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"Hereditary bondsmen, know ye not,
Who would be free himself must strike the blow?"

"Onward and we conquer!
Backward and we fall!
THE PEOPLE'S CHARTER AND NO SURRENDER!"

TO THE OLD GUARDS.

LOVED AND HONOURED COMRADES,

We have fought many and many a battle together—and, although some have deserted our standard, others are immured in the dungeon, and some prematurely consigned to the cold grave, yet

"Freedom's battle once begun,
Bequeathed by bleeding sire to son,
Tho' baffled oft is ever won!"

I adopt the motto of DANIEL O'CONNELL, but do not use it in the physical sense, but as emblematical of the time; because if Labour does not now strike the blow, which is to shake off its manacles and shackles, the labourer will be for ever a puling beggar, looking for doles, and alms, and charity; while, if profitably employed at reproductive work, it would make the rich richer, the poor rich, and the country a Paradise.

Old Guards, for many a year you have honoured me with your confidence—and have I ever betrayed it? I have invariably warned you of approaching conflicts, and rather than abandon the cause, when the people have been driven to desperation and madness, I have taken my full share of the consequence. I warned you of the result of the agitation of 1839, '41, and '48, and I now again warn you—and, to be forewarned is to be forearmed—of the result of the present agitation.

In 1841, our aid was sought by the Free Traders, and when we could not be seduced from our allegiance to the principles of the PEOPLE'S CHARTER, some of our professing friends and leaders were employed as lecturers by the League. They preached violence and resistance, and afterwards became spies and informers. When they failed to cajole us at the Birmingham Conference, in 1842, and when they found that we were resolute and determined, they then changed their tactics. They held ticket meetings and tea parties, from which you were excluded. The Press reported those meetings which were thinly attended, and you were paraded as the auxiliary force of Free Trade, while not a single Chartist demonstration was reported, and thus our weakness was presumed.

Old Guards, the very same dodge is now being resorted to. You are sought to be enlisted as mere Financial Reform recruits, and your glorious Charter is to be once more merged in this question of minor consideration. But upon you will depend the result. So long as I looked upon the question of Reduction of Taxation as one that was to be immediately and continuously pressed, I hailed it as a corruption-slaying, patronage-destroying measure; but when I discovered that it was a mere bait for the trap, and merely submitted to the consideration of the Minister, to be effected when he discovered its expediency, I then abandoned all hope of its accomplishment. You are now again sought to be enlisted in this spurious agitation, and the effect, the inevitable effect, of such a course would lead to the presumption that you had abandoned the principles of the Charter for Financial Reform.

If you are prepared to adopt that course, you have a right to communicate your intention to me, as I have a right to understand the bearing of the mind of which I am presumed to be the leader; and as there should be no mistake between us, it is my duty to tell you that if you are prepared to abandon this agitation for the Charter for Financial Reform, that I am prepared to surrender my commission, which I have held since September, 1835, fourteen years next September; but I am not prepared to surrender my principles though all should desert me.

Old Guards, have you not gathered wisdom from past experience? and have you not discovered that the slightest retrograde motion upon your part gives advantage and a victory to your opponents? What nation or what class has ever achieved a triumph except by the most pertinacious adherence to popular principles? Once surrender a particle or atom and your surrender of so much is construed into the intended abandonment of all; and are you, now that the convulsions in all other countries are about to have their effect upon the policy of the rulers of this country—are you, I would ask, at such a time prepared to retreat one single inch from the position you have so long manfully occupied.

Old Guards, ours has now become a struggle of right against might—of justice against injustice—of knowledge against bigotry and intolerance; they are strong weapons in the hands of a well-disciplined army, and, if judiciously used, are capable of achieving all that its forces contend for; but take warning by the past.

In 1839, when six guineas a-week was the reward of patriotism, the Charter was upon every banner; but when the exchequer was exhausted our most enthusiastic leaders betook themselves to more profitable avocations; they were the loudest in denunciation of the very schemes and projects that they had advocated in the Convention; they looked for other paymasters and found them amongst the wealthier class, and not amongst the impoverished slaves whose cause they advocated as physical force Chartists when they received six guineas a-week, but whose violences and practices they denounced when they had exhausted the poor man's exchequer.

This fatality created the first crop of Chartist opponents, and for the first time filled your dungeons with Chartist victims, as the might of the few ever takes advantage of the dissensions of the many, and makes martyrs of the true.

Old Guards, the next suicidal act was the leaders of the Chartist party becoming Free Trade lecturers, at large salaries, in 1841 and 1842, when again their mad excitement of the unemployed millions led to the convulsion of 1842, and a second crop of Chartist victims; and now this money game is once more to be tried, as I find that many enthusiastic Chartists are catering for the office of Financial Reform lecturers, finding that we are too poor to sustain them. But, thank God, knowledge is now so diffused that even this third crop will find it impossible to win you from your allegiance to your own principles. This will be the dodge, and you must be prepared to meet it. If you surrender now you will perish like cringing, crouching slaves, while, if you manfully resist the bait and boldly rally around the standard of Chartism, your strength, your power, and your union will produce that

PEACE, RETRENCHMENT, AND REFORM,

which nothing but a combination of mind can achieve.

Old Guards, the Labour Question is now agitating all countries in the world; it is the question to the solution of which I have devoted a life's thought, and from thought and experience I have arrived at the conclusion, that when tyrants can no longer resist the force of united public opinion they hurry the masses into revolution, well knowing that the people will be the greatest sufferers, as the shout which vainly proclaims the popular triumph lulls the victorious people into apathy and calm, of which their taskmasters avail themselves to establish their own stronger power; whereas the triumph of the mind cannot be thus wrenched from the grasp of the victors, as the voice of knowledge then silences the cannon's roar, and thought becomes a scabbard for every sword.

I repeat it—as I have told you a thousand times—that the people of this country are better prepared for the adoption of principles in unison with the march of intellect and progress than any other people upon the face of the earth; while, as regards physical force and arms, they differ from all other nations. In a physical revolution in other countries many of the aristocracy, a portion of the middle classes, and a majority of the army, all coalesce with the people to overthrow despotism; while the people of this country are governed upon the "rule-of-three" principle which every aristocrat, every middleman, every shopkeeper, every farmer, every officer, every soldier, and every policeman considers it his duty, because it is his interest, to maintain—inasmuch as upon your industry they live, and from your industry is gathered more than even all the Despotisms of Europe and the Republic of America extract from industry.

Old Guards, I am aware of the influence that employers have over their slaves. I am aware that at Birmingham, in Manchester, and in the Market-place of Nottingham, they may array them in savage, brutal, and sanguinary opposition to me; but I declare—and most solemnly—that I would rather perish in one of those conflicts than be a party to a delusion, the object of which is to bind you, the industrious classes, still more closely to the dominion of capital. Yes—if I stood alone, I am determined to see the issue of this struggle, and that issue depends upon your own union, the surrender of your own jealousies, and the developement of your consolidated and well-directed opinion.

I have told you that there are three stages through which public opinion must pass. It must be created—it must be organised—and it must be directed; and in the present state of Europe all that the mind of this country requires, is to be brought to bear upon its present representatives, and that can only be achieved through the Press, and that can only be ensured by the constant and unmistakable declaration of a majority of the people in favour of the PEOPLE'S CHARTER.

Old Guards, there has been a lull; but I trust there is to be neither compromise nor surrender of our principles. On Wednesday night I attended a meeting at the east end of London, where I had never been before. The spacious room was not only crammed to suffocation, but a large adjoining room, the lanes, alleys, and street were also crowded, and I witnessed an amount of fervent enthusiasm and determined devotion to the OLD ANIMAL, which cheered my heart and filled me with joy.

Old Guards, need I weary you by reminding you that in Ireland and England I have struggled for the principles of Democracy for a quarter of a century and two years; that I have had to struggle against the most fierce and tyrannical opposition, and most especially from the opposition of truculent, servile, and speculating Chartists; and, that I am yet undaunted and unscared; and that, so help me GOD, I would rather perish to-morrow than consent to the abandonment of even the name of the Charter.

Old Guards, your cause has been to me a deep and continuous source of slander, persecution, and loss; but, with your confidence and your countenance, I will still brave those greater dangers which are now shadowed forth in the distant horizon of other lands; and if deprived of that confidence and countenance I will retire into private life, but will never abandon the infant that requires but your genial breath to nurture it into a gigantic monster.

Loved and honoured comrades, let me find your resolution expounded in next week's "*Northern Star*," and if you adhere to our loved and honoured motto of,

"Onward and we conquer!
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though older than when I commenced the agitation, he will be an active man who will outstride me in the onward march. Next week I shall look to the reflector of Labour's mind with some anxiety, but with flattering hope; and pleased would I be to see advertisements and all other matter displaced by forty-eight columns—ay, and a double supplement—proclaiming the People's virtue and determination to preserve their principles whole, unmutilated, and entire. Perhaps the most pleasing intelligence that I can communicate is, that your friend and mine, THOMAS SLINGSBY DUNCOMBE, has resumed his place in Parliament.

I remain, Old Guards,
Your devoted, faithful, and
uncomprising Friend,
FEARGUS O'CONNOR.

THE PEOPLE'S CHARTER.

One of the most crowded meetings of modern times, was held at the "Phœnix Tavern," Ratcliffe-cross, in support of the People's Charter, on Wednesday evening, May 23rd. Not only was the room crowded, but every spot within hearing, while hundreds went away unable to obtain admission. At eight o'clock Feargus O'Connor, Esq., M.P., entered the room, and was received with the loudest applause. Dr. Brooks was immediately called to the chair, and said, he trusted that the meeting would hear the several able speakers that would address them on the important subject which had called them together, and by their respectful attention show themselves worthy of that which they sought to obtain. (Cheers.)

Mr. THOMAS CLARK moved the following resolution:—"That inasmuch as the impositions of taxation without its correlative representation, is a tyranny, and at variance with the constitution of the third estate in these realms: this meeting is of opinion, that it is imperatively required of all who seek to remove unjust public burthens, and oppressive exactions, to revert to the original, simple, and direct principles of the constitution of the people's House of Parliament." He said: This resolution contains truths, with reference to taxation and representation, which I think will meet with the unanimous assent of this meeting. As the resolution clearly sets forth, the British House of Commons is presumed to be a *bonâ fide* representation of the whole British people, and upon the realisation of that presumption only, can the House of Commons rightly and constitutionally impose taxes on the millions, who at the present time have no control whatever over that or any other branch of the legislature. The Tory Blackstone said, that "*Taxation without representation was a tyranny which ought to be resisted.*" I say, that according to the ordinary rules of life, it is robbery, to which none but slaves would submit. (Hear, and cheers.) We are taxed, and that to a most shameful amount, but we are not represented at all. To us then the constitution is a dead letter. It is, in fact, no constitution at all. (Hear, hear.) It has no claims upon us for respect, and we will obey it only until we shall have moral power sufficient to set it at defiance! (Cheers.) Of what avail I should like to know would be such a constitution, if you, labouring men, could be made to *feel* and *think* like men? (Hear, hear.) It will remain to you as a whip and a scourge until you shall have acquired manliness to stand erect and look above it. (Cheers.) We ask for representation firstly, because as MEN we are entitled to it. Secondly—because of the preponderating influence of our members; and thirdly—because of our usefulness. (Cheers.) If any other qualification could be devised to which I would lend my assent, beyond maturity of age, and sanity, it would be utility; and if being of use to the community, were once established as a qualification for the exercise of the elective franchise, how small would be the political power of the aristocracy and the bench of bishops. (Laughter and cheers.) Yes, LABOURING MEN—and it is an honour to you that you are labouring men—I say you would have no occasion to entertain any doubts about the exercise of political power, were the qualification to which I have alluded made law. (Hear, hear.) My indignation grows apace, when I reflect upon the great powers of that mighty mass of intellect which is excluded by the present electoral law. The GREATEST class of the greatest people in the world are at this very moment nearly the only persons throughout Europe that are without political power. (Cheers.) Why is this? Is it because you are too degraded to make an effort to throw off the incubus that is weighing you down to the earth? I do not believe it: you have had the capacity to make England what she at this moment is—for, let no man think that the power of this wonderful island is the creation of heads bedecked with CROWNS and CORONETS; but, on the contrary, the might and grandeur of England is the *work of the strong arms and majestic intellects* of the toiling and industrial portions of the community. (Loud cheers.) Why, then, do you not stir yourselves? (Hear.) Europe is up; dynasties have faded away—have perished! Despotisms have been annihilated! thrones have been hurled into the abyss of oblivion!—and, amidst all these glorious achievements, you, alone, have been quiescent. (Cheers.) A French patriot spoke truly when he uttered the famous sentence,—"For a nation to be free, it is sufficient that she wills it." For England to be free, it will be sufficient that her children have courage to *demand* their freedom. I have much pleasure in moving the resolution. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. MATTHIAS, in seconding the motion, said: If the much-boasted British Constitution was a reality, the sooner they experienced its existence the better. Man should be represented, and not bricks and mortar.

Mr. WILLIAM DIXON came forward to move the second resolution as follows:—"That in the opinion of this meeting, the document known as the People's Charter contains the most indubitable recognition of the foregoing principles; while it suggests the most equitable and efficient means for their peaceable and salutary operation; therefore it pledges itself to the principles and objects contained in the People's Charter."—Mr. Dixon said his friend Mr. Clark had shown them that the House of Commons was not in accordance with the theory of the British Constitution, and that in order to make it so, they required an extensive measure of Parliamentary Reform. There were at present various opinions as to what extent Parliamentary Reform was required, but the resolution which he held in his hand pointed out the only measure of reform which would meet the case, and make our representative system such as the constitution should be, namely—that representation should be co-equal with taxation; this is provided for in the document known as the People's Charter, the enactment of which alone can secure to the people a full, free, and equitable measure of representation. He was aware that the name of the Charter made some old women faint, but what is it after all? A measure of Parliamentary Reform, which gives to every male of the age of twenty-one, and who has a head and a pair of hands, and who, by the honest use of them, contributes something useful for the community, that he should participate in all the immunities of a citizen. In fact, it goes for Universal Suffrage, and provides the necessary details for the effectual working of the same, by protecting the voter from all undue influence of either landlord or employer. The only objection raised against Universal Suffrage, is the want of intelligence on the part of the working classes, but intelligence is no test of the fitness of men to vote. No man will presume to say that the present electoral body hold the Suffrage because they are wise or virtuous. No, the system is most absurd, and if the electors had one spark of English independence within their systems they would not hold the franchise by such a tenure for another day, but would at once join the working men, and demand the Suffrage, because they were men and not because they were in possession of a certain species of property. Only look at the monstrosity of the system. A man may now be in prosperity and be enabled to pay the required rent and rates, but before next year adversity overtakes him, and not from any immoral act of his own—not because he has done anything beneath the dignity of a man, but because he is poorer than he was last year, he is robbed of his right to vote, and tumbled back into the ranks of the slave, and slaves they are who would hold their rights upon such a flimsy tenure as that. He, Mr. Dixon, was fully aware that so soon as the people fully understood and appreciated the Charter the document would become law. He entreated them to think well on this matter, for they might rest assured that there would never be any amendment either in the taxation of the country or their moral, social, or political condition, until there was such a reform in parliament as the one provided for in the resolution. He then said—Working men, what is it that sweetens your toil? What is the uppermost wish of your heart when the labour of the day is over, when the prattling pledges of your love come climbing upon your knee? Why, this: You hope that they will be enabled to enjoy more of the good things of this world than you, their unfortunate parent, have ever been allowed to possess. It is this that sweetens life. It is this that enables us to work in the mines, the mills, at the loom, and the anvil. But let us remember that so long as causes exist so long will effects follow, and if we do not now unite to destroy the causes which produce our misery, but by our apathy allow them to continue, then we may rest satisfied that instead of their condition being mended it will be worse than ours at present is. Therefore, working men, the work is your own, and unless you do it for yourselves it will ever be undone. He moved the resolution and resumed his seat amidst great applause.

