

"If you want to have your business done, go—If not, don't."
"What's every body's business is nobody's business."
"Go! Help those that help themselves."
"Every man for himself, and the devil take the hindmost."
"THERE IS NOTHING NEW UNDER THE SUN."

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL LAND COMPANY.

GENTLEMEN,
I shall not again call you, either "my friends" or "my children," until you are better behaved and more dutiful; but as the more fortunate, or at least many of them, imagine that the possession of land and a house constitutes a title to idleness, I address them by the proper term, "Gentlemen."

Above I have given you some old maxims, the truth of which man's actions establish, while the enmity evinced towards the Land Plan would prove that it is something new, or, at least, that their opposition proves a great novelty, namely—that it is impossible for man to live upon land in his own country. Perhaps there is not upon record a more extraordinary or novel piece of folly than this assertion, except it be the folly of those who have believed it.

The first objection to the Land Plan was, that land could not be purchased: that rich capitalists would club their monies, bid against Feagans O'Connor, and buy up all the estates offered for sale. Well, that assertion, of itself, should have proved their hostility to the Plan, and their hostility was the best proof of its value to you.

The next assertion was, that you were exiles from under ground, reared in a hot-house—tender, and unable to bear the open air.

The next assertion was, that England was intended by nature to be a manufacturing country, while ALL OTHERS were intended to be agricultural countries—that is, that you were to import the raw material—upon which you were to expend your slave labour—to manufacture it cheaper than those who sent it to you could manufacture it—and then to get back your food from other countries which would condescend to receive your superfluities in exchange for the necessities of life. This was Baptist Noel's theory—the Reverend and Honourable Baptist Noel—whose rubbish was poked into every poor man's house in the kingdom, and for which rubbish he was made Chaplain to the Queen.

My Friends, I cannot continue to address you as "Gentlemen," because I am angry with you, inasmuch as your ingratitude and indolence are consequences of a vicious system. This Land Plan of ours has stood more attacks—more assaults—more slander, vituperation and falsehood, than any plan that ever was propounded, and most of all from those who were the most fortunate in being first located, and having the greatest indignation shown to them. The very critical situation in which I have been placed by those parties since August 1847—the period at which the last Conference assembled—must be obvious to every man. The Press was open to the foulest fabrications, and the fabricator was an INNOCENT—INOFFENSIVE—INDUSTRIOUS—BUT JUGGLING AND DELUDED INDIVIDUAL. Every ear was not open but cocked—every skull was a gun—every brain was combustible matter—every prejudice was a percussion cap—every tongue was a hair-trigger—and every report was said to be an explosion.

In the midst of these fabrications for fourteen months, and coming, as they did, from those presumed to be best capable of judging, the wonder is, that every cottage has not been levelled to the ground, and every allotment tenanted. But what will strike you as a greater wonder is, that I should have abstained from replying to any one of those numerous fabrications until I was placed in a situation of having them proved or disproved before the representatives of the whole body. And, if anything will convince you of my sincerity in the undertaking, and my desire to elicit truth, you will find it in the fact that I have invested my money in it, and that I have relied upon my ability to refute every slander uttered against the Land Plan by those who either sought a pretext for returning to drunkenness and dissipation, or those who hoped to frighten me into acquiescence in their every demand, from a dread of exposure, to circulate which they were aware that the Press and the enemy would be too ready.

I shall now proceed to remind you of the principle upon which the Plan was originally based, and I shall then show you the principle upon which it is now based, and from the contrast you will be able to deduce this fact, that every single alteration has been favourable to the occupant. By our first rules 5*l*. interest was paid upon the first 52*l*. 10*s*. expended, and five per cent. upon all additional capital. So that by the old rules, if 300*l*. was expended upon a man's allotment, his rent would be 16*l*. 2*s*. whereas, by the new rules, his rent will be 12*l*. a year.

By the original rules, as laid down at the Manchester and Birmingham Conference, the cost of all agricultural operations were to be deducted from the Aid Money. At Herringgates, Lowlands, and Minster, not a fraction was deducted. By the old rules there was no provision against the payment of rent, when a half year was due, while none of the occupants have yet been called upon to pay rent. By the old rules there was no provision for loans, while 200*l*. has been advanced, besides the Aid Fund, to occupants at O'Connorville and Lowlands.

Now, such are the alterations as to the former and future standard of rent, and as to what has been promised, and what has been done for those who have been located; and now I shall proceed to review the alterations that have been made in the Conference in the programme submitted to the country through the "Northern Star," and explained by Messrs. McGrath and Clark. The original programme proposed that occupants should be located by ballot instead of by ballot, which was illegal, and could not be continued. The Directors, however, having an interest in the working out of the Plan, and anxious to preserve good faith with the members, made the following alteration—

By the original programme, if a man's allotment cost 300*l*., and if he paid 100*l*. bonus, he would still pay 12*l*. a year rent, or four per cent. upon the outlay, whereas by the alteration, if he pays 100*l*. bonus, he will pay 8*l*. a year rent, being allowed four per cent. as the interest upon his 100*l*.; and then, instead of getting a lease for life and ninety-nine years, he will receive a conveyance of his allotment, at a rent-charge of 8*l*. a year, thus making it a freehold; and he will have 300*l*. of property, of house built, and land purchased at wholesale price, to mortgage, if he wishes, for 200*l*., the man who lends the 200*l*. having 300*l*. security for it, and the labour employed in its cultivation; and, above all, the attachment to the freehold; and thus the man who pays the bonus returns the Company one-third of its capital, and, according to Mr Grey and Mr Falsness's evidence, there will be no difficulty in raising the other two-thirds, thus repurchasing the whole of the Company's capital almost immediately, and enabling us to carry on our operations as speedily as we can purchase land and build houses, and that will be just at the rate that I can get the money, for in less than twelve months I could buy ten million pounds worth of land, although it was stated there was none to be had in the market.

I will now show you the position in which those located on the Bromsgrove Estate would be placed under this rule. I can tell within a few shillings what the rent of a four-acre allotment there will be, not including agricultural operations, which of course are a distinct thing. The average rent of four acres and a cottage at Bromsgrove will not exceed 10*l*., so

that the occupant who pays 100*l*. bonus will pay 6*l*. a year for his cottage and four acres, while 1000 men in the neighbourhood who are paying 6*l*. an acre for land; and I will now show you why land at Bromsgrove, at any standard price that can be put upon land, is proportionately more valuable than the same description of land in another district. In the district of Bromsgrove, the whole population is a consuming population. It is in the centre of the mining and nail-making population; perhaps the most densely populated in the kingdom.

The next proposition is, that those who pay into the Bonus Fund, but who have not paid enough to entitle them to location, shall be allowed four per cent. upon the amount paid, until it shall have been augmented to that point which will entitle them to location. Now this you will see is a vast improvement upon the Land Purchase Department. In the Land Purchase Department the depositor was obliged to pay up the whole of his purchase money, as well as 10*l*. premium, and 2*l*. 10*s*. for legal expenses and surveying; if he was a four-acre member; whereas, now, he pays neither premium, legal expenses, nor surveying, and need only pay one-third of the purchase money to entitle him to a conveyance of his allotment.

Let this 100*l*. bonus be considered a compulsory amount, let me explain it to you. I merely take the standard of 100*l*. while, perhaps, the bonuses may not exceed 50*l*.; but then, the man who pays 50*l*., if that amount entitles him to a location, will have 2*l*. a year deducted from his rent, as the interest of his 50*l*. at four per cent.; he will receive a lease for a life and ninety-nine years, instead of a conveyance of his allotment, and when he augments the 50*l*. to one-third of what the allotment has cost the Company, then he will receive a conveyance, as you will see that this ensures the reproduction of the Company's capital without being subject to the legal expenses of mortgaging.

Now I hope that I explain these matters to the meanest intellects. As to the legalisation of the Plan, the appointment of trustees, and the assignment of the property to those trustees, of those facts you are already in possession through the reported proceedings, and now I come to the consideration of a very important proposition, namely:—

THE CLAIMS OF THE MEMBERS NOT YET LOCATED.

I proposed, that in order to keep good faith, all who had purchased from balloted members should be the first located. This, however, was negatived, and I think, most justly, upon the grounds stated by the opponents. They stated that the man who would not sell was as well, if not better, entitled to location, than the representative of the man who did sell. In this discussion the Directors took no part, further than urging the claim of the unlocated members. I proposed compensation in money, to be given at the period at which they would have been located, leaving it to the Conference to say what the amount of compensation should be. For instance, if an estate was ready for location in May, that those who were to be located upon that estate should receive their compensation in money upon the day on which that estate was ready for occupation.

Mr Edwards, the delegate for Devonshire, stated that the members balloted were promised to be located within this year. I stated, in reply, that if the money had come in at half the rate it did when that statement was made that they would have been located before now; I showed that I had entered into a contract for 1,400 acres of land, which would have left over 200 acres, after locating all the balloted members—that the funds fell off from 5,000*l*., 3,000*l*., and 2,000*l*., a week to 20*l*. a week—that not one-third of the capital of the Company had been paid up, and that the defaulters, and not the Directors, were to blame. I further showed, and the Conference unanimously assented, that the interest of those members and of the Company would be best protected by giving them compensation. I showed that it would take 103,000*l*. to locate the balloted members, and that that amount would not come in as long as all others were debarred of a chance of location, whereas the compensation would be sure to be paid, and within a very short period, if the priority market was once opened.

In this view the Conference acquiesced, when Mr O'Brien proposed that one-fourth of each estate should be assigned to the location of the balloted members, and to this proposition the Conference and the Directors cordially and unanimously assented; and the effect of which will be the location of the balloted members very much more speedily than they would have been located, if the location of all others was deferred until they were provided for.

It was then proposed, by Mr Bentley, that 15*l*. to two-acre men, 22*l*. 10*s*. to three-acre men, and 30*l*. to four-acre men, should be the amount of compensation to be given, those members still holding their scrip and the amount paid for shares to be deducted from those respective amounts. In that case 27,125*l*. would be stopped from the 15*l*.; 37,185*l*. from the 22*l*. 10*s*.; and 57,450*l*. from the 30*l*.

