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TO DANIEL O'CONNELL, M.P.

SIR,—I have no doubt that you will feel some astonishment at the tone in which I am about to address you. It is not one of vexation or anger, but of joy and exultation. If you have been placed in a better position by the indomitable courage of our countrymen, than you would have occupied, had their subserviency allowed you to select your own course, it may annoy and wound those who attach more importance to your ruin, than they do to the salvation of their country. Upon the contrary, there is no one circumstance that has inspired me with stronger hope of my country's regeneration, than that proud and exalted position in which the unswerving mind of Ireland has now placed you. I do not stop to ask what your situation would have been if you had not had sagacity enough to have gone round to the right point in compliance with the public breath; but finding you there, from your present position, I for the first time in my life see a prospect of Ireland's redemption.

In the outset of the pending struggle, I warned you that one of three sacrifices would take place; either that the Act of Union must be sacrificed; the Irish priesthood must be sacrificed; or *you* would be sacrificed. You, Sir, were near being the offering: and boundless indeed should be your gratitude to that Irish firmness which saved you. I further told you that the present administration would not be satisfied with merely extinguishing the match, but that it would exhaust its every resource to scatter the pile. As far as one man could, I gave you a strength and support which you had no right to expect at my hands. I gave it to you, as I then stated, for the purpose of making you so strong that retreat would be treason. I watched the movement from its infancy, and assisted, in the outset, in giving you too much strength to waste upon your original intention—the restoration of the Whigs to office.

The position that you now occupy is one of responsibility and danger; one that you never courted; one that you never anticipated; one that of all other things you would if possible have avoided. Circumstances, however, have placed you there; and in proportion to the danger and responsibility, you are entitled to protection and support. I am now dealing with you as public opinion has a right to deal with public men—as machines to be worked for the public good. What I write to you you are already aware of; and, therefore, the object of this correspondence is, not to enlighten you, but to instruct the public mind as to your present position, and the probabilities which make for and against you.

Just now great importance is attached to the pending prosecutions. While, however they may serve to fill your exchequer, you must naturally look upon them as forming but a very small portion of Tory tactics. Nay, further, I must presume that you are aware that an acquittal would but serve as a pretext to strain all the arts of oppression beyond all the subtleties of the law.

My own impression is, that your greatest danger, and Ireland's greatest danger, lies in an acquittal; while your conviction will not be without its dangers also. Of course you are aware of the parties in the Cabinet, upon whose recommendation active measures have been taken to give a finishing blow to the Repeal agitation. It is necessary that the public should also know those parties. Lyndhurst (urged on by Brougham) Wellington, Graham, and Stanley are the supporters of annihilation at this side of the water; while De Grey and the Attorney-General, Mr. T. B. Smith, at the other side, will persecute you with a personal vindictiveness, rather than with a view to avenge the offended law. You may take my word for it, that there is as much personal vengeance as public duty mixed up with the present prosecutions; and therefore you must be prepared on all hands to meet your legal and personal persecutors.

You have learned from recent events Sir, that the schoolmaster who teaches cannot unteach. You have had a practical example of what the effect of your teaching would be likely to be, were you to run counter to those maxims, rules, and principles, of which you have been an extensive expounder and teacher. Had not public opinion driven you, as if by magic, from the adoption of what is called FEDERALISM, I should, at all risks and hazard, have raised the standard of unconditional Repeal myself in Ireland; and you know sir, and I know full well, that your every thought, for the last eight years, has been directed to a consideration of those means by which you could ensure my absence from my native country. After so many years of deliberation you have at length been enabled to solve the riddle. It is by being honest, consistent, and brave; and by no longer attempting to use that mighty power which you have created for the mere attainment of paltry personal purposes.

With so much of an exordium, I shall now, for the first time, enter into communication with you upon the several charges that, from time to time, you have brought against the English Chartists; first premising that your great hostility to that body was exclusively founded upon their opposition to the Whig party; and that your several charges against them were the mere fabrications of your own mind; falsehoods concocted and used for the mere purpose of justifying your refusal to accept an amount of strength which no other party could have given to those who were honestly engaged in the pursuit of public liberty.

You must understand, Sir, that your greatest enemies are those who would spoil you by following you with blind submission. You are now in a position which enables you to serve the cause of universal liberty; you can no longer retard it; and the only question for your consideration is, whether your honest co-operation or desertion can bring about the desired change with the most security and speed. You have spoken very contemptuously, from time to time, of support that has been tendered to you from different quarters; while you have spoken with great reverence of aid that has been tendered from sources from whence you could derive no possible strength. In rejecting the co-operation of the Chartist body, (which by the way was never tendered to you, but to the service of the Irish people), you have stated your reasons to be, firstly, "the physical force doctrines preached by the Chartist leaders;" and secondly, "their interference with the meetings of other bodies."

Now, Sir, with regard to the first charge, you are perfectly aware that it was made by individuals of your own party, for the mere purpose of covering their own more violent expressions; just in the same manner as your exuberant loyalty has been bestowed personally upon the Queen, while the lawyers say that you have been endeavouring to curtail her prerogative. Mark, I do not object to this curtailment, if the exercise of the prerogative tends to curtail public liberty. I merely use it as an illustration. After the many violent struggles that the Chartist body has sustained against this prerogative, and the law's vengeance, I defy you, with the single exception of Newport, to point out a single instance in which the Chartists have had recourse to physical force, and *there* it was forced upon them. Of course, in an admonitory letter, it is not my intention to repeat the invitations to the battle field; the exhortations to be in readiness; and the declarations of physical capability that have been addressed to the Irish people from time to time by your followers. I pass over your mild criticism upon the Rebecca outbreaks, when sanctioned by a portion of the middle classes, as compared with your rabid denunciation of the Newport riots, in which the Chartists were implicated; and, above all, I abstain from more than hinting at the insidious manner in which you have sought to mix my name up with every libel that has been published against the Chartist body. You are now surrounded by so many of the blessings of "physical force," that I shall dismiss that branch of my subject, by merely reminding you that altered circumstances may have produced some alteration in your opinions.

I shall now apply myself to the consideration of your second charge—that of Chartist interference with the meetings of other bodies.

You, sir, were perfectly aware that when the Whig party had lost all public confidence, and were about to be hurled from power, that you, together with the "longstops" on the Whig side, were obliged to have recourse to a system of new agitation, to prop up their declining influence. In the outset, the question of a Repeal of the Corn Laws was intended as a large demand; and the confirmation of Whig power for seven more years was to have been the first instalment; and it was only upon the failure of that sliding scale that the present society of *Total Abolitionists*, without apparent reference to Whig restoration, was established. The working classes of England, who have tasted of the tender mercies of the FREE TRADERS, were naturally astonished that their demands for *cheap bread* should have increased in an exact ratio with the inability of their party to carry a Repeal of the Corn Laws. The question was hotly agitated in 1841; and however Melbourne, Palmerston, and Russell, might have coquetted about the subject, yet the object of the Free Traders, in the first instance, was to insure a Whig majority upon a dissolution of Parliament. You are perfectly aware that favour is not courted under the name, but under the measures of a party; and hence the contest at the last general election was between "Monopolists" and "Anti-monopolists"; both parties sinking their political names, but each contending for the ascendancy of its own party. You will then observe that the whole question of political excitement being carried on under the specious form of Free Trade, the object of that party was to prove to the world that Whiggery, of which Free Trade was but the shadow, was in the ascendant. The Chartists, upon the other hand, agitated for the substance. They agitated for their old principles. They agitated for the means of carrying out the professed objects of the Free Traders; and had they not done so, the result would have been, as indeed the object was, to destroy Chartism, and place Whiggery in the ascendant, under the Free Trade banner. You are aware, Sir, that there is a grand principle in English agitation, in which Ireland is as yet deficient. In England the working men do their own business, make their own speeches, and manage their own affairs. In Ireland those things are, as yet, done for them.

The Chartists had no alternative, in this bye-battle of Free-Trade-Whiggery, but to hoist their own standard. And now, Sir, you must learn the amount of their great fault, as you would call it, and the reasons which led to its commission. In the first place, the Chartists attended public meetings of the Free Traders, and moved no amendments to their resolutions. The result was, that the Whig press claimed the whole Chartist body as acquiescing in the new principle of Whiggery. When the Chartists discovered this trick, played off by the whole of the metropolitan and provincial press, they attended the Free Trade meetings, and merely demanded the right of discussion, still abstaining from proposing an amendment. This privilege was not only refused, but those who asked for it were knocked down upon the platform; and, after being brutally treated, were handed over to the custody of the police, as common felons. And you must bear in mind that wherever a moral triumph of this sort was achieved by the *friends of liberty*, their conduct was lauded to the skies; the *Morning Chronicle*, upon one occasion, highly approving of their conduct towards a poor working man, who was dragged from the platform, brutally beaten, and rolled in the gutter.

After a series of brutal outrages of a similar kind, the Chartists, as a body, came to the resolution of placing their principles in juxta-position with those of the Free Traders. Their first step was to move amendments, not in opposition to Free Trade, but shewing the only means by which Free Trade could be accomplished, as well as the only means by which it could be made materially instead of sectionally beneficial. The Chartists invariably had both the reason and large majorities on their side; but the chairman being appointed from the Free Trade ranks, and not with the consent of the meeting, upon many occasions declared the Free Trade resolutions "carried," against a Chartist amendment, even when the hands in favour of the latter were more than ten to one. This injustice forced upon the Chartists the necessity of appointing a chairman by a vote of the meeting. The result was, that the Chartist chairman invariably invited discussion, and preserved order; and the meetings terminated with an overwhelming majority for the Chartist principles. *Instead of being longer looked upon as the mere* Free-Trade-tail of Whiggery, and only noticed as such even by their own organs, the Chartists at once assumed a triumphant position, and ensured column after column in every paper in England, intended as chastisement, but proving our superiority. As a matter of course they called us tyrants; but better *that*, than slaves. The very term tyrant shewed that we were able to dictate; while all must confess that our superior strength was mildly used, and went no further than claiming the victory, after the battle had been fairly fought and fairly won.

It was this timely manifestation of our strength that enabled us to kill Whiggery at the last general election. The free-trade agitation was intended to perpetuate the rule of our tyrant task-maskers, and your objection to Chartism may be explained in a single sentence: thus; IT DESTROYED WHIGGERY.

Before I give you more general and extensive reasons for Chartist opposition to Free Traders, allow me to make an observation or two upon subjects which appear to have escaped your attention. Do you recollect your visit to Manchester, at Easter, in 1841? Do you remember your declaration made there upon the eve of a great meeting in Stevenson's Square, to the effect that the Chartists were all Orangemen? Do you recollect the description of discussion that took place in Stevenson's-square, when the bludgeon was the *best* argument that could be used in support of Free Trade, under the auspices of Mr. Cobden, and the Free Trade authorities? Did you denounce that system of interference with the right of public meeting? And, again, when I and thirty-six other Chartists were brutally assaulted by a band of ruffians hired by the League, and when hatchets, stones, pokers, and daggers were used as Free Trade arguments: did you then object to that mode of discussion? No, Sir: that was "physical force" *upon the right side;* and therefore justifiable.

I shall now compare the Chartists' mode of transacting business with your mode. You never can hope to establish your principles without discussion. You say that you court discussion: and it is only after discussion that the public mind can arrive at proper conclusions; and yet your Repeal wardens, acting under the instructions of your Privy Council in Dublin, have issued orders to the Irish Repealers in England NOT TO ATTEND CHARTIST MEETINGS. Now, Sir, I would ask you whether such folly does not at once establish the fact, that the principles of Chartism being based upon truth are dangerous to all those clap-trap propositions, which, however, they may glitter by themselves, are nevertheless sure to lose their lustre when placed beside the brighter thing? Having so far justified our course with reference to the Free Trade war, I shall now proceed to submit general objections which the working classes have to the Free Trade party.

The Chartists do not object to the principles of Free Trade. On the contrary, they have invariably declared, that one of the first acts of a Chartist Parliament, would be to declare for perfect Free Trade; while its accomplishment, without the power to be made nationally beneficial, would but place the labourer more than ever at the mercy of the capitalist. However, Sir, as the position which I am now about to explain has never been canvassed by any portion of the press, I beg your undivided attention to the reasons why the working classes object to the triumph of the Free Trade party. I have shown you that they do not so much object to the carrying out of their one single measure, as they do to the entrusting indiscriminate power in their hands. The term Free Trade, of itself, may appear very innocent and harmless; but, Sir, when we recollect that although a single motto upon their banner, that there are many passions, prejudices, and feelings to be marshalled under it, we naturally become alarmed at the power which the incorporation of these passions, prejudices, and feelings would place in the hands of one political party, to whom Free Trade, having ensured ascendancy, would become a very minor, if not a wholly insignificant, consideration. You must be perfectly aware, that the success of that party in the accomplishment of their professed end, must lead to their political ascendancy; and it is in that character as a full band of politicians, and not as Paginini fiddling upon one string, that the people dread them.

It may appear harmless to muster a party upon so apparently philanthrophic grounds; but see the subsequent battles, which as conquerors, they must fight, to make the first victory available. Their battle is *transfer*, not correction. As Free Traders they profess but a unity of opinion upon one question; but let the triumph of that once establish their ascendancy, and then, the several sections of which the Free Trade party is now composed will demand their several rewards for their services in the good fight.

We view them, Sir, in their corporate capacity; and in that light, we see the Dissent wing claiming, not toleration or equality, but ascendancy; we see the Capitalist claiming the superiority of machinery over man; we see the active operation of money, which is their type of power, gaining such an ascendancy over the laws and their administration as to make justice a mockery: in their ascendancy we recognize the depopulation of the land at home, to the exact amount required for the working of inanimate machinery: in their ascendancy we recognize the pollution of the source of justice by the appointment of cruel oppressors, instead of impartial justices: in a word, Sir, in their ascendancy we recognize all the perfect machinery for the purchase of cheap slave-labour, with the political power to chastise the spirits that dare to rebel against their unholy system.

We have never opposed Free Trade as a mere isolated boon. We have opposed it for the reasons that I have assigned; because the Dissenters struggle for ascendancy, not to destroy the State Church, but to *transfer* its emoluments to their own body; because Capitalists seek for ascendancy, not to destroy what is vicious in the agricultural system, but to take advantage of it for their own profit; because, as a political party, they do not speak of, neither do they intend to redress, a single grievance, but merely to *transfer* them from Tory to Whig hands, fastening the burden more tightly than ever upon the backs of the people, their principal object being to melt the people down by oppression to that state of subserviency which would ensure them as willing slaves.

Thus sir, you find that this is the second struggle,—the Reform Bill was the first,—for the ascendancy of active capital over sluggish land. But sinking all political titles and distinctions, and hating Toryism as much as any man living, yet a thousand times over let me bear the oppression against which I can struggle rather than tamely submit to a tyranny against which I could make no stand.

You have now learned our position, and our objections to giving a multifarious power to an ill-assorted, but yet partially united faction. I have struggled against each in turn; and with God's blessing I will still continue to do so. I have been mainly instrumental in creating a power, the foundation of which I laid in Marylebone, on the 18th of September, 1835: and which I then stated would henceforth be a tower of strength to the good man, and a terror to the evil doer. That power, Sir, you must now court. It is the mountain: you are but Mahomet. It is too great for any man to wield. It can be only moved by the magic wand of justice. Do justice, Sir; and, as a necessary consequence, its aim being justice, it will be ready to support you; but lay not the flattering unction to your soul, that any man living can tender that co-operation for the accomplishment of any thing short of your reassumed position; and believe not that any man living can withhold it from you as long as your battle is for right.

You will bear in mind, Sir, that, previously to the establishment of the great Radical Association, in 1835, I told you in the Westminster-Club, after your acquiesence in the Lords's Amendments to the Irish Municipal Bill, that I would raise a popular party that you could neither buy nor sell. I have done it, Sir; and upon that party you must fall back, or fall down. And if, hitherto, your unchecked career has induced you to run on, without thought, from one position to another, I would now implore you, Sir, to take a few hours' serious deliberation,—not with those whose danger is comparatively trifling, and who live upon the wages of agitation; but call men of honour, and especially the Roman Catholic Clergy, to your councils, and repair the fault that you have committed,—that of allowing yourself to be taken by surprise. Mark, Sir; the Arms Bill comes into operation on Monday next; and recollect that in the outset, I told you in the *Northern Star* that that Bill would be the means of rallying all the old Orange prejudices against the Irish Catholics; and be assured that their nerves will be strengthened by the military array now placed at their disposal. You are not to argue any diminution of their apparent hatred from their inactivity during your triumphant summer's campaign; but you are on the contrary to suppose that their retribution will be deadly, and that their pent-up passions will demand a full flow of Irish Catholic blood, as a set-off against their temporary submission.

Sir, entertain no hope of lenity from the English Cabinet, or from the Irish Executive. Believe me that you are now at issue. The Government would not now *allow* you to ABANDON your position, without making an example of you to serve as an extinguisher during their time. You have one course open yet, and only one; take all advantages that the law will admit of; rather *demur* to the whole matter contained in the Indictment than go to trial with a packed Jury; and instead of again being taken by surprize, *prepare the brave millions who have such unbounded confidence in you for the worst;* NOT FOR A PHYSICAL ENCOUNTER! *not to present their unarmed persons to an armed soldiery!* but to take such steps as, in the event of the triumph of the Government, will verify your declaration—

Væ victis. WOE TO THE CONQUEROR!

If you fail, Sir, to achieve a triumph for Ireland—strip that of her oppressors of its value; and, instead of longer deluding the Irish people with a false statement, that the English working classes have no sympathy for them, for the first time in your life avow yourself the champion of the rights of labour, and cease to be the stalking-horse of capital, and the supporter of legitimacy. Turn, Sir, from prejudice to truth, and from speculation to an honest warfare for the rights of man.

I had originally intended to have addressed you in a different manner and in a different tone; but, as I have stated, the new position in which Irish courage has placed you has induced me to alter my original intention, and has made me determine that even yet you shall not fall back upon English working class indifference as a justifiable reason for abandoning that which, with a thorough knowledge of the *pros* and *cons*, you have so religiously promised to accomplish. I for one, Sir, shall not hold you to the exact day upon which Ireland's triumph is to be achieved. On the contrary I am ready to allow you the right of meeting stratagem by counter stratagem; and so far from counselling you to rush prematurely forward against irresistible odds, as an Irishman, I merely require that if you are stopped you do not retreat; and if you are obliged to retreat that it will be no further than absolute necessity compels.

Beware, Sir, how you waste or apply the strength that it has cost the nation much to create. Be assured that rebellion is determined upon; and that you are looked upon as the obstacle in the way of social improvement, and will be therefore the mark for faction; and then, Sir, when the day of trouble, now stealing upon you, comes, you will discover whether Feargus O'Connor, who would not blindly follow you, or those who have subserviently acquiesced in your meandering policy, was most to be relied upon. Yes, Sir, should you become a captive in the felon's cell, the table of the House of Commons shall groan under petitions for your release, if I can procure them; and the untrammelled mind of England shall teach you, Sir, that from one end of the land to the other, when injustice is perpetrated all cause of difference is forgotten. If they put you in prison, Sir, I'll try to have you out again, and that, too, by peaceable and constitutional means; and then, Sir, I shall look back to the gloom of the dark dungeon where I spent sixteen months unnoticed and uncared for, with the consolation that your neglect has not obliterated my sense of duty to all those who are persecuted and oppressed.

I shall continue to address you until the struggle is at an end. In concluding for the present, I would say, be cautious; be guarded. Upon no account allow yourself to be hustled into crowds, either in the Four Courts, or in the streets; for be assured that the days of Sidmouth and Castlereagh are near at hand; and that the law failing in its vengeance, the assassin who would deprive you of life would be considered as a good substitute, and would be rewarded as such. Again, I caution you against the supposition that an acquittal would be allowed to be a triumph. You know what the preparations for your destruction have cost the country, and that nothing short of your ruin would be considered as an equivalent. Be not afraid of English opinion while you are right. Expect nothing from it where you are wrong, and therefore to insure its support, convince the world that you are right.

I am, Sir,

FEARGUS O'CONNOR.

TO THE WORKING CLASSES.

MY DEAR FRIENDS,—I shall firstly conclude the narrative of my tour, and then offer some observations upon our present position. In my last, I brought you down to the meeting at Dumfries, which was held in Baillie Beck's Show Rooms, in consequence of M'Kenzie, the Liberal Non-Intrusion Parson, having broken faith with his own Committee and the Chartists. The reason assigned by this Liberal Parson for refusing his church is so curious, and at the same time so complimentary to myself, that I must mention it. He said, "that if I addressed his flock upon Chartist principles, those who heard me would, upon the following Sunday, when he was preaching, have my words uppermost in their thoughts." However, he did refuse us the church; but as I have before observed, we had a capital meeting in Baillie Beck's Show Rooms, and subsequently about eighty-four of the leading Chartists of Dumfries and surrounding districts sat down to a good and substantial supper at the Temperance Hotel, where speaking and singing was kept up till nearly one o'clock in the morning. Messrs. Andrew Wardrop, Peter Gray, and William M'Douall, with a few other good fellows have kept Chartism alive in Dumfries; but it remained for the Rev. Mr. M'Kenzie and myself to set it blazing.

On Wednesday in consequence of a mistake made by Peter Gray in communicating with Arthur at Carlisle, I was obliged to post off from Dumfries to Carlisle. Gray understood me to say that I would not be at Carlisle till Thursday night, and wrote to Arthur to that effect. I was not aware of the fact until two o'clock, when I instantly started and did the thirty-three miles in three hours and a-half. When I arrived all was consternation, and I discovered that the meeting had been postponed till the following night. The drums and bellman were instantly set to work to convene the meeting for that evening, and at eight o'clock the Atheneum was literally wedged. It is the largest public building in Carlisle; and although many poor handloom weavers, out of employment, were admitted free, yet between five and six pounds, at a penny a-head, was received at the door. James Arthur was called to the chair, and briefly introduced me to the meeting. The pressure in every point was so great that we could not secure order for fully half an hour. The passages were full and the street outside was lined. I made two speeches—the one upon general topics, which appeared to give general satisfaction, and the other, in reply to a very complimentary address that was presented to me by the working people. After the business was over and three hearty cheers were given for Duncombe, I proceeded with the work of enlistment and added 330 to the noble army of Chartists. That work being completed, the hearty fellows of Carlisle formed a procession, and with their band playing and flags waving in the night breeze they escorted me to my hotel; and thus terminated a tour which I would not undertake again for any sum of money.

From the 3rd of October to the 1st of November I have addressed the people in the following places: London and Manchester five times; Huddersfield, Bradford, and Halifax once; Newcastle seven times; Seghill once; South Shields three times; Sunderland once; Sheddons Hill twice; Edinburgh twice; Leith once; Dundee twice; Montrose once; Arbroath once; Aberdeen three times; Glasgow once; Dumfries twice; and Carlisle once. I have travelled within that period very near fifteen hundred miles. I have enrolled nearly seven thousand members, thus putting nearly sixty pounds into the Chartist exchequer. Let the reader ponder for a moment upon the importance of those several places, the principal towns in England and Scotland; let him reflect upon the means that have been resorted to to destroy my character and my influence; and let him then learn, not from myself, but from the several localities, what my reception was, and the amount of service that I have rendered to the cause; and he may take all as an answer to the blundering Parry, the cantankerous and jealous Lovett, and the whole tribe of disappointed "pedlars," whose packs I have emptied of Chartist wares. I had not visited some of those places for four years, and during that period, every engine has been at work to destroy my influence with the working classes; and yet, with the single exception of the honest Mr. Mathers (not Mavors, as printed in the *Northern Star*), of South Shields, not one of my revilers had the manliness to meet me personally.

From all that I have seen within this period, I have come to the conclusion that all parties desirous of change, whether organic or administrative, must join in the demand for Chartist principles. I argue thus: from August 1842, to the present time, all adverse parties have had unchecked sway, while the disasters of the Strike paralysed the Chartist body, even as a defensive force. The Anti-Corn-Law League, with immense funds at its back—the Complete Suffragists, with impunity for their protection—the Whigs, with legitimacy for their safeguard—have all, one and all, separately and collectedly, endeavoured to recruit their ranks from our scattered forces; while, notwithstanding the several disheartening circumstances by which we were surrounded, I venture to assert that not one dozen Chartists have gone over to any section of the enemy. This is something, and not a little either. It is something that the Chartists should have held their ground for so long a period of inactivity; and it is something more, that the whole body should have been prepared, as if by magic, to throw off their lethargy, and once more rally round the sacred standard as soon as it was reared. The impression upon my mind is, that much of the fifty thousand pounds' League money has been spent in an endeavour to crush Chartism by one means or other. That it has failed to do so, however, will be discovered in the fact, that while the vultures hover over their prey in small villages, they are afraid to venture into any one of the large towns. Hence we find them at Haddington, within a few miles of Edinburgh, rejoicing in a meeting of five or six hundred, while they dare not enter Edinburgh. So in Lancashire; we find them valiant in Lancaster, while they dare not enter Manchester, or one of the large towns in that important county. The observer naturally asks, why the operations of the League are not exclusively confined to those districts where the promised advantage of "high wages, cheap bread, and plenty to do," would be most anxiously contended for, and most efficiently supported? The answer is, that if machinery has centralized poverty, it has also centralized public opinion; and the poor, forlorn operatives, to whom so much is promised by the accomplishment of Free Trade, have had many a bitter taste of the comparatively little power which their Free Trade patrons already possess, and they know full well what the result to them of the increased power of their patrons would be.

Henceforth they will be compelled to confine their exertions to bribery at elections; a process which, while land confers the franchise, they will find wearisome and unproductive. When beaten there, however, they never will join the working men for their rights, as they would much prefer the shackles remaining upon trade to the political fetters being taken off the working classes. By a shrewd course, however, we can render this bubble party wholly innoxious, by convincing the shopkeepers, who are now their principal supporters, that machinery, the god of the League, is the devil of the shopkeeper. Wherever I have gone I have successfully inculcated that feeling upon the minds of the shop-keeping class; and I believe it but requires a good following up to draw the shopkeeping class from the Free Traders. As for the Complete Suffrage party, I need not mention them. The position which a few individuals assumed as a party was not likely to be long maintained. Mr. Duncombe scattered them; and O'Connell has blown them into air. Surely, if a few Orangemen of the North of Ireland were worth a big drum, the proferred service of Joseph should have been received with some little noise; however, O'Connell assures them that they have no power, that they never will have power, and that therefore their professed co-operation is not worthy Irish acceptance. As for the Whigs, that new fangled party consists of free-traders, Complete Suffragists, and Whig place-hunters, from whom nothing, not even opposition to Toryism, can be expected; and therefore we propose to leave them upon the bleak side of the Treasury, until they are prepared to practically carry out the maxim "that the people are the only source of political power," by guaranteeing to the whole people twenty representatives of their opinions in the House of Commons. To this point we must next direct our attention; and when we have ascertained through the agency of Mr. Duncombe, that we can rely upon an honest fulfilment of those conditions, the whole people, who cannot now appoint one policeman, would find little difficulty in effecting a dissolution of Parliament. I have made this next step one of the leading features in my recent addresses; and I find that it has been most favourably received. In fact this is the proper mode of directing that public opinion which has been created and organized; and to this object we should incessantly direct our attention, so that the chief shall not again steal upon us in the dark. If we turn our attention to the triumphs gained by the working classes in the recent Municipal struggles, all will immediately discover the fact which I have so long endeavoured to impress upon their minds, that the people richly deserve every grievance of which they complain, because the removal of one and all is in their own power, and may be easily accomplished by a union of their own order. It must be borne in mind that for years I have laboured to teach the working classes that Municipal power were the small wheels which, if properly arranged, would cause an alteration in the large wheels of Government. It is of all things necessary that corporate power should be opposed to the existing ministry; and it is my opinion, that if the Municipal machinery was well worked, it would open an easy road to the accomplishment of the People's Charter. To this end then I trust that public opinion will be well directed—that is, to the enforcement of twenty Chartist members into the next House of Commons, and the proper management of Municipal machinery as a principal means of effecting that end.

The whole of the press-gang, both Whig and Tory, are making a dreadful noise about Mr. Duncombe's declaration of Charter Reform. It is not wonderful that the Tories should do so; but why the Free Trade portion of the press should feel any annoyance, astonishes me, and I'll tell you why. Because the Free Traders have made a mighty boast of their triumph in the City of London in the return of Mr. Pattison. But as I am sure that that gentleman would much rather owe his seat to the unsought interference of a friend than to the tricks of the trade, it may not be amiss to tell him to whom he really does owe his triumph. These, then, are the facts of the case. The Chartists had resolved upon making a powerful anti-Whig and anti-Tory demonstration at the recent nomination, and had determined upon going to the poll with a candidate pledged to the whole principles of the Charter. With those intentions, a very influential Committee waited upon Mr. Duncombe, for the purpose of consulting him upon the matter. Mr. Duncombe told them that they themselves could not select a candidate who would go farther than Mr. Pattison in support of every liberal measure, and that he was sure he would vote for the Six Points of the People's Charter. The perfect reliance which the working men have in Mr. Duncombe made that explanation perfectly satisfactory, and the Chartists set to work in their several localities to canvas for Mr. Pattison. The result was that they did not propose a candidate; that he got the show of hands, as well as a majority of votes; while, had it not been for Mr. Duncombe, I have no hesitation in saying that Baring would have beaten him by a large majority. Pattison's majority was 165; consequently if 83 out of the whole number that polled for him had voted for Baring, Baring would have been returned; and I believe, neither Whig or Tory will dispute the fact, that the Chartists could have ensured a show of hands and have polled between three and four hundred votes for their man; therefore Mr. Pattison may consider himself in a much more honourable position than that of "creature of the League:" he is the "People's" member. I was in the House with Mr. Pattison; and there was not half a dozen members so thoroughly democratic; and I pledge myself, as Mr. Duncombe pledged himself, that he will vote for every point of the People's Charter; for separation of Church and State; and for all other moral and religious measures.

I have acquired much knowledge from my present tour. I have witnessed a firm and decided resolution on the part of the working classes to have their Charter; and although I admit, and freely, that the Charter may be considered a poverty question, yet, notwithstanding the fact that trade has experienced a general improvement thoughout the two countries, yet contrary to the received opinion of our opponents, that improvement has not damped the ardour, or lessened the enthusiasm, of the Chartist body. If I may judge from the exhibitions that I have seen, we have a right to anticipate a glorious representation of public opinion in our next Convention; and if ever there was a time when it behoved the friends of freedom in this country to look sharp after their few remaining privileges, for rights they have none, now is the time. I tell them that neither Sidmouth nor Castlereagh, were greater enemies to popular liberty than Wellington and Graham. I tell them that never did the English bench furnish more Jeffries at the disposal of the Crown than at present. I tell them that never was a more dangerous officer entrusted with the administration of the law than the present Solicitor-General. He is a powerful man; and if he has one ambition stronger than another, it is to convince his masters that he is more powerful than the law. It is his glory to make right wrong, and wrong right. The Attorney-General has a heart to feel, and a mind that would controul him even in the exercise of his political professional duties. The Solicitor-General has no feeling. There never was a more thorough political machine. The magistrates, whenever the struggle comes between the people and their oppressors will, without exception, be upon the side of tyranny. Now all these are fearful odds against a party, whose power consists of numbers and union; however, with a perfect union of numbers we can beat them all. We are not to attach much importance to the present apparent calm, as it would not suit the tactics of our present rulers to carry on war against the Irish, the Welsh, the Scotch, and the English at one and the same time; but only wait until Ireland and Wales are thoroughly crushed, and then England and Scotland will have their due share of Tory consideration.

While I thus point out the materials of which the machinery of oppression is composed, let me not be understood as recommending any, the slightest, relaxation of Chartist agitation, or any abatement in our just demands; on the contrary, upon our perseverance, boldness, and prudence, in a great measure depends not only the fate of our own principles, but also of our own country; and I have vanity enough to believe that my exertions on behalf of British liberty give me a claim upon British support. Upon this subject, however, it is my intention to address a series of letters to Mr. O'Connell, in the *Northern Star*, the first of which will be found in the present number; and therefore I shall abstain from further mention of it in this place. The success of my tour has very naturally set all the vermin to work. Other unions, and more unions, are taking place between old squabblers, who not long since would have bitten each others noses off; but if I fail in my endeavours to create a union of the working classes, I have at all events the satisfaction to know that the most deadly and inveterate enemies will shake hands over all their own differences, and unite to destroy Feargus O'Connor and the *Norther Star*. But to those reptiles, one and all, I woul merely say, that if they have not had a surfeit from the past, they shall have it from the future. It i for you now to say whether or not you consider it worth your while to maintain the position that I have once more gained for you in the largest towns in England and Scotland; and whether you the working classes are, or are not, prepared to assert your rights. I have given you a practical proof of what one man can do; and each who exerts himself can make himself comparatively useful in his own locality. Let us only have a good managing committee in each district; and I will venture to say that if seven men in each town can be found to work honestly, ninety-nine in every hundred of the working classes will be found to work energetically under them: for I have invariably found that Chartism was most prosperous, and bickering most rare, in those towns where the business was transacted by a Council of honest men. Surely, then, the great prize at stake is worth the only sacrifice that's needed—honesty in a few, to ensure zeal and co-operation from the many.

I think the people will have learned, from the address of the Executive in this week's *Star*, that that body have resolved upon limiting their expenditure to the smallest possible amount, and of rendering service for their wages; and now I call upon all who are determined to give Chartism a fair trial, to rally once more round the sacred standard. And as a consolation to those who have expressed a hope that inactivity may induce me to abandon the cause, I tell them, for their satisfaction, that its accomplishment alone shall drive me from the ranks; and therefore I cut the last leg from under the stool of faction.

I now trust that every locality will send its mite to me as Treasurer, to carry out the objects that we have in view; and bear in mind that it is every man's cause, and therefore should enlist every man's consideration. Had it not been for the necessity imposed upon me to watch over the proceedings in the Queen's Bench, instead of Mr. Roberts, who is more profitably engaged otherwise, I should have continued my tour through Lancashire, according to my original intention; but the truth is—firstly, that Mr. Roberts declared that one of us should be present, and I thought his time could be more profitably spent in Newcastle; and, secondly, I could not have gone on without some rest, as I believe in the annals of agitation no man ever went through more fatigue than I have done during the last month.

In conclusion, I have only to offer this brief summary of a short tour to the perusal of those muck-worms who growl in back parlours, and lose their rest in devising means how to destroy my influence. I will give them a recipe, and the only one: LET THEM GO AND DO MORE.

I remain,
Your faithful friend and servant,
FEARGUS O'CONNOR.

THE EXECUTIVE TO THE CHARTIST BODY.

FRIENDS,—At foot you will find the opinion of Mr. Bodkin relative to the enrolment of the plan of Organization, and from it you will learn that while Counsel abstains from giving any opinion upon the question of legality, he thinks, that the Plan is deficient in some of those points which constitute a society as contemplated by certain Acts of Parliament. Under these circumstances, it becomes our duty, as your appointed officers, to state the course which it is our intention to pursue. The two main points to which we shall direct our attention are, firstly, the creation of such an enrolled force as will insure a full and fair representation of Chartists' principles in the Convention about to be held in April next; and, secondly, to observe the most rigid economy in the expenditure of the national funds. In order to effect the first purpose, we shall proceed, for the present, under as much of the plan of Organization, as requires no legal protection, to enrol members of the General Association, whose legal affairs will be transacted by councilmen, nominated by the several districts, and which nomination will require the confirmation of the Executive. We shall abstain, for the present, from the establishment of branches and from the issuing of Charters, and must direct our undivided attention to the political portion of the plan; and by those means we hope to create a matured public opinion to which the forthcoming Convention may give a proper direction. By that time the several questions upon which parties may be now at issue will have been fairly discussed, and that body will be in a situation to give full effect to what shall appear to be the then public opinion. In order to carry out our second project and as our labours in council will be considerably diminished by the non-enrolment of our Organization, we propose to appoint two from our number as lecturers to districts requiring their services—their salaries to be paid out of the Executive Fund, and the proceeds arising from their exertions, to be wholly applied to the local purposes of the several places where they shall lecture. With this view we have appointed Mr. M'Grath as lecturer for Cheshire and Mr. Clark for Somersetshire; after which they will proceed to Cornwall and Northamptonshire, thus saving those counties the expence of district lecturers, while we trust their services will place funds at the disposal of the localities to enable them to transact their local business.

Mr. M'Grath will be at Northampton on Monday the 20th; at Birmingham on Tuesday the 21st; at Wolverhampton on Wednesday the 22nd; and at Stockport on Thursday the 23rd, where it is to be expected the council will have pointed out his route for Cheshire. The inhabitants requiring the attendance of the Executive missionaries will merely have to pay their travelling expenses from town to town, and therefore it is of all things important that the route should be judiciously arranged. Mr. Clarke will be in Bristol on Monday the 20th; when we trust the Council will have made proper arrangements to render his services available. The missionaries will be supplied with cards of membership, and will thus save the several localities the expense of postage. Having thus submitted to you what our intentions are, our position being considerably altered by the non-enrolment of our Organization, we trust, as some latitude must be allowed, that the course we have chalked out, under existing circumstances, will meet with the approbation and support of the Chartist public; while we have a right to complain of the active and underhand agency being used by parties who have already done sufficient to create confusion in our ranks, being now directed to the frustration of our best endeavours.