When Mr. O'CONNOR rose he was received with loud and tremendous cheering and clapping of hands. He said: Mr. Chairman, and my friends, the other House has adjourned for the Derby day, and I am come here to start you for the labour plate. (Cheers.) Now, I am not come here to flatter you or to talk nonsense, I am come here to explain the Labour Question to labourers governed by the rule of three, and when I make you thoroughly understand it, blame yourselves and not your rulers or me, if you cannot solve it. I will first take taxation in the aggregate, and then I will reduce it to individual receipt, and you shall judge of the justice of both as administered by the present system of representation. Firstly, then, you pay to the amount of twenty-seven millions a year, as interest upon what is called a national debt, expended upon the shedding of human blood to uphold the ascendancy of faction, and to subject you to the will and dominion of that faction. (Hear, hear.) Now, those twenty-seven millions a year would give £27 a year to every man of one million heads of families. (Cheers.) Next comes army, navy, and ordnance, the expense of which is about twenty-three millions a year, a sum which would give £23 a year to every one of another million of labourers. (Cheers.) Next comes State Church, poor's rates, regal and governmental expenses, and a thousand and one incidentals, amounting in the aggregate to about twenty-five millions a year—that amount would give £25 a year to each of another million of labourers; and observe, that in these aggregated sums I am making no estimate of the one thousand and one casual and local expenses, such as legal, police, and the other items; but you will find that the three departments that I have mentioned, would allow on the average £25 per annum to each of three million labourers, or, at five to a family, would support fifteen millions of a population. (Hear, hear, and loud cheers.) Well, then, the question for them was, whether the present generation should be liable to a tax, to pay the interest upon a debt which was contracted to uphold a vicious system by the shedding of human blood? (Cheers.) The next question was, whether army or ordnance would be required, if satisfaction prevailed? And if those establishments were not merely necessary to enable all parties with power and capital to live upon the powerless slave? (Cheers.) Next came tithes, poor rates, regal and governmental expenses, and he would ask if there would be less piety, religion, and Christianity, amongst a comfortable, satisfied, and peace-loving people, than there is now to be found amongst an uncomfortable, dissatisfied, and discontented people? (Cheers.) He had so far shown them the vice in the aggregate, and now he would individualise it. A Cabinet Minister receives £5,000 a year, or nearly £100 a week—that, at 10s. a week would support two hundred families, and at five to a family one thousand individuals. (Hear, hear, and "Shame.") It is not a shame, or if it is a shame, the shame is upon the heads of those upon whose disunion it rests. (Cheers.) Then he would take a pious right reverend Father in God having £20,000 a-year in all sorts of pickings, or nearly £400 a-week, that would give ten shillings a-week to eight hundred men; and at five to a family *would support four thousand.* (Loud shouts of "Shame," and "Too bad.") Mr. O'CONNOR: Ay, it is too bad of you never to have taken this fair view of the Labour Question before, but now you will think of it. Next came unhappy Ireland, and there the vice-regal system with its adjuncts cost the people over £40,000 a-year; but putting it down at £40,000 a-year, this one puppet received as much as would allow 2s. 6d. a-week to six thousand four hundred families, which, at five to a family, would amount to thirty-two thousand individuals—(shouts of "Horrible")—and this, be it observed, in a country from which the inhabitants are flying, and where this representative of royalty can see his mistress's loyal subjects dying under his very nose in thousands. ("Shame, Shame.") Mr. O'CONNOR: It is not a shame upon him. (Cries of "It is.") Mr. O'CONNOR: It is not, the shame is upon you. (Cheers.) But it is your own disunion—your own base and servile competition, upon which the system is based. (Hear, hear.) He would explain the nature of that competition. Suppose two rival coaches were running upon a road upon which there was not traffic to pay the proprietors of both, what would be a greater pleasure to either than to see the rival coach upset and all the passengers mangled or killed? Would he not advertise it in order to puff his own vehicle, and increase his own profit? (Hear, hear.) Well, then, you are just the same; if ten men or a score of men are out of employment, what will give them greater pleasure than to hear of the dismissal or death of ten or a score of their rivals, whose places they may fill? (Hear, hear, and "True.") Yes, it was true, and they themselves were to blame for it, because by their union and co-operation the system which tolerated it would pass away as chaff before the wind. A great struggle was now taking place all over the world, and he was rejoiced to think that while that struggle was a physical one in other countries, it was a moral struggle, a struggle of the mind, in this country. (Cheers.) And why? Because, denounced as they were for ignorance, he proudly contended that they were the best instructed people in the world upon the Labour Question, which was the question of questions. (Hear, hear.) In France the labourers, uninstructed in the Labour Question and accustomed to arms, had recourse to arms to achieve their rights; they fought bravely and gallantly, and gained the victory; but no sooner did the shout of triumph proclaim that victory than the owners of capital and speculators in labour took advantage of the people's heroism and turned the arms of the hired mercenary against those who had won Labour's battle. (Cheers.) Well, then, had they not had sufficient proof of the use that the dominant classes ever made of a popular victory, without this recent French illustration, and with such proof staring them in the face, were they again about to surrender themselves, bound hand and foot, to the keeping of their taskmasters? (No, no.) Yes, you are; you are now asked to become an auxiliary *corps* in the tax-redeeming army, and to give up the Charter for the "Quadruped." (Loud shouts of "No, never.") He was glad to hear it, and he had come there that night for the purpose of placing the whole animal in all its proportions before them, well knowing, but at the same time disregarding, the odium to which it would subject him; but, as he had struggled in that cause for nearly a quarter of a century and two years, and he could say what no living man could say—what none could deny—that in the midst of the great and astounding changes upon which others had based their conversion within that convulsive period, he had never altered his opinions or principles. (Loud cheers.) It was not to be supposed that imprudence was a thing with which the most consistent may not be charged, but with inconsistency he defied any one to taunt him; and he trusted that, taking a lesson from the past, they would become wiser in the future, and he would now explain the most important part of his mission. He invited them to look at that platform, and there they would find but one reporter—and that one for his own paper—(loud cheers)—whereas, if there had been such a gathering, or half such a gathering, for Financial Reform, Protection, or the QUADRUPED, this platform—large as it is—would be but too small for the staff minions. (Hear, hear.) They presumed, and foolishly, that they were governed by the House of Commons, whereas the House of Commons itself, though constituted as it was of all classes but the friends of Labour, was operated upon by the Press. The people evinced their power outside, and the Press conveyed the knowledge of that power, and the will of the people, to the ear of the representatives; that is, it conveyed the power of that class who advertised in it and supported it, and whose exclusive interests it represented. (Hear, hear.) But it never did communicate the will, the strength, or the resolve of the working classes, except when *that will, or strength was marshalled as the auxiliary* force of their taskmasters. (Loud cheers.) What were they doing now? Just what they had done in the times of Emancipation, Reform, and Free Trade agitation. They are fishing with a bit of popular bait for a reduction of taxation, which is to be conceded—not to justice, but when Lord John Russell shall consider it expedient and practicable to do so. (Cheers and laughter.) And when do they think that will be? Why, it is enough to make John Bright kick his mother—(roars of laughter)—to think of such a question being placed in the keeping of the First Minister of the Crown. But he would now prove—and if not satisfactorily, at least incontrovertibly—the power of the Press; how the people were duped before, and how it is intended to dupe them again. In 1841, the Free Traders—knowing that the masses looked for veritable free trade which the Charter would produce, who were looking for that Free Trade which would increase monopoly and preserve competition, did for a time seduce the Chartists as co-operators, and the result was, *that this adhesion led to a* belief of the surrender of Chartist principles, and the adoption of Free Trade as a substitute. He (Mr. O'Connor) was in his cold cell at York Castle, and saw through this suicidal act. It stung him that, while suffering for the cause which was dearest to his heart, those who professed to support it should be thus juggled. All boasted that Chartism was dead and buried, and from his cell he told the people what the result would be. He told them to attend those Free Trade meetings—to hear if they were heard—and to strike, if they were struck. Well, what was the result? Why, whereas as mayors, magistrates, town councillors, and capitalists, as chairmen, declared their own resolutions carried, when they saw a couple of dozen of hands, with kid-skin gloves, flourished around them in support of those resolutions, the short-sighted gentlemen could not see the thousands of blistered hands that were held up for the Charter. (Cheers.) Well, for a long time the Press reported those meetings as unanimous, thus putting the extinguisher upon Chartism—until, at length, nettled by the injustice, the Press was compelled to notice Chartism, but it did so as an obstructive and revolutionary policy. But we were noticed, and our opposition filled the dungeons with victims, pronounced guilty by Free Trade juries. (Hear, hear, and loud cheers.) Well, then, was not that a sufficient warning to them not to be caught again? And now the dodge was to make them (the Chartists) the auxiliary force of Financial and mock Reformers—(cheers)—and thus, once more, bury the Charter in oblivion. (Cheers.) If, upon the contrary, they fairly contended for their own principles, the Press would be compelled to report their power, their strength, and their resolution, and a knowledge of that power would have its due influence upon their representatives. (Hear, hear.) If, as he had anticipated, Financial Reform was to be urged and pressed as of immediate necessity, he would have hailed it as a corruption-slaying, patronage-destroying measure; but when it was committed to the prudence of a Whig Minister, based upon expediency, he saw through the juggle. And again, let him call their attention to the fact—that the proposed reduction of ten millions a-year would give six shillings and eightpence a year to each one of the thirty millions of population, or something under a farthing a day. (Loud laughter.) Ay, but that was presuming that the working classes would receive their fair share of the reduction. Let him now show the insignificance of National Debt, Army, Navy, Ordnance, Tithes, Poor Rates, Regal, and Governmental Expences, as compared with the loss sustained by the unrepresented labourer, and the consequent profit made by the capitalist. The proposed reduction would give you a farthing a day, that is, if you had your full share of it; and let him ask, where was the working man in that room, or in the country, who was not compelled to submit to a graduated scale of reduction based upon Labour competition in the market, and suppose five millions, or a sixth of the population, *instead of ten* millions, or a third of the population who receive the farthing a day, are subjected by this infernal competition to a reduction of sixpence in the day,—and I much underrate it—that would amount to thirty-nine millions a year—(cries of "Shame")—and I would be much nearer the mark if I set it down at a shilling a day, which would be seventy-eight millions, or twenty millions a year over and above the interest of the National Debt, Army, Navy, Ordnance, Regal and Governmental Expences. (Loud cheers.) But put it down at sixpence a day, or thirty-nine millions, and add the poor rate, eight millions, rendered necessary for the support of the idle competitive reserve, and you have forty-seven millions a year. You have drunkenness, profligacy, dissipation, lewdness, and criminality; all—one and all—consequent upon unwilling idleness, for which the state is satisfied to pay eight millions a year, to paupers for the maintenance of that idle competitive reserve, upon whose destitution capitalists traffic, and by whose idleness every class in the state suffers prodigious loss. (Cheers.) Well, think of that, with the land of their birth—more than sufficient to maintain four times the population—uncultivated, unproductive, and waste. (Cheers.) They would understand—and they did appear to understand—that this part of his address referred to the silence of the Press as regards Chartism, while they would be used as an auxiliary force to substitute the Quadruped, and Financial Reform *for the whole animal.* (Cheers, and "Never!") The Quadruped was a political bait placed in the Financial trap, and let its advocates once secure a reduction of their own taxes, and then, like Fox when he achieved power for advocating the Charter, they will say "Be quiet, what do you want more; sure we only wanted this political power to achieve Financial Reform. Now we've got it without it, and what more do you want?" (Cheers and laughter.) Well, but this would be the case if they did not agitate for the Charter, and propose it as an amendment to every humbug proposition. (Long and continued cheering.) Heretofore, the Suffrage, as at present constituted, was only considered in a commercial view as affecting the purse, but now he would consider it in another and a still more important light, as affecting the liberty of the people. Were they aware that the Suffrage constituted a jury, as well as a voting qualification? And were they aware that the present struggle was between the eight hundred thousand voters who had a monopoly of power, and the six millions who legitimately contended for a participation in that power, and that the men who tried those looking for power, invariably found them guilty of riots, routs, sedition, conspiracy, felony, treason, or any charge that may be preferred against them. (Loud cheering.) Now that was a view of the question that they had not taken, but he would illustrate it for them:—Suppose that he was placed upon his trial to-morrow, with the Attorney-General as his prosecutor, the learned gentleman would merely have to say "Gentlemen of the jury, that is Feargus O'Connor, the notorious Chartist." The official would then say "Gentlemen, have you agreed to your verdict?" "Yes." "How say you, is Feargus O'Connor Guilty or not?" "Guilty, upon all the counts!" (Loud cheers and laughter.) Well, that was his pride and his boast, that he advocated principles which were *repugnant to the feelings of bad men and a damnable* system; a system, however, which was tottering in every country in Europe, and which the league of despots could not much longer preserve. (Cheers.) He came there not to flatter, but to speak the truth, and he told them that neither government, master nor capitalist was chargeable with any act of tyranny of which they complained, because if they constituted the government, or were masters or capitalists themselves, as self-interest constitutes the basis of human action, they would "go and do likewise;" so that what he struggled for was to destroy that system, by making the small minority of dissatisfied tributary to the will of the large and, then satisfied majority. (Loud cheers.) And then you would have true religion and piety, based upon pure philanthropy and humanity; then you would not have a criminal in the land; nor would you require a cannon, a musket, a bayonet, a sword, or a bludgeon, to preserve tranquillity in a happy, contented, cheerful, and peaceable society. (Loud cheers.) Here he would digress to communicate a piece of intelligence, which would give his audience more pleasure than anything they had yet heard, it was that that day he was honoured with a visit from Thomas Slingsby Duncombe, who would resume his seat in parliament to-morrow, (Thursday). (Upon this announcement the cheering and waving of hats and handkerchiefs was perfectly indescribable.) Let him refer for a moment to the proceedings of last night in the House of Commons:—The first question brought on was the adjournment of the House for the Derby day, at that discussion 257 members, or more than a third of the House, were present: next came Mr. D'Eyncourt's motion for Triennial Parliaments, and upon that only eighty-seven were present at the division: next came Mr. Slaney's motion to consider the means of elevating the condition of the Labourer, and before he had concluded the House was counted out, there being no more than twenty-*seven members present.* (Loud cries of "Shame.") Well, he (Mr. O'Connor) was one of the twenty-seven. (Cheers.) A word as to the folly of Septennial Parliaments, and he would conclude. Men who were returned for seven years were your masters instead of your servants, for five years they crowded the statute book with tyrannical acts, and upon the sixth, when they hoped to meet their constituents again, they catered for support, by shadowing forth signs of repentance and conversion, until again elected *upon trust*, they relapsed into their former bigotry and tyranny. (Cheers.) Could he give a more apt illustration of its truth than the fact that upon the eve of the dissolution of 1841, a motion was made for the liberation of all political offenders, and was only lost by the Speaker's casting vote being given against it. This act of clemency was urged upon the hustings as full grounds of confidence, but when those philanthropists were again returned, not a voice was raised, not a sound was heard on behalf of the incarcerated victims. (Loud cheers and "True.") He stood nearly alone in that House; he had never bartered their principles for place, pension, or emolument, although he was offered half the patronage of his native county (Cork), if he would support ministers upon his first introduction into the House of Commons, which he indignantly refused, and in return for which he immediately supported the motion of Mr. Lambert upon the question of Tithes, which was most violently opposed by the government, and that was the manner in which he bartered popular confidence for ministerial patronage. (Loud cheers.) And he now told them that if he stood alone he would abide by the decision of the Birmingham Conference of 1842, and that he would rather abandon seat and public life than surrender one single bristle of the animal. (Loud cheers and waving of hats.) In 1842, five hundred popular delegates assembled at Birmingham in the dead of winter, at enormous expense and great inconvenience, *to save the name of the Charter*, our opponents professing every one of its principles; and after seven years of slander and persecution, was he now, at the whim of a few, to surrender one particle of those principles. No, if he stood alone, he would nurse and nurture the animal in its integrity and it entirety, not allowing a single bristle to be plucked from its mane, for if they surrendered even the name to-day, its dimensions would be gradually reduced, until it became a perfect nonentity, a thing in which no principle could be recognised, and used as Fox used it, for the mere purpose of achieving power for faction. (Loud cheering, and waving of hats.) It was his boast to say, that neither in England nor Ireland had he ever eaten a meal, or travelled a mile, at the expense of the people; the principles of the Charter were the true principles of democracy, and if he stood alone in the House of Commons and out of the House of Commons, he would bear aristocratic scorn, middle class vengeance, and the taunt of popular ignorance, rather than abandon those principles, the advocacy of which had absorbed his life's devotion. (Loud and continued cheering.) The Labour Question was now agitating the world; for years he had been instructing them in the subject, and when all could take shelter under Nature's wing, he would abandon all political strife; he would accept of neither gratuity nor reward for his services, but, like Quintus Cincinnatus, he would return to his plough, and open Nature's breast to Nature's children; he would be the unpaid bailiff of the toiling millions; he would bedeck the now barren land with sightly cottages and homesteads; he would place all at reproductive labour, making the now idle, producers of food and consumers of manufactures, and he would ask no reward beyond what such a heavenly sight could bestow; when his heart was gladdened at the sight of cheerful and domestic wives, of sober, industrious, and contented husband, surrounded by their healthy, cheerful, smiling, happy offspring. They may look lightly upon such a prospect, which he had but shadowed forth in the distance, but against all odds he would fearlessly struggle to turn the present hell into a future paradise. (Mr. O'Connor resumed his seat amid the most enthusiastic and rapturous applause.)

Mr. BALLANTINE moved the third resolution, as follows:—"That this meeting, therefore, in pursuance of a laudable and legitimate purpose, also pledges itself to promulgate, and, by every peaceable and laudable means, to enjoin upon all the necessity of adopting these principles, as the basis of a sound conciliatory public opinion, by which alone all great abuses in a state can be effectually remedied."

Mr. M'GRATH seconded the resolution. He considered that the time was eminently favourable for a determined struggle to secure the triumph of Democracy in this country. (Hear.) To whatever part of continental Europe they looked, they beheld the people humbling despotism, and winning for themselves the blessings of liberty. France was a Republic—Rome was a Republic—and the day was not far in the future when Germany would be a Republic. (Cheers.) But while other nations were careering along in the progress of liberty and civilisation, what were the people of England doing? Only quietly permitting their tyrants to rivet those chains which, to their disgrace, they have so long borne. (Hear.) This criminal apathy must be no longer permitted to deaden the people's energies. Heaven knew they had strong incentives to exertion. Their own daily increasing poverty should stimulate them to seek out its cause, and apply a proper remedy. Let them take any period in the past and compare their then position with their present one, and the decline of their comforts must be manifest. (Hear, hear.) Our senators were most industrious in the fabrication of laws, and all, too, for the good of the people; but their wretched tinkering increased, rather than diminished, the sufferings of the people. And such would be the case till all took part in the construction of a House of Commons designed to promote the happiness, glory, and greatness of the people. (Cheers.) Mr. M'Grath then adverted to the deplorable circumstance of Ireland, successfully combatting the assertion of Lord John Russell, that the melioration of Ireland was not within the scope of legislation. He alluded to the agricultural capabilities of that country, and contended that, if the idle lands were given to the idle hands to cultivate, the squalor, the misery, and murder of the last two years would have been prevented. He concluded with a strong appeal to exert every energy in their power to secure their just rights, that through them they might exterminate that monstrous system that now developes its baleful influence by brutalising and cannibalising its victims.

Mr. STALLWOOD said, he just wished to say a word or two in vindication of the people of France. Yesterday at the city meeting a Mr. Phillimore had denounced and condemned Universal Suffrage, because, forsooth, they had not returned Lamartine to the National Assembly. Now he (Mr. Stallwood) thought they were to be commended, and that it spoke loudly in favour of Universal Suffrage. We demand the Charter in order that we may effect social reforms, &c.,—we want the Land,—the trades have begun to cry out "Home Colonies." and "Minister of Labour." Well, the French have got their Charter, and now demanded their Minister of Labour. Lamartine had refused it: the French nation had rejected Lamartine. Was not this a justification of the French nation, and a glorification of the principle of the Suffrage? (Great cheering.) The resolution was put and carried unanimously.

The CHAIRMAN delivered a few seasonable remarks in closing. A vote of thanks was moved to him for his services in the chair.

Mr. T. BROWN, in supporting it, said, a public meeting for a similar purpose would be held in the Theatre, Milton-street, on Monday evening, June 4th. The vote of thanks was adopted by acclamation.

The CHAIRMAN acknowledged the compliment, and announced that discussions were held every Sunday evening, and that a Chartist locality was about to be formed at the house they were then meeting in, the landlord having given the use of the room gratis; and that frequent public meetings would be held; in fact he hoped to see it become the East-London "Crown and Anchor Tavern." (Loud cheers.)

The immense and enthusiastic Chartist gathering then separated.

Police.

WESTMINSTER.—STEALING A WATCH.—Moira Finch, a well-dressed woman of the town, was charged with stealing a gold watch, value twenty guineas, from the person of Mr. C. Faulkener, a gentleman residing in Wilton-street, Belgrave-square.—It appeared from the statement of the prosecutor, that he was walking along Piccadilly early on Sunday morning, after having spent the evening at the house of a friend, and took shelter from the rain, under a doorway, where he was joined by the prisoner, with whom he fell into conversation. The rain having abated, he proceeded towards his residence, accompanied by the prisoner; but in consequence of another shower they were again compelled to stand up. From the time at which the prosecutor had first conversed with the prisoner, a man continually walked up and down before them, evidently with an intention of giving annoyance; and prosecutor having spoken to a constable, the man disappeared for a minute or two, but shortly returned, and having repeated his offensive conduct was given in charge. On their leaving the station, the man, who was not detained, was in company with the constable, and the prosecutor having proceeded towards home, parted with the prisoner. On laying hold of his gold guard to lift the watch out of his waistcoat pocket, to his great astonishment he discovered that although the chain was perfect and the swivel at its end unopened, his watch had disappeared. He had looked at it on the his way to the station, and it was safe at the time he was there, as could be proved by the inspector. The man who had been so troublesome went a different way, and had no chance of committing the robbery, and the prisoner must have stolen the watch, as she was the only person who could possibly have taken it. Although prosecutor had been staying late at the house of a friend, he was not at all affected by liquor. Prisoner was taken into custody on Monday evening, but the watch was not found.—The prisoner protested her innocence, and declared that the prosecutor ought to be punished for giving her into custody. She added, "Although I'm an unfortunate girl I'm not a thief; and if you ask the gentlemen about St. James's-street they can prove it."—Mr. Burrell ordered her to be remanded till Friday.

THAMES.—ATTEMPTED MURDER AND SUICIDE.—Daniel Holmden, a coal-backer, was charged with attempting to murder a young woman, named Martha Jane Briden, by cutting her throat with a razor. It appeared that the complainant had lived with the prisoner for nine years, and that she had been compelled to leave him in consequence of his violent and jealous conduct. One morning he went to her lodgings, and having charged her with being unfaithful to him, cut her throat with a razor. Immediately afterwards he committed a similar act upon himself, and was endeavouring to assault complainant a second time, when he was taken into custody.—The prisoner was committed to the Old Bailey on the charge of feloniously wounding with intent to murder.

