

It is, perhaps, just as well that the Country Party should be told thus candidly what is their doom. Capital and machinery have been for a long time preying on the working classes. Their turn has come now. Why should they have rents? Why should any man have anything that is not in accordance with the devilish modern Gospel of Mammon and selfishness, cunningly compiled into a philosophical system, by men with brains but devoid of hearts? Is not Gold the mightiest of all divinities? What are the welfare or the interests of any class—nay, of whole nations—where they interfere with his supremacy? Well! the landlords, as a class, have never been very great friends of ours. We have by no means considered them in the light of "model men;" but, after all, we cannot help feeling some little pity at seeing them about to be crushed under the ponderous car which has already trodden the silk-weaver, the handloom-weaver, the tailor, the shoemaker, the sempstress, and dozens of other classes, into the dust.

Sometime or other, no doubt, there will be a re-action. Men will not always be fooled with words, and spread misery, and desolation, destitution, discontent, and despair, around them, in obedience to the laws of an imaginary, crude, and inconsistent creed of Political Economy. Probably there will have to be severe suffering undergone before then, because almost every political party has been more or less besotted by the specious nonsense issued by the oracles of the faith. But if the landlords should learn during their hour of trial, to identify themselves with the people as a whole, and to support institutions based upon political and social justice—the trial and the suffering will not have been in vain, it will lead all the sooner *to a time* when Labour shall secure subsistence, and the original command be read as an injunction also—"By the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat bread."

RECEIPTS OF THE NATIONAL LAND COMPANY.

For the Week Ending Thursday, January 17, 1850.

SHARES.

	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
Whittington and Cat	0 11 9	Abingdon ..	0 14 0
			1 5 9

TOTALS.

		£	s.	d.
Land Fund ...	...	1	5	9
Expense ditto	...	0	18	0
New Company,	...	2	16	0
Rent Allotteed	...	13	15	0
		£18	14	9

W. Dixon, C. Doyle, T. Clark, Cor. Sec. P. M'Grath, Fin. Sec.

FOR COSTS OF MACNAMARA'S ACTION.

Received by W. Rider.—J. Cook, Shincliffe Colliery, 6d.; G. Burton, Selkirk, 1s.; T. Willey, Cheltenham, 2s. 2d.; Nottingham, per J. Sweet, 2s. 1d.; Ashburton, a few Woolcombers, per T. Combes, 2s. 6d.; Wheatley, near Halifax, a few Friends, per C. Appleyard, 4s.; F. Lever, Sheffield, 6d.; Young Chartists, Walsall per J. Mills, 3s. 6d.; a number of Young Men, Friends to Liberty, Justice, and Common Cense, Hyde, Cheshire, per Ralph Hodgkinson, 15s. 6d.; Firwood, near Oldham, per R. Fielding, 4s. 9d; Thos. Drake, Thornton, near Bradford, Yorkshire, 10s.

EXECUTIVE FUND.

Received by W. Rider.—National Charter Association, Todmorden, per W. Bobinson, 3s.

FOR THE AGITATION OF THE CHARTER.

Received by W. Rider.—Bristol, per C. Clark, 1s.

DEBT DUE TO THE PRINTER.

Received by W. Rider.—J. Oldfield Huddersfield, 6d.

TO EXEMPT PRISONERS FROM OAKUM PICKING.

Received by W. Rider.—G. Burton, Selkirk, 6d.; E. Green, Clayton West, (balance of *Star*, account,) 3½d.; E. Todd, West Auckland, 6d.; Young Chartists, Walsall, per J. Mills, 3s.; J. Oldfield, Huddersfield, 1s.

FOR WIDOWS OF THE LATE MESSRS. WILLIAMS AND SHARP.

Received by W. Rider.—J. Oldfield, Huddersfield, 1s.; Middleton, Lancashire, proceeds of Discussion, per R. Fielding, 3s.——Received by John Arnott.—Three Friends, Briant's Coffee-house, Finsbury, per John Warren, 2s.

MRS. M'DOUALL.

Received by W. Rider.—E. Todd, West Auckland, 6d. ——Received by John Arnott. — Bermondsey, per John Warren, 2s. 6d.

FOR WIVES AND FAMILIES OF VICTIMS.

Received by W. Rider. — London, Messrs, Clark and Courtney, 3s.; T. Jennings, Sible Headingham, 1s. 6d.; T. Willey, Cheltenham, 2s. 6d.; Stockport, Chartist Singers, per M. Scragg, 1*l.* 1s. 6.; J. Oddfield, Huddersfield, 1s.

VICTIM FUND.

Received by W. Rider.—J. Oldfield, Huddersfield, 6d. ——Received at Land Office.—City of London Co-operative Cordwainers, 5s.; Globe and Friends, per Mr. W. H. Burns, 8s.

NATIONAL VICTIM FUND.

Received by John Arnott, Secretary.—A friend, per G. R. 5s.; Bermondsey, per John Warren, 2s. 6d.; City of London Co-operative Cordwainers, per John Ladd, 5s.; Globe and Friends, per W. H. Burns, 8s.; Mr. Rider, as per *Star*, 1*l.* 10s.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE NATIONAL CHARTER ASSOCIATION.

	£.	s.	d.
Westminster Locality ...	1	2	0
Bury, per Mr. Jones ...	0	11	0
Entrance Fees of Gentlemen employed at the Printing Establishment of G. W. M. Reynolds, Esq.	0	16	0
Bermondsey Locality ...	0	2	6
G. W. M. Reynolds, Esq. ...	10	10	0
Mrs. Reynolds ...	1	1	0
Mr. Penny ...	0	1	0
Mr. M'Lean ...	0	1	0
Mr. Barnett (Hull) ...	0	1	0
T. Clark ...	0	10	0
P. M'Grath ...	0	10	0
G. Julian Harney ...	1	0	0
Collected at the London Tavern ...	3	5	4
	£19	10	10

By order of the Provisional Committee, Thomas Clark, Secretary.

RIOTOUS PROTECTION MEETING AT BASINGSTOKE.

A public meeting was held at the Town Hall, Basingstone, on Wednesday afternoon, the notices convening it invited the "landowners and farmers, tradesmen and others favourable to the principle of just protection to every British interest against foreign competition in the markets of this country, as resolutions would be proposed with a view to obtain relief from the present ruinous depression produced by the operation of free-trade measures." The meeting was fixed for three o'clock, and by that hour the Hall was densely filled by those more or less interested in the subject proposed for discussion. Among the gentlemen present were Melville Portal, Esq., M.P. for North Hants; W. L. Sclater, Esq.; W. Clarke, Esq.; Captain Portal, W. Portal, Esq.; Mr. Harriott, Mr. Stratten, Mr. Twynam, and a large number of tenant farmers. In the morning there was a very strong feeling against the attempt to obtain a re-imposition of protective duties on corn; and placards headed "Free-trade and cheap bread," were plentifully exhibited. In the market, cries of "Down with the rents," "Lower the tithes," and "Fre-trade for ever!" were frequently vociferated. This and numerous other demonstrations gave rise to a fear among the Protectionist party of a general "row" at the meeting, and application was made to the chief magistrate of the borough for the attendance of the police. Several men of the labouring class paraded the town with a loaf of considerable weight and dimensions, decorated with ribbons, and on it the inscription, "Three loaves for a shilling."

When the meeting had assembled in the town hall, Mr. Stratten, a tenant-farmer, and secretary to the Basingstoke Protection Society took the chair.—Mr. Sclater, a large landed proprietor, moved the first resolution. After making use of the usual protection arguments, Mr. Sclater concluded by moving a strong protectionist resolution.—Mr. Beckingham seconded the motion, and it was carried by a large majority, four hands only being held up against it.—Mr. Stratten, an extensive tenant-farmer, next rose to address the meeting, and proceeded tolerably quiet until he denounced in violent terms the free-trade policy, and called Sir Robert Peel a traitor and the agitation of Messrs. Cobden and Bright a species of humbug for self-interest; and then a knot of Free Traders in the lower part of the hall set up a groaning and hissing, which led to a general tumult of nearly half-an-hour.—Mr. Portal, M.P. for North Hants, tried to restore silence, but it was ineffectual.—A tenant-farmer addressing the Chairman: Is this a free trade or protection meeting.—The Chairman replied—"A protection meeting."—A Farmer: Give the word of command, and we'll turn them out.

There being no probability of any gentleman obtaining a hearing, the Protectionists then combined together to put down the Free Traders, when the confusion and noise became indescribable, the party setting up a cry of "Free Trade for ever!" "Down with the rents and tithes." It was feared that something serious would occur, the scene being *à la* Stafford, excepting that the mob did not have recourse to pelting the speakers. After a number of attempts, in which blows were exchanged, the Free Traders were ejected, but it was not until the assistance af the police had been resorted to. The mob then set up yelling and hissing outside, and several windows were afterwards broken, by some missile being sent through them. The Protectionists proceeded with their business, and, after speeches from Mr. Stratten, Mr. Twynam, and Mr. Portal, M.P., in which the usaual arguments were employed against Free Trade, the meeting broke up at six o'clock. The meeting determined upon memorialising her Majesty for a dissolution of parliament. The noise in the streets did not subside until some time afterwards.

Origin of by Hook or by Crook.—Persons entitled to fuel wood in the king's forest were only authorised to take it of the dead wood or branches of trees in the forest, "with a cart, a hook, and a crook."—*Notes and Queries*

John of Tuam seems to grow more crabbed and unintelligible than ever. In a recent letter (very long of course) he censures government for having furnished "a host of heretical professors to fungus colleges."

How seldom do we feel, perceive, or think of the small beginnings of disease which surround and operate upon us in our enjoyments and intercourse with the world.

"The young disease which must subdue at length, Grows with our growth, and strengthens with our strength."

An improper regimen acting upon a particular kind of constitution, late hours, both of retiring to rest and rising in the morning, lay the foundation of intestinal as well as skin diseases. To all such we would recommend first a change of system, and, secondly, as a powerful assistant for the recovery of health, that efficacious Family Medicine, Frampton's Pill of Health, which has procured the approbation of persons in every station of society.

GREAT CHARTIST MEETING IN THE CITY OF LONDON.

The first great public meeting in furtherance of the new plan of Chartist Organisation, took place at the London Tavern, Bishopsgate-street, on Monday evening, January 14th. The doors were opened at seven o'clock, and immediately the body of the hall, the gallery, and every nook and corner became densely crowded. A number of the fair sex were present, and seemed to take a deep interest in the proceedings. On the entrance of Mr. O'Connor and the Provisional *Committee they were greeted* with prolonged cheering. Mr. W. J. Vernon (the victim, late of Tothillfields), on being recognised, was likewise greeted with enthusiastic cheering.

Feargus O'Connor, Esq., M.P., was, on the motion of Messrs. G. W. Reynolds and Fairchild, unanimously called to the chair.

Mr. Clark, who acted as secretary, commenced the business of the evening, by reading the following address:—

THE PROVISIONAL COMMITTEE TO THE CHARTISTS OF GREAT BRITAIN.

Friends and Brethren,

We avail ourselves of the opportunity afforded by the first grand Metropolitan Meeting held under our administration, to afford you some idea of that policy which we intend to adopt for the purpose of imparting vigour to the cause of resuscitating Chartism; and by this spontaneous readiness on our part, to give an account of our stewardship at so early a day after our election to office, as well as by the plans we are about to make known to you, we believe that we are affording the country the best possible proof that no time has been wasted in entering seriously, actively, and energetically upon the important duties entrusted to us.

In the first place, we have directed our attention to the propriety of holding several grand Metropolitan Meetings, in the largest places that can be obtained for such assemblages; and also in localities the inhabitants of which have not hitherto been much accustomed to hear anything of Chartism save through the studied, intentional, and unwearied misrepresentations of the principal newspapers of the day. Whether we have commenced our series of great meetings in a fitting place, and a proper neighbourhood, we must leave those who are acquainted with the London Tavern, and who are aware that it is in the very heart of the city of London, to decide.

In the second place, we are about to promulgate to the country, at an early day, a system for local organisation; and this will be the very first measure to which we propose to address our attention in the course of the ensuing fortnight.

Thirdly, we have it in contemplation to hire upon lease some large, commodious, and well-situated place of meeting, where weekly assemblages may be held, and where lectures may be delivered:—and should it prove difficult to obtain such a place as may be in all respects suitable for the purposes named, we propose to negotiate with a builder for the erection of a Chartist Hall, in a spot conveniently central.

Fourthly, we have already deliberated, and shall shortly renew, the discussion upon the propriety of calling a Conference to assemble in London, in the middle of the month of March, for the purpose of giving additional vigour to the Chartist movement, and affording the People's *real* representatives, thus chosen, an opportunity of proclaiming the requirements and interests, the demands and the rights, of the industrious classes, at the same time that the representatives of aristocracy, capital, and landed interest, are assembled at St. Stephen's.

Fifthly, we purpose to make arrangements for the publication and gratuitous distribution of Tracts, written in a plain and calmly argumentative style, so that the wrongs and sufferings of the masses may be expressed at the same time that the remedies may be suggested; and that the people generally may be well prepared to make a worthy use of those rights and privileges of which it is hoped they will soon become the possessors.

Sixthly, we have resolved to place ourselves in communication with the democrats of Ireland, and to solicit their co-operation in the great moral struggle which the unrepresented and enslaved masses in England, Scotland, and Wales, have undertaken against aristocratic tyranny, class-legislation, and oligarchial oppression.

Seventhly, we shall appeal to the democrats in the colonies to unite their voices with those of their suffering brothers and sisters in the mother country; and we shall assure the dwellers in those misgoverned portions of the empire, that they have our warmest sympathies, and must give us theirs in return.

Eighthly, we have resolved to call upon the great cities and towns of England and Scotland to adopt immediate measures for the furtherance of the good cause by a vigorous and energetic, though peaceful, legal, and moral agitation for the People's Charter. We invite our friends and brethren in those cities and towns to develope as speedily, and as fervidly as possible, all the resources of which local effort is capable, and which neither menace public tranquillity nor violate the law. We recommend large meetings to be called; and, under suitable arrangements, we propose that deputations from your Provisional Committee, should visit those places where their services would be useful.

This is the outline of the policy unanimously adopted by your Provisional Committee. If the Chartists of the metropolis, and the provinces, will support us, we have no doubt of our ability to carry into execution all the plans just shadowed forth. The result will be to give Chartism such an imposing attitude as it never has assumed before; and, with the middle classes agitating for reform on the one hand, and the industrious classes sustaining their own grand, enlightened, and majestic movement on the other, no considerable length of time can elapse ere monopolisers of power and oppressors of all kinds shall be forced to abandon their strongholds, and yield to the voice of justice and the pressure of truth.

The applause which followed the reading of the above document having subsided,

The Chairman, who on rising was greeted with loud cheers, said that the exhibition of that night proved the fact which he had told plain John Campbell, that if Chartism was struck down, it would remain thoughtful in its slumbers until the day of resurrection. (Cheers.) On the 10th of April the enemies of the people, and those who lived upon their industry, rejoiced in the prostration of Chartism, but the old maxim, was true that "after a storm came a calm;" and it was equally true that *after a calm came a storm*. And from *that night's proceedings* he trusted that the Parliamentary Reform Association would understand that the Chartist party was not to be used as a mere auxiliary force to secure the ascendancy of any other class. In order to prove that the leaders of that party were sincere, he would inform them that Sir Joshua Walmsley, in his recent visit to his constituents, and at a meeting—not of the rabble and the mob, but of the electors—declared himself in favour of the Charter. (Loud cheers.) They should understand that mind in its progress had to go through varied and numerous changes. Any measure that was propounded for the benefit of the industrious, and that was repugnant to that of the powerful who lived upon their serfdom, was first laughed at, then mocked and reviled, then persecuted, then dogmatically argued, and ultimately adopted. (Cheers.) Therefore, what he wanted was, not to enfranchise land, but to emancipate and enfranchise the mind, and then the land would be speedily converted to national and not to class purposes. (Cheers.) No man sympathised more than he did with the Italian, the Russian, the Pole, and all foreigners who were compelled to resort to physical force to destroy the power of their oppressors, but they, the English people, would gain wisdom from those past revolutions, when they discovered that the parties by whose power the victory was achieved, were the first to suffer. (Hear, hear.) And, therefore, what he required of the English people was, to base the English representative system upon such a foundation as would enable England to be the advocate of the people of other countries, who sought to emancipate themselves from serfdom. (Cheers.) They had quite enough to do at home; and, as the immortal bard had told them, "If England cannot keep the dog from her own door, let her be worried." All parties were sympathising with their sufferings, whereas their every grievance was the result of their own disunion. (Hear, hear.) Many sympathised with the slaves of the United States and other countries, but while they were called freemen, they were the greater serfs. The slave-owner had an interest in the health, the strength, and the life of his serf, while your owners could supply the place of the dead, or the sickly, from the workhouse or the surplus reserve. (Loud cheers.) It was a maxim of political economy that when one of labour's channels was closed, another was opened. The railway juggling was referred to, and when that was choked, another was to open as if by magic. But he told them the land was the only channel. (Loud cheers.) And what he wished to see was, that channel so widely opened, that all Nature's children might suck at Nature's pap. (Cheers.) He wished to see the employer go to the free homestead of the labourer in his proper character, instead of, as, now going to the market cross, the house of call, the workhouse, or the gin-palace. That would be the proper labour mart, and the one by which the labourer could measure the value of his industry. (Cheers.) They may rest assured that the mill-lord, and the fund-lord—if in power—would be greater tyrants than the landlords—(loud cheers)—but so great was the power of those two lords, that the government was afraid to touch it. (Cheers.) The fund-lord, whose father paid £60 into the funds, was now receiving £100 for that £60, and upon which they were obliged to pay the interest. (Hear, hear, and "Shame.") If it was a shame, the shame was upon them, for as self-interest was the basis of human action, they—if in the same position—would be guilty of the same shame, and the shame was wholly based upon their disunion. (Cheers.) Then the mill-lords, who repudiated taxation, never said a word about the poor-rates, because it enabled them to keep up an idle surplus reserve, by which they were enabled to keep down wages. (Cheers.) This machinery, of which they had the entire control, and which came upon them with a hop, step, and a jump, enabled them to control the labour market. And only see the use and the profit that they could make of it. The Dicksons of Carlisle were said to employ from six thousand to seven thousand hands; the Fieldens of Todmorden, somewhere about 5,000, and others 4,000, 3,000, 2,000, and so downwards; but he would take the position of one employing 2,000, and if that man reduced the wages of his hands by 2s. a week, and many did so to a much larger extent—he would make £200 a week, or £10,400 annual profit upon this reduction alone. (Hear.) Then if there were any shopkeepers amongst them, let them bear in mind, that they would be greater gainers if that £10,400 came into their tills, than, as now, when it was used in railway and other speculations. (Cheers.) It was this system that was rousing the money lord against the landlord, in the hope of being able to wrench political power from their hands; while his object was to wrench it from the *grasp of both, and make mind, and not money the* basis of representation. (Cheers.) What could be more ridiculous than to see a doating old man and a dissipated young spark sitting cheek by jowl in the House of Commons, professing to represent labour, while they both lived in idleness and luxury upon the labourer; *while the labourer lingered on* in penury and wretchedness. (Shame! Shame!) Aye, but the shame was with themselves. The system upon which the atrocity was based was founded upon their disunion, as the man who received *30s. a week scoffed at him who received* 10s.; while both derided the unwilling pauper who was committed to the workhouse, while, if united, each might receive £3 a week. (Loud cheers.) He had often told them that if all the dukes, lords, baronets, feudal-lords, and money-lords were congregated together, the top of a small hill would be *sufficient to hold them*; while those upon whose serfdom they lived, would crowd the valley below. (Cheers.) It had been stated by some of the press that he (Mr. O'Connor) was the self-elected leader of Chartism, but he would exhibit to them a parchment document, which was his commission, signed in 1835, by Dr. Wade and eight others, who then constituted the committee of the Radical Association of that day; and by that commission he was appointed their leader, and had established associations upon the same principles throughout the land. (Cheers.) As to be forewarned was to be forearmed, they should understand that the show-box would shortly open, and that never was there witnessed such strife and antagonism between parties as would be exhibited in the coming session. Lord John Russell, aware of the power of the Protectionists, would propose some new measure of reform to tickle the people's mind; he would do so to raise a "CRY" for the next general election, in the hope of beating down the Protectionists. It may be carried in the Commons, but it would be thrown out in the Lords, and then they would see such a breeze as this country never witnessed. (Loud cheers.) Ay, but they must take care and be upon the watchtower, lest that breeze may lull their voice and their power. (Hear, hear.) They were juggled by Emancipation—by Reform—and Free Trade: and he told them now, that they would be juggled by any system that was not based upon the mind and free will of the people. (Cheers.) We were ludicrously told that England was over-populated, with a population of 300 to a square mile, while in Jersey and Guernsey, with a population of nearly 1,200 to a square mile—or four times as large—men could give £6 an acre rent for land—purchase it for £250 an acre—and export the produce to this and other countries. (Cheers.) Yes, and if the land of England was brought into the retail market, England would be an exporting instead of an importing country, and there would not be a pauper in the land. (Loud Cheers.) The question of the Land and the Charter had been his night dream and his day thought. He had been associated with the people, and had advocated their cause for twenty-eight years, and he felt convinced that if he abandoned one particle of their principles to-day, one night's reflection would bow him down with sorrow to-morrow. (Loud cheers.) He went to Aylesbury on Wednesday last expecting to meet Baron Munchausen,—(laughter)—he did not come, but he met Mr. Cobden there, and can they imagine his (Mr. O'Connor's) delight, when, at that meeting, when Mr. Cobden was present, they adopted a resolution unanimously declaring that fair and just representation could only be based upon the will of the whole people. (Loud and continued cheering.) Now, what would *the working classes think of him* (Mr. O'Connor), if vanity or ambition upon his part could induce him to oppose any movement calculated to ameliorate the condition of the people. (Cheers.) The magnates and money-lords would do without them if they could, a fact which is proved by the absence of the gentlemen who swarmed upon this platform on Monday last, but where were they now when the people met for the same object? Not to be found. (Loud cheers.) Mr. Cobden had stated at Leeds, that if there was any attempt to restore protection there would be a revolution in this country. He (Mr. O'Connor) had told them the same thing some months ago, but he hoped and trusted that, however great and powerful the control of the mill-lords was, that the oft-deluded people would not again allow themselves to be provoked or driven to a revolution, which would end in their prostration and the protraction, if not the destruction, of their principles. (Loud cheers.) In 1834 he (Mr. O'Connor) had opposed Free Trade in the House of Commons, unless it was accompanied with leases for ever at a corn rent. (Cheers.) And then, when the occupant knew that he could not be ousted from his holding, and that his rent should be measured according to the price of his produce, you would hear no more of slavery, discontent, and revolution. (Cheers.) Let him now foreshadow the present representative system; Middlesex had a population of one million and a half, and returned two members to Parliament; while other snug places with less than a million two hundred thousand of a population, returned 246 members. (Oh, and laughter.) Ay, shame, shame, but the shame was with themselves for not knowing it, or if knowing it, for not correcting it. (Hear, hear.) He never had, nor never would, join in a "cry" for a reduction of taxation, because he was well aware that if twenty millions was taken off taxes to-day, they, if unrepresented, would not be a farthing better for it to-morrow. As regarded Ireland he would point to the altered mind of that country as conclusive proof of the fact, that even the Irish were coming to their senses at last. (Hear, hear.) They had recently established a Democratic Association for the purpose of co-operating with the English Chartists,—(cheers)—and to give them a still further proof that the adoption of Chartist principles was not confined to the working classes alone they would find that a candidate now seeking to supply the place of Mr. Dillon Browne, as representative of the county of Mayo, had avowed himself in favour of Universal Suffrage. (Loud cheers.) He was against all descriptions of poor laws—he was for labour and for labour's rights. They were all made by God; they were all a devilish deal better looking fellows than these Dukes. (Cheers.) If the land were not tilled according to political expediency instead of state necessity, the people would be able to export corn. He proposed to alter that, and to enact that every man who occupied land should have a lease for ever at a corn rent, and that the landlord should not be able to oust him. (Cheers.) Whenever machinery with a hop, step, and a jump, came amongst them and made paupers, he would provide that all such paupers should be enabled to live out of the workhouse by their own labour. After some further remarks, the hon. gentleman concluded by reciting some lines, which were, as he stated, of his own composition:—

Unite! unite! ye Chartists brave,
Let the Land your watchword be;
Scout, oh scout the servile slave
That crouches when he may be free.
Up, ye heroes, at the despots;
Lick no more the tyrant's hand;
Leave your pauper workhouse mess-pots;
Live like freemen on your land.
Then free trade will be a blessing,
When man can work, and eat and play;
When shepherds cease to live by fleecing;
Then each flock its own will pay.

(Rapturous cheering.)

Mr. G. W. M. Reynolds—who was received with much cheering—moved the first resolution, which ran as follows:—

"That in the opinion of this meeting the alarming and downward tendency of the labouring and general industrious interests of the United Kingdom and the Colonies is the result of the present unjust and unequal system of government, promoting, as it does, the corrupt interests of a small faction at the expense of the people at large; and that this meeting expresses its deliberate conviction that the only safe and effectual remedy for the Colonies is independent responsible government, and for the United Kingdom such a change of our representative system as will place the House of Commons under the direct control of the nation, and by the admittal of the entire male adult population within the pale of the electoral franchise, and which would be accomplished, most satisfactorily to this meeting, by the enactment of the People's Charter as the basis of a future constitution."