Mr Edwards proposed that they should receive 5*l*. a share and still retain their scrip, that is 12*l*. 12*s*. for a two-acre man, 18*l*. 18*s*. for a three-acre man, and 25*l*. 4*s*. for a four-acre man, and this proposition was carried all but unanimously; the effect of which will be that one-fourth of the Bromsgrove Estate will be assigned to the balloted members on the 12th of May, and they will have the option of taking to their location or receiving the stipulated compensation.

I will make one observation upon this Bonus principle. I have sold to members, not balloted, four-acre allotments for 90*l*., they paying the same amount of rent as if they were located by ballot and had not paid a farthing in the shape of bonus; others have paid 100*l*. and others 120*l*. bonus; whereas, if, under the new system, they had paid 120*l*. bonus for an allotment estimated at 12*l*. a year, they would pay 7*l*. 4*s*. rent, whereas they are now liable to 12*l*. rent besides the 120*l*.

The next alteration that has been made is, to dispense with the Expense Fund—and I wish you to bear these facts strongly in mind. Firstly.—That, if our capital was fully paid up, we would have a yearly income of 12,000*l*. at four per cent.—and

Secondly.—That I have made, and will make, five times as much out of the rubbish on every estate as will not only cover the Expense Fund, but constitute a large Surplus Fund for the location of the poorer members.

Thus, we have given another and a great advantage to the shareholders. I now come to the consideration of the most important point, and that which most earnestly and anxiously arrested the attention of the Conference—I mean the relocation of the poorer members who could not pay a bonus.

—and for this reason—because all the money made by me upon the sale of farm houses, and the use of old materials, not valued in the purchase, will, as a matter of course, go into the Loan Fund, and constitute a stock from which the poorest will receive relief, and which—so far from diminishing the capital of the Company—will add to it, as assets to be distributed when its operations are completed.

There is also another source from which the poorer members may be located—namely, the LOAN FUND. We may take example by the aristocracy, and the speculating of the democracy, upon this point. In London, Manchester, Sheffield, Birmingham, and every large town in England, persons put money into RACING SWEEPS, and they draw for a horse, and if SHYLOCK wins the race, the man who draws the Jew wins the money—that constitutes the SWEEP. So with the Loan Fund. The very poorest in the district may club their shillings, and the paid-up members may put into the Loan Sweep, and the man who is most fortunate may draw his amount of bonus—two, or three, or four, may draw, while none lose their shillings, because in turn they will have the benefit themselves—and more, they may have a Shilling Sweep, or a Half-crown Sweep, and the man who pays ten shillings may have ten draws, and so with the man who pays ten half-crowns, while the rich, and those better off, may have Pound Sweeps. However, if there was neither Sweep nor Shylock, what I contend is, that the very poorest of the poor will be located much more speedily under the new, than under the old, organisation—and I wish you to bear this point in mind, that when we are legalised, many a man now located will pay a great portion of his purchase money to get a conveyance, while we could raise from 70,000*l*. to 80,000*l*. upon the property that we are possessed of—thus enabling us to reproduce and locate our members much more speedily.

I have now fully explained the alterations that have been made by the Conference. There are some few errors, but not of importance, in the report of the proceedings in the "Star." Amongst others, it is stated that I said that the ground at Minster was cropped. I said no such thing, as the Conference will admit. I said that nothing was charged for the agricultural operations performed, but that the Aid Money was given in full. And now, my friends, I shall give you, consecutively, a *verbatim* account of every charge brought against me, and I will give it with-out one particle of colouring, and in a form in which every delegate must acknowledge its truth. It may be, that they were brought forward at different stages of the proceedings, but I will give them to you consecutively. And I think, when you reflect upon my Scotch political tour, where I went to meet my political assailants, and when I tell you that, on Thursday night last, I addressed a number of my most virulent political assailants in the People's Hall in Birmingham, and that, having gained wisdom from past experience, I never was so well received in the most excited times in that town—and when I tell you that I had borne the most unmitigated and continuous abuse, in every shape and form, from a portion of the located members, for the last fourteen months—I feel assured that you will read, not my defence, but their conviction, with pride and pleasure.

There were deputies in the Conference from every estate, and I will begin with O'Connorville, represented by Mr Wheeler—while, in justice to him, I am bound to say, that his statement was devoid of any, the slightest, acrimony, and was confined to a representation of the state and wishes of his brother allottees. You shall have each statement, and my reply, in the shape of a dialogue, and then you will understand it.

Mr Wheeler stated that at O'Connorville the occupants were located at a bad season of the year; that during their first year bread was excessively dear; that many had applied the Aid Money of the Company in liquidation of debts that they owed in their districts; that there was a want of dung and a want of experience; that one occupant lost two acres and a half of potatoes by the rot, which would have produced more than four tons to the acre but for that calamity; that the wheat harvest being bad, militated considerably against their prospects; that he had paid attention to his crop, and produced twenty-four bushels from half an acre; that some were in distress because they had expended over 200*l*. in buildings and other improvements; that the want of leases to know their position was a grievance of which they complained; also the difficulty of procuring water for cattle and other purposes, as it took two women, or one strong man, to work the pump put in by the Directors; and also the distance from a market town might be favourable to Mr Sillett's position, but operated against theirs; but from the experience that he now had, he felt convinced that no man—the strongest man—could cultivate an acre of ground to its greatest state of capability, but he felt assured that, in time, all those evils would be corrected, or correct themselves, and he believed there was a strong desire upon the part of the occupants to make the Plan succeed.

Mr O'Connor replied, that the occupants were located on the 1st of May, at O'Connorville—that was a bad season. They were located at Lowlands in August—that was a bad season. They were located at Minster in March—that was a bad season; and they were located at Snig's End in June, and that was a bad season—and, therefore, until he was enabled to add a few more months to the year, he should like to know when the proper season would be; and that question was one of the propositions that would be submitted to the Conference, to name, not the month, but the very day of the month when they should be henceforth located.

As to bread being dear, it was fortunate for those who got the Aid Money, and their ground partially cropped, to have something to fall back upon, and he felt assured that Mr Wheeler would not charge him, or the Directors, or the Land Company, with that calamity.

As to the Aid Money going to liquidate the debts of those who were located, he would ask that Conference whether or no it was ever contemplated that the money of the Land Company should constitute a fund for the liquidation of the debts of its members, and whether it was not properly decided that the Aid Money should be appropriated to the improvement of the soil, thereby increasing its value in the reproductive market?

As to dung and cultivation—the Company paid nearly 320*l*. for the best London dung; and as to cultivation—with the exception of a head-land here and there—the whole of the land was well cultivated. No charge was made, and, in addition, 10*l*. was expended on the erection of outbuildings, for each allottee.

With regard to the failure of the potato crop, he (Mr O'Connor) trusted that that Conference would pass a stringent resolution, making the Directors responsible for the potato rot, the blight in the wheat, and every other casualty and natural calamity to which the allottees, and all other men, were subjected. But let him ask this one question—is a great national project to be damned by the failure of a single crop? And then, mark what Mr

Wheeler had truly told them—or rather understated—that if a man's potatoes had not failed, he would have had over ten tons upon his two acres and a half, which, at sixpence per stone, or 4*l*. a ton, would have amounted to 40*l*..

Mr O'Brien—Four tons to the acre! I am prepared to show that a man may grow ten tons.

Mr O'Connor—I take it at the four, and if his crop had not failed, he would have had 28*l*. above his rent, his house, and an acre and a half for nothing. Now, can any argument be more conclusive of the stability of this Plan, if it is not all to be based upon the potato rot?

Then, as regards the 200*l*. expended on buildings—

Mr Wheeler—I said, and on the land as well.

Mr O'Connor—Well, admitted that the bulk was expended in buildings; and, as he often told them, the produce of the soil would soon build a house, but the house would never cultivate the soil.

He would now come to Mr Wheeler's admission—that he had produced three quarters of wheat from half an acre, and upon that he would test the value of the Land Plan. Three quarters to half an acre is six quarters to an acre, and 50*l*. a quarter, or 6*s*. 3*d*. the bushel, the crop would return 15*l*. to the acre, and turnips, or another crop, may be sown in the same ground; but taking it as one crop, and estimating the rent of four acres at over what it will be if they reduced it to 4*l*. per cent. upon the outlay, this would be the position of that man—he would have 3*l*. above his year's rent, a five-roomed cottage, outbuildings, and an acre of straw and three acres of land for nothing; and I think, the straw answers the complaint of the want of dung.

But Mr Wheeler has most ingeniously admitted the stability, the value, and the practicability of the Land Plan, when he says that no man can cultivate an acre of ground; and when the delegates bear in mind that every farmer in the kingdom pays his rent, the interest of his capital, maintains and educates his children, keeps hunters, drinks wine, and lives well upon the profit made on slave labour, when, as a matter of course, the free labourer will work harder for himself.

As to leases, he begged to tell them that although averse to taking any such power upon himself until trustees were appointed—although he was entitled by law to do so—yet he would be prepared to name a day when he would give to the occupants, who were prepared to pay up their rents, leases according to the terms prescribed by that Conference.

As to water, Mr Wheeler was perfectly aware that there were two wells sunk to an immense depth, and that, subsequently, at the desire of the occupants, a pump was also sunk; to which he (Mr O'Connor) was opposed, well knowing that at such a depth it would be expensive to repair it and hard to work it; but in order to show the position of the allottees, as compared with the farmers in the neighbourhood, the farmers were obliged to go a great distance to fetch the water, while the allottees had it comparatively at hand; and knowing the value of water and all other conveniences, he was prepared to say that when the members did their duty he would be prepared to make tanks, as he had at Minster Lovel, and to put pumps in every man's back kitchen.

The last proposition that he had to comment upon was, the distance from a market town. He begged to say that they were nearer a market town than Mr Sillett was—that they were within less than three miles of a market town; but he would not confine his answer to that assertion, he would make it more complete, and it was this—that what was a potato, a cabbage, a turnip, a carrot, or any other food under the walls of a market town, was butter, pork, bacon, cheese and other commodities, at a hundred, nay, a thousand miles distant from a vegetable market; while, in the one plan they had the manure produced for their consumption, in the other case they had none. In conclusion, he begged to tender his thanks to Mr Wheeler, for the very discreet and temperate manner in which he submitted his propositions, and he hoped that he had answered one and all, to the satisfaction of Mr Wheeler, and the Conference. (Cheers.)