A STRANGE CHARACTER.—A wretched-looking creature, almost in a state of nudity, named Henry Wood, was brought up by City policeman No. 634, charged with attempting to force his way into the Royal Mint, and assaulting William Larcombe, a private of the 2nd battalion of the Coldstream Guards, who was on duty at the time.—It appeared, from the evidence of John Brown, the porter at the Mint, that the prisoner made three successive attempts to force an entrance between eight and twelve o'clock yesterday. He first claimed admittance as the King of these realms, with a view to supervise his own coinage, but subsequently came as the claimant of a large amount, for which he alleged the "Mint," was indebted to him.—Mr. Yardley (to the prisoner): What have you to say to this charge?—Prisoner: I do not know anything about it. I was taken up this morning, charged with shooting the Queen, and tried for high treason. Well, when I was discharged, I went to the Mint to get my expenses, and they locked me up again. Why should I be tried twice? I do not know where it was I shot the Queen.—A police constable (36 H) said he had the prisoner—who resided at Grove-street, St. George's-in-the-East—in custody a few days previously, on the charge of attempting to pass a spurious half-crown, but the prosecutor, perceiving that his mind was affected, abandoned the charge.—Mr. Yardley, having questioned the prisoner, and finding that his answers were wholly incoherent, sent for Mr. Hughes, the relieving officer of Whitechapel, to whose care he was committed,

Foreign Intelligence.

FRANCE.

THE ELECTIONS.—PROGRESS OF THE RED REPUBLIC.

Paris, Saturday May 19.—The following are the names of the candidates elected for the department of the Seine, and proclaimed, last evening, by the Prefect of the same department, from the grand balcony of the Hotel de Ville:—

	Votes.		Votes.
Lucien Murat	134,825	General Cavaignac	111,305
Ledru Rollin, Socialist	130,070	Considérant, Socialist	111,241
Lagrange, Socialist	128,087	Wolowski	110,630
Boichot, Sergeant-Major, Socialist	127,993	Ratier, Sergeant, Socialist	110,492
General Bedau	124,501	Coquerel	110,450
General Lamoricière	121,632	Pierre Leroux, Socialist	110,127
Dufaure	119,376	Peupin	109,560
Moreau	118,146	Garnon	109,164
Passy	117,136	Roger (du Nord)	109.309
Victor Hugo	117,069	F. de Lasteyrie	107,870
Felix Pyat, Socialist	116,135	A. Perdiguier, Socialist	107,838
Vavin	115,013	General Rapatel, Colonel of 2nd Legion of National Guards	107,825
Lamennais, Socialist	113,331		
Bixio	112,918		
Odillon Barrot	112,675		
Th. Bac, Socialist	112,259		

The names of the unsuccessful candidates who were highest on the list were proclaimed as follows:—

Bugeaud	107,435	Nap. Lebon	102,539
Marie	106,912	Falloux	102,517
Boissel	104,777	Ribeyrolles	101,598
Demay	104,609	Hervé	101,181
Proudhon	103,813	Thiers	99,098
Léon Faucher	103,323	Vidal	98,965
A. Langlois	103,137		

The list of Les Amis de la Constitution (the 'National' party) has been very unfortunate. Twenty of the candidates have been rejected, and those who succeeded owe their election to the fact of their names having been on the list of the Electoral Union.

The 'Debats' of Monday gives the following *resume* of the elections:—Moderates elected, 511; Socialists, 217; Elections not yet known, 22.—Total, 750.

The following members of the Constituent Assembly, who have been Ministers, and members of the Ministry, since the 24th, 1848, have not been re-elected as members of the Legislative Assembly, and are not likely to obtain seats:—MM. Trouve Mauvet, Flocon, Marie, Senard, Garnier Pages, Dupont de l'Eure, Lamartine, Freston, Leon de Malleville, Goudchaux, Recurt, Bastide, Vaulabelle, Tourret, Trelat, Carnot.

The following members, who took an active part in the public business, have also failed in their elections:—MM. Buchez, Marrast, Duvergier de Hauranne, Billault, Pagnerre, Jules Favre, Dupont de Bussac, Bureaux de Pusy, Degousse, Clement Thomas, Perree, Ducoux, Berger, Proudhon, Buvignier, Audry de Puyraveau, Joly, Chambolle, Portalis, Georges and Edmond Lafayette, Bucos, &c.

The Expiring Assembly.—On Saturday after a long discussion on the stamp duties, which came to no result, the order of the day was read for the first reading of the bill relative to the bill introduced by M. Leon Faucher for the continuance for three months of the powers conferred on General Changarnier. Several government members contended warmly that the question ought to be postponed, because the Assembly would not have time to decide upon it definitively. The opposition, on the contrary, contended that it should be taken into immediate consideration, and that it should not be subjected to the formality of three readings. A motion was then made that the further consideration of the measures should be adjourned, which was rejected by a majority of 294 to 254. This vote produced a great deal of agitation. The discussion on the bill itself then commenced. After a stormy debate the Assembly rejected the bill. The numbers were—

For the bill	210
Against it	293
Majority against Ministers	—83

M. Odillon Barrot then end-avoured to induce the Assembly to suspend its sittings, in order to allow time for the preparation of the Hall for the New Assembly, but the majority refused.

Wednesday.—The National Assembly was occupied to the close of its sittings yesterday with a discussion produced by the interpellations of M. Sarrans relative to the affairs of Rome and the intervention of Russia in Hungary. The reply of the Minister of Foreign Affairs was to the effect that the conduct of the government in relation to Rome was strictly in accordance with the vote come to by the Assembly, and with regard to Russia the government had addressed letters on the subject to the Cabinets of St. Petersburg, Vienna, Berlin, and London. The policy of the government was, he added, to negotiate on the subject, and from that course it was determined not to deviate, as it considered it best suited to the interests of the country. M. Joly proposed an order of the day *motivé*, which was tantamount to an immediate declaration of war. General Cavaignac warmly opposed its adoption, and proposed another, merely calling on the government to use the most energetic measures to protect liberty and the Republic. The order of the day pure and simple was proposed. A very stormy scene ensued. Many of the representatives quitted the Chamber to avoid voting on the order of the day, when it was put from the chair that the balloting urns should be left open till seven o'clock, when, if the number of votes was not completed, the sitting should be declared *en permanence*. One member cried out that those who abstained should be declared *hors la loi*. A scene of the utmost violence both preceded and followed the announcement, the members of the Mountain standing on their benches, and shouting vociferously.

At length something like order was restored, and several who had taken no part in the commencement came in and gave their votes, and also those who had manifested their intention not to vote deposited their bulletins in the urn. At seven o'clock precisely the division was closed, when the numbers were—for the order of the day, 'pure and simple,' fifty-three; against it, 459. Majority against Ministers, 406.

A third order of the day was proposed by M. Bastide, which was ordered to be printed. The Assembly rose at a quarter-past seven o'clock in a state of great excitement.

The Ministry.—The Ministry went on Sunday evening last (says the 'Patrie') and tendered their resignations in a body to the President of the Republic. General Bugeaud arrived suddenly in Paris yesterday, being called up by government.

Monday.—The negotiations for the formation of a new cabinet have been going on with great activity to-day, but nothing has been definitively settled. There appeares to be little doubt, however, that Marshal Bugeaud will be the new President of the Council of Ministers, and that he will be joined by M. de Falloux and M. Buffet, two members of the present Cabinet. The other members of the present Cabinet, namely, M. Odillon Barrot, M. Passy, and M. Lacrosse, endeavoured to form a Ministerial combination without M. de Falloux and Buffet; but they have failed. It is understood that it was on the Italian question that the difference of opinion occurred which led to the breaking up of the Odillon Barrot Cabinet.

Tuesday.—Marshal Bugeaud is to be Minister of War and President of the Council of the new administration. It is as yet uncertain who will fill up the subordinate posts, but it is probable that M. Leon Faucher will be Minister of Finance, and that M. Falloux will remain in his present post.

The President of the Republic and the moderate party who counsel him, see in General Bugeaud an anchor of safety. The army loves him, they say, and he will thus have sufficient power to put down insurrection. This is a bold and desperate step taken by Louis Napoleon. His new President of the Council is not liked in Paris. He is the enemy at once of the Socialists and of the Cavaignac party, including MM. Dufaure and Lamoriciere, and it remains to be seen whether, with the number of partisans these two parties possess in the chamber, he will be able to obtain a working majority.

A grand review took place to-day in the Champ de Mars, in presence of the President of the Republic. The object of the review was to ascertain the real feeling of the troops with respect to the government, it having been so currently reported that the Socialists had succeeded in withdrawing many of them from their allegiance. The number of troops on the ground was upward of 40,000. Their appearance was certainly magnificent. The troops saluted the President of the Republic with loud cries of 'Vive Napoleon,' 'Vive le President,' and occasionally of 'Vive la Republique!' The Republican Guard, which was the first that defiled before the President, called 'Vive la Republique Democratique et Sociale!' The crowds of lookers-on were very cold in their reception of the President. On leaving the Palace of the Elysee, and again on his return, Louis Napoleon was warmly received.

Tuesday.—The French government has received telegraphic despatches announcing that serious disturbances have taken place at Montpellier on the occasion of the elections. The hotel of the Prefecture was attacked, but not taken. Several persons have been arrested. At Cette there were disorders which were speedily put down. On the night of the 19th the Procureur of the Republic at Lodeve was fired at by an assassin, and killed. No further details have reached the government.

Accounts reached Paris yesterday afternoon that the Emperor of Russia had recognised the French Republic. M. Kisseleo is appointed charge d'affaires, and M. Happ secretary of the embassy. M. Happ left St. Petersburg for Paris on the 12th.

The 'Constitutionel' states from authority that the Ministry still remains in office, and that the resignation of no Minister, with the exception of M. L. Faucher, has been accepted, or even offered. It adds that the Ministry continues to carry on the administration as usual, and that there will be 'no interval in the action of the executive power.' This rectification does not deny the existence of a Ministerial crisis.

'Le Peuple' publishes the following letter from Sergeant-Major Boichot:—' Citizen Editor,—After having vainly tried arbitrary measures to prevent my election, certain reactionaries are endeavouring by a system of base calumny to raise doubts as to the sincerity of my democratic and Socialist convictions. I oppose the most energetic contradiction to all these fables.—Health and Fraternity. Boichot. Sergeant-Major of the 7th Light Infantry.'

One of the lately elected representatives of the people for the department of the Creuse, named Nudland, is an operative mason, and may be seen at work every day at a house in process of construction in the neighbourhood of the Pantheon. He has declared that he will not abandon his trowel until the day of his installation in the Legislative Assembly.

GERMANY.

The Frankfort Parliament.—On the 16th inst. M. Simon, of Treves, brought on a *motion d'urgence*, which was to declare, that since the Regent persisted in leaving the affairs without a Minister to direct them, an executive committee of five should be named by the National Assembly 'for the carrying out of the Constitution.' A considerable majority declared that the debate should not at present take place upon the subject. This intermezzo had only just ended when a message from the Regent, dated this day, announced that he had nominated M. Graevell Minister of the Interior and *ad interim* President of the Council. I cannot describe the universal laughter caused by this announcement. In the sitting of the 17th the House was informed of the Archduke Regent having formed his new Cabinet, and a programme was read, in which the new Ministers declared that they did not intend to execute the Constitution of Germany.

After the reading of this programme, M. Welker moved a sweeping vote of want of confidence in the new Cabinet; and, after a short debate, the House resolved to divide on M. Welker's motion, which the Assembly accepted (by 191 votes against 12) in the following form:—' After having been informed of the formation of a new Cabinet, and after the reading of the programme of that Cabinet, the Parliament declares that it cannot place any confidence in the said Cabinet; and that, under existing circumstances, it considers the appointment of the said Cabinet as an insult offered to the representatives of the nation.'

In the sitting of the 18th, M. Gravell, President of the Council, in reply to a question from M. Simon, of Treves, declared that Hessian and Wurtemburg troops have been concentrated on the frontiers of the grand duchy of Baden, not with views hostile to the constitution of the empire, but to take possession again of the federal fortress of Rastadt, and protect the states bordering the grand duchy of Baden. He then declared that the vicar of the empire, in the hope of an amicable arrangement of the differences respecting the constitution of the empire, had thought it right to send a courier to his Prussian Majesty, and that the answer to his overtures would serve as a guide to his ulterior conduct. The vicar of the empire, he added, had received his mandate from the National Assembly, and his power had been conferred on him in the name of the governments by the Germanic diet. When, therefore, it will be requisite to lay down his mandate, he will only do so in the midst of the Assembly; but as far as concerns his power, he will resign it into the hands of the governments. As for the ministry of the empire, it conceives itself bound to remain temporarily in power, notwithstanding the distrust implied in the vote of the National Assembly.

The Assembly then passed to the order of the day, that is to say, to the discussion of the propositions from the Committee of Thirty, for the formation of a regency of the empire. The discussion was adjourned to the following morning.

On the 19th, the following resolution was put to the vote, and carried by a majority of 126 to 116:—' That the Assembly elect forthwith, if possible, from amongst the reigning princes, a stadtholder of the empire, who, up to the time set forth in the resolutions of the 4th of May (Nos. 5 and 6), shall, according to the 3rd section of the imperial constitution, enjoy the rights and fulfil the duties of the supreme head of the empire.'

The other sections of the resolution provide for the taking the oath to the constitution on the part of the stadtholder and public functionaries, for his carrying out the decision of the Assembly relating to the next elections and the convocation of the first imperial diet, for the exercise by the present Assembly of all the rights of the imperial diet until the latter be convoked, and for continuing the stadtholder in his office, even after the imperial diet has been convened, in case there should be insurmountable obstacles to the conferring of the supreme dignity on the sovereign of the greatest, or the next greatest, state of Germany. The last section declares that, with the carrying out of the resolution in question—inasmuch as the work of establishing the constitution of Germany will be then completed —the power of the central executive will cease, and all its attributes will be transferred to the stadtholder of the empire.

The following resolution was also adopted:—' That, in case the vicar of the empire, as threatened by the ministry, should transfer his powers otherwise than into the hands of the National Assembly, such transfer be declared by the National Assembly null, illegal, and not binding.

BADEN.—We have dates from Carlsruhe and Mannheim to May 16th. Carlsruhe was in a very unsettled state; several thousand volunteers had arrived, and a great number of persons had fled to Wurtemberg or France. The soldiers had proceeded to the election of their officers; very young men had been named captains and majors.

BERLIN, May 14.—The Prussian government have struck the first decisive blow at the Frankfort Assembly. The Prussian deputies have been recalled. The decree of their recall appears in the 'Staats-Anzeiger' of this evening, and is as follows:

'ROYAL ORDINANCE.

'1. The commission of the deputies elected in the Prussian state to the German National Assembly on the ground of the Diet's decrees of March 30, and April 7, 1848, and our own ordinance of the 11th of the latter month, are expired.

'2. This, our present ordinance, is to be set before the deputies by our plenipotentiary at Frankfort-on-Maine for their observance, and with the injunction to abstain from taking any part in the further proceedings of the Assembly.

'Frederick William.

'Given at Charlottenburg, May 14, 1849.'

(From the 'Times.')

The last advices from Elberfeld and the insurgent districts in the 'Kolner Zeitung' are of the 17th inst. They inform us of the successful repression of the insurrection. Elberfeld, Iserlohn, and the other towns, have returned to obedience, and in the case of Iserlohn only was the interference of the military wanted. In the combat which took place in that town, the 8th Rifles suffered severely, and had some of their officers killed, but the insurgents were at length reduced to obedience. The submission of Elberfeld was caused by the return of a deputation which that town had sent to Berlin, and which brought assurances of the King's acceptation of the Frankfort Constitution, such as it had been in the first reading, with only a few slight modifications. This news operated a sudden change in Elberfeld; the citizens and Landwehr removed the barricades, and a troop of rank Republicans who had participated in the rising were induced to quit the town. They marched into the country, where they dispersed. Most of their leaders were arrested.

Letters from the Rhine frontier announce that two regiments of Prussian infantry, which had been ordered into Bavaria, have put their officers to death, and joined the people.

Iserlohn.—This important manufacturing town, which had been during several days in the possession of the insurgents, was taken on the 17th by the troops of the line, who, enraged at the loss of Lieut.-Col. Schrotter, who was killed during the contest in the town, committed great excesses, killing not less than ten persons in one house.

THE WAR IN HUNGARY.

The 'Pesther Zeitung' of the 6th inst., contains the following news:—' Kossuth in a report to the National Assembly, in which he terms himself, in accordance with the national desire, President and Governor of Hungary and all the countries thereto appertaining, had appointed the following ministry: Minister of Interior and President of the Council, Barthol Czemeri; of Foreign Affairs, Count Casimir Bathyany; of Finance, Duschek; of Public Works, Czanyi; Worship, Michael Horvath, Bishop of Czanad; Justice, Bakovics; War and Commerce to be named later.'

According to the last report of four o'clock on the afternoon of the 6th, Ofen had been bombarded during twenty-eight hours, and already a breach opened. The Hungarian batteries are planted on the Adlar, Schwaban, and Blonksberg.

The bombardment of Pesth from Ofen had begun on the 4th inst., and been exceedingly destructive both to property and life. On the afternoon of the 6th the firing on Pesth ceased, and Gorgey was requested by the government commmissioner Iranyi to send an officer to Ofen to parley, and stop the continuation of hostilities against Pesth, on pain of the garrison being put to the sword on the capture of the fortress.

A letter from Galatz of the 23rd ult., mentions that General Bem is gone to attack Warsaw.

DEFEAT OF THE RUSSIANS BY THE HUNGARIANS.

The 'Cologne Gazette' of the 19th (2nd edition), states, on the authority of one of its Vienna correspondents, that Bem had attacked and disarmed a Russian corps of 30,000 men; that a great number of the Russian officers had gone over to his side: that the Hungarians had captured sixty pieces of cannon; and that the disarmed Russians had been driven across the frontier. It must be remarked that neither date nor place is given for these extraordinary statements, which were also published in another Cologne paper on the evening of the 18th.

Another correspondent further writes us word, on the 14th of May, that Field Marshal Parkiewich with 18,000 men had attempted to enter Transylvania, but had been attacked by Bem and entirely routed.

THE RUSSIAN INVASION.

Cracow, May 11.—Of the Russian troops which marched from Poland through Cracow into Galicia, two battalions, with twelve twelve-pounders, returned to Cracow at five, in the afternoon of the 8th, from Makow, in the circle of Wadowice. The citizens fell into great consternation and terror, fearing that the Russians, defeated by the Magyars, would pillage their town. But the same troops were presently sent off by the railway into Silesia. On the 9th, fresh troops, eight squadrons of Uhlans, poured in from the Russian side. To-day arrived 4,000 infantry, later a regiment of Hussars, and at four, three battalions more of infantry. The number of Russian troops that have in all, up to this date, passed through Cracow, cannot be set down at less than 30,000. They have not yet penetrated into Hungary, but are encamped at Jordanow, only ten miles from the Magyar outposts. The horses, which are only shod in the fore-feet, are said to have suffered a good deal from the bad roads.

The following ukase, relating to the Russian intervention in Hungary, has been published in St. Petersburg:—

'By the grace of God, We, Nicholas I., Emperor and Autocrat of all the Russias, declare to the nation, having, by our manifesto of the 14th of March, 1848, informed our subjects of the miseries which afflicted Western Europe, we at the same time made known how we were ready to meet our enemies wherever they might show themselves, and that we should, without sparing ourselves, in conjunction indissoluble with our sacred Russia, defend the honour of the Russian name, and the inviolability of our frontiers.