Mr. Reynolds said, that he gave his hearty adhesion to every word contained in that resolution; and he experienced a warm and fervid glow of enthusiasm when he contemplated that immense meeting which he had then the honour to address. Such a meeting should at the very commencement of the new movement, be taken as a harbinger of future zeal, and an augury of eventual triumph. (Cheers.) The resolution recommended reform; and Heaven knows there was room for reform in this country! When they read the newspaper reports of famine, destitution, and misery in every quarter of the realm—when they heard of poor women becoming mothers on the stone steps of those workhouses to which they vainly prayed admission—when they read the tremendous exposures which the *Morning Chronicle*, a Conservative print, had even deemed it necessary to publish, relative to the condition of the working classes—and when they beheld the pale, gaunt traces of famine upon the countenances of so many myriads in the public thoroughfares—it surely was time that the people should take their affairs into their own hands. (Loud cheers.) The aristocracy of this country had hitherto usurped the government; and such was the wretched plight to which misrule, ignorance, tyranny, and selfishness had brought the industrial classes. (Hear.) The present time was one of the most momentous periods in the history of the world. It was written in Heaven that the nations of Continental Europe would rise again to overthrow tyranny, aristocracy, and all the barbarous relics of feudalism, wherever they existed. Then back to his native land would go the glorious Kossuth—(loud cheers)—to establish Hungarian freedom; and back to his much-loved Italy would go the brave Mazzini—(renewed cheering)—to achieve the triumph of liberty. Then also would the gallant French people hurl down the monkey Louis Bonaparte—(laughter)—from his perch; and the veritable democratic republic would be reared in the place of his wretched domination. (Cheers.) Such would be the speedy changes wrought in Europe; and then, when thrones would be crumbling, and crowns falling in all directions, what would be the attitude England was likely to assume? This was the momentous question which deserved consideration. (Hear, hear.) The alternatives, then, would be these: that either the people must obtain those liberal institutions which would enable them to testify in an efficient manner their sympathies with the democracy of continental Europe—or else the aristocratic government of England would make war upon that democracy. Yes—the aristocracy of England knew that it was perishing visibly—felt that it was dying rapidly; and it would not give up the ghost without a desperate struggle against the spirit that was annihilating it. Its last resource would be to make head against the progress of democracy on the continent; but would the people of England allow their country to be made the last stronghold of the privileged orders? ("No, no.") Certainly not: and yet the aristocracy of England were insane, wicked, and desperate enough to make the attempt. But if the English government dared to demonstrate a hostile union against the democracy of continental Europe, the republics of America and France—when the latter should have become a real republic—would unite to prostrate the mad attempt of Britain. Then, at the very first blow which was struck, the United States would seize upon Canada and the West Indies; while France would take the Ionian and Balearic Islands, Malta, Jersey, and Guernsey—and last, though not least—would invade Ireland. Ah! and oppressed as Ireland was by English misrule, would the French find enemies in that country, were they to invade it? (Hear.) He thought not. Then, should such a warfare arise as that of which he was speaking, the United States would obtain the maritime superiority; and what would become of our Indian empire and of Australia? The only ally England could hope to gain, under the circumstances supposed, would be Russia: and would the British people like to have anything to do with the miscreant of the north? ("No, no.") Such were the eventualities that must take place if the aristocracy of this country were allowed to have their own way, and continue in their own selfish, insane, and wicked career. The only way to prevent the catastrophe just shadowed forth, was to precipitate the downfall of exclusive interests and class legislation by the adoption of the People's Charter as the law of the land. (Loud cheers.) Then the government of this country would not dare to interfere with the progress of continental democracy, unless it were to assist it; and then also the colonies would receive those institutions which would cement their connexion with England, and secure them from the probability of severance. (Hear, hear.) The results of the Charter would be to render England's foreign policy enlightened and wise, as well as to make the people themselves happy and prosperous. All treaties based upon the old and exploded interests of kings, must be annihilated: nor must England ever consider herself still a party to those treaties which originally bound her to maintain two dissolute women upon their thrones. He alluded to the Queen of Portugal and the Queen of Spain. (Hear, hear.) But to turn from continental and colonial questions to home affairs, he (Mr. Reynolds) would observe, that there was no country in the whole world which so much needed radical reform as England. The abuses to be swept away were in number "Legion." (Hear.) Were they satisfied, for instance, in paying £50,000 a year to King Leopold, the sovereign of an independent country? ("No, no.") Were they satisfied at paying £27,000 a year, to the King of Hanover, a man whose character was odious throughout the world, and who had been accused of murder and of incest? (Sensation.) He (Mr. Reynolds) would not take upon himself to say that the King of Hanover had committed those crimes: but every one knew that the accusations *had* been made; and this fact aggravated the scandal of subsidising such an individual from the British Treasury. (Hear, hear.) Then, again, were the people of England contented with paying nearly £30,000 a year to three Dukes, whose only claims were that that they boasted a descent from three infamous prostitutes who were the mistresses of Charles the Second? (Hear.) Why, there was not a working man present who would not scorn such a shameful and paltry origin? (Cheers.) And yet the Dukes of Richmond, Grafton, and St. Albans, were not ashamed to receive the hereditary reward of their ancestresses' infamy. Then, again, was it not rather too bad that Prince Albert should wring £47,000 a year from the fibres, sinews, and vitals of the working classes? And was it not too extravagant to give the Queen £385,000 a year for the trouble of reigning over us? Now, let them mark one fact. The annual account for butter, bacon, and cheese, consumed in Buckingham Palace was £16,000 a year; and the whole cost of the American Executive was no more! ("Shame, shame.") Ah! it was indeed a shame. And now, when such contrasts existed, could the Government be astonished if Chartism, Communism, and Socialism existed? Could the Legislature and the aristocracy be astonished if there was in England so many advocates of Republicanism? (Tremendous cheering, and cries of "Hurrah for Republicanism!") Or again, could landowners and capitalists be astonished if that startling maxim of Proudhon's, "Property is robbery," should have struck so thrillingly upon the universal mind of Christendom. (Cheers.) For as property was now held in England, to the sole benefit of the rich and the utter detriment of the poor, it assuredly assumed the aspect of robbery. Every morsel of bread which the rich idler ate, while the pauperised worker starved, was a robbery: every fine garment which luxurious indolence put on while famished industry went in rags, was likewise robbery. (Loud cheers.) Thus was it that property was robbery: and also because *a favoured few* had monopolised all the land to their own use, and had so tied it up in their own families, that the millions were merely serfs or else intruders upon it. But the land must be rescued from the grasp of that selfish oligarchy. Not that he (Mr. Reynolds) would, for a moment, advocate violence or spoliation. No; but he would attack the hideous monopoly by means of laws abolishing all fiefs and feudal tenures, primogeniture, mortmain, and entail. Then the land would come back to the people; and all men would, in time, be enabled to get a property-footing upon it. (Cheers.) But this aim could only be reached by means of the People's Charter. The door of the House of Commons must be widened so as to admit the true representatives of popular rights and national interests. (Cheers.) Ay, and working men themselves must be returned to that House, in order to give free expression to the wants and requirements of their own class. (Hear, hear.) Therefore was it that the struggle must commence in good earnest for the People's Charter,—a legal, peaceful, and moral struggle, but fraught with earnestness, resolution, and vigour. The working classes must not only assist the middle class reformers, presided over by Sir Joshua Walmsley, but must also maintain their own grand and glorious movement for the People's Charter, which could alone give complete satisfaction, and lead to the happiness, prosperity, and contentment of the millions of this mighty empire. (Loud and prolonged cheering.)

Mr. M'Grath came forward to second the resolution amid loud cheers. He said he was delighted beyond expression to see that glorious congregation assembled to assist in the inauguration of another movement for the establishment of British liberty. The Democrats of England are looking with intense anxiety to the result of this glorious demonstration, and it was pleasing to its conveners to find that their brethren in the provinces would not be disappointed. (Cheers.) *The Democrats of England had* a great and noble work to perform, and it was cheering to observe the alacrity and enthusiasm with which it was commenced by the men of London. They came before them that night to solicit their co-operation in dispelling those prejudices fostered against our sacred cause, and to create such an enlightened public opinion in its favour as must, despite all opposition, ensure its speedy triumph. Judging from the spirit manifested that evening, he thought he might with certainty calculate upon the hearty aid and co-operation of every man and woman before him. (Cheers.) The resolution which he had the honour to second affirmed the melancholy fact, that the tendency upon the social scale of the great industrial community was downward. He thought that that assertion would be borne testimony to by every man in the meeting. (Hear, hear.) Daily were the wages of labour diminishing, and thereby were the means of human happiness contracting. To what cause was this decline ascribable? He considered the resolution literally correct in charging it to the unequal, unjust, and iniquitous operation of bad laws. (Hear.) This proposition has been so often and so ably demonstrated aforetime, that he would not occupy their attention with it at present. For this state of things the resolution provided the means of applying an effectual remedy, through the agency of a parliament springing spontaneously from the heart and soul of the whole people. (Cheers.) The resolution also alluded to the misgovernment of the colonies. Mr. M'Grath then referred to several instances of *colonial mal-administration in justification of the discontent which prevails in those distant portions of the* British Empire, and continued, the time for energy and action had arrived, let them not allow it to glide by without making wise use of it. (Hear, hear.) All parties were now upon the alert, the people must not be supine. The Protectionists were most vociferous in their demands, and persevering in their endeavours to restore the good old times of high rents and dear bread. They were rising through the land the captivating, but delusive, cry of "protection to native industry." He cautioned the people to beware of the devices of the cunning gentlemen. (Hear.) What sort of protection would Disraeli, Lord Stanhope, or the Duke of Buckingham, give to the labour of the working community? Just that sort of protection which they have always given to it—the protection which the wolf gives to the lamb. (Cheers.) There must be no retrogression, there must be no restoral of the corn laws. The duty of the people is to go right onward and complete these great changes which present circumstances so imperatively demand. For his own part he was proud to witness the operation of Corn Law Repeal. It was bringing the haughty oligarchy from the pinnacle of their pride in humble supplication to the people. (Cheers.) Yes, the power of their hereditary and feudal oppressors was doomed; let no unwise act of an injured people prolong its existence. (Cheers.) The corn law was the key-stone of the arch which supported the blood-cemented edifice of the aristocracy; that has been struck out, and stone after stone will continue to fall away until a heap of ruins shall be the only relic of its once baleful existence. (Loud cheers.) These infamous enactments were the reins by which the oppressor rode and managed the nation; the reins were cut, and though the rider clings with convulsive tenacity to the back of the lacerated and ill-used steed, it is becoming so restive and stubborn that he will soon be compelled to bite the dust. (Cheers.) He considered the signs of the times most auspicious for the success of the people's cause. A large section of the middle classes recognised the justice of our claims, and were agitating in favour of a portion of our principles. This he regarded as a cheering augury of that triumph which could not be far away in the future. Some punctilious friends thought that no countenance should be given to those reformers, seeing that they did not go the full length of the Charter. He thought otherwise. He felt that in refusing the aid of these men as far as they went, that we should be acting as foolishly as the Duke of Wellington, had he refused the aid of Blucher at Waterloo, upon the ground that his army were Prussians. (Hear, hear.) Mr. M'Grath after some further remarks upon the policy of the people at the present juncture, concluded with an earnest appeal in favour of union, energy, and action, as the elements of success, and gave it as his opinion that, if his advice was taken, the day was not far distant when liberty's day star would be hailed by the jubilant acclaims of an emancipated and happy people. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. Vernon, who was received with repeated cheers on presenting himself after his long imprisonment, said that having been bound in good security to be of good behaviour for three years, and having caught a cold since he came into a comfortable home after suffering so long a confinement in a cold and—he would not say a damp—but absolutely wet cell, he would not on the present occasion detain them long. It was with great pleasure that he witnessed the zeal displayed by the meeting, and heard the sentiments so boldly expressed by the chairman and those who followed him, in all of which he cordially concurred. Being almost in complete ignorance of what passed in Europe for the last 18 months, not having been allowed to see a newspaper or to have the smallest piece of printed paper in his possession, or to ask a single question even relating to the weather or to the health of his fellow-prisoners—(shame)—the few remarks he should make must necessarily be of a general nature. They had been told that England was going down. He believed it to be true, because he knew, before he was put in prison, there were 1,500,000 paupers in England, 2,000,000 of agricultural labourers living on 5s. a week, and 4,000,000 of other descriptions of labourers living scarcely better. He believed this was owing to bad legislation—to the wrong mode, in fact, in which their business had been conducted by those who were their servants, for the people was the sovereign, and their representatives were merely their clerks. (Cheers.) They had feudal landlords, and mill-owners, and bankers, and money-dealers—those who, instead of attending to the business of the people made use of their position to increase their own profits. (Hear.) Such things could not continue if the people had their Charter and their rights. But he looked to the Charter as a stepping-stone to a far greater measure—the organisation of labour and the better distribution of the land. (Cheers.) In fact politics were only of use as a means of making a people socially better, wiser, more moral and more Christian. (Hear, hear.) Therefore he thought another revolution was necessary, and he hoped it would be a moral one. He hoped the people would be strong enough to gain their rights by moral means. The government throughout Europe were now the real physical force men, and without force and fraud they would not be able to stand a moment before the strength of public opinion. (Hear, hear.) He came forward on the first occasion that presented itself to assure them that he was still the same person he was when sent to prison, and yet not the same, for in spite of all he increased pretty well, so that if their was any good in him before that good ought to be increased now. (Hear, hear, and laughter.) It was to him a matter of the greatest satisfaction to see such a meeting and to find opinion so zealously expressed, and if he prayed to God at all it was that the people of England might be as united as that meeting appeared to be. United in that way he hoped they would arrive at the goal they had in view. (Hear, hear.) He could only say for himself that he would march on with them, and he would be ready at any moment to take his stand at any risk in order to accomplish their objects and to suffer any thing in order to arrive in the shortest possible time, with the least possible amount of evil, at the possession of the People's Charter. (Cheers.)

Julian Harney, who, on coming to the front of the platform was loudly cheered, said the question might be asked why the conveners of the meeting sought to revive the agitation for the Charter? He answered, because, notwithstanding the reported conversion of the Whigs to reform, they could place no confidence in any scheme propounded by that party. (Hear, hear.) The Whigs reform scheme was *yet in the shell, and it was impossible to* discuss the merits of a plan yet unhatched, but they might be sure that that plan was not intended to enfranchise the veritable people. He was aware there were other plans of reform, and other reform agitations before the public. There was Mr. Cobden's Freehold Land Association, which he (the speaker) repudiated as hostile to the rights and true interests of the working classes. That association was formed merely to increase the number of those who at present monopolised the suffrage; it was not intended to confer the suffrage on those who most needed it. The mass of the people were too poor to purchase the suffrage, and even if they were not, he objected to the unrepresented buying as a privilege that which was their right. (Cheers.) Mr. M'Grath had alluded to certain "punctilious radicals" who doubted the propriety of countenancing the Parliamentary Reform Association. He (the speaker) must confess that he was one of those "punctilious" persons. Certainly Sir Joshua Walmsley's "little Charter" would extend the suffrage to a considerable number of the people, but it too—like the Freehold Land Scheme—carried with it the flaw of recognising the unjust principle of a money qualification. Under the "little Charter," the possession of the suffrage would depend upon the payment of rates, and of course those who were too poor to pay rates, would continue to be unrepresented. Again, although the Parliamentary Reformers had nominally recognised the principle of no property qualification for members of Parliament, they had rendered that nugatory by omitting its necessary adjunct "payment of members," wanting which, it was a farce to tell the people they would be free to choose their representatives from any class, for how could they elect working men unless those men were to be paid for their services? And until the working classes were represented by men of their own order, it would be vain to hope for justice from Parliament. (Cheers.) *His principal objection to the reform proposed by Sir Joshua Walmsley and his friends* was, that it would exclude from the representation those miserable masses who most needed the suffrage to protect them. The man who possessed property, whether land, houses, cash, or any other kind of wealth, could very well protect himself without the suffrage; but the man who was dependent for the support of himself and family on weekly wages, and dependent for those wages on the good-will of an employer, had no protection if he was denied a voice in the making of the laws affecting his life, liberty, and labour. (Cheers.) Furthermore, he objected to the Parliamentary Reform agitation, because it could not result in a settlement of the suffrage question. There would have to be another agitation for the enfranchisement of the masses, who would still be excluded from the franchise under Sir Joshua Walmsley's "little Charter." Why not make one agitation do once for all? (Applause.) For what were Frost, Williams, Jones, and Ellis transported? For their devotion to the Charter. (Cheers.) For what were Williams and Sharpe done to death? For their fidelity to the Charter. (Loud cheers.) For what had Mr. Vernon and hundreds more suffered incarceration, with all its horrors? For what was their gallant friend Ernest Jones at the present time suffering these horrors? For the good cause of the Charter. (Prolonged cheering.) He confessed he could not face the victims who had suffered, and were still suffering in their cause, if he were to give his support to any measure of reform short of the Charter. *He thought the Charter a sufficiently moderate* measure of reform. When it had become law, they would still have to dispose of many other political and social questions. They had been warned not to be made the tools of the Protectionists. Very good. But he would warn them also against being made the tools of the Free Traders. He would advise them to have nothing to do with either party, but to trust only in themselves. If they must be anything instead of Chartists merely, let them be Chartists and something more. (Applause.) There was a good deal said and written, at present, respecting the condition of the working classes, and the *Morning Chronicle* had done good service in instituting its inquiry into the state of Labour and the Poor. But he asked what remedy the *Chronicle* would propose? Thus far it appeared, that emigration, or transportation, was the grand remedy suggested by that journal. He had no objection to emigration, provided the right persons were sent away—the idlers and plunderers. (Cheers.) But he strongly objected to the transportation of the industrious classes. (Cheers.) The truth was, those who lived upon the toil of the wealth-producers, were afraid that what they called the surplus population, might become so numerous as to be unmanageable, and therefore dangerous. But he protested against the transportation of the people. (Applause.) So much for one remedy for social distress. They had heard something about unlocking the land, and bringing the land into the retail market. That was one of Mr. Bright's remedies *for the restoration of Ireland*. Mr. Bright would have land as free to traffick in as was labour. He (the speaker) protested against any such so-called reform. He asserted, that land ought not to be made a matter of sale and bargain. Neither by conquest, nor by purchase, had any man a right to appropriate one foot of land to the exclusion of his fellow men. The land belonged to all—(applause)—and should be held in trust by the government as national property for the good of all. (Applause.) Were that the case, the rental of the land would amply suffice to pay all the expenses of the government, provide for the education of the people, and meet the costs of many more good works at present neglected by the government. (Renewed applause.) It had that night been said, that revolutions always benefited the upper and middle classes at the expense of the working classes. He admitted there was much truth in that assertion; but let no man imagine, that the revolutions commenced in 1848-49 were finished. The peoples of Europe would rise again, and complete the great work they commenced on the 24th of February. (Cheers.) They should remember too that the people of France had gained something by their revolution,—Universal Suffrage—which, probably, without a revolution, they would not have gained in scores of years. But, it might be said, that Universal Suffrage had been misused. Yes, but only because the peasantry of France had been misled by priests, aristocrats, capitalists, and political adventurers, who trafficked in human folly. But, let them not despair of France. What, though the traitors and tyrants had slain the champions of democracy, exiled Louis Blanc and Ledru Rollin, —(Cheers for those patriots)—and imprisoned and proscribed three-fourths of the teachers and leaders of the people, nevertheless, the principles of Social Democracy were advancing with giant strides. (Loud cheers.) Unless Universal Suffrage was put down by the factions in power, the next general election would result in the overthrow of Louis Napoleon, Thiers, and such rascals, and the triumphant establishment of the Red Republic. (Immense cheering.) Even if Louis Napoleon succeeded by fraud and force, in making himself Emperor, and enthroning himself in the palace of the Bourbons, his successful treason would soon meet its reward. He would but ensure his speedier fall by forcible, instead of peaceful means. He repeated, there was no need to despair of France, and when France moved, she moved the world. The peoples of Europe would rise again, and then they would treat their pitiless and remorseless enemies as they deserved, and show them that mercy their oppressors had dealt to the people. (Great cheering.) After touching on the state of *the colonies*, the speaker said, that if for no other reason, the Charter was necessary to maintain the honour of the country in its relations with other nations. He was one of those who had advocated war in behalf of Hungary—(faint hisses, and loud cheers)—*but they had merely sympathised*, and the consequence was that Kossuth was a prisoner in Turkey, and Hungary lay bleeding under the swords of Russia and Austria. It was said that England could not interfere because she was bound by treaties. The people repudiated the treaties of tyrants, Why should they respect the treaty of Vienna, subscribed by that enemy of the people

'The never (enough) lamented Castlereagh,
Whose penknife slit a goose quill t'other day?'

In the great future—the British people would be bound by no such treaties, they would be friends with all the peoples, and enemies to all the tyrants of the world. (Applause.) It had been said that the English government might go to war against the democracies of Europe. There was no fear of that. The English people would not fight against their brethren; nor would they fight to maintain the institutions by which the privileged classes alone benefited. For himself, he should be glad to know there was a possibility of the Cossacks bivouacking in Trafalgar-square. That would bring the privileged classes to their senses. The Cossacks would not take up their quarters in Spitalfields; no, they would rather patronise the goldsmiths shops on Ludgate Hill, and the mansions at the West End. It would be the rich who would suffer, and that would bring them to a sense of justice. (Cheers.) They would go down on their knees to the working classes for their assistance, and give the Charter and much more. (Renewed cheering.) Let justice be done, and the people of all ranks would do their duty in defence of the country; but, without justice, the people would resemble the donkey in the fable, who, when threatened with the enemy, asked why he should care for them? Like Samson, burying themselves in the ruins, they might be disposed to aid rather than repel the foreigner in his efforts to pull down the present system. (Prolonged applause.)

Mr. Kydd, who was warmly applauded, said he repeated his statement which he previously made on that platform, that the demand of Universal Suffrage was based on the moral principles of the People's Charter. (Cheers.) Those who refused a reform because it was change had to take change when it ceased to be reform. (Hear.) He agreed in the statement of the resolution, that the tendency of this country was downwards. However, Mr. Macauly might doubt the truth of the assertion; he agreed with Carlyle, that the two-handed workmen had never been in a worse position. The standard for the army had been reduced nine or ten times since 1815. Why, but that the blood and sinews of the people had been worked into the fortunes of the upper classes. (Applause.) There had, indeed, been great accumulations of property, but the producing classes had not benefited by them. (Hear, hear.) With regard to the colonies, Adam Smith had declared that the secret of colonial prosperity was the command of plenty of good land, and the management of their own affairs. (Hear, hear.) He rejoiced that they confined themselves at present to the advocacy of the People's Charter. But there was no sliding scale in his democracy. (Cheers.) He was not for freedom at twelve at noon, and for putting it down at seven in the evening. No, the people must meet, and argue out the question of labour. (Hear, hear.) The rights of labour must be recognised and settled. Adam Smith had not settled that question; the *Morning Chronicle* had not settled it; nor could it be settled until Universal Suffrage had been established, and the people had a voice in making the laws by which they were governed. (Cheers.)

The resolution was then put and carried unanimously.

Mr. O'Connor having made several announcements of forthcoming meetings, announced, that, having eight miles to go home, he must leave the chair, and would thank them to substitute some one else as Chairman. On the motion of Mr. Reynolds, three cheers were given to the honourable member for Nottingham. The honourable gentleman then left the hall, and Mr. M'Grath was unanimously called to the chair.

Mr. Thomas Clark moved the second resolution, which was expressed in the following terms:—

"That in order to make effective the demand for the enactment of the People's Charter, it is necessary that the friends of that measure should forthwith form themselves into an association for that purpose; and that this meeting hereby calls, especially upon the working classes, to adopt the course here directed, as the one most essential to their moral, social, and political elevation."