Mr Wheeler said, that nothing could be farther from his intention or inclination than to urge against the scheme what might be fairly charged upon circumstances and casualties that had occurred. (Hear, hear.)

Mr O'Brien next made his representation as delegate for Lowlands, Snig's End, and the Cheltenham district. He said, that he had to lay before the Conference a true state of the pitiable condition of the allottees at Lowlands, and the first question to which he would call their attention was that of draining. The old drains, that were curved and crooked, were stopped up, and straight drains were made. That, in many instances, the water had ceased to flow, and the main drains were so small and confined, that they were wholly useless.

That the land was not cultivated previous to the allottees taking possession, but was merely scratched over. That the potatoes last year, like the present, were a complete failure, and the poor creatures had nothing to live upon. That manure was promised them, and Mr O'Connor had promised them lime to mix with the soil that was taken out of the foundations. That, in many instances, the allottees got no dung at all, and scarcely any more than four loads. That the wheat, generally speaking, was a complete failure, and so were the potatoes. That he had made a calculation of one man's return for 200 days' work, and found that it only amounted to 7*l*. 11*s*. He had expended 32*l*. himself upon the improvement of the soil, and found it very profitable; and, therefore, he would propose that, in future, a fourth of every man's allotment should be kept in grass. That the land was not of a good quality, and that Graham—one of the allottees who had before been referred to, and his family, were without shoes and clothes. That nineteen was all he had received since he went there as schoolmaster, and that the poor creatures were obliged to sell. He was convinced himself of the practicability of the Plan when once set fairly going, as he believed even Mr O'Connor had fallen far short in his statements of what the Land was capable of doing. Then old Farmer Lee—so often referred to by Mr O'Connor—who was actually obliged to pick up stones off his land, and sell them to buy coals.

Mr O'Connor replied, and said that he was sorry that the last delegate had not made his representation in the same spirit that Mr Wheeler made his; nothing was more easy than to trump up a statement based upon figures and calculations; and nothing was more unjust than to attempt to excite the feelings of that Conference by false and unfounded representations; and he (Mr O'Connor) would now proceed to show that, without an exception, every statement made by Mr O'Brien was unfounded.

Firstly, As regards the drainage. It was a curious charge, or rather a curious assertion, to say that crooked curved drains were preferable to straight drains; but the fact was, that not a single old drain was stopped up—that all the drains ever made were straight drains, marked out with a line, and pipes put into

them. And as regards the main drains, there were visible to the eye; and what he asserted was, that on the best drained estate in England, there were not as good main drains. They were open drains and well made. The pipe drains drained into them, and when one failed to work by the passage being stopped, the stoppage was, and to repair it. And Mr O'Brien had not stated that tiles were given to every man, and drawn for every man, who chose to make more drains; nor had he stated the impossibility of cultivating ground, building houses, and draining at the same time; nor was it stated, or even contemplated, that the land should be drained. Next came to—

"The failure of the potatoes last year. Now this was not true, as the potatoes at Lowlands last year were, in nine cases in ten, boosted of as being a splendid crop, and he had himself seen five or six pounds produced from a single root. Then as to—

"The tillage of the ground, and its character. The moment a man is located he thinks he becomes a farmer by magic, and Mr O'Brien, who told us yesterday that three months ago his hands were as delicate as any lady's in the land, is not only a better farmer than me, but is prepared to speak to what he never saw. But what he (Mr O'Connor) asserted was, that Lowlands was considered the crick farm in the neighbourhood—that the tenant who rented it paid 336*l*. a year rent, and the farmer who hid within 20*l*. of what he (Mr O'Connor) gave for it, must have been as great a fool as himself.

"Then as to the cultivation. It was ploughed most of it three times; it was dragged; it was crushed with a patent crusher; it was fine harrowed, and after that any lumps that were left were broken by what in Ireland they call 'beetles,' that is, large wooden mallets with long handles, and so well was it cultivated that those who saw the farm in March said they would not have known it in July. Nothing is more easy than to make those kind of statements, but there were many present who saw the Land, and he defied any to contradict a word that he had asserted.

"Then as to their being promised dung and lime to mix with what came out of the foundations—it is a pure fabrication. Dung was not promised, and he (Mr O'Connor) had recommended the allottees to buy a couple of waggon loads of lime themselves, and mix it with the foundations, and five or six only did so. But now he would come to Mr O'Brien's assertion, that some allotments got no dung, and some others not more than four loads. Now these were the reports—the malicious reports—which all men anxiously circulated, and which it was difficult for a single individual to refute. But let the Conference hear and mark the fact. There were about forty acres pared and burned, and when Mr O'Brien alluded to the allotments that got no manure, he had not the candour to tell you that pared and burned ground neither gets, nor wants, any manure but the ashes, which is the best of manure. He did not tell you that a half acre of Land was planted for each allottee with potatoes, and a half-quarter of an acre for each allottee was manured for cabbages and Swede turnips; and he did not tell you that that quantity for each allottee was manured to an extent that astonished the farmers in the neighbourhood, and that the potatoes were planted with the spade, and in the best manner, and that the ground for the cabbages and Swedes, besides being ploughed and harrowed, was all digged. He did not tell you that very nearly the remainder of each man's allotment was highly manured with ashes and guano, and sown with turnips, and that if the turnips were bad it was because of the lateness of the season. He did not tell you that upon 110 acres of the Land that was not burned there was 1830 double horse-loads of the best manure—all stable and cow dung—either upon the Land or behind the cottage upon each allotment. He did not tell you that there were nine tons of guano and hundreds of loads of ashes put upon the Land or distributed amongst the allottees. Now what I assert, and I defy contradiction, is that there was not a farm in England in a higher state of cultivation, or more highly manured, than the Lowlands farm. And I state it in presence of those who saw it, and I defy contradiction. Why the dunghills were the talk of the country.

"As to the 7*l*. 11*s*. for the 200 days' work, the calculation was too minute—it was something he could not grapple with. Then, as to Graham and his family being without shoes and stockings—it was a rank falsehood. Graham held four acres, and was a credit to his class. He worked on Lowlands as a labourer, and when he came there he (Mr O'Connor) had to lend him six shillings, to buy a shovel and a pickaxe, and to his credit be it spoken, he was almost the only man who did not get the loan money; and he said, his rent was there whenever it was called for; and when he saw him he was well-dressed, and his mother was well-dressed, and it was miserable to make these exciting statements, which were totally without foundation.

"As to the proposition of Mr O'Brien—that one quarter of each allotment should remain in grass—though a practical agriculturist, he appears to have lost sight of an important fact, which is this—when I buy an estate, all the grass land is in a lump, and all the tillage land is in a lump; so that I should find it rather difficult to select an acre of grass out of four acres of stubble, or four acres of ploughed ground.

"He would now deal with the assertion of 'Farmer Lee being obliged to pick stones off his land to buy coals.' And if ever there was a malicious insinuation, this he would prove, was one of the most malicious. Now, what was the fact? and it was a singular thing that he (Mr O'Connor) was, most providentially, in a situation to answer insidious statements which appeared to carry weight upon their face. Now, here was the fact. When he (Mr O'Connor) was at Lowlands, with Mr Crawford, in June, Lee brought them out to the roadside, and showed them a large heap of stones that he had gathered off the land, and said that the road surveyor had contracted to buy them, and he asked him (Mr O'Connor) what they were worth, observing—'You see that that will pay some of the labour on the land.' Now, he would ask, if there could be trumped up a more paltry, but apparently a more pathetic story?

"But now he would come to the real and the irrefutable position of a four-acre man at Lowlands; and he felt assured that that Conference would be thunderstruck when they heard it, and then heard their complaints. The four-acre man had received 50*l*. in hard cash. The allotments were cultivated in 1847; each had half an acre of potatoes, and a portion planted with cabbages and Swede turnips. A large proportion of the remainder sown with turnips, and the remainder in the most perfect state for putting in wheat. In October, there were four bushels of wheat sent to each, from Minster Lovel, of the very best description of seed, for a change.

Mr Kershaw—Only three.

Mr O'Connor—Well, three. I thought it was four; but that was enough of seed for an acre and a half. They got two cwt. and a half of guano in bags. They had a quantity of dung behind their houses. They had fully a year's firing behind the cottage. Every allotment was divided by a French furze hedge,

and divided from the road by a French furze hedge. There was a double row of pear-trees and apple-trees, of the very best description, planted at each side of every road, and not one sixpence had been paid by any of them, and now they grumble! (Shame! shame!) And now he would establish their character for industry. He would ask Mr O'Brien whether it was true or false, that a number of those French furze hedge-rows, which are tender, and require to be well weeded, are choked up, and smothered with weeds?

Mr O'Brien—I am sorry to say, it is too true, in many instances.

Mr O'Connor—Then, Good God, is it right clear that nothing can be done for those men? And is it not clear that as one scabby sheep infects the whole flock, that a few of those idle fellows may throw discredit upon the whole Plan? And he begged to remind the Conference that there were but a few of the vermin, but that the vermin had the ear of the enemy. He would now sum up the grievances of the men of Lowlands. "The four-acre man, like all others, had their ground highly cultivated, and highly manured. Half an acre of potatoes, cabbages, and Swedes, almost ready for use—nearly a pound a week in money—three bushels of the best seed wheat—two bags and a half of the best guano—their allotments divided with furze seed—a double row of apple and pear trees planted—a house, rent free—firewood behind the door; and two years crops—and not one single fraction paid. (Loud cheers.) Now, then, while in this state, they were consulting amongst themselves as to whether they should pay any rent or not. This seeming as to how they should rob the poor.

Mr O'Brien—I deny that. They certainly consulted an attorney about it. (Laughter.)