'The commotions and rebellions of the west have not since then ceased. Guilty delusion, enticing the thoughtless crowd with visionary dreams of that prosperity which can never be the fruit of wilfulness and obstinacy, has entered the east and the dominions contiguous to us, subjects of the Turkish empire, viz., Moldavia and Wallachia. Only by the presence of our troops, together with those of Turkey, has order been restored and maintained; but in Hungary and Transylvania the efforts of the Austrian government, distracted already by another war with foreign and domestic enemies in Italy, have not yet been able to triumph over rebellion. On the contrary, strengthening itself by hordes of our Polish traitors of 1831, and of others, foreigners, outcasts, runaways, and vagrants, the rebellion has developed itself there to a most threatening degree.

'In the midst of these unfortunate events the Emperor of Austria has addressed himself to us with the wish for our assistance against our common enemies. We shall not refuse him.

'Having called to the assistance of this righteous enterprise the Almighty Leader of Battles and Lord of Victories, we have commanded our armies to move forward for the extinction of rebellion, and the destruction of audacious and evil-intentioned men, who endeavour to disturb the peace of our dominions also.

'Let God be with us, and who shall be against us?

'So—we are convinced of it—so feels, so hopes, so aspires our God-reserved nation, every Russian, every true subject of ours, and Russia will fulfil her mission.

'Given at St. Petersburgh the 26th day of April, in the year from the birth of Christ, 1849, and the 24th of our reign. (Signed) Nicholas I.'

ITALY.

THE ROMAN REPUBLIC.

THE NEAPOLITANS AGAIN DEFEATED.

Rome, Thursday, May 10.—Yesterday there was some sharp fighting at Palestrina, about sixteen miles east-south-east of Rome, the ancient Præneste, between Garibaldi's division and a Neapolitan corps. Without further preface, I will translate the two documents, a 'bulletin' and an 'official report,' which have been published on the subject:—

'OFFICIAL BULLETIN.—FIRST ITALIAN LEGION OF GENERAL GARIBALDI.

'Palestrina, May 9, Quarter-past Eight p.m.

'A complete victory. The enemy, 7,000 strong, entirely routed. We have taken three pieces of artillery two mutilated, one good. The firing commenced at half-past four, and finished at dusk. More exact details shall be sent in an hour. Palestrina is illuminated.

'Daverio, Chief of the General Staff.'

'OFFICIAL REPORT.—ITALIAN LEGION, COMMANDED BY GARIBALDI.

'Palestrina, May 9, Nine p.m.

'The combat of to day could not have had a better termination. The Neapolitans, to the number of 7,000, with 800 cavalry, arrived in the evening of yesterday, at Valmontone; and were annoyed by us during the night with a fire of musketry, pushed up to the walls. To-day they attempted to strike a decisive blow at us. Three roads lead from this place to Valmontone, which all meet in one at two musket-shots beyond Palestrina. The enemy divided his forces into two bodies; one was directed upon our left, by the road which runs from this to Cave, with a branch to Valmontrone, the other upon our right, by Lugnano. At the centre a skirmish took place, in which three of the Royalists were killed, without any of our men being hurt.

'At half-past four the enemy, whose coming we ardently longed for, appeared. All was ready. The fire began from our left, the enemy replying with cannon, as well as musketry. None of our men gave ground for an instant; but stood nailed to their post, like lions made fierce by thirst of blood. After an hour's firing, the enemy made a movement in retreat; a detachment of our troops, sent to the left, under shelter of the high ground, opened a fire upon his flank, well nourished and directed with such skill and steadiness that we had the satisfaction of seeing the enemy betake himself to a precipitate flight, leaving many dead and wounded, with three pieces of artillery, two of them disabled. He was pursued for a considerable distance, and, though very clever at running, some prisoners were made. Meanwhile another body of troops came upon our left, by the pathway of Zagarolo, to which leads a track branching from the post-road of Frosinone, in the neighbourhood of Lugnano: they were drawn up in mass, with a vanguard of cavalry: another body of cavalry, deployed upon their left flank, was posted in reserve. This body arrived in good order at the point where the roads crossed each other, and opened a fire from one piece of artillery. Their object was to repair the repulse they had received on the other side, and they attempted to deploy some battalions on this quarter, but our troops were too firm at their posts to allow them to pass; thereupon they changed their tactics, and attempted to penetrate to our right flank by descending in single file. The fire with which they were met was too keen: they tried a last effort, but unsuccessfully. Our men, encouraged exceedingly by what had passed, met them with ardour, and could not long be restrained in their position. Quitting it on three points, they made a vigorous assault, and forced the enemy to a hurried flight. A single company of ours sufficed to pursue him for more than a mile, repulsing and almost destroying a squadron of cavalry, which had in despair attempted a charge.

'Thus it is proved that the Italians, when they fight, conquer—for those only are Italians who contend for liberty. The Neapolitans sustained a heavy loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners: of our men few were wounded, and still fewer killed. The particulars of the Royalist and our loss will be given to-morrow.

'Daverio, Chief of the Staff of Gen. Garibaldi.'

Decree of the Triumvirs for the Liberation of French Prisoners.—In the name of God and the people, considering that between the French people and Rome there is not, nor can exist, a state of war; that Rome defends her own inviolability as a duty and as a right, deprecating any offence between the two republics as a crime against the common faith of both: that the Roman people do not hold responsible for the deeds of a deceived government the soldiers who, in fighting, obey their orders, the triumvirate decree all the French soldiers made prisoners on the 30th April are set free, and will be sent back to the French army. The Roman people will greet with a fraternal applause and demonstration the brave soldiers of the sister French Republic.—May 3.'

Immediately after the above decree was issued, the French soldiers were seen walking arm in arm with the Romans, previously to marching to their camp.

The 'Corriere Mercantile' of Genoa, of the 14th inst., states that General Oudinot immediately embarked the French prisoners returned from Rome for Corsica, without allowing them to mix with the other troops.

On the subject of the menaced Spanish attack, the following proclamation has been issued by the Triumvirate:—' Romans! Spain also addresses to you, in proud words, as is its wont, an insolent defiance. Thus the quire is complete. Austria, France, and Spain, try to renew old history, responsive to the summons of a Pope; but that history no longer repeats itself in the same terms, and against ancient usage stands the new conscience of nations. Behind the bayonets of General Oudinot stands the generous French people; behind the Imperial sword of Radetski are the valiant Hungarians and the democracy of Vienna; behind the haughty hidalgo who menaces Fiumicino, is a people which has no longer the strength that conquered the Moors, nor the gold of the New World. However, be they two or three, the difference is small, and Rome will not stir from its lofty purpose. These our visitors found, three centuries and a half ago, an Italy in the throes of death; they find now an Italy arising from its trance, the Italy of the people. The Roman people, which feels the obligation of belying their calumnies, of combating their injustice, of accomplishing its mission by saving Rome and Italy, awaits them, undaunted and firm against every trial. A people which has a mission to accomplish in the sight of humanity, and eternal justice cannot die.

'The Triumvirs,

'Armellini, Mazzini, Saffi.

'Rome, May 7, 1849.'

The 'Positivo' of Rome, of the 8th inst., publishes a note to the Catholic powers dated the 7th, and signed by Rusconi, Roman minister of foreign affairs. After observing that the Roman question, hitherto a political one, has now assumed a religious character, and that all Europe conspires to impose a detected power upon three millions of men, who declared it for ever fallen, this document proceeds to state that a great people, recalling its old traditions of glory, has shaken off its slumber and awoke to the life of nations. If the prince whom Europe would restore at Rome were, like many others, the mere inheritor of vulgar privileges, the consequences of the struggle would be limited to a greater or lesser number of victims; were the task Europe assumes a mere question of independence or servitude, it might be loaded with malediction, but still the moral interests of the human race would not suffer. But the actual object of Europe shakes the edifice of religion to its very foundations, and crushes faith in thousands of hearts. The whole state of Rome has declared the downfall of the temporal power of the pontiff; and, though under the menace of a French, an Austrian, and a Neapolitan invasion, all the municipalities have boldly protested against its restoration. Is this the mere voice of a faction? The consequence is, that many believers now ask themselves whether he who represents a religon of peace has a right to reassert temporal power by force of arms; and, as it is easy to confound the doctrine with its apostle, many begin to doubt of the truth of religion in consequence of the acts of its head, and cannot conceive how a religion that once redeemed the world from slavery is now changed into a weapon intended to transform free men into slaves. 'Let Europe,' says the document in conclusion, 'reflect before she proceeds; the struggle is no longer between one army and another, nor between one class of men and another; but it is a struggle that embraces a whole moral world of ideas, hopes, and faith, that may have an echo in the most distant generations.'

(From the 'Morning Chronicle.')

Rome, May 12.—Apropos of the Neapolitans, a number of letters and journals have come to hand at the post-office here, from Naples, directed to the superior officers of the invading corps, *in Rome*. This was reckoning a little without their host; things are not quite come to that point yet.

Siege of Bologna.—The 'Milan Gazette' of the 13th inst. states that hostilities having recommenced at Bologna after the armistice, the town has been blockaded, and the waters of the aqueduct and the canal of the Reno cut off, so that the town will have speedily to surrender for want of water and provisions.

The 'Corriere Mercantile' of Genoa of the 14th inst., contains some particulars about the renewal of the attack upon Bologna on the 9th. Hostilities recommenced at noon and lasted till dusk. The Austrians threw rockets upon the town from the suburb of San Michale, and cannonaded it from the Palazzo Aldini. A combined attack upon the Galliera, Felice, Isaia, and Saragozza gates, took place at the same time; all which were repulsed, while the Bolognese cannon did great execution among the Austrians at the Annunziata. The Bolognese have 2,000 troops of the line.

Fall of Bologna.—Letters from Turin announce that the Austrians have taken Bologna by assault, after a heroic defence by the inhabitants. The number of killed on both sides is very great.

TUSCANY.—Butchery of the Patriots.—The 'Corriere Mercantile,' of the 16th, states, from Leghorn, that upwards of 200 persons have been shot there. Persons wearing the national colours, though perfectly quiet in every other respect, have been shot without a trial. Many houses have been sacked by the soldiery. At Florence the liberty of the press has been suspended.

VENICE.—A letter from Turin of the 13th says:—' A new treason has been discovered at Venice. An accomplice revealed to General Pepe a conspiracy to set fire to the arsenal, and whilst the troops of the fort of Malghera should be occupied in endeavouring to extinguish the fire, the Austrians were to make a terrible attack on the fort. General Pope profited by the discovery. A short time before the hour fixed for the fire, he arrested the traitors, and having caused a large quantity of wood and straw to be placed near the arsenal, he set fire to it. The Austrians thinking that the arsenal was on fire, as had been agreed upon, commenced the assault; but they met with such a resistance that they were compelled to retire with heavy losses. Several hundred wounded were sent to Padua, and the besiged, profiting by the disorder of the enemy, sallied out, made 800 prisoners, and spiked the greater part of the Austrian cannon.'

NAPLES AND SICILY.

(From the 'Times.')

We have received intelligence of the 9th from Palermo. The city is now in the hands of the King's government. On the previous day the citizens had induced the Mountaineers and Free Corps to go outside the town and attack Filangieri, but the moment they had got rid of such unpleasant visitors, the National Guard closed the gates against them and refused to let them re-enter. In the meantime the Neapolitan troops came up, and a dreadful massacre, it is said, took place of the Republicans, who fled on every side, and were pursued by the Royal troops. The king's flag was then hoisted, and the city has now made its formal submission, and the civil war is at an end.

CANADA.

Montreal, May 8.—The parliament was not in session to-day; it will convene on Monday next, and hold its sessions in the new building owned by Mr. Hayes, called the Freemasons' Hall, but it is said that the seat of government is to alternate four years at Quebec and Toronto.

A young man engaged in the Custom House has been arrested, and is in custody, for disturbing the peace, or, it is probable, to be detained for a witness.

The agitation still continues in the eastern townships. All is quiet in Montreal.

Quebec partook of the general excitement incidental upon the Rebellion Losses Bill having been sanctioned. The Governor-General was burnt in effigy on Friday evening last. Resistance was made by a section of the Irish party who professed ultra Repeal doctrines, and a fight ensued, which was finally quelled by the police. The military were in attendance, but were not required. One man was wounded, but not seriously. On Saturday an attempt was made to burn Sir A. M'Nab in effigy, but the moderate of the Irish party prevented it. On Sunday a mass meeting of the French Canadians was held, aided by the same Repeal followers, and a deputation sanctioned to proceed to the seat of government to present an address to the Governor-General, offering defence and condolence.

On Monday large parties again assembled, but all passed off quietly.

There is a talk of arming on both sides, and the papers in the Canadian interest talk most loudly.

May 4.—News from all over the country still continues to pour in, both by telegraph and mail, of the monster meetings got up to protest against the Indemnity Bill, and to get up petitions to the Queen to recall the Governor.

We have just received word from Toronto of an immense meeting held there for the above-named object, and the appointment of Sir Alan M'Nab as a delegate to England.

There was fierce debate in the Assembly yesterday evening upon a motion of adjournment—bitter criminations and recriminations passed between both parties.

Mr. Papineau, the old leader of the rebellion, made a furious attack on the Ministry, charging them with incapacity, and being the cause of all the disturbances.

Mr. Solicitor-General Drummond replied by charging him with the desire of annexation to the United States, and of being the first Governor of the new State.

Sir Alan M'Nab raked up recollections of murder and outrage committed during the rebellions of 1837 and 1838. The Ministry deprecated the cause of the argument as being got up for mere party purposes, and said that at a proper time they were prepared to justify the whole of that proceeding. The President of the Council likewise said that one of the causes of the excitement was the desire of annexation, which he deprecated.

There were no new disturbances in the city yesterday, but there doubtless would have been if, the House had not adjourned at an early hour. Large placards were posted all over the city, unanimously signed by the influential inhabitants, urging the necessity of maintaining peace and order. The excitement is great, and there are rumours that Upper Canada will rise. A few days will show if it be true.

UNITED STATES.

Everything in the way of news in the United States is torpid and dull. There are no political movements whatever.

The intelligence from California presents no new feature. People continue to wend their way to the new El Dorado by thousands and tens of thousands. At Independence, Missouri, there were 5,000 encamped, waiting for milder weather to start the grass on the prairies, and the numbers were daily augmenting. Many had returned from the Rio Grande, their companions having died of cholera, and many desire to return from the Isthmus of Panama, where death is also busy, especially with those who have no means to proceed further. In Texas, too, the cholera has been very fatal, while at New Orleans, the deaths average nearly 200 per week. The pestilence is fast travelling up the rivers, and the victims of cholera at St. Louis were last week forty-six. Apprehensions are entertained that the mortality will be great throughout the country soon after the commencement of the hot season.

An interesting correspondence is published in the American papers between Lady Franklin and Mr. J. M. Clayton, Secretary of State, respecting the arctic expedition. The American government promise with alacrity 'that every effort will be made to lay the subject before our whalers, and induce them to undertake the work for which the British government have offered so high a reward.'

We are lost in amazement to perceive how the masses of the people are everywhere cunningly arrayed against each other for destruction. In the case of the Roman difficulties, curses loud and deep are uttered against the French, for their intervention in favour of the Pope. It does seem strange indeed that this *soi disant* republic should unite with Austria to restore the government of priests, spies, and inquisitions. One would think that the discoveries recently made at Rome of the dungeons of the Holy-office would be enough to arm the world against such a temporal and religious power as that which has so long depressed Italy. There is a serious talk here of raising a protestant fund for the aid of the Roman republicans. It is agitated in private but influential circles, and though it may be disguised in its exterior, it will be not less positive in its object.

Emigration is again pouring its full tide upon us. Three thousand paupers were landed in this city in two days last week. The Irish predominate. How long is Ireland to pour forth these wretched crowds? Is her population larger than that of continental Europe? It would seem so. The moment these people arrive they commence begging. The streets swarm with them.

INDIA.

MORE ROBBERY.—THE ANNEXATION OF THE PUNJAUB.

Bombay, April 17.—Dost Mahomed and his Affghans have escaped back to Cabool. The war is over. The Punjaub is British territory. In these brief sentences may be announced the event which have transpired during the last fortnight in relation to that country to which all eyes have for a long time past been so eagerly directed.

I informed you in my last of the arrival at Attock of General Sir. W. R. Gilbert and his army, in hot pursuit of the flying Ameer of Cabool, who, vanquished on the field of Goojerat, was making the best of his way towards the Khyber Pass, *en route* to his own capital. It was supposed our politicals had succeeded in gaining over the Khyberies by bribery, and that these people would oppose the passage of the Dost through the defile of which they were the self-appointed keepers. But if any money was paid, the Dost must have outbid us for their favour, for he entered the Khyber Pass just as General Gilbert crossed the Indus, and had made his way to Jellabad before the latter reached Peshawur. When the British general arrived at the capital of the province, he found that the Affghans had destroyed the villages and suburbs around, and set fire to the cantonments, and to the former residence of Major General Lawrence.

On the 29th of March a proclamation was drawn up, declaring the Sikh dynasty at an end, and the Punjaub annexed to the British dominions. This was promulgated the following day, prefaced by a brief notification from the Governor-General. The two documents run as follow:—

NOTIFICATION—FOREIGN DEPARTMENT.

Ferozepoor, March 30, 1849.

The Governor-General is pleased to direct, that the accompanying proclamation, by which the Punjaub is declared to be a portion of the British empire in India, be published for general information; and that a Royal salute be fired at every principal station of the army on the receipt thereof.

By order of the Right Honourable the Governor-General of India. (Signed) P. Melvill.

Under-Secretary to government of India, with the Governor-General.

PROCLAMATION.

For many years, in the time of Maharaja Runjeet Singh, peace and friendship prevailed between the British nation and the Sikhs.

When Runjeet Singh was dead, and his wisdom no longer guided the councils of the State, the sirdars and the Khalsa army, without provocation and without cause, suddenly invaded the British territories. Their army was again and again defeated. They were driven with slaughter and in shame from the country they had invaded, and at the gates of Lahore the Maharaja Dhuleep Singh tendered to the Governor-General the submission of himself and his chiefs, and solicited the clemency of the British government.

The Governor-General extended the clemency of his government to the State of Lahore; he generously spared the kingdom which he had acquired a just right to subvert; and the Maharaja having been replaced on the throne, treaties of friendship were formed between the states.

The British have faithfully kept their word, and have scrupulously observed every obligation which the treaties imposed upon them.

But the Sikh people and their chiefs have, on their part, grossly and faithlessly violated the promises by which they were bound.

Of their annual tribute no portion whatever has at any time been paid, and large loans advanced to them by the government of India have never been repaid.

The control of the British government, to which they voluntarily submitted themselves, has been resisted by arms.

Peace has been cast aside. British officers have been murdered when acting for the State; others engaged in the like employment have treacherously been thrown into captivity. Finally, the army of the State, and the whole Sikh people, joined by many of the sirdars in the Punjaub who signed the treaties, and led by a member of the Regency itself, have risen in arms against us, and have waged a fierce and bloody war for the proclaimed purpose of destroying the British and their power.

The government of India formerly declared that it desired no further conquest, and it proved by its acts the sincerity of its profession.

The government of India has no desire for conquest now; but it is bound in duty to provide fully for its own security, and to guard the interests of those committed to its charge.

To that end, and as the only sure mode of protecting the State from the perpetual recurrence of unprovoked and wasting wars, the Governor-General is compelled to resolve upon the entire subjection of a people whom their own government has long been unable to control, and whom (as events have now shown) no punishment can deter from violence, no acts of friendship can conciliate to peace.