He said, he had been intrusted by the Provisional Committee, to submit the resolution for their approval; and he did so, in the full confidence that they would give it their support. The previous speakers had all most eloquently enforced the necessity for the Charter, and his duty was to point out the means by which that great measure of reform was to be accomplished. (Hear.) The manner of its achievement was in importance, second only to the reform itself. (Hear, hear.) It grieved him to be compelled, whilst upon this point, to give utterance to the feelings of dissatisfaction which were created in his mind, by the remarks which fell from Mr. Harney, respecting the objects and intentions of the "National Parliamentary Reform Association." (Hear.) Nothing tended so much to strengthen the power of the ruling faction as the wars which the several democratic parties direct against each other; and, as a man, seeking to become practical, he pronounced, that nothing would, nothing could be obtained for the great body of the people, until there was not only a cessation of these unwise and unseemly hostilities, but also, until they agreed to be, at least tolerant and respectful towards each other, and agreee to give to each other credit for sincerity of purpose. (Cheers.) Why should doubts be expressed of the integrity of the Reform Association? (Hear.) Let them, as men of sense and reason, ask themselves, "what it was that association proposed to accomplish?" Its grand object was to extend the elective franchise to more than four millions of additional persons; and he fearlessly asserted, that if that end were obtained, that the effectuation of the People's Charter would be a matter of easy accomplishment. (No, no, and cheers.) Some of them said no; but had they ever reflected upon the fact, that the addition to the elective body, contemplated by the plan of the Reform Association, must all be made from the ranks of the working classes? (Hear.) At that moment, the whole of the middle and upper classes were enfranchised, and conjointly, they made an elective force, of less than one million; and if four millions of additional votes be created, there will be four votes for the working classes, *against one vote on the part of the other classes*; and if in such a state of things, they would remain long without the entire Charter, the fault would evidently be with the working classes themselves, —(cheers)—then, he said, as a matter of sound policy, it was their duty to encourage every party that might seek to oppose the present system of government by placing power in the hands of the people. (Hear.) Any other policy, he felt assured, would be destructive to their best interests, and, therefore, he would encourage every attempt to destroy the present monstrous system of class legislation. This appeared to him to be the only safe and practicable mode of securing the enactment of the People's Charter! (Cheers.) There was one other opinion which fel from Mr. Harney, from which he begged not only to dissent, but which he reprobated with all the energy of which he was capable. He alluded to the hope expressed by Mr. Harney, that, should the continental democrats again obtain the ascendant, they would deal with their tyrants and oppressors in the same cruel and severe manner that those oppressors had dealt with the democrats who had, in many instances, fallen into their hands. What, a democracy—a people—a whole nation—erecting a political scaffold, for the immolation of their defeated enemies? That never could be; and he was sure that the meeting would not assent to the promulgation of such an opinion as having been sanctioned and ratified by them. (Cheers.) There was one country which, in its history, had afforded them an illustration of both views of the question —France, in her first Revolution, shed rivers of blood, which did not cement the union of her children; but, on the contrary, dimmed the splendour and grandeur which, otherwise, attached to the revolution. On the occasion of the last revolution, the French people in their magnanimity, declared for the abolition of death punishments; and never, in the history of the world, did a people show themselves so sublimely grand, or morally great, as did their Gallic neighbours on that occasion; and never, he hoped, should they, in England, be cursed with a bloody democracy, as he looked upon it as the worst system of cruel despotism. (Cheers.) He made those remarks without any personal disrespect to Mr. Harney, and from a sincere desire to place the cause of the Charter upon a basis free from blood and terror. (Cheers.) [It is correct that Mr. Clark's speech was cheered by a portion of the meeting; but it should also be stated that he was met with repeated and energetic expressions of disapprobation, so much so that the continuance of his address was more than oncee interrupted by the dissentient voices of those who evidently formed a majority of the meeting.]

Mr. Stallwood seconded the resolution.

Mr. Kydd having spoken in explanation of matters commented on by Mr. Clark, but not reported in the above speech,

Julian Harney explained that, although Mr. Clark had charged him with having aspersed the middle classes, he denied that he had done so. He had merely asserted, that the scheme of reform, put forth by the parliamentary reformers, would exclude from the franchise those who most needed it, and would render necessary another agitation for the adoption of the Charter. With regard to the conduct of the people in future revolutions, he, (the speaker,) abided by the sentiment he had expressed; and he would beg to remind Mr. Clark, that the humanity-mongers who had abolished death-punishments for political offences in France, had only four months afterwards poured grape-shot on the working men of Paris, and murdered the founders of the Republic by wholesale. They had, moreover, seen the Roman Republic assassinated, and its defenders slaughtered. They had seen, too, the brave Proletarians of Lyons bayonetted and shot down, for expressing their sympathy for Rome. The blue blood, kings and aristocrats, was very precious in the eyes of some of their friends; for his part, he had more regard for the blood of the people. [These sentiments were hissed by those who had applauded Mr. Clark, but an undoubted Majority of the meeting cheered loudly.]

Mr. J. B. O'Brien then spoke at considerable length, and delivered an excellent and telling speech, which excited much applause. Not having any good report of Mr. O'Brien's speech, we decline giving a mere abridgment.

(*Concluded in the Eighth Page.*)

Public Opinion on Russia.—At the last weekly concert in the Town Hall, Birmingham, the performance was announced to conclude with the Russian National Anthem. This the audience, which was very numerous and respectable, totally refused to hear; and though the organist taxed the powers of his noble instrument to the utmost, the *vox populi* fairly overpowered it, and would not hear it at any rate.

A Prison to Let.—Buckingham gaol has been without a prisoner for some weeks. This is the more gratifying when it is remembered that, from the railway works in the neighbourhood, there is a considerable increase in the population, and that "navies" are not generally the quietest of men. The authorities have a prison to let.

The Metropolis.

Health of London During the Week.—In the week ending last Saturday, 1,065 deaths were registered in the metropolitan districts; for the second week of ten previous years (1840-9) the average corrected for increase of population is 1,260, the deaths having ranged in that week from 920 in 1844 to 1,457 in 1848, at which latter period the mortality was much increased by influenza, then on the decline. The deaths in the present return are, therefore, less than the average by 195. The mortality from small-pox, though it shows a tendency to increase, is still less than half the average. Scarlatina and hooping-cough also cause less than the usual number of deaths, only 11 having occurred last week from the former epidemic, though the corrected average is 37; in the corresponding week of last year the deaths from scarlatina rose to 63. No death from cholera occurred during the week. There were 24 from diarrhœa and dysentery. From typhus, which ranged in the same week of 10 previous years from 22 to 83, the deaths returned last week were 33, or rather less than the average; but the mortality from measles is at present rather above it. The only complaint which is now fatal to a considerable extent is bronchitis, from which 21 children under 15 years, 31 persons between 15 and 60, and 64 at 60 years and upwards, died in the week; its increasing fatality during the last three weeks, in which the weekly mean temperature has been successively 33 deg., 35 deg., and 30 deg., is marked by the numbers returned, namely 78, 103, and in last week 120. Pneumonia was fatal to 83 persons, one-half of whom were children. The latter disease is now less than the average, whilst the former is in excess. Of the 1,065 deaths, 303 were those of persons of 60 years old or upwards. A few facts are selected from the reports made by the registrars:—A child died of measles followed by dropsy, at Princess-street, Aldgate, in a small room which is "very dirty and has two families, composed of 8 persons, living and sleeping in it." Mr. Spencer adds, that the "deceased had been lately under the care of the medical officer for the scald head; the mother afterwards applied for relief, but refused to enter the workhouse, and neglected to take the child for further medical advice." Mr. Bowring states that "the widow of a grocer, aged 47, who died in the workhouse, Kingsland-road, of diarrhœa, was found by the medical officer at 14, Gloucester-street, Curtain-road, in a very bad state from the accumulation of filth in different parts of her room, while her body, of which the only covering was an old shirt, swarmed with vermin." Mr. Matthews states that "a child died of hooping-cough, at 1, Tom's-buildings, Somers-town, in a house consisting of two rooms, one of which contained a privy only separated by a partition, no yard belonging to the premises. Ten persons and sometimes more, occupied the apartments and slept in four beds indiscriminately, and without regard to age or sex." A child at Fulham died of "debility," having been born prematurely, in consequence of the father being suddenly sent to prison. Lincoln-court, in St. Giles-in-the-fields is reported as "ill-cleansed and having much destitution." A house, 21, Church-lane, is described by Mr. Simpson as "over-crowded, ill-cleansed, and badly ventilated;" and 12, Prospect-place, Stoke Newington, by Mr. Yardley, as "over-crowded and unhealthy." The mean daily height of the barometer, was above 30 in on Tuesday and Wednesday; the mean was 29·821 in. The highest temperature was 38 deg., on Sunday; the mean was never higher than 31·8 deg. The lowest mean temperature occurred on Saturday, when it was 28·7 deg., and lower by 7 deg than the average of the same day in seven years. On every day the temperature was lower than the average. The mean of the week was 30·3 deg.

Death of Mrs. Bartley.—This lady, who was for many years a brilliant ornament of the tragic stage, died on Monday morning, at her residence, No. 11, Woburn-square, after a severe and protracted illness, which lasted for seven years. Her disorder was a general paralysis, but her consciousness was perfect up to the moment of her dissolution. The deceased was formerly Miss Smith, who, in 1806, made her first curtsey to a London audience in Old Covent-garden. During the very first season of her prosperous career, Mrs. Siddons returned to the stage, and on the same boards; and the best proof of Mrs. Bartley's genius that can be given is, that they played alternately *Alicia* and *Jane Shore* without detriment to the fame of the younger actress. On the destruction by fire of Covent-garden Theatre, in 1808, Miss Smith accepted an engagement on London terms in Dublin. She remained in Ireland for three years, at the end of which period she made her second appearance at Covent-garden, in 1811. Here she remained, first, foremost, and without a rival, until 1814, when she transferred her services to new Drury-lane. Soon after she became Mrs. Bartley, the wife of the excellent comedian. Mrs. Bartley died in the 65th year of her age. She who numbered Joanna Baillie and Sir Walter Scott among her warmest friends and fondest admirers, and who was summoned to Windsor Castle and Buckingham House to charm the ear of royalty by her incomparable elocution, can have been no ordinary woman—no ordinary actress.

Mortality in the Bankruptcy Court.—On Friday night Mr. William Atkinson, the respected messenger in Mr. Commissioner Evans' court, expired at his residence, Woodside Lodge, Norwood. The deceased was in his fifty-ninth year, and has left a wife, but no children, to deplore his loss. He had been a messenger from the time of the court being established, under Lord Brougham's Amendment Act, in 1832, and is said to have amassed considerable property. His successor, *pro tem.*, is Edmund Dubois, his late clerk. The grim tyrant has thus swept off three official assignees, a messenger, and nearly a dozen messengers' assistants, within a few months.

Extraordinary Case.—A singular occurrence took place on the 11th inst., on the Eastern Counties Railway. Two gentlemen were travelling in a second-class carriage, when, at one of the intermediate stations between Colchester and London, a well-dressed lady about twenty-six, with an infant apparently about two months old, stepped in. She stated she had been travelling in a first-class carriage, but being taken ill she did not like remaining alone. One of the gentlemen proved to be a Mr. —— a surgeon, from the neighbourhood of Bury St. Edmunds, who intimating his profession, inquired the nature of the lady's illness, she replied by attributing it chiefly to the "fatigue of travelling and weakness," which was borne out by the delicate and pallid state of the countenance. Of course, every attention was paid to the invalid and her child by the travellers—who little suspected the stratagem their fair and interesting, but deceptive companion was about to play upon them—the lady several times expressing a fear that she might let fall the baby, which had been nursed by both the gentlemen, and also laid upon the seat. Upon arriving at the terminus she begged to have the child taken out, which was done by Mr. ——, while she went off the platform in quest of a servant; she expected to meet her with a carriage. During this time the other gentleman —— of Liverpool, was engaged with his luggage; the lady was no more to be seen, and pursuit proved useless. The consternation of the gentleman at being thus burdened may easily be imagined. Ultimately the child was taken to a friend's, whose wife discovered about its little person a letter, containing two £10 Bank of England notes, requesting that the child might receive every care, and expressing an assurance that it would, if the possessor of it could know the anguish and circumstances of its mother; and if a certain advertisement were inserted in *The Times*, with the address of those who had charge of it, all would ultimately be made right. The child was expensively dressed.

Frightful Accident.—An accident of a most fearful character happened on Saturday last, near the Bow Station of the Eastern Counties Railway, which terminated fatally to John Rodder, a smith, in the employ of the company. It appears that shortly after eight o'clock, on the morning in question, the unfortunate man, who resided at Old Ford, got upon the line a short distance on the Essex side of the station at Bow, for the purpose of walking down to the company's works at Stratford, where he was employed. He was pursuing his way, apparently on the down side of the line, when the driver of the engine attached to the 8.10 down train from Bishopgate station noticed him. The steam-whistle was immediately sounded, and the usual precautions adopted in alarming the unfortunate fellow of his dangerous positton. To bring the train to a halt was impossible, and in a few moments the whole train passed over him; the body was found to be shockingly mutilated; the head was frightfully crushed, and his arms and legs severed, and otherwise injured. A shell being procured, the body was removed to the Fve Bells public-house.—An inquest war held on Monday, before Mr. Baker, the coroner, at the Fve Bells, Old Ford, Bow. After some deliberation the jury returned a verdict of "Accidental death," accompanied by a recommendation that the company would adopt every possible measure in preventing the recurrence of a similar event, by having warning-boards to trespassers erected on certain parts of the line. Mr. Chadwick said he would lose no time in laying the recommendation of the jury before the proper authorities.

A Fatal Slip.—One morning last week a policeman was found lying on the pavement in Harrison-street, Gray's-inn-road, surrounded by a pool of blood. The unfortunate man was conveyed to the Royal Free Hospital, where it was discovered that his skull was fractured. He died in the course of the afternoon. It is supposed that he had been to try the door of one of the houses, and that in return ing his foot slipped, and his head coming in contact with one of the steps, he thus met with the injury.

Sudden Death of a Clergyman in the Street.—On Saturday morning last, about half-past ten, a gentleman who was passing through New North-street, City-road, was observed to stagger and then fall to the ground, and being raised up by some bystanders, was conveyed into No. 76, the house of a respectable tradesman, but appeared then to be dead, having been heard merely to groan two or three times after he fell. Mr. Coulton, a surgeon, resident in Clifton-street, presently attended, but found life quite extinct. Hayward, one of the warrant officers of the Worship-street Police-court, who happened to be near, examined the pockets of the deceased, in which were a gold watch and appendages, cash, and bankers' cheques, besides other valuable property, and cards bearing his name and address, "Rev. Spencer Thornton, Wendover Vicarage," and various documents from which it was ascertained that he was son-in-law of a gentleman of the name of Dupree, whose town residence is in Portland-place. The officer afterwards went to communicate what had occurred at the residence of Mr. Dupree, whose coachman returned with him and identified the body as that of the rev. gentleman above named. It appeared that he had just come to London from his father's at Wood-hill, in Hertfordshire, and he was supposed to have been proceeding from the railway to Portland-place when he died in such an awfully sudden manner, the cause of death being conjectured by the medical gentleman to have been disease of the heart, although his friends in London do not appear to have been aware of his previously suffering from such a disease. The rev. deceased appeared to have been about forty years of age, and is stated to have left a large family to deplore his loss.—Mr. Baker held an inquest on Monday, at the Blue Last tavern, Shoreditch, on the body of the Rev. Spencer Thornton. After hearing the evidence the jury returned a verdict of "Died by the visitation of God."

Melancholy Death. — An inquest was held on Saturday last by Mr. Bedford, at the Westminster Arms, Market-street, Millbank, on the body of Edward Rodd, aged 58, a gentleman of independent fortune, residing at No. 47, Holywell-Street, Millbank. The deceased left home on Thursday forenoon, well and hearty, and transacted some private business in the City, and on his return home, about seven o'clock to dinner, he was noticed to reel about like a drunken man, which appeared the more extraordinary, as he was a person of very abstemious habits. Shortly afterwards he complained of pains in his head, and fell down and severely cut his head. He was picked up in a senseless state, and the parties about him, supposing him to be labouring under the effects of intoxication, allowed the deceased to remain in that state, unassisted, for two hours, when, becoming alarmed at his continued insensibility, during the whole of which time he was labouring under stertorous breathing, a surgeon was called in, who tried to bleed him; but decersed died in a few minutes from serious apoplexy, which was discovered on a *post-mortem* examination; and the jury returned a verdict accordingly.

Sudden Death. — On Saturday last, at the Weymouth Arms, Weymouth-street, New Kent-road, Newington, on Mary Ann Egger, aged 19, a servant in the employ of Mr. Theophilus Lewis, a surgeon, of No. 4. Brighton-place, New Kent-road. On Wednesday morning last, at an early hour, whilst dressing, she was seized with a fainting fit. Mr. Lewis was called up and examined the deceased, but she was then dead, having on the previous day drank a quantity of gin and ate rather too much. The deceased died of a fit, arising from bronchitis.—On the same day another case was taken at the Lord Nelson, Trafalgar-street, Newington, as to the death of Jane Lineham, aged 71, a widow, who was attacked with a violent fit of coughing, and expired without medical aid.—Another inquest was afterwards held at the Horse and Groom, Walworth-road, Newington, concerning the death of Mary-Ann Bloomfield, aged three months, who was found dead in bed on Friday morning, having died in a fit of convulsions. A verdict of "Natural death" was recorded in each case.—Several inquests have been held lately in Rotherhithe, Bermondsey, Lambeth, and Camberwell, on the bodies of persons who have died in a similar manner.

A Hint to Mothers.—On Saturday last a child four years old, son of Mr. Coomb, oilman, Lower-road, Islington, met his death under the following very painful circumstances. At about seven o'clock on that evening the mother had occasion to leave the parlour to serve a customer. Whilst alone, the child made its way to the fireplace where a teapot was standing, and began to drink from it. The fluid was so hot that in five hours the child was dead.

Fire in Lambeth.—On Saturday afternoon last a fire happened in the premises belonging to Mr. Hamlyn, a scale-board cutter and lucifer box maker, carrying on business at No. 55, Union-street, Lambeth. The flames commenced in the drying-house, which at the time contained a large quantity of lucifer splints. The whole of the houses in the immediate vicinity soon became enveloped in smoke, which was of such a dense character that some of the neighbours were unable to remain in their rooms. There was an abundant supply of water, but in spite of the utmost exertions the fire was not extinguished until upwards of three hours had elapsed, and not until about two-thirds of the property in the drying house was consumed, and the building severely damaged. The fire originated from the overheating of the drying stove.

Fire.—On Sunday morning last, between one and two o'clock, a fire was discovered by the police on duty, on the premises of Mr. Blagg, a fishmonger, in Spitalfields-market, supposed to have originated in over heating the room used for drying fish. The engines were promptly on the spot, and their being a plentiful supply of water, the fire was extinguished, but not before considerable damage had been done. The premises are uninsured.

Fire at Blackwall. — On Sunday morning, shortly before three o'clock, a fire broke out in the property belonging to Messrs. Wigram and Co., the shipbuilders, of Brunswick-street, Blackwall. It was discovered by one of the workmen raging in a building adjoining the engine house. The workmen and firemen succeeded in getting the flames subdued, but not until they had broken through the roof and considerably damaged the wood-work of the fly wheels.

Destructive Fire in Spitalfields.—A fire of a very destructive character broke out at a late hour on Sunday night, upon the premises belonging to Mr. Mitchell, a furrier, at No. 26, Great Pearl-street, Spitalfields. The flames, when first discovered, were raging furiously in the workshops at the top of the premises. An alarm having been given by the policeman on duty, the inmates of the different surrounding habitations succeeded in making their escape, many parties with nothing on except their night clothes. In a very brief period several engines belonging to the London establishment arrived. By that period, however, the flames had made such progress that they were mounting through the roof high above the other house tops, threatening destruction to the surrounding property. Fortunately the mains of the East London Company yielded an abundant supply of water, which enabled the engines to set to work most vigorously, by which means the fire was prevented reaching the adjoining property, but it could not be extinguished until the workshops of Mr. Mitchell, and the valuable stock of furs, were entirely consumed, and other damage done by fire, water, and hasty removal. The origin of the disaster could not be accounted for. Mr. Mitchell was insured for stock in trade, &c., in the Atlas fire office, and the buildings were insured in the Sun office.

The Weather and the Parks. — The thermometer during Sunday night, in exposed situations, fell as low as 24 degs., or 8 degs. below freezing point, and during Monday morning it was down to 20, the highest elevation attained being 28; but in the evening the mercury was still descending, showing every probability of another night of severe frost. The barometer stood in the morning at 29 deg. 8 sec., but towards the evening was gradually rising. The wind veered to different quarters in the course of a few hours, but in the evening was nearly due east, and blew exceedingly cold, with strong gales. The various ornamental waters in the royal parks were visited by thousands of persons during Sunday. Every precaution was taken by the officers of the Royal Humane Society to prevent accidents on the ice, and although very few immersions happened, great many parties were seriously injured by falling whilst sliding, and their heads coming in contact with the points of the skates, were cut open. A very bad accident of this description took place in St. James's-park. A young man, whilst amusing himself on the ice, was tripped up, and falling with his forehead on the point of another's skate, the flesh was laid bare, and the back of the eye exposed. Mr. M'Cann, the surgeon to the society, promptly attended, and did all that was possible for the sufferer, but it is feared that the unfortunate individual will lose his sight.—Several scientific evolutions were performed by the members of the Skating Club, on the Long Water in Kensington-gardens, which were witnessed by some thousand persons, who, despite the extreme cold, lined the bridge over the Serpentine and the several banks along the river.—Break up of the Frost.—The frost has proved of very short duration. There were symptoms of a change in the temperature during Tuesday night, and at an early hour on Wednesday morning, the thermometer gave unmistakable evidence of the fact, the mercury rising even in exposed situations two degrees above freezing point. As the day advanced, 36 and 37 degrees were marked, and the principal thoroughfares, which for two or three days had been in a very satisfactory condition for travelling, presently became almost impassable, from an accumulation of mud and melted snow. The quantity of floating ice in the Thames was yesterday so great, that the navigation of the river was almost entirely stopped. The above-bridge steamers gave up running altogether, and very few barges were out. The thaw, which now prevails, will, however, soon set this matter right, and it may be expected that the steamers will soon commence running.

Accident on the Ice in Victoria Park.—During Sunday the ice on the ornamental waters of Victoria Park was crowded by an immense number of persons. Every precaution was adopted to prevent accidents, for, in consequence of the great mass of human beings that sported on the ice, and the rough treatment it received, it early in the day became sloppy, and in some parts dangerous, as far as regards breaking. Notwithstanding the repeated warnings of the park-keepers, crowds of boys and young men gathered on those parts most insecure, and shortly after five o'clock a large piece of the ice gave way, and immersed a number of persons who were on it. As may be supposed, the event caused a sudden rush from the spot, and the shock of this rapid movement led to a more extensive failure of the ice, dropping as many more into the water. Altogether, there could not have been less than from fifty to sixty persons immersed; and the scene that took place was one of great excitement. Fortunately the depth of water was not more than three or four feet; but as a number of children were amongst those who had fallen in, great fears were entertained lest they should get under the ice, and the thickness of it prevent their breaking through. After some trouble all were got out, but a boy had a narrow escape of losing his life. On Monday more stringent measures were taken in keeping the crowd from this defective part of the ice.

Sale of the Autograph of Milton.—On Monday the sale by auction of the library of the late Mr. John Poynder, one of the county magistrates for Surrey, which was commenced on Thursday week last, was concluded at the auction room of Messrs. Sotheby and Wilkinson, Wellington-street, Strand, when among the property disposed of was the first edition of the plays of the immortal Shakspere and an autograph of the illustrious Milton was entitled "Arati Solenses Phœnomena, cum scholiis Gr.," which had been in his possession, and which, in itself, was of no particular value. The autograph signature was as follows:—"Jo Milton. Pre 2s 6d; 1631." On the title-page were the words, "Cum sole et luna semp. aratus erit." There were also numerous autograph annotations interspersed throughout the book. After an active competition the lot was sold for £40 10. The first edition of the plays of Shakspere was knocked down for £35 10s.

Attempted Burglary.—On Tuesday night, between the hours of twelve and one o'clock, a daring attempt was made by some thieves to enter Mr. Sayers' house, No. 1, St. Peter's-square, Hammersmith. The family had retired to rest, when Mr. Sayers' nephew, whose bedroom looks into the back garden, distinctly heard some one endeavouring to effect an entrance by the back door. He accordingly went down stairs unarmed and cautiously withdrew the bolts of the door leading to the garden, when two men dressed as labourers presented themselves—one of whom immediately struck at Mr. Sayers' nephew with a sharp instrument, resembling a knife or dagger; the blow was partially warded, but the sleeve of his coat and shirt were cut through and his arm slightly grazed. The young gentleman then called his uncle, who hastened at once to his assistance, but the rogues escaped. Information was immediately given to the police, but no trace of the men has been discovered.

Attempt at Robbery. — On Tuesday evening, about a quarter past six o'clock, two men in a light spring cart were observed to drive up alongside a waggon on the dark or south side of St. Paul's Churchyard, and take a bale of goods out and place it in their own conveyance. A cabman, who saw the transaction, jumped off his driving box and seized the horse's head, when both the men instantly leaped out of the cart. The cabman courageously collared one of them, but while in conflict with him his horse and cab ran off, and he let the man go to stop and secure his own property. Both the men then made off, leaving the horse and cart, also proceeding along at a rapid pace, until stopped by police constable 363, who although near the spot was unable to arrive in time to secure either of the men. The horse and cart with the bale of goods were taken to the Fleet-street station, and on opening the latter, it was found to contain 500 pairs of soldiers trowsers, the property of Messrs. Hibbett and Co., the army clothiers in Pall-mall, which was identified by the carman, who said they were stolen while he was driving his waggon along the dark side of St. Paul's-churchyard. The horse is about fourteen hands high, with a white star on the forehead and a sore fetlock. The cart is a light spring one, painted green and picked out with white. The horse, cart, and bale were detained, and every inquiry is now being instituted.

Relief of Metropolitan Destitution.—On Tuesday the City Kitchen was opened for the relief of the distressed poor, to whom bread, coals and potatoes were plentifully distributed. At the Leicester-square Soup Kitchen, Ham-yard, Great Windmill-street, 1,500 poor creatures were relieved. At the Model Soup Kitchen, Bath-street, New-road, upwards of 800 were relieved. At the Westminster Soup Kitchen, Lewisham-street, Broad Sanctuary, upwards of 900 were furnished with food. The Marylebone, Finsbury and Spitalfields Benevolent Associations commenced their distribution of bread, meat and coals. A society of benevolent individuals are about to fit up several of the arches of the South Western Railway in Lambeth, as a shelter for the houseless during the present inclement season. On Monday night no fewer than twelve individuals were found in the streets overpowered by the intense cold.