Mr O'Connor—Well, that looks something like it. But what he told them and their attorney, and that Conference was, that under those circumstances, he would eject every man who did not pay his rent; and that Conference would hear this fact in mind—and it was the great fact—that the danger to such a Company as that was the management of its affairs being entrusted to an individual, who, at the expense of honour, would seek popularity by silencing the complaints of those who could be won and kept silent by misapplying the funds of the Company to their use, while those who are unlocated were robbed and deceived. (Hear, hear.) In that consisted the strength of this Company, that he, who had the principal management of the monies, could always answer the complaints of the growing by an appeal to his own integrity. (Hear, hear.) It was a well known fact that Company's money was considered a legitimate source of plunder for all; but while he gave his own money, and his time freely, he was economical—nay, stingy, of the monies of the poor; and he would illustrate this from what he had done for some of the occupants at Lowlands. Before they were entitled to the loan, he had lent one £14 10*s*. of his own money, another £10, another £5, another £5, and another £5. One had honestly paid him the largest portion of the £5 he lent him; another who never worked a day, got the Aid Money, the Loan Money, and £5 from him (Mr O'Connor), and cut off to America.

"Now, Gentlemen, in conclusion, I invite every man who has any—the slightest—complaint to urge to come forward and state it before this Conference, and I will answer it, not by sophistry but by facts; while I apprise you that, henceforth, the rules you lay down shall be strictly abided by, as it is better that you should ride us, the Directors, with spurs, than allow us too much latitude; and, notwithstanding all the odium that has been cast, or attempted to be cast, upon this Plan by the rascals who have been most fortunate, and who have the servile Press at their command, I swear that I would rather have four acres of the Company's Land, at the Company's rent, than sit behind a desk or stand behind a counter at a salary of 4*l*. a week. And those idlers who want to sit, to go back to the girl palace, will not understand that they themselves are depreciating the value of their own property in the market. (Hear, hear.) Do not talk to me about the Small Farm system; I took five Members of Parliament to Lowlands in June. Mr Sharman Crawford, a practical agriculturist, was one of them. They were not only delighted but were astonished and amazed beyond measure, and such a sight of teeming abundance was never seen in England upon the same amount of land. But yet I am chargeable with the potato rot and the wet harvest. Well, the same may be said of Snig's End, which some viper says was badly cultivated; that, too, was like a garden in July, and, but for the potato rot, would have astonished even the occupants. Now, I trust I have satisfactorily and calmly replied to every assertion of Mr O'Brien's and that this Conference will affirm it. (Hear, hear.) And another word and I have done. It is this, that those who sell now in this dreary month of November, when May-day comes will only be too happy to add what he can get within the time to what he got, and to go back again to his allotment."

Mr Kershaw, who appeared as a deputy from Lowlands, then made his statement. He said that it cost him 6*s*. 9*d*. for nails and gimlets for building his pig sties—that he had sold pigs to the amount of between 5*l*. and 6*l*.—that it had cost him 5*l*. to buy coals to boil food for pigs—that he now had pigs for which he refused between 7*l*. and 8*l*.—that his harvest was yet unthreshed, and that the allottees were in a miserable condition, and none of them could pay rent, and he has paid so much for seed and straw, and five shillings for two pigs."

FOR THE WORKING MILLIONS.

A HOME FOR EVERY INDUSTRIOUS MAN AND HIS FAMILY.

UNITED PATRIOTS' AND PATRIARCHS' SOCIETY, EQUITABLE LAND AND BUILDING BENEFIT SOCIETY, Enrolled and Empowered by Act of Parliament to extend over the United Kingdom.

Patrons.—T. S. DUNCAN, Esq., M.P. THOMAS WALKER, Esq., M.P. B. B. GARNETT, Esq., M.P. London Office.—No. 18, Tottenham Court, New Road, St. Pancras, London.—DANIEL WILLIAM RUFFY, Secretary.

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Full Share ... £120 payment of 2s. 5d. per Week, or 10s. 6d. per Month
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Applicants are requested to state in their form the section they desire to be a member of.
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- 1st.—To enable members to build Dwelling Houses.
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- 7th.—To purchase a piece of Freehold Land of sufficient value to give a legal title to a County Vote for Members of Parliament.

SECTION I.—By joining this section every person in town or country can become the proprietor of a House and Land in his own neighbourhood, without being removed from his Friends, Connections, or the present means himself and family may have of gaining a livelihood.

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Subscription Office.—492, New Oxford Street, where Meetings are held, and Members enrolled, every Wednesday Evening, from Eight to Ten o'clock.

R.B.—From £300 to £500 will be advanced to the members of the first Section in December next, when all persons who have and can become members for Shares, or parts of Shares, on or before the 3rd of December next, and who pay six months' subscriptions in advance, or otherwise, will be eligible for an advance.

ALSO, FOR THE WORKING MILLIONS IN CONNECTION WITH THE ABOVE,

THE UNITED PATRIOTS' AND PATRIARCHS' BENEFIT SOCIETIES.

Enrolled pursuant to Act of Parliament. These societies to its members the protection of the law for their funds and property. Legated to extend over the United Kingdom, with the privilege of appointing Medical Attendants, Agents, &c. An opportunity is now offered to healthy persons, up to Forty Years of Age, of joining these flourishing Institutions in town or country.

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Patrons.—T. S. DUNCAN, Esq., M.P. T. WALKER, Esq., M.P. B. B. GARNETT, Esq., M.P. F. O'CONNOR, Esq., M.P. L. J. HANNAH, Esq.

In the short space of four years these societies have paid the following benefits to their members.

SUMMARY OF CLAIMS.	
Sickness and Superannuation	£2674 1 8½
Accumulations	390 15 0
Burials	714 18 1
Loss by Fire	24 13 0
	£3494 7 9½
Present Capital funded in the Bank of England	£1789 12 2

These Societies are in six divisions or sections, for the Members to receive the following Benefits according to their Subscriptions:—

FIRST DIVISION.		FOURTH DIVISION.	
Entrance according to age, from 4s. to 10s. Monthly Contribution for Sickness and Management, 2s. 7d.		Entrance, according to age, from 5s. 6d. to 8s. 6d. Monthly Contribution for Sickness and Management, 1s. 4d.	
Allowance in Sickness, per week	£ 8 s. d.	Allowance in Sickness, per week	£ 8 s. d.
Member's Funeral	20 0 0	Member's Funeral	10 0 0
Wife's or Nominée's ditto	20 0 0	Wife's or Nominée's ditto	10 0 0
Wife's Living-in	25 0 0 to 50 0 0	Wife's Living-in	15 0 0 to 25 0 0
Loss by Fire, from	25 0 0 to 50 0 0	Loss by Fire, from	25 0 0 to 50 0 0
Superannuation, per week	0 5 0	Superannuation, per week	0 5 0
SECOND DIVISION.		FIFTH DIVISION.	
Entrance, according to age, from 4s. 6d. to 9s. 6d. Monthly Contribution for Sickness and Management, 2s. 1d.		Entrance, according to age, from 4s. to 8s. Monthly Contribution for Sickness and Management, 1s. 1d.	
Allowance in Sickness, per week	£ 8 s. d.	Allowance in Sickness, per week	£ 8 s. d.
Member's Funeral	20 0 0	Member's Funeral	10 0 0
Wife's or Nominée's ditto	20 0 0	Wife's or Nominée's ditto	10 0 0
Wife's Living-in	25 0 0 to 50 0 0	Wife's Living-in	15 0 0 to 25 0 0
Loss by Fire, from	25 0 0 to 50 0 0	Loss by Fire, from	25 0 0 to 50 0 0
Superannuation, per week	0 5 0	Superannuation, per week	0 5 0
THIRD DIVISION.		SIXTH DIVISION.	
Entrance, according to age, from 4s. to 4s. 6d. Monthly Contribution for Sickness and Management, 1s. 7d.		Entrance Money	£ 3 0 0
Allowance in Sickness, per week	£ 8 s. d.	Monthly Contribution	£ 3 0 0
Member's Funeral	20 0 0	Allowance in Sickness	£ 8 s. d.
Wife's or Nominée's ditto	20 0 0	Member's Funeral	10 0 0
Wife's Living-in	25 0 0 to 50 0 0		
Loss by Fire, from	25 0 0 to 50 0 0		
Superannuation, per week	0 5 0		

Levies according to the demands on each division per quarter.

N.B.—The only difference in the two Societies is, the Patriarchs have an Accumulation benefit, the Patriarch have not that benefit, therefore do not pay levies for it.
Applications for Agencies requested from all parts of the country; information for appointment of Agencies can be obtained by letter, prepaid, enclosing a postage stamp.
Blank forms and information for the admission of country members can be obtained by letter, prepaid, enclosing three postage stamps, to DANIEL WILLIAM RUFFY, General Secretary, 13, Tottenham Court, New Road, St. Pancras.

Just Published, price Threepence.—A Verbatim report of a lecture by SAMUEL KYLE, in the Milton Street Theatre, July 19th, 1848.

Every Chartist should possess himself of this valuable pamphlet. It is the only one of the kind, and contains the principles of Chartism, we have seen. Those who love it was to hear it uttered, will not soon forget the effort, and we are glad to find so masterly a production has been published for the benefit of others less fortunately situated.
London: E. Dipple, 10, New Street, Heywood, Manchester; Love, Glasgow; Robinson, Edinburgh; and all the Chartist Lecturers, and localities mentioned.

TO TAILORS.

By approbation of Her Majesty Queen Victoria, and H. R. H. Prince Albert.

NOW READY.

THE LONDON AND PARIS WINTER FASHIONS FOR 1848-49, by Messrs Benjamin Read and Co., 12, Hart Street, Bloomsbury-square, London; and G. B. Read, 10, New Street, Heywood, Manchester.

Every Chartist should possess himself of this valuable pamphlet. It is the only one of the kind, and contains the principles of Chartism, we have seen. Those who love it was to hear it uttered, will not soon forget the effort, and we are glad to find so masterly a production has been published for the benefit of others less fortunately situated.
London: E. Dipple, 10, New Street, Heywood, Manchester; Love, Glasgow; Robinson, Edinburgh; and all the Chartist Lecturers, and localities mentioned.

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Testimonials.—"It has given me the use of one side of my mouth, which I had lost for nearly three years."—R. J. Macdonald, Bedford, Northumberland.
"It is the most effective and painless cure for toothache I have ever found. I have no hesitation in recommending it to all who are afflicted with this complaint."—J. W. Williams, 4, Belle-Place, Salisbury-square, London, and you will ensure it by return of post.—Agents wanted.

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The splendid following ships will be despatched as under:—

FOR ALGOA BAY, November 25th, the PERSEVERANCE, 400 tons, F. THOMPSON, Master; loading in the London Dock.