However, as our duties are twofold, it being not less incumbent upon us to meet our enemies than to support our friends, we trust, by a perseverance in that line which will insure for us the approval of the Chartist body, to be able to beat down all party and sectional opposition. By the above plan, it will be seen, that your Executive only costs the country £3 10s. per week, while the sum of £3, originally voted to two other officers, will now be expended in the most profitable manner to which the public funds can be applied. By this exposition, it will be seen that the only portion of the political plan, which we do not propose to bring into operation for the present, is the appointment of branches, and the issuing of Charters. And inasmuch as the election of a Convention, to be holden in April, was unanimously decided upon, we, as your officers, do not consider that we can be more profitably employed than in endeavouring to make that Convention as efficient a representation of the public mind as possible. The subjoined opinion was given upon the Plan of Organization, without a single sentence, word, or letter being altered in that document; and we are the more anxious to lay this fact before you, in consequence of artful tricksters endeavouring to stamp a heavy sin upon very slight grounds—to the effect that the Executive proposed having the Plan enrolled with the omission of the principles, whereas the facts are simply and briefly as follow.

A Committee consisting of the three following persons,

ALLEGED SLAVE TRADING.

M. Pedro de Zulueta was charged at the Central Criminal Court, on Friday, with manning and equipping a vessel for the purpose of slave-trading.

The facts of the case may be collected from the following statements contained in the opening speech of Mr. Sergeant BOMPAS, who, with Mr. Sergeant TALFOURD and Mr. PAYNE conducted the prosecution. In the year 1839 the Augusta, as she had since been called, but then trading under the name of Golmchick, under Russian colours, fully equipped for the slave trade, was captured by Captain Hill, and taken into Sierra Leone, as a vessel dealing in the slave-trade, of which there was no doubt. At that time the Captain of the vessel was a person of the name of Bernardos, one of three persons named in the indictment, but who was not now upon his trial, and the crew were entirely Spaniards, although the vessel sailed under Russian colours. Being taken to Sierra Leone for the purpose of being condemned, the Court before which the question was to be tried was a mixed commission of the Spanish and British subjects, and they, considering that they had no right to try a vessel trading under the Russian flag, she was not condemned. From Sierra Leone the vessel was brought to England, and being there claimed as a Russian vessel by the Consul, she was sold at Portsmouth to a person of the name of Emanuels.

On board the vessel at Portsmouth there were several "Leaguers," vessels from ten to fifteen feet in diameter, which was necessary for holding water on board slave ships; and their fittings, although taken to pieces, were in such a condition that they could be easily put together again. It was manifestly impossible for a vessel with leagers and other fittings for the slave-trade standing to leave the kingdom to go to Africa. Her destination and purposes would be known, and she would be immediately seized; they were, therefore, taken to pieces and left in the vessel. There were also the means of constructing slave decks, the space between being thirty-two inches, in which the slaves could not sit much less stand upright. Of course a vessel would not be allowed to go from this country so equipped; but there were some screw bolts on board by which these decks could be put in at the port of Africa, so as to fit the vessel for carrying slaves. He should also prove an application at Portsmouth to enter, in order to go to the coast of Africa. In a letter written to Thomas Jennings, at Portsmouth, from the house of Zulueta and company, Sept. 26, 1840, directions were given relative to certain matters of expenditure connected with the vessel, and instructions to Jennings to take her to the Salthouse-dock, in Liverpool, and a charter party was entered into, dated Oct. 19, 1840, which contained an agreement made between Thos. Jennings, as captain and owner of the Augusta, and Pedro Martinez and Co. of Havannah, merchants. The firm had also a house at Cadiz, and Mr. Zulueta himself in his evidence stated that he knew from general report that Don Pedro Martinez was himself supposed to deal in slaves, and he believed it to be so. The charter party set forth that a cargo was to be received on board for Zulueta and Co., the factors of Martinez and Co., and to proceed to Gallinas, on the coast of Africa, and afterwards to the West Indies, England, Africa, or the United States. It also contained a receipt for £1,100, from Martinez and Co., through Zulueta and Co., for the disbursements of the ship, which sum Jennings undertook to repay from the earnings of the ship. The vessel sailed from Liverpool for Gallinas, which is about 200 miles from Sierra Leone, and was a slave-station, the sole trade carried on there being the slave-trade. It consisted of five or six barracoons, or warehouses—places where slaves are kept till there is an opportunity of their being shipped to Havannah or elsewhere. The three consignees of the cargo were persons of the names of Lolo, Ximenes, and Alvarez, persons having barracoons, and the place for which she sailed was, as he had said, purely a slave station. A question might occur as to who was the proprietor in this case. That question was wholly immaterial to the case, the only material question being what was the evidence against the prisoner. But let the Jury not understand for a moment that he had the slightest wish to conceal himself. The prosecutor was the gentleman who instructed him (Sir George Stephen), a gentleman related to one whose name had been known as long as the efforts to overthrow the slave-trade had been continued in this country. Sir G. Stephen was the nephew of Mr. Wilberforce; and if it were thought by the friends of the abolition of slavery that it was necessary for some person to stand forward to bear the responsibility of proceedings calculated like the present to accomplish that object, he had no objection to undertake that great responsibility.

A number of witnesses having been examined to prove the above facts, the Court adjourned.

SATURDAY, October 28—The case was resumed this morning, when a number of witnesses were examined, the effect of whose evidence only went to prove the nature of the fittings of the ship, and that its destination was a place in which the slave trade was carried on exclusively.

Mr. KELLY rose, and contended at some length, that there was no evidence to shew that the prisoner had any knowledge whatever of the purpose for which the ship and the goods were to be used, and that if it were to be so argued, and allowed to go to a jury, no mercantile house could ship goods without being liable to such an indictment.

Mr. Justice MAULE (after consulting with Mr. Justice Wightman), decided that the case ought to go to the jury,

Mr. KELLY then proceeded to take objections to the form of the indictment, after which the Court adjourned.

MONDAY, October 30—At the sitting of the Court this morning, M. Pedro le Zulueta, *who had been out* on bail, again surrendered himself, and took his place in the dock.

Sir John Pirie, Mr. Arroyne, Mr. Thos. Halifax, Mr. Sampeon Ricardo, Baron Rothschild, Mr. Jose Maria Bareiro, the Spanish Consul; Mr. Chs. Tottie the Swedish and Norwegian Consul; Dr. Arnott, Mr. Jones Lloyd, the banker, and others gave the prisoner the highest character as a respectable merchant, and a man of the highest integrity and honour, and stated their belief that he was incapable of engaging in so nefarious a transaction as that charged against Mr. Zulueta.

Mr. Justice MAULE then proceeded to sum up the case. The Jury then retired, and after remaining in deliberation for an hour and 40 minutes, returned into Court with a verdict of Not Guilty.

The prisoner was then arraigned for the misdemeanour, but the counsel for the prosecution having declined to offer any evidence, he was at once acquitted and discharged from custody.

Mr. Sergeant Bompas applied to the Court to allow the expences of the prosecution.

The application was granted.

[This was in type last week; but a press of matter caused it to be left over.]

CORONER'S INQUESTS.

An inquest was held last week, at the General Penitentiary, on the body of Henry Harrew, aged 24. John Richard Groves, the governor, said that the prisoner had been found guilty of horse-stealing at the Hertford Assizes in 1840, and sentenced to twelve years' transportation, which sentence had afterwards been commuted unto four years' imprisonment in the Penitentiary. He had therefore been received in that establishment from the Warrior convict hulks. Dr. Baily said, that the prisoner had been attacked on the 14th inst., with a species of fever, and had been removed to the infirmary, where, though every attention had been paid to his case, he died on the 28th. To questions from the jury, the surgeon stated that the cause of autumnal fevers was, in his opinion, the same that induced diarrhœa in the prisoner, viz, the unhealthy and marshy nature of the locality. The number of prisoners was at that time about 1,000, and out of 700 men, there were only fifteen under medical care. —Verdict, "Death from Natural causes."

The same evening Mr. Payne held an inquest at the Crown Tavern, St. George's-circus, Southwark, on the body of Sarah White, aged 41, wife of John White, landlord of the house. Joseph Coles, barman at the Crown said that on Saturday he missed the deceased from the premises, and inquired of the barmaid if she was up stairs. She replied that she was not, and, on the kitchen maid saying that she had observed her some time before take away a lighted candle, an alarm was given, and witness went down at last to the cellar, which he found fastened. He got a hatchet, and forcing open a part of the door, found a bar behind it. He did not wish to do any more without witnesses, and got a policeman to aid him. They then forced the barrels back, and witness observed her legs hanging out of the water-butt. She was quite dead. The constable and he took her out, and sent for Drs. Evans and Hooper, but their aid was unavailing.

Richard Prosser, 53 L, was called in by the last witness. He corroborated all his statements, and added that her gown and bonnet were placed upon a barrel in the cellar.

Eleanor Hill, the barmaid, said that deceased was always nervously afraid that she would ultimately come to the workhouse, and since the birth of her last child her anxiety seemed increased.

Dr. Copeland, Southwark-bridge-road, said that he had attended her for two months. She was quite insane from delirium tremens, and he had cautioned her husband, and others, to keep a guard over her, or she would make away with herself. Verdict—"Temporary Insanity."

THE BOY JONES, who so often broke into Buckingham Palace, is on board the Warspite. Having lately attempted to desert, he was detected, and received a severe flogging.

CORMORANT (NOT A BISHOP).—An immense cormorant, a species of bird rarely found so far inland, was shot a few days since by a labouring man just as it was emerging from the canal at New Haw, in the immediate vicinity of Chertsey. When picked up it was found to have a bleak in its mouth, half swallowed four inches in length.

THE CORK MONTE PIETE having discontinued business is about to sell of off the pledges in store.

TRAVELLING IN 1753 AND 1843.—The following advertisement appeared in *Felix Farley* on the 7th of March, 1753:—"Bristol Flying Coach to London in two days; will set out from the White Hart Inn, in Broad-street, every Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, at two o'clock in the morning, and continue all the summer months; each passenger to pay 24s., and be allowed 20lbs. weight." On the 19th of July, 1843, the journey was performed in two hours and forty minutes.

ALLEGED CHILD MURDER.—Mr. Carter, the coroner, yesterday held an inquest at the Dorset Arms, Clapham-road, on the body of a male child, the offspring of Elizabeth Learmouth, cook in the service of Mrs. Fanny Reeve, a lady of fortune, residing at 19. Holland-place. Clapham-road. Emily Gibbs, housemaid in the establishment of Mrs. Reeve, stated that on Wednesday morning she took breakfast to Elizabeth in her room, as she had been unwell for two days. The witness then heard a dropping down the chimney, and observed the rain was falling; to which Learmouth observed, "*Yes it is, but it will* not be much." Gibbs got a duster, and on wiping the grate found it was blood. She then put her hand up the chimney to ascertain what it was, and having first pulled down a bag of shavings, found a bundle on the top of it covered with blood, which, upon being taken down stairs, was found to contain the body of a child." Witness went up to Learmouth, and told her what had been discovered, when she said, "Oh, don't let any one know it, it is my child." Upon being informed that Mrs. Reeve was aware of it, she exclaimed "Oh, put it away; no one will find it." She subsequently said it was born about two on Tuesday afternoon, but no one in the house ever supposed she was pregnant. The jury after some deliberation returned a verdict, "that the deceased died from the effects of strangulation produced by the umbilical cord round the neck during the birth, but that Elizabeth Learmouth, the mother, had been guilty of concealing the birth."—*Morning Chronicle*, Saturday.

PHONOGRAPHY.—Mr. Pitman's first Lecture on Phonography, which was delivered in the Theatre of the Birmingham Philosophical Institution on Wednesday last, was attended by a very numerous and highly respectable audience; indeed such was the desire to hear this first Locture on this new and very useful science, that the room was crowded in every part, and many respectable parties were unable to gain admission. As other Lectures will shortly be given, the public will have an opportunity of again hearing Mr. Pitman on this interesting science. One or two brief facts, however, connected with the extraordinary spread of the science are entitled to notice, the announcement of which at the close of the lecture was received with surprise and admiration. It was stated that more than 80,000 copies of Phonography are already in circulation, and that the science is used daily by several thousand persons. The *Phonographic Journal*, published monthly, has already reached a circulation of more than 1,000. It appears also that the Messrs. Pitman are in the habit of receiving and writing more than 350 letters per week in the phonographic character to ladies and gentlemen acquainted with the science, in different parts of England, Ireland, Scotland, and America. The following fact (for reporters and all desirous of becoming such), copied from the *Phonographic Journal* for this month, speaks volumes in favour of the science, both as regards its brevity and the extraordinary ease with which it may be read:—"A sermon was taken down, in Bath, by a Phonographer (*verbatim*), a few weeks since, and immediately forwarded to another Phonographer, who resided 100 miles distant, for his perusal, which was read off at first sight with as much ease and rapidity as though it had been written in the common long hand; although after the report had been taken, not a single word was retouched by the writer, but sent off by post immediately." Phonography, it appears, is a new and natural mode of writing by or according to sound applicable to all languages; it is much briefer than any mere system of Stenography in existence, capable of being read as easily as long hand, and written ten times as fast. The ease with which it may be learned is truly astonishing. From a notice of the system which has lately appeared in the *Christian Lady's Magazine*, it appears that a young gentleman, in the midst of other engagements, actually learned sufficient of the science in the leisure hours of two days to address a letter to the author in the phonographic character. The numerous and respectable calls the Messrs. Pitman are daily receiving, both for private instruction and for arrangements for public lectures to the various Societies, prove that the Birmingham public are appreciating the true value of this novel, philosophic, simple, and really interesting and useful method of writing. The subjoined opinion of Professors Thomson and Ramsay, two of the most eminent Professors of the Glasgow University, was furnished to Mr. I. Pitman, of Bath, the author, without solicitation:—"We have examined with care and interest Mr. Pitman's analysis of the sounds in language, which is made the basis of his system of Phonography, and we consider it not only ingenious, but also as founded throughout on correct philosophical principles."—*Birmingham Gazette.*

Bankrupts, &c.

From the London Gazette of Friday, Nov. 3.

BANKRUPTS.

Thomas Hilson Giles, of Bow, omnibus proprietor, *November 16 and December 12*, at eleven, at the Court of Bankruptcy, London. Mr. William Turquand, official assignee, 13, Old Jewry-chambers; and Mr. Lewis, solicitor, Arundel-street, Strand.

George Lawes, of Southampton, tailor, November 14, at half-past twelve, and December 13, at half-past one, at the Court of Bankruptcy, London. Mr. Lackington, official assignee, 3, Coleman-street Buildings; and Messrs. Dawes and Sons, solicitors, Angel-court, Throgmorton-street.

Jasper Howse Tipple, of Wymondham, Norfolk, bombazine manufacturer, November 10, at half-past one, and December 20, at eleven, at the Court of Bankruptcy, London. Mr. Johnson, official assignee, 20, Basinghall-street; Mr. Bircham, solicitor, Bedford-row, London; and Mr. Dalrymple, solicitor, Norwich.

William Warren, of Pownall Fee, Cheshire, blacksmith, November 15 and December 13, at twelve, at the Court of Bankruptcy, Manchester. Mr. James Stansall Pott, official assignee, Manchester; Mr. Henry Nethersole, 15, Essex-street, London; and Mr. Marmaduke Foster, solicitor, Manchester.

George Muir, of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, draper, Nov. 15, at one, and Dec. 12, at two, at the Court of Bankruptcy, Newcastle-upon-Tyne. Mr. Thomas Baker, official assignee, Newcastle-upon-Tyne; Mr. E. H. Plumptre, solicitor, Temple, London; and Mr. G. W. Cram, solicitors, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

John Smith, of Liverpool, draper, November 15 and December 15, at eleven, at the Court of Bankruptcy, Liverpool. Mr. James Cazenove, official assignee, Liverpool; Messrs. Reed and Shaw, solicitors, 2, Friday-street, Cheapside, London; and Mr. Dodge, solicitor, Liverpool.

Henry Griffiths, of Chelford, Cheshire, innkeeper, Nov. 15 and December 6, at the Court of Bankruptcy, Manchester. Mr. Richard Powdrell Hobson, official assignee, Manchester; Mr. John Cole, solicitor, 4, Adelphi-Terrace, Strand, London; and Messrs. J. and T. Roscoe, solicitors, Knutsford.

PARTNERSHIPS DISSOLVED.

John Lund and Robert Whitehead, of Keighley, Yorkshire, worsted manufacturers. Henry Chapman and Skelton Robert Gresson, of Liverpoool, wholesale stationers. Samuel Bowler and Thomas Bowler, of Manchester, spindle makers. Adam Watson, George Alexander M'Kenzie, and Murdoch M'Kenzie, of Liverpool, merchants. John Thorp and Joshua Thorp, of Manchester and Leigh, Lancashire, manufacturers of muslins. Mary Fitton, John Fitton, and Susanna Heap, of Stakehill, Lancashire, farmers. John Carter and Richard Smith, of Liverpool, wine dealers.

From the Gazette of Tuesday, Nov. 7.

BANKRUPTS.

John M,Lean, statuary mason, Sun-street, Bishopsgate-street without, to surrender, Nov. 17, at one, and Dec. 19, at half-past one, at the Court of Bankruptcy. Whitmore, official assignee; Brace, Surrey-street, Strand.

Charles Wynn Davies, upholsterer, Holborn, Nov. 16 and Dec. 19, at half-past eleven, at the Court of Bankruptcy. Graham, official assignee, Coleman-street; Dickson and Co., Old Jewry.

George Nettleton, tailor, Brompton, Kent, Nov. 16 and Dec. 19, at twelve, at the Court of Bankruptcy. Turquahand, official assignee, Old Jewry Chambers; Herbert, Staple-inn.

William Browne Cockerill, horse-dealer, Reedham, Norfolk, Nov. 15, at eleven, and Dec. 12, at twelve, at the Court of Bankruptcy. Green, official assignee, Aldermanbury; Richards and Walker, Lincoln's-inn-fields; Palmer, Great Yarmouth.

James Willis, ale and porter merchant, Osborne-street, Whitechapel, Nov. 17, at twelve, and Dec. 20, at one, at the Court of Bankruptcy. Johnson, official assignee, Basinghall-street; Goddard, Wood-street, Cheapside.

Alfred Henry Wagstaff, apothecary, Leighton Buzzard, Bedfordshire, Nov. 17, and Dec. 20, at one, at the Court of Bankruptcy. Johnson, official assignee, Coleman-street-buildings; Hodson and Gibbs, King's-road, Bodford-row.

David Aumonier, jeweller, Wigmore-street, Cavendish-street, Nov. 17, at eleven, and Dec. 20, at twelve, at the Court of Bankruptcy. Lackington, official assignee, Coleman-street-buildings; Patten, Ely-place, Holborn.

John Phillips, tailor, Pinners'-hall-court, Old Broad-street, Nov. 13, at eleven, and Dec. 13, at twelve, at the Court of Bankruptcy. Lackington, official assignee; Yonge, Tokenhouse-yard.

David Frazer, ship-owner, Little Tower-street, City, Nov. 15, at twelve, at Dec. 12, at one, at the Court of Bankruptcy. Green, official assignee; Ashby, Shoreditch.

Emanuel Charles, brickmaker, Radipole, Dorsetshire, Nov. 22, and Dec. 13, at eleven, at the Exeter District Court, Hernaman, official assignee; Phillips, Weymouth; Combe, Staple-inn, London.

Charles Harrington, plumber, Kidderminster, Nov. 22, at eleven, and Dec. 12, at two. Christie, official assignee, Birmingham; Haywood and Webb, Birmingham.

George Heckleton Crowther, stationer, Warrington, Lancashire, Nov. 21 and Dec. 13, at one, at the Manchester District Court. Hobson, official assignee, Manchester; Hampson, Manchester; Gregory, Faulkner, Gregory, and Bourdillon, Bedford-row, London.

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*** Town and Country Booksellers, and Agents, desirous of securing an early supply of this deservedly popular Almanack, must give their orders immediately.

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CONTENTS:—Weather Tables; Calendar; Remarkable Occurrences; Tide Table; Window and Dog Duties; Rising and Setting of the Sun; Moon's Changes; Eclipses; Population of, and Number of Voters in Great Britain; Cost of War since the Revolution; National Debt; Christianity; a Question for the whole body of Anti-Corn Law Men; Democratic Poetry; An Address to the Working and Middle Classes; and a great variety of Chartist and other useful information.

Published by Cleave, London; Hobson, Leeds; Heywood, Manchester; France and Sinclair, Newcastle; Oliver, Darlington; Davison, Stockton; Davison, Bishop Auckland; Williams, Sunderland; Tweddale, *Stokesley News and Cleveland Reporter* Office, Stokesley; and Railton, Barnard Castle. It may be obtained of any Chartist Bookseller in the Kingdom.

SECRECY.—SUCCESFUL TREATMENT.

MEDICAL ESTABLISHMENT,

13, *Trafalgar Street, Leeds.*

IT may be stated as a fact, that there is no disease which has demanded more, or received less, attention from the Medical Profession generally, than *Lues Venera*. From this cause alone, it is allowed to sweep away hundreds of victims annually. By the application of proper remedies, ninety-nine out of every hundred of these might be saved. But to attain this, it is necessary that a Medical Practitioner should devote his time almost exclusively to the consideration of this most insidious and dangerous disease. It appears under so many varied forms, and assumes so many different aspects, that nothing but constant experience can enable even the most devoted student to detect and eradicate it. When a Medical Man abandons the general practice of the Profession, and devotes his studies entirely to this particular branch, then he at once looses caste, and is branded by his colleagues as a *Quack*. In defiance of this contumelious epithet,

WILKINSON AND CO.,

Beg to state that they continue to apply all their knowledge and experience to the eradication of this baneful Disorder, finding a sufficient recompense in the happiness which they have been the means of restoring to thousands who would, in all probability, have otherwise sunk prematurely into the grave.

This Establishment has now been open upwards of seven years, during which period, thousands of cases have been treated, and in no one instance has the patient been disappointed of an effectual cure. In most instances, a few days have sufficed to eradicate the Disease; but where the disorder has been allowed to make serious inroads by delay or unskilful management, *more time has necessarily been required to* complete the cure. W. and Co., know of no instance where any establishment devoted to the care of the same class of disease, has maintained so long a standing, which must be regarded as a conclusive proof of their integrity and ability.

Long experience has enabled them to produce a remedy which is applicable to almost every stage of the disease. Their

PURIFYING DROPS

Have been used in thousands of cases, and with the most signal success. Perhaps no Medicine was ever offered to the Public, which has been so efficacious in restoring the diseased to health and vigour They are powerful and speedily efficacious, in the most obstinate as well as recent cases. A Treatise of twelve pages is given with them, explaining the various aspects of the Disease; and the directions are so full and explicit, that persons of either sex may cure themselves without even the knowledge of a bedfellow.

In compliance with the wishes of many of their Patients, Wilkinson and Co., a short time ago, published a Work, entitled

THE SECRET MEDICAL ADVISER;

Price Two Shillings and Sixpence, or sent free to the most remote parts of the kingdom (in a sealed envelope) on the receipt of a Post-office Order, for Three Shillings and Sixpence.

Within the space of six months a very large edition of this valuable Work has been disposed of, which will be a sufficient test of its importance. It is a Practical Treatise on the Prevention and Cure of the Venereal Disease, and other affections of the urinary and sexual organs, in both sexes, with a mild and successful mode of treatment, in all their forms and consequences; especially Gleet, Stricture, affections of the Bladder, Prostrate Glands, Gravel, &c.; shewing also the dangerous consequences of Mercury, such as eruptions of the skin, pain in the body, &c., with plain directions for a perfect restoration—embellished with Engravings. An ample consideration of the disease of the woman; also nervous debility; including a comprehensive Dissertation on the anatomy of marriage, impuissance, celibacy, *sterility or barrenness*, and other various interruptions of the laws of nature. Also, observations on the Secret Sin of Youth, which entails such fearful consequences on its victims. This invaluable little Work, together with their Purifying Drops and other Medicines, may be had of W. & Co., at their Establishment, 13, Trafalgar Street, Leeds; or of the following

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Liverpool—At the *Chronicle* Office, 25, Lord-street.
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Ripon—Mr. Harrison, Bookseller, Market-place.
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Gainsborough—Mr. R. Brown, Bookseller.
Mansfield—Mr. S. Dobson, News-agent, 519, Belvedere-street.
Boston—Mr. Noble, Bookseller.
Louth—Mr. Hurton, Bookseller.
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A sufficient supply of Biscuit, Flour, Oatmeal, Rice, and Potatoes, are found by the ship; and one shilling per day allowed each passenger, if detained, according to Act of Parliament.

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"If we consider the topics upon either in a moral or social view, we find the interests and welfare of mankind seriously involved. The effects of licentious, indiscriminate and secret indulgence in certain practices, are described with an accuracy and force which display at once profound reflection and extensive practical experience."—*The Planet.*

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"Although a newspaper is not the ordinary channel for the expression of opinion upon the merits of a medical work, this remark is open to exception in any instance where the public, and not the isolated and exclusive members of the profession, are the parties addressed. Upon that which is directed to men indiscriminately, the world will form its own opinion, and will demand that medical works for popular study should be devoid of that mysterious technicality in which the science of medicine has hitherto shrouded its own ignorance. The work before us treats of subjects we believe generally, yet very strangely, neglected by the medical attendant, and requiring doubtlessly (as in operative midwifery and the surgery of the eye) an entire devotedness to a deeply important branch of study. The tone of this book is highly moral, and it abounds in well-written, harrowing, yet correct displays of the suffering consequent upon unbridled sensualism. No human being can be the worse for its perusal; to multitudes it must prove a warning beacon, a well-told appeal to reason, a permanent blessing. It is written in a clear intelligible style, and is evidently the production of a mind long and practically conversant with the diseases of the most delicate division of the human organization."—*The Magnet.*

"The security of HAPPINESS IN THE MARRIAGE STATE is the chief anxiety of all; but many dread entering upon wedded union, through a secret fear of unfitness for the discharge of matrimonial obligations. This essay is most particularly addressed to all suffering under a despondency of the character alluded to; and advice will be found calculated to cheer the drooping heart, and point the way to renovated health."

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Country Patients are requested to be as minute as possible in the detail of their cases, as to the duration of the complaint, the symptoms, age, general habits of living, and occupation in life of the party. The communication must be accompanied by the usual consultation fee of £1, without which no notice whatever can be taken of their application; and in all cases the most inviolable secrecy may be relied on.

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THE following testimonials from respectable persons, in addition to many hundreds of DECIDED CURES—particulars of which have been already published—established the character of PARR'S LIFE PILLS, as *the Best Medicine in the World*:—

TO THE PROPRIETORS OF PARR'S LIFE PILLS.

Gentlemen,—This is to inform you, in detail, what OLD PARR'S LIFE PILLS (or Pills of Health), have done for me.

First.—They have cured me of a Cough, of about three years duration, by which I could sleep very little; but the third night I took them I slept comfortably.

Secondly.—Of a Nervous Affection, with which I have been troubled for many years.

Thirdly.—Of Costiveness, from which I have suffered much for many years, having been, except at intervals, for three, four, five, six, seven, and eleven days in torment, previous to going to the ground.

Fourthly.—Of the Rheumatism, from which I have suffered much, for upwards of 40 years.

Fifthly.—Of a Scorbutic humour, with which I have been tormented at least 44 years, having been lame with it, several times, for months together. This has been a very stubborn case. I do not know what I may have, but at present, I have not a sore spot, or a pain about me. I am now enabled to bless and praise God for his mercies in bringing to light such a restorative health and soundness of body. I am not like the same person as I was a year ago being so much altered for the better.

All these cures have been effected in me, by the use of PARR'S LIFE PILLS.

And lastly.—I believe them to be, a safe preventative of the Bowel Complaint, for, neither I nor my wife have had it, since taking them; she having frequently had it previous.

I am, Gentlemen, your humble Servant,
R. W. RICHARDSON, Schoolmaster.

Red Lion-street, Walsall, Staffordshire, January 30th, 1843.

WITNESS.—R. Richardson, his present wife, can vouch to his being afflicted as above, for more than 22 years.

NOTE.—You are at liberty to make use of the above statement, in any way you please; I am ready to answer any question put to me relating thereto.

R. W. R.

Messrs. T. Roberts and Co., London

To Mr. James Arthur, Bookseller, Rickergate, Carlisle.

SIR,—I cannot refrain from expressing the deep gratitude I feel, for the great benefit I have derived from taking Parr's Life Pills. For the space of eighteen months I was seriously afflicted with a complaint of the stomach, accompanied with severe pain and flatulency. During that time I had much medical advice, and was a patient at the Carlisle Dispensary, for six months, but without deriving the slightest benefit whatever. I also tried several patent medicines, but without experiencing any benefit. I was worn out to a complete skeleton, —had a severe cough and spit, and was also troubled with Diabetes, and had no hope of ever recovering; fortunately, however, I was informed by some of my neighbours, of the great benefit they had derived from Parr's Life Pills, purchased from you; I accordingly agreed to give them a trial. I did so, and during the last eighteen months, I have taken about twelve boxes, which have been attended with the most happy results. I am now quite well in health, and am labouring very long hours. I have considered it my duty to recommend this excellent medicine to others, and am happy to be able to state that it has been attended in many cases, with very favourable results.

I remain, Sir, your obedient Servant,
JOHN DAVIDSON,
Slaymaker, Rigg-street, Caldewgate.

Reference can be made to Mr. JAMES ARTHUR, Bookseller, Rickergate, Carlisle, who can bear testimony as to the great benefit derived by many others from taking the above-named medicine.

Carlisle, Oct. 11th, 1843.

The following letter, just received by the Proprietors from the Rev. David Harrison, Independent Minister, Whitstable, near Canterbury, is a further proof of their efficacy in cases of Indigestion, Liver- and Stomach Complaints, &c., &c.:—

Whitstable, Sept. 5, 1842.

"MY DEAR FRIEND

"I received the box of PARR'S LIFE PILLS you so kindly sent me, for which I beg you to accept my best thanks. They could not have come more opportunely, as I was suffering considerably from indigestion at the time. I immediately commenced taking the pills, and found great benefit in a few days. I have taken them subsequently, with the same happy effect, which induces me to believe that they are an exceedingly beneficial remedy in indigestion. A friend of mine has found them of great utility in an obstinate liver complaint. If my recommendation can be of any service, you are

Poetry.

BIRDS.

(BY ELIZA COOK.)

Birds! birds! ye are beautiful things,
With your earth-treading feet and your cloud-cleaving wings.
Where shall man wander, and where shall he dwell,
Beautiful birds, that ye come not as well?
Ye have nests on the mountain all rugged and stark;
Ye have nests in the forest all tangled and dark;
Ye build and ye brood 'neath the cottagers' eaves,
And ye sleep on the sod 'mid the bonnie green leaves;
Ye hide in the heather, ye lurk in the brake,
Ye dive in the sweet flags that shadow the lake;
Ye skim where the stream parts the orchard-decked land;
Ye dance where the foam sweeps the desolate strand:
Beautiful birds, ye come thickly around,
When the bud's on the branch and the snow's on the ground;
Ye come when the richest of roses flush out,
And ye come when the yellow leaf eddies about.

Grey-haired pilgrim, thou hast been
Round the chequered world I ween;
Thou hast lived in happy lands,
Where the thriving city stands;
Thou hast travell'd far to see
Where the city used to be;
Chance and change are every where,
Riches here and ruins there;
Pilgrim thou hast gazed on all,
On rising pile and fading wall.
Tell us, saw ye not brave birds,
In the crumbling halls of old,
Where Monarch's smile and ruler's words
Breathed above the chalice'd gold?
Say who is it now that waits
At the "hundred brazen gates"?
Who is now the great High Priest,
Bending o'er the carrion feast?
Who is now the reigning one,
O'er the dust of Babylon?
It is the owl with doleful scream,
Waking the jackall from his dream;
It is the Raven black and sleek,
With shining claw and sharpened beak;
It is the Vulture sitting high
In mockery of thrones gone by.

Pilgrim, say, what dost thou meet
In busy mart and crowded street?
There the smoke-brown Sparrow sits;
There the dingy Martin flits;
There the tribs from dove-house coop
Take their joyous morning swoop;
There the treasured singing pet
In his narrow cage is set,
Welcoming the beams that come
Upon his gilded prison-home.

* * * *

Pilgrim say, who was it show'd
A ready pathway to the Alp?
Who was it crossed your lonely road,
From the valley to the scalp?
Tired and timid friends had failed,
Resting in the hut below;
But your bold heart still was hailed
By the eagle and the crow!

* * * *

Mariner! mariner; thou mayst go
Far as the strongest wind can blow,
But much thou'l tell when thou comest back
Of the sea running high and the sky growing black;
Of the mast that went with a rending crash,
Of the lee-shore seen by the lightning's flash:
And never shalt thou forget to speak
Of the white Gull's cry and the Petrel's shriek;
For out on the ocean, leagues away,
Madly skimmeth the boding flock.
The storm-fire burns, but what care they?
'Tis the season of joy and the time for play,
When the thunder-peal and the breaker's spray
Are bursting and boiling around the rock.

* * * *

Up in the morning while the dew
Is splashing in crystals o'er him,
The ploughman hies to the upland rise,
But the Lark is there before him.
He sings while the team is yoked to the share;
He sings while the mist is going;
He sings when the noon-tide south is fair;
He sings when the west is glowing.
Now his pinions are spread o'er the peasant's head;
Now he drops in the furrow behind him.
O! the Lark is a merry and constant mate,
Without favour or fear to bind him.

Beatiful birds! how the school boy remembers
The warblers that chorused his holiday tune,
The robin that chirp'd in the frosty Decembers,
The Blackbird that whistled through flower-crowned June.
That schoolboy remembers his holiday ramble,
When he pull'd every blossom of palm he could see,
When his finger was raised as he stopped in the bramble,
With "Hark! there's the Cuckoo, how close he must be."

Beautiful birds! we're encircled thy names
With the fairest of fruits and the fiercest of flames,
We paint War with his Eagle and Peace with her Dove,
With the red bolt of Death, and the olive of Love;
The fountain of friendship is never complete
Till ye coo o'er its waters so sparkling and sweet;
And where is the hand that would dare to divide
Even Wisdom's grave self from the Owl by her side?

Beautiful creatures of freedom and light,
O! where is the eye that groweth not bright
As it watches you trimming your soft, glossy coats,
Swelling your bosoms and ruffling your throats?
O! I would not ask, as the old ditties sing,
To be "happy as sand-boy" or "happy as king;"
For the joy is more blissful that bids me declare,
"I'm as happy as all the wild bir ls in the air."
I will tell them to find me a grave when I die,
Where no marble will shut out the glorious sky.
Let them give me a tomb where the daisy will bloom,
Where the moon will shine down, and the leveret pass by;
But be sure there's a tree stretching out, high and wide,
Where the Linnet, Thrush, and the Wood-lark may hide:
For the truest and purest of requiems heard
Is the eloquent hymn of the beautiful Bird.

Reviews.

TAIT'S MAGAZINE.

TAIT opens this month with a vigorous defence of Lord Brougham. The ex-Chancellor is a man who has done no small amount of both good and evil in his time. It is but fair to acknowledge, that in his day, Lord Brougham did more than any other man ever connected with the Whig party, toward rousing the people to a knowledge of their rights, and in many instances devoted his talents to the service of the community and of mankind at large. At the same time, we have not forgotten his calumnies directed against the English labourers in the debates on the New Poor Law, and the support he gave to that execrable measure. Indeed it is to him that the people of this country are principally indebted for that monstrous act of robbery, cruelty, and wrong, dignified with the name of "law." Hence we are not very enthusiastic admirers of the ex-Chancellor; still we loathe the systematic and hireling abuse heaped upon him by the hacks of the Whig press. If anything could reconcile us to Lord Brougham, it is his renunciation of that basest of all base factions that ever cursed this or any other country with their existence,—the Whigs: and Lord Brougham has certainly "done the State some service" by his exposures, of late years, of the political delinquencies of that rascally, hypocritical crew. For this he has had the daily and weekly abuse of all the bribed press-writers in the pay of his former colleagues. One favourite piece of lying, much in vogue with these hacks, of which the *Chronicle* and *Examiner* are the chiefs, is that of ascribing to the pen of Lord Brougham anything that may appear in print in his defence. This was the case with a letter in the *Standard*. The Editor of the *Standard* denied it; and Lord Brougham solemnly asserted the falsehood of the accusation. No matter; the *Morning Chronicle* of Friday last comes out with an article of a column and a half in length, (stuffed with most rancorous abuse) devoted to the showing that the defence of Lord Brougham in *Tait's Magazine* is written by Lord Brougham's self. Surely the force of impudence can no further go! But these dirty Whigs judge of every one else by themselves. Lord Palmerston has, it is said, lately become one of the proprietors of the *Chronicle*; and those profound articles, laudatory of the Palmerstonian policy, which involved us in the wars with China and Affghanistan, desolated the shores of Syria, and added so immensely to the power of Russia,—are said to be written by him elf. So says public rumour; and neither Lord Palmerston nor the *Chronicle* have denied the truth of the "soft impeachment." Thus do these masked and prostituted writers charge upon others that of which they know themselves to be guilty. *Tait*, however, gives them as good as they send, though certainly in a style very different, because infinitely above, that of Lord Brougham's "detractors." Speaking of them *Tait* says:—

"Posterity will pronounce between Lord Brougham and his virulent maligners, though it is doubtful if posterity will hear of their names in connexion with his, unless he shall, to his other works, add a new Dunciad;—a *Knaviad* might be the apter title. The Whig scribes of the day who now traduce him will be forgotten as are the Tory ones of a past day—the venomous *Examiners* share the oblivion of the ferocious *John Bull*. But do those persons who, at second-hand and on trust, take up this foul railing at Lord Brougham, ever reflect upon what a debt of gratitude Britain and humanity owe to that one man?—or what of tenderness and reverence is due to so eminent a benefactor of his species, even admitting that all with what he is charged were as true as it is either false, or perverted and exaggerated? Is there at this moment one living statesman who has accomplished so much substantial good for mankind, for the cause of freedom, for the promotion of civilisation, for the widest interests of the whole race, as this same calumniated Lord Brougham? It has been his singular fortune to be the benefactor of his species to an extent that it is not easy to calculate, and also to draw forth among his contemporaries more of the baser and more hateful qualities of human nature than any other great statesman."