Wherefore the Governor-General of India has declared and hereby proclaims that the kingdom of the Punjaub is at an end; and that all the territories of Maharaja Dhuleep Singh are now and henceforth a portion of the British empire in India.

His Highness the Maharaja shall be treated with consideration and with honour.

The few chiefs who have not engaged in the hostilities against the British shall retain their property and their rank.

The British government will leave to all the people, whether Musselmen, Hindoo, or Sikh, the free exercise of their own religions; but it will not permit any man to interfere with others in the observance of such forms and customs as their respective religions may either enjoin or permit.

The jagheers, and all the property of sirdars or others who have been in arms against the British, shall be confiscated to the State.

The defences of every fortified place in the Punjaub, which is not occupied by British troops shall be totally destroyed, and effectual measures shall be taken to deprive the people of the means of renewing either tumult or war.

Over those who shall live as obedient and peaceful subjects of the State, the British government will rule with mildness and beneficence.

But if resistance to constituted authority shall again be attempted—if violence and turbulence shall be renewed—the Governor-General warns the people of the Punjaub that the time for leniency will then have passed away, and that their offence will be punished with prompt and most rigorous severity.

By order of the Right Honourable the Governor-General of India. (Signed) H. M. Elliot,

Secretary to the government of India, with the Governor-General.

(True Copies.) W. Courtney,

March 29. Acting Secretary to Government.

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

Part the Fifth

Is devoted to the consideration of the Duties and Obligations of the Married State, and of the causes which lead to the happiness or misery of those who have entered into the bonds of matrimony. Disquietudes and jars between married couples are traced to depend, in the majority of instances, on causes resulting from physical imperfections and errors, and the means for their removal shown to be within reach and effectual. The operation of certain disqualifications is fully examined, and infelicitous and unproductive unions shown to be the necessary consequence. The causes and remedies for this state form an important consideration in this section of the work.

Consultation fee, if by letter, £1.—Patients are requested to be as minute as possible in the description of their cases.

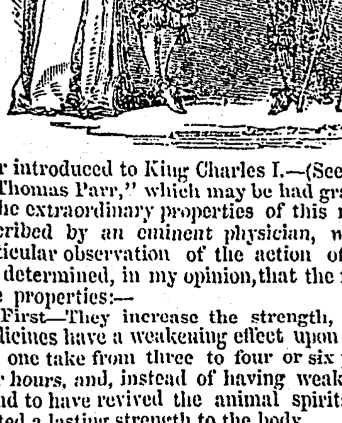
Attendance daily at 19, Berners-street, Oxford-street, London, from eleven to two, and from five to eight; on Sundays from eleven to one.

Sold by Sutton and Co., Bow Church Yard; W. Edwards, 67, St. Paul's Church Yard; Barclay and Sons, Farringdon-street, Cornhill; Butler and Co., 4, Cheapside; R. Johnson, 63, Cornhill; L. Hill, New Cross; W. B. Jones, Kingston; W. J. Tanner, Egham; S. Smith, Windsor; J. B. Shillock, Bromley; T. Riches, London-street, Greenwich; Thos. Parkes, Woolwich; Ede and Co., Dorking; and John Turley, High-street, Romford, of whom may be had the "SILENT FRIEND."

THE POPULAR REMEDY.

PARR'S LIFE PILLS.

Which are acknowledged to be all that is required to conquer Disease and Prolong Life.



Parr introduced to King Charles I.—(See "Life and Times of Thomas Parr," which may be had gratis of all Agents.)

The extraordinary properties of this medicine are thus described by an eminent physician, who says:—"After particular observation of the action of Parr's Pills, I am determined, in my opinion, that the following are their true properties:—

"First—They increase the strength, whilst most other medicines have a weakening effect upon the system. Let any one take from three to four or six pills every twenty-four hours, and, instead of having weakened, they will be found to have revived the animal spirits, and to have imparted a lasting strength to the body.

"Secondly—In their operation they go direct to the disease. After you have taken six or twelve pills you will experience their effect; the disease upon you will become less and less by every dose you take; and if you will persevere in regularly taking from three to six pills every day, your disease will speedily be entirely removed from the system.

"Thirdly—They are found, after giving them a fair trial for a few weeks, to possess the most astonishing and invigorating properties, and they will overcome all obstinate complaints, and restore sound health; there is a return of good appetite shortly from the beginning of their use; whilst their mildness as a purgative is a desideratum greatly required by the weak and delicate, particularly where violent purging is acknowledged to be injurious instead of beneficial.

TO PERSONS GOING ABROAD.

These pills are particularly recommended to all persons going abroad, and subjecting themselves to a great change of climate. Officers of the Army and Navy, Missionaries, Emigrants, &c., will find them an invaluable appendage to their medicine chests, as a preventative of the attacks of those diseases so prevalent in our Colonies, especially in the West Indies, where a small box recently sold for 10s. In America also its fame is getting known and its virtue duly appreciated, causing an immense demand for it; and there is no country or port in the world where it will not speedily become an article of extensive traffic and general utility, as it may be had recourse to in all cases of sickness, with confidence in its simplicity, and in its power to produce relief.

CAUTION.

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

Sold in boxes at 1s. 1½d., 2s. 9d., and family packets at 11s. each, by all respectable medicine vendors throughout the world. Full directions are given with each box.

Poetry.

HUNGARY.

Forbear, fond, foolish lovers of the Past
Who scornful glances on the Present cast !—
Blind heretics ! the base belief give o'er
That hearts heroical beat high no more,
That greatness rots with buried generations,
And History only knows of patriot nations.
Why shut your eyes to dream some glorious dreams
While full around the living glory streams ?
Why lavish all your heart on heroes gone,
Keep each enamoured verse for Marathon,
Deny that Morat yet again may be,
And Naseby deem the world's last holy victory ?
Heaven is more kind. O ! now, as then, the Earth
Still greatly teems, still bringeth heroes forth ;
Still are there nations despots to defy
And mighty souls to dare, and willing hosts to die,
Ye, whose fond hearts old heroes entertain
And in the distance hear some patriot strain,
Go, gather g'orious guests from this strange time ?
Go, listen *now*, and catch the sounds sublime !
Ope wide, east round your hero-asking eye—
Gaze, glut its appetite on Hungary !
There find full answer to your hearts' demand—
Behold the Hero-Host ! behold the Holy Land !

O peerless People ! though obscure your story
Nor gracious from the glow of world-wide glory,
Yet have ye lent this awful, glorious time
Its deepest awe, its glory most sublime,
The toiling, struggling nations all outwrought,
The world-embracing flame most purely caught,
With the deep passion most divinely burned,
Alone that lore most rare and lofty learned
To yield the sovereign soul the sovereign sway,
Sublimely choose and eagerly obey.

"Shall statesmen bid a deathless people die ?
"Shall Austria quench the light of Hungary ?
"Shall courtiers of its breath a nation cheat
"And tread the mighty corpse beneath their feet ?"
O ! eager, burning ear that People lent
While fulmined forth her hero eloquent !
See through inspired myriads rush and roll
The holy fire that burst from Kossuth's soul !
Proud nobles the divine devotion learn ;
Rude peasants with the flame heroic burn ;
God's servants raise the holy battle-cry ;
Weak women glow for Hungary to die—
Brave Beauty will not from the field be won ;
The ranks are rich with many an Amazon ;
And skilful chiefs this awful valour guide,
And hurl against the foe this fiery tide.
Great Captains ! peerless Host, ye cannot fail—
O ! holy, happy Cause, that must prevail
When such a people joins its awful might
With Bem's tremendous sword, and Kossuth's soul of light ;

Before such foemen Austria needs must yield ;
The heroes smite her on each battle-field—
With thronged triumphs rings their battle-cry—
They rush from victory to victory.
Behold her now ! imperial Austria see
The suppliant of contiguous tyranny !
In base despair she summons to the fight
The fatal forces of the Muscovite,
And woos the crushing aid, the killing care,
The dreadful gifts that Russian helpers bear.
O ! shall the world's huge Witherer consume
Aspiring Hungary's heroic bloom,
Another noble race make haste to whelm
And all unsoul another glorious realm ?
Up, Poland ! *snatch again* thy ravished sword !
Smite with the foemen of thy butcher-lord—
Hark ! Hungary calls ! the Lord would thee deliver !
To arms ! To arms ! or rot in chains for ever !
Up, Ottomans ! your final hour draws nigh ;
Would ye yet live ? join hosts with Hungary !
O Europe ! if with holy fire to burn
Transcends thy poorness, vulgar wisdom learn !
A lonely nation dares the Holy War
And braves sublime the world's huge Witherer.
Wilt thou behold unmoved the awful strife,
Watch meekly out heroic Hungary's life,
Turn from the fighters of thy special fight,
And woo thy master in the Muscovite—
Repeat thy base assent to Poland's doom,
And weep thy sordid guilt o'er Hungary's tomb ?
Land of my love ! dear people of my heart !
O ! shall your life be quenched ? your life depart ?
Shall all the glorious valour be in vain
And Russia blast you with her hideous reign ?
Must Freedom mourn her slaughtered Hero-Band
And Europe miss her withered Holy Land ?
O Lord of Hosts ! with this dear host remain !
O God of Grace ! the good old Cause maintain !
Grant, grant my soul the ecstacy to see
Thy smile upon triumphant Hungary—
The nations 'neath her glowing soul made bright,
And rest and glory for her Sons of Light.

Birmingham Mercury.

Reviews.

THE ILLUSTRATED ATLAS, AND MODERN HISTORY OF THE WORLD. Edited by R. Montgomery Martin, Esq. Parts III. and IV. London: J. and F. Tallis, 100, St. John-street.

These parts contain maps of the Western Hemisphere, Northern Italy, Southern Italy, and Denmark. It is not possible, in the compass of a few words, to do justice to the merits of this beautiful and useful work, which must be seen to be appreciated. The maps (with the accompanying illustrations), are superb; and, altogether, this is one of the cheapest and best publications of the day.

The History of Ireland. By T. Wright, Esq., M.A., &c., &c. Part XI. London: J. and F. Tallis, 100, St. John-street.

A portion of the events of the reign of Queen Elizabeth occupy this part, including the murder of Davels, the long-continued rebellion of the Geraldines, the massacre of the Spanish adventurers, the overthrow and tragical deaths of the Earl of Desmond, Sir John of Desmond, and most of the Geraldine leaders; broils and battles, murder and misery—the history of Ireland is a truly frightful record. In the wars with the Desmonds, Captain Raleigh, afterwards the celebrated Sir Walter Raleigh, and Spenser, the poet, are brought before us as actors in the strife. One of the most curious and interesting chapters of the History is devoted to an abridged re-production of Spenser's treatise on "The State of Ireland." In the following extract is described one of the principal causes of Irish suffering and anarchy, which, denounced by Spenser nearly three hundred years ago, has continued, nevertheless, without amendment to the present hour.

LANDLORDS AND TENANTS.

"The lords of land and freeholders," we quote the words of Spenser, "do not there use to set out their land in farms, or for a term of years, to their tenants, but only from year to year, and some during pleasure, neither indeed will the Irish tenant or husbandman otherwise take his land than so long as he list himself. The reason hereof in the tenant is, for that the landlords there use most shamefully to rack their tenants, laying upon them coyne and livery at pleasure, and exacting of them (besides his covenants) what he pleaseth. So that the poor husbandman either dare not bind himself to him for a longer term, or thinketh by his continual liberty of change to keep his landlord the rather in awe from wronging of him. And the reason why the landlord will no longer covenant with him, is, for that he daily looketh after change and alteration, and hovereth in expectation of new worlds."

The result of this system was naturally enough that the tenant was not encouraged to improve the land, or build upon it, and that it thus became less profitable to the landlord himself. Spenser observes: "For what reasonable man will not think that the tenement shall be made much better for the lord's behoof, if the tenant may by such good means be drawn to build himself some handsome habitation thereon, to ditch and enclose his ground, to manure and husband it as good farmers use ? For when his tenant's term shall be expired, it will yield him, in the renewing his lease, both a good fine and also a better rent. And also it shall be for the good of the tenant likewise, who by such buildings and enclosures shall receive many benefits; first, by the handsomeness of his house he shall take more comfort of his life, more safe dwelling, and a delight to keep his said house neat and cleanly, which now being, as they commonly are, rather swine-sties than houses, is the chiefest cause of his so beastly manner of life and savage condition, lying and living together with his beast, in one house, in one room, in one bed, that is clean straw, or rather a foul dunghill."

We are sorry to say that most of Spenser's projected reforms were merely schemes for establishing the sway of the English government, by force and persecution. He recommended the extirpation, by violence, of every vestige of Irish nationality, and a war of extermination against all who failed to make immediate submission to England.

This month's illustration is a most beautiful engraving, representing Richard Earl of Pembroke taking leave of his brother. We should add, that in this part will be found a sketch of the far-famed Grace O'Malley, the Graine-ni-Mhaile (Granu Weale) of Irish legend and song.

Mackenzie's Educational Books; Elementary Works, Catechisms, &c.; Murray's Grammar; Mackenzie's Arithmetical, Commercial, and Artificer's Tables; Wine-office Court, London.

These two works are the commencement of a series of cheap school books, and elementary scientific works, which must prove a valuable boon to the working man; for here is given, in euery respect, as much as is usually sold for one shilling, or, at the lowest—ninepence, for the small sum of twopence. We do not know the secrets of the "trade," but the reduction seems enormous. How "the trade" may benefit by their sale we cannot say; this we know, the purchaser, whether for his own or his family's use, will derive great advantage. The prospectus, in reference to placing the rudiments of scientific knowledge within the reach of all classes, truly says:—"A seed thus scattered may fall on a congenial soil, and result in a fertility gratifying to its possessor, and honourable to our country." And again: "In the most humble establishments the price will allow every member of a class to possess a copy of the work from which he has to gain instruction. Where a family is numerous, each child may have the advantage of its own book, while the parent will not feel the cost a serious item in pecuniary expenditure. The adult, virtuously ambitious of attainments, not within his reach in youth, may also, by a trifling outlay, have the elements of self-instruction at his command."

"Murray's Grammar" requires not criticism at our hands, the prospectus continues—"Our belief is that our project will prove more universally useful by not disturbing the present economy of schools, and that many parents more readily aid their children's progress by having those works which are familiar to themselves. At the same time the greatest attention and care will be bestowed on emendations rendered necessary by the improvements, discoveries, and truths revealed in the continual progress of knowledge.

The "Book of Tables" would occupy a page to fully describe the mass of useful information it contains. The title is:—

"New and correct Commercial, Arithmetical, Miscellaneous and Artificers' Tables, for the use of Schools, Counting-houses and Workshops. Calculations in Bricklaying, Carpentry, Lathing, Masonry, Paper Hanging, Paving, Planting, Plastering, Slating, Tiling, Well-sinking, Digging, &c., &c. Fractions and Decimals. Forms of Receipts and Bills for the Man of Business. Statistics. Curious and Scientific Calculations on Man, Steam, Railways, Power, Light, Wind, &c. Language and Alphabets. The Calendar of the Church. Scripture Money, to assist those Reading or Teaching the Holy Bible. Principal Foreign Monies and Measures for the Traveller or Merchant. Geographical and Astronomical Tables. The Compass. Miscellaneous Tables, &c., &c."

We pick out the following curious and startling calculations under the head of

DISTRIBUTION OF THE SOIL OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

There are in Great Britain, 4,761,091 males twenty years of age and upwards, and according to the foregoing statement, there are 43,948,000 acres *of good land, thus being for every man in England*, Scotland, and Wales, 9 acres and 36 43-47 perches; the unimprovable having been deducted.

There are in Ireland 1,890,763 males upwards of twenty years of age; and there being 19,441,944 acres fit for cultivation, it gives for the labour of every man 9 acres and 26-36 of a perch.

The lowest rental of land in England, (Wilts) averages 9s. per acre, the highest (Middlesex) 33s. 9d. In Wales the lowest average is 4s. 8d.; the highest 19s. per acre. The average rental of land in all England per acre is 18s. 10d.; in all Wales 9s. 5d.;—in England and Wales combined the average is 17s. 8d.

Captain Leigh Lye calculates that land let out at 3d. per perch, or £2 per acre in field gardens, produces a profit to the labourer of £20 a year—thus, then, if the present population was sufficient so to cultivate the soil, the rental produced from it in Great Britain would be £87,896,000, while the annual profit to the cultivators would be £878,960,000; which profit divided would be to every man of twenty years of age and above, £184 12s. 3½d. per year, or £3 11s. weekly. In Ireland, were there a population large enough to cultivate the land, the annual rental, at the same estimate, would be £38,883,888; and yield an annual profit to the cultivators of £388,838,880; being an annual sum to every man above twenty years of age, in Ireland, if they could manage to work this much land, of £205 13s. annually, or £3 19s. 1d. weekly.

Since 1801, 3,740,528 acres of the commons' land have been enclosed by acts of parliament, of which the rental, estimated as before, would be £7,481,056 per year, and the profit to the labourers, if so let to them, £74,810,560 annually.

There are 14,834,000 acres of waste land in Great Britain and Ireland; this, if let at Captain Lye's estimate, would yield a rental of £29,668,000, and give a profit to the labourers of £296,680,000.

What a curious fact to sit down and read a book of tables as an amusement, yet we have done so with advantage. The statistics of the European powers, at the present time, is intensely interesting. We sincerely recommend these works to all our readers, on account of excellence, utility, and price.

A Lesson for Artisans.—I am a married man, with a wife and five children, says a correspondent of the *Builder*, who are dependent upon my exertions for their support. Being a working mechanic my income is (when employed) £1 10s. per week. My parents, thirty years ago, were similarly situated, with about one-third of this income. From them I learned a lesson of economy. The great question with me is, *what quantity and quality* of the necessaries of life are most conducive to promote health, strength, and happiness. Guided by the wise in former ages, and by my own experience, I have long since come to the conclusion—that man's real wants are comparatively few. I have found, therefore, in past years, that two-thirds of *my income will sufficiently supply myself and family* with the necessaries of life; the one-sixth of the same will meet the casualties of loss of employment; the other sixth, which is 5s. per week, or about £10 per year, is laid by for sickness or age. This trifling sum! with interest and compound interest, in a few years will make a poor man comparatively rich. Now, I am persuaded that there are thousands of working men, if they would make an honest statement of what they spend foolishly, the amount so spent would be more than I pretend to save, and they are often laying themselves under the necessity of giving twenty per cent. for pledges of their property, when at the same time they might, by resolution and good management, be receiving instead of giving interest for money. Let these hints be received in the spirit they are given. Let them excite an honest ambition to raise ourselves from that state of degradation in which too many of us are found.

At a village not many miles from Driffield, where the schoolmaster seems "not to be abroad," the office of sexton recently became vacant, and a successor was sought by a notice on the church door, announcing that "a *Saxon* was wanted." A wag seeing this, wrote underneath it, "Won't a *Dane* do ?"

A domestic newly engaged presented to his master one morning a pair of boots, the leg of one of which was much longer than the other. "How comes it, Patrick, that these boots are not of the same length ?"—"I raly don't know, sir, but what bothers me the most is, that the pair down stairs are in the same fix."

A Sea Snake.—On Monday an extraordinary specimen of the Gymnetrus, which has recently been caught off the coast of Northumberland, to which the apellation of Gymnetrus Northumbricus has, in consequence, been given, was exhibited at the Cosmorama Rooms, Regent-street. It is upwards of thirteen feet in length, and bears a striking resemblance, in its principal features, to the sketches and descriptions hitherto given of the great marine monster, to which the title of "sea serpent" has been given. The Gymnetrus has already been exhibited in Newcastle-on-Tyne, where it was inspected by a great number of persons; and there is little doubt but that the speculation will be equally attractive and successful in this metropolis.