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The above fast-sailing ships are commanded by efficient officers, and will sail with special attention to the comfort and convenience of every class of passengers. They have most spacious 'tween decks, well ventilated, are fitted with life boats, carry experienced surgeons, and are provisioned on the most liberal scale.

Passengers can have their baggage so arranged that they can be entirely to themselves, and not mix with the other passengers.

These ships will be found most eligible, as they combine comfort and economy, while they only a limited number. For freight or passage apply to Mr. O. Young, 1, Royal Exchange Buildings; or to W. S. Lindsay, 11, Abchurch Lane, London.

RIGHT OF LOCATION.

TO BE DISPOSED OF (together or separate), THREE FOUR-ACRE SHARES, drawn in the National Land and Building Benefit Society, A report has been made, by a family whose engagements render it impossible for them to take possession. At the above prizes were drawn in the second unlocated ballot, the purchaser will be entitled to an early location. Price £250 for the whole, or £70 each.

Applications to be made to Mr. T. Clark, 144, High Holborn, London.

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A THREE-ACRE PAID-UP SHARE in the National Land and Building Benefit Society, with all the shares clear on the Company's book. Price £150.

Direct to Henry House, O'Connell's, near Richmond, Surrey, Surrey.

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MR JOHN SHAW, Undertaker, 24, Gloucester Street, Commercial Road East, begs to apprise his friends and the public that, notwithstanding his present unwell confinement in Newgate, for what he feels is entitled 'redemption,' his business is still carried on by Mrs Shaw, by whom all orders will be executed with dispatch and propriety.
Every description of Funeral undertaken in any part of London or its neighbourhood. J. S. guarantees the most efficient attendance, and the very best dresses for mourning, and other funeral fittings, on the most reasonable terms.

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Watson, Queen's Head-passag, Paternoster-row, London: A. Heywood, Manchester: and all Booksellers in Town and Country.

PORTRAIT OF GUFFEY.

The above portrait, taken by his fellow-sufferer, Wm. Dowling, is now ready. Price 6d. Orders received by Mr Dixon, 144, High Holborn.

PORTRAIT OF MITCHEL.

Our agents in Lincoln, Worcester, and Market Raizen, will obtain the portrait, through Mr Bunby, bookseller, Grantham.

Many of our agents have not yet instructed us how we shall forward their portraits. Some few have sent too late to be enclosed in their book parcels this week.

PORTRAIT OF SMITH O'BRIEN, M.P.

Next week, specimens of a Portrait of Smith O'Brien, taken by a most eminent artist, and engraved in the most superior style, will be in the hands of our Agents.

This Portrait, we unhesitatingly assert, is as perfect a likeness as Art could supply, and is a superior thing to any ever given with a Newspaper.

The friends of the original, who have seen it, declare that it is the original to the life, and to this we subscribe our own testimony.

None but subscribers need apply. In about five weeks the Portrait will be ready for circulation.

THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE "NORTHERN STAR."

Next Saturday will be the Twelfth Anniversary of the "Northern Star," and its Birthday will be commemorated by a review of its past history.

A FULL REPORT OF THE TRIALS OF THE SCOTCH CHARTISTS

Will be given in the "Northern Star" of Saturday next, November 18th, 1848.

IN CONSEQUENCE OF THE GREAT DEMAND UPON OUR SPACE THIS WEEK, we are compelled to omit the Land, Victim, and other Receipts, which will appear, as usual, in our next.

THE NORTHERN STAR, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 11, 1848.

THE VICTIMS OF WHIGGERY.

THE CHARTIST FLAG AGAIN UNFURLED.

Last Saturday's NORTHERN STAR, contained an account of the conclusion of the trial of MULLINS, the last—[may we say the last?] of the victims of Messrs Russell, Powell, Greys, Davis, Jervis, and Baldwinson. George Mullins, surgeon, aged twenty-two, was arraigned on the 26th ult., in the court of the Old Bailey, on the charge of having "wickedly and feloniously conspired with William Lacey, Thomas Fay, and William Cuffey, and divers other evil-disposed persons, to levy war and insurrection against Her Majesty, &c., &c."

The miscreant Powell was the first witness examined. His evidence was similar to that given on the former trials; and on his cross-examination he again repeated the confession of his infamous career, and the villainous means he employed to entrap his victims. He was followed by the equally illustrious Davis, who swore "that he was present at a meeting of Chartists, at the George, in the Old Bailey, on the day that Ernest Jones was tried, at which meeting Mullins was present, who said 'it was a shame that the prisoners should go to prison without some attempt being made to rescue them; and that he (Mullins) added, that the van would go through Cow-cross on its way to Colindale fields, and that it would be a good piece to attack it, and that he (Mullins) said he knew a friend, who he understood to be a man named Daly, who would lead out the Irish living in the neighbourhood of that purpose." This is a repetition of the evidence given on former trials. Our readers may remember a letter from Mr Daly, which appeared in the Journal subsequent to those of Jones, in which Mr Daly stated that at the time of Jones's trial, he was not in London, having left England for France five weeks before Mr Jones was arraigned. Can any one doubt that the speech ascribed to Mullins by Davis is a great invention of his? The miscreant Jones, it appears, recommended the Greenwich Chartists to provide themselves with half-penny whistles, and to run into the bowels of the police! No wonder the Attorney General was particularly proud of his "highly-respectable" witness. This worthy again repeated that, when he joined the Chartists, he intended to act as a spy, and added, he was not at all ashamed of what he had done! He concluded by saying that he was now receiving £2 per week from the government, and that he expected to be remunerated by the government, eventually, for his services. Barrett, Baldwinson, and the other conspirators, completed the evidence for the crown. It appears that Barrett employed two daily paid. Who found the money? Were the Secret Service accounts furnished to the public, doubtless this question would be answered.

On the evidence of these rascals, poor Mullins was to be merced on account of his youth. The miscreant Jones, it appears, recommended the Greenwich Chartists to provide themselves with half-penny whistles, and to run into the bowels of the police! No wonder the Attorney General was particularly proud of his "highly-respectable" witness. This worthy again repeated that, when he joined the Chartists, he intended to act as a spy, and added, he was not at all ashamed of what he had done! He concluded by saying that he was now receiving £2 per week from the government, and that he expected to be remunerated by the government, eventually, for his services. Barrett, Baldwinson, and the other conspirators, completed the evidence for the crown. It appears that Barrett employed two daily paid. Who found the money? Were the Secret Service accounts furnished to the public, doubtless this question would be answered.

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himself, and could answer for himself. The mode of managing the carters was this—it was sent to the stone quarry, each pair of horses brought an equal load, and every man brought an equal number of loads. He paid for the stone by the square yard, and upon each Saturday night the overseer, whose business it was to keep an account of every load drawn, made his report to Mr O'Connor. If they went five turns for stone, every man was obliged to perform that duty, and every man did perform that duty. If they could go three times to the lime-kiln, every man was compelled to do so; and if they went twice for sand, every man was obliged to do so. And he would take upon himself to say, that in no single instance was this amount of labour skulked. That he had done more labour with his horses for 8s. than he could hire for 2l.; and that, excepting one instance at O'Connorville, where a labourer got drunk, and stripped, and challenged another to fight, he had never seen a drunken man upon any estate. So much for the horses."

Mr Cullingham rose and said—"My Chairman, may I be permitted in fairness to say, that, in all my life, I never sat down in company with one of the carters—that I never drank half a pint of beer with any one of them, so help me God! or saw one of them drunk; and I appeal to Mr Rider—one of the delegates, and a carpenter—whether he ever saw me drunk on the estate?"

Mr Rider.—I certainly never saw Mr Cullingham drunk upon the estate in my life. Mr O'Connor.—The next charge is, that Mr Lawrence having received 30s. a week for having superintended his own men. Mr Lawrence did not receive 30s. a week, he received 1l. a week—not for superintending his own men, but for superintending the cutting out of the foundations upon the proper sites marked out by Mr O'Connor, and which was one of the operations that required the greatest vigilance and circumspection. The men employed in that work might put the Company to considerable expense, if not superintended by a person who understood the business.

"The next was, the great waste that had been committed. As regarded that, several carpenters who had been engaged on the works of private individuals, had stated, and put it in writing, that they never saw so small an amount of waste of the property of any individual; and what he (Mr O'Connor) was prepared to assert and prove was, that there was not one pound's worth of waste committed upon the property of the Company, but that, on the contrary, every particle that was over from one estate was carried to another. He asserted, before many carpenters—whom he invited to contradict him if what he stated was not true—that the most niggardly master could not have been more careful of every morsel of property, even to the burning of the sawdust for manure.

"The next charge was, that Mr Taylor—Mr Cullingham's son-in-law—received 3l. a week; while the books would show that he received 15s. a week, and sometimes 1l., and that his contract was the same to the farthings as every other painter—namely 2l. 5s., for giving a coat and outbuildings four coats of paint, finding his own colour. (Hear, hear.)

"As to the counsel not being present, the Directors are aware that Mr O'Connor offered to pay the most eminent counsel his fees out of his own pocket; but Mr O'Connor was not aware at the time that he made the announcement that Conference met precisely at the commencement of the term, just when clients and business were pouring in, and at a time when counsel worth having could not leave London whatever fee was offered.

"As to the charge of allowing tradespeople and labourers to go into the cottages before the time for location, it came with a bad grace from Mr Edwards, who was so pathetic about the poor. He would not only plead guilty to this charge, but he would do so with pleasure, and he was only too happy to be able to accommodate those whose numbers, coming upon a sudden, always increase the price of lodgings; but he would tell Mr Edwards more, that although he was not aware that they did consume much of the roots, yet if he (Mr O'Connor) saw them without firing while the roots were there, he would tell them to use them and welcome, and he wondered whether the house being aired would be better or worse for the occupant? He was only too happy to have it in his power to make them as comfortable as possible.

"Lastly, with respect to the removal of Mr O'Connor from the Directory, he could only say, that for that proposition he would cheerfully vote himself. (Laughter.) And if such was the wish of the Conference, he would not, like other dismissed Directors, ask them to pay his wages, or the money that was due to him. (Hear, hear.) And now he would carry the war into the enemy's camp, and he begged leave to ask Mr Edwards, whether the itinerant bagman, who travelled Devonshire to abuse the Land Company, had been employed at Snig's End, and if so, in what branch?"