We, of course, by no means "go the whole hog" with the writer in the above quotation, so laudatory of his "Lordship." There is much of truth in the following, with which we conclude this notice of "Lord Brougham and his Detractors":—

"There are reasons for all things. It was not for nothing that the Whigs enjoyed, if not power, then patronage for ten years. If they did not in that period glut every follower with the fat of place, they yet dispensed many good things, and gave all their adherents a keen appetite for a further taste. They did nothing for their country—they said they had no power—but they did a great deal to strengthen themselves as a faction. Now, from the highest to the lowest—from the courtly Sybarite who basked in the smiles of virgin Majesty, to the lowest well-paid or expectant whipper-in and jobber in the remotest Whig garrison of the empire—from the highest to the lowest of the confraternity, there was, and is, and must be, dislike, jealousy, or furious hatred of Lord Brougham. And for this good reason—that he powerfully helped to turn out the *Finality*, useless Administration—thanks to him!—and helps to keep it out, too, until it shall shew what claim, from will and power to serve the country, it has upon public confidence."

"Young Scotland" is an amusing squib from the pen of Bon Gaultier, let off at the expense of the *Illuminati* of modern Europe. The milk-sop mysticisms, and lack-a-dasical retrogressions of "Young England;" and the rabid, blood-and-thunder anti-Saxon bullyings of "Young Ireland" are bravely hit off, and will afford the reader, as it has us, a hearty *guffaw*.

The concluding notice of "De Custines Empire of the Czar" we shall give extracts from in our next. An excellent analysis of Mrs. Gore's new novel, "The Banker's Wife," follews; and to novel readers will be well worth the whole price of the Magazine.

"The Bushrangers" is one of a series of "Australian Sketches" giving an exciting account of the dangers which the settler in that part of the world is exposed to from the terrible brigands of the "Bush."

There is a good review of the recently published biographies of Dr. Edmund Cartwright, (brother to the celebrated Major Cartwright); and Mr. Sydney Taylor. The former, the inventor of the power-loom, and the latter a highly popular writer, who many years contributed to our periodical literature, and was one of the principal writers in the *Morning Herald*; the inimitable articles on death punishments, the Poor Laws, the Slave Trade, &c. being from his pen. "His writings in the periodicals of the day, for upwards of twenty years, embrace a vast range and variety of subjects; though nearly all of them have some direct and high moral aim. What his persevering and powerful advocacy of the abolition of Death Punishments effected is well known; but he was also the advocate of every social improvement and reform."

A number of extracts are given from the articles in the *Herald*. We can only find room for the following:—

"PROGRESS OF RURAL INCENDIARISM.

"The progress of rural incendiarism is alarming. Our columns [*Morning Herald's*] and those of other journals, bear daily testimony to the melancholy fact. To conceal the truth serves no other purpose than to prevent our ascertaining the cause of the evil, to which a remedy ought to be applied. What is the cause of the dreadful prevalence of a crime so foreign to the habits of the English people in former times, and which illumines our fields in these days of 'Reform' and 'intellect,' with the desolating flames of midnight conflagration? If we cannot say what the cause *is*, we can certainly say what it is *not*. It is not the leniency of the law, nor the mild and merciful spirit in which in which it has been carried into effect, that has encouraged the crime of stack-burning. The law, we need not say, is a law denouncing death to the offender—a law which has, for several years past, been inexorably executed in almost every case of conviction; and, we regret to add, in many instances in which there are strong reasons to believe that the victims of the law were innocent. Still the crime has gone on increasing. Scarcely is the dreadful work of an Assize over, when it bursts out afresh, and seems to defy the power of the law to extinguish it with blood.

"This state of things should, long since, have awakened the attention of the Ministers of the Crown to the condition of the rural population. It should have convinced them that there is something rotten in the social system, which *political* 'reforms,' as they are called, do not touch. * *

"A wise and just Government would have endeavoured to find employment for the people, and adequate wages, before it punished them for being idle. Such a Government would never think of making the system of workhouse prisons universal, and punishing poverty as a crime. It would make a distinction between voluntary and unavoidable pauperism—between sturdy vagrancy and the casual dependence which is the visitation of misfortune. But our Government is neither wise nor just. It aggravates, by its bad measures or its neglect, the misery that misgovernment has brought upon them, and then relies upon the long-disproved efficacy of exterminating laws to protect society from the consequences of its own errors, indolence, or vices!"

An excellent article on "Railway Reform" to which we may return at a future time, concludes the principal of the articles in prose. The "Literary Register" contains some very entertaining extracts, and the "Poetry" is as usual worthy of the high literary character of the Magazine. We conclude our extracts with

"THE EMIGRANT'S SONG.

["We stood on a crowded pier, where a multitude assembled to watch the departure of a band of Cornish Emigrants who were about to embark for New Zealand. These voluntary exiles entered the boats that bore them for ever from their native land with shouts and smiles of gladness, saying, as they cheerfully departed, 'Give us joy, we shall return no more.' An old woman of seventy, tottering on, answered indignantly, 'I am,' when an inquiry was made as to whether she too was going. Eighty from one parish departed together; they left not a relative behind them. Their vessel rode at anchor at a short distance from the shore. For a few moments after every boat had reached the ship there was profound silence—then a mournful cry arose, faintly borne over the still waters. My little companion said, 'They sing a hymn;' but in my mind I thought it was the irrepressible burst of grief which succeeded the Emigrant's reckless Farewell.]

FORTH from our fathers' homes,
We come a dauntless band.
With every pulse of sorrow still'd,
To leave our native land,
With shouts we gain the crowded shore,
And return no more.

Our fathers' homes have been
A scene of toil and grief;
In vain we plough'd our stubborn land
To yield our souls relief.
Gladly we leave its fatal shore,
To return no more.

England—the time has been,
The strongest men would grieve;
Hearts, like the riven oak, would break,
Thy boasted land to leave:
Yet gladly shall we quit thy shore,
To return no more.

And can our spirits rise,
To tempt the stormy sea!
We have no crimes to weigh us down;
We have been guiltless—free.
Why should we joy to leave thy shore,
To return no more?

Birds in a garden set,
Whose fruits are turned to gold;
So we in English Edens dwelt,
And pined midst stores untold.
Should we then mourn to quit the shore
Where starve the poor?

Our wives have droop'd from pain,
Our little ones have died;
And still the lordlings of the land
Roll'd by us in their pride.
O cursed be the flinty shore
That spurned its poor!

Sorely we've been beset
By cares too great to tell:
Taxation, with his iron gripe,
Hath made our bosoms swell;
And driv'n us from our father's door,
A homeless poor.

In summer's golden prime
We view'd with honest glee
Our orchards teem with promis'd gain,
Our flocks make glad the lea:
O then we praised Old England's shore,
And wept no more.

We rose at early dawn,
To whet the ready scythe;
But craftily the parson came
To seize his oft-claim'd tithe.
We vow'd to leave a priest-ruled shore,
And return no more.

They wrong God's mighty power
Who make us bend the knee,
And pay to *State* religions, when
Our Saviour set us free.
Away!—we bend the knee no more
On Compulsion's shore.

And shall we leave behind
The foes who mock'd our pain?
Shall thousand ages roll away,
And we not meet again?
O, yes! we gladly quit their shore,
To return no more.

And shall we leave behind
The friends we've lov'd so well?
O, no! together will we roam,
In freer lands to dwell.
England—we quit thy chain-bound shere,
And return no more.

The infant at the breast,
The mother fond and true,
The grandame with her palsied limbs,
The youth with health's bright hue;
All leave behind their native shore,
And return no more.

Ah, why this starting tear?
Have we not ceased to feel?
In poverty's rough school we learn'd
Our weaker powers to steel.
England hath cast us from her shore!
We will weep no more.

(Vainly the effort made:
Nature asserts her sway,
And o'er each rugged feature now
The better feelings play).
England—we love our native shore,
Though scorn'd and poor!

However bright our home,
And free from care and pain,
Our hearts are bound to Albion's isle
By strong Affection's chain:
Our echoing voices bless the shore
We behold no more!"

THE ARTIZAN NO. X. London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co.

This month's number contains some excellent articles on "Modern Art in Germany." "The Atmospheric Railway;" "The health of the working classes in large towns;" "The Trades of Birmingham;" "The Building Arts;" "On Cuttings, Embankments" &c.; with a large number of minor pieces, all exhibiting an amount of research, literary talent, and practical knowledge, calculated to ensure the success and lasting stability of this publication,—an honour to the class from whom it emanates and for whom it is published.

From the article "On the health of the Working Classes in large towns," we give the following extracts:—

"Leeds is situated on a slope running down towards the river Aire, which meanders about a mile and a half through the town, and is liable to overflows during thaws or after heavy rains. The higher or western districts are clean for so large a town, but the lower parts contiguous to the river and its becks or rivulets are dirty, confined, and, in themselves, sufficient to shorten life, especially infant life; add to this the disgusting state of the lower parts of the town about Kirkgate, Marsh-lane, Cross-street, and Richmond-road, principally owing to a general want of paving and draining, irregularity of building, the abundance of courts and blind alleys, as well as the almost total absence of the commonest means for promoting cleanliness, and we have then quite sufficient data to account for the surplus mortality in these unhappy regions of filth and misery.

"In consequence of the floods from the Aire, the dwelling-houses and cellars are frequently so inundated that the water has to be pumped out by hand-pumps, *on to the surface of the streets*; and at such times, even where there are sewers, the water rises through them into the cellars, creating miasmatic exhalations, strongly charged with sulphuretted hydrogen, and leaving offensive refuse, exceedingly prejudicial to human health. Indeed during a season of inundation in the spring of 1839, so fatal were the effects of such an engorgement of the sewers, that the *registrar of the North district* made a report, that during that quarter there were, in that neighbourhood, *two* births to *three* deaths, whilst in all the other districts there were *three to two* deaths. Other populous districts are without sewers, or so inadequately provided as to derive no advantage therefrom. In some rows of houses, the cellar dwellings are seldom dry; in another district, several streets are described as being "in that state in which a frequented road leading to a brick-garth would be in wet weather." The inhabitants have from time to time vainly attempted to repair these streets with shovelsfull of ashes; for soil, refuse-water, &c., stand in every hole where a lodgement can be made, there to remain until absorbed by wind or sun—"a perpetual nuisance to the eye, and a perpetual source of fever to the whole body."—(*Report of Town Council in Statistical Journal*, vol. 2, p. 404). The confined state of the dwellings is another cause fraught with evils of a moral as well as physical nature. An ordinary cottage in Leeds, extends over no more than about five yards square, and consists usually of a cellar, a sitting room, and a sleeping chamber. This small size of the houses, indeed, may perhaps be one of the causes of the tendency to consumption, which bears a high proportion here to other diseases, and prevails to a much greater extent than is generally imagined—for there can be no doubt, that the vitiated atmosphere of sleeping rooms so confined, crammed almost to suffocation with human beings during both day and night, predisposes the system to lung-diseases. We believe, moreover, that this tendency to phthisis is in a very small degree if at all owing to the nature of the woollen manufactures. The Irish hand-loom weavers are here, as elsewhere, remarkable for that total indifference to comfort and decency, which renders them a bane to every population with which they commingle.

"Birmingham, the great seat of the toy and trinket trade, and competing with Sheffield in the hardware manufacture, is furnished by its position on a slope falling towards the Rea, with a very good natural drainage, which is much promoted by the porous nature of the sand and gravel, of which the adjacent high grounds are mainly composed. The principal streets, therefore, are well drained by covered sewers; but still in the older parts of the town there are many inferior streets and courts, which are dirty and neglected, filled with stagnant water and heaps of refuse. The courts of Birmingham are very numerous in every direction, exceeding 2 000, and comprising the residence of a large portion of the working classes. They are for the most part narrow, filthy, ill-ventilated, and badly drained, containing from eight to twenty houses each, the houses being usually three stories high and often merely *single*, that is, built against some other tenement, and the end of the courts being pretty constantly occupied by ashpits, &c, the filth of which would defy description. It is but just, however, to remark that the courts of more modern date are built in a more rational manner, and kept tolerably respectable; and the cottages, even in courts, are far less crowded than in Manchester and Liverpool, the result of which is, that the inhabitants, in epidemic seasons, have been much less visited by death than those of Wolverhampton, Dudley, and Bilston, at only a few miles distance. Cellar-residences, also, are unknown in Birmingham, though some few are, very improperly, used as workshops. The low lodging-houses are somewhat numerous (somewhat exceeding 400), chiefly in courts near the centre of the town; they are almost always loathsomely filthy and close, the resorts of beggars, trampers, thieves, and prostitutes, who here, regardless alike of decency or comfort, eat, drink, smoke, and sleep in an atmosphere unendurable by all except the degraded, besotted inmates. In such places as these small-pox, scarlatina, low continued fever, inflammation of the lungs, bronchitis and pulmonary phthisis, carry off about one in twenty-four yearly: and it is rarely, indeed, that, in the lowest districts, as Slaney-street, Steel-house-lane, and similar localities, one sees a person whose age may exceed fifty,—so baneful are the effects of the miasmatic influence exerted on the vital energies. Typhus, however, in its true form, is rare in Birmingham, causing a mortality of only 4·3 per cent., while the deaths from eruptive fevers, generally, are 14 per cent. of the whole mortality. The mortality of infants is high—exceeding 32 per cent; and of those who die every year about one-third are carried off by lung-diseases—chiefly tubercular consumption and inflammation (pneumonia). On the whole, Birmingham is less unhealthy than might be supposed from the kinds of occupation in which about 67 per cent. of its popelation are engaged; but there still remain numerous glaring evils, the reform of which will unquestionally lessen the number of the dying, and add to the vigour and happiness of the living population.

"Before we close these descriptions of the sanitary condition of towns, it will be necessary to say a few words on Edinburgh and Glasgow—the leading towns of Scotland—and it will be plainly seen that gaunt misery is as familiar with our northern artizans as with our poorer brethren in the south. Edinburgh has the reputation of being a beautiful and singularly well-placed city; so much so, indeed, that it has been termed "the modern Athens;" but this description applies principally to the New Town, which has been built less than a century, whereas the Old Town, which was built at different times, and originally within walls, consists of numerous closes, or *wynds*, diverging from the High-street, and the houses are often so close together, that persons may step from the window of one house to that of the house opposite—so high, piled story after story with the view of saving room, that the light can scarcely penetrate to the court beneath. In this part of the town there are neither sewers nor any private conveniences whatever belonging to the dwellings; and hence the excrementitious and other refuse of at least 50,000 persons is, during the night, thrown into the gutters, causing (in spite of the *scavengers'* daily labours) an amount of solid filth and fœtid exhalation disgusting to both sight and smell, as well as exceedingly prejudicial to health. Can it be wondered that, in such localities, health, morals, and common decency should be at once neglected? No; all who know the private condition of the inhabitants will bear testimony to the immense amount of their disease, misery, and demoralisation. Society in these quarters has sunk to a state indescribably vile and wretched; and, as Mr. Chambers observes, in a letter to the poor-law commissioners, "they have gravitated to a point of wretchedness from which no efforts of the pulpit, the press, or the schoolmaster can raise them; for they are *too deeply sunk* in physical distress, and far too obtuse in their moral perceptions, to derive advantage from any such means of melioration." The dwellings of the poorer classes are generally very filthy, apparently never subjected to any cleaning process whatever, consisting, in most cases, of a single room, ill-ventilated and yet cold, owing to broken ill-fitting windows, sometimes damp and partially under-ground, and always scantily furnished and altogether comfortless, heaps of straw often serving for beds, in which a whole family—male and female, young and old—are huddled together in revolting confusion. The supplies of water are obtained only from the public pumps, and the trouble of procuring it of course favours the accumulation of all kinds of abominations. The result of such a state of things will be found by referring to Dr. Alison's work on the 'Management of the Poor.' It is there stated that, owing to the crowded and intolerably filthy state of the lodgings, the Lanes and closes of the Old Town are scarcely ever free from malignant fever, and that in the city itself the *mortality* (1837-8) amounted to 4¼ per cent. (1 in 22) almost equal to that of the plague-depopulated Constantinople.

"Glasgow is a city, the appearance of which is in every way inferior to Edinburgh, and the fact of its being the seat of an extensive weaving industry, would lead us, *a priori*, to conceive a probably high amount of destitution and unhealthy crowding of population. The climate is far from being unhealthy; the population in 1846 was estimated at 282 000, of whom *about* 78 *per cent. belong to the working classes* 50 000 being Irish. Glasgow has its fine, *airy, healthy quarters, that may* vie with those of London and all wealthy cities; but it has others also which, in abject wretchedness, exceed the lowest purlieus of St. Giles' or Whitechapel, the liberties of Dublin, or the wynds of Edinburgh. Such localities exist most abundantly in the heart of the city—south of the Trongate and west of the Saltmarket, as well as in the Calton, off the High-street, &c.—endless labyrinths of narrow lanes or wynds, into which almost at every step debouche courts or closes, formed by old, ill-ventilated, towering houses crumbling to decay, destitute of water, and crowded with inhabitants, comprising three or four families (perhaps twenty persons) on each flat, and sometimes each flat let out in lodgings that confine—we dare not say accommodate—from fifteen to twenty persons in a single room. These districts are *occupied by the poorest, most depraved*, and most worthless portion of the population, and they may be considered as the fruitful source of these pestilential fevers which thence spread their destructive ravages over the whole of Glasgow. Fluctuations of trade and low rates of wages no doubt contribute a principal portion of the misery, which is nearly doubled by a reckless addiction to the use of ardent spirits, which are here so cheap (4½d the half-pint) as to be drunk almost as copiously as porter is swallowed by the English, and give rise to an incredible number of whiskey-shops. We incline to think, however, that, if the domestic comforts of the poor were increased by sanitary regulations, the dram-shops would be far less patronised and gradually annihilated, and men would not be found loitering and besotting themselves in the whiskey-houses to avoid the harrowing, depressing sights of domestic misery. Dr. Cowan's book on the "Vital Statistics of Glasgow" is in every way worthy of attentive study, and shows a great surplus of typhus, low, continued fever, bowel diseases, and diseases of the lungs, by all of which, but principally the first, the whole population is carried off at the rate of 1 in 31; while the working poor—a stunted, starveling, puny, dissipated-looking race—are killed off at the fearfully rapid rate of one in twenty-four: life at birth to these classes being worth scarcely more than twenty years' purchase!

"Enough—and more than enough—of such startling, sickening details. We propose, on a future occasion, to point out the remedies for such fearful evils: first, those which each working man can apply for himself without interference from law or town authorities; secondly, those which must flow out of some general act of the legislature that shall affect retrospectively and prospectively every town in the British Empire."

We regret that we cannot find room for the valuable tables interspersed in this article, shewing the fearful amount of mortality in large towns as compared with the rural districts. These tables shew "that epidemics are more than thrice as fatal in Manchester and Liverpool than in the rural districts; that diseases of the nervous system are more than quintupled, and diseases of the stomach rather more than doubled; while deaths by lung diseases in towns seem to be as 2·5 to 1 in the country. A very important consideration, however, to which we would call particular attention, is this: that the deaths of infants are increased *fourfold* by epidemics (small-pox, measles, hooping-cough, and scarlatina): *threefold* by water on the brain, and almost *tenfold* by convulsions! Suicides also are greatly increased in towns, and most of them are committed by persons belonging to the working classes."

For the tables themselves we must refer our readers to the Magazine; which we again earnestly recommend as one of the most talented and truly useful periodicals issuing from the Metropolitan Press.

THE NEW AGE and CONCORDIUM GAZETTE. November 1843

A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE FIRST CONCORDIUM, OR HARMONIOUS INDUSTRIAL COLLEGE. London: Cleave, Shoe-lane, Fleet-street.

The former of these publications,—the monthly organ of the Society, (price two-pence,) contains several good articles. From the latter (price one penny) we give the following extracts illustrative of the mode of life pursued by this in eresting body of Social Reformers, who seem to realize practically (so far as possible) what god-like Shelley only dreamed of in his "Queen Mab":—

"Taking then their rules from this highest triune law, they proceed to the practical working in accordance with it, and in so doing, find it needful to adopt the most simple and industrious habits of life as being the best conditions for the evolution of good in the *moral, psychical, and physical spheres* Hence they usually rise early, say from four to half-past five o'clock. Bathing and other personal operations occupy till a quarter-past six, when the bell rings for work of all *kinds to commence*; and each in their respective department work till a quarter before eight, when they prepare for breakfast. This commences at eight o'clock, and consists generally of Scotch oatmeal porridge, rice, brown wheaten bread, apples, lettuce, and other green food, such as the garden produces at the time. In winter, figs, dates, or raisins are provided, instead of the variety the summer affords During the breakfast, one of the members reads aloud a portion of some interesting work selected by themselves. A great variety *of subjects are thus brought before the consideration of* the members, and considerable information is obtained by them. This practice is also observed during both *dinner* and *supper time*.

"At a quarter before nine o'clock each one resumes his or her particular employment. The occupations consist chiefly in printing, shoe-making, clothes-making, gardening, baking, washing and carpet-weaving. These works are generally carried on in small groups of two or three together. By mutual converse during their labours, the time is happily spent, and the tediousness of long monotonous toil obviated. The return of dinner time soon comes round. At a quarter before one, the bell rings to prepare for [illegible] o'clock all meet in the dining-room, and partake of a simple repast. This generally consists of rice, or other puddings, potatoes, and other vegetables, as cabbage, beet, parsnips, peas, beans, vegetable marrow, artichokes, apples, pears, &c., according to the season. At two o'clock all return to their occupations. Having been refreshed both mentally and physically, they resume their work with ease and pleasure. At half-past four, eight hours' labour has been performed, and then the bell rings to relinquish the physical exertions of the day; and each member joyfully commences another mode of action. He now goes more immediately into the mental sphere; and each one ex[illegible] in this branch of instruction to which his taste [illegible] him;—some to a class, some to writing, reading or music. At six o'clock all partake of the third meal, of bread, rice, fruits, and vegetables, with clear spring water, the sole beverage of the Society. In the summer, supper is generally followed by a walk of recreation in the garden. At other seasons, most evenings are engaged in some way previously arrange[illegible] on Monday, dancing and music; Tuesday classes; Wednesday, family meeting, for the arranging [illegible] the Society, reading of correspondence, receiving members, appointing officers or leaders of departments, and all other duties of the members, and general business of the Society; Friday, conversation, &c. Saturday is chiefly occupied in receiving visi[illegible], and attending lectures given on the premises.

"The time for retiring to rest is from [illegible] o'clock. All sleep upon mattrasses [illegible] being in the house, as it is consider[illegible] feathers is both enervating and unhealthy. They rise early, that their labours may be performed by the natural light of the sun, rather than artificial light of the candle. This is better [illegible] general health. The bright quiet [illegible] interrupted only by the sweet sounds [illegible] conducive to thought and good feeling.

For further information we [illegible] readers to the works themselves.

THE PROMETHEAN; A QUARTERLY [illegible] OF SOCIETARIAN SCIENCE, [illegible] CLESIASTICS, POLITICS, AND [illegible] NEW TRACTS FOR THE TIMES, [illegible] 5, &c. &c. London: B. D. [illegible], Duke-street, Lincoln's Inn Fields.

These are publications conducted by Mr Goodwyn Barmby, a gentleman well-kn[illegible] the Social Reforming portion of the move[illegible] as one who has long and assiduously la[illegible] to advance the cause of human progression.

Mr. B., like Thomas Carl[illegible] of "*The Shepherd*," has a system [illegible] own;" coining new words and p[illegible] purpose, whenever the old lang[illegible] to him to be not sufficiently ex[illegible] his ideas. The "*Promethean*," while containing much of that which is not understandable by us, and therefore that which may not by us be condemned, it seeing that the obscurity may not be wholly on the side of the writer, contains at the same time much that is clear, philosophical, and just. Independent of the editorial contributions, there are pleasing and profitable articles from the pens of other apostles of Communism. The "*Tale of the Lover Suicides*," under the signature of Salvador St. Just, in No. 4, is worth all the cost of the entire number.

The *Tracts* are smaller, but similar, publications to the "*Promethean*," like it devoted to the promulgation of the peculiar views of Mr. Barmby. To all who would study the question of mankind's destiny, and the problem of Social Reform, the "*Promethean*" and the *New Tracts* will commend themselves.

ADDRESS OF THE IRISH UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION TO THE ROMAN CATHOLIC ARCHBISHOPS AND BISHOPS OF IRELAND. Dublin: Dyott, 26, North King-street.

This is a sixpenny pamphlet published by the above Association in reply to the atrocious slanders of that arch calumniator, Daniel O'Connell. It certainly does contain some "startling" allegations, some of which have rather astonished us, though we were previously pretty well acquainted with the pranks and real character of the "Liberator."

Instead of the motto—"Civil and Religious Liberty," that of

"Daniel O'Connell is a knave in politics, and a hypocrite in religion,"

would have suited much better: for he is clearly proved to be both in the pamphlet before us.

One thing is very significant throughout these pages, namely, the astounding and withering power of priestcraft in Ireland; proven by the anxiety manifested by the authors to stand clear of the charges of "Socialism" and "infidelity" preferred against them by Mokanna. It proves that in Ireland a man *dare not* be an "infidel" or a "Socialist," unless in secret! Now, we proclaim fearlessly, with a full knowledge that we have readers amongst all the religious sects, including an immense number of Catholics, that in accordance with his convictions, a man has a right to be any religion, or of no religion, just as his convictions warrant him in believing or disbelieving. If Daniel O'Connell and Co. will not subscribe to this *principle*; *if while they* howl against "Protestant persecution," they persecute, so far as they dare, those whom they call "infidels;" *then are they hypocrites*, and *prove that* they only lack the power to be tyrants in the place of those against whose tyranny they wage war. The *spirit of the Inquisition* evidently lurks in the heart of Dan; a spirit which, despite Puseyite backslidings, will, if need be, be battled with to the death on this side of St. George's Channel. As to the "Socialists," there may be honest differences as to their *modus operandi*; but we tell our Irish friends, aye, and some of our not very-deeply thinking English friends too, that the great problem of social happiness can only be solved something after the "Socialist" fashion. Until *mastership* is annihilated; until slavery is utterly abolished, whether of the cart-whipped African, or the wage-paid toil-ground and belly-pinched white man; there will be no real liberty—no real happiness on the earth: and mere political reforms are useless unless they accelerate and aid such changes. "Political equality the *means*; social happiness the *end*," is our motto.

This pamphlet is an excellent exposure of the greatest political impostor that ever existed, and ought to be extensively diffused amongst his deeply-to-be-pitied dupes. The revelations on the "Rint," and the uses to which it is applied, will astonish not a few. Every Chartist locality should at least have one copy, which Mr. Cleave and other publishers will, no doubt, be ready to supply. Triumphantly do the Irish Chartists repel the accusations of their denunciator; and it is right and proper that their defence should be heard. We only regret that, with the materials they had to work with, they did not enter at more length into the question, and give to the public a full and complete portraiture of the real features of the "Veiled Prophet."

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.—The *Illustrated History of Alcohol*, and several Pamphlets. We shall notice *Oastler's Fleet Papers* and *Howitt's History of Priestcraft* in our next.

Literature

PROGRESS OF SOCIAL REFORM ON THE CONTINENT.

An interesting article, under the above title, from the pen of F. Engels, appeared in the *New Moral World* of November 4 th. From it we give the following extracts, the entire article being too lengthy for our columns.

INTRODUCTORY.

It has always been in some degree surprising to me, ever since I met with English Socialists, to find that most of them are very little acquainted with the social movement going on in different parts of the continent. And yet there are more than half a million of Communists in France, not taking into account the Fourierists, and other less radical Social Reformers; there are Communist associations in every part of Switzerland, sending forth missionaries to Italy, Germany, and even Hungary; and German philosophy, after a long and troublesome circuit, has at last settled upon Communism.

FRANCE.

France is, since the Revolution, the exclusively political country of Europe No improvement, no doctrine can obtain national importance in France, unless embodied in some political shape. It seems to be the part the French nation have to perform in the present stage of the history of mankind, to go through all the forms of political development, and to arrive, from a merely political beginning, at the point where all nations, all different paths, must meet at Communism. The development of the public mind in France shows this clearly, and shows at the same time, what the future history of the English Chartists must be.

THE BABEUFISTS

I think I may be short upon the subject of Babouvism, as the history of his conspiracy, by Buonarotti, has been translated into the English language. The Communist plot did not succeed, because the then Communism itself was of a very rough and superficial kind; and because, on the other hand, the public mind was not yet far enough advanced.

SAINT SIMONISM.

The next French Socialist reformer was Count de St. Simon. He succeeded in getting up a sect, and even some establishments; none of which succeeded. The general spirit of the Saint Simonian doctrines is very much like that of the Home Common Socialists, in England; although, in the detail of the arrangements and ideas, there is a great difference. The singularities and eccentricities of the Saint-Simonians very soon became the victims of French wit and satire; and everything once made ridiculous is inevitably lost in France. But, besides this, there were other causes for the failure of the Saint-Simonian establishments; all the doctrines of this party were enveloped in the clouds of an unintelligible mysticism, which, perhaps, in the beginning, attracts the attention of the people; but, at last, must leave their expectations disappointed. Saint-Simonism, after having excited, like a brilliant meteor, the attention of the thinking, disappeared from the Social horizon. Nobody now thinks of it, or speaks of it. Its time is passed.

FOURIERISM.

Nearly at the same time with Saint Simon, another man directed the activity of his mighty intellect to the social state of mankind—Fourier. Although Fourier's writings do not display those bright sparks of genius which we find in Saint Simon's and some of his disciples; although his style is hard, and shows, to a considerable extent, the toil with which the author is always labouring to bring out his ideas, and to speak out things for which no words are provided in the French language—nevertheless, we read his works with greater pleasure; and find more real value in them, than in those of the preceding school.

It was Fourier, who, for the first time, established the great axiom of social philosophy, that every individual having an inclination or predilection for some particular kind of work, the sum of all these inclinations of all individuals *must be, upon the whole*, an adequate power for providing for the wants of all.

Fourier proves, that every one is born with an inclination for some kind of work; that *absolute idleness* is nonsense a thing which never existed, and cannot exist; that the essence of the human mind is to be active in itself, and to bring the body into activity; and that, therefore, there is no necessity for making the people active by force, as in the now existing state of society, but only to give their natural activity the right direction. He goes on proving the identity of labour and enjoyment, and shows the irrationality of the present social system which separates them, making labour a toilsome plaything enjoyment above the reach of the majority of

TO THE CHARTISTS OF NOTTINGHAM AND SOUTH DERBY,

BROTHER DEMOCRATS—On Tuesday Oct. 25th, I addressed the Chartists of Derby in their Association Room, Thorntree-lane, Mr. Johnson in the chair, who opened the business in a concise but appropriate speech. My subject was "taxation." I took for my text the celebrated political maxim of Blackstone, viz.,—Taxation without representation is tyranny. I had not a very numerous audience, but it was made of the right sort of material—all members, and good ones.

On Wednesday I went to Melbourne, the seat of the ex-Whig Premier (Melbourne) who gave £10 to the tee-totallers very lately, when a deputation waited upon him, but who would not, I am sure, give *ten farthings* to further or promulgate the principles of democracy. I am sorry to say I could not get a meeting, there being no room so that I had sixteen miles journey in vain.

On Friday Oct. 27th.—I proceeded to Swanwick, a distance of twelve miles, and held a meeting in a large room belonging to Mr. Yarnold. My subject was, "The Land and its capabilities." The meeting was decidedly a good one, and it gives me pleasure to say that the very best possible feeling was manifested by all parties present in favour of the question. With respect to Swanwick and the surrounding villages the principal business done is in the coal and iron way. All the works belong to three masters who are magistrates; consequently you will at once see that they have absolute power over the people generally throughout the district, which is very extensive. The Colliers do not average at most, when they have full work, eight shillings a week. One of the masters is a Tory, the other two are Whigs, one of whom keeps a "tommy-shop"; the workmen, forsooth, are not *compelled* to go to it, but if they do not, the poor fellows must starve!! for during six months of this year they have not been half employed: nay, some of them have gone every day, for eleven days together, to the pit, and received but about three shillings; so that they were forced to go to the tommy-shop or starve. This is the unhappy position they are placed in: but mark the tyranny of the master: the poor fellows are obliged to proceed every day to the pit, no matter whether there is work or not for them; and it is a well-known fact, that many of the Colliers have gone for days together without getting any, though they had to walk, in many instances, four miles; two to the pit, and two back. The flour in this tommy-shop is from 2d. to 4d. more per stone than it is in the shops where ready money is paid, and, of course, other provisions are charged in proportion. I have heard many tales of woe, want, and misery in my lifetime! but none of them have exceeded what I heard in Swanwick. O, the poor Colliers! surely they are the most cruelly used and oppressed of any class of workmen.

On Sunday, the 29th of October, I delivered a lecture in the Democratic Chapel, Rice-place, Nottingham, to a crowded audience, upon War and Taxation.

On Tuesday, Oct. 31st, I delivered a lecture to the inhabitants of Mansfield, in the commodious School Room belonging to Mr. Linwood's Chapel. The meeting was excellent for numbers. Mr. Hibberd, one of the active members of the Charter Association, occupied the chair, and made a few well-timed remarks; after which, I addressed the persons present for an hour and a half upon first principles, and attempted to prove, according to them, that the *land* ought to be public property. The meeting concluded about ten o'clock.

On Thursday, I addressed an open-air meeting in the village of Selston, upon the subject of labour and capital. The audience was not numerous, owing to the weather being cold.

On Sunday, Nov. 5th, I delivered a lecture in the Democratic Chapel, Nottingham. The chapel, on the occasion, was well filled; and the very best feeling manifested for the good cause. My subject was the Corn Laws. I am happy to state that the Nottingham friends are following the laudable example set them by the Chartists of Manchester, viz.—they have commenced a school on Sundays for the purpose of teaching the young. I have also to state that our principles have and are making considerable progress in this town, and in proof of it, there are now no less than eight localities, some of which are in a very healthy state. Each locality has its collector or class leader, who collects the money or subscription on the Saturday night, and brings it into the Council appointed to receive it on the Sunday morning.

Brothers, with best wishes for your welfare, and the further extension of democracy,

I remain, as usual, your servant and fellow-worker in the vineyard of Chartism,
CHRISTOPHER DOYLE.

Nottingham, November 6th, 1843.

STRIKE OF THE GLOVE HANDS FOR WAGES IN LEICESTER.

In consequence of the repeated reductions in the price of labour in the glove branch, by the Messrs. Biggs and others in the trade, during the last two years, the journeymen glove hands held a meeting in Mrs. Cooper's room, on Monday, Oct. 30th, to take into consideration the prices given by the several manufacturers on the different kinds of work; and to discuss the propriety of making a stand for the last year's prices on Lisle thread, 4d. per day on thirty gauge woollen, and 2d. per dozen on the twenty-four guage woollen gloves. It was stated by a number of men that they had been reduced since last year forty-one per cent. in their labour; others more, some less; and that unless they could be better remunerated for their labour, they would cease work altogether.

The meeting was adjourned to the Black Swan public-house, where the men determined, one and all, to strike for an advance of wages. A Committee of Management was appointed to solicit the manufacturers for an advance, and report progress on Tuesday. In the evening, the second-hand employers held a meeting on the subject, and agreed to memorialise the Great Bashaw, the author of the "Midland Counties' Charter," on the question.

TUESDAY.—At nine o'clock, a numerous meeting was holden at the Black Swan, to receive the report of the deputation from the manufacturers, which was anything but cheering. The decision of the Messrs. Biggs was—they would have nothing at all to do with the journeymen on the question of wages. A resolution was immediately come to, "That we strike, the whole trade." The men instantly joined together in ranks, and went to the different shops in the town, to solicit the whole trade to strike against the present list of prices, which nearly every man and woman did.