Death of Miss Edgeworth.—Maria Edgeworth, the celebrated Irish novelist, died at Edgeworthstown, county of Longford, on the morning of Monday last, after a few hours' illness. She had reached an advanced age, and the last years of her life were passed in her native village in tranquillity and peace.

Lord Gough has sent over £70,000 for the purchase of an ancestral estate in Ireland.

SUNSHINE AND SHADOW; A TALE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

BY THOMAS MARTIN WHEELER,

Late Secretary to the National Charter Association and National Land Company.

CHAPTER VIII.

Poverty hath a sharp and goading power
To wring the torture cry, and fill the breath
With frantic curses or despairing sighs ;
But her cold withering grasp is deepest felt
By the fine spirit that endures in silence,
And trembles lest his shallow purse be sounded
By the sleek friends about him—him who dreads
The taunting mockery that ever waits
On sensibility, unwarranted by wealth.

* * *

He does not show
The vagrant's rags, and tell the whining tale
Of doleful falsehood. He has never learnt
To shape his language in beseeching tone,
And stand a mendicant beneath the roof
Of some rich kin, who gives such good advice
To qualify the charitable gold,
That proud and honourable palms shrink back,
And rather grapple with the spectre hand
Of famine, than accept the boon so granted.

Eliza Cook.

'Tis eve, and Arthur Morton has once more returned to his lodgings after another day of fruitless application for employment,—his last shilling is expended,—every available article of clothing has been disposed of, and no resource suggests itself to his racked imagination save an application to his uncle. Pride, which lingers long in the human bosom—which often proves stronger than love of life—forbade his approach to his uncle's doors, but conscience whispered, and hunger echoed the whisper, that it was a crime to die of starvation while such a resource remained open to him, and, ere he slept, he determined to avail himself of this last barrier between himself and famine.

Early next morning found him at his uncle's residence, where he was informed by a young girl (the ancient dame had been discharged,) that Mr. and Mrs. Morton were gone into the country for a fortnight. Arthur, notwithstanding his pride, could scarce avoid tears as this last hope was rent from him; he, however, explained his relationship, and was kindly asked into the house and invited to partake of the girl's homely fare (she was on board wages). Arthur, melted into weakness by her apparent kindness, explained to her his distressed situation, and felt relieved by the audible vents thus given to his feelings; the poor girl sympathised with him, and insisted upon his taking the remainder of the loaf and cheese, and, unknown to him, wrapped up a shilling with it. Kind-hearted Sally, it was thy only shilling, and will be needed before thy master's return, but truly thou reasonest, that thou hast a shelter, and the reflection of thy master's credit will enable thee to obtain credit also, and never could thy woman's heart hear tales of distress and not, if it was in thy power, relieve it. Type art thou of thy class! would that those calling themselves the middle and upper classes would *profit by thy example*. Honour to the working men and women of England! poor and unable to provide against the future as are the many; careless and improvident as are the few; never does distress fall with a heavy hand upon a brother or sister of their acquaintance, but out of their poverty they give with a nobleness of heart that redeems a thousand errors, and outweighs a host of vulgarities. Oftentimes their method of rendering assistance may be expensive and ill-judged—as benefits at theatres, balls, concerts, tea parties, lotteries, raffles, &c.; but among what other class of society is such active and devoted benevolence seen ? And though the political economist, buttoning up his pockets as though there was any danger of the money leaving them, may assure us that indiscriminate charity is both vicious and impolitic, yet it is a vice so near akin to virtue, that the working classes will be excused by all but the said economists for indulging in it. And well does experience teach, not only the professional beggar, but the really distressed, that it is not at our west-end palaces, nor at our merchant's counters, or from our shopkeeper's tills, that they will receive the dole of charity, but at the residences of those who are but one remove from themselves, and whom the caprice of a master, a change in trade, and many other causes, may speedily place in as bad a condition. But Arthur, inexperienced in these matters, thought not of appealing to charity, or thought of it only as a last resource.

Tired of pacing the crowded streets of London, where, to his eyes, all seemed busy, all occupied, and he alone an unwilling idler, he turned his steps towards the northern suburbs, in the faint hope that the country would prove more fortunate to him than the metropolis had been. Hour after hour did he travel through the suburbs, inquiring for employment at every printer's, until the shades of evening came o'er him as he ascended the famous Highgate Hill, where, seating himself by the roadside, he undid his packet of bread and cheese, and was astonished at the sight of the shilling,—this was indeed a treasure to him. Oh! how he blessed the kindness of that poor girl. Those who have never felt the pangs of poverty, who have never been in a similar condition to our hero, cannot imagine the feeling of joy with which he gazed on that piece of silver, 'twas a mine of wealth that would enable him to reach Birmingham, where he hoped his wanderings would cease. With new vigour he arose and pursued his journey until nightfall, when taking advantage of a kindly haystack, adjacent to the roadside, (the shilling was too great a treasure to be spent for lodging,) he speedily fell asleep and dreamt of mines of gold, and steam presses, and newspapers printed with gold and silver type. Oh! what a blessing is sleep to the poor and needy. The beggar under its gentle spell can be as completely blessed during half the hours of his existence as he who heaps gold in his iron chest; yea, more so, for no pandering to a pampered appetite will bring visions of nightmare to his couch,—no fear of robbers at his treasured store cloud the brightness of his dreams. Despots of the earth! Mammon worshippers! who coin our blood and sinews into gold, thanks be to God, ye have no power in the realm of imagination, in dreams at least we are free; in the visions of the night we can for a while lose sight of the harsh realities of the day. So it was with Arthur; he was no longer a poor friendless outcast, with a haystack for his bed, his bundle for a pillow, and the damp dews of night for his curtain, but an eastern monarch, surrounded with gold and silver ore, which his slaves around were casting into dazzling type. The rising sun saw Arthur again resume his journey, and thus passed several days, during which time he lived on bread and water, and the heavens were his nightly canopy, but cheered by that bright phantom, Hope, he at length reached Birmingham.

Reader hast thou ever visited this mighty emporium of iron and steel, worked into every pattern, shape, and device that human ingenuity can suggest. Here is the metal forged that the warrior wields triumphant in the battle's desperate strife; here the thimble, emblem of industry, worn even to the wearer's bone in the still harder conflict of female industry against the Jewocracy of the world; here are wrought the ornaments which glitter on the dressing table of the wealthiest lady in the land; and here, also, *every instrument*, every tool that the professional man, the mechanic, or the agriculturist can require. Happy union of elegance and utility—of the arts of war and peace. Long has the versatility of thy trades saved thee from the extremes of indigence, too often felt by thy sisters, Manchester and Liverpool, Dublin and Glasgow. Long hast thou been the world's mart for all the devices of Tubal Cain, from the plaything of the child to the weapon of the man! Look well to thyself thou city of swarth-faced and bare-armed artisans—thou parent of Cheap Johns and mock auctions—or thy rivals in Saxony will beat thee not only out of the world's market, but even out of those of thine own land, and thy fame will only be a dream of the past. Such is the sure result of the policy of partial Free Trade, which thy merchants, thy shopkeepers have assisted to bring about, and in which too many of thy artisans have suicidally acquiesced. But we are not writing a political essay, and therefore must discontinue this theme, but Birmingham and politics were at the period of our tale almost synonimous. The iron-handed men of Birmingham, armed to the teeth by the Whig press, and arrayed in martial columns, were the magic which hurled Toryism from its throne,—cowed the most gallant aristocracy in the world,—gave the nation a delusive benefit in the shape of a Reform Bill,—and a real injury in raising to place and pay the Whig conjurors, for whose especial behoof the phantasmagoria of the Birmingham revolution was brought into existence.

Seven years had passed since that eventful period in England's history. The men of Birmingham—the men of England—had discovered they had been made tools in the hands of the Whigs and their *bourgeoisie* supporters, and defrauded of all share of the spoils of the dead carcass of Toryism; and in order to obtain from Whig fear what justice and gratitude should have immediately granted, they had banded together from north to south—from John o'Groat's to Land's End—in one vast combination, to agitate for their political rights, and had embodied those rights in a document called the People's Charter. They had also elected forty-nine delegates to sit in London and enforce upon Parliament the adoption of these views. It was at this juncture that our hero arrived in Birmingham; ortune befriended him in procuring immediate employment in a printing establishment, whose proprietor was a strong advocate of Chartist principles. Here was a vast field of speculation open to Arthur, a passionate lover of liberty, as embodied to him in the dream of the poet,—the musings of the philosopher,—or the motley garb of the historian; he had never considered the details necessary to ensure and retain the presence of the bright goddess. His had heretofore been a dreamy worship offered at the shrine of a Deity enveloped in dim but glorious shadow, whose outline was too vast for contemplation, and whose features ever appeared to vary with the varying imagination. A study of the principles of Chartism gave form, proportion, and colour to the shadow of his imagination, and arrayed it in the garb of right, reason, and justice. A close and enthusiastic study of the subject soon made him perceive that a love for liberty *in name only*, without a careful application of its principles, was vain and delusive. Stern truth is there in the words of Algernon Sydney, "Britons have died in defence of Liberty without knowing what Liberty was." Precious blood! lavishly, but uselessly, shed. They chased a goddess, but embraced a fiend. Heart and soul did Arthur Morton enter into the high wrought feelings which then characterised political agitation. Young, and enthusiastic, having no other ties to distract his imagination, he mentally vowed to dedicate every energy of his mind and body to the furtherance of these, to him, novel yet glorious principles. The dreams of his youth were awakening into realities; the seeds of ambition were springing forth in the genial soil into which they had been thrown; who shall say, whether to be blighted by evil passions, crushed by despotic rule, or ripen to wholesome fruition ? Happy youth! the perils of the past were forgotten, or remembered only with pleasure, as obstacles surmounted. The void in his bosom was occupied. His yearning for the pure and beautiful was gratified. "Chartism, the foul fiend of mischief and anarchy," was the pure divinity of his soul, and all that tended to increase her worship was holy in his imagination. Bright and pleasing vision! too soon wilt thou awake and discover that "her altar is bedewed with tears of blood; that her worshippers are the contemned of the world,—the discontented and wretched outcasts of society; that to avow yourself a Chartist is to court persecution, transportation and death!"

(*To be continued.*)

THE DARLEY MAIN COLLIERY EXPLOSION.

REPORT TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

The official report of Mr. Seymour Tremenheere, Inspector of Mines, to the Secretary of State, on the explosion in the Darley Main Colliery, near Barnsley, on the 24th of January last, has been published. Our readers are aware that Mr. Tremenheere's office does not, properly, authorise him to take cognisance of such events—that his powers are derived, in ordinary cases, from the statute commonly called "Lord Ashley's Act," passed in 1842, 5 & 6 Vic., c. 99, prohibiting the employment of women and girls in mines; and that his official duties, in fact, only include the carrying of the provisions of that act into effect, and reporting annually to the Secretary of State on the condition of the mining population. Since the passing of that act, however, the subject of explosions in collieries has been gradually forcing itself upon public attention. And the practical question raised by the present report is—Whether it is not expedient to appoint an Inspector of Mines, particularly with reference *to collieries, who shall be expressly authorised* to examine and report upon their condition with reference to ventilation and other particulars, neglect of which has been repeatedly proved to be the cause of such dreadful accidents as that now particularly adverted to.

By the Darley Main explosion seventy-five lives were lost; and Mr. Warrington Smyth (*mining engineer to the Geological Survey*) was deputed by the government to act with Mr. Tremenheere in the investigation of its causes. An explosion had occurred in the same colliery in February, 1847, by which six lives were lost. And on the 5th of March, 1847, at the Ardsley Main Colliery, about two miles off, seventy-three persons were killed by a similar explosion; making one hundred and fifty-four deaths from the same cause, and in the same neighbourhood, within two years. Not that the Barnsley colliers have a monopoly of such accidents—for in January, 1846, upwards of forty persons were killed by an explosion in a colliery at Risca, near Newport, in Monmouthshire—in July, 1845, forty persons were killed at the Jarrow Colliery—and in September, 1844, no less than ninety-four persons were killed at the Haswell Colliery. Professor Faraday and Mr. Lyell reported upon the Haswell affair; Dr. Lyon Playfair upon that at Jarrow; and Sir H. De la Bêche upon that at Risca. We have also reports by Sir H. De la Bêche and Mr. W. Smyth on an explosion at Oldbury, in Staffordshire, in December, 1846, and another at Coppul, in Lancashire, in January, 1847. And when we place these several reports in juxtaposition with that of Mr. Tremenheere, now published, and observe the remarkable agreement of all these gentlemen, on all these various examinations, as to the cause of the loss of life, we must admit that, adverse as we are to the interference of the government in the affairs of individuals, we regard his proposition of the appointment of an "Inspector of Mines," duly qualified and authorised to examine periodically, and point out the defects in the underground management of collieries, as one well worthy of favourable consideration. We have had eight explosions more or less extensively destructive of life, and as many scientific reports upon their causes, within less than four years; and it is now suggested that we should modify our mode of dealing with such events by making examination before instead of after the occurrence of the mischief.

The colliery viewers in the north have already, more than once, expressed a strong desire to have the collieries submitted to the periodical inspection of a government officer; and this wish was reiterated by the witnesses on the present occasion, and embodied in the verdict of the jury. Mr. Tremenheere favours the proposition—avowing his own want of practical ability to undertake such an office—but urging in corroboration of his opinion the practice in France and Belgium, which he had occasion to investigate last year, under instructions from Sir George Grey. The example is a good one. It involves no compulsory powers on the part of the inspector. Though the laws and regulations relating to mining inspection in those countries date from the decrees of the National Assembly of 1791, modified by subsequent decrees of Napoleon, and although all mining property belongs virtually to the government, and no person can work a mine without its permission, so that the method of working may be defined as by the proprietor, instances of compulsion on the part of the government are rare. Mr. Tremenheere observes:—

"I state in my report which was laid before parliament last year as follows:—'The law has most carefully abstained from investing the inspectors with any direct authority.' The nature of their interposition is best described by M. Regnaud, in his exposition of the motives for the project of law presented to the legislature of France in April, 1810:—'The corps of engineers of mines will diffuse everywhere its intelligence and counsels, without imposing directions, without exercising any constraint whatever upon the mode of managing the works. They will enlighten the proprietors and the administration; they will examine and establish facts, but in no case will they give directions.' Again, M. Regnaud states that the object of the administration will be 'to use the ascendancy of enlightenment, not the influence of authority; to persuade, not to constrain.' Other statements with regard to the intention of the law are to the same effect. And as respects its working, all authorities in both countries connected with the subject, namely, the ministers of public works, the engineers or inspectors in chief, and the local inspectors in all the districts I visited, concurred that the law was carried out entirely in that spirit."

This system, it will be observed, contrasts most favourably with any yet urged in the House of Commons. In June, 1847, soon after the presentation of a petition purporting to express the opinion of 60,000 colliers, Messrs. Duncombe, Bernal, and Aglionby brought in a bill by which they proposed to empower an inspector to direct the owner of a colliery to alter his system of ventilation as the inspector might deem advisable, under a penalty of £100 for e ch act of disobedience. But this was too much for even the most ardent advocates of government interference who happened to know anything of collieries. So the bill was withdrawn, and another brought in, with an additional sponsor in the person of Mr. Hume, which, had it passed, would have compelled the use of Davy lamps for a limited time, whether needed or not; and would also have empowered (and, in effect, required) the Secretary of State to order the doing of certain things relating to the internal management of mines, neglect of which would have been a misdemeanor if damage did not ensue, and felony if it did. This bill also was withdrawn; and in the autumn following Sir G. Grey directed the inquiry into the French and Belgian regulations, the results of which were laid before parliament last session.

According to the census of 1841, the number of persons then employed in mines of all descriptions in Great Britain was 193,825, of which in 118,233 were in coal, and 10,449 in iron mines. But as the miners of iron and coal easily change occupations, and in 1841 the iron trade was much depressed and the coal trade in full activity, perhaps the number in the latter rather exceeded the average. They might now, however, safely be taken at 130,000, and as representing a *population of half a million.*

Mr. Tremenheere is of opinion "that a sufficient system of colliery inspection might be established at about one-third of the cost of factories, namely, for between £3,500 and £4,000 a year, or much less than it costs in Belgium." We presume this estimate applies to Great Britain. The larger sum, t ken as the cost of partially ensuring the safety of 130,000 men, would represent a payment of about 7d. per head per annum.

The continental systems suggest that this outlay might also be made useful in promoting the scientific instruction and examination of the managers of the collieries; but this is a part of the subject our space will not permit us at present to enter upon.

Varieties.

Doctrine of Passive Obedience.—The doctrine of passive obedience is so repugnant to the genuine feelings of human nature, that it can never be completely acted on. A secret dread that popular vengeance will awake, and nature assert her rights, imposes a restraint which the most determined despotism is not able to shake off. The rude reason of the multitude may be perplexed; but the sentiments of the heart are not easily perverted.—*Robert Hall.*

An Irish clergyman, *having gone to visit the portraits* of the Scottish kings in Holyrood House, observed one of the monarchs of a very youthful appearance, whilst *his son* was depicted with a long beard, and wore the traits of extreme old age. "Sancta Maria!" exclaimed the good Hibernian, "is it possible that this gentleman was an *old man* when his *father was born.*"

Spots on the Sun.—There is at the present time in the centre of the sun's disc a collection of spots of such extent that the whole may be seen as one spot, without the aid of magnifying power, by merely protecting the eye by a dark glass. With a good telescope the spots present a very curious appearance.

SUNDAY IN SCOTLAND.

If e'er to Scotland I should go, I hope I never may
Fall ill upon a Sunday from a doctor's far away;
For Sunday trains Scotch Pharisees forbid to run, and I,
Ere on Monday the physician came, might comfortably—die.—*Punch.*

Shrewd Thought of a Patriot.—Eighteen years since, I used to walk by the New Exchange-gate, where stood an overgrown porter with his gown and staff, which gave him a semblance of authority. It was his business to regulate the coachmen before the entrance, and he would make nothing of lifting a coachman off his box, beating him, and then throwing him into his box again. I have several times looked up at this tall mastering fellow, and put the case:—"Suppose this conqueror should take me up under his arm like a gizzard and run away with me, am I his subject ?" "No," thought I, "I am my own man, and not his; and having thus invaded me, if I could not otherwise rescue myself from him, I would smite him under the fifth rib." From that time I have had a clear idea of a conquest.—*Rev. Samuel Johnson. Remarks on the Pastoral Letter*, 1689.

Longevity in the Fens.—Three widow ladies (sisters) met together at Fiskerton, on Wednesday, the 2nd instant, to celebrate the birth-day of the second sister, over a cup of their favourite beverage; the united ages of the venerable trio amounted to 238 years. There are brother and two sisters of the same family, whose united ages make 205 years; a total of 443 years for six individuals.—*Lincolnshire Chronicle.*

The North-East Wind.—The north-easter was still blowing, parching the earth and chilling the very souls of men. Mr. Spread could not help thinking, as he buttoned himself up to the throat, of Barker's perverse fancy for the rascalliest wind that blows. Boreas is a ruffian and a bully, but the north-east is a rascal. Æolus has not such a vicious ill-conditioned blast in his puffy bags. It withers like an evil eye—it blights like a parent's curse—unkinder than ingratitude—more biting than forgotten benefits. It comes with sickness on its wings, and rejoices the doctor and the sexton. When Charon hoists his sail, it is the north-east that swells it, it purveys for famine, and caters for pestilence. From the savage realms of of the Czars it comes with a desolating sweep, laden with moans from the Siberian mines, and sounding like echoes of the knout; but not a fragrant breath brings it from the rosaries of Persia, so destitute is it of grace and charity. While it reigns, no fire heats, no raiment comforts, no walls protect—cold without bracing—scorching without warmth. It deflowers the earth, and it wans the sky. The ghastliest of hues overspreads the face of things, and collapsing nature seems expiring of the cholera.—*The Bachelor of the Albany.*

Human Maladies.—John Abernethy, the eminent surgeon, used to tell his scholars that all human maladies proceeded from two causes—stuffing and fretting.