Mr Edwards.—He was engaged as a sawyer. Mr O'Connor.—Then, Sir Boyle Roach's bird was a fool to him; the bird could only be in two places at once, while the bagman appeared to be possessed of ubiquity. Here was a sawyer working under a shed, seeing a man resting upon his plough, men drinking at the Feathers, men digging foundations, men grubbing, waste committed, and inspecting the wages book—all at the same time. And this honest sawyer, holding sixteen shares—four four-acre shares—who had so laudable an interest in the well-being of the Company, had paid up 9s. 6d. upon the sixteen shares, according to the Secretary's book, just handed to me, or sevenpence a share. He would now ask Mr Edwards another question—it was, whether Mr Francis Putt, of Snig's End, was his other informant, and the other Devonshire firebrand?"

Mr Edwards.—He certainly was. Mr O'Connor.—Now then, for this gentleman. Of all the villains that ever disgraced any society, this fellow is the greatest. He bought a wood from me of eleven acres; he was to grub it, so that the plough could go over it, and to pay me £120. My terms were that I should have half the money down, and that the wood should be grubbed under Mr King's inspection. He said he had the money in Devonshire—that he would go for it and pay it, according to the terms. I told Mr King that I had sold it to him. At that time, the Committee of the House of Commons on the Land Company occupied my every hour. He went to Devonshire; did not bring the money, but brought a sample of cabbage plants, in which he proposed to pay me. (Laughter.) He took possession of the wood without my knowledge, Mr King presuming that he had paid according to contract; he sold nearly 40l. worth of bark, and some poles, in Gloucester, which I heard of by mere chance.—I stopped the money.—I called an auction, sold a portion, detained the remainder—he robbed the Company of 50l., and I am now paying for the grubbing of the wood. (Cries of shame.)

Mr O'Brien.—Oh! I can speak to that villain's character; of all the villains that ever were born I look upon that fellow as the greatest. I will tell the Conference one circumstance, and they may judge from that. Mr Cullingham sent him to perform some work at the school-house at Lowlands,—it took him a day and a quarter. I saw Mr Cullingham before the men were paid, and he asked me how many days Putt had worked.—I told him a day and a quarter. Mr Cullingham said, "Why I have entered him into the book five days and a quarter"—he told me that that was his time. It was altered; and when I saw Putt after, I said to him, "Well, Putt, you are the most unmitigated rogue unbeing; you returned yourself to Mr Cullingham, having worked five days and a quarter, while you only worked a day and a quarter," and just mark the fellow's answer; he said in the coolest manner

possible: "Well, might I not as well rob the Company as any body else?" (Cries of "What a villain!")

Mr O'Connor.—Now, I think I have exposed the character of the two Devonshire bagmen that make so laudable an interest in the Company—the one has paid 9s. 6d. towards the sixteen shares and has been discharged, and the other has cheated the Company out of 50l. But this Conference must learn and understand, that every man once employed thinks that he is engaged for life, and that when his work is done that it is tyranny to discharge him, and that he has a right to live upon the funds of the Company, and that if I deny that right I am the tyrant and must be abused. (Hear, hear.) Whereas, the salvation of the Company depends upon my faithful execution of the trust reposed in me, and my fixed determination never to gain popularity or toleration by the violation of that trust. (Cheers.)

"Mr Edwards has said, that a practical builder has entrusted him with an estimate to build houses for 80l.—another delegate proposes building houses for 65l.; but here is the distinction which all overlook—that I propose and will have uniformity of building, as I will not be charged with having built Irish cabins for the Land members; and if there is one thing more than another to which I seek to devote those members, it is not to their comfortable but actually to their stylish and convenient cottage, and after all that has been said about them I am here to affirm that these never were, in this or any other country, such convenient cottages, cottages in every respect so well built, so well finished, and with the very best materials. And there are practical builders, many of them in this room, who have been on the several estates—there are occupants here from every one of the estates, and I defy them to find out one single fault. (Hear, hear.)

"Now then, I longed for this opportunity, to give an answer to every charge that might be brought against the Company. A little leaven leaveneth the whole lump; a few scabby sheep infect the whole flock; but I rejoice to think that nine in every ten of the occupants are good, industrious, honest men, and with God's blessing, I will very speedily drive the vermin from amongst us. (Hear, hear.) With regard to those 80l. and 65l. cottages, let the Conference bear in mind, that they are not my cottages upon my plan and therefore furnish no data to go upon. A builder in Gloucester, whose very heart and soul was in the Plan, proposed to build the cottages at 240l. each, and now I will give the master builders (the 65l. and 80l. gentlemen) the rough items of the expenditure of one of our cottages.

Timber, 12,080, at 30s. . .	£18 0 0
Bricks and slates	30 0 0
The whole of the brick-work, slating, plastering, laying kitchen floor, fixing chimney pieces, setting stoves and ranges, and preparing for sleepers, making mortar and all	13 0 0
Carpenters work	12 10 0

(A voice from one of the bystanders, "Too much.")

Mr O'Connor.—Well, a word about that presently. Foundations, with plinth, including stone 8 0 0

Painting, glazing, and glass 3 0 0

Now there is 80l. without any margin for lime or sand, grates and stoves, locks, latches, hinges and ironmongery, chimney pots and stone chimney pieces, digging wells, sinking pumps, paying for them, lead for valleys, and all the ecclesiastical. Now that's my cottage. But let Mr Edwards's contractor, or any other man, propose to perform those several operations cheaper, and to leave twenty-five per cent. of the money unpaid till the work is approved of by my overseer, and then he shall have the contract for my houses, but not for his houses. And now a word to my friend who says "too much" for the carpenters' work. Is he aware that there are three rooms, a dairy, a back kitchen, a cow house for two cows, a place capable of holding a pony, a place for roots, a privy, two sheds, a gate to the yard, a dresser in the kitchen up to the ceiling, with three drawers and five shelves; a cupboard by the fire-place, up to the ceiling; and two dwarf cupboards in the sitting-room. Now then, observe, my principal object in establishing this Plan was, to raise the rate of wages, while labourers themselves cry "too much." (Hear.)

"Another charge was by the farmers in each district, that I raised the wages of the labourers. (Hear, hear.) Why that is the very life and soul of the Plan. I create a demand, and the supply in the market is worth more money; and now to hear such a charge. I will now state to this Conference, in presence of the Directors, of several of the overseers, and of many carpenters and builders, who have been employed upon the estates—what no other employer in Europe could state—that if we separated to-morrow, even in hostility, not one of them could charge me with one single mean, dishonourable, dishonest, or hypocritical act. I could defy them. (Hear, hear.) From the Directors.) I want to harmonise the labourers, and not to disunite them. I have told every overseer, that if he had a complaint to make against a man to make it in his presence, as I would not hear it in his absence; and I can say what no other employer can say, that I never spoke a harsh word to any man since I commenced operations—that my every act has been upon the side of indulgence—and that as to practical builders and agriculturists, I will submit to no control, if I did, like other societies, your's would very speedily book up.

"I rejoice to have met so discreet, so valuable, so prudent a Conference, and I rejoice to think that you are within twelve miles of forty-two of the reviled houses—go and see for yourselves, and then censure if you can. I have stood an amount of slander, of labour, expense, anxiety, and trouble to realise this, the darling object of my life; and I am resolved—with the assistance of such men as you—to overcome all opposition, and go on till I conquer every foe, and locate every unwilling idler in his own castle, upon his own labour field. (Loud cheers.)

Mr James Taylor, delegate for Ashton.—"There will be always grumbling—do what you will, you will never satisfy some people. (Laughter, and "True.") There were two in our district; one chap got £65, I think, for a three-acre allotment, and he began to grow; and the wife of another in Stockport came away, and left her husband at O'Connorville, but nothing would satisfy them.

Mr O'Connor.—Well, now Mr Taylor has truly stated one of the alternatives of the dissatisfied, namely—to sell their allotments; and surely, the man who pays £2 12s., and gets 48s., as one did at O'Connorville, less the Company's charges, and this man referred to, to £65 for his £3 18s.; others £100 and £120—they have no great cause to complain. But, as regards the other case, he would just ask his friend Taylor, whether the name of the party is Wallwork?"

Mr Taylor.—Yes; that is the name. Mr O'Connor.—Now, you see I am in a position to answer every single complaint of every single growler. I will now tell you this gentleman's SOLEMN POSITION, and my cruel treatment of him. He came to O'Connorville in August, 1846—the time of the Demonstration, affecting to believe that the occupants were to be located "then." He brought his family and furniture, and broke up his house. He was the only one that came, and he had no right to come till May, 1847. I put him into a house, gave him permission to have plenty of firing, gave him milk for nothing, had two bedsteads made as his furniture was delayed, sent him chairs from my own house, and advanced him 5l. (Hear, hear.) Now that was that gentleman's "solemn position." [And I might have

added, that he had one of the very best allotments on any of the estates—that his interest is well worth 100l. of any man's money—that the Directors sold the handkerchiefs—that he wrote at a penny above the market price—that even the "Star" office was one of his retail shops—they were advertised in the "Star," and everything that man could do I did for that man. I allowed him to put up his loom in one of the cottages and paid for the repairs of the cottage when it was taken down. He made gowns pieces as well as handkerchiefs—he had the first cottage at the entrance to the estate, and, with few exceptions, parties coming to visit the estate gave him large orders, so much so that he could not complete all. And now mind, I am not at all censuring the man, for I believe that a more industrious, a more honest, a more respectable man of his class there is not in England than Wallwork; he was always either at work or with his family, he never went near a public house; but I will now narrate for the reader a piece of the most consummate rascality that ever was perpetrated.