In the evening another second-hand masters' meeting was held at the Russell Tavern, when it was agreed for every master to solicit the manufacturers to raise the price of labour to the amount asked for by the journeymen.

Adjourned until seven o'clock on Wednesday night.

WEDNESDAY.—The journeymen assembled this morning, at the Black Swan, in larger numbers than on the two previous days. Mr. George Buckby was called to the chair.

A deputation arrived from the masters.

Mr. Crofts stated that he had been to Mr. Thorpe, and he was quite willing to give the price on Lisle, but he would not give them the advance on wool. The working men immediately shouted, "We will stand for the whole."

A deputation of five was then appointed by the journeymen to meet the masters, to argue the question of the strike, and to hear the report of the masters from the manufacturers.

The men again paraded the streets, for the purpose of getting out the hands, until dark, when several of the turn-outs went to work again, but were severely punished by some persons unknown, who destroyed some parts of the machinery, broke several windows, and dragged the men out of their frames, making them promise never to work again until they had gained the price.

THURSDAY.—At nine o'clock, the men on strike collected together in vast numbers, to hear the report of the deputation, and receive the advice of their leaders. The deputation announced that the manufacturers were determined to stand against the strike, and that some of the employers had expressed their belief that the men, having no funds to stand upon, would be starved into work again. This was received with marks of disapprobation, the men expressing their firm determination to stand by their original resolution never to go to work until they had gained the price. A resolution was carried that they parade the town to ask alms to support their wives and families. At the close of the day, nearly five pounds was collected, besides bread, bacon, cheese, &c.

FRIDAY.—At the usual time of meeting, the men congregated together in much larger numbers than any of the previous days. Messrs. Buckby, Watts, and Smith addressed the meeting. After they had again pledged themselves to stand for the whole price, a cart was brought up, drawn by ten of the manufacturers' slaves, with a large placard, headed, "Glove hands on strike for wages.—Friends of humanity assist us." Reverse, "Mr. Biggs is the cause of our being cut. No surrender." Collectors were appointed for the day, and the procession was about to move, when an individual arrived with a message, that *if they attempted to beg, they would be taken into custody!* The men on hearing this instantly appointed *three sets of collectors*, so that if one set should be taken up another set should immediately supply their places. They had not proceeded far before the MEN IN BLUE made their appearance, and ordered them to *desist from begging* or they would take them before the Mayor (Mr. Biggs, the man who had been the cause of the turn-out). "Take us and welcome," was the reply. The police took three, namely, Charles Cox, Wm. Coulson, and Wm. Green, from the party. Three more, namely, John Timson, Robert Allen, and Wm. Hopewell, immediately filled their places, and they were taken also. Three more immediately supplied their places, namely, Elias Howard, Wm. Goodman, and John Cochayna. They were also taken. Cochayna they liberated again, who immediately resumed his place as a collector; two more joined Cochayne, namely, Thomas Shilton, and Wm. Knight, who were taken directly. Other two immediately left the room to supply their places, *but no more arrests took place, and the party begged the town all day.* Charles Cox, Wm. Colsten, Wm. Green, John Timson, Robert Allen Wm. Hopewell, Elias Howard, Wm. Goodman, Thomas Shilton, and Wm. Knight, were brought before the Mayor and two other Magistrates, and asked whether, if they were allowed to go, would they cease begging, and not join the party again? They all told the Mayor that he was the cause of their being compelled to beg; and if they were to be liberated that minute they would *instantly go and beg again;* and if they intended to put them down by putting them into prison, they would have to take every man, for all were determined to have the price or not work at all. They were then *all committed for seven days to hard labour!*

At two o'clock a special meeting of the Magistrates was called to take the matter into consideration, and in the evening a Magistrates' proclamation was issued, cautioning all persons *against begging*, either singly or in bodies, as they would be brought before the Magistrates and punished accordingly. As soon as the bills appeared several persons went through the town to solicit the middle classes to take them out of their windows, which was done nearly all over the town.

SATURDAY.—At the hour of meeting, the men on strike appeared at their post with the cart and placard, and nominated twenty-four individuals as collectors, (whose families amounted to 106 children besides their wives, who, in case they should be imprisoned the parish would have to maintain), and 200 more volunteered their services should the twenty-four be taken. *They paraded the principal streets, begging all day, but the authorities did not interfere.*

SUNDAY.—Mr. Buckby preached an excellent sermon in the Market-place, at two o'clock, from St James, v. c. 4, 5, and 6th v., to a numerous and an attentive audience for the benefit of the wives and children of the imprisoned turnouts. 16s. 8½d. were collected by Mr. Kinyet.

MONDAY, NOV. 6.—This day has decided the battle, as the great Nabob, Mr. Biggs, has given the advance to a majority of his hands. Others are following in rapid succession, and ere two more days are gone, nearly the whole trade will be in work at the price. This has been the greatest struggle in the history of Gloveism in Leicester. This step taught the Manufacturers a severe lesson, as it deprived them of receiving their rents and taxes (which they impose upon their hands) to the amount of several pounds per week, some as much as £100. The Poor Law Guardians, as well as the inhabitants in general, stood well by the turnouts. A general sympathy prevails among the middle classes for the men in prison; and the hands which have got the advance have come to the resolution to support the remaining few on strike.

THE LAND! THE LAND!!

Now Publishing, complete in One Vol., neatly Bound in Cloth, Price 2s. 6d.

A PRACTICAL WORK on the MANAGEMENT OF SMALL FARMS. By FEARGUS O'CONNOR, Esq., Barrister and Farmer.

The desire of the author has been to furnish a valuable compendium at such price as would enable every workingman to become possessed of it. No. 4 may be said to contain all the practical instructions necessary for carrying out the plan, together with PLATES, describing Farm House, Offices, Tank, Farm Yard, &c.; while the whole contains all the information requisite for carrying out all the operations.

N.B.—The above Work may still be procured in Numbers, price 6d. each.

"I have, within the last few months visited every part of France, and I declare that I have seen more misery in one street in Dublin, than in all France; the people are well clad, well fed, and merry; they are all employed on SMALL FARMS *of their own*, or on equitable takings!"

Vide Lord Cloncurry's Letter in Morning Chronicle, Oct. 25th, 1843.

London:—Cleave, Shoe-lane, Fleet-street; Purkess, Compton-street; Heywood, Manchester; Hobson, *Northern Star* Office, Leeds; Guest, Birmingham; Paton and Love, Glasgow; and all Agents of this paper.

THE NORTHERN STAR.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 11, 1843.

REBELLION IN IRELAND.

We know of no other designation, than that of Rebellion, that can be now given to the state of Ireland; and when public opinion shall have roused from its present lethargy; when the present stern demand for blood and vengeance shall be succeeded by that thrill of horror which the recollection of those appalling events which are sure to follow the shadows that they have cast before them; then, but not till then, will the insulted people of Britain put the real rebels upon their trial; then will the English nation marvel at its base subserviency to Ministerial rule; then will all other classes discover that truth which the people have long since learned, that Parliament is a mockery, and that the English constitution is in reality a military despotism. When, we would ask, were powers extensive as those now used in Ireland, exercised without the consent of Parliament, except upon an emergency, which might have justified Ministerial usurpation? No such emergency now presents itself, as the cool and deliberate plans of the rebels are daily printed in their organs, and are based, not upon hasty expediency, but are mapped out with all the coolness and precision of a siege to be carried on according to the most approved principles of warfare. Great, however, as the military skill of the Duke of WELLINGTON may be, he has not yet had to combat against an enemy from whom there is no retreat. He has not yet been engaged in a conflict with public opinion; but of this, he and the Cabinet of which he is the military chief, may rest assured they will one day, and that not a distant one, be arraigned before the tribunal of public opinion for waging war against a people whose grievances were confessed, but to whose wrongs remedies were refused.

While the war rages, the whole press, as usual, is upon the side of despotism; the "liberal" portion only opposing the sanguinary measures, because their own friends have not had the advantage of adopting and carrying them out. We have read the pages of Irish history with as much attention as most people; and yet are we at a loss to discover, even in the most bloody times, any act of atrocity which can be considered at all analogous to the present proceedings. What! in the nineteenth century; in the eleventh year of Reform, and in the twenty-sixth of profound peace, with a strong government commanding a majority that is ready for any thing; at such a time to see deadly war waged in the very heart of the nation! to see our ports blockaded with our own war ships! our towns garrisoned with our troops! and all to prepare for an onslaught against our own people, and Parliament not consulted! It is in truth monstrous. It is such a state of things that old England would not have tolerated before the blighting curse of artificial produce had paralyzed her brawny arm! It is a state of things which all the nations of Europe, and even America must look upon with surprise, with horror and disgust. And yet, while the tragedy is performed on our own stage, and before our own eyes, the British audience will look calmly on until the checktakers shall demand pay, when the drama is over. This is one of the great evils of our present system. The people sanction that, with the price of which they are unacquainted; whereas, if it was demanded before the performance, their mercantile souls would rebel against the injustice.

We pass over the paltry skirmishes that are now taking place in the Irish Law Courts. We look with contempt upon the paltry charges of conspiracy—the principal of which is supported by attempting to make it criminal in one man for doing that which done by another is looked upon as a duty. If WELLINGTON praises the English troops for their valour and conduct, he pays them but a just tribute; but if O'CONNELL goes beyond the allegiance standard, and gives a portion of them credit for intellectual advantages, he is a traitor. If BROUGHAM speaks of cheap law, and proposes arbitration as a substitute for expensive litigation, he is a patriot; but if O'CONNELL carries the principle into effect, he is a rebel. Fudge. The whole thing is nonsense: and without further analysis than a mere comparison of the respective powers of the contending parties, we should console ourselves with the reflection that victory is sure to be upon the side of the people, was not the cheering thought somewhat overcast by the recollection of what tottering despotism is capable of attempting ere it listens to reason, and surrenders its dominion.

Present appearances by no means destroy the hope that the Grand Jury before whom the complaint of T. B. SMITH against Mr. O'CONNELL, for arraigning the capacity of his doting father to administer justice has been submitted, may ignore the Bills: thus finding that all the charges brought against Baron SMITH, were perfectly sustained, and that Mr. T. B. SMITH's title to represent the borough of Youghall, was not legitimate. In such case, the whole superstructure falls to the ground; and Lord DE GREY and Mr. T. B. SMITH will be buried in the ruins, while LYNDHURST and the English draftsmen of the Irish seige will lay at their door all the odium of defeat. Let Mr. O'CONNELL, however, not suppose for one moment, that the war will terminate outside, whatever the results of the legal inquiry may be inside; and above all let him take warning from the recent check that his proposed adoption of FEDERALISM has received from the united voice of Ireland. We candidly confess, that up to this wholesome manifestation of Irish opinion, we were in the habit of looking upon O'CONNELL as Ireland, and the Irish his willing slaves. We are proud, however, to have discovered our own error, and to admit that the Irish people have now established a claim to English support, to which they could not before lay claim. However the people of England might have pitied their ignorance, and sympathized with their sufferings, yet, so long as they were spell-bound by individual influence, were they unworthy of support. The lesson, we trust, that has been accorded to Mr. O'CONNELL, will be serviceable not only to him, but to the whole tribe of political agitators. It will teach them that swimming with the current of popular opinion, they are powerful;—but that ruin follows their attempt to stem it.

We now write for a nation, and of Mr. O'CONNELL as the recognized leader of the national mind; a mind which, thanks to Irish firmness, can no longer be diverted from the pursuit of the real democratic principle. The question no longer is, what O'CONNELL will be satisfied with, but what the Irish people require as the full measure of justice. Repeal can no longer be acted as the Rent-day. It has now become a stock piece, and the Irish people will not allow it to be laid aside for any other performance. In other years we might have some misgiving as to the period of Mr. O'CONNELL's relapse from FEDERALISM to UNCONDITIONAL REPEAL, just preceding the tribute day; but now the stake that he plays for, being no less than his head upon the block in the event of failure, is too great to justify the supposition that the jump has been taken for the "nonce." On the 19th, Mr. O'CONNELL will receive what is called the national tribute. Let him bear in mind that nineteen shillings in the pound will be subscribed for UNCONDITIONAL REPEAL, while the odd shilling only will be the fee for FEDERALISM. Let him recollect that there is now an UNCONDITIONAL REPEAL staff in every parish in Ireland, and that after the lessons he has taught the Irish people, it will not do henceforth to "palter in a double sense," with a people determined upon attaining their country's independence.

From the position assumed by Lord ELIOT, the Chief Secretary for Ireland, and from Sir ROBERT PEEL's well-known opposition to the present system of coercion it is by no means unlikely that once more Ireland may be the grave, as well as the battle-field of the Tory administration; and but for the influence of the Duke of WELLINGTON over the doting old Peers, there can be little doubt that Sir ROBERT PEEL would seize the present opportunity of calling Parliament together, in order that the nation may judge whether the amount of projected conciliation was worth the price of the contemplated coercion. Unfortunately, however, Sir ROBERT PEEL's hands are not only tied, but those who hold the strings are pulling in different directions; his own mind going with conciliation while the palsied Chieftain uses the weight of the Upper House to drag him on the side of coercion. If he is wise however, he will call Parliament together, and lay his measures before the nation, or otherwise if Irish blood should be shed, while acknowledged grievances are unredressed, and Parliament unconsulted, he may rest assured that his day of reckoning will come, when he will discover that if there is indemnity for the minister, there is retribution for the people. We fear that he draws too flattering a conclusion from the present slumber, produced by the temporary revival of trade, while he should bear in mind that the slightest reverse of fortune might call aloud for the return of the troops upon whose presence it would appear the tranquillity of Ireland now depends; while Rebecca, not participating in the improved trade, appears likely to draw upon the Commander-in-Chief for her full share of military protection.

Had not Mr. O'CONNELL prudently renounced his hasty adoption of FEDERALISM, it was our intention to have proved to demonstration that FEDERALISM would have considerably multiplied imperial difficulties, whilst its domestic working would have increased internal jealousies, and would have placed a larger amount of patronage and corruption at the disposal of the British Minister. In fact, if ever there was a mad crotchet, an insane project, devised by man for the amelioration of Ireland which would be sure to lead to a diametrically opposite result, the establishment of what is called a Federal Government pre-eminently out-topps all other projects in insanity and delusion. It is a scheme merely floating upon the surface of the superficial minds of the old Charlemont rump of jobbing Whigs, not yet extinct in Ireland, and looking for reanimation from domestic plunder.

The boasted improvement gained by the Volunteers under the treacherous CHARLEMONT, in 1782, had precisely the same effect upon Ireland in those days that Federalism would have at the present time. The only change produced by the Volunteers in 1782 was the mere transference of patronage from the Irish Parliament to the English Minister. And of all the sad days of Ireland's saddest history, those days of her boasted independence, from 1782 to the sale of her Parliament in 1800, were the most remarkable for treachery, profligacy, debauchery, subserviency, and dependency, until, at length, so manifold became the general grievances inflicted by the centralized conquerors of 1782, that Ireland rose *en masse*, not against English tyranny, but against Irish profligacy; and at length, the triumph of CHARLEMONT was completed by the ruin of Ireland. There never was an important period of the history of any country more ignorantly paraded as a proof of its greatness, than that of Ireland's history from the year 1782 to the year 1800; while, in fact, the so-called triumph was gained in America, and wrung from the necessities of the English Minister, and taken advantage of by Lord CHARLEMONT and the Irish Whigs as a fitting opportunity to establish Irish independence, but actually used by him and them for the purpose of destroying Irish liberty, and of establishing their own centralised and increased power upon its ruins.

That Ireland is justified in now looking for self-representation in consequence of the inability of the Imperial Parliament to deal with those domestic grievances which fester the Irish mind, is admitted in the tardy inquiry now set on foot to discover the real seat of the disease, added to the fact, that the distemper of that country has, for the last forty-three years, surpassed the skill of each succeeding administration. Thus, we bring the state of Ireland, as admitted by every Prime Minister within the period, as proof that Ireland has not been properly governed; and is, therefore, justified in calling for self-representation, while we give the following extracts from statemen of older times in proof of the fact, that never has England, from the moment of her assumed dominion in Ireland, from 1169,—done justice, or even attempted to do justice to the Irish people. Mr. PITT says:—*(a)* "The Irish Constitution a deformed resemblance of the British. The evils with which Ireland is afflicted lie deep in the situation of the country. But the imperfection of the Irish Constitution is admitted, and to that must be added the complicated grievances and defects of the state of the country at large, with respect to the want of a diffusion of property, to the extraordinary disparity of rank, and to the scanty means of social improvement, all producing, in a proportionate degree, misery in one extreme, and oppression in the other. If any institution be inadequate to provide an effectual remedy for these evils, it is, I do not hesitate to say, the Irish legislature. From its own nature it is, and must be, incapable of restoring the internal happiness of the country, and fixing the prosperity of the people. The Legislature, formed as it is, must remain radically defective. I have spoken an honest and fair opinion." Mr. DUNDAS, created Viscount MELVILLE, in 1802, says:—*(c)* "It is a melancholy truth, that there does not exist in the great body of the people of Ireland that confidence in the Parliament of Ireland, which is essential to its utility. I need not go far to search for the reasons of this essential defect, it grows out of the frame and constitution of the Parliament of Ireland. It is generally acknowledged that the poor of Ireland experience all the miseries concomitant to a state of want and wretchedness." Lord HAWKESBURY, afterwards Lord LIVERPOOL, says:—*(c)* "The course of events which for some time past have taken place in Ireland, have firmly rivetted me in the opinion, that there must be something radically wrong in the internal situation of Ireland.' Mr. WINDHAM says:—*(d)* "I maintain that the disorders of Ireland have grown chiefly out of the constitution of Ireland, established for near a century and a half; and it is impossible that a Government dislocated in every limb, should enjoy health, or long survive those diseases, some slow, some acute, which are sickly of aspect and make her feeble of heart, but the seeds of the mischief are in the constitution itself." Lord GRENVILLE says:—*(e)* "Does there or does there not exist a necessity for a change in the system of the Irish Government. I declare I never conversed with any well-informed man from Ireland who did not say that the present state of things, as they now existed in that country, could not continue consistent with the general safety of the empire." Mr. ADDINGTON says:—*(f)* "It is a melancholy but I fear an incontestible truth, that the state of Ireland has at no period of its history with which we are acquainted been such as to afford satisfaction to any mind that can appreciate the conditions of civil society. The bounty of Providence has indeed been displayed in that country by a fertile soil, and by abundant means of internal improvement and prosperity; its inhabitants have not been less distinguished than those of Great Britain, in corresponding stations of life, for eloquence, for literary and scientific acquirements, and for those talents and exertions which have established the naval and military renown of the British empire. Their form of Government is the same as ours; but it wants its true characteristic—it does not, like ours, bestow and receive general confidence and protection: it is not, like ours, connected with the indissoluble ties, with the obvious interests, the feelings, and the sentiments of the great body of the people." Lord AUCKLAND says:—*(g)* "Is it not true that, whilst Great Britain has advanced, Ireland, possessing the same climate, a fruitful soil, excellent ports, and a numerous people, to whom the Common Parent of all gave great acuteness and ingenuity, has nevertheless been involved in comparative disorder, poverty, turbulence, and wretchedness? I might add, without exaggeration, that in the six hundred years since the reign of HENRY II. there has been more unhappiness in Ireland than in any other civilised nation not actually under the visitation of pestilence or internal war, neither prosperity, nor tranquillity, nor safety were to be expected from a Government, founded in the pretensions of a small part of the community, to monopolize the representation, patronage, and resources of the whole. The insufficiency of such a system has been felt and lamented for a century, and is become now more than ever unsatisfactory to the bulk of the Irish nation, and utterly incompetent and unsafe with respect to the general interest of the British Empire."

Now, such are the recorded opinions of English Ministers and Statesmen as regards the constitution and government of Ireland, from the earliest days of British usurpation down to the close of the last century; all bearing most forcibly upon the increased independence of Ireland. Thus we bring our charges of incapacity against the English Cabinet down to the year 1800, upon the evidence of those great authorities—while the acknowledged condition of the Irish people, their unanimous demand for self-government as the only means of redressing their grievances, added to the unbroken chain of testimony of all Statesmen from 1800, to the present time, that the disease, by which Ireland is afflicted, was beyond cure, furnishes proof incontrovertible that England is not capable of governing Ireland, and bringing us to the natural conclusion, that Ireland must consequently be allowed to govern herself. We have shewn that the battle of Ireland was before fought in America, and what has been, may be again; and, who knows but once more the expatriated sons of Ireland, may be enabled to serve their fatherland, to which, although affording them no asylum, their affections still cling, and in whom a hope to return to yet exists. For ourselves we confess that the odds are more than a thousand to one in favour of the nation against the DUKE, the VICEROY, the ATTORNEY-GENERAL, the EX-CHANCELLOR, and the present occupant of the Woolsack, with SIDMOUTH and CASTLEREAGH at their back; and therefore, after eight months continuous writing upon the subject, we close our present remarks with our former declaration, that one of three sacrifices must now be made. The union by the Ministers; the Irish priesthood by O'CONNELL; or O'CONNELL by the people.

It is a melancholy fact, that even the admission of existing grievances must be wrung from the fears rather than from the justice of our rulers as evinced in the present enquiries into the state of Wales, at the instigation of Rebecca, and into those of Ireland, upon the demand of the nation.

(a) See Debret's Parliamentary Register, 3rd Sessions Par., vol. p. 612, 613, and 623.
(b) Ditto vol. 7, p. 708 and 724.
(c) Ditto vol. 7, p. 673
(d) Ditto vol. 7, p. 736.
(e) Ditto vol. 8, p. 262.
(f) Ditto vol. 8, p. 48.
(g) Ditto vol. 8, p. 331, 332.

CHARTISM AND REPEAL.

THE DUBLIN WORLD AND THE NORTHERN STAR.

THE Editor of the *Dublin World*, in acknowledging the compliment we honestly paid him some time back, namely, that he was "evidently not *subsidised* by the managers at the Corn Exchange"; has embraced the opportunity thereby afforded of taking Mr. O'CONNOR to task for certain supposed inconsistencies; and, at the same time, has condescended to administer a little advice to *us*, which, though we may demur to its propriety, we have no doubt was honestly intended, and in the like spirit it shall be responded to.

Differing, *in toto*, from the "Free Trade" notions and occasionally other views put forth by the *World*, we have, at the same time, always respected what we have deemed to be the honest convictions of our contemporary; and where honesty reproves or advises, we trust that we shall ever be found willing to bow to reproof when deserved, or to act upon that advice when our own judgment tells us that it was needed.

First, with respect to Mr. O'CONNOR, the *World* says:—

"The Repeal Association may have committed errors—we think it has been guilty of serious mistakes—but the *Northern Star* should be the last to accuse it, seeing how lately those 'whom it delights to honour' were eager to join its ranks. To be candid, and without meaning any discourtesy, we must be allowed to say, that had we thought as ill of Mr. O'Connell as Mr. Feargus O'Connor has for a long while declared he does, we never would have solicited permission to be enrolled a Corn Exchange associate. If you doubt a man's political honesty, it is worse than folly to seek a connexion with him."

It is true that Mr. O'CONNOR has thought ill of Mr. O'CONNELL, and has had but too good reason for so thinking. But if Mr. O'CONNOR has been opposed to *one individual* of the great Repeal movement, he has never been opposed to the Repeal question, nor to the great body of Repealers. When he joined the Repeal Association, he came forward FOR IRELAND, and not for Mr. O'CONNELL. He came forward to aid in the carrying out of the great principles for which he had contended and struggled, when representing his native county in the Imperial Legislature. Has our contemporary forgotten, that long before the *Dublin World* was called into existence, Mr. O'CONNOR had raised the shout for Repeal in the teeth and in defiance of the Whig aristocracy, the "shoy-hoy" liberals of Cork? that Mr. O'CONNOR was the man who forced Mr. O'CONNELL to the testing of the "Saxon" Parliament on this very question in the year 1834? that Mr. O'CONNOR throughout his public career, since the time that O'CONNELL made a "present" of him to the English "Tory Radicals," has unceasingly advocated the right and necessity of Ireland's legislating for herself, until the result was seen in the British masses (to the number of nearly three millions and a half) acknowledging the principle and demanding the "Repeal" in their memorable "National Petition" of 1841? that this paper (established by Mr. O'CONNOR), the senior of the *World* by some few years, has, from the first day of its existence, been the unyielding advocate of that "Repeal" which Mr. O'CONNELL has so often yielded to expediency, and which, if he possibly can, he will yield again? Let the *World* remember these facts; and it will surely be at no loss to comprehend why Mr. O'CONNOR was desirous of aiding his countrymen in their struggle for self-government. True, Mr. O'CONNOR—aye and others of the Chartist leaders who joined the Repeal body—had entertained feelings of hostility towards Mr. O CONNELL; feelings engendered by his repeated betrayals of the principles of liberty, (which we can prove if need be), and his disgusting libels of the working classes of this country; but when they thought they saw him inclined to act honestly for once; when they thought he was really in earnest in his agitation for the Repeal, they generously smothered their feelings of resentment,—honour to them!—and made sacrifice of their own wrongs on the altar of the common good. Should Mr. O'CONNOR be reproached for so acting? It might have been more in accordance with the loftier ideas of patriotism, seemingly entertained by the *World*, that Mr. O'CONNOR should have sacrificed his duties as a public man to his resentments as a private man; but we are not of the same opinion. Nay, more; when the offers of co-operation on the part of Mr. O'CONNOR and the English Chartists were spurned by O'CONNELL and his tools and sycophants; when in return for such proffered aid, Mr. O'CONNOR and his friends were, week after week, vilified and abused, calumny heaped upon calumny, and lie upon lie, Mr. O'CONNOR did not retaliate; he bore vituperation without deigning to notice his assailants; and, week by week, his pen and tongue was still employed in advocating their cause. In our opinion his only fault was, if he was faulty at all, that he bore with the vituperations of his slanderers too long.

But the *World* continues:—

"It is easy," says our contemporary, "to impute bad motives to a political rival or opponent;" and "were our advice considered of the least value by the *Northern Star* we would recommend it to deal less in personal abuse of Mr. O'Connell."

Now we beg to say that we very often consider the advice of the *World* to be of no little value. There is no paper that we read with more attention, and often with no small profit. What our contemporary may mean by "*personal* abuse" we hardly know. But this we do know, that the reading of the *World's* "gentlemanly" criticisms on the "errors" and "serious mistakes" of the "Repeal Association" has helped considerably to open our eyes to the real character of the present agitation, and perhaps tended, in no slight degree, to produce those effusions from our pen which our contemporary is pleased to term "personal abuse." Let the *World* refer to the back pages of the *Northern Star* from the time that the Repeal agitation assumed the character of a reality, down to the Clontarf "blow-up"; and show, if he can, that from our pen one word of abuse of Mr. O'CONNELL emanated? Up to the last moment that we could conscientiously do so, we supported Mr. O'CONNELL, despite his "personal abuse" of *us*. It was only when the enemy struck that blow which Mr. O'CONNELL had courted, and showed their readiness to go to "law," or to "war," which he had so often "defied" them to do; and when he then exhibited the spectacle of a "leader" without "measures," and a "general" without "plans," with which to meet and beat the power he had so "high and haughtily defied;" it was then that we expressed our animadversions upon his conduct, in the tone and manner which our judgment dictated to us was our duty. When we saw an offer made to *sell* "REPEAL" for "FEDERALISM"; when we saw shamelessly exhibited O'CONNELL'S willingness to truckle and compromise—to barter and betray the hopes and prospects of the too-confiding people of Ireland, for the sake (as we believed) of his own personal safety; it was *then* that we denounced, fearlessly and honestly, the conduct of the would-be betrayer. "What we have written, we have written." We have exposed fraud and falsehood; and if such exposures are deemed by our contemporary to be "personal abuse," we willingly plead guilty to the "soft impeachment."

But the *World* says something about "imputing motives." We have said we read our contemporary. We do so; and from another article in the *same page* in which is that on which we are commenting, we find something like "motives imputed" to the Repeal patriots, as the moving springs of their patriotism, which we submit to the reader throws us (upon all ordinary occasions) into the shade.

In commenting upon the "charge" of Judge BURTON, the Editor of the *World* administers a well deserved flagellation to the "liberal" hacks who are now bawling against the partial application of the law. "Short-sighted scribes," says the *World*:—

"Can you not call to mind when the Whigs had undertaken a crusade against the Chartists, bringing the Six Acts to bear upon them, and throwing them into dungeons, that we warned you in how short a time this harsh treatment might furnish a precedent for dealing vigorously with the Irish Repealers?"

But, adds the *World*, the Government is more desirous of awing than punishing their political adversaries: and,—

"The Repealers, upon the other hand, we mean the leaders of the party, are as innocent a set of fellows as ever engaged in a conspiracy. They have marched, talked, collected money and spent it merrily, but they never meditated a rebellion. What, though they spoke of fighting men, they had no notion of fighting, as their counsel will assert in the Queen's Bench, should it become necessary; and then, as for their war-songs, they were harmless effusions. The best thing Sir Robert Peel can do is to send a batch of 'The Young Ireland' lawyerlings to mangle law in the Colonies, and appoint a score or two of other patriots, who are ready to die for fatherland, to lucrative situations in the Customs, Excise, and Constabulary Force; and then withdraw his superfluous military power. The Whigs did this, and they succeeded; and the Tory Premier should profit by the example."

If our contemporary does not mean to "impute motives" here, then do we not understand him. If he is not after this charged with "personal abuse" of the immaculate patriots of the Corn Exchange, then were we never more mistaken. What! to "impute" to the "LIBERATOR" TOM STEELE, and Co., that they have "collected money, and spent it merrily"! that "though they spoke of fighting, they had no notion of fighting"! that "their war songs," those "thoughts that breathe and words that burn," meant nothing at all, at all!! and were mere "harmless effusions"! that "Young Ireland" would forget its "high and haughty resolves" "to die for fatherland," and would sell all its hopes of anti-Saxon nationality, and the restoration of the glories of Brian Borihome, for "lucrative situations" in the "Colonies, the Customs, the Excise, and Constabulary"!! O hideous "personal abuse"! "The Whigs *succeeded* by such vile means; and the Tory Premier might profit by the example"! O! monstrous "imputation"! Let our contemporary look to it. We will not venture to *advise him*; but fearful are we, that unpopular as the *Northern Star* is at the Corn Exchange, the *World* is likely to be, if possible, still more unpopular.

One question more and we have done; the *World*, in commenting upon present agitations and present associations, asks:—

"Even as regards the principles of the Charter, must it not be obvious to the *Northern Star* that they were as fully appreciated forty years ago, and perhaps more prudently and respectably advocated, than they are at the present hour?"

We answer No. Surely our contemporary must have been asleep to what has been going on in "THE WORLD" for the last "forty years" when he put to us the above question. Forty years ago, the principles of the CHARTER were hardly known. The RICHMONDS, the FOXES, the GREYS and others, who had some years before, spouted "Universal Suffrage" as a party clap-trap, had, like the "heaven-born" Minister, shelved "the principles of the CHARTER," and were busied only with denouncing PITT and the War; which war they afterwards carried on as "vigorously" as PITT had done, when once they obtained place and pay. The great mass of the people, drunk with "blood and glory," hounded on by assassin-like priests and prostituted writers, were madly engaged in the crusade *against* the "principles of the CHARTER," under cover of a struggle to put down "JACOBINISM" and "ATHEISM." The famed "*Corresponding Society*" had ceased to exist. THELWALL, HORNE TOOKE, HARDY, and other advocates of the "principles of the Charter," unable to stem the torrent of popular delusion, had retired into private life. HUNT was unknown; and COBBETT had not yet put forth the energies of his giant mind in support of those principles. Such was the real state of things "forty years" ago. How different now. The people of Britain have bought their experience dearly, and it has not been lost upon them. They now look back with loathing upon the "triumphs" and "victories" of forty years ago, and execrate their own folly and the villainy of their deluders. Now, millions have given their adhesion to the principles of the Charter, and flock in thousands to listen to their exposition and assertion. These principles, either under the uncompromising name of Chartism, or the new-fangled names supposed to be more palateable to the middle classes, are steadily advancing in the local governments, and gradually acquiring Municipal power. The number of its champions in the Legislature are at least as numerous as they were forty years ago; and the Chartists have, confessedly, the balance of power in many of the electoral districts: and are rapidly acquiring power among the electoral body.

But the *World* says that the principles were "perhaps more prudently and respectably advocated than they are at present." *Perhaps* they were *not*. At the period the *World* speaks of, honest Major CARTWRIGHT was the only "advocate" of the principles of the Charter. Major CARTWRIGHT was indeed, in the best sense of the word, "respectable;" for he was *honest*.

"Comparisons are odious," says the proverb; and we do not think it worth while to compare present with past names, or we might show that both within and without "the House" the principles of the Charter are advocated by parties at least as "respectable" as those by whom they were advocated forty years since. Our contemporary should remember that there may be more than one definition of the word "prudence." It may be that in other days our principles have been "prudently" advocated in the way that the *World* "imputes" to the present Repeal agitators, with a "prudent" eye to their own personal ends. Yes; the "principles of the Charter" have, ere now, been advocated by those who sought and were quieted by "

To Readers and Correspondents.

THE PLAN OF ORGANIZATION.—Our Nottingham, Manchester, Bradford, and Marylebone friends must excuse us for not inserting their communications and resolutions *at the present*. We believe that a public discussion of the matter will be fraught with imminent mischief, inasmuch as it can *only* furnish the enemy with weapons to battle us with, in the Courts; and feeling that it would be madness to *defeat ourselves*, we have carefully endeavoured to repress all public discussion on the point stated, at the same time affording all the explanation privately which it was in our power *individually* to give. It was this feeling that determined us to withhold the Nottingham resolutions in the first instance, as we have apprized the people there, through Mr. Morrison, and the line of action then determined on we have rigidly abided by, except in the case of the Executive itself, whose *official* document we felt bound to give, the *Star* being their recognized organ of communication. That line of action we still deem to be the best; nay, absolutely necessary. We have no idea of filling the months of opposing Counsel, at the expence of the Chartist body. Such can only be the effect of a public discussion *at present*; and therefore we must decline it. At the same time, as we have already told the Nottingham people, we shall hold ourselves in readiness to give all explanations needed, and insertion to other people's explanations, *when the legal fight is over*. TILL THEN, we ask of all parties to suspend all discussion, and all expressions of opinion; whatever that opinion may be; whether like that of the friends of Manchester and Bradford, approbatory of the course pursued by the Executive; or like those of our Marylebone friends, approving of the course pursued by the Nottingham people.

☞ Since the above was written, we have received the "opinion" of Mr. Bodkin; and if ever we had cause to congratulate ourselves on the *prudence* and *wisdom* of a course of action, we have it in this case, both as to the withholding of the Nottingham resolutions and *the step* that lead to its adoption. If we mind what we are about, WE CAN PROCURE THE ENROLMENT YET. This, we say, DELIBERATELY and ADVISEDLY, but we cannot do *that* if we are quarrelling and dividing about it. *We see how it may be done;* and the simple question is, whether we are to accomplish that which will place us on vantage ground, or we are to sillily fritter away our time and strength in disputation, and allow the opportunity of enrolment to pass by. Surely we shall not be such fools.

STARS TO IRELAND.—The Irish Universal Suffrage Association thankfully acknowledges the receipt of *Stars* from Brighton and other places. The large parcel from Norwich arrived safely. A letter from Mr. Samuel Goat, of Norwich, was duly received, containing a post-office order for 14s., and 2s. 6d. sent previously, total 16s. 6d., which sum was appropriated agreeably to Mr. Goat's directions, viz.:

	s.	d.
Freight of parcel, &c.	9	6
Subscription of Norwich members of the Association	7	0
	16	6

Should the Sheffield Committee forward *Stars* regularly to the parties named in the list furnished from Dublin, they will render an essential service to Chartism.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.—Once for all, we will not undertake to return rejected communications. All such we destroy; and if our correspondents desire the preservation of their favours when not published, they must retain copies themselves.

J. SMART, ABERDEEN.—His letter reached us only on Thursday afternoon, some hours after the "report," with a number of other rejected communications had been committed to the flames. The "address," we suppose, went with it. Had Mr. Smart's letter reached us only this (Thursday) morning, it would have been in time.

GLASGOW.—Just as we were going to press we received a lenghty communication from our Glasgow Correspondent, which, of course, it was impossible to insert. If our Glasgow friends want "more justice" they must be just to themselves by sending their reports, &c., earlier. We must have them by Thursday morning, at the *very* latest.

MR. NATHANIEL MORLING acknowledges the receipt of 13s 2d from the Chartists of Newport, Isle of Wight, for Dr. M'Douall.

JOSEPH CARTER.—We thank our Correspondent for the trouble he has taken, but cannot find room for the report.

JAMES HENDERSON, J. COOPER, and JOHN ROBERTS, we have no room.

CORRESPONDENTS not answered this week will be noticed in our next.

THE GLASGOW POTTERY—We have this week received two communications which press of matter compels us to postpone to next week. One signed by a number of workmen at the above works, denying the truth of the allegations contained in the letter of "An Enemy to Tyranny," published in a former number of the *Star*. The other being a second letter from "An Enemy," &c., asserting the truth of his charges. Will "An Enemy to Tyranny" send us his address in confidence, and name any Chartist in Glasgow to whom he may be known?