The Provinces.

Frightful Scene at Wombwell's Menagerie at Chatham.—Death of the "Lion Queen."—On Saturday evening last an inquest was held at the Golden Lion Inn, Chatham, before J. Hinde, Esq., coroner for West Kent, touching the death of Ellen Bright, a young girl aged seventeen, who was killed on the previous evening by a tiger in the establishment of Mr. George Wombwell, which had arrived in that town for exhibition on the preceding day.—Stephen King, the first witness examined, said he had been in the employ of Mr. Wombwell as keeper for the last six years. The deceased was a niece of Mr. Wombwell's and daughter of John Bright, a bugle player in the band. It was the business of the deceased to go into the dens and perform with the beasts, which she had been in the habit of doing several times daily for the last twelve months. On Friday evening, shortly after nine o'clock, she went into the den in which a lion and tiger were kept, for the purpose of performing, as usual; the tricks played by her being principally with the former animal. She had only been in two or three minutes, but had gone through the main performance, excepting that of making the lion set down in a particular part of the cage, when the tiger being in her way, the deceased struck it slightly with a small whip which she carried in her hand. The beast growled as if in anger, and crouching close to the bottom of the den, stretched out its paw, as if at her dress, causing the deceased to fall sideways against the cage, the animal at the moment springing at her, and seizing her furiously by the neck, inserting the teeth of the upper jaw in her chin, and in closing his mouth, inflicting frightful injury on the throat by his pangs. He then appeared to change his position, making a second gripe across the throat of his victim. A keeper who was standing on the step of the den, armed with a whip, immediately rushed to her assistance, but the animal did not loose its hold until struck over the nose violently with an iron bar, and whilst King held the animal, the unfortunate female was removed from the cage bleeding profusely and life all but extinct. She was taken into one of the caravans where she was immediately attended by two medical gentlemen who happened to be present at the time of the occurrence.—By the Jury: The animal had never exhibited symptoms of animosity before. All the animals appeared very fond of deceased, and she of them. Witness had frequently heard Mr. Wombwell say he wished there was no lion queen. Witness thought if she had kept the whip from the animal it would not have attacked her. Deceased has never exhibited any symptoms of fear, and had frequently gone into the den to the animals when there had been no company present, for practice and pastime. It had been said that perhaps it happened because the beast had not been fed, as it was a few minutes past their time. In answer to that witness could only say he had frequently seen her go amongst the animals on Mondays, and they had not been fed on the previous day.—Richard Cooper Todd, surgeon attached to the Royal Artillery, stationed in Brompton Barracks, said he was witnessing the exhibition at the time of the occurrence, and was standing close to the rope in front of the den He saw the deceased enter, and on going in the tiger did not appear to be very friendly with her; she struck him on going in and he laid down. She then proceeded to her performances with the lion, and afterwards turned round and again struck the tiger. It appeared angry and immediately seemed to turn upon the deceased, rearing upon his hind legs and seising her by the neck: she fell on her back and the tiger crouching over her, he saw no more of her until removed from the den, when he hastened to her assistance. She was perfectly insensible, and had lost a great deal of blood, and her face and lips were very pale. She was still alive the heart was beating, but she was perfectly unconscious. Witness placed his hand on the wound in the neck to stop the bleeding, and administered some brandy to deceased, but she was unable to swallow it, and in a very few minutes her heart ceased to beat, There were four wounds on the left side of the neck, a slight wound on the right leg, and another on the chin, caused by the teeth of the tiger, the under jaw of the animal having caused a very large wound under the chin, which, aided by the shock her system had sustained, produced death.—The jury returned a verdict to the effect that deceased was killed by a male tiger whilst exhibiting in its den, and expressed a strong opinion against the practice of allowing persons to perform in a den with animals.]

The Forgeries on the Monmouthshire Bank.—Respecting the above forgeries, we are enabled to state that Henry New, horse-dealer, of Ledbury, one of the parties proved to have uttered the forged notes at Monmouth, has been apprehended in Birmingham, by Police-Superintendent William Shead, of Ledbury, and has been taken to Monmouth, where he has undergone an examination. It is supposed that New uttered a ten-pound Bank of England note at Winchcombe, in Gloucestershire, in the early part of last year, and he was advertised in the *Police Gazette* of April and May last, but till Shead was successful enough to apprehend him a few days ago in Birmingham, he managed to elude the vigilance of those who have been on the look-out for him. Several cases of uttering forged notes have been proved against New at Monmouth, and he stands remanded for further examination. Now is a man of notorious bad character, and has, we believe, been more than once convicted of felony. We hear that the forged notes on Messrs. Bailey and Co.'s bank already discovered to have been issued, amount to over £1,400. It is stated that the firm have it in contemplation to increase the amount of reward which they have already offered for the apprehension and conviction of the utterers; and we have also heard that they have applied to the Secretary of State to offer an additional reward, and a free pardon to any accomplice who will give such information as may lead to the conviction of the rest of the offenders. — *Hereford Times.*

Distress Warrant against the London and North-Western Railway Company, at Barton, near Manchester.—A few weeks ago a case came on for hearing before the Salford magistrates, at the New Bailey Court-house, in which the London and North-Western Railway Company were the appellants, against a rate laid upon that portion of the Liverpool and Manchester section of their lines lying within the township of Barton-upon-Irwell. The rate levied was £1,336 9s. 6d., and of this the company had paid £670. The magistrates on that occasion decided that the company were too late with their appeal, they having allowed three special and three quarter sessions to pass over without coming forward with their case. They were ordered, therefore, to pay the remainder of the rate, and the overseers of the poor understood that they would do so; but upon an application being made to them shortly afterwards, they again objected, and accordingly a summons was taken out against them. On the day of hearing, however, it appeared that the magistrates on the bench (Messrs. Brandt and J. H. Wanklyn) were shareholders of the company; and therefore the case was adjourned until the 10th inst., when a more impartial bench should be sitting. The case having been again entered into, Mr. Kent, solicitor, who appeared in order to watch the proceedings on behalf of the company, was asked by Mr. Trafford, the magistrate, whether the company were prepared to pay. He replied in the negative, and he was then informed that a warrant of distress would be taken out against the company. This will probably be done in a few days. The company object to pay the full rate, because they contend that their property has much depreciated in value, on account of the diminution of the traffic upon this part of the line, within the last few months.

Threatened Committal of the Postmaster of Liverpool for Contempt of Court.—In the Bankruptcy Court at Liverpool, on the 11th inst., Mr. C. B. Banning, the postmaster at the Liverpool Post-office, was summoned to answer a charge of having refused to comply with an order, issued by Mr. Commissioner Stevenson, directing him to forward to Mr. Cazenove, the official assignee, all letters which might come to the post-office directed to George Olney, who has recently been declared a bankrupt, and who has absconded. In support of his refusal to comply with the order of the court, Mr. Banning exhibited the instructions of the Postmaster-General, which he considered himself bound to obey, whether he infringed the law or not. Mr. Evans who appeared on behalf of the official assignees, then intimated his intention of applying for a warrant for the committal of Mr. Banning to Lancaster Castle, in the event of his persisting in his refusal. As Mr. Banning still declined to depart from his instructions, Mr. Evans moved for his committal to prison for contempt of court, under the 124th section of the Bankruptcy Consolidation Act. Mr. Commissioner Perry, in giving judgment, said that great delays in bankruptcy proceedings had arisen in consequence of the London Post-office authorities throwing obstacles in the way of the act being carried out. He should at once order a warrant to be made out for the committal of Mr. Banning to prison for contempt of court in refusing to deliver up the letters. Mr. Banning, then, considering the judgment of the court a sufficient protection for him in delivering up the letters, handed them over to the official assignee. —*Liverpool Chronicle.*

Charge of Bill Stealing from an Undergraduate at Cambridge.—On Monday a case was heard at the Cambridge police court. Henry *alias* "Baffy" Cornwell was charged with stealing a bill of exchange for £12 10s., the property of Mr. Charles Heath, an undergraduate of Emmanuel College. The evidence, which was somewhat lengthy, went to show that on Monday the 7th of January the prosecutor, with some of his familiars, were at a notorious house known as "Brook's," or "Thatched Cottage," in Barnwell, and that the prisoner was also there. The latter entered into conversation with Heath, and asked him whether he wanted to borrow £5 or £10. Heath wavered, hesitated, and declined, but finally agreed to meet the prisoner at the same place, and afterwards at the "Fountain," a public house in St. Andrew's-street, to talk the matter over. To "The Fountain" the prosecutor was accompanied by two other undergraduates, and it was agreed that £10 should be advanced by the prisoner to the prosecutor, upon the latter giving him as security a bill at three months, for £12 10s. A second arrangement was also made with another undergraduate for an advance on the same terms, and the prisoner went out and returned with the bills ready drawn. Heath read the one given him to sign, and found that it was drawn at two instead of three months. A more cautious friend who was with the prosecutor advised him not to sign the bill till he got the money, or at any rate to have £10 10s. as consideration if the bill was allowed to stand at two months. This Cornwell agreed to, and the bills being signed, he took them away to get "his friend" to discount them, saying the acceptors would not be called on under three months. He made an appointment to hand the money over that evening but failed, and after sundry evasions, pulled out some oats, and said it was very difficult to obtain money, so he had taken some oats and some money for the bill. There was a good deal of laughter in court while the prosecutor was giving his evidence, which was increased by a suggestion that there was probably some "chaff" with the oats. Prosecutor said he did not know how that might be, but he knew he had had plenty of "chaff" since. In answer to the prisoner's attorney, the prosecutor said the oats could not be for his "pony at Brook's," as he did not keep one there. He did not lodge there, and declined to answer a further question in reference thereto. It further appeared that Cornwell had passed the bill with another to Mr. Francis Eaden, a brewer, in payment of an account he owed him for beer, which he is in the habit of selling in booths, fairs, &c. For neither of the two bills then obtained had the prisoner given one penny consideration. After hearing legal gentlemen on both sides, the bench decided that the property in a bill is vested in the drawer, so long as it is in his possession, and that the charge of felony could not be sustained, the case was consequently dismissed. There was a similar charge against the prisoner at the instance of Mr. W. C. Hurrell, also an undergraduate, but this was withdrawn on the understanding that an indictment will be pursued at the assizes for obtaining the securities under false pretences. The prisoner was then discharged.

Desperate Affray with Poachers at Hornby.—About three o'clock on Saturday morning last, a savage encounter took place between a gang of poachers and three of the keepers in the service of Pudsey Dawson, Esq., of Hornby Castle. For some time past the preserves of this gentleman have suffered from the nightly attacks of these uncertificated gentry, and he had resolved on the adoption of effectual measures for their suppression. With this view, Mr. Richard Sutton, the head gamekeeper, received instructions to procure additional assistance in order that the grounds might be more thoroughly watched. On the morning previously mentioned, the keeper, with two other men, named Enoch Knowles and John Herst, proceeded towards the preserves. On entering the Great Park, which is about a mile from the castle, they found that the poachers were at work in the immediate vicinity. The keepers immediately rushed towards the place, and discovered four men with guns, by whom they were instantly attacked. A very savage affray commenced, the poachers using the butt-ends of their guns, resulting in the complete discomfiture of their watchers, who were left in a senseless state by their assailants. Herst was the first to regain sensibility, and found his companions unable to proceed home He gave an alarm, and assistance being procured, his companions were removed home. At first the lives of Sutton and Knowles were considered in danger, but an improvement is manifested, and hopes are entertained of their recovery. The remains of three gun-stocks were found at the scene of the struggle, and a cloth cap belonging to one of the poachers, the inside of which, from the marks of blood, testified that the owner has not escaped scathless.

Poaching in the Royal Preserves. — Mr. Collett and the Game Laws. — A short time since two labouring men named Steers and Cane, residing at Sunning-hill, were convicted before two of the county magistrates, P. H. Crutchley, and Henry Seymour, Esqs., at Windsor, upon the evidence of Henry Dadley, gamekeeper to her Majesty, of tres passing on the royal preserves at Winkfield, in search of game. They were ordered to pay the full penalty of 20s. each, and 8s. costs: and in default of immediate payment they were sentenced to two months' imprisonment and hard labour in the county gaol at Reading. The particulars of this case having been communicated to Mr. John Collett, the late member for Athlone, a check for the amount of the penalties and costs was forwarded by that gentleman from Lake-house, Cheltenham, to Lieut. Hackett, the governor of the county prison, and the men were liberated after a few day's incarceration.

Enthusiasm for Protection. — Mr. Jenkin Thomas' bookseller, and Mr. Roger Lidstone, ditto, both of them, as young Mr. Rashleigh, of Menabilly, used to say, "Stanch but not bigoted conservatives," have had two copies of the Exeter Protection petition lying on their counters for signature for the last 15 days at least. That in Mr. Thomas's *boutique* had received on Friday afternoon actually 18 signatures, and that in Mr. Lidstones's shop, where the clergy most do congregate, had 11 autograpes—that is 29 signatures for the two petitions, or nearly one a day for each.—*Plymouth Journal.*

Merthyr.—Attempted Murder.—Late on the night of the 10 inst., a diabolical attempt at murder was made at Aberdare. It appears that, for some time past, the greater number of the sea-coal men, at Cadlys and other works, have struck for an advance of wages. Some continued to work, despite the threats of the others. Owing to these threats, which the colliers so often receive as they leave work, there is a vast amount of ill feeling existing between the two parties. On the night in question the house of Wm. Jenkins, Mill-street, was visited by, it is supposed, a gang of the "strikers." The first notice given of there being any one outside, was a stone thrown with considerable violence at the door, evidently for the purpose of attracting the attention of Jenkins, who was then in bed, and getting him to the window. Immediately after a shot was fired through the window, luckily escaping the intended victim. The miscreants, thinking by the silence maintained in the house, that their deed was accomplished, decamped; and though every exertion has since been made by our police force to find out the guilty parties, no clue has yet been obtained of them. On examination of the premises, some slugs with which the gun must have been loaded, were found in the bed-post, and within a few inches of the head of Jenkins. Three colliers are now under examination for having threatened other colliers, as they were leaving work, with severe punishment, if they continued working. Unless some agreement is made between masters and men, we are afraid this occurrence will be but the prelude to others. £20 has been offered for the apprehension of the misguided men who committed this outrage, but up to the present time no arrest has taken place.—*Cambrian.*

Improved State of the Fen Villages in Lincolnshire.—In the parish of Moulton, in the Fens, which contains upwards of two thousand inhabitants, the number of deaths during the past year has not reached thirty; in the last century, when the population was not half what it now is, the deaths in each year would frequently be about eighty, and the average fifty; thus, according to the average mortality of fifty years ago, the number of deaths annually at this time would exceed 100, whilst it appears the average of the last twenty years has been only thirty-nine deaths. This truly gratifying result is probably owing in a great measure to the drainage of the Fens; to which may be added the improvements of medical science, good roads, and the general spread of knowledge.

A Mysterious Parcel. — Last week a carrier named Stewart was desired by Mr. and Mrs. Smith, of the Unicorn Inn, Farnham, to call at the Reading station of the Great Western Railway, and inquire if there was a parcel for a lady staying at their house, and Dixon, one of the railway porters, stated that there was a parcel directed "Mrs. Smith, to be left at the Reading station till called for, carriage paid, Paddington." It was a round-shaped package, covered with canvas, and sewn round the address. It was given to the carrier, who took it to the Unicorn, but it not being the parcel expected by the landlord or lady, they declined to receive it. Stewart then conveyed it to another Mrs. Smith, who lives in East-street, who opened it in the presence of himself and two other persons. On the canvas being removed, a light chip box, covered with paper, was found. The box was forced open, and in it was found the body of a female child, wrapped up in a coarse cloth. Mr. Newell, the constable, was called to take charge of it, and on Mr. Knowles, a surgeon attending, he pronounced it to be the body of a newly born infant. A *post mortem* examination showed that it had been born alive, and from the traces of violence on the face and head, he had a strong suspicion that it had met its death by unfair means. The railway porter stated that the parcel reached the Reading station on the 24th of December, by the seven o'clock train from Paddington. It remained in his custody till fetched by Stewart. He noticed that it had an offensive smell, but he thought it contained dead game. In order that the police might have an opportunity of solving the mystery connected with the fate of the deceased child, the inquiry was adjourned for a fortnight.

Robbery from a Solicitor's Clerk. — The office of Messrs. Bagshaw and Sons, solicitors, Manchester, was entered last week, during the night, and upwards of £80 in gold and notes stolen from the safe. Suspicion having attached itself to a discharged copying clerk, named Hughes, he was apprehended, and £40 in gold found in his possession The rest of the money was discovered concealed in a ditch on the Stretford-road, where Hughes confessed to have hidden it. It appears that he had entered Mr. Bagshaw's premises during the day, and concealed himself with the view of effecting the robbery after the closing of the office. He was examined before the magistrates on Saturday last, and committed for trial.

Supposed Murder of Three Men at Lynn.—For some time since the greatest excitement has prevailed in the town of Lynn, in consequence of the sudden and mysterious disappearance of two male persons, and from the inquiries made by the magistrates and police, no doubt is entertained of the missing persons having been murdered. A reward of £220 has been offered by the government for the apprehension of the murderers, and a pardon to any accomplice, not being the actual perpetrator of the murder, in either case, who shall give such evidence as will lead to the same result. One of the missing persons is named John Bell, eighty-one years of age, five feet seven inches high, missing since the 13th of November last: the second, John Kirk, was fifty years of age, five feet six inches high, missing since the 12th of October last, when he had a silver watch and £15 in his possession. Within the last few days another man, about twenty years old, has been missing. It seems that he took a lodging for a night at an inn at Purfleet-bridge, Lynn, and, after taking off his boots and putting on a pair of slippers, he went into the street, and has not since been heard of.—A Reward of Two Hundred Guineas, with her Majesty's free pardon to an accomplice, has been offered for such information as will lead to the discovery of the murderers of either of the three men whose recent sudden disappearance has excited such intense interest at Lynn.

Escape of a Murderer from a Lunatic Asylum.—During the whole of the present week there has been a police officer from Lancaster in this town, in quest of a criminal lunatic, named Joseph Green, who on Sunday last contrived to effect his escape from the county Lunatic Asylum at Lancaster, and has not since been heard of. Many of our readers, no doubt, recollect the murder which led to Green's incarceration, as it was committed in Manchester some thirteen or fourteen years ago. At the time of its commission, Green, who was then working as a factory operative, lived in Factory-court, Blakeley-street, Shudehill; and suspecting that his wife had formed a criminal intimacy with a sawyer, he got up early one morning, as if going to his work, and as his wife lay sleeping in bed cut her throat with a razor, and nearly severed her head from her body. At the next ensuing assizes he was tried for the murder, when the evidence of his guilt was most conclusive, but as it was proved that he had previously sustained some injury on his head, which at times induced symptoms of insanity, the jury found a verdict of "Guilty" under insanity. In consequence of this verdict the sentence upon Green was that he should be imprisoned during the pleasure of the Crown, and he was accordingly incarcerated in Kirkdale. Whilst there he kept a sort of diary or logbook, in the pages of which he recorded several charges against the governor, the result of which was the cause of a great deal of unpleasantness, which led to his removal to the Lancaster Asylum. There his good conduct obtained him many indulgences, and being of an ingenious turn he was furnished with a box of tools, and allowed to make many little articles, such as ladies' workboxes, &c., which he sold to parties visiting the asylum. Recently his continued orderly behaviour led to still further kindness on the part of the governor, and he was all but suffered to go at large about the grounds, and on Sunday last he bade a final farewell to the place. A reward is offered for his apprehension.—*Manchester Courier.*

Extensive Manufacture of Base Coin.—There seems to be at present one or more mints of base coin at work upon an extensive scale in London. From time to time within the last few weeks the Manchester police have received notice from the metropolis to be on the alert, as parcels of base half-crowns and five shilling pieces were being despatched to trusty agents here. Accordingly Mr. Beswick, the superintendent of police, set two detective officers to watch the London-road railway station. A brown parcel, evidently of coin, arrived from London on Thursday night at the station. The direction, "John Thompson, at Mrs. Heron's Temperance Hotel, Lever-street," was copied, and Mr. Beswick, with Messrs. Buckley, Gee, and Porter, went to the hotel early in the morning. In the upper room they found a man in bed, who gave his name W. Browne. In a room adjoining they found two persons sitting at the fire, who called themselves John and Louisa Thompson. In the lap of the woman was a bundle of base half-crowns, and a large quantity more wrapped up in parcels of eight each, lying on the bed. The brown cover of the parcel (which had just before been delivered from the railway), was also found. They were taken into custody. Altogether the amount of base money found was £14 10s., which Thompson assured Mr. Beswick was the entire quantity received. The coin is one of the best imitations ever executed, and it is difficult to see the difference between it and the well-worn good half-crown. They are dated George III., 1817; George III., 1819; and George IV., 1820. The principal ingredient in their composition is bismuth; and they are highly finished off by electro-plating. The "ring" is identical with the genuine silver, which makes it all the more necessary for the public to be on their guard. We believe that the steps taken to watch these desperate rogues will have the effect of checking their operations in this quarter. Similar parcels of base money have been dropped recently at various stations on the railway line between London and Manchester.

Trade of Sheffield.—It affords us much pleasure to be able to state that the general revival of the staple trades of Sheffield, to which we have of late occasionally referred, continues steadily to progress, and that men of extensive observation and experience regard it as the commencement of a period of unequivocal commercial prosperity. The spring-knife trade, which has suffered from the late depression with almost unmitigated severity, has at length regained a fair measure of activity. The operatives in that branch of industry, alive to this fact, have issued a placard calling a public meeting of their body, with a view to an organisation, having for its object an advance of prices. "The object of the meeting (says the placard,) will be to take into consideration the best means of improving our condition. It is a well known fact, that from great depression of trade, and for want of proper thought and action, we have not been able to maintain a proper position in society. . . . We also fully believe that from the increasing demand for our goods, an effort only need be made on our part, to obtain that remuneration for our labour which we so justly deserve."—*Sheffield Times.*

Murder in Devonshire.—A sad affair has occurred at Buckland, which has created a great sensation in the neighbourhood. About four months ago a farmer named Bird, being in want of a servant, applied to the union, and took therefrom the daughter of a man named Parsons, who was transported some years since from Exeter. She was well recommended by the governor. On Saturday last the girl died, and an inquest was held on her body, the result of which proves her death was the result of ill-treatment. A verdict of "Wilful Murder" was returned against the farmer and his wife, and they have been committed to the county gaol to await their trial at the assizes. The treatment of the deceased, as deposed to by the various witnesses, was brutal in the extreme, and the description of her body, as given by the surgeon, Mr. Gunner, and others, horrified the assembly in the court. It is sufficient to say that her body was a mass of wounds, bruises, and abscesses, and cuts from whips, sticks, &c.; and the deceased was reduced to this frightful condition by the prisoners. Their conduct excited the deepest indignation, and it was with difficulty that the perpetrators of this crime were kept by the police-officers from the hands of the infuriated mob on their being conveyed from the court to the prison. So much excitement has not been witnessed in this place since the unfortunate omnibus accident three years ago. On the morning of their departure for Exeter, the bridge, which they had to cross, was thronged by hundreds of people; but the authorities judiciously ordered a car at the gaol door, in which the prisoners were conveyed two miles out of town, to await the arrival of the Exeter mail. No doubt, if this step had not been taken, the prisoners would have been torn to pieces.

Ireland.

The Protection Movement.—Lord Downshire and the gentry, who were defeated at the meeting convened by themselves in Downpatrick on Wednesday, subsequently assembled at a private meeting, at which the High-Sheriff presided, and adopted a series of resolutions, urging a moderate duty on the agricultural products of foreign countries, "or, at least, upon the products of such countries as declined to reciprocate the principles of free trade." A petition, with this prayer, is to be forwarded to Lord Castlereagh, for presentation in the House of Commons.

The *Monagan Standard*, the local Protectionist journal, attributes the failure of the recent county meeting to the cowardice of many of the gentry and the repugnance of the tenant-farmers to join in the demand for food taxation.

Tenant Movement.—The *Banner of Ulster* describes the progress of the tenant protection movement in the northern provinces, as distinguished from rack-renting protection. A working central body is to be formed in Belfast. A tenant-right association has been established in Holywood, county Down, and on Tuesday a meeting is to be held at Saintfield, in the same county.

Reductions of Rent.—Further reductions have been made by the Court of Chancery. On the Evans estate, county Monaghan, the receiver has been directed to remit an entire year's rent, and to make *a permanent* abatement of twenty per cent., from May, 1848, together with the remission of the tithe rent-charge. Although slow to act, the Court of Chancery is taking this bold and effectual course for the relief and sustainment of the tenantry. A second meeting of the tenantry on the estates of the Marquis of Hertford, in the county of Antrim, was held at Maragall on Saturday last, when a deputation was appointed to wait upon the noble marquis with a memorial, for a reduction of rent suitable to the exigencies of the times.