"Wallwork brought with him to O'Connorville two of the sweetest children I ever saw. They looked puny and delicate. Their mother told me and others that the boy had some complaint which gave him a dizziness. When they were with me a short time the appearance of both delighted the parents, and astonished every one. They became perfect patterns of health, and many a time I have gone into the cottage just at dinner hour or tea time, and Mr Wallwork has told me that she could scarcely give them enough to eat NOW, though they were very delicate at Stockport. Well, the winter was the trying season, and the children, as every one at O'Connorville will testify, went on growing, improving and getting more healthy. Not a day sick. The summer came, and they looked blooming. I have seen them working in the field with the mother, all expressing themselves delighted. Every occupant will testify to this, as I am speaking now of the period after all were located. Well, mark the sequel and the horror: Mrs Wallwork returned to Stockport, and took the children; the boy, I am told, went to work in the mill and died, and will be believed, that the report was circulated—in fact, I understand it was stated at the inquest—that the boy died in consequence of the damp of the house at O'Connorville. Now only think of the extent to which the opposing classes will carry their vengeance against this Plan; a sickly sweet boy comes to me in a delicate state of health from the manufacturing district; with me he becomes vigorous and healthy; he goes back to the CHARNEL HOUSE and dies, and then the Land Plan is his murderer. There is not in England a more healthy spot than Herringgate; but now you see what malice will do.

[The latter part of this statement was not made to the Conference, because I was not aware of the act at the time.]

Mr O'Connor.—Now if there's any—the most whimsical—charge to be brought against me, for mind I father all, I am now prepared to meet it, and this Conference shall not separate with my consent while one single complaint is unexplained.

Mr Sutton, from Manchester, said, that he represented a large district, and that, of course, representations would give rise to inquiry. That he was directed by his constituents to support the appointment of a practical builder, and a practical agriculturist in the directory. And there were several rumours about Manchester—one was, that at the time Government passed the Gaggling Bill, and when those employed at Snig's End wanted some alteration, Mr O'Connor enacted a Gaggling Bill there. He was bound to his constituents to make these representations and he had now performed his duty.

Mr O'Connor.—As to the practical agriculturist and builder being appointed to the Directory; a man did not become an agriculturist at once; he was instructed Mr Doyle in the operations, and he was one of the Directors. The place for the other Directors was in the office attending to the accounts, and never to leave it. He had a practical builder, and if he was a Director, he should be under his Mr O'Connor's control, as he would not be answerable for the whims of any man. And now as to the "Gaggling Bill."

"At the time of the French Revolution, a Mr Sidaway, a blacksmith, who was going to assume the power of Dictator, and a few others, called meetings to dictate terms to me—in fact, to take the mastery out of my hands. I sent them word, that if they had any complaint to make which militated against them as trades, that I was prepared to hear it. In consequence, a deputation of carpenters waited upon me to appoint a "chalk line man," to assign the proper description of timber for his work. That was just, and I did it; and then I sent them word, that if they attempted to interfere in the management of the affairs of the Company, that I would send them every one about their business, as I was perfectly aware that the moment I showed weakness, they would assume despotism. Well, Mr Sidaway was the ringleader. The Secretary of the Gloucester Branch of the Charter Association sent me all his letters, and but very few of the carpenters, indeed, took any part in those proceedings, as I am here to assert and affirm that, from the commencement of the works, no carpenter has ever made a complaint to me of any act of injustice. And now I will solve both this "Gaggling Bill" and the conspiracy for you.

"Mr Ryan, one of the carpenters, urged on by Mr Sidaway, and others, went to Manchester, and district, and circulated the most ridiculous and lying reports that ever were heard, but all actually amounting to nothing. This came to my ears, and I instantly demanded that a public meeting should be summoned in Manchester, and I sent Mr Doyle, Mr Cullingham, builder, and Mr King, bailiff, to attend that meeting, and to meet every charge. They went, and in the first instance, both the meeting and the Committee appointed, having heard so much from Mr Ryan, were naturally suspicious. The Committee sat, I think, twice, and I think, for ten or twelve hours—and after the most deliberate consideration of the whole case, they reported to another public meeting—called for the purpose—unanimously, as Mr Ryan and Mr Donovan are aware, that not one of the charges was sustained, and that they were frivolous and vexatious; and Mr Sidaway having written one version of the case to Ryan, and a completely different version to the Chairman, it was recommended that Mr Sidaway should be discharged, and Mr Sidaway was instantly discharged. And since his discharge, the basest acts ever committed by mortal have come to light. He interfered in every one's business, and could not do his own. And now, with regard to Mr Ryan, the complainant, I will show you the spring of his spleen. He was no carpenter, and his work was so inefficiently done, that Mr Cullingham stopped £1 15s. from his contract upon a house, and paid another carpenter for repairing his botched work. Now that was the man who was very likely to be friendly to such a management. What he stated was within the management. What he stated was within the knowledge of Mr Sutton and Mr Donovan, both of whom attended the meeting, and heard the report. Now then, are there any more complaints? Is this Conference will see that hearing them is no waste of time. And I have only to add, that I hope the day is not far distant when—with the single exception of Mr Ryan—I shall have the pleasure and delight of seeing every carpenter, builder, and labourer, at work again. And I think that is the best proof of the harmony that has subsisted. (Hear, hear.)

The Balance Sheet for the last quarter was then taken into consideration; and, after very proper explanations being demanded of a few trifling items, it was accepted unanimously. One item was the sum of 2s. 3d. for omnibus fare, for two clerks, to two localities, to arrange some dispute between the secretaries and members of the districts. Another item of 47d. for Directors' travelling expenses to Bromsgrove, Snig's End, and back, and to London, was accounted for thus:—The Committee of the House of Commons directed Mr Grey, the accountant, to go to Bromsgrove, and inspect all the books, and that the Directors should meet him there. They came with the books to Bromsgrove—had to go from Bromsgrove to Snig's End for more books—came back, and return to London—and the amount of travelling expenses was low. The next was 36s. for expenses of Directors to Snig's End and back, which was consequent upon the necessity of the Directors being present with their books, when the allottees were located, to point out who had transferred, and who had received any portion of Aid Money before location. It was supposed to be for the demonstration upon opening the estate, but Mr O'Connor explained that he refused his consent to vote a farthing of the funds for a demonstration at Herringgate, or any other place, and that he had that morning received a letter from a solicitor, stating that if the sum of 36s. due to a band that attended the demonstration at Snig's End,

was not paid, that Mr Cullingham would be sued for it. Mr Cullingham.—It was the trades at Snig's End that ordered it, and they undertook to pay for it.

The next item that was questioned in the balance sheet, was 336 for Directors' travelling expenses, and which Mr O'Connor explained thus:—Unwilling to violate the rules laid down by the Committee of the House of Commons, he apprehended that it would be illegal to call a Conference to represent an illegal body, and therefore, the most effectual mode was taken of consulting the members personally upon the proposed alterations. Messrs M'Grath and Clark made a tour for several weeks for that purpose through Scotland, the north of England, and part of the Midland Counties, when he (Mr O'Connor) was given to understand that it would not be illegal to hold a Conference for the purpose of legalising the Company; he then, together with the Directors in London, decided, upon recalling Messrs M'Grath and Clark, and although the Conference was held, he considered that that money was well and profitably spent, and he, for one, was astonished at the smallness of the amount. He had left Birmingham for Aberdeen, on Thursday week—he returned on the following Sunday week; and his expenses for the eleven days amounted to £32 12s., and it was the only expenditure of any of his tours that he had kept an account of.

Mr Kydd then asked, how it happened that the amount of clerks was so much larger than that under Mr Wheeler's management? and Mr Bentley, the delegate for Huddersfield, said, that he had written several letters to Mr Clark, since he had become corresponding secretary, and that he had not received answers as punctually as he had from Mr Wheeler.

Mr O'Connor replied, that nothing could be more easy than to answer Mr Kydd's question and Mr Bentley's question. Mr Clark should answer for himself. The necessity for more clerks, arose from two circumstances:—

"The first was, that one man could not do two men's work."

"The second was, the enormous increase of business consequent upon the unavoidable absence of the Directors, attending to the deed of registration through the country. But the main cause was this. Immediately after the resignation of Mr Wheeler, the Lowlands Conference decided that the Company should close at the end of the year, and the consequence was, that the number of members joining nearly doubled, within that period, and the Management required more hands in the office. But as he was not willing to allow any charge to rest upon the shoulders of the Directors, to which, if wrong, he was liable, he begged to state that as soon as the business slackened, and funds came in slowly, the directors did discharge four clerks; and when he (Mr O'Connor) heard it, believing that their department also was a branch of the Labour Question—knowing that they had been instructed in the office business, and feeling convinced that their practised service would be required again, when slander and misrepresentation were stifled, he (Mr O'Connor) told the Directors not to dismiss those clerks, as he would rather pay them their wages out of his own pocket, if the Conference objected to the course. (Hear, hear.) He had answered every question, there were no complaints; and he would now ask, if such a balance sheet, without 2s. 3d., and other small items, being put under the lumping head SUNDRIES, was ever presented to a Company? It was unlike other companies. Last week he read an account in the Times newspaper, of a Board of Railway Directors who were their own auditors. (Laughter.) What would they think if, as treasurer, presented a balance sheet to that Conference, with "Audited and found correct, Feargus O'Connor," at the bottom of it? (Laughter.) Why, in fact, while every other company in England was now indisputably proved to be cheating, juggling, deceiving, and robbing its members, the National Land Company was the only company in the Kingdom that could show a pennyworth of property for every penny expended. But here was the difference—the juggle was for the rich, and the Land was for the poor. (Loud cheers.)

Mr Clark said: In answer to Mr Bentley's question, I have only to refer to the enormous increase of business in the office. That of course all letters are not of equal importance. Every letter of importance I have answered myself; those of minor consideration I have referred to the clerks, when it was impossible for me to answer all, and I have given them the gist of the answer.

The Balance Sheet to the 29th of September was then unanimously accepted, and the present Board of Directors were unanimously re-elected.

The 12th of May was the day named for the future location of members; and, in justice to the delegates, the Chairman, I must say that a more creditable, a more shrewd, a more dignified representation of Labour and the Land Company could not be selected.

The Chairman upon such occasions is a most important personage. With him rests the discipline and decorum of a bad Chairman will be sure to waste time, and make a bad Conference; but Mr James Sweet economised time, exacted rigid discipline, and gave the most unqualified satisfaction, while every question submitted to the consideration of the delegates was argued with an amount of prudence, discretion, and tact which did honour to the working classes. The only signification of dissent or approval of the numerous party of visitors was, when, according to my pledge to the Committee of the House of Commons, the question was put from the chair, whether the affairs of the Land Company should or should not be wound up, when every hand in the Conference, and every hand in the room, was held up against the Company being wound up, and which was followed by clapping of hands and enthusiastic cheering.