SIMEON BIRSTOL—It was an oversight.

VICTIM FUND.	s.	d.
From a Radical, Leeds	0	4
From D. W. Weatherhead, Keighley ...	10	0
FOR THE EXECUTIVE.		
From D. W. Weatherhead, Keighley ...	12	0

Chartist Intelligence.

HAMILTON.—A Dramatic Entertainment took place here on the evening of Friday and Saturday last, Watkin's play of John Frost was performed by the members of the Thistle Club, for the benefit of the Working Men's Association. We had a good house, and the performance came off in grand style. The Inch Cap Bell, a Nautical Burletta, was also performed.

BRISTOL.—Mr. C. Bolwell, late of London, delivered a lecture on Sunday, the 5th of November, on the Life and Character of Robert Emmet, at the Democratic Chapel, Bear-lane, Temple-street.

UNITED CHARTISTS.—A public meeting, duly convened by placard, was held on Monday evening, 6th inst., in the Society Room, Cannon-street, St. James's Church Yard, to elect a delegate to the forthcoming Delegate Meeting, to be holden at Bath, on Sunday, the 12th November. Mr. Parsons was elected to the chair. Mr. Jacobs proposed that two delegates be elected by that meeting to represent the citizens of Bristol in the Delegate Meeting to be holden on the 12th instant. Mr. Lebeck seconded the motion, which was carried unanimously. Mr. Clark, in a warm, eloquent, and instructive speech, proposed Mr. Jacobs as a delegate to represent their interests at that meeting. Mr. Frankham seconded the proposition in an able speech, which Mr. Marriott warmly supported. The Chairman put the motion, which was unanimously carried. Mr. Evans proposed Mr. Simeon as a delegate to the forthcoming Conference. Mr. Lebeck seconded the proposition, which was unanimously adopted. After a vote of thanks to the Chairman the meeting separated, apparently well satisfied with the evening's proceedings.

BATH.—At the usual Sunday evening meeting of the members of the National Charter Association, on Sunday last, an interesting discussion was held by those present, "On the present state of Irish affairs." On Monday evening, an address was delivered at the rooms of the Association, by Mr. Clark, of Stockport; but the attendance was necessarily small, owing to the practice so prevalent amongst lecturers, of coming to a locality without giving any notice of their intentions. The Committee of the Association have decided that Mr. T. Bolwell be the person to lecture in Bristol on Sunday next, in accordance with the plan of local lecturers adopted at the late delegate meeting. The next delegate meeting for the West of England will be held here on Sunday next, November 12th, at three o'clock in the afternoon.

CARLISLE—QUARTERLY MEETING OF THE CARLISLE CHARTIST ASSOCIATION.—ADOPTION OF THE NEW PLAN OF ORGANIZATION—On Monday evening last the quartely meeting of the above society took place in Mr. Moses' machine room, Broad-Guards, Caldewgate, for the purpose of hearing an account of the income and expenditure; and also a report of the proceedings of the council during the last quarter read over; and further, to make such arrangements, under the New Plan of Organization as might be deemed prudent, under present circumstances. Mr. Robert Graham, nailor, was unanimously called to the chair. The secretary, Mr. John Lowry, read a full statement of the income and expenditure during the past quarter, and also a report of their proceedings, during the same period much to the satisfaction of all present. On the motion of Mr. James Muir, seconded by Mr. James Young, the balance sheet and report were both adopted by the meeting. The nomination of office bearers was proceeded with, on the chairman reading the address of the Executive, which appeared in the *Northern Star* of Saturday last, Oct 28:h, 1843. The following are the names of the council:—William Cauthard, grocer, John-street, Caldewgate, treasurer. John Lowry, Weaver, Broad Guards, secretary. Henry Bowman, schoolmaster; Union-street. John Gilbertson, Boat-end, shoemaker, Broad Guards. James Hurst, weaver, Damside. Robert Graham, nailor, Water-street. Henry Gatie, weaver, Queen-street. Those who got cards at Mr. O'Connor's meeting, then came forward, and got their names entered upon them, and were enrolled as regular members. The meeting was then dissolved.

KENDAL ELECTION—The nomination for a member in the room of the late G. W. Wood, Esq., deceased, took place on Tuesday last. The candidates were Mr. Bentinck, Tory, and Mr. Warburton, Whig. The show of hands was decidedly in favour of Mr. Warburton, and at the close of the Poll on Wednesday at four o'clock, the numbers stood thus:—

Warburton—Whig	182
Bentinck—Tory	119
Majority	63

The Colliers' Movement.

TO THE MINERS OF GREAT BRITAIN.

The Miners of Cumberland beg to tender their acknewledgements for the assistance afforded them by their brethren of the Tyne and Wear, of Lancashire, Cheshire and of Staffordshire, in their resistance to the illegal and tyrannical "Test" attempted to be imposed upon them by John Peile, colliery agent to the Earl of Lonsdale.

All that was sought by the Miners of Cumberland was the exercise of their right to combine for the protection of their labour; and John Peile denied them that right.

The Miners of Cumberland have to regret that owing to the time necessarily required to collect subscriptions, many of their body were driven by the cries of their famishing children to sign Peile's test; but they are still well-wishers to the union (and ere long we trust will bereal union men); and not only is the foundation of a permanent and efficient union in Cumberland being laid by the exertions of the outstanding men, but pecuniary assistance is now offered them, *not only by Unionists in work, but on the* part of others also.

The following sums of money to the amount of £174 14s 7½d have been received, for the last two weeks, from the Tyne and Wear, from this was deducted for the Percy and Bayden-Main men, and seme other deductions, leaving the Cumberland men the sum of £130, from the following collieries:—

South Moor £2 10s; Oxhill 14s; Green Croft 16s; Derwent Iron Works £1 6s; Andrew House 8s 6d; West Moor £6; Seaton Burn £1 8s 6d; Benwell £1; North Elswick £1 10s; Wallsend £3; Evenwood 13s 8d; Pelton Fell £1 3s 4d; Hunwick £2 5s 6d; Bedlington £2 10s 9d; Barnspeth £1 15s 6d; Mickley £2s 16s 2d; Seaton Dalavel £1 0s 6d; Wingate District £37 9s 10d; South Heaton £2 17s 2d; Wreckington £3 12s 9d; Craghead 12s 6d; Heaton-le-hole £3 15s; Shildon Bank 16s 1d; Deanery 12s 11d; West Cramlington £3 5s 6d; Ouston £2 2s 10d—Total for the first week £85 3s 3½d.—Blackboy £3 10s; Garsfield £1 3s; Netherton £2 5s; Mylam £2 2s 3d; Coupin £3 3s; Haswell £4 10s; Westerton 18s 3d; Coxhoe £3 5s; Rainton £4; East Cramlington £5 6s 6d; Heaton £4 11s 7d; North Heaton £3 18s 6d; Lamton £3 5s; West Stanley 14s; Walker £3 10s; Waldridge £2, Framwell-gate-moor £2 1s 8d; Ouston £1 18s 1d; Sherburn Hill £6 5s 7d; Newbottle £2 7s; Shiney Row £1 14s 9d; Aspeth £1 10s 6d; King pit 15s; Lumley £2 10s; Hepburn £3 17s; Heworth £1 5s 6d; Ravensworth £1 6s 6d, Kenton £2 5s; West Cramlington £3 12s 8d; Shallon £4; Sharncliffe £4 4s 6d; Cockwellgate 15s—Total for the second week £89 11s 4d.—We received from South Staffordshire on Oct. 25:h, the sum of £4 5s; and £1 17s for Henry Tindall's expences to Cumberland.

JOHN MADINE, Secretary.
At A. Trohears', White Lion, New-street.
Whitehaven, Nov. 1, 1843.

TO THE LECTURERS OF THE MINERS' ASSOCIATION OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

GENTLEMEN,—As the Executive Committee held their meetings on Saturday last, you will find your appointments as follows:—

North Staffordshire, Messrs. D. Swallow and Lomax; South Staffordshire, Messrs. Scott and Butler; Derbyshire, Messrs. Heming and Microft; Yorkshire, Messrs. P. M. Brophy and Holgate; Lancashire, Messrs. Henry Birrill, Dennett, and Auty; Wales, Messrs. Davison, George Williams, and David Griffiths; Durham and Northumberland, Messrs. William Thomason, Wm Hammond, John Alexander, Joseph Wild, John Taft, and Elisha Kinsey; Cumberland, Messrs. John Hunter and Matthew Haleday; Scotland, Messrs. W. Cloughan, Benjamin Embleton, Robert M'Cully, Septimus Davies, Benjamin Watson, Benjamin Pyle, Thomas Smith, and Daniel Thompson.

JOHN HALL,
Gen. Secretary to the Associatien.
Newcastle-on-Tyne,

NORTH STAFFORDSHIRE.—AUDLEY.—A public meeting of colliers was held here on Tuesday, Oct. 31, a working man in the chair; who, after a few remarks, introduced Mr. Matthew Scott to the meeting, who read and explained the rules of the Miners' Association. Mr. LOMAX next addressed the meeting on the necessity of the Miners here joining the Association. At the close of the meeting several took out cards of membership.

CHESTERTON, NOV. 1st.—A public meeting of the colliers of this place was held in the Large Room, George and Dragon Inn, Elisha Kinsley in the chair. Mr. Scott read and explained the rules and objects of the Miners' Association. Mr. Lomax delivered an excellent address, and he then sat down amidst the plaudits of the meeting.

STAFFORDSHIRE.—A meeting of Miners was held on the 31st ult., at Mr. T. Jones's, Jolly Colliers, Parkhouse-lane, near Oldbury, when Mr. J. Wilde addressed the meeting. Great is our success in this place.

ON THE 1ST OF NOV. a Miners' meeting was held at Mr. William Hardsorn's house, Portobello, when Mr. Wilde and Mr. Buttler addressed the meeting.

A LARGE MEETING of Miners was held on the 2nd inst., in the Methodist New Connection School Room, Oldbury, Mr. James George, a member, was called to the chair, and opened the meeting by reading the rules of the Miners' Association. Several resolutions were adopted.

WEST-BROMWICH.—ANOTHER FATAL ACCIDENT. A man named William Oland, lost his life in the pit, known by the name of Coal Farm, by a fall of coal on the 3rd inst. He has left a wife and children to mourn his loss.

WALLS END.—Two excellent meetings of the Miners of this colliery and Wellington, have been held; the first was held at Mrs. Jane Pye's, Greenland Fishery Inn, Walls End, and was attended by Messrs. Watson and S. R. Davis, who each delivered an excellent lecture. The second, was held at Mr. Thomas Dobson's, Rose Hill, Wellington, and was attended by Mr. S. R. Davis, who, after speaking for nearly two hours, sat down amidst loud acclamations.

KIDSGROVE.—On Thursday, Nov. 2nd, Messrs. Scott and Lomax addressed an audience of upwards of 100 for about an hour and a half. The publicans of this place dare not let a meeting of Colliers be held on their premises.

FALKATH HILL.—On Friday, Nov. 3rd, Messrs. Scott and Lomax attended an out-door meeting at Falkath Hill, when, after they had both addressed the hardy sons of toil, they adjourned to the Red Lion Inn, and enrolled a good many members.

BRADLEY GREEN.—On Saturday, Nov. 4th, a public out-door meeting of the Colliers of this place was held here. Mr. Scott spoke at considerable length on the necessity of the Colliers shortening their hours of labour. Mr. Lomax next addressed the meeting in an able manner. When the meeting broke up, they retired to the Odd Fellows' Hall, when upwards of forty took out cards of membership.

MR. JOHN AUTY addressed the Colliers of Captain Fold, near Heywood, on Thursday, the 2nd inst., at the Black Bull's Head. On Tuesday, the 3rd, the Colliers of Bury, at the Bay Horse Inn. There was a good attendance of about 100 paying members. On Saturday, the 4th, the Colliers of Bank-lane, New Edenfield, where an Association was formed. And on Tuesday, the 7th, the Colliers of West Ringley Bridge, near Bolton. Mr. J. Auty will be at home shortly, at Brandy Car, Wakefield Outwood, and will be ready to give his services to any colliery in the neighbourhood.

MESSRS. EMBLETON AND CLOUGHAN have addressed the Miners of Stevenson, Leybranock, Jarviston, Gabble and Ramgards. On Friday last, a delegate meeting was held at Airdrie, when the following sums were paid into the Union Funds. No. 13 Pit Given, £1 1s 7d.; No. 16 Park, 4s. 3d.; Gabble, No. 5. 11s. 4d.; Given, No. 12, 5s.; White Rigg, 1s. 3d.; Meadowhead, 5s.; No. 2, White Rigg, 5s. 3d.; Greengairs, 5s. 7½d.; No. 6, Stone Rigg, 17s. 6d. Mr. Cloughan brought the distressed case of the Cumberland colliers before the delegates, when it was unanimously agreed to, that each delegate do all in his power to raise support for the men of Cumberland. 2. That Messrs. Embleton and Cloughan visit the Miners at Greengairs, Gabble, Ironbuckles, and Coatbridge district during the week.

AT A DELEGATE MEETING at Halztown, on Saturday last, Mr. Cloughan brought the case of the Cumberland men before the meeting, when a similar resolution to that at Airdrie was agreed to. The following sums were paid in as entries to the Union: Stevenson, 10½d.; Brownburn, 1s. 11d.; Legbranke, 3s. 11d.; Newarthill, 13s. 11½d.; Chapelhall, 15s. 5d.

A PUBLIC MEETING of the Coal Miners of the Bury district was held on Monday last in the open air, in a meadow kindly lent for the purpose by its proprietor, at Littlewood Cross, New Bury. Mr. Allen was unanimously called to the chair. Mr. Wm. Jones moved the first resolution, which was to the following effect—"That we the Coal Miners of the Bury district, in public meeting assembled, do hereby declare that our present wages are not sufficient to procure for us and our families a sufficiency of the commonest necessaries of life." The resolution was seconded by Mr. G. Weaver, and supported in an able manner by Mr. Auty, from Yorkshire, an authorised agent of the Miners' Association The resolution was carried unanimously. The following was moved by Mr. George Lomax, and seconded by Mr. James Mills:—"That we, the Miners of the Bury district, are determined to use every lawful and constitutional means to remedy our present deplorable condition." The resolution was supported by the old veteran, Commodore Mead, from Birmingham. Carried unanimously. Mr. Stanley moved, and it was seconded by a Miner in the body of the meeting, "That this meeting considers that it is their duty to become members of the Miners' Association of Great Britain and Ireland, believing that that is the only legal means of bettering the condition of the Coal Miners of this country." The resolution was supported by speeches from Mr. Ramsden, from Padiham, and Mr. Dixon, from Manchester. It was carried by acclamation. Mr. Auty moved "That the thanks of this meeting are due and are hereby given, to the proprietor and editor of the *Northern Star*, for their kindness in giving publicity to all our proceedings." The Chairman put the resolution, which was carried amid repeated rounds of applause. The thanks of the meeting were given to the Chairman, and the people dispersed in a peaceable and orderly manner.

A PUBLIC MEETING OF MINERS had been announced to take place at Chorley Moor, on Monday, Nov. 6th, but owing to the extreme wetness of the weather the meeting was adjourned to the spacious room, in the George Inn, Chorley, which was crowded to excess. The chair was occupied by Mr. Geo. Harrison. Mr. Henry Burrell delivered a powerful and impressive address. Mr. H. Dennett succeeded him and was warmly applauded. The resolutions, which were of a similar nature to those passed at other public meetings convened by the much oppressed Miners, were unanimously adopted, and after a vote of thanks to the chairman the meeting seperated. The General Delegate Meeting commenced immediately. Mr. G. Harrison being again called to the chair. The following sums were then paid in:—

General contributions—Fleece Lodge, Bolton £1 8s 8d; Atherton Colliery 9s 6d; Darcy Lever £6 18s 3d; Mother Lodge Bolton 18s 11½d; White Swan, Hindley Green 2s 10d; Angel Lodge, Wigan 5s; Victoria Lodge, Duckenfield 9s 11d; Edge Green 5s; Church Parish £1 10s 5½d; Bank Top 4s 7d; Ratcliffe 4s 2d; Thornhill 8s 9d; Stand Lane, Pilkington 3s 6d; Hinds Colliery 6s 4d; Captain Fold 10s 8d; Old Mess House, Oldham £1 18s; Horse Shoe, Rinnley 3s 10d; Hurst Brook 11s 0½d; Badbury £1 0s 11½d; Horse Shoe, Baraley 9s. 8½d; Colliers Arms Hyde £1 1s 2½d; White Hart, Flowery Field 17s; Bradford Colliery Queen Anne, Deanchurch £1 7s 6d; Littleborough 15s 2d; Dobell Bar 5s; Westhoughton 2s 4d; Grepes Inn, Ringley £1 6s 2d; £1 2s 9d; Nook £1 3s 6d; Smallbride 12s; Turk's Head, Gravel Hole 14s; Commercial Lodge, Over Darwen 16s 1½d; Pendleburg 15s 11d; Chorley 8s 6d; Duke of York, near Wigan 8s; Goose Green, Pemberton 4s 2d; Amberswood 10s 9d; Gibraltar Tavern, Scholes 2s 10½d; Hand and Heart, Hindley 2s 1d; Pack Horse, Pemberton 3s 6d; Balcarres' Arms, Scholes 1s 6d; Lambert-head Green £1 1s 1d; Aspull £15 4s 8¾d; Rope and Anchor, Wigan 4s; St. Helen's District. No. 1, Lodge 2s 7d; do 2 do 6s 8d; do 3 do 3s 6d; do 4 do 7s 12d; do 5 do 4s 1d; do 6 do 4s 3d; do 7 do 2s 8d; do 8 do 3s; do 9 do 1s 6d; do 10 do 13s 4d; do 11 do (deprived of work for being in the Union) 0s 0d; do 12 do 2s 8d; do 13 do 3s 6d; do 14 do 2s 9d; do 15 do 1s 7d; do 16 do 4s 10d; do 17 do 2s 6d; Spinners' Arms, Tyldesley 11s; Hanging Bank £1 16s 4d; Bowling Green Inn, Halshaw Moor, £2 6s 4d; Dixon Green 17s 11d.

SPECIAL CONTRIBUTIONS FOR MEN OUT ON STRIKE.—Fleece Lodge, Bolton, 3s 11d; Angel Lodge, Wigan, 15s; Chorley, 18s 0d; Victoria, Dukenfield, 13s 7½d; Edge Green, £1 0s 6d; Old Mess House, Oldham, 10s; Horse Shoe, Ringley, £2 3s; Grapes Inn, ditto, £2 10s; Hurst Brook, £1 7s 3d; Colliers' Arms, Hyde, £1 1s 8d; Boyton, £3; Dukenfield, £1 7s; Bradford Colliery, £1 10s 6d; a friend to the Miners, £1; Dobell Bar, 4s; Westhoughton, 13s; Queens' Arms, Deanchurch, £4 12s 9½d; Chorley Moor, 15s; Duke of York, near Wigan, 13s 4d; Goose Green, Pemberton, £1 5s; Gibralter Tavern, Scholes, 8s 3d; Hand and Heart, Hindley, 6s 3d; Pack Horse, Pemberton, 10s; Pack Horse, Lamberthead, 9s 4½d; Railway Tavern, Wigan, 6s 6d; Balcarres Arms, Scholes, 4s 6d; Lamberthead Lodge, £1 1s; Crofters' Arms, Wigan, 10s; Rope and Anchor, 12s 6d; St. Helen's, No. 1 Lodge, 15s 6d; No. 2, £2; No. 3, £1 1s; No. 4, £2 3s; No. 5, £1 4s 6d; No. 6, £1 5s 6d; No. 7, 16s; No. 8, 18s; No. 9, 9s; No. 10, £4; No. 11, men out; No. 12, 16s; No. 13, £1 1s; No. 14; 16s 6d; No. 15, 9s 6d; No. 16, £1 9s; No. 17, 15s. As some of the delegates were not prepared to give proper explanations as to how the monies they brought should be apportioned I have thought it best not to give the totals in either case, as I have not the least doubt but that some monies were given in as contributions that were intended for men out of work, and *vice versa*, but this will scarcely be of any consequence, as both general and special contributions have been appropriated to the relief of the victims to coal king tyranny.—WILLIAM GROCOTT, Secretary to the Lancashire Miners.

P.S. The Miners of Edge Green, and those meeting at the Green Barn, Blackrod, are hereby informed that the money paid by Edward Miller, from the Green Barn Lodge, was £1 9s, and that by David Griffiths was £1 2s. The mistakes probably arose from an error in the type. Neither Miller or Griffiths are to blame. Be so kind as to insert this as these men have been unjustly accused.—W. G.

A MEETING of Delegates in connection with the Miners' Association will take place at the Bowling Green, Halshaw Moor, near Bolton, on Monday next, Nov. 13th, each delegate to come prepared with statements of prices to be paid for labour in the various departments of the Mining business, so that they may be ready for delivery on the 20th of this month. Each district is requested to send a delegate. Chair to be taken at eleven o'clock in the forenoon. A public meeting of Miners will be holden at Hazel Grove, near Stockport, on Monday, the 20th of November. The meeting will be addressed by Messrs. Price, Birrell, and Ramsden. Chair to be taken at eleven o'clock in the forenoon. The general delegate meeting will take place immediately after, at the Three Tuns, Hazel Grove. A meeting will also be holden the same day, on Duckworth Hill, to be addressed by Messrs. Garner, Auty, and Dennett. Chair to be taken at twelve o'clock at noon. The delegates specially request the Miners of Lancashire to restrict their hours of labour as much as possible. The following are the stations ef the lecturers till the general delegate meeting:—Henry Birrell, in the Bolton District; James Price, Poynton District; Garner, Chorley; Dennett, Wigan; Ramsden Oldham.

PADIHAM.—The Padiham and Burnley Miners (North Lancashire) request the Executive Committee of the Miners' Association to send a lecturer into the above district; not forgetting to bring with him a quantity of cards.

MINERS' NATIONAL CONFERENCE, NEWCASTLE.

WEDNESDAY MORNING'S SITTING.

Mr. Thomas Wakinshaw having taken the chair, and Mr. Tulip the vice-chair, the Secretary read the minutes of the previous meeting, which were confirmed.

The Chairman then, referring to the programme, said the next business was to hear an account of the labours of the lecturers now present, and called upon Mr. John Hunter for that purpose.

Mr. Hunter gave an account of his labours in Cumberland, and of the success he met with in that district, which was highly gratifying, notwithstanding the low mean schemes reserted to by the owners and their lacqueys to frustrate the attempts at getting the men to unite in that county. The success of the society in that quarter had been beyond their most sanguine expectation. The men were beginning to think that it surely must be a benefit for them to join the society; or else the masters would not take such trouble in attempting to prevent its progress; and many who otherwise perhaps never would have joined had come forward on that account.

A Delegate proposed that the statement now made by Mr. Hunter be deemed highly satisfactory.

Agreed to.

Mr. Swallow was next called upon to give a statement of the state of the society in North Staffordshire, which was highly gratifying. Mr. S. said that in the first fortnight after he had gone there, from Lancashire, he enrolled 469 members; and in the five weeks which he had been there he had enrolled 1,509 names, all of whom saw the matter in its true light, and had pledged themselves to carry out the objects of the Association.

The statement of Mr. Swallow was likewise deemed satisfactory.

A letter was then read from South Wingate Colliery, complaining of the means resorted to to reduce the men's wages there.

Mr. Wm. Thomason gave an account of the state of the Miners' Association in South Stafford, which was likewise very promising; and a delegate proposed that the statement which Mr. Thomason has now read from a local paper be inserted in the *Miners' Journal*.

Mr. Septimus Davis gave an account of his labours in Yorkshire, since he left Newcastle, which he was happy to say had been crowned with much more success than he could be justified in expecting on his first arrival there. Mr. D. described the attempts made by a certain clique of Free Traders to entrap the Miners of Yorkshire into an advocacy of their nostrums, under a promise that they, in return, would assist them in procuring the objects of the Society; but the Yorkshire Colliers were too wide awake—they were too old to be caught with chaff; and they now confine themselves to the objects of the Union, and were getting on quite gloriously.

A Delegate proposed "That the statement of Mr. Davis be deemed satisfactory." Agreed to.

Mr. Hammond was called on give an account of the state of the society in Scotland. Mr. H. said he believed there was more abject poverty among the colliers of the Lothians than in any other part of the world that he had heard tell of, and men were afraid to take a prominent part in its removal. The failure of past partial attempts to better the condition of the Scotch colliers made them timid. Many of them were intelligent men, and know that a general union of their order throughout the United Kingdom would be more effectual in removing their insupportable grievances than any local attempts they have hitherto made. Mr. H. said they had to work eight hours for 1s. 6d. per day. The coals they hewed were of three classes,—large, small, and dross; they were not allowed any pay for the dross; and it not unfrequently happened that the large was classed small, and the small classed dross; and they were robbed in this way; besides having to pay so much per week for a doctor, and so much for a schoolmaster, out of the miserable pittance left. The Scotch Bonds were abominable. He had seen some of them which authorised the owner to discharge his bound collier, when he liked, by giving him fourteen days notice; and empowering the master to fine him 5s. per day for every day, or part of a day, which he stopped in his house, after the expiration of the fourteen days. Mr. H. then described the bad state of ventilation so injurious to health, and so dangerous to life; he likewise described the truck system, with which they were borne down to the very ground.

Mr. Daniells said it would be only wasting the precious time of the Conference in him to give his statements as they were similar to those they had just heard from his colleague Mr. Hammond.

A Delegate then proposed, that "the statement given by Messrs. Hammond and Daniells be deemed satisfactory."

The delegates then adjourned to dinner.

WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON SITTING—TWO O'CLOCK.

Mr. Wakinshaw in the Chair, Mr. Tulip, Vice-Chair, Mr. Manderson doorkeeper.

The Secretary then read the minutes of the previous sittings, which were confirmed.

Mr. Henry Dennet was called upon to give an account of the society in Lancashire, which was very gratifying. He gave an account of the schemes resorted to by the masters and their minions to break up the society in Lancashire, but they had failed. Some of the masters sent for bread and cheese and ale to treat the men, but they could not induce them to desert their colours.

Mr. Swallow enumerated the great good done by the strict observance of the restriction question in Lancashire. They had plenty of work and there was a great likelihood of amicable agreements being come to between men and masters, as the wages were advanced a little already, and hopes entertained of a further advance.

A delegate proposed that the statement respecting Lancashire by Mr. Dennet, &c., is highly satisfactory.

Mr. Davison, from North Wales, gave an account of the progress of Union in that principality. He said he had been there six weeks before any progress worth speaking of was made; but he felt great pleasure in stating that such was not the case now. There were between two and three thousand cards and rules disposed of; and he made no doubt but in a very short time there would be few Miners of any description out of the society. Mr. D. went on to describe the Truck System there, and the advantages taken of the operative Colliers by the buttles, who, although they did little, often had to draw from £20 to £25 at the quarters end, although furnished weekly with Truck to the amount of fifteen or sixteen shillings; whereas the poor Collier is only getting from seven to nine shillings truck of this kind weekly out of the store, merely to keep soul and body together, and was often in debt at the end of the quarter.

The report of Mr. Davison was deemed satisfactory; and it was agreed that a reasonable sum should be granted to Mr. Davison to defray his expences from North Wales to Newcastle out of the general fund, but that for the future no lecturer be allowed his expences for visiting his family, unless previous arrangements are made with the Executive to that effect.

A discussion respecting the proper time to hold the next Conference took place, when it was agreed to be holden on the 1st of January, 1844, at Manchester, as formerly agreed to.

The Committee entered the room with the plan for the guidance of all lecturers for the society, and having handed a programme of their arrangements to the Chairman, he read the first recommendation, which after being discussed at some length was adopted, namely:—

1. Recommended that the lecturers be liable to be removed, and that they remain no longer than six months in one county. 2. That the term of removal be determined by the official correspondence which the Executive may receive from the county or district in which the lecturer has laboured. 3. That the number of lecturers be proportionate to the size of the county and the wants of the places situated therein, to be under the surveilance of the Executive. 4. That no lecturer of this society be allowed to mix politics with his addresses whilst agitating for the society; but that they be required to urge the necessity of a strict observance of the restriction question. 5. That any lecturer wilfully neglecting to observe any of the foregoing rules be expelled the office of lecturer for this Association.—Agreed to.

A lengthy discussion took place respecting a strike, when it was ultimately agreed "That the further consideration of that subject be deferred until the next Conference; and that in the meantime each colliery be required to make out a true statement of their grievances, lay the same before their employers, and if no redress is granted them, that a faithful statement be laid before the public." "That each colliery in the Association lay a statement of their grievances and a petition for redress before their masters on one day, viz—Monday, the 20th November."—Agreed to. "That it be inserted in the *Northern Star*, that the men are to wait upon their masters on that day."—Agreed to. The Conference adjourned at six o'clock.

THURSDAY MORNING SITTING, NINE O'CLOCK.

Mr. Wakinshaw in the chair, Mr. Tulip in the vice-chair, Mr. Manderson door-keeper.

The minutes of the previous sitting were read and confirmed, and the following resolutions having been fully discussed were adopted, viz. "That all the half marrows be admitted as half members of this Association, and all that puts a tram be considered a full member." "That the reasonable expenses of Messrs. Daniells and Hammond, from Scotland to Newcastle, be defrayed out of the general fund."

A lengthy discussion took place respecting the *Miner's Journal*, when it was agreed that the proceeds of the sale of the *Journal* should go to the general fund of the Association.

The following gentlemen were nominated as fit and proper persons to become Editors of the *Miners' Journal*, viz. Mr. Wm. Dixon, of Manchester; Mr. Wm. Thomason, of South Staffordshire; and Mr. Wm. Daniells, of Scotland.

It was agreed, prior to going to a poll, that the future Editor should receive 21s. per week.

The Delegates adjourned to dinner at one o'clock.

THURSDAY AFTERNOON SITTING, TWO O'CLOCK.

Mr. Wakinshaw in the chair, Mr. Tulip in the vice-chair.

The minutes of the previous sitting were read and confirmed.

A Delegate proposed that the future Editor of the Miners' Journal be required to confine himself to the duties of that office. Agreed to.

The votes were then taken by ballot, (as in the case of the place for the next National Conference,) when the following was declared to be the state of the poll:—Mr. Daniells, 12,450; Mr. Dixon, 9,014; Mr. Thomason, 1,305.

Consequently Mr. Daniells was declared duly elected Editor of the *Miners' Journal*.

A lengthy discussion then took place respecting the election of the Executive Council of the Association for the next six months, when it was agreed "That the late Executive be re-elected to act until next Conference," which was done, and Mr. John Stoker was elected a member of the Executive, in lieu of Mr. Peter Livesey resigned.

Mr. Burbeck was appointed Assistant Secretary.

The Chairman then called upon Mr. Jude, who would read an address drawn up to the Association by the late Executive, setting forth the business of that body since their election, the monies received by the Executive, and the manner in which it was expended.

Mr. Jude read the address, which gave a very satisfactory account of the whole proceedings of that body since their appointment to office.

A Committee of five were then appointed to audit the books of the Association, and report progress at their earliest convenience.

The Conference then adjourned until nine o'clock on Friday morning.

FRIDAY MORNING'S SITTING.

Mr. Wakinshaw in the chair. Mr. Tulip in the Vice-Chair.

The minutes of the previous sitting were read and confirmed.

The Chairman read an address from the Miners of Akland district, requesting a lecturer to be appointed exclusively for their own district.

The subject of electing more lecturers having been discussed for some time, it was finally agreed, "That six lecturers be now appointed for the counties of Northumberland and Durham—three for each county; and that they be required to go as far as Berwick, northward.

The subject of lecturers being elected as delegates to any general or national conference was discussed at considerable length, when it was ultimately agreed—"That any county or district may, if they choose, elect any lecturer, or any other member of the Association, to represent them as delegate at any general or national conference."

The following gentlemen were then duly appointed lecturers for the Miners' Association of Great Britain and Ireland:—Mr. Thomas Mycroft, from Auckland District; Mr. Wm. Thomason, from South Staffordshire; Mr. Matthew Scott, from Cumberland; Mr. Elisha Kinsley, from Staffordshire; Mr. David Griffith, from North Wales; and that the appointment of Mr. Evan Thomas lay over until the next Conference. That Mr. Martin Jude receive £5 out of the district funds of Northumberland and Durham (for his past services as general Treasurer.

FRIDAY AFTERNOON SITTING.—TWO O'CLOCK.

Mr. Wakinshaw in the chair; Mr. Tulip in the vice-chair.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed, a delegate proposed "that all resolutions and any other business to be discussed at any future Conference, must be forwarded to the General Secretary, one month previous to the sitting of such Conference, so that the Secretary apprize each locality of the subjects to be considered there, that the delegates may come prepared with the opinions of their constituents upon such matters as may be discussed; and that the General Secretary may draw up a programme of the business to be submitted to that Conference." Agreed to. The Committee, appointed to audit the society's books, reported that upon examining them, they found them quite correct; whereupon a vote of thanks was tendered to Mr. John Hall, the General Secretary, for the proper state in which the books were found, and the straightforward way in which he had fulfilled his office of Secretary.

A lengthy discussion took place respecting the restriction question, when it was ultimately decided, that each colliery be required to stand by the *daily, (not fortnightly)* restriction agreed to at the last National Conference.

The National Conference was dissolved at six o'clock, when it was announced that a district delegate meeting (for the transaction of local business) would be held in the same place, commencing at eight o'clock on Saturday morning.

[We did not receive the above report of Friday's proceedings until Thursday, the 9th. We have consequently been compelled to abridge it, and entirely omit the "District Delegate Meeting.—*E.N.S.*]

DUMFRIES.—A meeting of those enlisted during his visit by Mr. O'Connor, in the National Charter Association, was convened yesterday evening (Nov. 6th), when their cards were filled up, and their names enrolled. The following were nominated on the Council:—President, Mr. G. Lewis, nailer; Treasurer, Mr. Alexander West, coach-painter; Secretary, Mr. Peter Gray, compositor; Mr. John Wilson, stocking-maker; Mr. Robert Welsh, smith; Mr. A. Wardrop, frame-smith; Mr. John

Foreign Movements.

FRANCE.—Several of the political chiefs of the Legitimist party are preparing to leave Paris for London, to meet the Duke of Bourdeaux, who it appears has sent them a special invitation to that effect. M. Berryer left Paris for London on Thursday morning. The Marquis de Preigne will start on Saturday, and MM. de Larcy, de la Bourdonnaye, and several others will follow. M. de Chateaubriand has written to the Duke of Bourdeaux to say that nothing but the bad state of his health prevented him from accepting of his Royal Highness's invitation. The Duke of Bourdeaux's arrival in England is looked upon as an event of no small importance, not only by his own party, but by the supporters of the present dynasty. It is evident that there is some alarm felt as to its ultimate effects.

The trial of the fifty-seven persons accused of robberies in the Faubourg Saint Germain, was brought to a close on Tuesday week, when a number of them were convicted and sentenced to heavy punishments. The following are the sentences:—

"The jury terminated its deliberation at half-past seven, and the Court resumed. The result of their deliberation was, that Courvoisier, Ganthier, Labrne, Flachat, the female prisoner Roche, Mathieu, Droin, Josin, Chanet, the widow Gobel, were guilty of the charge of being authors or accomplices of robberies, or attempts to rob, by false keys, or breaking open inhabited houses. That Loire, Fabre, Bossleier, the wife of Courvoisier, the wife of Josien, Engerer, the wife of Jacques were guilty of complicity in the same acts, having knowingly received and concealed the property stolen. Four of the prisoners were acquitted. The prisoners who had been convicted were led in by their guards. The wife of Jacques still wore her veil of black lace, her black satin bonnet, and gown of black silk; she was supported by a female attendant. She had hardly taken her seat ere she burst into tears and sobs. Courvoisier sat on the highest bench next his wife, whom he closely embraced in his arms.

"The Advocat-General having demanded the judgment of the Court, Courvoisier rose in a furious and menacing manner, and shaking his fist at the jury, said, 'You have condemned an innocent woman It is I, I alone, who have ruined her; you are a set of scoundrels!' He was immediately removed from the Court.

"The President then read the sentence of the Court, as follows:—That Courvoisier be condemned to hard labour in the galleys for thirty years, and Ganthier to the same for twenty-five years; the female prisoner Roche, and Labrne to the same for twenty years; Flachat to eighteen years, Droin to fifteen years, Josier to seven years, Chanet to six years, and the widow Gobel to five years of the same punishment. The other prisoners were sentenced to imprisonment for periods of four and five years each, accompanied by public exposure."

LORD BROUGHAM has arrived at the Hotel Meurice, Paris, from London.—*Galignani's Messenger.*

ON THE 8TH ULT., at two A.M., a severe shock of earthquake was sensibly felt at Messina. Many of the inhabitants got up and walked the streets till daybreak.

THE *France* on Friday was stopped at the post, and also seized at its offices. Two hours afterwards M. Frederic Dolle, its responsible editor, received a summons to appear to-day before the examining magistrate.

On Wednesday, while the great bell of the cathedral of Notre Dame was being rung, the clapper gave way, and the enormous mass fell down through two floors of the tower, and lodged on the third.