Law of Landlord and Tenant.—A paragraph in the *Limerick Examiner* announces that Mr. Major, the assistant-barrister at Clare, in addressing the quarter sessions grand jury on Friday, intimated to them that he had high authority for stating that a bill would be introduced in the coming session of Parliament which would preclude landlords from recovering by any process of law rent that was not in keeping with the Poor Law valuation.

Another Limerick paper (the *Chronicle*) gives currency to the following rumour:—"The report in the law circles last term was that the Irish Court of Chancery and Equity Exchequer would be dispensed with; but the contrary is the fact, as there is a bill prepared for Parliament to appoint a Vice-Chancellor in Dublin, and who is to take charge of the Encumbered Estates Bill. The salary will be £5,000 a-year, and Mr. Monahan, the Attorney-General, is nominated for the office."

Election Rumours.—Sir Thomas Herbert, it is said, is canvassing the borough of Tralee, on the assumption that Mr. Maurice O'Connell is about to retire from the representation—an event, it is added, on which there is no certain announcement.

The report of the retirement of Mr. John O'Brien from the representation of the city of Limerick, which was mentioned several days since in the *Times*, was current in Limerick and Ennis on Saturday. As previously stated, Mr. O'Brien and his constituents are said to hold adverse opinions on the question of free trade.

The Ulster Roman Catholics and Lord Clarendon.—The Roman Catholics of Ulster have drawn up a long memorial to the Earl of Clarendon, setting forth *in extenso* the facts connected with the affray at Dolly's Brae, together with the subsequent proceedings adopted by the Executive, and praying that his Excellency would take further measures to bring to justice all the parties implicated in the transaction. The memorial, which, according to the *Northern Whig*, has received the signatures of 60,000 persons, concludes as follows:—"Your memorialists believe that they have truly detailed facts; and, in approaching your Excellency now, they are anxious, most respectfully, to lay before you their views and wishes. They can most solemnly assert that they are alone influenced by a hope to preserve the purity of the law, by removing that factious and intolerant spirit which has obsructed its administration in this province, refusing to take its interpretation from the known and responsible advisers of the Crown in this country, and declining to assist your Excellency in your endeavours to put down party, and invest justice with an appearance that would welcome the confidence of the poor, and not excite their resentment or fears. Your memorialists further believe that the law will not be respected, nor its administration supported, in the province of Ulster, as long as magistrates act as partisans, and zealously mark out as victims for political vengeance the Catholic people of the north, whilst they shield against the just power of the law the Orange aggressor. Influenced by these considerations, anxious that in a free state the social privileges, the lives, and the property of all classes of her Majesty's subjects should be respected by the magistrate, and protected by the law under his administration, they most earnestly and respectfully entreat your Excellency to consider the facts they have submitted to you, and in the pure and exalted use of that power with which you are invested, to give stability to constitutional authority, and its free and impartial exercise—to prove to the Catholic people of this empire that creed is no distinction where justice is concerned, by superseding in the commission of the peace those magistrates who, at a petty session held in Castlewellan on the 9th of October last, refused to take informations against persons proved to have formed a portion of an avowedly illegal assembly. Your memorialists might entreat your Excellency to instruct the resident magistrates in that district to take the informations thus refused, but they believe that such a course would screen from a merited punishment those magistrates whose contumacy, or disregard of their duty, should necessitate its adoption, and in the spirit of justice, and with avowed animosity to faction, they submit, that the officer of a government who will not yield to its instruction or advice should be removed from his situation, and not supported in his opposition, by placing his responsibility on another's shoulders. Your memorialists hope that they do not approach your Excellency in vain. Believing that you cannot be intimidated from doing justice, and thereby creating confidence, your memorialists expect that the law will be sustained by your Excellency's government, irrespective of the religious or political opinions hold by the delinquent parties."

Borough of Tralee.—The *Kerry Post* has the following:—"It was confidentially asserted in town

last week that Mr. O'Connell does not intend sitting in parliament any longer for Tralee; and it is anticipated that we shall have an election early in the session."

DESTITUTION IN KILRUSH.—The *Limerick Examiner* contains an account of two inquests lately held in this union on the bodies of two persons, Austin Costelloe and Mary St. Leger, who, it was alleged, died from the effects of destitution. The jury returned a verdict in both cases of "died from the effects of hunger and cold."

BURGLARY.—A daring burglary was committed at an early hour on Thursday week on the premises of Mr. Findlater, of Dublin. The robbers effected an entrance through an unoccupied house next door, and broke a hole through a wall three feet thick, sufficient to admit a man. A considerable sum of money was in an iron safe, which did not attract their attention, as it was covered carelessly with a sack. Before eleven o'clock the same morning the entire gang were found by the detectives, drunk from the effects of brandy.

AN INGENIOUS FORGERY.—At the Hillsborough Quarter Sessions last week, Daniel M'Gurgan and James Grimley, *alias* M'Guire, were convicted of conspiring, on the 20th July, at Newry, to cheat Robert Mills, of Moira, of £20, by means of a false civil bill decree, grounded on a forged I O U. The manner in which the forgery was executed was curious. An old letter of Mills's was obtained, and the I O U was written on the blank space underneath the genuine signature, and then detached from the letter. The prisoners were sentenced to transportation for seven years.

MURDERS IN TIPPERARY.—The *Nenagh Guardian* contains the following:—"About the hour of six o'clock on Friday night, another of those frightful butcheries which have given our county a notoriety in crime surpassing all other portions of Europe, was committed on William Ardell, steward to Mr. Richard Falkiner, of Mount Falkiner. The particulars are briefly as follow:—As William Ardell was crossing from Mr. Falkiner's house to his own dwelling, a distance of about a quarter of a mile, he was fired at by some person or persons unknown, and shot dead, the contents of the piece having lodged in his heart. He was found dead between his own house and Mr. Falkiner's, about the hour of six o'clock next morning. No cause has yet been assigned for the commission of this outrage. Ardell has left a wife and six children. The coroner, Mr. T. T. Abbott, left about one o'clock on Monday to hold an inquest, but will not have returned in time to give further particulars." — The same paper asserts: On Thursday last, as a poor, emaciated, and almost famine-stricken man of the name of Magrath, was passing through a turnip field, convenient to the village of Newport, the property of a wealthy and respectable farmer of the name of Hogan, the cravings of hunger prompted him to pull a turnip, having voraciously eaten which, he took another, when Hogan came up and rudely caught hold of the poor man. He told him to drop the turnip, said he was a prisoner, and that he would take him as such to the Bridewell of Newport. 'Is it for a turnip you'll make a prisoner of me? Oh! for God's sake do not—forgive me, I was hungry;' piteously ejaculated the wretched Magrath, whose entreaties for liberty were in vain; when he ultimately said he would not go as a prisoner, and that he would resist Hogan. At this part of the contention a farmer arrived, and told Hogan if he felt aggrieved he had a remedy by summons, and suggested the humanity of letting Magrath go. As Magrath was then in the act of quitting the turnip field Hogan presented his gun, took deliberate aim, fired, and shot the unfortunate man in the left arm and side! His arm is shattered, and several slugs are lodged in his side. He lies dangerously ill in Newport, spitting blood in large quantities. The medical gentleman who is attending him has no hopes of his recovery. On Friday the case was fully investigated by the magistrates at Newport petty sessions, when, for this heinous offence, Hogan was fully committed for trial at the approaching assizes at Nenagh."

OPPOSITION TO RENTS.—The *Tipperary Vindicator* has an account of the forcible removal of corn seized for rent, at Borrisoleigh, which, however, was re-taken by the landlord. In this district, it is stated, there is a "general system of passive resistance, the land being completely stripped of stock." In this same district, on Wednesday, there was a sale for non-payment of rent, but the poor rate collector put in his prior claim, and the residue scarcely paid the fees of the landlord's bailiffs.

ROMAN CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY.—The *Freeman's Journal*, in urging the necessity of establishing a Roman Catholic University, says:—"There is a nucleus in the O'Connell Monument Fund which would go far to erect the first buildings; and we venture to predict, that within five years the Irish Catholic University would possess more wealth than was owned by Trinity College in the first century of its existence."

SUGGESTED TRIBUTE TO MR. JOHN O'CONNELL.—In reference to a suggestion for a national tribute to Mr. John O'Connell, which has recently appeared in a Limerick paper, the honourable gentleman has addressed a letter to the *Freeman's Journal*, in which he says:—"I respectfully, but most strongly, deprecate its being mooted at all. I have no claim to, nor expectation of, what is therein mentioned; and the state of the country, and the pressure of the times, render that suggestion if possible still more inappropriate and unsuitable."

ORANGE PROSECUTION.—In the Court of Queen's Bench on Monday, Mr. Whiteside, Q.C., rose to apply for a conditional order for a criminal information against the proprietor of the *Dublin Evening Post*, at the suit of John Jardine, master of an Orange lodge in the county of Down, and one of the Orangemen charged with participation in the affairs of Dolly's Brae, but the court declined to hear him. There are numerous affidavits filed in this Orange case, and they charge that the letter of the Under-Secretary, which led to the dismissal of Lord Roden and the Messrs. Beers, the publication of Mr. Berwick's report of his inquiry at Castlewellan, with other documents and evidence published in the *Evening Post*, were calculated to prejudice the case of John Jardine, and to influence the jury before whom he is to be tried at the Spring Assizes for the county of Down. It is stated that the Orange party intend to avail themselves of this prosecution in the discussion of the Dolly's Brae affair in the ensuing session of parliament.

REPEAL ASSOCIATION.—The usual weekly meeting of this body was held on Monday, at Conciliation Hall; Mr. Mahon presiding. Mr. Nugent moved that the petition against protection, and in favour of free trade, which had been adopted on that day week, be entrusted for presentation in the House of Commons to Mr. John O'Connell, and he hoped they would not lose his services until he sat in their own parliament in College-green. Mr. John O'Connell said he never played the enemy's game, and he was not going to do it then. He would retain the representation until the people were ready to elect a staunch repealer, when he would be obliged to resign. The rent was announced to be £12 4s. 6d.

REPRESENTATION OF MAYO.—The *Freeman's Journal* says:—"We have the authority of our London Correspondent for stating that Mr. R. D. Browne has declined the important colonial appointment offered for his acceptance some days since by Lord Grey. When our correspondent first announced that the Governorship of the Falkland Islands had been tendered to Mr. Browne, he expressed some doubt as to the ability of the honourable member to enter upon the duties of the proffered appointment, and his apprehensions have been realised. Mr. Browne having refused the gift of the Colonial Minister, there will not, as a matter of course, be any election for Mayo."

THE PROTECTIONIST AGITATION, according to the *Morning Chronicle*:—Although a few more stray meetings may be attempted, and the exclusive "aggregate" is yet to come off at the Rotunda in Dublin, the Protectionist agitation in Ireland is "numbered among the things that have been." The last experiment at a county meeting in Clare, was a failure from the outset. The determination of the requisitionists to abandon the meeting was known in Dublin before it was announced either in Ennis or Limerick. From the latter town, reporters had been sent early on Friday; but upon their arrival they learned that the county meeting had been suddenly abandoned, really because the Free-traders had assembled in great force, to perfect their arrangements for a successful opposition. In a letter dated "Ennis, Friday evening," the reporter of the *Limerick Examiner* says:—"On my arrival here this morning the streets were crowded with country squires, country clergymen, and country farmers — the squires looking sad and sorrowfully the clergymen, farmers, and townspeople, expressing their gratulations one to another on the signal triumph of free-trade and cheap food. The arrangements for a counter demonstration in favour of free-trade were most perfect. The Rev. Mr. Quaid, P.P.; Rev. Mr. Sheehy, of Tulla; Rev. Mr. Macmahon, of Miltownmalbay, and others of the Roman Catholic clergy, had come to dissipate the delusion and the fallacies of the Protectionists. The people of Ennis too, had named their champions for the occasion, at a preliminary meeting." The *Limerick Chronicle*, the local Protectionist organ, expresses deep disappointment at the result, and dissatisfaction with the pretences put forward by the requisitionists for postponing the county meeting. One of the grounds assigned was the absence of the high sheriff of Dublin. That journal remarks — "Sir Lucius O'Brien, one of the requisitionists, was requested to preside, in the absence of the high sheriff, and by his desire."

ELIZA CHESTNEY.—This intrepid young woman who is now residing at Wymondham, where she is carrying on the business of a milliner and dressmaker, is now so far recovered as to be able to walk up stairs and down, without the assistance of either a crutch or stick. It must be gratifying to those who have taken such deep interest in this young woman, to learn that this sufferer is at length restored to the use of her limbs.—*Norfolk News.*

THE CONDITION OF ENGLAND QUESTION.

(Condensed from the *Morning Chronicle.*)

PHYSICAL CONDITION OF THE LABOURER IN DEVONSHIRE AND SOMERSETSHIRE.

In some of the small valleys in the undulating district around Totnes I found several specimens of the worst description of cottages. Indeed it was a matter of surprise to me that some of them were inhabited at all, notwithstanding the miserable accommodation with which a labouring family will put up. The same may be said of the district, both in Dorset and Devon, lying around Axminster. Here the population is very dense—both on account of the clearing system having been carried to only a trifling extent, since few of the parishes around are close parishes, and of the demand for labour which at one time existed in Axminster, when it had some pretensions to being a place of manufacturing importance. But it is no longer so. Who hears of Axminster carpets now? The population which formerly collapsed upon the town has recently been thrown back again upon the adjoining parishes, in such numbers as to have a sensible effect both upon wages and rates, and to raise the value of cottages, whilst they have trenched upon their accommodation. I have been told of more than one instance in which this has taken place. As new cottages were not at first built to meet the increasing demand for them by those returning to their parishes in search of employment, many persons were obliged to lodge with those occupying such dwellings as existed. For this accommodation they of course paid so much per week; the result of which was, that the price of cottages was raised in some cases to the tenants. If a small family could accommodate two or three lodgers, which they frequently did, a considerable addition was made to their weekly receipts; and as this addition came from the cottage, the landlord compelled them to share its enhanced value with him. In some cases in which this was mentioned to me, the tenants looked upon this increase of rent as the work of stewards or agents alone; in others they were of opinion that the proprietors not only sanctioned but enjoined it, with a view, if possible, of driving the poor people away, so as to get rid of the cottages. I inquired of several of them if they felt very generally the inconvenience of overcrowding, and if it had recently increased. They replied that it was the greatest inconvenience suffered by them, and that, of late, its increase had been very great, both from the natural growth of population, and from the large addition which had been made to their numbers within the last few years, from the decay of manufactures in Axminster. In one hovel with two rooms, I found no fewer than eleven people. The Sleeping apartment was upstairs as usual, directly under the thatch. There were three beds, two of which were on the floor. In that having a bedstead slept the father and mother and two children—a not uncommon arrangement—the remaining seven occupying the beds on the floor. The eldest of the family was a girl sixteen years of age, the next a girl about fifteen, and the third a boy of fourteen. they sometimes had a large tattered shawl hanging between the bed occupied by the parents and those on the floor, but in winter they generally had it down, to serve as an additional covering for the children. The family was scarcely ever free from disease, the younger children being pale and emaciated, and diarrhœa being a very common ailment with them all. Their diet was scanty, and the situation of the cottage bad. There was no drainage, and in wet weather a strong infusion of manure from a neighbouring dung-heap would trickle in at the cottage door. They were dirty in their habits, but to have kept their houses anything like clean would have required so constant and energetic a warfare with filth that they shrunk from engaging in it. In addition to this, the greater portion of the time of the elder members of the family, including the parents, was occupied in the fields; and when they came home at night from their toil, they were too fatigued to address themselves to the task of keeping their house in decent order.

One of the cottages visited contained, like too many others, but two rooms. The walls were of mud, or rather of what is called "cob"—a kind of mixture of mud and small stones. The roof was of thatch, and had been recently repaired in parts. Each room had but one window; that in the upper room, which was in the gable end of the cottage, being extremely small. On three sides of the house there were great cracks or fissures in the walls, all of which added to its discomforts, and one of which positively endangered its stability. It was in the front of the cottage, near one of the corners, and ran from the thatch to the ground, occasioned by the end wall having fallen considerably from the perpendicular. I asked her if she was not afraid that the house would come down about her ears. She replied to the effect that her apprehensions had been blunted, as they had been excited by the same cause for the last ten years. I then entered the hovel.

Bad and unprepossessing as was its exterior, it did not half prepare me for what I witnessed inside. The chimney stalk was at the side of the door, and its side formed with the wall a small passage, about five feet long, at the end of which was another door, suspended upon one hinge, which opened into the lower apartment, in the recess formed by the other side of the chimney stalk and the opposite wall was the window, so small and so situated that it threw but a shabby twilight into about one-half of the room. The other half was equally lighted when the door was open; but when it was shut it was in such a gloom that it was scarcely possible to discern the objects which it contained. I requested her to leave the door open, that I might see to more advantage, but chiefly—although I did not tell her so—that I might have the benefit of the fresh air, to counteract the sour and sickening smells which were rife within. The ceiling, which was blackened with smoke, was so low that it was only between the small rafters that I could stand erect with my hat on. The fire-place was of an enormous size; but although the day was cold and raw, there was not at the time a spark of fire upon the hearth. There were a few chairs and some tripods, in the shape of stools; about and within the ample fire-place was a bit of log, supported on four rude legs, which formed a kind of bench, on which about three could sit at a time, sheltered by the chimney stalk, in which they sat, from the drafts which pervaded the room in every direction. At one corner was an empty barrel, which answered the purposes of a table, and close to it an old deal chest, over which were two or three shelves full of crockery of all shapes, colours, and devices, and in all stages of fracture. Hard by was a large black-looking tub, in which there was a quantity of flour which had recently been sifted from the bran. In the centre of the room was the moiety of an old round table, at which the family partook of their meals. What these were will be afterwards mentioned. In the deep recess occupied by the window sat the eldest daughter of my guide, working hard at the lace-cushion, taking that position as the one which afforded her most light in the room. A good deal of the fabric known as Honiton lace is manufactured here. The floor of the hovel was of mud. It had never known the covering of quicklime and sand, which frequently forms the flooring of the cottages, and which is to be seen in some of those in the village. Towards the fire-place it descended so as to form a tolerably deep hole, in which water not unfrequently collects, and which has been prevented from deepening still further by a species of rough causeway work with which it is lined. With this exception, you trod nothing, whilst in the lower room, but the cold clay which formed the uneven flooring. I hesitated ere I ventured up stairs. The family was not large, as most of the children were grown up, and were afloat on the world for themselves. But there were still five at home—the father and mother, a young man of twenty-one years of age, a girl of about eighteen, and another girl of about thirteen. The five slept in the room above. In this instance it was more the chamber itself than its furniture that was at fault. It was wretchedly lighted, and the room seemed, in places, to be falling in. To ventilation it was an utter stranger. The crazy floor shook and creeked under me as I paced it. The bed room was approached by a few broken steps, which rose to it out of a dark recess opposite the door, and in which were stowed away a few pots and pans, some small bundles of faggots, pieces of broken furniture, and a few implements of labour.

At one end was a small excrescence, which had the semblance of a shed or woodhouse. It had evidently been taken for such by peripatetic bill-stickers, for the door leading into it was plastered over with "posters" of all sizes and characters. It nevertheless formed the ante-chamber to the dwelling of one of the families occupying the house. On entering I found the floor paved with small stones, after the fashion of a rough and irregular causeway, with a kind of gutter in the centre to let the water run off, for the house lay low and was very damp. Passing through this, which seemed to serve the purposes of a lumber-room, I entered the "day-room" of the family. It was more comfortably furnished than I expected to find it, especially as I had been informed that the tenant had been disabled for some time by rheumatism from working. How a rheumatic patient could expect ever to recover in such a place was to me a mystery, for the earthern floor was quite damp and cold after the rains which had recently fallen. His wife was seated at the lace-cushion by the window, working very industriously, but complaining of her head. Beside her sat a young girl, also with a lace-cushion before her, engaged in making large springs, which were to form part of a bridal scarf and veil for some fair lady who was about to be led to the altar. There was still another in the room—an old man, who sat in the corner by the window, sewing a piece of flannel. He was about sixty, but looked older. A few grey hairs still clung to the sides of his head, just about his ears, but all the rest was bald. He had on the top of his head a scar, which was partly hidden by a piece of dirty sticking plaster. He continued his work, but in a most unworkmanlike manner, apparently taking no heed of anything passing around him. I stepped up to him, and asked what he was about, to which he replied that, having nothing to do out of doors, he was employing himself by "doing a bit of tailoring." The whole picture was a curious one: the rheumatic invalid seated by the feeble fire, his wife and daughter working busily over their lace-cushions at the window, and the old man making a waistcoat for himself in a way which plainly showed that "tailoring" was not his avocation. Had the accommodation been better, it would not have been on the whole an unpleasant one—but the cottage was one of the worst description, although everything in it in the shape of furniture was neat and clean. The dwelling adjoining it had a better entrance, but the accommodation which it afforded was not a whit better. Here, also, the lace-cushion was in requisition, and the inmates were subject to rheumatism, from the dampness of the floor, which, like that of most of the other houses, was of earth. A part of it looked as if it had been recently under water. On inquiry, I found that it had been so—as it was more or less, indeed, after every heavy rain. In these cases the water was removed by soaking cloths in it, and wringing them dry out of doors. These last-mentioned cottages, with one or two others, occupied the lowest grounds covered by the village. Until recently their unwholesomeness and other discomforts were greatly aggravated by a broad stagnant open ditch, which exposed its putrescent contents on the other side of the road. The offensive smells which used to emanate from this hotbed of pestilence were spoken of by the inmates as something incapable of description.

ASHTON WEAVERS.

The trade of the hatter was once a flourishing one both in Manchester and Ashton, but owing to the demand for silk hats instead of beavers, the occupation is now at a low ebb, and hundreds to whom it once afforded subsistence have enlisted in the army. We went from the old hand-loom weaver's to the house of a man who had been a beaver hatter, but who now gained his bread by winding silk for the construction of the new style of hats. The house was in a muddy lane, half the dwellings of which were ruinous and uninhabited. We found the husband presiding at a winding apparatus, which his son, a boy of five years of age, turned. The room in which the machine was bestowed, opened from the kitchen and sitting chamber. The aspect of things here was much brighter than at the last house. The man used to earn at his old trade five shillings or six shillings a day. He now earned, one week with another, twelve shillings. Some days he made three shillings, some days two shillings, but he had often to "clem" for want of work. However, as I said, his average earnings were twelve shillings a week. It is his house I wish principally to notice. It was a sort of compromise between a house, properly so called, and a cellar. The lane without was undrained and unpaved, and the mud lay more than ankle deep all along it. From this vile thoroughfare you entered the house by a door, certainly not two feet in width, and down a high step, which brought the stone-flagged floor a good eighteen inches bneath the level of the lane. The consequence was, that the place was reeking with damp. There was tolerably decent furniture—a clock and other little matters; but the air of both the rooms had that wet earthly smell peculiar to underground places—and the moisture welling up marked with obvious stains the outline of the flagstones which formed the floor. For this house the occupant paid five pounds a year. It was an unwholesome place, he said, but he could not get sufficiently beforehand with the world to move to a better. The wife told me that she had never had a day's health since they lived there. Nothing but coughs and colds that she could not get rid of, and asthma settling on her chest. The poor woman was evidently in a critical pulmonary state. The wet cold air was killing her.

There are very few weavers out of work at Ashton, but I desired my guide to take me to the house of one. It was situated—I am still talking of the old part of Ashton—in a sort of broad *cul de sac*, so broad that it might almost be called a square. There may have been altogether thirty or forty houses composing it; and near one end of the open space was situated a great ash-pit and three or four privies, common to all the inhabitants, and ingeniously placed so as to be by far the most conspicuous objects in the place. In the low room of the house which we entered, two men, father and son, one of them in the prime of life, the other perhaps between sixty and seventy, were seated on either side of the hearth, listlessly peeling potatoes. On a small table beside them were the remains of breakfast—a coffee-pot, a dirty cup or two, and a filthy pewter spoon. The younger man had been sixteen weeks out of work. He looked wretchedly ill and languid; indeed, as he said, he had never been well since he was "down with the cholera." His wife was working in a mill. She earned about nine shillings a week. He had been flung out of work owing to his having refused to submit to what he considered an unjust abatement of five shillings. There was nothing absolutely squalid in the appearance of the room. Its worst feature was the listless, soddened look of the two men as they pursued their unfitting household toil. The old man had two shillings a week from the union, and went errands, or did any such odd job as he could obtain. The family amounted in all to seven.

ASHTON CELLARS.

From the old weaver's cellar we went to visit some similar dwellings, situated in a group of close undrained and unpaved courts. These were occupied almost entirely by elderly women, who made precarious livings as laundresses. Several of these cellars, though miserably poor, were kept beautifully clean, and the little ornaments and paltry pictures ranged about the walls often showed a touching struggle between pinching poverty and a decent desire to keep up appearances. One cellar was, however, of a different stamp. We approached it along a foul subterraneous passage, and, on opening the door, a stench so abominable burst forth, that even my companions, accustomed to scenes of want and filth, recoiled, and called to the people in the room to open the single swinging pane in a window of about six—each pane being about four inches by three—looking out into a sort of slit rather than pit, dug down to the level of the window sill from a back court. The place was almost dark. It contained three low beds, covered with ragged, unmade wisps of bed clothes. A woman and a little girl sat upon stools cowering over a morsel of fire, and drinking tea, or some decoction which passed as such. In one of the beds lay a third female, moaning in her confinement. She was a married woman; her husband had left her, and she was now brought to bed of a child by another man. This woman was a millworker. All the occupants of the room professed themselves unconscious of any smell whatever; but one of them having gone out for a moment, admitted on her return that the sewer was "rather bad to-day." It turned out that a drain, passing from some other part of the town, ran underneath the house, the stone flags were here and there broken, and through the slimy soil beneath, the fœtid gases rose bubbling up, in such strength as to render it physically impossible for me to draw breath in the apartment. Yet the inmates had every aperture through which the fresh air could come carefully stopped, and complained when the door and window, or rather pane, was opened of the cold. The rent paid for these cellars is from 1s. to 1s. 9d. a week.