I have so far given you a critical report of the proceedings which were confined to question and answer. I have shown you the source from which every complaint has come. I have given you the answers to those complaints in the Conference, and now I will sum up in a few words of observation.

Suppose a Free Trader built cottages out of his own capital, and suppose he gave to those occupying four acres of land, a cottage, and that land at four pence each upon the outlay, and suppose they came to him without a fraction; and that he advanced them £50 or £10 by way of capital; suppose he gave them seed wheat, and an incredible amount of the very best manure; suppose that he had put spade or plough in the ground, or one particle of seed; suppose he made no roads, but allowed them to scramble over hedges; suppose he gave them no fire-wood; and suppose that he allowed them house rent free from May to November, twelvemonth (eighteen months), and suppose that they held the land rent-free for that time; in fact, suppose that they had all from an individual landlord, and never paid anything, what would be the character of that landlord? And what would be the fate of the growler that charged him with injustice before the public, or the scribbler that charged him with injustice in the Press? Ah! my friends, the Press would not be open to such a trifle, while column after column would be spent in laudation of the philanthropic Free Trader. But the best answer to every growler is this—"Can you not get more than £2 12s. for your allotment?"—or observe, that it is those who have got them that are the grumblers—"Can you not get more than £3 18s. for your three acres, or £5 4s. for your four acres?"

Now that is the answer, wholly apart from Aid Money, Loan Money, and agricultural operations. And, my friends, I tell you now, that I have to contend not against the casual circumstances by which man is surrounded, but against NATURAL INSTINCT; which is not an evil, but the greatest advantage, under proper discipline, by which its dangers may be remedied. That natural instinct is SELF-INTEREST, and in proof of which I assert, without fear of contradiction, that if our Land Company consisted of one hundred thousand members, and that if one thousand of the most fortunate were located, that that one thousand, without the slightest reference to, or consideration for the remaining ninety-nine thousand by whose aid they were located, would stoutly contend for their claim to the whole; and upon their self-interest, their selfishness and misrepresentation, the validity, the practicability, and the value of the Plan would be judged.

It is not an easy matter to reply to the exciting representations as to the state of destitution of this man, or that man, or the other man. They tell upon the feelings, though they are based upon falsehood; they enlist the sympathies of the kind-hearted ignorant, and they furnish the enemy with the means of attack. But if one man succeeds, his success is the conviction of the idle; and what I now assert, and I defy contradiction, is this, that a four-acre allotment on any single one of the Company's estates is richly worth a bonus of £400; and I contend for it, that in the retail market any one of them

would fetch that amount over and above the original cost, provided it was a landlord question, a man's question, but not a Labour question—that is, that a landlord would get tenants for as many cottages as he could build, and four acres of land, at the yearly rent of £28, that is the interest upon £700, while the allotment would only cost £300. And I further assert, that during his life he would not have one defaulter upon a single allotment.

I have made my reply to the several charges brought against the Plan and against the buildings. I invited the delegates to come to Bromsgrove and judge for themselves. A great number did visit that estate. I saw four of them myself, after they had minutely inspected every acre. I saw the delegates for the Norwich district, for the Bolton district, for the Rochdale district, for the Bolton district, and they will tell you, as they told me, that they were never so much astonished or delighted in their lives: that they could not have believed it from the several false representations that had been made.

And now, I tell you what I say with regard to those representations and those cottages. There never were built in England by a builder for himself, or for an employer who intended to lease them, cottages equal to those of the Land Company, both as to material, work, and finish. And now, when we speak of bonus for an allotment, let it always be borne in mind, that no individual on his own account, will build the same house on the retail plan for within £40 of what I build it on the wholesale plan.

Now, I'll just give you a single item. The bricks that I have used at Bromsgrove I pay 25s. for, not counting carriage, because I burn them wholesale—the same bricks in the neighbourhood would have cost me 32s., and the carriage would have cost me 15s. more than they do the spot—that is a saving of 12s. a thousand, or £7 4s. upon a house in that one material alone. And if I bought timber, slates, ironmongery, lime, and sand, and paid retail labour, the house would cost me above £40 more than it does upon the wholesale principle. And now, when it serves the purpose of Free Trade speculators in votes to eulogise the wholesale plan, let me give you the following specimen from last week's Nottingham Review, which is placed immediately under a paragraph headed

THE O'CONNOR LAND SCHEME.

Now here is the paragraph from the "Review," with its very fascinating figure-head:—

FREEDOM AND VOTES FOR WORKING MEN.—The Birmingham Freehold Land Society is paying the way for an extensive and vigorous attack upon the monopolists of the counties. It has been in existence thirteen months, numbers 487 members, holding 1,438 shares, 125 allotments have been made to the members at a cost of a sum averaging £19 each allotment, containing seven yards front and fifty yards deep of eligible building land. The value of the land, at the rate of £100 per acre, the annual value of their plots of land being placed beyond doubt, some having already let off on a building lease of ninety-nine years, for 60s. per annum. The leading features of this society are for by building land on the whole sale price, and retail it to the tenant at 2s. 6d. per acre, and the allottee is to be the owner of the land. The difference existing between wholesale and retail prices of land is almost incredible, and requires some facts to convince parties unacquainted with the value of land. Land which was sold at 100s. per acre, and which has been purchased wholesale at 1s. 1d. per yard. Had the allottees individually made their own purchases, each allotment, instead of averaging £19, would have cost £100. The value of the fifty-two counties may be, before the next septennial election, by the means of Freehold Land Societies, placed in the hands of civil, religious, and commercial freedom.

Now what does the reader think of that? £19 capital bringing in £12 10s. a year rent; which upon £100 would be £12 15s. a year interest, while not a four-acre allotment of ours will reach that rent. Now by the same standard of reckoning the rent of our allotment, that cost £300, should let for £38 8s. a year. Oh! but then the one is for the pig, commissariat, and the latter, and the other is for CIVIL, RELIGIOUS, AND COMMERCIAL FREEDOM. Can any of these civil, religious, and commercial freemen, again abuse our plan? Yes; because in the one case the voter would be a slave, having only a house, and depending upon the capitalist for employment; while in the other case, the voter would be a freeman, because his own employer.

My friends, society is now out of joint. For years I have been writing to you, and telling you that we were near the struggle of the league of people against the league of Kings. It is not a prophecy after the continental revolutions—it was printed years ago, and has been often repeated; and what knoebisch statesmen are now trying to do, is to frame a piece of cabinet work out of rude and rough materials, while I tell them that every fragment out of which new society is to be constituted must be TRIED UP before it is put together, or, at all events, before it will harmonise. I tell you that, whether from revolution or from peaceful change the new system may come, that no power on earth can save Labour or secure Labour's triumph, UNTIL IT IS INDIVIDUALISED. I tell you that from a community of happy individuals alone can a sound state of representative government spring; and I tell you that no other channel to secure individuality is open but the Land; and I tell you, that as long as you have not the Land the wages of the most fortunate will be measured by the destitution of the most miserable, and that the comparatively fortunate are the greatest tyrants to the positively destitute. They measure their position by the destitution of others. The man receiving 25s. a week looks at him who receives but 10s.; the man who receives 10s., looks with contempt upon the unwilling pauper—whereas, if they would measure their prospect by the positive, and not by the comparative scale, the union of all would realise £3 a week for each. And the clearing of the surplus population, and their location upon the land of the country, would give a spring to every trade in their birth; while the small farmers would produce better, fresher, cheaper, and a greater abundance of food, than you can get from abroad. But, then, that is not the system by which tyrants achieve patronage, emolument, and wealth; they cultivate the national resources by the standard of monopoly, though they adopt Free Trade as their principle. They would rather have the lion's share of an artificial traffic, with bastles full of paupers, and an armament sufficiently large to quell the complaints of the starving and the hungry, than have their fair share of the country's produce, without a discontented being in the land.

Again, do not say that I am prophesying, but look to the conclusion of my work upon "Small Farms," written in 1843, and there you will find that I predicted that our Foreign Colonies must be abandoned; and that they must be made willing instead of compulsory customers. I foretold what the expenditure would be, and your inability to bear it. And now, mark the following announcement from the "Globe" newspaper:—A Government organ:—

MILITARY FORCE IN IRELAND.—The augmentation of the military force in Ireland to 100,000 rank and file, will enable the Government to withdraw ten regiments from Ireland for colonial and other services, and to concentrate at head quarters those many detachments now irregularly scattered throughout the country, and to employ a police force. It is also intended to attach to the headquarters of the constabulary in each province a flying party of artillery for field service.

Now, here, while landlords are unable to meet their engagements—while farmers are flying to America—while labourers are starving, and Poor-rates cannot be collected—we are to have an addition of 8,000 men to the Irish constabulary, and they are to have a FLYING PARK OF ARTILLERY FOR FIELD SERVICE, in order to spare the Irish garrison for colonial service.

Now read the following:—

INSOLVENCY AMONGST FARMERS.—THE DUBLIN GAZETTE of Tuesday evening contains a list of one hundred and thirty-five names of farmers who have failed, and who are unable to pay their debts. The list includes names of farmers in the counties of Wick, Wexford, and Waterford, of which no less than seventy-three are set down as farmers.

Now, in these days of economy, it is my practice to bring you to figures. This 8,000 additional force at 25s. a week per man, which, including officers, barracks, outfit, flying artillery, and the thousand and one expenses, is below the mark; but take that sum at 25s. a man, and this, without reducing the army by a single man, entails an additional expense upon the starving people of ten thousand pounds a week, or half a million and twenty thousand a year. And now mark the result, that annual amount would pay an interest of four per cent. of twelve millions and seven hundred and fifty thousand pounds, and they gave me that sum to expend in Ireland on looking after the poor rate required. But then the power in power would not have so much PATRONAGE, and the younger children of lords and squires would have to work for their bread.

My friends, this is the whole system, and it is difficult for one single solitary individual to stand up against it, with all the powers and appliances at its command for the destruction of all its opponents. "Has Feargus O'Connor, during the eleven years' existence of the 'Labourer,' and during nearly two years' existence of the 'Labourer,' and in his several other works and speeches, ever written a line or spoken a sentence worthy of comment, while the insane productions and twaddle of the enemies of your order are chronicled and stereotyped as ap-