SPAIN.—On the 24th a heavy fire was opened on Barcelona. This fire, with an hour's intermission in the middle of the day, lasted till sunset, and was probably the severest that the city has hitherto sustained. The celebrated bombardment of Espartero sinks in comparison with it; for on that occasion, it was Montjuich alone that fired, and then under 1,000 projectiles; whereas, on the 24th, to the fire of that fortress was added that of the citadel and forts of San Carlos and San Pio; and altogether considerably above 2,000 projectiles of one kind or another were hurled against the city. An officer of the Belvidera counted 900 from Montjuich alone, and the fire of the citadel was much hotter. The accounts from the town represent the loss of property as very great, while some thirty persons alone were killed. During the day the city kept up a brisk fire against the citadel and the villages of Gracia Sarrea, and Sans, the inhabitants of which completely deserted them. At the former place several lives were lost. The Junta are laughing at General Sanz, and taking advantage of the two days' cessation of active hostilities to repair all their defences, and are now engaged in forming a strong battery in the Atarazanas, and protecting it from the fire of Montjuich. It will probably be finished to-morrow, and is generally supposed to be chiefly directed against this place: Montjuich calmly looks on, and scorns to disturb the works save by a shot or two at rare intervals. When all this will end nobody presumes to guess, for the same game seems to be going on at both Saragossa and Gerona; and till either one or the other is taken, the general has no intention to enter Barcelona. He is, however, strengthening himself by raising a corps of 4,000 patnela, similar to those within the city, to effectuate his blockade, which has not hitherto been properly done, as every one is aware that fresh provisions enter nightly. Only the night before last 250 sheep passed the lines and entered the city. The projectiles thrown into Barcelona from San Carlos and Montjuich on that day amount to more than 1,000. On the morning of the 24th the black flag, which has been so long flying over Atarazanas, was pulled down, and a black and red one hoisted in its place. The black flag means "no surrender, but rather death," and the other signifies "death and blood."

FRIDAY MORNING, OCT. 27.—Several substantial farm-houses, situated at the foot of Montjuich, are now in flames, having been fired during the night by the patulea of Barcelona, owing, probably, to their sentinels being annoyed on the walls by the enemy's skirmishers, who come down at night and keep a perpetual fire of musketry on them. It was at first supposed the fire was in the Atarazanas, as seen from this place in the grey of morning, but unfortunately the peasants, as is usual in civil contests are the sufferers.

HIGHLY IMPORTANT.—*(From the Correspondent of the Times.)*—MADRID, OCT. 28.—Serious news has arrived here to-day from Gallicia and from England, or rather (looking to cause and effect) from England *via* Gallicia. We learn that a Spanish committee, sitting in London, has organised a plan of re-action in favour of the Central Junta and of Espartero, or (to speak with precision) to overthrow the present Provisional Government. The first step has already been taken boldly, judiciously, and successfully at Vigo, where General Iriarte landed from the Peninsula steamer; and where a *pronunciamento* was made on the 23rd inst., and maintained after a sharp firing with the Provincial Regiment of Lugo, which attempted to take the rebellious Ayuntamiento prisoners, but was repulsed with loss, and their Colonel wounded, from the position which the Centralists had fortified themselves. The event has caused a great sensation in Madrid, and the Centralists here have again taken courage. I am assured that a General at present in this city is prepared to leave to-morrow to take the command at Vigo, where it is said that money has already arrived, and whither the "disaffected" of Old Castile, Asturias, Gallicia, Estremadura, and the outlaws in Portugal, are already hastening, as to "a rallying point where they are always sure of a retreat to England at the worst." At present their hopes are high, and instead of contemplating an escape seaward, they are in strong expectation of supplies from that quarter.

The Gallician towns have risen, but Saragossa has surrendered upon terms to Concha. There was news of the 29th from Barcelona. Reinforcements had arrived from Tarragona, but there had been no firing.

Leon had submitted on a compromise.

The cannon of Gerona was still heard during the entire of the 1st inst.

A letter from Bayonne of the 1st instant, says the *Journal des Debats*, announced the entry of General Concha into Saragossa, on the following terms:—

"1. All the National Guards who are entitled by the law to form part of the National Guard were to retain their arms.

"2 The free corps and all those organised by the insurgents were to be disarmed and dissolved.

"3. The Junta, Municipality, and Provisional Deputation were to be equally dissolved.

"4 The officers of the army who had joined in the movement, were to be sent home and deprived of their ranks and decorations."

GREECE.—ATHENS, OCT. 16.—Colocotroni, who, lately attempted the getting up of a counter-revolution, but who so signally failed, has been exiled from Greece. The papers state that he was to have embarked in the Austrian steamer, but on the populace at the Piræus learning that such was the case, it resolved on his destruction, and on the carriage reaching the Piræus, he was only saved from death by the presence of mind of the coachman, who, putting his horses to their speed, returned to Athens. He was again sent down with an escort of forty Lancers, but these could not even defend the carriage through the crowd, and with difficulty succeeded in getting it again on the high-road to Athens. He was at last embarked from the coast on board the Greek steamer, which took him to Syra.

On the 30th instant the mob assembled in great numbers to hoot M. Rhalli, the late Minister of Justice, who was to embark on board the Austrian steamer. After much ineffectual persuasion, the military dispersed the rioters, but without firing on them, and only using the flats of their swords. M. Rhalli was dissuaded in an officer's uniform, and taken to the Piræus by M. Piscator, in his carriage, and embarked for Andros in the French steamer Tartare.

The following appears in the *Times* of Saturday:—We have been favoured with the following very interesting extracts from a letter written by a Madame Sissini, a daughter of Marco Bozzaris, to her sister, one of the Maids of Honour to the Queen of Greece, translated from the Greek:—

"MISSOLONGHI, SEPTEMBER.

"MY DEAREST ROSA,—At length the enigma is solved. Let us all glorify God with one voice—(yet how can we do this *sufficiently?*)—*for the manner in* which it has been accomplished. I shall not be able to sleep this night for thinking that daybreak must bring me a letter from you. Indeed, I am somewhat uneasy lest this sudden shock should have been too much for you—but it cannot be, but you will write to me, and write with extreme minuteness. I never so regretted anything in my life, as that I am now at Missolonghi, and not where I could be with you, and hear with you, and see with you, so many new and glorious things. In such excitements how have you and our dear mother fared? How shall I describe to you the enthusiasm of poor Missolonghi? It was three o'clock on Sunday when Kstatya came to my uncle*, with that blessed number of the *Age*, which I half comprehended in the first moment of astonishment, and afterwards clearly understood. Shall I confess it? Shall I conceal it from you? I am, O! my sister, a very *Chieftainess*. I could not restrain my tears. A moment afterwards everybody knew the news, and the thrilling music came to play before our house. Then you should have seen how the men seemed to be electrified. '*Constitution for ever*' rose to the skies. *Everybody embraced everybody*—the cold grew warm—the weak powerful—the *children young men—the old men youths. In the evening was a very* numerous assembly, the "Symposium" of the citizens to celebrate the event. The next morning was the 'Doxology,' *i. e.*, thanksgiving in the church, which I went to hear. You can imagine how it penetrated into my very soul. Afterwards a multitude of us women went to the parade of the troops, to hear them take the oath to the constitution. There was then a review; after which the soldiery feasted. Last of all, proclamation *was made to hold these days for the future as* national festivals. Is not this right? Yes, my beloved sister; henceforward let *us* rejoice to show our sympathy in the festivals of our husbands, by appearing in them in our most honourable garb. Though strange, the request will not be unfitting us, that the King should be *ours too*, and know that WE also are *his*. O that he might at length truly estimate this movement which has taken place—this second regeneration of Greece. O who will not love and honour him, if he gives his heart to what is good. Yes, believe me, could our King at this moment cast one glance on his subjects, he would be proud of governing them. But this will be more likely to be felt by him when he shall truly know, and rightly estimate, those whom we consider to be his worst enemies.

"VASILIKI SISSINI."

Letters arrived from Athens of the 20th ultimo, stateing that the most perfect tranquillity prevailed throughout the provinces, and the elections of deputies to the National Assembly were to have been closed on the 22nd ult.

A letter from Trieste of the 25th ult., quoted by the *Reforme*, states that the revolution had excited a great sensation among the Greeks of the island of Candia. The Sphakiote, who inhabit the western mountains, had, it was said, already taken arms to shake off a foreign yoke. The establishment of a liberal constitution in Greece renders the Candiotes more desirous to be incorporated with the Greek kingdom. The island of Samos was likewise agitated, and the Governor had demanded reinforcements from Constantinople.

EGYPT.—Letters from Alexandria of the 16th ult. announces that the Viceroy of Egypt had given orders to place 40,000 men immediately under arms, in order to reduce the Pasha of Soudan to obedience, who had declared himself independent of Mehemet Ali. Ahmed, Pasha of Soudan, is described as a man of remarkable *sang froid*, and brave as a lion. The revolt of Ahmed has caused Mehemet Ali serious uneasiness, because in attacking Ahmed he attacks the Porte.

ITALY.—A rumour was abroad in Paris on Thursday that disturbances had broken out at Ancona, between the Pope's troops and the Swiss Guards who are in the pay of his Holiness.

PRUSSIA.—*(Important to the Freebooters).*—ZOLLVERREIN.—BERLIN, OCT. 21.—The importance attached by the English to their commercial relations with Germany is sufficiently proved by the fact, that since the assembling of the Zollverein Congress, no less than seven agents are here in addition to the members of the English Embassy, who are very numerous. These agents are from Manchester, Liverpool, London, and other parts of England. They spare neither pains nor money to gain admittance to the meetings of the Congress, and they endeavour to convince us that *it would be very unfortunate for Germany were she to depend on her own manufacturing industry*, instead of having her wants supplied by England. The strenuous exertions made by these English agents have excited a considerable sensation here; but they will produce an effect totally the reverse of that which is intended. The conclusion of our commercial treaty with North America will have a most important influence on our trade, industry, and navigation; it will also have its effect on the Hanse towns, by rendering them unable much longer to forbear joining the union. —*Koln Zeitung.*

AMERICA—UNITED STATES—We have this week received several copies of the *Williamsburgh Democrat*, from which we give the following extracts:—

ABOLITION NATIONAL CONVENTION.—A Convention of the "Liberty party" has been sitting at Buffalo. The delegates selected James G. Birney, of Michigan, and Thomas Morris, of Ohio, as candidates for the office of President and Vice-President of the United States. Twelve states balloted. Advance, champions of justice.

At the recent election held in Lousiana, the voters of that state, by a majority of four to one, decided in favour of a State Convention, for the purpose of reforming the Constitution. [Will they reform their Constitution, by abolishing slavery! Until they do so they are traitors to the "rights of man."]

A meeting of the New York labourers has been held in the Park. They passed a strong and sensible resolution in vindication of the working man's rights. They declared that they will not support any man for office or emolument who will not aid in fixing the standard of labourers' wages at a dollar a day.

There have been two or three hundred houses in Manilla destroyed by fire.

The democracy of Massachussetts have re-nominated Marcus Morton for Governor. They have chosen Van Buren delegates to the National Convention.

Constitutional Reform is the order of the day. In New Jersey the people are out for an amendment of the Constitution of that State. The Whigs, true to their interest, oppose it tooth and nail.

REPEAL IN AMERICA.—The *Williamsburgh Democrat* has the following remarks in relation to the Repeal Convention recently held at New York:—

The National Convention, which assembled in New York, last week, for the purpose of aiding the Irish people in obtaining a Repeal of the Union, was a failure—a miserable, contemptible failure. They adjourned, after three days of unmeaning ceremonial, and personal bickering.

And who could expect anything else of them! What did the motley assemblage who met in solemn burlesque of the spirit of Liberty; what, we ask, did they know about the subject which called them together! Just as much as the Veiled Prophet commands them to know—enough to hurl at the British Government the thunders of their moral persuasion—and annihilate the Union by the "united action of their peaceful physical force"!!!

It is melancholy to contemplate the inhuman Government of England treading out the lives of the Irish people under the iron-shod hoof of despotism—to see that people struggling and upheaving for freedom—to see all their energies palsied—all their efforts rendered not merely inefficient, but quite ridiculous, by the gross, glaring, colossal knavery of their mercenary and treacherous leaders. O, it is melancholy indeed!

But though the picture is a melancholy, still it is a natural one. Bigoted narrow-souled men—slaves of prejudice and unreasoning dupes to custom—are not the materials with which to establish popular freedom. Before men are fit to enjoy liberty, or herald it to others, they must rise superior to sectional bigotry. They must meet all men—of whatever clime or whatever creed—as brothers in the cause of human regeneration. Above all things must they understand the principles of liberty. They must know that liberty and self government are synonimous terms. They must not suffer their leaders to do the thinking for them. They must not import opinion cut and dry, nor dare to add or diminish from the importation any more than if it were God's word. If the friends of Repeal in this country deport themselves after this fashion, it is no wonder that their "National Convention" made itself an object of derision for the "three days" of its existence. It is no wonder that it disappeared, like a will o' the wisp—having effected nothing, save adding to the bewilderment of the benighted traveller who looked up to it for light and guidance."

THE "LAND OF LIBERTY!"—The girls in Philadelphia who make caps for the employing cap salesmen, have struck for higher wages; and no wonder, for it is stated that they are allowed only thirty cents per week for their work. There is much imposition practised upon this class of society in all the large cities. They are not half compensated for their labour; many seamstresses, who have families, being unable to procure, with the utmost industry, as much as will supply themselves and children with comfortable food and lodging. [The Americans have not used the *power* they possess to PROTECT LABOUR. They have the "*force*" system; and behold the results!]

Dr. Enridge, who was tried for forgery some two years ago, has been guilty of the seduction and death of a young girl in Philadelphia. Having deserted her, his unhappy victim took refuge in the Almshouse; where she put an end to her life by swallowing corrosive sublimate.

* The brother of the hero Marco.

CHARGE OF RAPE.—Captain John Y. Nicholson of the ship Harkway, was arrested on Tuesday last, upon the charge of having committed a rape upon the person of Miss M. A. Potts, a cabin passenger on board his ship on her last voyage from Liverpool to James River, in June last, and the next day brought before the Mayor, who upon hearing of the testimony, decided to commit him to answer the charge before the proper tribunal of the Universal States.

LATER INTELLIGENCE has arrived by the Great Western, which reached Liverpool, on Thursday, the 2nd.

THE ELECTIONS.—The *Journal of Commerce* of the 19th ultimo, gives the following statistics of the results:—

"TWENTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS.

"The Senate when full, comprises fifty-two members. At present there are five vacancies, viz:—

"Two in Tenessee, one in Maryland, one in Illinois, and one in Missouri. The three first will be filled with Whigs, and the two last with Locos. Of the senators already elected, twenty-six are Whigs, including Mr Rives, of Virginia, whose politics are of the impracticable order, and twenty-one Locos. Adding the vacancies, the full Senate will stand—twenty-nine Whigs and twenty-three Locos. Whig majority in the Senate, six.

"HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

"Under the new apportionment, the house will comprise 223 members. of these, 201 are already elected. Their political affinities will be seen by the following schedule, which also shows the loss and gain to each party, comparing this Congress with the last. Of the 201 members elected, it appears that sixty-three are Whigs, and 138 Locos. In the last Congress from the States and parts of States, 125 Whigs, and 96 Locos. Whig majority, then, in the said States and parts of States, twenty-nine; Loco majority now, seventy-five. Difference, 104."

"The sum of the matter is, that there will be a decided Whig majority in the Senate, while in the house the Locos will be to the Whigs in the proportion of more than two to one. The two houses will thus be a check upon each other; and strong party measures on either side will be sure to encounter opposition and defeat. The real interests of the country will be quite as safe under these circumstances as if either party were predominant in both houses.

"On the question of the tariff, party lines will not be the guide exclusively, a number of Northern Democrats being favourable to protection, while several of the Southern Whigs will go for low duties."

In the Southern States the yellow fever had been very destructive, but it was, on the sailing of the steamer, disappearing.

Cheese was becoming a very considerable item in the export to China.

SOUTH AMERICAN ATROCITIES.—We find the following in the *Patriote Francais*, of Monte Video, relative to the massacre of two French subjects, which has been already frequently alluded to:—"The fate of the two Frenchmen whose imprudence caused them to fall into the power of the infamous Oribe, is at last positively ascertained. Eye-witnesses have related to us the torture which they were forced to endure, and which we should still refuse to credit, if too many proofs of the ferocity of the cowardly lieutenant of Rosas did not compel us to believe matters otherwise absolutely incredible. When we were informed that our two countrymen had been taken to the camp, notwithstanding the cries of the Basque Spaniards, who, like wild beasts, were anxious to fall on this feeble prey, we thought that Oribe, to give the lie to what is related of his sanguinary orgies, would grant them their lives. But it appears that the more crimes this monster commits, the more he requires to satisfy his cruel appetites. We scarcely have power to relate what follows. Once in the hands of Oribe, our unfortunate countrymen were exposed naked to the insults of the rabble wearing the livery of Rosas; they were forced to pass through the camp between a double line of those wild beasts, to whom the unfortunate prisoners were given up, in order that each *might* wreak his vengeance on them some with a sabre cut, others with a bayonet wound, and a third party with a spear-thrust. After the martyrdom in the camp of the legal President, came that which our brothers had to suffer outside. There the same insults, the same torments—still the same state of nudity—the same wounds from swords, bayonets, and lances. The executioners had, however, received orders not to wound their victims mortally—torture was required to prolong their agony. When life appeared on the point of ebbing away, their last breath was taken advantage of to inflict on our unfortunate comrades the most refined torments, and such as the most savage Indians have still to learn from the subjects of Rosas. The two unfortunate men were thrown down and tied to stakes; monsters in human shape dared, with a sacrilegious hand, to inflict on our brothers the punishment of the seraglio; then opening their bodies down the middle, they tore out the entrails and hearts of their quivering victims. Even then their rage did not stop, and however unlikely—however impossible—may appear the last act of this frightful drama, it must, however, be told; after having cut the throats of our brothers, they took off slices of flesh from their bodies to make *asados* of it."

OVERLAND MAIL FROM INDIA.

IMPORTANT INTELLIGENCE.—MURDER OF THE MAHARAJAH.—The Great Liverpool steamer arrived at Malta on October 30th, having left Alexandria on October 26th, and bringing the Indian Mail dispatches from Bombay by the Bernice steamer on October 2nd. The other dates are—Calcutta, 21st September; Madras, 22nd September; Singapore, the 16th of August.

The overland mail conveys the momentous intelligence of the murder of Shere Sing, the Maharajah of Lahore, together with his two sons and his own wives and those of Purtaub Sing. This fearful massacre was brought about by a band of conspirators, of which Dhyan Sing, the late minister, and Ajeet Sing, a brother of the widow of Kurruck Sing, (Shere Sing's predecessor) were the heads. The assassination of the monarch was committed by Ajeet Sing; and he shortly afterwards slew his accomplice, Dhyan Sing, whose son (Heera Sing) soon avenged the murder of his sire by the slaughter of Ajeet! Dhuleep Sing, an alleged son of Kurruck Sing, is on the throne, and Heera Sing has been appointed prime minister; but the greatest possible anarchy prevails, and the lives of those now in power are not worth much. The revolution is thought likely to lead to British interference in the affairs of the Punjaub, and to an eventual annexation of that fertile country to our dominions.

The following is from the *Delhi Gazette*:—

MURDER OF SHERE SING AND HIS SON PURTAUB SING.—This event took place at the north gate of Lahore, about one and a half mile from the palace, at half-past nine o'clock on the morning of the 15th. The conspiracy was formed by Azed ood-deen and Dhyan Sing, and it fell to the lot of Sirdar Ajeet Sing to execute it; Sirdars Golab Sing, Lena Sing (Majeeteea), and Soochet Sing were also concerned; Dhyan Singh made the arrangement by proposing to the Maharajah to inspect Ajeet Sing's troops, which the Maharajah said he would do the following morning, and orders were accordingly issued. On the Maharajah's arrival at the parade ground, he found fault with the appearance and condition of some horsemen purposely placed to attract attention, when Ajeet Sing became saucy, words ran high, and drawing a pistol from his bosom, he (Ajeet Sing) shot Shere Sing through the head, the ball having entered his right temple. General Ventura and his party attacked the murderer, but being opposed by a powerful body of troops, were defeated. Ajeet Sing cut up the Rajah's body, placed his head on a spear, and on entering the town met Prince Purtaub Sing's suwarie, which was immediately attacked, and the prince killed; the palace was taken, and 'Duleep Sing,' the only remaining son of Runjeet Sing, a lad ten years old, proclaimed to the throne. The treasury was thrown open and the troops paid up all arrears of pay; every child and all of Shere Sing's and Prince Pertaub Sing's wives were then brought out and murdered; amongst the rest was one of Seere Sing's sons, only born the previous evening. Troops were sent off to guard all the ghauts, and all of the opposite party (except Ventura, who escaped) made prisoners."

FURTHER PARTICULARS.—HALF-PAST TWO, P.M.—We have this moment received the following authentic intelligence of what has since occurred at Lahore:—

"Ajeet Sing, after having killed Shere Sing, was returing to the fort, and met Dhyan Sing; he told him he had done the deed, and asked him to return; he got into Dhyan Sing's carriage, and when they got near the gate of the fort, Ajeet Sing stabbed Dhyan Sing, and sent his body to his brother, Suchet Sing, and his son, Heera Sing. These two individuals surrounded the city with their troops, the people inside continued plundering all night.

"In the morning (16), Heera Sing having entered the fort, seized Ajeet Sing, Lena Sing, and others, and having put them to death, exposed their heads in the plain, and threw their bodies into the bazaar. Dulcep Sing has been put on the guddee, and Heera Sing made vizier. Six hundred men were slaughtered on both sides."

This is a most important event, for it proves that the empire founded with so much labour by Runjeet is on the eve of dislocation.

Runjeet died in June, 1839; his son Kurruck succeeded. He died, and was followed by Nao Nehal Singh, who was killed at his father's funeral.

Shere Sing succeeded, and he has been killed, and a child placed in his room, to become a victim in his turn.

As if it were in anticipation of the events of Lahore, a large army had been ordered by Lord Ellenborough to prepare to assemble on the banks of the Jumna. Orders were also issued to have a body of Bengal troops sent to occupy Scinde, from whence the Bombay troops were to be withdrawn; but doubts are now formed of the feasibility of that movement, as all the Bengal force will be requisite to protect the frontiers against the Sikhs. Taere are 16,000 now in Scinde. Sir Charles Napier is at Kurrachee; the troops in Scinde are generally healthy, except the newly arrived ones at Sukkur that have come from Bengal.

The greatest interest is excited in India by the revolution in Lahore, which, it is expected, will terminate in placing that country, with nearly 4 000 000 inhabitants, and a revenue of upwards of £2,000,000 sterling, under the dominion of Great Britain.

In the interior of India tranquillity prevails. Gwalier appears quiet for the moment, although there was great alarm created there when the intention of the Supreme Government to collect troops became known. Bundelkund is also at rest. In the Nizam's territory a change has taken place by the removal of the old Prime Minister Chimdoo Lall, who has been succeeded by a relative.

Ten of the Bauder robbers have been convicted, and transported beyond seas; eight for seven, and two for fourteen years. The prosecution was a private one, the costs being subscribed by the mercantile community; a sufficient proof of the groundlessness of the absurd charges of apathy brought against them.

Lord Ellenborough remains at Barrackpore, whence he is expected to proceed soon to the north-western provinces. He is still abused by a part of the India press, but another portion supports his actions as tending to produce good results.

Sir Hugh Gough has taken the command of the army.

The monsoon has been eminently favourable to the agricultural products of the country.

Much sickness has been prevalent at Agra, Delhi, &c., in consequence of want of rain. By the last accounts, however, some had fallen, though hardly enough for cultivation, and a better season than was anticipated will be the result. In Bombay, too, and in many parts of the Deccan, the rains had been and still are scanty; but at Bombay enough had fallen to make up deficiencies, and a plentiful supply may be looked for in this month and next, of which I am thankful to say there appears every probability.

It appears there is much sickness among the troops in the upper part of Scinde, owing, it is said, to the fall of the waters; in one corps alone, the 55th Bengal Native Infantry, there are upwards of five hundred on the sick list, and medicines very scarce. It is said that the Bombay troops will be entirely withdrawn from Scinde, and their places supplied by Bengal regiments. Her Majesty's 18th was to go to Scinde after the rains. Sir R. and Lady Sale were on their way to Calcutta to embark for England.

There has been a vast flight, or flights, of locusts, which have, apparently, laid waste a belt of country, extending from the right bank of the Ganges across the Dooab, and penetrating over the Jumna into Gwalior. They committed dreadful ravages in the districts of Furukabad, Etawah, on both banks of the Jumna, and at Dholpore in the Gwalior State; and it was feared later accounts would shew much more damage to have been committed. The following are the particulars:—On the 16th of September, about five, p.m., they came over Futtehghur, the principal city of the Furukabad district, and in an hour's time they had stripped every vestige of cultivation, *breaking down large branches of trees with their weight.* From Etawah, a traveller going down the river Jumna, writes, on the 17th, that the ravages committed have extended for miles. In passing over the boat, the noise is described as being *like distant thunder.* But a letter just received from Dholpore states that the flight passed over it on the 14th, that it came from the eastward, and after remaining twenty-eight hours, took its departure in the same direction, so that there must have been more than one flight to have been simultaneously at Etawah and at Futtehghur, distant nearly 100 miles. The destruction to the crops in that portion of the north-west provinces, through which, in a month or two, troops will be passing, is stated to be enormous. The revenue of course must be given up, and taken in connection with the state of affairs in the north-west, it must altogether be looked on as a most grievous calamity.

AFFGHANISTAN.—It is said that Dost Mahomed is making preparations for war against Bokhara; and that he entertains designs upon Perhawur and Cashmore.

Doubtless, as soon as the news of Shere Sing's assassination reaches Cabul, an expedition will be fitted out against these places; and then, if we do send an army into the Punjaub,, a collision must once more occur between the British and Affghan forces!

It is stated, on pretty good authority, that emissaries have also been sent by Dost Mahomed into our territories to report to him on the state of our position, so that he may be *au fait* of any events bearing on himself or his prospects.

The different nations who are spread over the immense tract of country known as the kingdom of Cabul amount in the whole to about 14,000,000, which contribute to the population in the following proportions:—

Affghans	4 300 000
Beloochees	1,000,000
Tartars of all descriptions	1 200,000
Persians (including Taujiks)	1,500,000
Miscellaneous tribes	30 ,000

Mahomed Khan is stated to have been gradually losing ground amongst the chiefs in the neighbourhood of Cabul, and that his pecuniary necessities have compelled him to act with great severity towards the poorer classes of the city, *in order to* obtain a revenue; he has even gone to the length of issuing a decree, enjoining all persons possessed of any coin of the East India Company's manufacture to produce it forthwith to him under penalties. These exactions encouraged the inimical Sirdars of the neighbourhood to hope that they might be aided by the populace in an attack on the Dost, and, consequently, they appeared in open arms against him. Nothing daunted, the Sirdar, as he is now more generally styled, met and defeated them, and the victory, though on a small scale, will go some way to strengthen his authority for a time, while his continued exactions must, we apprehend, excite a feeling of distrust which may become ultimately dangerous to his rule, and lead to a second, but local, subversion of his government.

JAMAICA.—A most violent thunder-storm passed over the town of Savanna-la-Mar, on Wednesday, the 13th instant. The sloop John, laying in port at the time, was struck, and her topmast completely shattered, as well as her gaff topsail, which was stowed away; the upper part of her lower mast was also slightly injured. No other damage occurred that we have heard of either among the vessels in port or on shore, except that a cocoa-nut tree was also stricken.

IMMIGRATION.—The *Colonial Gazette* has a long article on the subject of Emigration, the writer of which must have had prodigious conceptions of its utility. Speaking of its social benefits he says but; "For the worldly minded, there are greater prospects of gain." If the worldly minded leave their own country for the purpose of gain;—as far as this island is concerned we can vouch for their disappointment. How stands the case. Here, the labourers are anathematised for their *idleness*; on the other hand; *they* justly complain, that they are not paid for their labour; the fact is that the people—at least the greater part of them—are *too wise* to work for nothing, and the proprietors are *too poor* to pay them. Is there in all this the shadow of an excuse for Emigration? if the labourers here—advanced, and still advancing as they are in civilized life are yet unmanageable what can be expected from an influx of negroes almost in a state of barbarism? unless it is intended to enforce labour by the lash. If again there be not sufficient capital to meet the demand of the present labourers; in what manner the worldly minded are to gratify their peculiar passion here we cannot tell.—*Falmouth Baptist Herald.*

WRECK OF THE EUROPE, OF DUNDEE.

(From the Dundee Warder.)

We have been favoured with the following letter, containing an account of the wreck of the brig Europe, Captain Bridie, of this port, in Narva Bay, on the 9th of October. The writer is a townswoman, the wife of the captain, who, along with three children, was on board at the time of the calamity:—

"Dear Brother,—According to promise I now write you a few lines, mentioning the particulars of the loss of the Europe. When we brought up in Narva Bay, about five P.M., on the 9th of October, it was blowing strong from the north-west, which is the direction which raises the heavy sea in the bay She was strongly moored: and John felt the utmost confidence in the cables and anchors. She rode very heavily, the bowsprit dipping at every sea. The gale still increasing, at nine or half-past nine o'clock, all hands had newly turned in, and the watch on deck, when she gave a tremendous pitch, and the watch called out, "Starboard chain broken." John ran on deck, and immediately we heard the cry that the larboard chain was gone too. John then came down, and told us to rise and dress, and prepare for the worst He then went on the other anchor, but it would not hold, and we drifted rapidly on shore. We lifted little Jack, and all sat at the foot of the cabin stairs, ready to come on deck when called. When among the breakers, for the safety of our lives they then slipped the chain and loosed the head sails, to force her through the breakers. She struck with tremendous force, and continued striking with every sea that broke over her. In this trying state we remained during the whole night. The crew came aft into the cabin. During the whole of the time they behaved very well. Here I must note many merciful circumstances attending our case. It was not a dark night, it was moonlight; the part of the coast we struck was not rock, it was a sandy beach; she did not go broadside on; in that case every sea that struck her would have swept her decks. Going head on she was much less exposed to the violence of the sea, and we cannot sufficiently wonder and praise God for the composure of mind we all possessed throughout. She has been a remarkably stout ship, or she never would have stood as she has done. She lies in a situation that precludes the possibility of her being taken off. The first night she lay there she bedded seven feet in the sand, and is now much broken. Towards morning the gale moderated, and it was twelve noon ere we left the ship. We are now living in a village two miles from the wreck; the crew are encamped on the sand.

"October 14, 1843."

CALEDONIAN RAILWAY.—It will be seen by advertisement in another column that the railway from Lancaster is now decided. The capital required from the counties of Westmoreland and Cumberland, namely—£100,000, is guaranteed, and the Company will be constituted at a meeting to be held in Kendal on Monday next. We congratulate the district on the success of this measure, the importance of which can hardly be over-estimated.—*Carlisle Journal.*

ON MONDAY EVENING a Coroner's inquest was held before Mr. Higgs, at St. George's Hospital, on the body of William Marshall, aged 40, a bricklayer. On last Saturday week, the deceased had *gone to a range of buildings near the Kilburn-gate*, and while standing beside the shear-legs (a species of triangle used for raised stones, &c.), the poles gave way and struck deceased to the ground. An alarm was at once raised, and the deceased was conveyed to the above hospital. It was found that the sixth and seventh cervical vertebræ were broken, and the spinal cord greatly injured. The deceased lingered till the 3rd inst., at five in the afternoon. Verdict—"Accidental death, with deodand of 1s. on the shears.

DESTRUCTIVE FIRE NEAR BOND STREET.—On Sunday morning, between the hours of five and six o'clock, a destructive fire broke out on the premises belonging to Mr. Shepheard, hat-manufacturer, situate in Barlow's-mews, New Bond-street, and adjoining the backs of the houses in Bruton-street. Owing to the highly inflammable nature of the contents which fed the flames, the fire spread with the greatest rapidity, and in a space of time incredibly brief, the entire floor forming the hat factory was in a blaze, and owing to a brisk wind the flames were carried up the staircase to the other stories. For some considerable time after all the engines were at work, the fire appeared not to abate, and it was not until after seven o'clock that it was evident the fire began to yield beneath the efforts of the firemen, and the vast volume of water they were casting upon it. In half an hour or so after this, the conflagration was completely extinguished, but not before that part of the building used for the manufacture of hats was, with its contents, entirely consumed, and the upper portion very extensively injured. The furniture for the most part is also destroyed. Nos 3 and 2, Bruton-street, also, the former belonging to Mr. Smith, perfumer, and the latter to Mr. Baker, grocer, have both sustained great damage by fire nad water.

THERE IS A very remarkable case in the *Gazette des Tribunaux* of this day. It is mentioned in a letter from Mont-du-Marsan, Oct. 19. A man named Dupony was arrested some time ago on a charge of murdering a shepherd boy in his service, thirteen years of age, and named Beauvoisin. The motive for the murder was said to be his desire to get the boy out of the way, as he had been committing a robbery of an orchard with the son of Dupony; and the father was afraid that, to save himself, he would confess the offence, and give evidence against his son. Dupony's wife and two sons were also arrested. The elder son proved an *alibi*; the yonger declared that he had heard the cries of the victim, and the wife gave a circumstantial account of the murder by her husband. The body, however, could not be found, and Dupony protested his innocence, adding that his wife and son had spoken falsely, in the idea that they would thus save their own lives. The mother and son subsequently retracted, but no attention was paid to their new declaration, and Dupony was about to be tried for the murder, when who should appear but the boy Beauvoisin himself! He stated that he had fled from fear of the consequences of the robbery, and had heard only by chance that his master had been accused of having murdered him. Dupony was of course liberated.—*Letter from Paris.*

HEROISM IN FRANCE.—A curious document is published in the *Moneteur*, in the shape of the report of all heroic deeds and acts of devotion which have come within the cognizance of the Minister of the Interior from the 5th of January to the 9th of August, and are deemed by him worthy to be distinguished by some honourable recompense. The greater portion of them consist in the saving of persons from drowning and fire, and a very large proportion of the actors are public servants either in the civil or military department. Some of the more striking instances of courage we shall cite in detail. The first on the list is, perhaps, the most deserving example of cool determination and contempt of death. A young girl of eighteen, returning from Nantua to Brenor, on the 24th of December, had missed her way while crossing the mountains of Ain, a chain which is bordered by frightful precipices. Enveloped in a dense mist, and deceived by the darkness of the night, the unfortunate girl contrived to make her way by successive descents across a series of steep rocks, when suddenly missing her footing she was precipitated down an abyss, but by a miraculous chance was retained in her fall by the branch of a tree protruding from the almost perpendicular side of the precipice. Her cries of distress attracted several of the inhabitants of Neyrolles, who came with torches and endeavoured to afford her succour, but were unable even to perceive her. Fires were kept up throughout the night, and the victim was called upon to take patience till the morrow. At last the day dawned, and several persons adventured to climb up the rock, but at a certain distance it was impossible to proceed further without making a regular escalade, and she could only be saved by one who feared not to expose his life. Such a one was Carrod, the father of a family, who devoted himself to this act, and after fronting a thousand dangers at last succeeded in delivering the unfortunate girl, who had remained suspended over the abyss for twenty-two hours. Another instance of persevering intrepidity took place near Aigues-mortes. Three women were returning from the town of Cette, when at the entrance of the canal

MR. O'CONNOR IN CARLISLE.—GREAT PUBLIC MEETING.

On Saturday, the 28th of October, large placards were issued by the Council of the Chartist Association, announcing that Mr. O'Connor would deliver a lecture in the large hall of the Athenæum, on Wednesday evening, on general politics. On the day announced for the meeting a letter was received from Dumfries stating that Mr. O'Connor had been taken seriously ill, and would not be able to attend at the time appointed, but would be in Carlisle on the following day. This was felt as a great disappointment, for it was then impossible to send information to the country districts, so that many reached Carlisle from a considerable distance, only to be disappointed and return home again. A drum was sent through the town announcing the postponement of the lecture. It appeared, however, that Mr. O'Connor had somewhat recovered up to one o'clock on that day, and was determined the people of Carlisle should not be disappointed, so he accordingly hired a conveyance, though his fare had been previously paid to come by the mail, but which had left Dumfries early in the morning. Mr. O'Connor arrived in Carlisle about six o'clock in the evening, to the great surprise of his friends, who immediately announced his arrival, by sending a band of music and a number of banners about the town. In consequence of those untoward circumstances, it was feared that the meeting would be a complete failure; but such was the enthusiasm of the people, on learning of Mr. O'Connor's arrival, that they flocked to the place of meeting from all parts of the town in hundreds; and before the time announced for commencing the lecture, the large Hall, which is capable of holding 1,500 persons, was most densely crowded in every part, and many hundreds had to retire who could not possibly gain admittance.

On Mr. O'Connor making his appearance on the platform, he was loudly cheered by the audience; and commenced his address immediately after Mr. James Arthur had been called to the chair. Mr. O'Connor spoke for nearly two hours with great ease and fluency.