A MANCHESTER DEN.

The last place we visited is, I am told, the "worst cellar in all Manchester." The outer room was like that of others which I had seen, but following a woman who held a light, we proceeded into the inner cellars. They were literally vaults, three of them opening from one to the other. The air was thick with damp and stench. The vaults were mere subterranean holes, utterly without light. The flicker of the candle showed their grimy walls, reaking with fœtid damp, which trickled in greasy drops down to the floor. Beds were huddled in every corner: some of them on frames—I cannot call them bedsteads—others on the floor. In one of these a man was lying dressed, and beside him slept a well-grown calf. Sitting upon another bed was an old man maudlin drunk, with the saliva running over his chin, making vain efforts to rid himself of his trowsers, and roaring for help. In the next cellar two boys were snoring together in one bed, and beside them was a man sleeping in an old battered hat for a nightcap. "Is he undressed?" I said. The police officer, for answer, twitched down the clothes, and revealed a stark naked man, black with filth. The smell in this room was dreadful, and the air at once hot and wet.

"What's this you have been doing?" said my conductor to the landlady, stooping down and examining the lower part of one of the walls. I joined him, and saw that a sort of hole or shallow cave, about six feet long, two deep, and a little more than one high, had been scooped out through the wall into the earth on the outside of the foundation, there being probably some yard on the other side, and in this hole or earthen cupboard there was stretched, upon a scanty litter of foul-smelling straw, a human being—an old man. As he lay on his back, his face was not two inches beneath the roof—so to speak—of the hole.

"He's a poor old body," said the landlady, in a tone of deprecation, "and if we didn't let him crawl in there he would have to sleep in the streets."

I turned away, and was glad when I found myself breathing such comparatively fresh air as can be found in Angel-meadow, Manchester.

THE DOCK LABOURERS OF LONDON.

The dock labourers are a striking instance of mere brute force with brute appetites. This class of labour is as unskilled as the power of a hurricane. Mere muscle is all that is needed; hence every human "locomotive" is capable of working there. All that is wanted is the power to move heavy bodies from one place to another. Mr. Stuart Mills tells us that labour in the physical world is always and solely employed in putting objects in motion; and assuredly, if this be the principal end of physical labour, the docks exhibit the perfection of human action. Dock work is precisely the office that every kind of man is fitted to perform, and there we find every kind of man performing it. Those who are unable to live by the occupation to which they have been educated can obtain a living there without any previous training. Hence we find men of every calling labouring at the docks. There are decayed and bankrupt master butchers, master bakers, publicans, grocers, old soldiers, old sailors, Polish refugees, broken down gentlemen, discharged lawyers' clerks, suspended government clerks, almsmen, pensioners, servants, thieves—indeed, every one who wants a loaf and is willing to work for it. The London Dock is one of the few places in the metropolis where men can get employment without either character or recommendation; so that the labourers employed there are naturally a most incongruous assembly. Each of the docks employs several hundred "hands" to ship and discharge the cargoes of the numerous vessels that enter; and as there are some six or seven of such docks attached to the metropolis, it may be imagined how large a number of individuals are dependent on them for their subsistence. At a rough calculation there must be at least 20,000 souls getting their living by such means.

The London Dock occupies an area of ninety acres, and is situate in the three parishes of St. George, Shadwell, and Wapping. The population of these three parishes, in 1841, was 55,500, and the number of inhabited houses 8,000, which covered a space equal to 338 acres. This is in the proportion of twenty-three inhabited houses to the acre, and seven individuals to each house. The number of persons to each inhabited house is, despite of the crowded lodging-houses with which it abounds, not beyond the average for all London. In my last letter I showed that Bethnal-green, which is said to possess the greatest number of low-rented houses, had only upon an average seventeen inhabited houses to each acre, while the average through London was but 5.5 houses per acre. So that it appears that in the three parishes of St. George-in-the-East, Shadwell, and Wapping, the houses are more than four times more crowded together than in the other parts of London, and more numerous by half as many again, than those even in the low-rented district of Bethnal-green. This affords us a good criterion as to the character of the neighbourhood, and consequently of the people living in the vicinity of the London Dock.

The London Dock can accommodate 500 ships, and the warehouses will contain 232,000 tons of goods. The entire structure cost £4,000,000 of money. The tobacco warehouses alone cover five acres of ground. The walls surrounding the Dock cost £65,000. One of the wine vaults has an area of seven acres, and in the whole of them there is room for stowing 60,000 pipes of wine. The warehouses round the wharfs are imposing from their extent, but are much less lofty than those at St. Katherine's, and being situated at some distance from the Dock, goods cannot be craned out of the ship's hold and stowed away at one operation. According to the last half yearly report, the number of ships which entered the London Dock during the six months ending the 31st of May last was 704, measuring upwards of 195,000 tons. The amount of earnings during that period was £230,000 and odd, and the amount of expenditure nearly £121,000. The stock of goods in the warehouses last May was upwards of 170,000 tons.

This immense establishment is worked by from one to three thousand hands, according as the business is either "brisk" or "slack." Out of this number there are always from four to five hundred permanent labourers, receiving upon an average 16s. 6d. per week wages, with the exception of coopers, carpenters, smiths, and other mechanics, who are paid the usual wages of their crafts. Besides these there are many hundreds — from one thousand to two thousand five hundred—casual labourers, who are engaged at the rate of 2s. 6d. per day in the summer, and 2s. 4d. per day in the winter months. Frequently, in case of many arrivals, extra hands are hired in the course of the day at the rate of 4d. per hour. For the permanent labourers a recommendation is required, but for the casual labourers no "character" is demanded. The number of the casual hands engaged by the day depends of course upon the amount of work to be done, and I find that the total number of labourers in the docks varies from 500 to 3,000 and odd. On the 4th of May, 1849, the number of hands engaged—both permanent and casual—was 2,794; on the 26th of the same month it was 3,012, and on the 30th it was 1,189. These appear to be the extremes of the variation for the present year. The fluctuation is due to a greater or less number of ships entering the dock. The lowest number of ships entering the dock in any one week last year was twenty-nine, while the highest number was 141. This rise and fall is owing to the prevalence of easterly winds, which serve to keep the ships back, and so make the business "slack." Now deducting the lowest number of hands employed from the highest number, we have no less than 1,823 individuals who obtain so precarious a subsistence by their labour at the docks that, by the mere shifting of the wind, they may be all deprived of their daily bread. Calculating the wages at 2s. 6d. per day for each hand, the company would have paid £376 10s. to the 3,012 hands employed on the 26th of May last, while only £148 12s. 6d. would have been paid 1,189 hands engaged on the 30th of the same month. Hence not only would 1,823 hands have been thrown out of employ by the chopping of the wind, but the labouring men dependent upon the business of the docks for their subsistence would in one day have been deprived of £227 17s. 6d. This will afford the reader some faint idea of the precarious character of the subsistence obtained by the labourers employed in this neighbourhood, and consequently—as it has been well proven, that all men who obtain their livelihood by irregular employment are the most intemperate and improvident of all—it will be easy to judge what may be the condition and morals of a class who to-day as a body may earn near upon £400 and to-morrow only £150.

The labour is of that heavy and continuous character that you would fancy only the best fed could withstand it. The work may be divided into three classes. Wheel work, or that which is moved by the muscles of the legs and weight of the body; jigger or winch work, or that which is moved by the muscles of the arm—in each of these the labourer is stationary; but in the truck work, which forms the third class, the labourer has to travel over a space of ground greater or less in proportion to the distance which the goods have to be removed. The wheel work is performed somewhat on the system of the treadwheel, with this exception—that the force is applied inside, instead of outside the wheel. From six to eight men enter a wooden cylinder or drum, upon which are nailed battens, and the men, laying hold of ropes, commence treading the wheel round, occasionally singing the while, and stamping in time in a manner that is pleasant from its curiosity. The wheel is generally sixteen feet in diameter and eight to nine feet broad, and the six or eight men treading within it will lift from sixteen to eighteen hundredweight, and often a ten, forty times in an hour, an average of twenty-seven feet high. Other men will get out a cargo of from 800 to 900 casks of wine, each cask averaging about five hundred weight, and being lifted about eighteen feet, in a day and a half. At trucking, each man is said to go, on an average, thirty miles a day, and two-thirds of that time he is moving 1½ cwt. at 6½ miles per hour.

(*To be Continued*.)

DISASTERS TO NEW YORK "LINERS."—Two marine disasters were announced at Liverpool on Monday, in both instances in reference to members of the magnificent New York liners. The following are the details:—Shortly after 11 o'clock that morning, the packet ship Guy Mannering, Captain Edwards, in leaving the Princes' Dock, for the purpose of proceeding to New York, grounded astern on the north edge of the dock gut, near the outer gates. Captain Edwards had the water in the casks started, and everything removed to lighten the ship; but although four steamers were made fast and tugged at her till the tide began to recede, she remained firmly fixed. The position in which she lies is a very dangerous one, the after part of the ship resting on the stone edge of the gut, which is about three feet above the level of the basin, and the fore part in the basin, thus leaving the waist, or centre of the ship, wholly without support. The Guy Mannering is full of merchandise, and has a large number of passengers on board. Her draught of water aft was stated to be 21 feet, while the depth of water on the dock-sill was marked at over 22 feet, but it is supposed that the strong south-east wind has in some degree prevented the tide flowing to its estimate height. The following letter announces the loss of the packet-ship Hottinguer; "Wexford, Jan 12.—The ship Hottinguer, Captain Bursley, from Liverpool to New York, got on Blackwater Bank this morning, at six o'clock. Part of the crew have landed at Morriscastle. Vessel expected to be a total wreck. Crew saved." "Wexford, Jan. 11.—The lugger Adilli Borgot, master, from Nantes to Liverpool, came on shore last night, about ten miles south of this place, and went to pieces. Four of the crew lost; the master and two others lost. Cargo, wheat and flour. A part of the latter saved but damaged."

THE ARMY.—It is stated that the reduction is to be 3,400 men—viz., that the seventeen regiments, having now first and reserve battalions, are to be consolidated and reduced to 1,000 men each; the officers to remain *en seconde*.—*Globe.*

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF UNITED TRADES.

Established 1845.

In the *Northern Star* of December 22nd, the Central Committee endeavoured to shew the enormous power at the command of the working classes, whenever, by UNION, they choose to place themselves in a position to use that power for their political and industrial enfranchisement. It was shewn, that 2½d. per week from one million of the producing classes, would create an income of £500,000 per annum, and that this sum would enable those who subscribed it, to immediately remove 10,000 of the unemployed from the labour market annually, and place them in a state of comparative independence, and at the same time place the trades, from whom this large and crushing incubus had been removed, in a position to reimburse themselves *for the trifling self-imposed tax they had* submitted to, by an immediate advance in their wages, many times greater than the amount of their contributions. We assumed this position with the utmost confidence, from a conviction of its truth, but we had not anticipated that our arguments would be indorsed by so high an authority as the *Times* newspaper, and adopted as the text for an extraordinary, useful, and powerful leader in that influential journal. But so it is, and such is the force of truth, that when perseveringly insisted on, it inevitably forces itself upon public attention, and sooner or latter becomes the adopted rule of action. And it is from an absolute confidence in this unerring law of nature, which has enabled the Directors of this Association to maintain their position in defiance of the selfish opposition they have encountered from influencial men connected with the trades, and of the apathy with which the great mass of their fellow workmen regard any attempt to arouse them to a sense of their degraded position, and to engender in them a disposition to move for their own deliverance. But, there is a great charm in great names; and a position, however true, if emanating from mere working men, is generally received coldly, and with considerable suspicion; we now, therefore, expect, supported as we are by the redoubtable *leading journal of Europe*, that our plan for the emancipation of labour and the raising of wages, will be received with more favour by those whose co-operation is so essential to its accomplishment.

In the *Times* of the 28th of December—just six days from the appearance of our article in the *Star*—one of the clever men who *do the Editorial* for that journal, commences the second leader with the question, "*What can be done with half a million a year?*" and very justly observes "it is high time to ask the question." He then proceeds: "With such means at our command, we could provide 50,000 persons every year with a new home, in our transatlantic colonies, thereby releasing so many of our fellow countrymen from want and misery, *and lessening, to a proportionate extent, the pressure on those who were left behind.*" In the Association's article in the *Northern Star* of December 8th, these remarks were addressed to the working classes:—

A practical refutation is about being given to the free-trade assertion—that cheap food would ensure high wages. Reductions of wages are pronounced inevitable in many of the hitherto comparatively well-paid departments of industry. The absurd extravagancies and iniquitous robberies of railway directories have rendered it imperative that these same parties commit another, and, if possible, more foul robbery, than any of those with which we are familiar. The wages of the most valuable portion of the railway staff are doomed to supply the deficiencies in the dividend, caused by the previous plunder of the capital of the shareholders. Many of the building trades have had notice of intended reductions in their wages; and, with the present redundancy of labour in the market, what hopes can be entertained of a successful resistance? The Central Committee of this Association have always contended that the only effective protection which can be given to the wages of labour, consists in the absorption of the surplus labour, through channels where it can be rendered self-supporting; that such channels are to be found at home, at our own doors as it were, as well as over the Atlantic; that its employment at home is infinitely preferable, and more patriotic; that this can, and ought to be accomplished, by and through the working classes *alone*, and not by the government. In the one case we should create an independent class of Labour Yeomen; in the other, companies of government slaves. That the working class possess within themselves *the means* is unquestionable. Themselves organised—the means, which will give the power (although it has been said that they possess neither,) will be found in abundance, alike blessing and conferring incalculable benefits upon those who give and those who receive. Remove the surplus labour by the only practical lever by which that, or any great work can be achieved,—an organisation of labour, and the means and the power which that organisation, and that alone, would most surely give.

The Central Committee will, in a future report, place some facts before the working classes, by which it will be shown that through a confederation of labour—such as they advocate—the surplus labour, which now presses with such crushing severity upon almost every description of British industry, may not only be readily withdrawn from the labour market, at the rate of fifty thousand a year, but well and amply employed, and made the source of increased employment to the country. If this thing *can* be done, and is not done, then do the working classes deserve *all* they now suffer, and all the good things which are *now in store for them.*

The identity of the *Times* argument with ours is here strikingly manifest.

But the *Times* continues enumerating several great reforms which could be accomplished with *half a million a year*, such as Sidney Herbert's Emigration Dodge for the needlewomen—a scheme by the bye which is violently opposed by the free trade party as being a violation of their *laizzez faire* doctrines; Lord Ashley's more unexceptionable plans for erecting improved dwellings for the working classes, and for the construction of baths and washhouses on a large scale; the endowment of 500 free grammar schools, county hospitals, &c., &c. "Any one of these objects," says the *Times*, "might be effected with £500,000 a year." But the similarity existing between the *Times* writer and us is still more strikingly shown in the latter part of the article.

In our article of the 22nd of December, we thus write:—

Land, Labour, and Capital, are the three elements of production. These elements of wealth are most unquestionably as available to an association of '*Labour Capitalists*' as of '*Money Capitalists*.' The power of either differs but in degree. Whatever a joint-stock company of capitalists, with £1,000,000 sterling, could accomplish in one year, our association, of one million working men, subscribing ten shillings per year, could accomplish in two years. If the one could render the now worthless bogs of Ireland a source of fruitful employment, and eventually a mine of wealth, as rich and productive as the sands of the Sacramento—well, so could the other. We contend, broadly and boldly, that £500,000 would go very far at the end of the first year appropriated to its collection—to remove effectually the surplus labour from the first trades, who, to the number of one million, united their pence and their energies to work out their redemption. We apprehend that half a million a-year, which would give £50 each to ten thousand individuals, would, at least, place them in a position, by the economical appliance of associative labour, to make themselves perfectly independent, with very little further assistance. We are perfectly sure that land may be obtained in the United Kingdom upon long leases, and at excessively low rents, in sufficient quantity for colonising all the unemployed of the industrious classes. And that £50 per head would be an ample fund for the commencement of such an undertaking. But we content ourselves now, with simply enunciating the *perfect practicability* of the trades of Great Britain, thus relieving themselves of the incubus which is dragging them down to perdition. The idea may appear extravagant to such as have not given the subject consideration. But we think its grave importance, to the interests of our order, should, and will, ensure for it, the calmest and most unprejudiced investigation. One of the first effects which would be felt in any trade, who succeeded in producing an equilibrium between the demand and supply of labour in that particular trade, would be an advance in the wages of those who remained in it, thus compensating, with probably a very large addition, the pecuniary contributions which had been thus appropriated. The tables would thus become effectually turned. Strikes and all their accompanying evils, would be for ever abolished—the sure remedy for low wages would have been discovered—the power of union would then be acknowledged and appreciated; and the now despised serfs of labour, constantly increasing in power and indulgence, would soon force a recognition of their social and political importance.

The *Times* seizes the idea, and employs it after the following fashion:—"We are assured that any person acquainted with the sufferings of the metropolitan, or manufacturing, or agricultural poor, would *unhesitatingly* acknowledge that a government grant of £500,000 a year, judiciously appropriated and employed, would keep 10,000 families, of five members each, above the starving point at which they linger, and that, too, without establishing any preposterous 'rights of labour,' or infringing any principle of sound economy."

Now, we think we may fairly assume, that the manner in which we have put the question, has struck conviction upon the mind of the *Times* editor, who sees clearly, and thus indirectly acknowledges, the importance and practicability of the policy we advocate, and recommend to our fellow workmen for their immediate adoption. The *Times* evidently dreads the possibility of the working classes, thus working out their redemption by their own unassisted means, and thus asserting and exercising, by their own energies, the "*preposterous rights of labour*," and, therefore, refers to a *government grant* as the means by which so desirable an end would be accomplished; but, why should honest working men degrade themselves by being the recipients of eleemosynary aid; when they can accomplish this, or any other similar object, by their own independent exertions? They have but to will their deliverance from their industrial slavery to effect it. If there is one distinguishing feature which has always characterised the National Association, as differing from all contemporary movements, it is the uniform endeavour to lead the working classes to properly appreciate their own powers, to look to themselves as the only party, able or willing to free them from the galling yoke of capital; we repeat it now, and shall repeat it again and again, that it is upon themselves alone they can rely for salvation; as for petitioning government for parliamentary grants, or for establishing home colonies, etc., they may as well "whistle jigs to milestones." It is not the policy of government, as now constituted, that the people should be independent. They must be kept in a state of vassalage, in order that governments, and those upon whom they lean for support, may thrive by the pillage wrung from labour; therefore to look to government for redemption, is as sensible as for the lambs to place themselves under the protecting guardianship of the wolves.—It is high time that this nonsense, about government aid, was exploded, and a more rational and manly policy adopted by those who set themselves up as teachers of the people. There are a few, and but a few subjects, which the Committee of the National Association would ever think of recommending the Association to look to governments for, namely, those subjects upon which they have already shewn a disposition to legislate,—such as improved sanitary regulations, in which all classes of the people are interested. Improvements, and greater efficacy in many laws affecting the interests of labour which already exist, but are inoperative; upon such subjects, we think the legislature, even as it now exists, may properly and consistently be appealed to; but, for any great radical measure, whereby the condition of the producing class is to be materially and permanently benefited, it is, in our judgment, perfectly futile to expect, and therefore we again call upon the trades of England to look to *themselves* for their deliverance.

We are afraid to trespass too much upon the privilege awarded us by the kindness of the proprietor of the *Northern Star*, and must, therefore, postpone our report of progress to another, and we hope early occasion, when we hope to lay before our members and friends evidences of progression, which we are sure will be gratifying.

WILLIAM PEEL, Secretary.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NORTHERN STAR.

DEAR SIR,—A report having got into circulation excessively prejudicial to the National Association, to the effect, that the Central Committee had formed an alliance with the Protectionists—arising, no doubt, from the fact of the society entitled, "The National Association for the Organisation of Trades," having allied itself at the Stepney meeting with G. F. Young, Esq., the secretary of the Protectionist Society, calling itself "The National Association for the Protection of Native Industry," will you be kind enough, by the insertion of this note, to aid us in dispelling the aspersion. We, therefore, desire to assure our members and friends that neither of the above associations are even remotely connected with the National Association of United Trades for the Protection of Industry, and of which T. S. Duncombe, Esq., is president, and whom, I am happy to inform you and your readers, anticipates being able to resume his Parliamentary duties in three weeks from this time. The Association with which I have the honour to be connected, is not allied to any political party, but if it can be presumed to have any political tendencies or predilections, they are certainly far, very far, removed from either the Free Traders or Protectionists, from neither of whom do we expect any measures beneficial to the order of Labour. The mistake has no doubt arisen from the similarity of the titles of the two Associations referred to, who have each of them most servilely copied that of the National Association. In every other respect they are totally dissimilar.

I am, dear Sir, yours respectfully,
WILLIAM PEEL, Secretary.

THE COUNCIL OF THE NATIONAL REFORM LEAGUE TO THE PEOPLE OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

It is every day becoming more undeniable that some modification must shortly take place in the constitution of this country. Our present institutions are so manifestly insufficient to meet the requirements of an increasing population, and an advancing public intelligence, that few will be bold enough to deny the expediency of adapting our governmental system to the wants and circumstances of the time, by making the Parliament what it ought always to have been,—a full, fair, and free representation of the whole people.

Under these circumstances, we think it a duty incumbent upon every man to examine into the merits of the various plans of reform at present before the public; and to determine how far each may be calculated to advance the object above stated. Because we are of opinion that, in a highly artificial society like ours, a state of prolonged agitation is injurious to all, and more especially to the proletarian or labouring classes. And this agitation can never cease until the demands of the People's Charter become the law of the land; it being futile to expect that a real representation of the whole people can be obtained by any other means.

We maintain, then, that all attempts to engage the working men of this country in any reform movement which would stop short of the above end, must be looked upon as, at least, injudicious; because it is evident that nothing but a "pressure from without" will induce our present rulers to concede any reform whatever. And we are convinced that the same effort which must necessarily be made in order to obtain political freedom for a *portion* of the people, would suffice, if properly directed, to emancipate the *whole*; and thus put an end to the necessity for further political agitation.

It becomes, then, a question of great importance how to engage the attention of such of the productive class as may be at present indifferent to the great political question of the day, as we cannot hope to succeed without the aid of the mass of the people. This, we believe, will be most readily effected by showing all such persons that it is a *social*, as well as a *political* question; and by enlightening them upon the nature and value of those social rights which are their natural inheritance, but of which, under the present system, they are deprived, (mainly through the injustice of our land and money laws,) and which they can hope to regain only by obtaining political power, and by *knowing how to use it when obtained.*

By proving (which we can easily do,) that universal suffrage, with the knowledge and fruition of man's social rights, would speedily banish all the poverty, misery, and crime, to which our defective institutions have given rise; and would do this without the sacrifice of one human life, or the confiscation of one shillingsworth of any man's property; by proving this we cannot fail to obtain the support of a vast majority of the industrious classes. While, by showing them that the horrible carnage and general confusion which have lately desolated the continent of Europe, are not to be ascribed (as it is falsely asserted they are,) to the *friends* of universal suffrage, but, on the contrary, to its *enemies*, we shall be able to prevent their being led away by the falsehoods continually circulated by the advocates of "things as they are." Nothing can be easier than to prove, that had the people of France, of many parts of Italy, of Berlin, Vienna, Baden, Dresden, and other places, understood their *social* as well as their *political* rights, no counter-revolution could possibly have been successful; and that Europe would have been spared the infliction of horrors at which humanity shudders, perpetrated by the foes of democracy, in the *name* of those principles so dear to every democrat,—peace, law, and order,—liberty, equality, and fraternity!

While our principal efforts will be thus used to rouse the working classes from that fatal apathy with respect to political rights, which is, perhaps, the very worst feature of the present aspect of affairs, we shall not the less endeavour to secure, as far as may be in our power, a proper understanding and appreciation of social questions among those who are already, like ourselves, professed Chartists; being convinced that *political* without *social* rights, would be, not only useless, but untenable (for any length of time,) by the poorer, or dependent classes,—a fact placed beyond dispute by late events on the Continent.

These are the objects of our organisation; and for these purposes we invite the assistance of all friends to humanity and progress. We have already issued a detailed prospectus, in which the principles of National Reform are explained, and to which we invite the attention of reformers of every denomination. It has received considerable attention from the Democratic press, as well as from various organised political bodies, and may be had, on application to the Secretary at the office.