True Policy of Kings.—It is wisdom in him that sits at the helm of a settled state, to demean himself toward his subjects at all times so that upon any evil accident they may be ready to serve his occasion. He that is gracious only at the approach of a danger, will be in danger when he expects deliverance.—*Francis Quarle's Enchiridion*, 1648.

The Persians have a saying that "ten measures of talk were sent down upon the earth, and the women took nine."

The matrimonial blacksmith at Gretna Green, being asked why old women were so fond of matrimony, replied, "You know that old wood catches fire in an instant."

An omnibus conductor said to the driver "Full inside, Bob! We have two Swans, one Ship, one Red Lion, two White Horses, one Telegraph, four Elephants, one Crown and Sceptre, and a George the Fourth."

Old customs are not all extinct. The *Western Times* narrates of Teignmouth—May-day was kept up gaily; the lasses who sigh for beauty were up with the sun to dip in the dew, according to the old verse:—

The fair maid who, the first of May,
Goes to the fields at break of day,
And washes in dew from the hawthorn tree,
Will ever after handsome be.

There was scarcely one fair maid who did not try the charm.

Annual Parliaments.—As to parliaments, I adored the wisdom of that Gothic institution which makes them ANNUAL; and was confident our liberty could never be placed upon a firm foundation, until that ancient law was restored among us. For, who sees not, that while such assemblies are permitted to have a longer duration, there grows up a commerce of corruption between the minister and the deputies, wherein they both find their accounts, to the manifest danger of liberty ? which traffic would neither answer the design nor expense, if parliaments met once a-year.—*Dean Swift's Letters to Pope.*

One of the bricks brought from the ruins of Nimroud, besides the letter inscribed on it, is marked with the footsteps of a weasel, which must have run over the brick before it had dried, so that the little animal and the mighty Assyrian king have stamped a record of their existence on the same piece of clay.

A ship to navigate the air has been invented at Boston, and the patentee declares that three days will suffice to carry passengers thence to California.

Natural Advantages of a Republic.—In a well-constituted republic, nothing of soldering, praising, and pitying, can take place; the representation being equal throughout the country, and complete in itself, however it may be arranged into legislative and executive, they have all one and the same natural source. The parts are not foreigners to each other, like democracy, aristocracy, and monarchy. As there are no discordant distinctions, there is nothing to corrupt by compromise, nor confound by contrivance. Public measures appeal of themselves to the understanding of the nation, and, resting on their own merits, disown any flattering application to vanity. The continual whine of lamenting the burthen of taxes, however successfully it may be practised in mixed governments, is inconsistent with the sense and spirit of a republic. If taxes are necessary, they of course are advantageous; but if they require an apology, the apology itself implies an impeachment. Why then is man thus imposed upon, or why does he impose upon himself ?—*Paine's Rights of Man.*

Romantic Incident.—The Rev. Dr. Stonard, rector of Aldingham, near Ulverston, who died the other day, has left £30,000, the reversionary right to £1,000 a year more, with a valuable mansion and other property, to a youth named Scholic, whom he hired as a footboy seven or eight years ago, but whom he subsequently promoted to the rank of friend and companion.

An Irishman who was talking in rather ambiguous terms about the sudden death of his paternal relative, was asked if he had lived high ? "Well, I can't say he did," said Terence, "but he died high." "Why, what do you mean ?" "Faith, I mean that, like the Habeus Corpus Act, he was *suspended.*"

"My dear, don't say tale, say narrative," said a modest lady to her little son, who was relating a very interesting "tale" he had just read in the newspaper. While the little fellow was thinking of his mistake, the old house dog walked in, shaking his tail and looking quite familiarly at the boy, when he exclaimed, "Ma, make Sancho quit shaking his narrative."

A Female M.P.—We have just learned a most extraordinary fact, and one which, however amazing it may appear, is, we are assured, literally true. A person was recently buried some few miles from Edinburgh under very singular circumstances. The death and attendant ceremonies were duly chronicled in our paper. The individual had sat for some time as a member of Parliament for an English burgh, and was well known as a highly respectable landed gentleman. Now, it would appear, in consequence of certain disputes among the heirs at law, that the title of the party to the male character is doubted, and that, notwithstanding the difficulties connected with the peculiar kind of interment chosen by the deceased, the body is to be disinterred, in order to prove the sex of the defunct M.P. "We are familiar with cases of females acting as sailors, navvies, and in other employments, but the case of a female member of parliament is, in common phrase, 'altogether unprecedented.'"—*Edinburgh News.*—[Wherefore should our contemporary affect a mystery as to the name, in a case which presents mystery enough in its nature ? He alludes to William Henry Miller, of Craigintinny, Esq., late M.P. for Newcastle-under-Lyne. For our own part we never saw a man who looked so little like a woman.—*Morning Post.*]

TRY ERE YOU DESPAIR.

HOLLOWAY'S PILLS.

CURE OF ASTHMA.

Extract of a Letter from Mr. Benjamin Mackie, a respectable Quaker, dated Creenagh, near Loughall, Ireland, dated September 11th, 1848.

Respected Friend,—Thy excellent Pills have effectually cured me of an asthma, which afflicted me for three years to such an extent that I was obliged to walk my room at night for air, afraid of being suffocated if I went to bed by cough and phlegm. Besides taking the Pills, I rubbed plenty of thy Ointment into my chest night and morning.—(Signed) Benjamin Mackie.—To Professor Holloway.

CURE OF TYPHUS FEVER WHEN SUPPOSED TO BE AT THE POINT OF DEATH.

A respectable female in the neighbourhood of Loughall was attacked with typhus fever, and lay for five days without having tasted any description of food. She was given over by the surgeon, and preparations were made for her demise. Mr. Benjamin Mackie, the Quaker, whose case is referred to above, heard of the circumstance, and knowing the immense benefit that he himself had derived from Holloway's Pills, recommended an immediate trial, and eight were given to her, and the same number was continued night and morning for three days, and in a very short time she was completely cured.

N.B.—From advice just received, it appears that Colonel Dear, who is with his regiment in India, the 21st Fusileers, cured himself of a very bad attack of fever by these celebrated Pills. There is no doubt that any fever, however malignant, may be cured by taking, night and morning, copious doses of this medicine. The patient should be induced to drink plentifully o warm linseed tea or barley water.

CURE OF DROPSY IN THE CHEST.

Extract of a Letter from J. S. Mundy, Esq., dated Kennington, near Oxford, December 2nd, 1848.

Sir,—My shepherd for some time was afflicted with water on the chest, when I heard of it I immediately advised him to try your Pills, which he did, *and was perfectly cured*, and is now as well as ever he was in his life. As I myself received so astonishing a cure last year from your Pills and Ointment, it has ever since been my most earnest endeavour to make known their excellent qualities.—(Signed) J. S. Mundy.—To Professor Holloway.

CURE OF A DELIBITATED CONSTITUTION.

Mr. Mate, a storekeeper, of Gundagai, New South Wales, had been for some time in a most delicate state of health, his constitution was so debilitated that his death was shortly looked upon by himself and friends as certain; but as a forlorn hope, he was induced to try Holloway's Pills, which had an immediate and surprising effect upon his system, and the result was to restore him in a few weeks to perfect health and strength, to the surprise of all who knew him. He considered his case so extraordinary that he, in gratitude, sent it for publication, to the *Sydney Morning Herald*, in which paper it appeared on the 2nd January, 1848. A few doses of the Pills will quickly rally the energies of both body and mind, when other medicines have failed.

THE EARL OF ALDBOROUGH CURED OF A LIVER AND STOMACH COMPLAINT.

Extract of a Letter from his Lordship, dated Villa Messina, Leghorn, 21st February, 1845.

Sir,—Various circumstances prevented the possibility of my thanking you before this time for your politeness in sending me your pills as you did. I now take this opportunity of sending you an order for the amount, and at the same time to add that your Pills have effected a cure of a disorder in my liver and stomach, which all the most eminent of the faculty at home, and all over the continent, had not been able to effect; nay, not even the waters of Carlsbad and Marienbad. I wish to have another box and a pot of the Ointment, in case any of my family should ever require either.—Your most obedient servant (signed), Aldborough.—To Professor Holloway.

These celebrated Pills are wonderfully efficacious in the following complaints:—

Ague	Female Irregularities	Scrofula, or King's Evil
Asthma	Fevers of all kinds	Stone and Gravel
Bilious Complaints	Gout	Secondary Symptoms
Blotches on the Skin	Head-ache	Tic-Doloureux
Bowel Complaints	Indigestion	Tumours
Colics	Inflammation	Ulcers
Constipation of the Bowels	Jaundice	Venereal Affections
Consumption	Liver Complaints	Worms of all kinds
Debility	Lumbago	Weakness, from whatever cause &c., &c.
Dropsy	Piles	
Dysentery	Rheumatism	
Erysipelas	Retention of Urine	
Fits	Sore Throats	

Sold at the establishment of Professor Holloway, 244, Strand (near Temple Bar), London, and by most all respectable druggists and dealers in medicines, throughout the civilised world, at the following prices:—1s. 1½d., 2s. 9d., 4s. 6d., 11s., 22s., and 33s. each box. There is a considerable saving by taking the larger sizes.

CAUTION.

Unprincipled persons, taking advantage of the celebrity of "DR. LOCOCK'S WAFERS," attempt to foist upon the public various Pills and Mixtures under nearly similar names.

The public is cautioned that all such preparations are spurious and an imposition: the only genuine Medicine has, besides the words "Dr. Locock's Wafers" on the Stamp, the Signature of the Proprietor's Sole Agents, Da Silva and Co., on the Directions given with every Box, without which none are Genuine.

UNDER ROYAL PATRONAGE.

PERFECT FREEDOM FROM COUGH,

In Ten Minutes after use, and a rapid Cure of Asthma and Consumption, and all Disorders of the Breath and Lungs, is insured by

DR. LOCOCK'S PULMONIC WAFERS.

The truly wonderful powers of this remedy have called forth testimonials from all ranks of society, in all quarters of the world. The following have been just received:—

SURPRISING CURE OF ASTHMA.

From Mr. William Bowen, Cartlett, Haverfordwest.

Sir,—Having been afflicted for many years with a violent cough and asthma, and having tried all other medicines in vain, I was recommended to try Dr. Locock's Wafers. I sent to you for a box, and, to my great astonishment, I found relief the very first night, and have continued to get better ever since. Their effects are really wonderful. My appetite is now good, whereas formerly I could scarcely keep any food on my stomach. I have myself since recommended them to several persons, who have always received the greatest relief from them.—(Signed) W. Bowen.—Dated February 4th, 1848.

CURES OF CONSUMPTION.

Gentlemen,—I can myself speak of your Wafers with the greatest confidence, having recommended them in many cases of pulmonary consumption, and they have always afforded relief when everything else has failed, and the patients having been surfeited with medicine, are delighted to meet with so efficient a remedy having such an agreeable taste, &c.—(Signed) John Mawson, Surgeon, 13, Mosley-street, Newcastle-on-Tyne.—December 5, 1847.

IMPORTANT TO ALL WHO SING.

From Mr. Edward Page, Director of the Choir and Organist of St. Peter's Catholic Church, Leamington.

Gentlemen,—Having frequently suffered much from relaxation of the throat, I have often been obliged to resort to various preparations; but since I have had the good fortune to try Dr. Locock's Pulmonic Wafers, I am now but seldom obliged to resort to them, for the extraordinary good effects they have produced are most surprising.

Even when the throat appears to be completely exhausted, and the voice to be nearly gone, two or three (at most four) will in the short space of half an hour or so, completely restore its flexibility and power; and they do not act as a mere temporary exciting remedy, nor do they leave any lassitude after.

Having felt the great value of the remedy, I feel it a duty to generally recommend it, as I am convinced that all persons will find immense benefit from the general and persevering use of it, and I shall be happy to answer any inquiries.—Edward Page.—June 21, 1847.

Dr. Locock's Wafers give instant relief, and are a rapid cure of asthmas, consumptions, colds, and all disorders in the breath and lungs, &c.

To singers and public speakers they are invaluable, as in two hours they remove all hoarseness and increase the power and flexibility of the voice. They have a most pleasant taste.

Price 1s. 1½d.; 2s. 9d.; and 11s. per box; or sent per post for 1s. 3d.; 3s.; or 11s. 6d., by Da Silva and Co., No. 1, Bride-lane, Fleet-street, London.

PROTECTED BY ROYAL LETTERS PATENT.

DR. LOCOCK'S FEMALE WAFERS.

HAVE NO TASTE OF MEDICINE.

THE ONLY MEDICINE RECOMMENDED TO BE TAKEN BY FEMALES.

Price, 1s. 1½d.; 2s. 9d.; and 11s. per Box.

BEWARE OF IMITATIONS.

Unprincipled Persons counterfeit this Medicine in the form of PILLS, &c. Purchasers must therefore observe that none are genuine but "WAFERS," and that the words, "DR. LOCOCK'S WAFERS" are in the Stamp outside each box.

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Prepared only by the Proprietor's Agents, Da Silva and Co., 1, Bride-lane, Fleet-street, London. Sold by all Medicine Vendors.

INSTANT EASE—LASTING CURE.

Price 1s. per Packet.

BRANDE'S ENAMEL, FOR FILLING DECAYING TEETH, and RENDERING THEM SOUND AND PAINLESS, has, from its unquestionable excellence, obtained great popularity at home and abroad. Its curative agency is based upon a TRUE THEORY of the cause of Tooth-Ache, and hence its great success. By most other remedies it is sought to kill the nerve, and so stop the pain. But to destroy the nerve is itself a very painful operation, and often leads to very sad consequences, for the tooth then becomes a dead substance in the living jaw, and produces the same amount of inflammation and pain as would result from any other foreign body embedded in a living organ. BRANDE'S ENAMEL does not destroy the nerve, but, by RESTORING THE SHELL OF THE TOOTH, completely protects the nerve from cold, heat, or chemical or other agency by which pain is caused. By following the directions, INSTANT EASE is obtained, and a LASTING CURE follows. Full instructions accompany every packet.

Sir,—Twelve months since I got a packet of BRANDE'S ENAMEL, for Filling Decayed Teeth, from you. I am happy to say this has completely answered its purpose, having stood the test for that period, and still remains as hard as the tooth itself. Will you be so kind as to send me another packet of the same, and oblige, yours respectfully, W. Jackson.—Hull, 3rd of April, 1849.—Address: W. Jackson, care of G. Cammell, Hull.

CAUTION.—The great success of this preparation has induced numerous unskilful persons to produce spurious imitations, and to copy "Brande's Enamel" Advertisement. It is needful, therefore, to guard against such impositions by seeing that the name of John Willis accompanies each packet.

Sold by all Chemists in the United Kingdom. Twenty really authorised testimonials accompany each box, with full directions for use. Sent free, by return of post, by J. WILLIS, 24, East Temple Chambers, Whitefriars, Fleet-street, London, in return for thirteen penny stamps.

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Full Share	£120—payment of 2s.	4½d. ꝑ Week, or 10s.	6d. per Month.		
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Quarter Share ..	30	— 0	7½	— 2	8 —

Applicants are requested to state in their form the Section they desire to be a Member of.

NO SURVEYORS', SOLICITORS', OR REDEMPTION FEES.—The present Entrance Fee, including Certificate, Rules, &c., is 4s. per Share, and 2s. for any part of a Share. Price of Rules, including Postage, 1s.

OBJECTS.

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2nd.—To afford the means of purchasing both Freehold and Leasehold Properties or Land.

3rd.—To advance Mortgages on Property held by members.

4th.—To enable Mortgagors being members to redeem their Mortgages.

5th.—To give to Depositing Members a higher rate of Interest than is yielded by ordinary modes of investment.

6th.—To enable Parents to make Endowments for their Children, or Husbands for their Wives, or for Marriage Settlements.

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, connexions, or the present means himself and family may have of gaining a livelihood.

SECTION II.—To raise a capital by shares to purchase Estates, erect Dwellings thereon, and divide the Land into allotments from half-an-acre upwards, in or near the towns of the various branches of the society. The property to be the *bona fide* freehold of the member after a term of years, from the date of location, according to his subscriptions.

SECTION III.—Saving or Deposit section, in which members not wishing to purchase are enabled to invest small sums, receiving interest at the rate of five per cent. per annum, on every sum of 10s. and upwards so deposited.

N.B.—£500 will be advanced to the members of the first Section in July next, when all persons who have and may become members for Shares, or parts of Shares, on or before the 4th of July next, and who pay six months' subscriptions in advance, or otherwise, will be eligible for an advance.

ALSO,

THE UNITED PATRIOTS' AND PATRIARCHS' BENEFIT SOCIETIES.

Enrolled pursuant to Act of Parliament. Thus securing to its members the protection of the law for their funds and property. Legalised 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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In the short space of Five years these societies have paid the following benefits to their members.

SUMMARY OF CLAIMS.

	£	s.	d.
Sickness and Superannuation	3,486	14	7
Accouchments	1,003	0	0
Funerals	904	4	9
Loss by Fire	55	2	0
	£5,449	1	4
Present Capital funded in the Bank of England	£2,186	10	5

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

FIRST DIVISION.

Entrance according to age, from 5s. to 10s. Monthly Contributions for Sickness and Management, 2s. 7d.

	£	s.	d.
Allowance, in Sickness, per week	0	18	0
Member's Funeral	20	0	0
Ditto Wife's or Nominee's ditto	10	0	0
Wife's Lying-in	2	0	0
Loss by Fire, from .. .. £5 0 0 to	20	0	0
Superannuation, per week	0	6	0

SECOND DIVISION.

Entrance, according to age, from 4s. 6d., to 9s. 6d. Monthly Contribution for Sickness and Management, 2s. 1d.

	£	s.	d.
Allowance in Sickness, per week	0	15	0
Member's Funeral	16	0	0
Ditto Wife's or Nominee's ditto	8	0	0
Wife's Lying-in	1	15	0
Loss by Fire, from .. .. £5 0 0 to	15	0	0
Superannuation, per week	0	5	0

THIRD DIVISION.

Entrance, according to age, from 4s. to 9s. Monthly Contribution for Sickness and Management, 1s. 7d.

	£	s.	d.
Allowance in Sickness, per week	0	11	0
Member's Funeral	12	0	0
Ditto Wife's or Nominee's ditto	6	0	0
Wife's Lying-in	1	10	0
Loss by Fire, from .. .. £5 0 0 to	10	0	0
Superannuation, per week	0	4	0

FOURTH DIVISION.

Entrance, according to age, from 3s. 6d. to 8s. 6d. *Monthly Contribution* for Sickness and Management, 1s. 4d.

	£	s.	d.
Allowance in Sickness, per week	0	9	0
Member's Funeral	10	0	0
Member's Wife or Nominee's ditto	5	0	0
Wife's Lying in	1	0	0
Loss by Fire, from .. .. £5 0 0 to	10	0	0
Superannuation, per week	0	4	0

FIFTH DIVISION.