On the whole, we never heard Mr. O'Connor make so able, argumentative, and humourous an address; and which, we feel confident, had a good effect on the minds of all who heard him. We are indebted to the *Carlisle Journal* for the following abstract of Mr. O'Connor's speech:—

Mr. O'Connor commenced his address by stating the pleasure he felt, after an absence of more than four years, in again meeting the working classes of Carlisle. He said he had got on well for the last three weeks in his present tour of agitation; but, being in Edinburgh on Saturday night, he had been requested by a number of his countrymen to address them on the Repeal of the Union, and the excitement consequent upon it had caused him severe indisposition. He looked upon a Repeal of the Union to be indispensable, if the peace of the three countries was to be maintained. The question was of as much importance to Englishmen and Scotchmen as to the Irish themselves, as, if the Repeal were obtained by Ireland, it must communicate an electric feeling all over the world, which must advance the cause of democracy. But there were certain principles required to be adopted before the Repeal could benefit the working classes. He trusted he would be able to explain to them what the Charter would do, and how it was to be carried; and he was quite ready to answer questions that might be put to him, as discussion was the very main-spring of legislation. Those only denied discussion, who live on the labour of the working classes, and whose principles were not based on truth. He should be sorry to go about the country telling the people they were misgoverned, unless he would clearly point out to them the cause of their distress and the remedy for it. There were three parties contending for power in this country—the Tories, the Whigs, and the whole of the people. He would analyse their respective principles, and begin by dissecting Toryism. The Tories were loath to acknowledge the grievances of the people, but when compelled to do so by such outbreaks as had occurred in Wales; the only nostrum they had to propose was to build more churches—(laughter). The Whigs were divided into two parties—political and social. They sought for the ascendancy of manufacturers over the other interests of the nation; they now clamoured for a repeal of the Corn Laws; and they told the people if they were not satisfied with their legislation, they must emigrate to other countries. To this last proposal, he (Mr. O'Connor) would give the answer of the landlady to the sailor, who, on complaining of his bed being infested by bugs, was requested by her to leave it; but he said "No, he would shake them off, remake his bed, and enjoy repose." There were the bugs who lived in idleness on the produce of the working classes; and, in God's name, if a necessity existed for emigration, let them go out of the country. There was a great difference between legitimate Toryism and legitimate Whiggery. Up to the passing of the Reform Bill, Whiggery meant the principles of the revolution of 1688, to prevent the prerogatives of the Crown infringing on the rights of the people; but since that time the question of cheap production, and the other dogmas of political economy, had become the principles of Whiggery. The Reform Bill had not even answered the expectations of its promoters. The first thing the working classes must do, should be to settle on a principle which would satisfy all classes of the community; and he (Mr. O'Connor) could discover it only in the principles of the People's Charter—(cheers). It sought to take from no man; but was founded on the Christian precept of "do unto others as you would they should unto you;" and he questioned whether those were practical Christians who refused the people the franchise which they ought to enjoy. The law in the hands of the Tories was like a dog in a leash, ready to be let loose upon all who dissented from their political principles. The Tories would not prosecute a Tory; the Whigs would not prosecute a Whig, for the expression of his opinions; while both united heart and soul to prosecute a Chartist, who sought only to establish right principles. The Chartists were called impracticables, who would come to no compromise, and had refused to join in the agitation for the principles of Free Trade. Now they had no objections to the principles of Free Trade: they were the only Free Traders; but they were too good workmen to start work without proper tools. They wanted free trade in legislation before everything else. The Free Trade agitators were, like Paganini, playing all on one string—Free Trade, Free Trade. It was nothing but the crotchet of capital to make the working classes the slaves of the capitalists. They would never be able to carry this measure without admitting the people to a share of the Constitution. They (the Chartists) had been called Tory Chartists; but let the working classes have twenty men in the House of Commons, and they would join in destroying Toryism for ever. If any man in the world ought to seek satisfaction and revenge of the Tory party, he (Mr. O'Connor) was that man: and if there was one individual on the earth who despised the Tory party in name and nature, and would join tomorrow in destroying them, he was that man. Why he hated the Whigs was, that they did not destroy the Tories. And now let them look at Chartism. In all agitations there were three great stages necessary—the first to create public opinion; the second to organize it; and the third to direct that organization to a successful issue. While creating public opinion, it was necessary to use exciting language; to depict wrongs in the most forcible manner; to call murder, murder; and a spade, a spade: and whether it took place in a prison, on a gallows, or in a cold Bastile, it was equally the same. The Chartists had suffered much from using exciting language; but he (Mr. O'Connor) declared that if he were next day proceeding to organize a new party, he would endeavour to arouse them to a sense of their degradation, and then show them how the evils they groaned under could be destroyed. The Reform Bill was carried without these necessary stages of agitation—it was carried by brute force and intimidation, and had failed to benefit the working classes because they had not given it the requisite consideration, or gained such information of it as they had now done of the Charter. The House of Commons should, as it were, be the great heart of the nation, from which should flow streams of vitality and prosperity, so as to prevent every man from starving who was willing to work; and the people now sought to cleanse the Augean stable, that they might establish principles and pass measures which would turn the improvements to machinery to the benefit of all, instead of aggrandizing and enriching a class, as at present. He was not opposed to machinery—nor was any one in that room—if it had been made man's holiday, instead of man's curse. Though he (Mr. O'Connor) opposed the Free Traders, it was not because he objected to the principles of Free Trade, but because, while agitating for this crotchet, they would not touch upon the general grievances of the country—(applause). They reminded him of the story of the Highland lad who accompanied a gentleman on his shooting excursions. The gentleman was pleased with the lad's activity, and would have taken him into his service, and for that purpose enquired of his father his character. The old man replied his character was well enough, only for an unlucky knack he had of lying, and swearing, and cursing, and thieving—(much laughter); and so he (Mr. O'Connor) said of the Free Traders. They were well enough, only they had got an unluckly knack of robbing the working man of his wages. There was a true saying that labour was the source of all wealth; and it was equally true that land was the source of legislation in the House of Commons. Unless labour was protected, all classes between the labourer and aristocrat must be injured. Supposing machinery to do the work of 2000 men, of what use would the small traffic consequent on that machinery be to the shopkeeper, in comparison with that of the labourers formerly employed. There was a difference between equal and equitable. The Chartists had often been charged with seeking an equal distribution of property; but it was a calumny; they wanted it only to be equitable. Supposing the master of the machinery he had spoken of before, which superseded the work of 2000 men, wanted wine, sugar, or ought else, he did not buy it in the neighbourhood, but sent to London for it. It did not replenish the tills of the shopkeepers; but if the 2000 men were employed, they would yield a large profit to the shopkeepers of the neighbourhood. This showed the necessity, he said, of the middle classes joining for the attainment of the Charter. The Tory government protected the interests of the Whig middle classes; the Whig government protected the interest of the Tories; but they both refused to grant the privileges the Chartists looked for, well knowing, if they did so, they would have to disgorge their ill-gotten gains. The Charter meant nothing more than an improved system of applying the national resources, and a more equitable distribution of the same. Whenever unjust laws existed, they caused social discomfort, which was ever the cause of political discontent. It was the poverty of the mass which upheld the Chartist and other agitations; and he (Mr. O'Connor) believed, if the working classes were comfortable in their circumstances, they would think very little of the Charter—(hear). There were no party in England satisfied, except those who lived upon corruption—both Scotland, Wales, and Ireland were equally dissatisfied. They were in the same state in Ireland as they had been for the last fifty years—the same grievances existed. Every Government, from the time of Pitt, had acknowledged them, but declared themselves incompetent to find a remedy; but when thus acknowledging their incapacity, why hold the reins of power, and keep out those who would remedy their grievances? If, with a revenue of fifty-four millions a-year, they could not govern the country, better abandon that Government, and give it into the hands of the people, who knew their grievances, their cause, and remedy. In Ireland the Reform Bill had limited, instead of extending, the representation. The Tory landlords saw that as long as they kept their lands clear of Catholic tenantry, so long would the Church be out of danger; and thus had the Reform Bill caused a greater emigration to England and Scotland than would otherwise have taken place; and this increased competition in the labour market, had no doubt tended to reduce wages; and thus it was that the English and Scotch, were interested in the Repeal of the Union, and the establishment of a right state of things—(applause). Ireland would never be benefitted by Repeal, unless the poor Catholics were enfranchised, as well as the Tory landlord; and, if the Irish gained the Repeal, the Charter would not be long in following it. After dwelling some time on Irish affairs, and, with a compliment to Father Mathew, expressing his conviction, that sober Ireland would carry the Repeal of the Union, Mr. O'Connor said their enemies had asserted that Chartism was dead; but it was not so. Mr. Duncombe, M.P., who had been with him at several meetings in Scotland, had not only declared himself for the Six Points, name and all, but had become a member of the National Charter Association. He (Mr. O'Connor) had enrolled a great many names during his present tour; and, though it was denied that the Chartists had any power, they might point to the tomb of Whiggery, and say, behold it there! There was a space left over the dead body of Whiggery to entomb Toryism, when the people were prepared for it. The very policy pursued by the Tory Government in Ireland and Wales would drive Peel and the iron Duke from the head of affairs. It had been asserted by a nobleman in the House of Commons, that it was Feargus O'Connor who had brought back the Tories to power. This was when he was as a felon in York Castle; but now surely, that he had liberty, he would be able to beat both factions; and he pledged himself to that meeting, that he would never join in any namby-pamby, shuttlecock movement, to shift power from one party to another. (Cheers.) There was no difference between a Whig and Tory government; put them in a bag and shake them, and you may take the first that comes up. He would lay them down a rule in political economy. Suppose there were ten thousand men required to do the whole work in Carlisle: and to meet the exact demand of the market; and suppose that two thousand idlers came to town, their presence in the competitive market would in a short time cause the masters to pay less wages to the twelve thousand men than they had done to the ten thousand before; and it would have been better for the ten thousand employed to subscribe to keep in idleness the two thousand, than allow them to enter into competition with them. As land was the source of legislation, and of all true power, he (Mr. O'Connor) wished to see the people get hold of it. Although France had a population of about forty millions, it had only two hundred thousand voters; but the people live, with this lack of the franchise, as they were comparatively comfortable, and almost every one had a portion of land. The French had destroyed the law of primogeniture and this had caused the land to be better divided. He (Mr. O'Connor) had seen a French peasant in the domain of a French proprietor, cutting his vegetables or whatever he required; on expressing his surprise to the landlord, he told him that twenty thousand acres belonged to him, while thirty thousand acres belonged to the peasantry; and he could not purchase it, as they would not sell one particle of it. Those who had land were always the most independent; and one great reason why Ireland could stand out more for her rights than this country was that almost every man had at least five or six months provision on hand. The working classes of England live from hand to mouth. Their ancestors never would have wrested Magna Charta from King John if they had not lived an agricultural life, had they not had their pig on the crook, their meal in the chest, and their granaries well stored. The Charter meant the voluntary system of religion—it meant full liberty of conscience, and that every one should enter the sanctuary of his God, and pay what he liked for the benefit he received. [Mr. O'Connor here dwelt on the distress of the country, and pointed out in a clear and forcible manner the various causes which lead to it.] He continued:—The Malthusians told the working classes that over-population was the cause of their distress, and to be entirely provident they should not woo or marry till they were ninety or ninety-five years of age. If Lord John married at twenty, there were no remarks made, but what a sweet and amiable domestic creature he was; and this man was allowed to bring a family into the world, to be saddled upon the country. They would be all paupers; for the aristocracy knew that their children would be supported by the labour of others. Although 5s. 6d. a-week was enough for a handloom-weaver, £500,000 was too little for an aristocrat. Harry Brougham had said of the working classes—"throw them on their own resources." So said he (Mr. O'Connor). He was a Malthusian—he held the principles of Malthus; but drew fair deductions and conclusions from them; and it was not fair in Brougham to cry out thus with one side of his mouth, while with the other he said, give me £5,000 instead of £4,000 a-year as ex-chancellor. He (Mr. O'Connor) would have no poor in the land; tho' an unwilling pauper had every right to support. Throw the bishops, parsons, civil-list gentry, and such as these on their own resources, and there would then be plenty for the people. (Cheers.) It was said the country was over-populated; he admitted it; but five millions would be an over population in a misgoverned country. It was said it was the intention of God there should be poor in the land; the parsons told the people this was but a probationary state—a living purgatory to prepare for a happier hereafter. God had said the husbandman should be first partaker of the fruits of the soil: but supposing that suffering was necessary, he thought in all conscience, the labourers had had their share, and he would say to those bishops, parsons, and idlers:—"You must, of course, strain every nerve to get into heaven—throw away your lawn sleeves, and labour with your hands; live on porridge, go to the prisons and the cold bastiles, or labour at the spinning jenny, and the weaver's loom;" but they would soon cry out, they had quite enough to prepare them for heaven; and they would get to heaven if they went on that way, sooner than they expected—(loud laughter). They would be like the chaplain of the vessel in a storm, who asked the mate if it had in any degree subsided. The mate said it had not, and if it continued half an hour longer they would all be in heaven. "God forbid!" exclaimed the chaplain—(loud laughter). It had been said that God sent months to one house and meat to another; that he gave us land but the devil gave us landlords—God gave meat, but the devil sent us cooks. The upper classes had absorbed all themselves, and then thrown the people on their own resources. In the olden time the whole taxes of the Government were drawn from the Crown lands, and the poor were supported from the lands held by the abbeys and monasteries, and there were also schools for the gratuitous education of the poor, while every Bishop was bound to keep a pack of hounds for the use of the people in hunting. But Henry VIII. wanted to become an adulterer, wished to divorce his wife, and marry a common prostitute: the Pope would not allow him, and so he thought he would have a Reformation; he robbed the monasteries, and destroyed the abbeys; and what was done next? A few years after, in the reign of his daughter, such was the increase of poverty and crime, that it became necessary to pass the Poor Law, known as the 43rd of Elizabeth. Every source of innocent recreation was now taken from the people, and they were called rude and uncivilised: they were reduced to wretchedness, and were then told they were ignorant; but (Mr. O'Connor said) if they would give him the Charter, in two years they would be the best-educated people in the world. Crime was on the increase; but he was astonished there was not more crime: if the aristocracy had to bear the sufferings borne by the poor, he was sure the increase would be frightful. Talking of loyalty, he did not see how the working classes could be loyal to any of our present institutions; but give every man an inheritance in the soil—let him sit under the same tree as his father had done before him, and where the matrons of the family oft milked the cows—let him be within the sound of the bells of that church where his father and mother were married, and where he himself received the baptismal rites; let him see his own cows in the pasture, and his crops growing round him, and he would fly with more alacrity to defend it, than an hireling army would now do to the cry that the Irish Church was in danger—(applause). Take away the "outward and visible signs" in the shape of the enormous salaries of our clergy, and the "inward and spiritual grace," would vanish soon after; take away from the Judge his £8,000 a-year, and, instead of gravely prosecuting his friend Arthur for saying nothing, he would be vexed at him for not crying out loud enough. Let every man who wished for temperance join for the Charter—every man who wished for character, as character would be valuable under the Charter—(hear, hear)—every friend of education, as education would be promoted from the comfortable circumstances in which the Charter would place the population—every lover of peace, and if they wanted the people to be religious, give them the Charter. He took credit to himself for creating and organizing the Chartist movement. He had spent more money in agitating, than any man who had gone before him, or any that might come after him. The free-trade agitators spent the money of the poor, whilst he spent only his own. He had frequently acted as treasurer; and in 1839 they had left him in debt to the amount of £282; he had suffered nine criminal prosecutions in seven years; yet his exertions had been unwearied in the cause. He mimicked to the great amusement of his auditors, a Dissenting Clergyman whom he said he knew, who, although a bad moral character, had spoken at a Free Trade meeting, affecting great sympathy for the distress of the poor. He trusted he had given them the worth of their pennies (the price of admission), and concluded by calling upon them to take out cards of the National Charter Association, which he had brought with him, and which were twopence each. Mr. O'Connor's speech, of which the foregoing is little more than an abstract, occupied nearly two hours in the delivery.

An address to Mr. O'Connor was read amidst the rapturous cheers of the meeting, and after being adopted was presented to that gentleman.

Mr. O'Connor returned thanks, and proposed a vote of thanks to the Chairman. The meeting then quietly dispersed.

DUMFRIES.

VISIT OF FEARGUS O'CONNOR, ESQ.

TUESDAY, OCT. 31.

So soon as it became certain that Mr. O'Connor would visit Dumfries, the greatest enthusiasm was apparent; and a public meeting was summoned immediately to make arrangements for his reception. A deputation was appointed to receive him on his arrival, and a committee named to secure a room for a public meeting and arrange an entertainment in the evening. The Old Assembly Rooms are at present occupied by a non-intrusionist congregation, and being the largest public room in town, appeared to be the best. Accordingly the Committee put themselves in communication with the managers of the church to obtain it. At a meeting of the managers called for the special purpose, the use of the room was granted; and two of the Committee signed a paper, binding them to pay the usual fees, and guarantee that no damage should be done to the building. Things had gone this far, when the shepherd, returning from the Free Church Assembly, where he had been protesting against the refusal of sites for churches by the Duke of Sutherland and others, heard that in his absence the principal sheep had let the fold for a Chartist meeting. Accordingly, the little Dutch-built waspish man of God called a prayer meeting. This, of course, was attended almost solely by the female part of his congregation—the ewes of the flock. After hurrying through the devotional part of the business, "and the doors being shut, for fear of the Jews," the prayer meeting, by the magic wand of the *Rev.* John Robertson Mackensie, was converted there and then into a congregational one. By all accounts the affair was a rich one. The managers attempted to reason; to show that the place had been legally let, and that as honest men they must implement a bargain fairly made; besides that, there would, in the event of a refusal, lie an action for damages. But all would not do. The parson, with a keen perception, like the most of his cloth, of the sort of arguments most likely to tell upon the ladies, declared that he cared not for the civil power—his master was God, whose law alone he would obey!!! After a strong discussion, in which the ewes spoke loudest, and at the end of which they out-voted the rougher sex, the parson was empowered to keep the key, and do with it as the Lord might direct. However, as no intimation of these new arrangements had been made to the Chartist Committee, no notice was taken of the circumstance, the majority looking on the affair as a piece of bravado on the part of the parson. In this they were mistaken; for on the Tuesday the creature took the key from the beadle, and positively refused to deliver it up; and matters continued in that state until four o'clock.

At half-past four Mr. O'Connor arrived, and was welcomed enthusiastically by the people, who crowded the High-street, many of whom had been anxiously waiting more than an hour and a-half.

On being informed of the circumstances, and that the people were ready, by authority of the managers, to take forcible possession of the building, Mr. O'Connor positively refused to speak in such a case. All was therefore gloom and despondency. Groups were collected, or moving about the streets, muttering curses loud and deep on those who had caused their disappointment, and matters were rapidly assuming a threatening aspect, when the Messrs. Beck, extensive coach builders, kindly granted the use of their large show room. Although half-an-hour after the advertised hour of meeting, the town drummer paraded the streets, and, beating with a will, soon collected a numerous audience.

Mr. Wardrop was called to the chair; and, after stating the circumstances which had led to the change in the place of meeting, and Mackenzie's reasons for refusing the church, administered, in his own caustic manner, a sound flaggellation to the "wee Hielandman," and introduced Mr. O'Connor, whose rising was the signal for bursts of applause, loud and prolonged.

After the cheering had subsided, Mr. O'Connor commenced his address, which occupied about an hour and a half in the delivery, and was received with the most soul-inspiring enthusiasm on the part of the audience, among whom were not a few of our civic noblesse.

The meeting then, after three hearty cheers for O'Connor and the Charter, and three for the Messrs. Beck, for their hospitality, broke up—those who wished to join the National Association alone remaining. A brisk trade then commenced in cards, and a great many enrolled themselves. Some one, on the recommendation of Mr. O'Connor, took out a card for his reverence, Mackenzie, to whom the audience owed the valuable address they had just listened to; and it was filled up, and duly forwarded next day.

At the close of the meeting Mr. O'Connor was entertained at supper in the great room of the George Temperance Hotel, from the oaken walls of which hung banners bearing patriotic mottoes, interspersed with the portraits of Cobbett, Hunt, and others of that patriot band, who, thank God, have never been utterly extinct in the land.

Mr. George Lewis did the honour of the chair, supported on the right by the guest of the evening; and Mr. Wardrop discharged the duties of croupier in a way which did him credit.

The cloth removed, the Chairman rose, and instead of the preliminary toasts, termed "loyal and constitutional," proposed in a homely but pleasing manner, "The People, the source of all political power."

Mr. Wardrop, as a representation of the people, having been carried at the hustings last election, replied in a clever speech.

The Chair then gave—"The People's Charter—may it soon become the law of the land." (Drunk standing with three times three, and one cheer more.)

Mr. Jeremiah Knight, a veteran Chartist, and one of the founders of the Dumfries Working Men's Association, responded.

The Chair—The toast which I have now to propose needs no preface to commend it to the hearts of all—"Our respected guest, Feargus O'Connor, Esq." (Drunk standing, with vociferous cheering.)

Mr. O'Connor returned thanks in an able speech, in which he expressed his belief that the time was not far distant when democracy would triumph, and reiterated his determination to persevere in the cause in which he had embarked.

At its conclusion, Mr. Peter Hornel, a fine looking old man, who had grown grey in the good cause, and to whom Mr. O'Conner had alluded in his speech, rose and gave an account of the manner in which he had been persecuted while struggling against the iniquities of the Scottish Poor Law system.

Mr. Wm. M'Dowall, in a very neat speech, gave "Thomas Duncombe, the man of the people." (Drunk with all the honours).

Mr. Wardrop gave—"The Exiles."

Mr. Thomas Taylor and others, in the course of the evening, enlivened the company with many excellent songs, lilting as though "their throats with fiddle-strings were lined."

Thus the evening passed away—

"Care mad to see puir men sae happy,
E'en drowned hersel amang the *coffee!*"

But the advent of the "wee short hour ayont the twal" warned all that he, in honour of whom all had assembled was weary and travel-worn in their service; and accordingly, with three cheers for "O Connor," three for "the Strangers," and a vote of thanks to the Chairman, the harmonious assembly reluctantly broke up.

FEDERALISM.—Mr. Ross, M.P. for Belfast, has declared himself a Federalist.

LORD MORPETH goes into Parliament for the Borough town of Morpeth.—*Limerick Chronicle.*

RENT.—Lord Dunally made an abatement of 15 per cent. on the rents of his estate, commencing in May last.

REVERSE OF FORTUNE.—Amongst the prisoners lately brought to the Bagne of Toulon, is the ex-Bey of Tlemcen, condemned by the Court of Algiers to hard labour for life, for murder. Having surprised one of his wives with an aide-de-major, he took vengeance on the latter, and deprived him of life.

MALES *versus* FEMALES.—In the following counties of England the number of males exceeds that of the females:—Hereford, 78; Lincoln, 914; Monmouth, 6,857; Rutland, 140; Stafford, 7,224; and in Wales—Brecon, 545; Flint, 697; Glamorgan, 4,550; Radnor, 296. The greatest excess of females occurs in the county of Middlesex, where there are 1,333 females to every 1,000 males, no doubt arising from the great number of female servants in the metropolis and its suburbs.

STATISTICS OF MARRIAGE.—In the county of Bedford, 94 in 100 women marry under age; in Huntingdon, 25; in Cambridge, 22; in Essex, 23; in Northampton, 22; in Hertford, 22; in the West Riding of York, 21; in the East Riding of York, 11; Cumberland, 10; Westmoreland, 13; Devon, 9; Salop, 9; Hereford, 2.

UNFORTUNATE DEATH OF A VETERAN.—An inquest was held at the King's Arms, Greenwich, on the body of James Bradley, aged fifty-six, an in-pensioner of Greenwich Hospital, and one of the gallant veterans of Trafalgar, who was accidentally drowned on the evening of the anniversary of "Trafalgar-day," at Trafalgar-stairs, having just left the Trafalgar Tavern in all his glory, with his Trafalgar medal on his breast. Verdict—accidental death.

EXTRAORDIARY CORRESPONDENCE.

CATCHING A TARTAR.

O'CONNELL'S HEAD PACIFICATOR—THE RENOUNED TOM STEELE, AND PATRICK O'HIGGINS.

At a meeting of the Loyal Repeal Association of Ireland, on Wednesday, the 27th September, the case of Mr. Connor was brought forward. Mr. O'Connell took great offence at Mr. Connor's having had the temerity to have given notice of a motion in the absence of the Dictator, to the effect—"That the people of Ireland should cease to pay rent, tithe rent charge, poor rates, county cess, &c., &c., and that no man should act as keeper of any distress for any of those imposts until the Union should be repealed." The Dictator said that "if there were nothing else against Mr. Connor than his bringing forward such an important notice in his (Mr. O'Connell's) absence it ought to be a sufficient reason for expelling him with contempt." Mr. O'Connell concluded by moving that Mr. Conner's name be expunged from their books." This motion having been carried,

Mr. Steele said "that Mr. Conner's name should not only be expunged from their *books*, but that we ought also, as we did in the case of that Patrick O Higgins when we expelled him, to return him his money, that our funds should not be contaminated by any such villanous subscriptions."

These observations of Mr. Steele's gave rise to the following interesting correspondence:—

MR. O'HIGGINS'S LETTER TO THE EDITOR OF THE FREEMAN'S JOURNAL.

SIR,—It appears by the report of the proceedings of the Loyal National Repeal Association of Ireland, published in this day's *Freeman*, that my name was unnecessarily and insidiously brought forward by Mr. Thomas Steele.

Mr. Steele said 'that Mr. Conner's name should not only be expunged from their books, but that we ought also, as we did in the case of that Patrick O Higgins, when we expelled him, return him his money, that our funds should not be contaminated by any such villanous subscriptions.'

This is not true. The money was not returned. But, Sir, the money was handed by the late Mr. Edwd. Dwyer, the Secretary, to Mr. Thomas Steele, to be by him handed to Mr. O'Higgins, which he never did. I have been constrained to mention this circumstance upon a former occasion; and I have since taken the trouble to examine Mr. Thomas Steele's schedule in the Insolvent Debtors' Court, where I find he has not returned me as a creditor. I hope that he will therefore see the propriety of discharging his trust by *honestly* handing me the money, even now at the end of ten years.

It is necessary to state, in justice to my own character, and for the information of those who know nothing of the circumstance to which Mr. Steele has alluded, that I was expelled from the society of Irish Volunteers in January, 1833, because I refused to act on the Committee of that body with a friend of Mr. Thomas Steele's,—a man who was mainly instrumental in swindling me out of a sum of £750, and who acted in the capacity of common informer; whose informations are filed in the Head Office of Police, and dated the 5th of January, 1831.

I now, in conclusion, utterly deny that a charge of any nature or kind was ever brought against me either in the Volunteer Association, or in any other Association or Society, while at the same time I admit the expulsion and demand of Mr. Thomas Steele, O'Connell's Head Pacificator, to state distinctly and unequivocally the cause of my expulsion—the names, residences, and occupations of the parties concerned in that disgraceful transaction; the name of his friend against whom I was forced to proceed with the charges; the nature of those charges, and the written evidence by which they were sustained.

PATRICK O'HIGGINS.

No. 14, North-Ann-Street,
September 28, 1843.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE FREEMAN.

Loyal National Repeal Association,
Corn Exchange Rooms, Sept. 30, 1843.

MY DEAR SIR,—A letter appeared in the *Freeman's Journal* of this morning, signed "Patrick O'Higgins," containing an infamous and highly characteristic lie.

He says that when he was some years ago expelled in these rooms by a vote of your committee, and his money ordered to be returned to him, it was given to me by our then secretary, my lamented friend, the late Edward Dwyer, and that I did not return it.

We expelled Patrick O'Higgins for infamous lying and calumny; and therefore his invention of this lie and of the series of lies and calumnies he is in the habit of publishing in the *Northern Star*, is of course in him quite natural.

If Mr. Dwyer had proposed to make me the medium of his official communication with that branded scoundrel, I would have deemed it a personal insult, which I would have indignantly resented; but Mr. Dwyer respected me too highly to try to make me the medium of a communication with such a wretch.

The opinion expressed this morning to me by my friend Mr. Frank Dwyer, the son of our late secretary, and who knows all the transactions, is "that he has the same contempt for Patrick O'Higgins that he has for

* * *

I have the honour to be, my dear Sir,
Most truly yours,
THOMAS STEELE.

P S—I, of course will not condescend to notice anything further from this degraded person.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE FREEMAN'S JOURNAL.

SIR,—I perceive, by your paper of this day, that Mr. Thomas Steele, instead of answering any of the questions in my letter of Saturday last, or handing me the money which he said on the previous Wednesday *was* returned to me, but which he now says was *ordered* to be returned, he has had recourse to his usual low Billingsgate.

This Head Pacificator says, in reply to my demand upon him for the money:—

"1st. That Patrick O'Higgins' letter contains a highly characteristic and infamous lie.

"2ndly. That we expelled Patrick O'Higgins for infamous lying and calumny.

"3rdly. That he is in the habit of publishing lies and calumnies in the *Northern Star*.

"4thly. That he (honest Tom Steele) could hold no communication with such a branded scoundrel as Patrick O'Higgins; that the late Mr. Edward Dwyer would not insult him, by making him the medium of any communication with such a wretch; and that Mr. Frank Dwyer, the son of Mr. Edward Dwyer, told him (Mr. Tom Steele) that he has as great a contempt for Patrick O'Higgins as he has for a convicted felon.

"5thly That the Committee, some years ago, when Patrick O'Higgins was expelled, ordered his money to be returned."

The "Head Pacificator," Mr. Thomas Steele, has, through the columns of the *Dublin Evening Post*, published the foregoing libel upon my character, by way of answer to a demand which I made upon him, in the *Freeman's Journal* of Saturday last, for a sum of money which he said, at a public meeting, on the previous Wednesday, was returned to me. No one but Tom Steele ever said, or presumed to say, that this money was returned to me.

In reply to my demand upon Mr. Tom Steele for the money, he answers that demand by calling me a calumniator, an habitual liar, and a slanderer; and says that I was expelled for lying—that I am a branded scoundrel and a wretch; and he gets Mr. Frank Dwyer to confirm all this, by declaring that he has as great a contempt for me as he has for a convicted felon.

This is no unusual mode for Mr. Thomas Steele, the Head Pacificator, to adopt towards those who demand their money of him—money which he knows more about than the owner of it, but no more than the possessor.

I was not meddling with Tom Steele when he wantonly and wickedly dragged my name forward at the Corn Exchange, on Wednesday last, in a debate with which I had no connection whatever. He said, upon that occasion, that "the subscription should be returned to Mr. Connor, as they did to that Patrick O'Higgins, when he expelled him and returned him his money, that our funds should not be contaminated by such a villanous subscription." When this lie about returning the money was flatly and indignantly contradicted, Mr. Thomas Steele had recourse, in the first instance, to the columns of the *Dublin Evening Post* to publish a gross libel upon my character instead of paying me the money.

Now, Mr. Tom Steele, Ireland's Head Pacificator, at a salary of four pounds a week out of the Repeal Rent, you said at the Corn-Exchange, when you thought it might pass unnoticed by me, "that the money *was* returned to me;" but when you found that I did not allow this falsehood to pass, you then shifted your ground and said that the money was *ordered* to be returned. Here, on your own showing, you stand a self-convicted liar. Finding that you put your head into a mortar, and gave me a pestle to pound it, you have had recourse to calumny and falsehood in order to wriggle out of it.

I called upon you or any one else, in my letter in the *Freeman* of Saturday last, to state distinctly the charges which you allege were brought against me at the time of my expulsion from the Volunteer Association in January, 1833, and to publish the names, occupations, and residences of the parties concerned in that disgraceful transaction—instead of which, or of handing me the money which you said was returned to me, and which you undertook to return notwithstanding your audacious denial, you say that I was expelled "FOR INFAMOUS LYING AND CALUMNY."

Now, you barefaced, cowardly calumniator—you mean, filthy, foul-mouthed, fawning sycophant; you knew, when you were penning the foregoing words, that there never was a charge of any nature or kind brought against me, either in the Volunteer Association or in any other Association or Society; but that I was expelled—

1st. Because I knew the exact nature and extent of the transactions between you and your friends, Wigly, Dixon, and Co., and your dupe, O'Gorman Mahon; and because I had the imprudence to mention some of the circumstances connected with those transactions; and because it was not deemed prudent to have a man upon the Committee of the Irish Volunteers, who, it was apprehended from the case he had made out against you, sympathised with O'Gorman Mahon, who was got rid of by a most dexterous trick a few days before.

2ndly. Because by a rule of the Association, which made it imperative upon every member to state anything he knew derogatory to the character of another, on pain of being expelled himself, and by a resolution of the committee, calling upon me to state the charges forthwith, I was forced to proceed with them against your friend, which, when found to be true, were declared to be false and calumnious, in order to screen your friend, a sycophant like yourself, from the consequences of them.

You and the other parties knew full well, and you now know, that the charges which you pronounced to be "false and calumnious," did not depend for their truth or falsehood upon any testimony of mine, but depended entirely and exclusively upon the written testimony of the following respectable gentlemen:—

Mr. Robert Cully, Accountant-General of the Bank of Ireland; Mr. Michael Roach, Secretary to the Hibernian Banking Company; Messrs. Obadiah Willans and Sons, Lower Bridge-street; Robert Byrne and Co., Lower Bridge-street; Armstrong and Byrne, Merchant's Quay; Blood, Not, and Co., Trinity-street; William Lock, Linen Hall; Greenough and Robinson, Manchester; William Bolton and Co., Manchester; Longworth and Co., Manchester; and the oral testimony of Messrs. John Robinson, of Delgany; William Russell, of Lower Bridge-street; John Hudson, of Mecklinburgh-street; and Alexander Reynolds, of Lower Bridge-street.

Now, you cowardly, runaway slanderer—you strolling, houseless vagabond—you and the rest of the gang must prove that all these names are forged to the documents in my possession before you can prove that I brought false charges against any man.

I now, in conclusion, hurl defiance, and court the hatred of you and the other cowardly calumniators who, in the teeth of the foregoing testimony, signed a public document against me, pronouncing the charges false and calumnious.

PATRICK O'HIGGINS.

No. 14, North Anne-street, Oct. 3, 1843.

TO ROBERT CULLY, ESQ., ACCOUNTANT-GENERAL OF THE BANK OF IRELAND, MICHAEL ROACH, ESQ., SECRETARY TO THE HIBERNIAN BANKING COMPANY, AND THE OTHER SEVERAL GENTLEMEN NAMED IN THE LETTER SIGNED PATRICK O'HIGGINS, PUBLISHED THIS MORNING IN THE FREEMAN'S JOURNAL.

Wednesday, October 4, 1843.

GENTLEMEN,—A letter, signed Patrick O'Higgins, having appeared in the *Freeman's Journal* of this morning, in which he has introduced your names, as if his witnesses in sustainment of his false allegations, as I cannot, of course, deign to take notice of that person myself, I address myself to you.

In the spirit, therefore, and in terms of the most perfect personal respect, I pray your permission to submit to your consideration whether you do not owe it to your own characters, as well as to the cause of moral justice, publicly to disavow your having given him your sanction and authority to use your names as his witnesses on this occasion, to substantiate his false statements.

Our Committee, of which there was a very full attendance, sat for several days in solemn investigation of charges brought by this Patrick O'Higgins against another of our members, and those charges, in that solemn investigation, were found to be falsehoods and calumnies so nefarious that we unanimously passed a vote for his immediate expulsion, and for returning him his pound subscription.

I have no doubt whatever that it was punctually and immediately returned to him by our then Secretary, Mr. Edward Dwyer, whose regularity was ever perfect in the performance of his official duties.

I, of course, utterly disclaim all *right* to require from you a reply to this letter: I only make my appeal to your courtesy and sense of justice as Irish gentlemen.

I have the honour to be, Gentlemen,
With great respect,
Your most obedient, humble servant,
THOMAS STEELE.

TO THOMAS STEELE, ESQ., HEAD PACIFICATOR OF IRELAND.

SIR,—You shall not escape from me so easily as you imagine. You struck a cowardly blow behind my back, and you run away when you find that that blow can be returned with interest. Your letter in this day's *Freeman* proves you to be one of the basest scoundrels that ever disgraced society. Your attempt to intimidate, bully, corrupt, and cajole the respectable gentlemen whose names are signed to the documents in my possession, surpasses by far the most iniquitous act of even the worst of Shakespeare's bloodiest and most cowardly villains. But you have one consolation; you are a fair sample of the gang who in the teeth of those documents, pronounced the charges, which were sustained by their testimony, to be false and calumnious. To be sure your friend, whose name I have forborne to mention out of a feeling of delicacy which neither Tom nor he can appreciate, is just a fit and proper companion for yourself and your associates in calumny, lying, and delusion.

The question between us in not as to whether I had the authority of those gentlemen to publish their names *now*; but the question is whether the names to the documents in my possession are genuine

The Irish Movement.

THE STATE PROSECUTIONS—OPENING OF MICHAELMAS TERM.

Dublin, Nov. 2nd.