It is obvious that our only means of operating beneficially upon public opinion consists in a widely extended organisation, and in the energy and devotion of the members composing it. We therefore appeal for support to all who have assented to our doctrines of National Reform,—the four main points of which are,—the nationalisation of land; the institution of a system of state credit for the jigger or winch work, or that which is moved by the people; the abrogation of a currency based on a gold standard of value; and the foundation of a system for the equitable interchange of all kinds of wealth; and we trust that they will not be deterred from enrolling themselves as members of our League by any misapprehension of our objects. Many have said that we attempt too much; that we agitate for social reform instead of the Charter. This we must, once for all, most emphatically deny. We demand the political enfranchisement of the entire population before attempting to procure any of the social reforms we advocate, taking, however, all the pains we can to enlighten the people upon them, both to supply an incentive to exertion in the acquisition of the Charter, and to ensure its preservation, as well as its beneficial operation, when acquired.

On behalf of the Council,
J. B. O'BRIEN, President.
J. ROGERS, Secretary.
72, Newman-street, Oxford-street.

THE NELSON MONUMENT.—On Friday night, the 11th inst., the premises of Messrs. Wood, brass-founders, in Baldwin's-gardens, were broken into, and a considerable quantity of ornamental moulding, connected with the monument of the immortal Nelson, which that firm were bronzing, were stolen from their workshops.

GREAT CHARTIST MEETING IN THE CITY OF LONDON.

(Continued from the Fifth Page.)

Mr. W. Dixon next addressed the meeting, in support of the resolution, and, in doing so, said, the little bit of sharp-shooting which had taken place, was nothing after all, but men speaking their opinions on minor questions. In the resolution, there appeared to be three distinct heads, namely, the object to be attained, "The People's Charter," the means to be adopted in order to attain it, "Organisation;" and, in the last place, the benefits that would arise from its attainment, "The Moral, Social, and Political Elevation of the People." In reference to the first part of the resolution—the Charter.—After the very able speeches they had heard from these gentlemen who had preceded him, it needed no comment from him, but the second part of the resolution was of vital importance; they never would have the Charter, unless they adopted the means of getting it; and, in his humble opinion, the means were in their own hands, and if they did not make use of them, they were unworthy of the benefits which would arise from its enactment, and the proper use of the powers it would confer upon them. The first thing to be done, was the forming themselves in an associated body. Every man who believed the Charter to be the instrument by which he could work out his social and political salvation, was, in duty bound, at once to become a member of the "National Charter Association." It was, therefore, imperative, that the leading men in the various localities should commence enrolling members immediately. In conclusion, he implored of of them to set to work at once in good earnest with the organisation, for they might depend upon it that so long as only classes were represented in the Legislature, so long would classes only be cared for. They had some good men and true in the House of Commons, but their labours were useless unless they had the support of the people from without. If, therefore, they valued the patriotism of their friends and their own freedom, they would not only give their support to the resolution, but, would, both individually and collectively, do their utmost to carry it into practical effect. (Loud cheers.)

After a few remarks from Mr. Isaac Wilson, on the motion of Messrs. Reynolds and Stallwood, a vote of thanks was carried by acclamation to the Chairman, and this important, crowded, and most enthusiastic meeting terminated.

CONSTITUTION OF THE NATIONAL CHARTER ASSOCIATION AND RE-ORGANISATION OF THE CHARTIST MOVEMENT.

1.—The object of those persons who signify their adhesion to the principles and plans set forth in this document, is to institute a legal, peaceful, and constitutional agitation on behalf of the People's Charter.

2.—The persons thus uniting their opinions and their moral energies, denominate themselves collectively 'The National Charter Association.'

3.—This Association consists of all individuals who take out cards of membership and subscribe to the fund of the society.

4.—The principles to be promulgated by the Association are those contained in the document known as the People's Charter, and which may be thus summed up:—1. Universal Suffrage. 2. Vote by Ballot. 3. Annual Parliaments. 4. Equal Electoral Districts. 5. No Property Qualification. 6. Paid Representatives.

5.—The government of the Association is vested in an executive committee consisting of five members: receiving salaries for their services.

6.—The executive committee appoints the secretary, who receives a salary for his services.

7.—All members of the Association are entitled to votes (personally, and not by proxy.)

8.—A card of membership is granted for one year upon payment of one shilling. The contribution may be paid by instalments of not less than one penny weekly the member; not to receive his card nor be eligible to be a member of the executive committee, until the contribution is paid in full; but any person subscribing to the funds of the Association will be entitled to vote in all its proceedings.

9.—As any individual fails to maintain his payments, ceases to be a member of the Association, he cannot vote unless his arrears be previously paid up.

10.—The mode of propagating the principles of the Association shall be by public meetings, by the circulation of tracts, by the aid of lecturers, and by any other legal means which the executive may think fit to adopt.

11.—At the public meeting called by, and at the instance of this Association, the most perfect freedom of speech is recognised; save and except with regard to language calculated to cause a breach of the peace or otherwise violate the laws.

12.—Lecturers will be appointed by the executive committee.

13.—The National Charter Association has been founded and exists independently of all other institutions whatsoever, whether olitical or social; and it is to be hoped that may become a rallying point for all democratic sections and p pular interests.

14.—An office will be taken in London to serve as the head quarters of the Association: and this office will be devoted solely to the business of the institution.

Chartist Intelligence.

Ashton-under-Lyne.—At a meeting of Chartists it was resolved:—"That we, the Chartists of Ashton, do forthwith join the National Charter Association, and send for cards of membership." "That we open a discussion class on Sunday evening next."

Stockport.—At a members meeting held in the Association room, convened for the purpose of discussing the new Constitution of the Charter Association, the following resolutions were passed unanimously:—"That the third article of the new Constitution is incomplete, inasmuch as it makes no provision for the permanent existence of the several localities, and will ultimately destroy local agitation, as the shilling which each member pays, will be absorbed by the Executive Committee, the localities will be without funds. Therefore, in order that this may be alleviated, we desire that local laws be made, empowering localities to collect funds, and that the following words be added to the third article, viz., 'subject to the local laws.'" "That the words 'Executive Committee,' in the twelfth article be expunged, and the following added in their stead, viz., 'Each district.'"

Whittington and Cat.—At a meeting of members on Sunday last, a discussion was opened on the labour question. Several members having spoken on the degraded position of labour generally, the meeting was adjourned until Sunday evening, when the subject will be renewed.

Opening of the New City Chartist Hall and Athenæum.—On Tuesday evening, the Cripplegate Locality opened their neat and comfortable hall, 26, Golden-Lane, Barbican. The hall is a plain substantial edifice, and worthy of the patriotic citizens who have called it into existence; it is one of those things that sprung from the government persecutions and prosecutions of 1848. Left without a home, the Chartists of Cripplegate—with the indefatigable Fowler, Brown, and Bentley, at their head—took refuge in the house of Mr. Fowler, 28, Golden-lane, and at length—backed by the industry and intelligence of the Cripplegate locality, and a few other friends—are in possession of their present democratic home. The hall will accomodate three hundred persons; and in addition thereto it has a coffee-room, library, and other offices—all of which are at present under the able management of Mr. Fowler and the Cripplegate locality. It is intended to have the hall open every evening, for either lectures, meetings, discussions, or readings. The hall was neatly decorated on the occasion with mottoes which at once speak the sentiments held by its promoters. We subjoin a few:—"All the peoples of the earth are brethren;" "The People's Charter, and no surrender;" "English, Irish, and Scotchmen—unite for our Charter;" "*Vive la Republique Rougé!*" "Kossuth, Bem, and Dembinski;" "Ledru Rollin, Louis Blanc, and Mazzini;" "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity." Some two hundred persons sat down to tea, which was served up in admirable style by Mrs. Fowler and her daughters, and which gave—both from quality and quantity—universal satisfaction. After the tea, Mr. J. Brisck (a Jew by birth) was called to the chair, and remarked, that his being so called was a proof that the committee felt what they expressed in their first sentiment, viz.—"That all peoples of the earth are brethren." (Loud cheers.) The chairman narrated, in pathetic terms, the difficulty which a man born a Jew had of procuring a trade, &c., and the necessity of fraternisation of nations and peoples.—The sentiments (three in number) were as follow:—"The peoples of the earth (all of whom are brethren)—may they march boldly forward in freedom's cause until they have attained the political and social equality of all of human kind." "To the *Northern Star*, *Political Instructor*, *Democratic Review*, and all other heralds of progress, may their radiance become more and more brilliant until they illume the whole habitable globe." "To the advocates, heroes, and living martyrs of freedom, may they continue in their righteous career until they are blessed in the triumph of the glorious cause for which they have so heroically struggled."—Mr. S. M. Kydd, in one of his happiest veins, gave the first sentiment, and congratulated the committee—in forming and opening such an institution—on the appropriateness of the sentiments selected, and especially on the fine fraternal feeling embraced in the one committed to his charge, on the broad and comprehensive wisdom of its politics and the fine elevated tone of its moral and social ethics, which, whether they be true or false, had the merit of being advocated by many of the wise and good of all nations. (Loud cheers.) Such institutions as that in which they were now met, was well calculated to carry out the true and wise maxim of the great Lord Bacon—"Knowledge is power." (Loud cheers.)—G. Julian Harney followed and said: Not according to Rotchschild, but according to that sentiment was he an advocate of the emancipation of the Jews; and in the late continental struggles for freedom Jews had been found behind the editorial desk of newspapers, and Poles behind the barricades, each fraternally aiding the cause of human progress. He (Mr. Harney) looked forward with hope of the future, and trusted he should yet live to see the humanising sentiments he held in his hand prevail in practice. He should like to see them accomplished peaceably. No man had a stronger desire for this than he, but if imperious necessity stepped in he then said, let us have them at any price. (Loud cheers.) The choir of the Institution, led by Mr. and Miss H. Fowler, here gave the "Marseillaise Hymn" in first-rate style.—Mr. P. M'Grath, in giving the second sentiment, congratulated the City of London in having a little band of citizens who could so practically and patriotically set themselves to work. The *Northern Star* had been of great service to the cause, and they had recently received a great accession of strength in *Reynolds's Political Instructor*, and the *Democratic Review* was likewise a very able and useful monthly auxiliary in the service; and how much more did we feel the service rendered by these, when we remembered how we had been treated by that Jupiter Tomans of the press, the *Times*, and other papers, &c. Mr. M'Grath then pointed out how these Democratic organs could be made most available for the uses of that institution, and resumed his seat loudly applauded.—Mr. T. Clark congratulated them not only on the opening of the hall, but the fine spirit of harmony and union that prevailed within its walls. This was indeed a step in the right direction. Let but the press rightly direct the minds of the people, and halls like that become thrown open for the cultivation of their mental faculties, and we need fear none of the results that unfortunately followed the Parisian revolutions of 1792-8, 1830, or those of 1848—he meant loss to the people of the object for which they struggled. (Hear, hear.) Mr. W. Dixon followed in a similar strain. Mr. Stallwood, in giving the third sentiment, said, the best way of appreciating their advocates was, by obtaining recruits—go out into the lanes and streets of the city, and get people to come to their hall—to listen to the voice of reason put forth by their heroes, and no doubt they would receive recruits in the way of progress. (Cheers.) As to the martyrs, they were recently told that they had thirty still pining in their dungeons; among whom were numbered, Shaw, Bezer, Fussell, and Ernest Jones—(loud cheers)—and he thought something more than lip services were required. They have wives and families, and the victim fund should be supported. As to their continental friends: there were Kossuth, Bem Dembinski, Ledru Rollin, Louis Blanc, Armand Barbes, Mazzini, Garibaldi, and a host of others, to whom they would extend the hand of fraternity. (Loud cheers.) He was happy to state, that their friend Vernon, one of the living martyrs, was present, and would follow him. (Cheers.)—Mr. J. Vernon, having congratulated the meeting on such a display of Chartist feeling, so soon after his liberation from prison, described the prisons and its tortures—but withal it could not put down sentiment—it still lived, and would eventually triumph. He had made a serious mistake or two before he went to prison, which he hoped to avoid, and to be more useful for the future. Mr. Vernon then proceeded to illustrate the condition of society, its misery and wretchedness, and threw out some useful hints, as to a remedy—recommended a steady and determined course in the cause of progress—congratulated them on their prospects for the future, and sat down loudly applauded. The choir of the institution then gave "Base Oppressors," and on the motion of Messrs. Stallwood and Arnott, a vote of thanks was given by acclamation to the Chairman and the Committee, who founded the hall, and got up the festival, which was responded to. The hall was then cleared for dancing, and the room up stairs for the concert, both of which were kept up with great glee, and in fine fraternal spirit, until after night was at odds with morning. "Success to the New City Chartist Hall." The Chairman read a letter from Mr. G. W. M. Reynolds, apologising for non attendance, on the ground of previous engagement, at the same time stating his desire to do all in his power to serve the interest of "the City Chartist Hall and Athenæum."

Staleybridge.—A delegated meeting was held on Sunday last, at Mr. John Lawton's, grocer, for the purpose of reorganising the Chartists of South Lancashire, and it was resolved that the Manchester council be requested to call a meeting in Manchester, to be attended by delegates from every locality in South Lancashire, as early as possible. It was also resolved that another delegate meeting of the Staleybridge district, be held at Mr Lawton's, on Sunday afternoon, the 27th inst.

THE LATE METROPOLITAN CHARTIST CONFERENCE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NORTHERN STAR.

Sir,—I regret to see by a resolution from Aberdeen, inserted in the *Star* of the 5th inst. that the letter from this city, which was read at the Metropolitan Conference, has been altogether misunderstood. The style and spirit of that resolution, and the dishonourable conduct of the person who called the meeting—if it can be called a meeting—at which it was passed, would certainly justify silent contempt; and if that resolution had been confined to this city, where the parties are known, I would certainly have treated it as a matter altogether unworthy of notice, but as it has obtained an importance by being inserted in the *Star*, which it does not otherwise possess, I feel called on, as the writer of the letter in question, to trouble you with the following remarks—explanation.

The resolution commences thus:—'That this *meeting repudiates the opinion* attributed to it by the writer of the letter from Aberdeen to the Conference in London.'

In answer to this I have only to say, that this is either unmitigated nonsense, or dishonest presumption; first, because the letter referred to was written, and read to the Conference, long before '*the meeting*,' at which that resolution was passed, took place, so that I could not, in that letter, have attributed any opinions to it, that being an *utter impossibility*; and second, if to get out of this absurdity, the parties attending this famous meeting imagine that they have a right to consider themselves the Chartists of Aberdeen, to whom, in that letter, I attributed certain opinions, then, I say, they are guilty of presumption as dishonourably dishonest, as that of which they suppose me guilty, and for which I am so *deliberately condemned* in the latter part of their gentle resolution. The meeting in question had no more right to consider themselves 'the Chartists of Aberdeen,' and to express opinions *in their name*, than I had. By the bold and unmistakeable language of their resolution, and the virtuous inorganisation expressed at my supposed presumption, parties at a distance would be apt to imagine that the whole Chartists of Aberdeen had been assembled for solemn deliberation on this most important matter, and they will, therefore, be somewhat surprised to learn, that the resolution emanated merely from *four* or *five individuals privately collected together* by Mr. William Lyon, who is set down as the proposer of the resolution.

It may, perhaps, afford a deal of fun to Mr. Lyon; but I ask you, sir, what dependance can be placed on the *Star* reports if four or five individuals meet privately together, style themselves 'the Chartists'—as these parties are styled—the report of their proceedings, and have their gossips reported in the *Star* as the resolutions of 'the Chartists?' I do not blame the parties called together by Mr. Lyon, because I know that they might have been misled by exaggerations and misstatements, but for Mr. Lyon I can find no excuse. What will honourable men think of his conduct when I state that previous to Mr. Lyon's meeting, I explained to him that my letter had been totally misunderstood by Mr. Stallwood at the London Conference, and stated to him what I really intended; and yet, after this explanation, and while professing the most cordial friendship to me, he called his friends together, and without giving me any notice, or any opportunity to defend myself, allowed his friends to misunderstand the letter in question, and, on the strength of this, proposed the resolution as it appeared—The *Star* keeping back the explanation *which he could have given them*, in order that I, *his friend*, might be thus misrepresented? Mr. Lyon afterwards appears to have been convinced of his dishonourable conduct; for the very next time we met in the house, and in presence of a prominent Chartist, he distinctly denied that he proposed the resolution; so that Mr. Lyon, after having betrayed me, is also disposed to betray his own friends, after they had served his purpose.

The resolution referred to, further says:—'We, 'the Chartists,' here assembled, declare our willingness to support, and would place the greatest confidence in, any Executive duly elected by Universal Suffrage—whether such Executive was composed of Englishmen, Irishmen, or Scotchmen.' In answer to this I have to state, that in my letter, read at the Conference, I did not object either to Englishmen or Irishmen; all that I suggested was, that a national secretary should '*reside in Scotland*'—the very words of my letter—but I did not mean that he should be a *Scotchman*; for if they are otherwise *qualified I have no objection to* Frenchmen, Romans, Americans, or Poles, and, indeed, I would much prefer some of these, for they seem to be made of *sterner metal* than either Englishmen, Irishmen, or Scotchmen. Mr. Stallwood totally mistook my meaning when he supposed I wanted a *Scotchman* as National Secretary; and it will be sufficient, when I state to him, that I am, in the fullest sense of the terms, a Fraternal Democrat, to convince him that I could not entertain the narrow views which he supposed were stated in my letter to the Conference. To explain fully what was suggested in the said letter, I may state that I have no objections to the whole of the rules as agreed to at the London Conference, for, indeed, they have already been agreed to at a preliminary Chartist meeting here; but what I suggest is, that the Chartists of Scotland should be allowed to select one or two of the National Executive as commissioners or secretaries, to *reside in Scotland* during the whole term of their office, for the purpose of organising this country. That they should reside for a given period in every town where it was thought a Chartist Association could be established; not for the purpose of merely delivering an exciting address, which produces only a transient effect, but for the purpose of looking after the *proper* organisation and local working of every association throughout the country; and seeing that no town of importance was without its association of *bona fide* paying members; and when, at the expiration of their term of office, they left Scotland to give an account of their stewardship, they should carry with them the addresses of every local secretary, which should then be published as a general guide to the Chartists of Scotland. I would, however, suggest, that in the meantime, at least, a National Conference should assemble in Scotland, as the Scotch Chartists are not able, at present, to defray the expense of delegates to the London Conferences, and will not be until they are properly organised, when, of course, my objection to a London Conference would be removed.

The resolution, already referred to, concludes thus,—'And, further, that this meeting declare its deliberate condemnation of the conduct of any individual, who would take upon himself the liberty to express the opinions of the people of Aberdeen, without having authority from them for doing so.'

I agree to every word of this; and further, I deliberately condemn the conduct of four or five individuals, who meet privately together, and presume to consider themselves the Chartists of Aberdeen, and who express opinions in their names without having their authority for doing so. I have also to state, that the letter read at the Conference, was not sent to that body at all, but simply, to Mr. Reynolds, of London, and it did not pretend to express the opinions of the people of Aberdeen, but simply of a very humble, though sincere Chartist, as will be seen from the following extract, from the letter itself:—'If you should have occasion to address the Conference, you may give them this as the sincere opinion of one *who has the welfare of the cause at heart*;' so that the latter part of resolution is not at all applicable to me, but it might, with some trifling verbal alterations, apply with great force to the party from whom the resolution emanated.

Though I feel strongly tempted to enlarge, yet, as this is at best but a disagreeable subject, I shall conclude, by recommending to the serious consideration of Mr. Lyon and his friends, a few simple words,—'honesty is the best policy.' 'Be not hasty to condemn.'

I remain, Sir,
Yours fraternally,
Aberdeen, Jan. 10, 1850. D. Wright.

THE LATE CONFERENCE, AND THE NEW PLAN OF ORGANISATION.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NORTHERN STAR.

Sir,—How such a plan of organisation was sent out to the country many are at a loss to know. It is not only defective, but despotic; it is establishing in its foundation the very system which we wish to destroy—class legislation; it is going over the same ground we have been treading since the People's Charter was brought before the public. The time has arrived, in my opinion, when we must agitate for something more than the Charter; our social rights must be contended for, and carried into practice by the producers of wealth, as we never need expect assistance from the middle and upper classes. Taking them as a body, there are some amongst the middle and upper classes who wish the working class to enjoy the whole of their political rights, but they are very few in number. No union can take place between the democrats and the great bulk of the middle class, while competition and the present system of buying cheap, and selling as dear as they can continues. We might as well ask them to divide their profits with us as unite with us for our political and social rights. We must take the advice which Sir Robert Peel gave us in 1827, about taking our own affairs into our own hands.

Sir,—In my opinion, there ought to be a National Conference called in the centre of England, to draw up a plan of organisation, and to recommend fit and proper persons to form an Executive Committee of five, to be chosen on the principles of Universal Suffrage; men, who will be free from any other office, and who can devote their whole time to the cause of the productive class. Measures, not men, should be our motto, and principle our guide, as leadership of men may prove to be destructive of the very best interests of the working class.

Sir,—The country, in my opinion, ought to be divided into five districts, and one of the executive committee be stationed in the centre of each district, and a change should take place every six months in each district. Their duties should be to disseminate the following principles.—First, that land ought to be common property, to be held in trust for the benefit of all.—Second, that a republican form of government is most suited for the present age.—Third, that Universal Suffrage is the right of all.—Fourth, that the producers of wealth ought to be the distributers of their own labour, on the principle of sale and exchange, one with another.—Fifth, that the working classes ought to erect their own schools, and appoint their own schoolmasters.—Sixth, the formation of democratic tract societies in every district, whereby sound and useful knowledge could be circulated throughout the country.—Seventh, to fraternise with, and assist the people of all nations, who are, or may be, struggling for freedom against their tyrannical oppressors. By publishing the above, you will oblige,

Yours in the cause of Democracy,
Samuel Jackson.
Attercliffe, near Sheffield.

National Land Company.

Wigton.—A meeting was held on the 2nd inst., Mr. William Vickers in the chair, when it was resolved:—"That the thanks of the members be given to Mr. O'Connor for his determination not to allow the property of the Company to become that of any dissatisfied and fraudulent allottee, but to enforce the payment of the rent now due, or otherwise to allow the law to have its force, and remove from the Company any who would attempt to create distrust and contention; and also not to wind up the affairs of the Company, but to proceed for the general good of all the peaceful portion of the Company."

Leicester.—At a meeting held on Monday, January 7th, the following resolution was agreed to:—"That we, the members of the Leicester branch, approve of Mr. O'Connor's handing all the unprincipled allottees over to the solicitor of the Company, and that they be made to pay the rent now due, or be instantly ejected."

Cheltenham.—To Mr. W. Rider.—That fellow Beattie from Charterville, has been at the Bell Inn in this town, and said he had been to Snig's End and Lowbands, to instruct them how to keep their allotments; that he had had a trial with the bailiffs, and beat them; that it was their property, and they could not be turned out, a d that O'Connor would be soon obliged to run his country, and a great deal more of such nonsensical stuff. I was told this by a friend, I was not there. Oh! for a whip, and the power to lash the villain back to Charterville. I hope he will soon meet his deserts. He is not fit to stop there. Yours truly, John Hemmin.

TO FEARGUS O'CONNOR, ESQ., M.P.

Dear and Honoured Sir,—Having been an eye-witness of your conduct ever since you set foot on English soil, for the first time I take the liberty of thanking you for the strenuous exertions you have made in behalf of the much oppressed working classes. But, sir, I am sorry after a struggle of so many years, that you should meet with nothing but calumny and abuse as your reward, not only from the base and corrupted press, and the aristocracy (from whose lap you sprung), but from the class you have so zealously and ardently supported. I allude more particularly to the fortunate members of the Land Company, who have had the chance of location, and who are too well contented to leave their castles, but too dishonest to pay their just demands for them, in consequence of which it seems to be the desire of Aberdeen and Manchester to wind up the Company's affairs. But, sir, I hope the country in general will take a different view, seeing the estates are purchased from the drunken aristocracy by the savings of the working classes, and your unceasing toil. No, sir, rather let these castles stand as monuments of the industry of the working classes, and your regard for their welfare—as finger-posts pointing to the social state, and the accomplishment of the People's Charter. It is my opinion, and that of several paid-up members, that it would be better to call a Conference to consider the best means to be adopted to rid the Company of those fellows who, like vultures in power, wish to feed upon their fellow-men, through whose instrumentality they are placed on the land. It is our opinion that the estates might be let to any person who might wish to take them, and the rents so taken paid in the shape of interest to those members who have paid at least say one pound to the Company. This would stimulate those to pay up who have not paid; seeing that they would get a per centage for their money; and it would enable the Company to proceed in their operations. Some might ask, where is the vote and the Freehold? To such I answer, a speedy union for the accomplishment of the People's Charter, as it appears there is no chance for the working classes until they obtain their political rights, of which you have done your herculean share of labour to obtain. Sir, I wish you a happy new year, and that you may enjoy health and strength to vanquish and overcome your enemies, is the fervent desire of one who has laboured hard in the people's cause.

John Hurrel.
Magdalen-gates, Norwich,
January 8, 1850.

STEPNEY MEETING.—MR. KYDD AND MR. CLARK.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NORTHERN STAR.

Sir,—Having had occasion to call at your office at a late hour this evening, I chanced to see in the hands of Mr. Arnott a proof copy of a letter from Samuel Kydd, on the subject of the above meeting, and to which I would esteem it an especial favour if you would permit the insertion of this brief reply.

In order that it may be known that I have some notion of the duties and responsibilities of governments; and to show that my notions will contrast rather advantageously with those of the conveners of the late Tory meeting at Stepney, I here give their resolutions in all their integrity, as well, also, as the amendment which I submitted upon that occasion. Resolutions of the conveners of the meeting:—

1st.—"That as labour is the source of all wealth, it evidently follows that the prosperity and independence of Great Britain and her colonies will be best promoted by employing and protecting the greatest number of a healthy, industrious, intelligent, and moral population, which can be educated and comfortably maintained by their own industry; and, therefore, in the opinion of the meeting, it is the first and most important duty of the British Legislature, and her Majesty's Government, to adopt such measures as will best secure employment to every one of the population, and for their labour, an abundance of the necessaries and comforts of life."

2nd.—"That the unrestricted foreign cheap labour policy which has been for a series of years encouraged by the Legislatures of this kingdom, and greatly extended by the present Parliament, is, in the opinion of this meeting, theoretically wrong, and practically injurious to the industrious classes, by compelling them to enter into unfair competition with capital at home and abroad, destructive to the general prosperity of Great Britain and her colonies, dangerous to the stability of the Empire, and opposed to the independence and happiness of the whole British population."

3rd.—"That as the principle of Protection for Native Industry is founded on justice to all, and as the acts of the present Legislature have been opposed to these sentiments and injurious to the welfare of the British population, a memorial founded on the foregoing resolutions be presented to her Majesty, praying her Majesty to dissolve the present Parliament, and thereby give an opportunity to those who hold the elective franchise in trust for the whole people to elect such representatives who will insure protection to every class of her Majesty's subjects throughout the British Empire."

Here is the amendment, and, if I mistake not, it will speak for itself.

That as labour is the source of all wealth, it evidently follows, that the prosperity and independence of Great Britain and her colonies, will be best promoted by the employment of the greatest number of a healthy, industrious, intelligent, and moral population, which can be educated and comfortably maintained by their own industry; and, therefore, in the opinion of this meeting, it is the first and most important duty of the British legislature, and her Majesty's government, to adopt such measures as will afford the means of employment to every one of the population, and for their labour, abundance of the necessaries and comforts of life, and that this can be done, not by any further legislative interference; but by the removal of all remaining impediments to the free exercise of industry, and by the reduction of the amount, and an alteration in the present unjust system of taxation, by the repeal of the laws of primogeniture and entail, together with a system of Parliamentary reform, embracing a suffrage which shall enfranchise the whole male adult population of the country.

Now, Sir, with respect to the "challenge" and my acceptance of it at the meeting, Mr. Kydd, I think, will recollect, that I, upon that occasion, publicly declined to recognise in him the authorship of any novel or startling opinion; that I also declared my intention to be present at, and take part in, any public meetings which might be said to be called in the interests of the working classes, on the subject of "*Protection to Native Industry*," as defined in the above resolutions. And now, as a "challenge" is a "challenge," especially when put into print by the challenger himself, I hereby undertake to meet Mr. Kydd at the same place, and discuss with him the merits of the principles embodied in my amendment, against the system of Protection, *vaguely* hinted at in the above resolutions.

As I shall be absent from town for a few days, Mr. M'Grath has kindly undertaken to act for me, and to that gentleman I now refer Mr. Kydd or his friends. Thomas Clark.

Thursday night, 10 o'clock.

[Mr. Kydd's letter will be found in the second page.]

Police.

Mansion-House.—Artists Extraordinary.—Alderman Humphery stated to the Lord Mayor that he had, a few days ago, caused to be brought before him a person named Foster, who was charged by a gentleman with having forcibly detained him in a room in Gracechurch-street, in order to compel him to pay for a humbug likeness a sum of money considerably greater than that which the artist professed to charge, per handbills distributed at the door, and that if a witness, in a stronger case, in which the money had been actually paid, had come forward, a committal certainly would have been the consequence. The alderman then read the following communications:—"5, Mark-lane. Mr. Alderman Humphery,—Sir,—Our clerk has just called our attention to a case in which you were yesterday the presiding magistrate. His account of the transaction of Mr. Frederick Foster's studio is precisely similar in all its details to the account given by the *Times*. It appears he went in, attracted by the handbill, and on the portrait being finished 7s. 6d. was demanded. On its being refused Mr. Foster placed himself against the door, called our clerk a cheat, and called a man to fetch a policeman to take him before the Lord Mayor. These threats, however, did not avail, and to get out of such company our clerk gave Foster a shilling without any consideration passing.—We are, yours, &c., Rusten and Son." "Alderman Humphery, Mansion-house."—Frederick Foster, Artist.—Sir,—Permit me to inform you that the above individual, whose name appears in the papers of yesterday, endeavoured a short time back to practise a similar fraud on myself. He then had a room in Fleet-street, where I was induced to leave a "black profile," for the purpose of having a copy made. Upon looking at the original, Mr. Foster said his charge would be 2s. 6d., instead of 1s., as he should like to execute the copy with satisfaction to himself, and that it should be ready in the course of the same day, and that the money must be paid down. I accordingly paid the money, but had to call day after day, and week after week before I could get the original or copy. I should not have succeded had I not taken out a summons against him at Guildhall. His object, I have no doubt, was to extort money from me to regain possession of the original, which I told him I would not submit to if it cost me £20. In the event of this individual appearing again before the City authorities, I thought it right to make the above communication.—John Harwood, Carey-street.—Alderman Humphery, Mansion-house."—The Lord Mayor observed, that notwithstanding the very extensive circulation of the artistical proceedings of Mr. Foster by means of the public press, the concourse of strangers which passed from all quarters through Gracechurch-street was so great, and the recollection of trickery of all kinds was so evanscent amongst the people of London, that possibly victims were constantly made. His lordship wished to know whether the hand-bills referred to in the former statement were still issued at the door?—Inspector Todhunter, who superintends the district in which the "studio" of Mr. Foster is situated, said his men were not idle upon the subject, and if any deception, such as had been already represented, were attempted to be practised, the offenders should at once be brought in custody before the Lord Mayor. He had reason to know that a system of extortion was carried on by a gang who acted entirely upon the principle described.—Davis, the officer, said that in one case the portrait of Lord Gough had been obtained by one of the parties, and, after a vast deal of trouble, the duplicate of it was recovered, and it was released by his lordship's son (who would not have lost it for 100 guineas), at a pawnbroker's shop in Oxford-street, where it had been pawned for 10s. As the portrait was then recovered, the parties would not take any more trouble about the fellows who had fraudulently obtained it, under pretence of having an engraving from it.—Alderman Humphery hoped that in future there would be no hesitation upon the part of plundered persons to come before the Lord Mayor.

Bow-Street.—Attempt to Intimidate.—Benj. Sluttaford, in the service of Mr. Walker, organ-builder, of Francis-street, Tottenham-court-road, appeared to answer a complaint preferred against him by Thomas Allardice, another journeyman, for having, by threats and intimidation, endeavoured *to force* him to leave his master's employment. Mr. Wontner attended for the defendant.—The complainant stated that he had been in the employment of Mr. Walker for twelve years, and the defendant was employed in the same establishment, but he ceased to work on Tuesday week, with about twenty others, a few of whom had since returned. In addition *to himself*, only one man remained in the department to which he belonged, and on the 10th inst., as he was returning from his dinner, he met the defendant, who looked at him in a stern and threatening manner, and said, "Damn your eyes, you deserve to get your neck cut;" to which he made no answer, but went to the factory and repeated the words to the men at work and to his employer. The only grievance he knew between the master and the men was that the former proposed that the men should come to work at eight o'clock in the morning after breakfast, and remain until the same hour in the evening, without any reduction as to wages, instead of coming before breakfast, which they objected to, and headed by the foreman they left the establishment. The men used to work from half-past six o'clock until the same hour in the evening.—Mr. Walker proved that he explained to the foreman that the alteration he proposed was only to continue till the days became longer, and understanding that his orders had not been carried out, he left word that the foreman should communicate with him in writing if he had anything to say. He then called the men together, and finding they had disobeyed his directions, told them that it was clearly a question of strength between him and his foreman, who was their leader, begging they would consider the matter, and warning them not to throw themselves out of employment, as he was resolved to carry out such a reasonable request on his part. He subsequently refused to receive their memorial on such a trifling matter, and when it was handed to him he tore it without reading it: after which he was informed that the complainant had been menaced, upon which he got the assistance of the police to prevent any violence when he was paying the men their wages.—Mr. Jardine considered that the charge of intimidation had been clearly made out, and the men might, if they felt aggrieved by the proposed alteration, have left their employer's service, without adopting illegal means, as the defendant had done, which was an offence of a serious character, rendering him liable to three months' hard labour. He, however, was not disposed to inflict so severe a punishment, but would mitigate it to six weeks' in the House of Correction.—Mr. Walker and the complainant said they were not anxious such harsh measures should be resorted to, their principal object being that the defendant should be bound over to keep the peace.—Mr. Jardine complied with their request by not passing sentence, but ordering the defendant to give sureties for his appearance in a fortnight, and to keep the peace in the meantime, which he did, and he was discharged.

Marylebone.—A Conscientious Thief.—Edward Bradley was charged under circumstances of an extraordinary nature.—James Crump, a cabman, deposed that at ten o'clock on Saturday night last he drove defendant from Regent-street to York gate, Regent's-park, and on setting him down there he demanded 2s. 4d. as his fare. Defendant alleged that he had no money, and he was desirous of being locked up, and he was therefore driven to the station-house in Marylebone-lane, where he was locked up.—Inspector Hannent stated that upon the prisoner being searched at the station a quantity of the best white pepper ground was found in one of his pockets.—The prisoner said he had recently left his friends in Birmingham to come up to town for a little pleasure, and having no money left he procured some pepper, with the intention of going into a shop, and thrusting it into the eyes of the party who might be at the counter, through which means he might have effected a robbery; but his courage failed him, upon his conscience telling him that he was meditating a sin of great magnitude.—Mr. Broughton, after putting various questions to the witnesses, ultimately came to the conclusion that it was his duty to pay the cabman 5s., and to find two sureties in £20 each for his keeping the peace and being of good behaviour for the next six months.

Worship-Street.—Alleged Robbery by Means of Chloroform.—Elizabeth Smith was charged with stealing a silver watch, gold ring, and nearly the whole of his personal clothing, from Mr. F. H. Jewitt, of Lime-street, City, and Westham, in Essex.—Sergeant Kelly, of the H division, stated that shortly before eight o'clock on Friday morning the prosecutor was brought in a cab by one of his friends to the station house in Lemon-street, where he entered into a statement to the effect that, while passing through Whitechapel-road on the preceding evening he was suddenly jostled against by by a corpulent middle-aged woman, who rapidly pressed a hankerchief over his mouth, and he was immediately seized by a feeling of stupor, which was succeeded shortly afterwards by total insensibility. He remained wholly unconscious of everything that ensued afterwards until the following morning, when he partially recovered his senses, and found himself stretched upon a wretched bed, at a low lodging-house in Thrawl-street, Spitalfields, completely stripped of nearly the whole of his clothing, and that his watch, ring, and a considerable sum in loose silver had also disappeared. As soon as he had become sensible of his situation he raised a loud outcry, which attracted the attention of a young man named Saunders, who lodged in the upper part of the house, and with whose assistance he was conveyed in a cab to the residence of the friend who accompanied him to the station-house. On receiving the aboee information, witness at once repaired to the house in Thrawl-street, and on searching the apartment in which the robbery had been committed, he discovered the hat and boots of the prosecutor concealed under the bed, and having ascertained that the room had been for some time past in the joint occupation of the prisoner and a woman named Higgins, both of whom had absconded, he proceeded in search of them, and shortly afterwards succeeded in apprehending the latter, but the prisoner eluded pursuit until the preceding evening. The sergeant added, that from enquiries he had made that morning, he had ascertained that the prosecutor was still confined at home under the care of a surgeon from the effects of the treatment to which he had been subjected, and that he was unable at present to attend and give evidence to support the charge.—The prisoner denied all participation in the robbery, and was ordered to be remanded.

Guildhall.—After the disposal of the usual business a shabbily-attired female stepped forward, and addressing Alderman Carden, said that she was unfortunately in great distress, and without shelter. She was authoress of "Ada the Betrayed," "Jane Brightwell," "Brentwood," and other works, but was now in the greatest distress. She was a widow, and had a daughter eighteen years of age, who was married, and living in India with her husband. Her mother was a sister of the Earl de Clifford, and she had a brother living in India. She had a work of which she had done seven quires, and if she could get shelter in a workhouse or anywhere, she could complete the work—she could get sixty-three guineas for it. Her brother at the present time was Sheriff of Calcutta, and she had several friends in London, but she had not communicated with them for many years, and could not apply to them now. The applicant, who addressed the court in a deep voice, with a strong theatrical emphasis, stated that her name was Sarah Jones, and that she had written under the name of Anna Maria Jones. She admitted however, that herself and mother had been disposed to insanity. She said the chief cause of her present distress was a distraint for rent, and having been turned out from her abode at this inclement season. She felt herself much degraded at appearing in the streets in such attire, but had no objection to go to the workhouse for the sake of shelter.—Alderman Carden asked her if she would go the City Union, if he gave her a recommendation? She having willingly assented, she was sent thither in charge of an officer.

Destructive Fire at Leicester.—About twelve o'clock on Monday night a fire broke out on the premises of Messrs. Bates and Gould, trimmers and dyers, of Leicester, and, there being a brisk wind at the time, the flames rapidly spread through the building. Four engines were speedily on the spot, and the premises being situate by the side of the canal, a plentiful supply of water was obtained by breaking the ice. Notwithstanding this advantage, it was not until after nine o'clock on Tuesday morning that the fire was quenched, and later in the day it was found necessary to send for the engines again, the smouldering embers having broken out afresh. The warehouse and some other apartments were entirely destroyed, and the whole range of workshops were completely gutted. Saturday being "taking in" day with the manufacturers, and trade being brisk, a large quantity of goods had been received from the hosiery warehouses on Monday, and nearly all were destroyed. One firm had sent about 2,000 dozens of lambswool and Angola stockings, and several others had sent large quantities of stockings, shirts, gloves, &c., to be dyed or "got up." The building was insured, but not to anything like the amount of the property destroyed, which could not be far short of £3,000. The fire is supposed to have originated from over-heating the stoves in the drying-room.

Sir Charles Napier says that, in his opinion, Sir John Franklin is lost, and condemns the idea of seeking a north-western passage.

IMMENSE SUCCESS OF THE NEW REMEDY,

Which has never yet failed.—A cure effected or the money returned.

DR. WALTER DE ROOS, 1, Ely-place, Holborn-hill, London, from many years experience at the various Hospitals in London and on the continent, is enabled to treat, with the utmost certainty of cure, every variety of disease arising from solitary habits, delusive, &c., &c., excesses, infection, such a gonorrhœa, gleet, stricture, syphilis, in all their varieties and stages, which, owing to neglect or improper treatment, invariably end in gravel, rheumatism, indigestion, sextual debility, skin diseases, pains in the kidneys, back and loins, deficiency of natural strength, and finally an agonising death. The lamentable neglect of these diseases by medical men in general is well known, and their attempts to cure by the use of those dangerous medicines—mercury, copaiba, cubebs, &c.—have produced the most distressing results. All sufferers are earnestly invited to apply at once to Dr. De Roos, who guarantees a speedy and perfect cure, and the eradication of every symptom, whether primary or secondary, without using the above dangerous medicines—thus preventing the possibility of any after symptoms. This truth has been established in many thousands of cases, and, as a further guarantee, he undertakes to cure the most inveterate case in a few days, without hindrance from business, change of diet, &c., or return the money. It will ever be found that lasting benefit can only be obtained from the duly qualified practitioner, who, departing from the routine of general practice, devotes the whole of his duties to this neglected class of diseases.

Country patients will be minute in the detail of their cases, as that will render a personal visit unnecessary.—Advice with medicines, £1. Patients corresponded with till cured.

Females on all occasions attended to with the most honourable secrecy and delicacy.—At home for consultation daily, from 10 til 1, and 4 till 8, (Sundays excepted.) Post Office-orders payable at the Holborn Office, to Walter de Roos, M.D., 1, Ely-place, Holborn-hill, London.

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OPINIONS OF THE PRESS'

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Address Walter De Roos, M.D., 1, Ely-place, Holborn-hill, London.

N.B.—All those deemed incurable are particularly invited.

Markets, &c.

CORN.

Mark-lane, Monday, Jan. 14.—The supply of English wheat this morning was short; but as most of the country markets are receiving larger quantities of farmer's grain, and having again a good arrival of foreign flour, sales could only be effected at a reduction of 1s. per quarter upon last Monday's prices. In flour little doing, though offered cheaper. Foreign wheat went off slowly, at rather declining rates. Barley heavy sale, and malting qualities 1s cheaper. Beans and peas 1s lower. The oat trade, with a moderate supply, was inactive, and prices, unless for the finest samples, barely maintained. Linseed cakes rather cheaper, some quantity offering for sale. For cloverseed there is some inquiry on speculation, which did not however lead to much business to-day, and prices remain without change.

British.—Wheat.—Essex, Suffolk, and Kent, red, new 38s to 42s, ditto white 40s to 50s, Lincoln, Norfolk, and Yorkshire, red 35s to 38s, Northumberland and Scotch, white 32s to 37s, ditto red 34s to 38s, Devonshire and Somersetshire, red, —s to —s, ditto white —to —s, rye, 21s to 23s, barley, 22s to 24s, Scotch 22s to 24s, Angus —s to —s, Malt ordinary, —s to —s, pale 50s to 54s, peas, grey, new 24s to 26s, maple 26s to 27s, white 23s to 24s, boilers new 26s to 29s, beans, large, new 22s to 24s, ticks 24s to 25s, harrow, 25s to 26s, pigeon, 26s to 28s, oats, Lincoln and Yorkshire feed, 15s to 18s, ditto Poland and potato, 17s to 20s, Berwick and Scotch, 17s to 21s, Scotch feed, 17s to 18s, Irish feed and black, 14s to 17s, ditto potato, 17s to 21s, linseed (sowing) 50s to 52s, rapeseed, Essex, new £27 to £30 per last, carraway seed, Essex, new 26s to 30s per cwt, rape cake, £4 to £4 10s per ton, linseed, £9 10s to £10 10s. per 1,000, flour, per sack of 280lbs, ship, 28s to 30s, town, 38s to 40s.

Foreign.—Wheat.—Dantzig, 44s to 50s, Anhalt and Marks, 38 to 40s, ditto white, 40s to 42s, Pomeranian red, 40s to 42s, Rostock 44s to 46s, Danish, Holstein, and Friesland, 30s to 34s, Petersburgh, Archangel, and Riga, 32s to 34s, Polish Odessa, 32s to 34s, Marianopoli, and Berdianski, 32s to 35s, Taganrog, 32s to 34s, Brabant and French, 34s to 36s, ditto white, 38s to 42s, Salonica, 30s to 33s, Egyptian, 23s to 26s, rye, 20s to 22s, barley, Wismar and Rostock, 18s to 21s, Danish, 18s to 23s, Saal, 20s to 24s, East Friesland, 16s to 18s, Egyptian, 14s to 15s, Danube, 14s to 15s, peas, white, 23s to 24s, new boilers, 25s to 26s, beans, horse, 22s to 23s, pigeon, 24s to 25s, Egyptian, 22s to 24s, oats, Groningen, Danish, Bremen, and Friesland, feed and black, 11s to 15s, ditto, thick and brew, 15s to 22s, Riga, Petersburgh, Archangel, and Swedish, 14s to 16s, flour, United States, per 196lbs., 22s to 24s, Hamburgh 20s to 22s, Dantzig and Stettin 20s to 23s, French per 280lbs., 32s to 34s.

Wednesday, Jan. 16.—The stormy and severe weather which has obtained during the last week, has had the effect of limiting the supplies to this market since Monday. Nevertheless, with very dull accounts from all our country markets, and that they are declining in price, particularly for wheat, the farmers are at length beginning to thrash out more freely, seeing that the hope of renewed protection must be abandoned, the business doing here to-day is very limited, at declining rates.

Arrivals this week:—Wheat—English, 910 quarters; foreign, 1,960 quarters. Barley—English, 680 quarters; foreign, 6,460 quarters. Oats—English, 250 quarters, Irish, 5,743 qrs. Flour—2,490 sacks.

Richmond (Yorkshire,) Jan. 12.—We had a very heavy market of grain this morning. Wheat sold from 4s 0d to 5s 9d; oats, 1s 8d to 2s 10d; barley, 3s 3d to 3s 6d; beans, 4s 0d to 4s 3d per bushel.

BREAD.

The prices of wheaten bread in the metropolis are from 6½d. to 7d.; of household ditto, 5d. to 6d. per 4lbs. loaf.

CATTLE.

Smithfield, Monday, Jan. 14th.—The attendance of buyers was rather numerous, the beef trade, owing to the immense supplies of meat on offer in Newgate and Leadenhall markets, was far from active; however, a good clearance of the beasts was effected at last Monday's prices. The supply of trade ruled heavy, and, in most instances, prices were 2d per 8lbs. lower than on this day se'nnight. The highest general top figure for the best Downs did not exceed 4s 2d per 8lbs. Very few calves were on offer. Prime small veal sold at full rates of currency. In other kinds very little business was transacted. Pigs, the supply of which was small, met a very inactive demand, at last week's quotations.

Head of Cattle at Smithfield.—Friday.—Beasts, 630; sheep, 3,400; calves, 210; pigs, 200. Monday.—Beasts, 3,334; sheep, 22,070; calves, 62; pigs, 217.

Price per stone of 8lbs. (sinking the offal.)—Beef, 3s 0d to 4s 2d; mutton, 2s 10d to 4s 2d; veal, 3s 4d to 3s 10d; pork, 3s 4d to 4s 2d.

Newgate and Leadenhall, Monday, Jan. 14.—Inferior beef, 2s 6d to 2s 8d; middling ditto, 2s 10d to 3s 0d; prime large, 3s 2d to 3s 4d; prime small, 3s 4d to 3s 6d; large pork, 2s 8d to 3s 4d; inferior mutton, 2s 8d to 2s 10d; middling ditto, 3s 0d to 3s 4d; prime ditto, 3s 6d to 3s 10d; veal, 3s 0d to 3s 10d; small pork, 3s 6d to 4s 2d; per 8lbs. by the carcase.

PROVISIONS.

London, Monday, Jan. 14th.—There was a fair amount of business transacted in Irish butter during the past week, and the weather being cold and frosty, holders were firm and prices steady. Foreign a little easier to sell, no change in value. Bacon: for Irish and American singed sides there was a respectable demand, at full prices. Hams a slow sale and the turn cheaper. Lard rather more saleable, at last quotations.

English Butter, Monday, Jan. 14th.—Notwithstanding this cold weather our trade is by no means good; the only inquiry being for best parcels, at barely late rates. Inferior and middling things, with us, are neglected, owing to the low prices of Irish and foreign butters. Dorset, fine 90s to 94s per cwt.; ditto, summer-made, 60s to 80s; fresh, 9s to 13s per doz. lbs.

POTATOES.

Southwark Waterside, Monday Jan. 14th.—The arrivals the last week from the continent have been very large, and it is with difficulty present prices are supported. The best Yorkshire Regents are much inquired for, and are realising much higher prices than anything else in the market. The following are this day's quotations:—Yorkshire Regents 70s to 120s per ton; Wisbech ditto, 60s to 75s; Scotch ditto 60s to 70s; Ditto Cups 50s to 60s; French Whites 65s to 70s; Rhenish and Belgian ditto 60s to 65s.

SEEDS.

London, Monday.—There was little doing in the seed market, and quotations remained much the same as on this day week.

British.—Cloverseed, red 35s to 40s; fine 45s to 50s; white 35s to 50s; cow grass [nominal]—s to —s; linseed (per qr.) sowing 54s to 56s; crushing 40s to 42s; linseed cakes (per 1,000 of 3lbs. each) £9 0s to £10 0s; Trefoil (per cwt.) 14s to 18s; rapeseed new (per last) £28 0s to £32 0s; ditto cake (per ton) £4 5s to £4 10s; mustard (per bushel) white 6s to 9s; brown 8s to 11s; Coriander (per cwt.) 16s to 25s; Canary (per qr.) new 80s to 86s.

WOOL.

Liverpool, Jan. 12.—With the commencement of the new year, we have no improvement to notice, so far, in our demand for all kinds of Scotch wool, and that too, with a comparatively light stock.

Imports for the week, 2,261 bales; previously this year, 423 bales.

BIRTH.

Born on Saturday, January 12th, 1850, at Ashford, Kent, Emma, daughter of W. M. and Sarah M'Lean.

DEATHS.

With sincere sorrow we announce the death of a true-hearted and determined democrat,—Alexander M'Kenzie, of Alva, near Stirling, who died at half-past four o'clock on the morning of Monday, January 14th, 1850, after fourteen days severe illness, caused by inflammation of the lungs. The deceased leaves a wife and several young children to deplore his untimely loss.

At Newcastle, on Sunday, January 13th, William Elliot, Coach body maker, aged 19, son of Andrew Elliot.

Printed by WILLIAM RIDER, of No. 5, Macclesfield-street, in the parish of St. Anne, Westminster, at the Printing-office, 16, Great Windmill-street, Haymarket, in the City of Westminster, for the Proprietor, FEARGUS O'CONNOR, Esq. M.P., and published by the said William Rider, at the Office, in the same street and parish.—Saturday, January 19th, 1850.