Never, perhaps, was there a term opened in the Irish courts to which deeper and more general interest was attached than that which commenced this day. One o'clock was the usual hour for the judges taking their seats in their respective courts, but so early as ten o'clock this morning large bodies of persons collected in the hall of the courts, in the yards in front of the building, and on the quay.

The writs served upon the traversers being returnable to-day, Dr. Gray, the Rev. Mr. Tyrrell, and Mr. Ray, were observed approaching the courts about twelve o'clock—they were warmly applauded by the assembled crowd.

COURT OF QUEEN'S BENCH.

This court presented a very animated appearance. The lawyers' benches were completely occupied, and the inner bar was crowded with the young barristers about to be called. A strong force of police was stationed in the hall, and at the doors of the courts, to preserve order.

David Charles Latouche, Esq., high-sheriff of the city of Dublin, and Charles Cobbs, jun., high-sheriff of the county, were in attendance.

The City Grand Jury was then called over. The names of Messrs. Grogan and Gregory, the sitting members having been called and not answering, the list was then commenced again and called upon a fine of £20.

At one o'clock, Mr. Justice Burton entered the court, and Judge Perrin left.

The Attorney-General, Mr. Brewster, Q.C.; and Mr. Whiteside, Q.C., attired in their long dress wigs, entered the court.

The county panel was then called, and upwards of sixty gentlemen answered to their names.

George Frederick Brooke, Esq., being called upon to act as foreman of the City Jury, said he had an objection to serve in that capacity.

Bench—What is your objection?

Mr. Brooke—From my official duties in the Bank of Ireland, I would very much prefer not being called upon to act as foreman. I have no objection to serve as a grand juror.

Mr. Ford observed the first of the county members could be called.

The Attorney-General said there should be no interference with the jury.

It was then arranged to go to the next name, and Mr. Latouche was called for that purpose.

Mr. Latouche not answering,

The Attorney-General rose, and said that he conceived the ordinary course should be pursued in this instance, and that Mr. Brooke should serve as foreman.

Mr. Brooke was then called upon, and took the oath as foreman. The following then formed the jury:—

George F. Brooke, Esq., foreman.	Robert W. Law, Esq.
	Patrick Waldron, Esq.
Robert Latouche, Esq.	Thomas Hutton, Esq.
Benjamin Ball, Esq.	Richard O'Gorman, Esq.
B. F. Guinness, Esq.	Simon Foote, Esq.
Philip Doyle, Esq.	Henry Courtney, Esq.
Henry Roe, Esq.	John Wisdom, Esq.
Sir B. M'Mahon, Bart.	B. B. Tabiteau, Esq.
Sir Robert Harty, Bart.	Robert Caldwell, Esq.
Richard Armit, Esq.	William Henly, Esq.
Andrew Vance, Esq.	William Newcome, Esq.
George Pim, Esq.	William Sherrard, Esq.
Francis A. Codd, Esq.	

Mr. T. B. C. Smith, Attorney-General; Mr. Serjeant Greene, Solicitor-General; and Mr. Brewster, Queen's Counsel, of Counsel for the Crown against Messrs. O'Connell and the other persons prosecuted, having taken their places,

Judge Burton proceeded to deliver the Charge, which was listened to throughout with the most profound attention and the deepest anxiety by the whole of the crowded court. The Learned Judge was particularly earnest and emphatic in his address.

At the conclusion of the Learned Judge's charge, which occupied about half an hour in its delivery,

The Attorney-General rose, and intimated that the informations on which the indictments were founded would be ready to be laid before the Grand Jury at any hour to-morrow which might suit their convenience, from half-past ten o'clock, and that the witnesses would also be in attendance at any hour determined on, for the purpose of being cross-examined by the Jury.

Mr. Hatchell, Queen's Counsel (for the defence), addressed the Bench, and said he thought it right to state that the parties accused were in attendance with their witnesses and recognizances, it being the first day of term, as their bail-bonds required, in case that any order should be made on the subject.

The Attorney-General said they were bound to be present not on the first day only, but from day to day till called upon.

Mr. Hatchell acquiesced, and the Crown officers having received an intimation from the Jury that eleven o'clock would be a convenient hour, they appointed that time for laying the bills before them. The parties then retired, and Judge Burton left the bench, but returned along with the Lord Chief Justice and Justice Crampton and Perrin in a few moments.

INFORMATIONS AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT REPORTER.

The Judges having bowed to the bar and taken their seats upon the bench,

Lord Chief Justice Pennefather asked the Solicitor-General if he had any motion to make, and having received a reply in the negative, made the same inquiry of

Mr. M'Donough, Queen's Counsel, who rose and said that, on behalf of Mr. R. Barrett, he then applied to their Lordships in order that an officer of that Court (Mr. Bourne) might be compelled to receive certain affidavits in the matter of "Barrett v. Hughes," for perjury. These affidavits were tendered for the purpose of procuring on them, from their Lordships, a *quasi mandamus* to the magistrates of the police courts, to compel them to receive information, which, on certain peculiar grounds, they had deemed it right to refuse. These affidavits were thirteen in number. When tendered to the proper officer of that Court, that they might be duly sworn to, that person had refused to receive them, alleging they were of the nature of informations. Now he (Mr. M'Donough) contended that it was quite beyond the Crown clerk's duty to decide upon their nature at all, and that he had no right whatever to deny justice to any of the Queen's subjects by refusing to accept them; and thus their Lordships would see that there was a plain legal question raised, on which decision would be easy.

In answer to an inquiry from the Lord Chief Justice,

Mr. M'Donough stated that there had been no notice given to the Crown of their present step, and that he had no affidavits to move the Court on. His complaint was that the proper officer would not allow any to be sworn.

The Solicitor-General rose and said,—This motion comes quite by a surprise on me. No notice whatever of this step has been given to the Crown officers.

Judge Perrin asked why the bills were not brought up before the last commission?

Mr. M'Donough replied, that a reference to dates would show the impracticability of that course; and that, besides, it would have been impossible to send them up without the original of the informations, which could not be possibly come at, as it had not even yet been sent up to the grand jury.

Mr. Bourne, the Crown clerk, explained to the bench that he thought he was bound to refuse to receive the affidavits, as he conceived they were in the nature of informations.

The Court was of opinion that if Mr. M'Donough merely made the application to compel the officer to receive the affidavits without reference to ulterior measures, and that the parties entering the affidavits made them at their proper peril, there could be no objection to ordering the officer to receive them; which they ruled accordingly.

Mr. Cantwell (attorney for Mr. Barrett), who had been ordered to sit down and be silent several times by the bench, said that Mr. Bourne was under a misapprehension as to the nature of the affidavits, and that he (Mr. Cantwell) had made them at his own peril.

Mr. Bourne, addressing Mr. Cantwell, then said, "As the Court has ruled so, let Mr. Cantwell swear his affidavits now."

Mr. Cantwell—(angrily)—I will do my duty as I think it, without any dictation from Mr. Bourne.

The Court thought it would be as well if Mr. Cantwell swore the affidavits then.

Mr. Cantwell, who seemed in high dudgeon with the Court, said, if they wished to place him under such surveillance, he would, of course, obey their Lordships, but would, at the same time, assert his right to discharge his duty as he thought best. After some discussion, and in spite of the request of Mr. M'Donough that Mr. Cantwell would then tender his affidavits, that gentleman, who seemed to think it derogatory to his dignity to act upon anybody's suggestion, mentioned that he would appear before the chief clerk to-morrow, and then withdrew.

Dublin, Nov. 3.

The bills of indictment were sent before the city Grand Jury at eleven o'clock this morning. They include, it is stated, a range of offence far beyond that in which the evidence of Mr. Bond Hughes could be in any way called in question. The informations upon which the accused parties are held to bail were sworn to but by one person, viz., the Government reporter, whereas it appears there are about twenty-six names of witnesses endorsed on the back of the bills of indictment.

An abstract of the indictment, as is usual in such cases, was furnished to the Grand jury, but some of its members required that the whole document (extending, it is said, to ninety-nine feet of printed matter), with all its tiresome prolixity, should be read, and therefore, from its extreme length, it is barely possible that the reading of it can be got through before a late hour, if at all, this evening.

Some errors have crept into the public prints respecting the counsel employed for the defence. It is not true that either Mr. Jonathan Henn (Queen's Counsel) or Mr. Joseph Napier attended any of the consultations held at Mr. O'Connell's house; the former being absent, performing his duties as chairman of the county of Donegal. The Crown have availed themselves of the services of both these able lawyers. Mr. Napier is junior counsel for the prosecution.

FIVE O'CLOCK.—The Jury have just adjourned over till to-morrow, having only completed the reading of the first count in the indictment.

The case of "The Queen, on the prosecution of Richard Barrett v. Frederick Bond Hughes," came again before the Court of Queen's Bench this morning, when several persons, amongst whom were Mr. John O'Connell, M.P., the Rev. Mr. Tyrrell, Mr. Steele, Mr. Ray, Mrs. Barrett, Dr. Grey, &c., swore affidavits in open Court, as a preliminary step before applying for a *mandamus* to compel the magistrates of College-street Police-office to receive informations sustaining a charge of perjury against the defendant.

Dublin, November 4.

From an early hour this morning a considerable crowd had collected round the avenues leading to the Courts, and remained there with most exemplary patience throughout the day in the vain hope of learning the fate of the bills under the consideration of the Grand Jury. A very strong party of police are on duty, not only in the Courts, but in the streets immediately adjoining; so that the utmost order and regularity prevail.

The Grand Jury assembled at eleven o'clock, and remained in consultation till about half-past twelve, at which period all eyes in Court were directed towards the Grand Jury Room, the door of which was opened. The foreman (Mr. Brooke) advanced to the front of the box amid breathless silence, and after a brief pause, public expectation was doomed to disappointment by his saying that

"There appeared to be a clerical error in the fourth count of the indictment, in which the names of two parties, Thomas Tierney and Peter James Tyrrell, should be mentioned. These names appeared in that count as Thomas Tierney and Peter James Tierney, the word 'Tierney' being substituted for 'Tyrrell.' Some of the jury thought it was a clerical error, and wished to have 'Tyrrell' inserted in the proper place, instead of 'Tierney;' and he wished to know if he should hand the bills down to be altered?"

The Chief Justice—You had better, if you please. Has Mr. Tyrrell any counsel in court?

Mr. M'Donough.—I am counsel for Mr. Tyrrel, my Lord.

The Chief Justice—Do you make any objection?

Mr. M'Donough—I object on the part of Mr. Tyrrell to that bill being now meddled with. It is given in charge to the Grand Jury, and it is for them to ignore it or find it, as they think right, and I object to my client's name, Tyrrell, being put into that indictment.

The Foreman observed that the mistake had only occurred in one count.

The Chief Justice—All the other counts are right?

The Attorney-General—I apprehend there can be no doubt about it, and I will not trouble the Court.

Mr. Brewster (to the Attorney-General)—The Court has a right to it.

The Attorney-General—Yes, the Court has a right.

Mr. Hatchell, Queen's Counsel—They can withdraw the indictment if they please, my Lords, but they cannot amend it in court.

The Chief Justice—This being a misdemeanour, if Mr. Tyrrell or his counsel consented to the alteration it could be made, but if he does not—

The Attorney-General—I apprehend there is nothing to be done, my Lord, but for the officer to amend the clerical mistake in the indictment, and hand it back to the Grand Jury, the bills not having been found by the Grand Jury yet.

Mr. M'Donough—may I beg to ask the Learned Attorney-General what has the officer of the court to amend by? What authority or knowledge, official or judicial, has Mr. Bourne of what name should be in the indictment?

The Chief Justice—The informations.

Mr. M'Donough—I submit that the Learned Attorney-General must produce some authority to justify that course.

The Chief Justice—It is an indictment founded on information. This is a clerical error, and they have the informations to correct it.

Mr. M'Donough—I don't think that this can be considered as the work of the Crown; it is the Queen's Attorney-General in person that prosecutes here. He had the preparation of the indictment, and, doubtless, prepared it with great propriety and skill, and sent it to the Grand Jury. It is given to the Grand Jury to dispose of it; and I know of no law that enables the Clerk of the Crown to amend it.

The Attorney-General—I am under the apprehension that Mr. M'Donough is acting as *amicus curiæ* here; if not, he will be good enough to hand in his licence to appear for Mr. Tyrrell.

(This demand of the Attorney-General created a considerable sensation in court.)

Mr. M'DONOUGH—I was under the impression that the licenses had been obtained in all cases before I took retainers.

Mr. Cantwell (agent for Mr. Tyrrell)—I have obtained the licence.

The Attorney-General—Then produce it.

Mr. Cantwell—I have the license, but it is not in court, but I pledge myself that I have it, and I am much surprised that the Attorney-General should make that statement.

Mr. M'Donough—I did not accept the retainers until I was told the licenses were taken out.

Mr. Close said he was also counsel for Mr. Tyrrell, and was proceeding to address the Court, but

Mr. Cantwell said,—My client, my Lord, calls upon Mr. M'Donough in this Court, and claims to have his assistance in this Court, having obtained the Queen's letters of license. I now call upon Mr. M'Donough to act for him. It is monstrous to make such an objection.

Mr. M'Donough said, there was no doubt about the license having been obtained. He had a knowledge of the licenses in the several other cases, but not in this particular case; but he was sure the gentlemen would be satisfied with the word of the attorney.

Mr. Brewster said, that as Mr. Cantwell stated the license was obtained, they were satisfied.

Mr. M'Donough then called upon the Attorney-General to produce an authority authorising the course of proceeding he proposed to take.

The Attorney-General contended, that counsel for a party could not be heard before the indictment was found, and submitted that Mr. M'Donough or any other counsel had no right to be heard on the part of Mr. Tyrell at this stage of the proceedings.

Mr. M'Donough said, the Attorney-General had stated that he ought not to be heard, but the Court would recollect that it had called upon him.

The Chief Justice—I dare say the irregularity is attributable to me.

Mr. Brewster—But if Mr. M'Donough goes on further, the irregularity will be his from this moment.

The Chief Justice said, the Court were of opinion, that in this state of the proceedings this could not be properly called a bill of indictment; it was no such thing until the judgment of the grand jury was passed on it, and until then it was merely a proceeding sent up to the grand jury, on the part of the Crown, by the Attorney-General, through the hands of the Clerk of the Crown. At present there was no third person who had a right to be heard in it at all, and if the Attorney-General was desirous to have that mistake rectified, the Court would give him full permission to do it, or they might do so without asking the Court at all.

The Clerk of the Crown then erased the word "Tierney" in the fourth count, where it was inserted instead of "Tyrrell," and the word "Tyrrell" was substituted for it.

The Attorney-General then applied to have the word "affirmation" introduced into the opening of the counts. Since the Jury was sworn they found that one of them belonged to the Society of Friends, and that rendered the alteration necessary. The indictment commenced—"And the Jurors of our Lady the Queen, on their oaths, present," &c., whereas it should be—"And the Jurors of our Lady the Queen, on their oaths and affirmation, present," &c. He wished to have it made, lest any objection should be made to the indictment hereafter. He referred to a case recently decided in England in support of the application.

The Chief Justice—I object to the Court being called upon to make an order on the subject. Let the Crown take any course they think right.

The Attorney-General—We want no order, but as we cannot go into the jury-room we want an authority to have the bill brought down to be amended.

The Chief Justice—We will give leave to the Grand Jury to hand back the bill to the Clerk of the Crown.

At this hour the Jury have only got through the reading of the fourth count in the indictment. All the witnesses are in attendance, but there is no probability of their being examined this day.

From the obstructive means already adopted for the purpose of procrastinating the proceedings, it is very likely that all the witnesses (twenty-six in number) will not only be examined, but cross-examined; and if such should turn out to be the fact, he would be a close calculator who could name the precise day when a decision shall be come to by the Jury.

Meanwhile the Crown does not stand wholly acquitted from its fair share of blame in the transaction. The bare fact of substituting one name for another in their bill of indictment suggests the idea of there being some very reprehensible carelessness in more quarters than one.

FOUR O'CLOCK.—The witnesses in attendance received an intimation, about half-past two o'clock, that their presence would not be required, with the exception of two of them, who were summoned for cross-examination forthwith. There were various reports as to the gentlemen selected, but the most general was, that Mr. Hughes and Mr. Kemmis were the individuals. It is confidently stated that a number of witnesses on behalf of Government arrived in town this morning, to bear evidence as to the general allegations of conspiracy and the use of seditious language. They are said for the most part to be police constables who attended the monster meetings before Mr. Hughes arrived, and that Crown evidence would thus be forthcoming as to the gist of the harangues at Mallow, Tara, &c.

Dublin, Nov. 5.

The Sabbath has produced some lull in the excitement, and there is little or nothing to be told to-day in relation to the state prosecution. The blunders in the indictment, described yesterday, form the town-talk. The circumstance most remarked upon is, that a Grand Jury should for the first time, perhaps, in the annals of criminal jurisprudence, come in to assist a prosecution. The Jury, possibly, were fully warranted in the course they took, but the circumstance is worth notice for its great levity.

When the Grand Jury adjourned, shortly before five o'clock yesterday afternoon, they had examined but one witness, namely, Mr. Vernon, the registrar of the Stamp-office, whose depositions were merely technical, respecting the registry of the proprietors of the *Pilot*, *Freeman's Journal*, and the *Nation*.

The general opinion seems to be, that no decision will be come to by the Jury before Wednesday evening, in which case, should the bills be found, it is supposed that on Friday the counsel for the defence will apply for additional time to plead—say eight days, instead of four, the period specified by the Act; grounding the application on the fact of the indictments sent before the Grand Jury containing a vast mass of evidence not included in the original informations upon which the accused parties were held to bail. Of course the Crown will not oppose the motion, so that between the extra time allowed for pleading, and the seven days' notice of trial, the term will have well nigh expired, Saturday, the 25th, being the last day. Under such circumstances, the chances would seem to be that the trials will be postponed till the ensuing term.

There is, however, the possibility of another event, which would materially affect these *speculations*. It might be that the Grand Jury, or the majority of them, would, after the examination of a few of the leading witnesses (and this is the general practice), consider that sufficient evidence had transpired to warrant them in coming to a conclusion as to the finding or ignoring the bills. In this case "obstruction" could be of no avail, provided the majority are of opinion that it has been already exercised to a legitimate extent, to say the least of it. A decision of this nature would materially abridge the proceedings.

Dublin, Nov. 6.

The City Grand Jury resumed the examination of witnesses this morning, and are at this hour (four o'clock) still occupied. There have been some discussions amongst the members of the Jury as to the mode of examination adopted, several of them objecting to the minuteness of the inquiries respecting the newspaper extracts quoted in the indictments, and the comparisons instituted between those extracts and the Stamp Office copies of the newspapers from which they purport to have been taken. It is not at all probable that the Grand Jury will announce their finding before to-morrow, or the day after—possibly not so soon.

Several of the officers and constables summoned up from the country have been examined at the Crown Solicitor's office. I have heard that none of them have as yet made any depositions; but they have been directed to remain in town for the present. Several of the country constables now here made no attempt at taking reports of speeches at the meetings, and, on being questioned by the Crown Solicitor, they said they had nothing to tell, unless that there were a great multitude at the meetings.

FIVE O'CLOCK.—At five o'clock the Grand Jury adjourned until to-morrow. They merely completed the evidence of Mr. Vernon, Registrar of the Stamp-office, who had a small cart load of files of newspapers for the inspection of the jury.

There is a complete uncertainty as to the time the Jury will announce their finding. New difficulties are experienced at every turn. It has become a sort of proverb in the courts that "a long indictment is dangerous."

MR. FREDERICK BOND HUGHES.

Mr. M'Donagh applied, at about half-past three o'clock this day, for a *mandamus* from the court, to compel the magistrates of College-street Police-office to receive the informations tendered to them on the 20th of October last, with a view to found an indictment for perjury against Mr. Frederick Bond Hughes. Counsel supported his application by setting forth the facts as they occurred at the police-office, with which our readers are already familiar. He stated that a *prima facie* case of perjury having been made before the magistrates, they were, of right and law, coerced to receive them, and that their discretion could alone be exercised upon the merits, upon which the magistrates declined to pronounce an opinion. Mr. M'Donagh cited a number of authorities in support of his proposition.

Judge Perrin inquired why bills of indictment were not sent before the Jury at the commission?

Mr. M'Donough said, because they could not get the original informations to send before the Jury without an order from the court, and that they could not apply to the court without having the informations sworn in the first instance. He continued to press a number of authorities on the consideration of the bench.

The Chief Justice—Why not send your bill of indictment before the present Grand Jury?

Mr. M'Donough—We are quite ready, my Lord, to accept the offer of the court; all we want is justice.

The Attorney-General here rose, and after briefly applying himself to the law argument of Mr. M'Donough, said—My Lords, I do not want to prevent the bill of indictment going before the Grand Jury, but I do want to prevent the public mind from being prejudiced by improper commentary and discussion, which I in my conscience believe is the object which the parties who are now making this application desire to accomplish; I wish to prevent the administration of justice from being improperly tampered with. My Lords, this has been attempted, and most unwarrantably attempted, by a portion of the public press, and every exertion has been made to create a prejudice in the public mind, and this discussion is a part and parcel of the proceedings instituted so as to prevent the jury before whom parties will have to answer if the bills are found, from coming calmly and deliberately to the performance of their duty. My Lords, without predicating anything—without imputing guilt to any parties at present—it will be my duty, if the bills now before the jury are found, to expose to the country, when I come to open the case, as wicked and as dangerous a conspiracy as ever was formed against the peace and tranquillity of the empire. * *

[This observation excited a profound sensation.]

My Lords, the learned counsel, Mr. M'Donough, has said that there might be a failure of justice if Mr. Hughes was not made now amenable to justice, by reason of his habitual residence in a foreign country.

Mr. M'Donough—I beg pardon—I said in another country.

The Attorney-General—I do not impute to my Learned Friend that he conceives England to be a foreign country; but, doubtless, from reading his instructions, and making himself acquainted with the case of his clients, his mind has been imbued with their sentiments, and he was led hastily to use the language of others, and denominate England as a foreign country. I beg, my Lords, in conclusion, emphatically to oppose the monstrous proposition which Mr. M'Donough wished to establish—a proposition which would enable the parties charged in the indictment to become witnesses in their own case, and convert a prisoner on his trial into a prosecutor. Let the present bills be disposed of, and then let any indictment they please go before the Grand Jury.

The Court conferred together, and the Chief Justice directed that after the bills now before the Jury should be either found or ignored, Mr. Barrett should be at liberty to prefer his indictment against Mr. Bond Hughes.

COUNSEL FOR THE TRAVERSERS.

The bad temper displayed by the Attorney-General on Saturday in demanding the licence of Mr. M'Donough, one of the counsel for the traversers, is the theme of every tongue, and Conservatives, as well as Liberals, are free in their condemnation of the petty spirit displayed in so technical and, as it proved, so totally unwarrantable an objection. Altogether, the conduct of the Crown, in regard to the counsel for the defence, is totally indefensible. After Mr. Henn had been retained for Mr. John O'Connell, and his licence obtained at the Castle by Mr. Mahony, solicitor for that gentleman, the Attorney-general claimed the services of Mr. Henn, as a Queen's counsel. A correspondence is now in progress on the subject, between the Attorney-General and Mr. Henn, who, I have heard, is still determined to act for the traversers, unless the Crown should actually cancel his licence.

Mr. H. Martley, Queen's counsel, a near relative of Mr. Blackburne, Master of the Rolls, has been retained for the traversers.

TRIAL AT BAR.

It is stated to-day that the Attorney-General intends to apply for a trial at bar in the state prosecutions. His object is, if possible, to secure a trial in the sittings after the present term; and it is said that the Court of Queen's Bench possesses the power, under an old act, to direct a trial at bar, before the full Court, within a certain number of days after the finding of a bill by a grand jury, and the completion of the pleadings in the case.

GOVERNMENT INFORMERS.

The *Evening Post* has an article in its last publication headed—"Who is the Traitor?" which has reference to some rumours that are afloat of treachery on the part of certain persons who have ingratiated themselves into the secrets—if there are any—of the Repeal Association, and then sold their information to the Government.

The *Cork Southern Reporter* intimates as much as that such treason is suspected in its locality; and the *Post* says, "We have heard as much."

This is a very delicate subject, and one with which we have no desire to meddle till we have undoubted evidence of such villanous conduct before us. We shall only say that if there is one crime more detestable, more infamous, more worthy of universal scorn and execration than another, it is the crime of the ruffian who first, under the semblance of co-operation, worms himself into the confidence of another, and then, for lucre's sake, betrays that confidence.

We repeat we have no evidence to justify us in believing—first, that the Repeal Association had any secrets to betray—or, secondly, that any of its members have acted traitorously.

We notice the matter only as we find it in our contemporaries, and, if anything, we are inclined to discredit the rumour altogether.—*Dublin Monitor*, Monday.

THE POPE—MR. O'CONNELL.

It may interest many persons to know, under present circumstances, that for some time past, a mass, recommending Daniel O'Connell to the protection of heaven, is read every day in the Vatican, by *express* orders of the Pope.—*Globe*.

MORE THREATENED PROSECUTIONS.

It is said that the Government are hunting for evidence through Cork, against persons who attended the great Mallow meeting.

"GOOD LANDLORDS."

The O'Connor Don has humanely given an abatement of twenty-five per cent to his tenantry.

Lord Dunally has made an abatement of fifteen per cent. on the rents of his estate in Tipperary.

It has been communicated to us that Abraham Fisher, of Youghall, has reduced the rents of his tenantry, on the lands of Summer-hill, in the county of Waterford, fifty per cent. Such conduct cannot be too highly praised at this season when the prices of agricultural produce are so low. We trust that the good example of this excellent and benevolent Quaker will be universally followed.—*Waterford Chronicle*.

Mr. Grogan Morgan has made a reduction of fully forty per cent. on some property lately come into his possession in the neighbourhood of Curracloe. This is the practical mode of putting down agrarian disturbance and rendering the people happy and contented.—*Waterford Independent*.

REPEAL ASSOCIATION—MONDAY.

The usual weekly meeting of this body was held to-day at the Conciliation Hall, Corn Exchange Rooms. The attendance was very numerous. At one o'clock, Patrick Lawler, Esq., Trinakill, Queen's County, was called to the chair.

The Chairman said this was an awful crisis. These were certainly portentous times—(hear, hear). The efforts of the Government at present were used to prevent the free expression of opinion of eight millions of people; but they might as well try to turn back the ocean, as to prevent the will of eight millions of people being legitimately exercised for obtaining any object they sought—(hear, hear, and cheers).

Mr. Clements moved the suspension of the standing order, to enable him to propose a resolution, which he knew would be carried by acclamation. It was upon a subject which was peculiar in itself—a subject which must be broached before Mr. O'Connell arrived in that room—he meant the coming collection of the O'Connell Compensation Fund—(deafening applause). After proceeding at considerable length to comment on the subject of his motion, the Learned Gentleman concluded by moving the following resolution:—

"That the Loyal National Repeal Association holds it as a paramount duty, at this moment, to apply all its means and influence to the successful furtherance of the national collection for the O'Connell Compensation Fund, fixed for Sunday, the 19th instant. On that occasion the members and associates of this national body are especially expected to co-operate, personally and energetically, with the respected and patriotic clergy of their several parishes, in securing results for this imperative measure worthy of the crisis and the cause."

Dr. Gray seconded the motion, which was spoken to by Mr. John Reynolds, and carried by acclamation.

Mr. Doheny, from Tipperary, next addressed the association. He said that the county he came from would contribute at least £3,000 to the O'Connell tribute. (Cheers.) There was no shrinking in the heart of Tipperary. The proclamation had had no effect upon the people there.

A Voice—No, nor here. (Loud cheering.)

Mr. Steele, in speaking of the merits of O'Connell, alluded to the meeting that was announced for Clontarf, and said that had not that august individual been in Dublin, and warned the people to keep away from that meeting, there would have been a scene of carnage, frightful to contemplate. (Hear, hear.) Disdaining, said Mr. Steele, the proceedings that are taken against me by the Government, I declare that in my opinion, no act perpetrated under the diabolical Government of Castlereagh, Pitt, and Lord Clare, in '98, to drive Ireland into a convulsion, was of such ghastly atrocity, as alluring the people to destruction by the shortness of the notice of the proclamation—an intention so fiendish, that it would do dishonour to a demon. (Sensation.)

Mr. Clements said he must disclaim, upon his own part, and he was sure the association would join with him, that the Government had any intention whatever of alluring the people on that occasion to their destruction.—(Hear.) All he attributed to the Government was neglect. (Hear.)

Mr. Steele said he would contend that that neglect was criminal.

At this stage of the proceedings, Mr. O'Connell entered the Hall, and was most enthusiastically received. The Honourable Gentleman then handed in £100 from the law clerks, and moved a vote of thanks to them—(cheers).

Mr. Ray read an address from that body to Mr. O'Connell.

After several remittances had been announced,

Mr. O'Connell rose to bring two matters before the Association; one was of general importance, the other related to him personally—the first was that the words of Edmund Burke, which the *Banner of Ulster* selected for its motto, be adopted by the Association, namely, "That religion is the basis of civil society, and the source of all good and comfort." The other matter was a paragraph which had appeared in the *Tablet* newspaper, copied from the *Cork Examiner*, stating "that the Right Honourable Anthony Blake, late chief remembrancer, was the person who suggested his (Mr. O'Connell's—*arrest*." "This," *said Mr. O'Connell*, "is a lie—such a thing is absurd"—(loud cheers).

An Operative Tanner of Dublin handed in £8 17s.

Mr. O'Connell moved the thanks of the Association to Mr. Biggs, the Mayor of Leicester, who presided lately at a meeting in that town, at which resolutions were adopted sympathising with the Irish during the present prosecutions.

Motion received and carried unanimously.

Mr. Duffy, of the *Nation*, handed in £101 Repeal rent, £45 8s of which was from Belfast, £14 from Strabane, and the rest from other places in the north of Ireland.

Mr. J. O'Connell handed in £31 16s from Carlow.

Mr. O'Connell handed in £28 for New York.

Mr. D. O'CONNELL, Junior, read a draft of an address to the Queen, to be presented by each parish in Ireland.

Mr. O'Connell moved its adoption.

Motion carried.

Mr. O'Connell then rose, and said the next thing they had to do was to adopt an address, which, with the permission of the Committee, he had prepared—(hear, hear). It was, in fact, an address to the Protestants of Ireland, though it purported to be an address to the entire of Ireland, for they were all equally interested in it—(hear, hear). That address touched upon the two objections that were made to Repeal—objections put forward by England more than once—repeated by his friend Joseph Sturge, and objections which had become the constant theme of opposition to Repeal. It was said that Repeal would produce two things—first, a dismemberment of the empire; the other was Catholic ascendancy: and that address denied that any such results could follow, and they based their denial on the fact that there was no dismemberment when the Irish Parliament was in full force, and that Catholic ascendancy would be utterly impossible—(hear, hear, hear). The Hon. and Learned Gentleman read an address to the people of Ireland, the adoption of which he moved. It might be said that it reiterated matter that had been spoken of before; it certainly did, but it was his plan to reiterate his topics until they were fully impressed upon the public mind—(hear, hear). He would move that the committee be directed to warn the people of Ireland against committing any crime—they had come to the great crisis of their great experiment—an experiment to demonstrate that, by peaceable means the most beneficial alterations in human institutions could be obtained—(hear, hear, hear). If they adhered to perfectly peaceable means, he saw the certainty of carrying the Repeal. The Government might incarcerate him and others within four walls, but there were others to stand in their places—(hear, hear). Ireland had an excellent leader in the person of Mr. Smith O'Brien, who declared at the dinner given to him in the county of Limerick, that if to wish the liberty of Ireland was a conspiracy, he was a conspirator—(cheers).

The address was unanimously adopted.

The rent for the week was announced to be £1,303 16s 5d.

The Association adjourned until Monday next.

SUBSCRIPTIONS RECEIVED BY MR. CLEAVE.

FOR THE VICTIM FUND.

	£	s.	d.
Marylebone *	0	8	0
Coalbrook Dale	0	3	4
Newport, Isle of Wight	0	10	0
Newton Heath, near Manchester	0	4	9

* This item was inadvertently omitted from last week's list of subscriptions.

FOR EXECUTIVE.

Greenwich	0	8	2

FOR MR. M'DOUALL.

Boot and Shoemakers, Cannon Coffee (per Richards)	0	3	8
Mr. Richards	0	1	0
Mr. Langham...	0	1	0
Mr. Buston	0	1	0
Greenwich	0	2	0
Sabden, near Clitheroe (per Heaton) ...	0	11	3
Halifax...	0	12	0
Burnley (per Crabtree)	1	0	0
Irish and English Chartist Repealers, Barnsley (per Canning...	1	6	0

RECEIVED TO FORWARD TO MR. O'CONNOR.

Inverness (for Executive)	0	7	0

MONIES RECEIVED BY MR. O'CONNOR.

From Coventry (for Cards)	0	3	4
Lambeth (for Executive)	0	10	0
New Radford, Nottinghamshire (Cards)	0	15	0
Camberwell (ditto)	0	1	0
Ashton-under-Lyne (ditto)	0	6	8
Peck-lane, Birmingham (ditto)	0	4	2

FOR MR. M'DOUALL.

From John Lowery, County Mayo, Ireland	0	1	0

THE "REBECCA" MOVEMENT

SOUTH WALES.

(From our own Correspondent.)

The prognostications of the Editor of the *Star* have been verified; the primitive people of South Wales, whom oppression, exaction, and poverty had goaded on to acts of outrage and riot, have now been attempted to be held in awe, and to be restrained from carrying their wild ideas of remedial and retributive justice into effect, by the array of the formidable legal proceedings, which the governing powers of this country have at their command. The Editor of the *Star* long since foretold that these disturbances would end "IN THE DOCK! IN THE TRANSPORT SHIP!! if not UPON THE SCAFFOLD!!" and the event has proved that he was correct in the prophecy. Now, without assuming either the guilt or innocence of the parties, your correspondent feels himself called upon to say a word or two as to the *means* by which the Government secured the conviction of the prisoners who were recently tried before the Special Commission. Some days prior to the opening of such Commission, your correspondent saw a letter from a leading Chartist of Merthyr Tydvil, in which the writer communicated the information that the jurors who were *selected* from that locality, were, to a man, the lick-spittles of the aristocracy. The event proved that our friend was right; for, when Mr. M. D. Hill, counsel for the prisoner, challenged the whole array of the panel, and in so many words flatly charged the high-sheriff of the county with gross partiality in the selection of the jury, no denial of the truth of the statement was even attempted, but the objection was got over by a legal quibble, in the shape of a "*demurrer*." This demurrer alleged that the charge was of too general a nature; as it ought to have set forth particular instances of partiality, in order that these might be put in issue. Now, it was well known that no time had been afforded to the prisoners, or this counsel, to make out any such case; as they were only furnished with the list of jurymen on the morning of the day that the trial took place. Yet the court in their matter decided against them, and admitted the demurrer to be good in law. If proof were wanting that we have one law for the rich, and another for the poor, or that the vaunted justice of English jurisprudence can only be obtained at an enormous cost, the present case would establish the fact beyond the possibility of surmise or doubt. Here we have a man put upon his trial on a charge which may subject him to transportation for life; it is urged on his behalf that the law of the land has been violated, by those who are sworn to administer its provisions; and before the prisoner can obtain the advantage to which, in justice, this plea should entitle him, he has to carry the case into another court and at a ruinous expense, in order to decide whether or no his trial has been conducted according to law. These expenses are of such a nature that even those who are "learned in the law" cannot hazard a guess at what may be their amount; but when your readers give a glance at the following formidable array of "costs," they will be able to form some opinion of the price of justice. The expences in the Crown Office, (calculated at about £20), the costs of the Writ of Error, the Memorial to the Attorney-General to allow it, the costs of returning the Writ by the Clerk of the Peace, or Clerk of Arraigns of Indictments, and then the "costs" of the *Habeas* to bring up the prisoner to assign errors, and the travelling expenses of the prisoner and his *guardians* for that purpose. Add to all this "the fees for counsel," and that most comprehensive of all *items*, "*incidental expenses*," *and they may see*, with half an eye, that justice is truly a pearl of great price.

But I have not yet done with the case of these prisoners; for I see by the *Cambrian*, of last Friday's date, that they have been prevailed upon to subscribe a document, which is cautingly styled a CONFESSION. Without alluding to the wording of that document, which clearly proves that it is not the production of partially educated men, almost wholly ignorant of the language in which it is couched; or its phraseology, in which the slime of parsonocracy is abundantly evident; I confine my remarks to the PRINCIPLE of extorting CONFESSIONS from criminals in their position. A drowning man will grasp at a straw; but it would be evidently cruel to place this straw within his reach, to induce him to forego his hold upon a firmer support. These prisoners may justly be likened unto men in a drowning state; yet they have been induced, or permitted, to forego their hold to a certain extent upon the protection which their case (as yet undecided) entitled them to expect from the laws of their country; in order to lay hold of the feeble hope of mercy, which such recantation or confession might be supposed to engender in the bosoms of their rulers. Such conduct might harmonize with the spirit of a Star Chamber or Inquisition; but it ill accords with the fine-spun theories which are daily dinned into our ears, about the merciful spirit of the laws of England.

While this commission was going on at Cardiff, we had another, to enquire into