Entrance, according to age, from 3s. to 8s. Monthly Contribution for Sickness and Management, 1s. 1d.

	£	s.	d.
Allowance in Sickness, per week	0	7	0
Member's Funeral	6	0	0
Ditto Wife's or Nominee's ditto	3	0	0
Wife's Lying-in	0	15	0
Loss by Fire..	5	0	0
Superannuation, per week	0	4	0

SIXTH DIVISION.

	£	s.	d.
Entrance Money	0	3	0
Monthly Contribution	0	1	0
Allowance in Sickness	0	7	0
Member's Funeral	2	10	0

No Levies in this Division.

Levies according to the demands on each division per quarter.

N.B.—The difference in the two Societies is, the Patriots have an Accouchment benefit, the Patriarchs 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, 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.

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Vols. 1, 2, 3, 4, may still be had, neatly bound, price 2s. 6d. each

No. 4, the Number containing MR. O'CONNOR'S Treatise on the National Land Company;"

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Have lately been reprinted, and may be had on application, Price 6d. each.

Imperfections of the 'Labourer Magazine' may still be had at the Publishers.

In a neat Volume, Price 1s. 6d.

"The Evidence taken by the Select Committee of the House of Commons appointed to enquire into the National Land Company."

This Volume ought to be in the hands of every Member of the Company, as it strikingly illustrates the care and economy that have been practised in the management of the Funds of the Company, and proves, beyond contradiction, the practicability of the Plan which the Company was established to carry out.

Just published, No. III. *Price* SIXPENCE, *of*

THE COMMONWEALTH.

"THE COMMONWEALTH" will be the Representative of the Chartists, Socialists, and Trades' Unionists, in the Monthly Press.

CONTENTS:

1. What is to be done with Ireland?
2. The Weaver's Daughter.
3. Extinction of Pauperism.
4. Popular Cause in Europe.
5. Social Effects of Peasant Proprietorship.
6. The Hero.
7. Events of the Month.

IMPORTANT PUBLICATIONS.

Proceedings of the National Convention, which assembled at London in April, 1848. *Thirty two very large and solid pages: price only Three peace.*

The Trials of the Chartist Prisoners, Jones, Fussell, Williams, Vernon, & Looney. *Twenty four very large and full pages: price only Three pence.*

Sold by J. Watson, Queen's Head Passage, Paternoster-row, London; A. Heywood, Oldham-street, Manchester; and Love and Co., 5, Nelson-street, Glasgow.

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CHARTIST SILK FABRICS.

MESSRS. CLARK AND WARREN beg most respectfully to call the attention of the Democrats of Great Britain to the following splendid assortment of Neck and Pocket Handkerchiefs, Black Satin Vest-pieces, Ladies' Chartist Coloured Satin and Tabby Dress-pieces; also a splendid assortment of Ladies' plain and figured Neck Ties, which have just come to hand from their manufacturer at Macclesfield, and it is their intention to forward them (carriage free) to all parts of Great Britain and Ireland at the following prices:—

	£	s.	d.
Ladies' Dress-pieces, fourteen yards to the dress, 3s. per yard	2	2	0
Gentlemen's Extra Strong Black Satin Vesting, per Vest	0	10	0
Ditto, Neckerchiefs, Rich Oporto Ducapes, Plain and Plaided	0	5	6
Ditto, ditto, Satin Ducapes, Plaided ..	0	5	0
Ditto, ditto, Napoleon Blue Satin Brussels, Crimson Borders ..	0	4	6
Ditto, ditto, Extra Rich Black Satin Turk, Heavy	0	4	3
Ditto, ditto, Black Brussels, Plain ..	0	4	0
Ditto, ditto, ditto, Tri-coloured Borders	0	4	0
Ditto, ditto, Green Satin Ducapes, Tri-coloured Borders	0	4	0
Ditto, ditto, Turn-up Satin Brussels in great variety	0	3	6
Ditto, ditto, Rich Gala Plaids ..	0	3	6
Ditto, Pocket Handkerchiefs in great variety, from 2s. 6d., and upwards ..	0	2	6
Ladies' Plain and Figured Neck Ties ..	0	1	8

All communications to be addressed to Mr. THOMAS CLARK, 144, High Holborn, London, to whom all Post-office orders must be sent made payable at the Bloomsbury Post-office.

The trade supplied on advantageous terms. All orders in town and country punctually attended to.

Mr. Warren, having taken out a Hawker's Licence, intends visiting all the principal Towns in England, and will visit the following places during the forthcoming week:—Sunday, May 20th, Birmingham; Bilston, Tuesday; Dudley, Wednesday; Potteries, Thursday; Newcastle, Friday; Congleton, Sunday; and Macclesfield, [M]onday.

REGISTER! REGISTER! REGISTER!

Now Published, and ready for circulation, by the NATIONAL ELECTION AND REGISTRATION COMMITTEE,

A COMPLETE HAND BOOK AND GUIDE TO REGISTRATION, compiled from the Reform Act and other Parliamentary Papers, making the subject of Registration so plain and simple, as to bring it within the capacity of all classes.

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May also be had of the Secretary, JAMES GRASSBY, 96, Regent-street, Lambeth.

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By approbation of Her Majesty Queen Victoria and His Royal Highness Prince Albert.

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THE LONDON and PARIS SPRING and SUMMER FASHIONS for 1849, by Messrs. BENJAMIN READ and Co., 12, Hart-street, Bloomsbury-square, London; and by GEORGE BERGER, Holywell-street, Strand; a splendid PRINT, elaborately finished, and superbly coloured, the LANDSCAPE, a correct view in the Queen's Botanical Gardens, London, (by special permission,) the most magnificent place in Europe. This beautiful picture will be accompanied with the most novel, good fitting, and fashionable Dress, Riding, Frock, and Hunting Coat Patterns, both double and single-breasted; Hussar's Youth's round Jackets, plain and with skirts; single and double-breasted Dress, Morning and Evening Waistcoats; also the *most fashionable and newest style* Habit Pattern; every particular part of each pattern fully explained, and an illustration of everything respecting Style and Fashion; price 10s. Sold by Read and Co., 12, Hart-street, Bloomsbury-square, London; G. Berger, Holywell-street, Strand; and all Booksellers in Town and Country.

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Every Number contains a Tale, *an article upon practical* Science, an Historical or Scientific paper, addressed to Young People, by "Aunt Mary," or by "Grandfather Whitehead," a mass of Useful Receipts and Prescriptions (this department being edited by a MEMBER OF THE MEDICAL PROFESSION); Original Illustrated Designs in Fancy Needlework (by the celebrated Mrs. WARREN); Instruction and Advice for the Gardener, Housewife, Naturalist, &c., &c. Various humorous matters, such as Anagrams, Arithmetical and other Problems, Enigmas, Conundrums, Rebuses, Practical Puzzles, Chess Problems, &c., &c., for Family Pastime.

Already the Work has supplied valuable matter upon pleasing pursuits—such as the Culture of Flowers, the Preservation of Flowers in Winter, the Preservation of Birds, Eggs, Insects, Shells, Mosses, Ferns, &c., and an interesting Series of papers upon the Preservation of "Sea Weeds" is now going on. *Thus it contributes to make Winter* Fireside Evenings and Summer Wanderings, alike agreeable and instructive.

The Work commenced January 1st, 1849, and a Number has appeared every succeeding month, up to the present.

New Subscribers are strongly advised to order the whole of the Back Numbers at once (Price 2d. each), that there may be no difficulty in procuring them hereafter.

London: Published by Houlston and Stoneman, 65, Paternoster-row, and sold by all booksellers in the kingdom.

NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE.

THE QUARTERLY MEETING of this Branch of the NATIONAL LAND COMPANY will be holden on SUNDAY, JUNE 3rd, 1849, at Five o'clock in the Afternoon, at the Cock Inn, Head of the Side, when the Balance Sheet of the Directors will be read, and Officers chosen for the ensuing quarter.

All Members within two miles not attending will subject *themselves to a penalty. It is particularly requested that* as many will attend as possible, and that all Arrears of Local and General Expenses will be paid. Parties neglecting will have the amounts deducted from what has been paid.

The attention of the members will be called to important business. THOMAS FORREST, Secretary.

TODMORDEN.

A DELEGATE MEETING OF THE Chartists of Lancashire and Yorkshire will be held in the Chartist Room, Yorkshire-street, Todmorden, on Sunday, June 3rd, to commence at ten o'clock, a.m. (sanctioned by the Executive,) to arrange for the annual camp meeting, usually held at Blackstone-edge; the following places are requested to send delegates:—Manchester, Bolton, Oldham, Bury, Heywood, Rochdale, Littleborough, Bacup, Burnley, Padiham, Todmorden, Hebden Bridge, Halifax, Bradford, Midgly, and surrounding districts.

TO BE SOLD,

BY A PARTY ABOUT TO EMIGRATE, A FOUR-ACRE SHARE in the National Land Company. Price, £4.

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TO THE FRIENDS OF HUMANITY!

SOUTH LONDON HALL,

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THE COMMITTEE of the HAND AND HEART WIDOWS' AND ORPHANS' FUND have taken the above splendid Hall for a

TEA FESTIVAL, CONCERT AND BALL,

ON WHIT-WEDNESDAY, MAY 30.

IN AID OF THE ABOVE FUND.

Tea on Table at Six o'clock. Dancing to commence at Nine o'clock.

A Full and Efficient Band will be engaged for the Occasion.

The Dances will consist of the most popular of the day.

Mr. WALTER COOPER has kindly consented to preside on the occasion.

The following talented advocates will also attend:—Mr. CHARLES SOUTHWELL, Mr. P. M'GRATH, Mr. ALEXANDER CAMPBELL, Mr. EDMUND STALLWOOD.

Tickets of admission, to tea, concert, and ball, 1s. 3d; To concert and ball, 9d;

To be had of Mr. Barnes, 29, Gravel-lane, Southwark; Mr. Pearse, 43, Gravel-lane, Southwark; Mr. Heath, Southwark Coffee-house, Suffolk-street; Mr. Williams, 10, New Park-street, Southwark; Mr. Andrews, 14, Herbert's-buildings, Waterloo-road; Mr. Carter, 112, Tyer's-street, Vauxhall; Mr. J. Grassby, 96, Regent-street, Lambeth; Mr. J. Simpson, Elm Cottage, Waterloo-street, Camberwell; Mr. W. H. Nicholson, 3, Garden-row, Kennington-road; Mr. Edwards, Jeweller, *Weston-street, Bermondsey*; Mr. Patterson, 58, Cardigan-street, Vauxhall; Mr. Collins, 44, Vine-street, Westminster; Mr. Milne, 1, Union-street, Berkeley-square; Mr. Stallwood, Hammersmith; Mr. M'Veigh, Two Chairmen, Wardour-street, Soho; Mr. Murray, Coach and Horses, Silver-street, Golden-square; Mr. Parkes, 33, Little Windmill-street, Soho; Mr. Dudridge, Bricklayers' Arms, Tonbridge-street, New-road; Mr. Sims, 11, Tothill-street, Little Gray's-inn-lane; Mr. Allnutt, Deadman's Coffee-house, Clerkenwell-green; Mr. Newley, Crown and Anchor, Cheshire-street, Waterloo Town; Mr. Knowles, Globe and Friends, Morgan-street, Commercial-road, East; Mr. John Arnott, Middlesex-place, Somers Town; Mr. George Corderey, 8, Watson's Mews, John-street, Edgeware-road; Perry's Coffee-house, 42½, Church-street, Shoreditch; and of Mr. Southwell, on the premises.

In announcing the above benefit to the philanthropic public, the committee beg to state that thirty widows, and nearly one hundred orphans are supported by the fund, and they trust that those who have hearts to feel for *suffering humanity*, will rally around them on this occasion. JOHN ARNOTT, Secretary.

NEW MONTHLY PUBLICATION.

PRICE THREEPENCE.

On the 1st of June, will appear No. I. of

THE DEMOCRATIC REVIEW OF BRITISH and FOREIGN POLITICS, HISTORY, and LITERATURE.

Edited by G. JULIAN HARNEY.

At present no Monthly Advocate of Democratic Progress exists in this country.

It is therefore proposed to establish such an organ, at a price which will place it within the reach of all sections of the people.

The DEMOCRATIC REVIEW will represent, contend for, and chronicle the progress of Democratic Principles at Home and Abroad.

The Political and Social Emancipation of the Proletarians of these Islands by the enactment of the principles of the PEOPLE'S CHARTER, HOME COLONISATION on A FREE SOIL, and the substitution of CO-OPERATION for Competition in Manufactures and Commerce, will be strenuously advocated in this Publication.

Believing that Men of all Nations are Brethren, the Editor will advocate Justice for the Oppressed, without distinction of Country or Creed.

Talented writers in France and Germany have promised to contribute articles; and arrangements are in progress for securing the assistance of correspondents in Italy, Switzerland, America, &c., &c.

On the 1st of JUNE, thirty-two pages post octavo, in a Coloured Wrapper,

PRICE THREEPENCE.

Copies will be printed to pass through the post, without wrappers, and will be sent on the receipt of Five Postage Stamps.

Orders, Communications, Advertisements, and Books for Review, to be addressed to the Editor, or Publisher, No. 5, Wine Office-court, Fleet-street, London.

☞ *To ensure delivery as soon as published, orders should be given immediately.* To be had on order of all Booksellers and News Agents in Town and Country.

RECEIPTS OF THE NATIONAL LAND COMPANY

FOR THE WEEK ENDING THURSDAY, MAY 24, 1849.

SHARES.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Ledbury ..	0	10	0	H. Snell ..	1	0	0
Lambeth ..	0	2	6	P. Trumble ..	0	1	0
Dukinfield ..	0	13	0	R. Pattison ..	0	2	10
Merthyr, Morgan	5	2	3	C. Pilgrim ..	0	1	0
Armley ..	5	30		C. J. Pilgrim ..	0	0	6
Nottingham ..	1	0	10	J. Collison ..	0	10	0
Northampton ..	0	4	0	E. Austin ..	0	5	0
Rochdale ..	1	10	0	T. Gill ..	0	2	0
Newton Heath ..	4	9	6	H. Godding ..	0	10	0
Dalston ..	0	19	10	J. Vigurs ..	0	2	6
Belper ..	0	6	0	Manchester ..	2	8	10
Winchester ..	0	9	3				
Todmorden ..	5	0	0		£30	18	10
T. Devonport ..	0	5	0				

EXPENSE FUND.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Merthyr, Morgan	0	5	0	H. Smith ..	0	1	6
Spilsby ..	0	15	0	C. Michaelwaite	0	2	0
Nottingham ..	0	2	3				
Newton Heath ..	0	10	6		£1	18	3
William Scott ..	0	5	0				

TOTALS.

	£	s.	d.
Land Fund	30	18	10
Expense ditto	1	18	3
Bonus ditto	516	17	1
Loan ditto	0	12	0
Transfers	0	2	9
Returned Aid Money	20	0	0
	£570	8	11

W. DIXON, C. DOYLE,
T. CLARK, Cor. Sec.
P. M'GRATH, Fin. Sec.

EXECUTIVE FUND.

Received by W. RIDER.—Daventry, per G. Ashwell, 3s. 6d.

VICTIM FUND.

Received at LAND OFFICE.—Tiverton, per Rowcliffe, 5s.; Mr. Wright, 1s.; Deptford and Greenwich Friends, per Mr. Whitcombe, 8s.

VERNON'S DEFENCE, FOR MR. NIXON.

Received at LAND OFFICE.—Mr. Side, sen., 1s.; Mr. Side, jun., 1s.; Mr. Edwards, 4d.

FOR WIVES AND FAMILIES OF VICTIMS.

Received by W. RIDER.—Birmingham, Ship Inn Locality, per J. Newhouse, £1 5s.; Haworth, per W. Greenwood, 5s. 4d.; Stroudwater, per H. Pritchard, 5s. 4d. Nottingham, per J. Sweet, £1 2s. 10d.; Daventry, per G. Ashwell, 3s. 6d.; P. W. B., Stepney, 6d.; Levi Francis, Cathal Mills, 1s.; Sheffield Female Chartists, per Elizabeth Hammond, 3s.; Carlisle, Chambers' Warpers, per J. Gilbertson, 10s.

NATIONAL VICTIM FUND.

Received by JOHN ARNOTT.—Totness, per W. M. Tanner, 7s; Belper, per Richard Wheatley, 10s.; J. D., and a Few *Friends, per E. Stallwood, 3s. 7d.; Crown and Anchor* Hall Locality, per Mr. Allen, 5s. 0½d.; D. N. B., per Mr. Clark, 5s.; 23, Golden-lane, per Thomas Brown, 3s. 3½d.; Globe and Friends, per Mr. Knowles, 2s. 10d.; Lecture Hall, Philpot-street, per ditto, 4s; Ernest Jones Locality, per Mr. M'Veigh, 0s. 6d.; Land Office, £1 16s. 2d.; Mr. Rider, as per *Star*, £3 16s. 6d.—Total, £17 19s. 11d.

DUTY ON ADVERTISEMENTS AND PAPER.

On Tuesday evening a general meeting of master *printers, compositors, pressmen, and machinists*, was held at the Mechanics' Institution, Southampton-buildings, Chancery-lane, in pursuance of a requisition issued by the committee of the Compositors Society, for the purpose of considering the propriety of petitioning parliament to repeal the duties on advertisements and paper, as also the penny stamp on newspapers; L. J. Hansard, Esq., in the chair.

The CHAIRMAN opened the proceedings with an address of considerable length, in which he contended that the amount of revenue derived by government from the tax on newspapers and advertisements, by no means compensated for the *deprivation of the means of intellectual culture* which it entailed on the working classes, by enhancing the price of books, periodicals, &c., and consequently contracting their sale, while it afforded no advantage in respect of elevating the intellectual *standard or the moral* tone of the press. He also showed that the impost was especially injurious to *compositors and pressmen*, by the tendency which it exerted to prevent any increase in the number of newspapers and periodicals published.

Mr. EDWARDS moved the first resolution, which embodied the opinion of the meeting that the taxes on paper and advertisements, as also the stamp duty on newspapers for local circulation, forcibly impeded the industrial operations of the printing trade, and were otherwise pernicious to the well-being of the community, inasmuch as they obstructed the mental advancement of the people, and by improperly raising the prices of books, publications, and newspapers, prevented the majority from obtaining the practical knowledge and information so immediately essential to the happiness and conducive to to the general prosperity of society. He said that the printing business had suffered for many years from the narrow field of labour and the excesssive number of labourers, and the consequence was that during that period large numbers of men both able and willing to work, were continually out of employment.

The resolution was seconded by Mr. BAKER, supported by Mr. J. DUNCAN, and carried unanimously.

A petition to parliament in which the principal objections to these imposts were briefly and clearly stated having been adopted, the proceedings terminated.

To Correspondents.

Mr. T. ORMESHER acknowledges the receipt of the following sums for the support of the Kirkdale prisoners:—Padiham, Richard Barker, 10s.; Swineshead Clough, Todmorden, 6s.; Salford, Land Members, 1s. 9d.; Padiham Chartists, 10s.; Todmorden, Richard Barker, 6s.

Mr. G. DAVIDSON, Leith.—Received.

Mr. ROTHERHAM, Wingate Grange.—None have been issued.

S. L., Holbeck.—The legitimate expenses of the election of churchwardens fall on the church rates and not on individuals. A written note is generally handed in by parties demanding a poll—but we do not believe it to be a positive requirement of the law. Has Holbeck a local act? if so you must be guided by that.

Mr. FIELDEN, Todmorden.—Mr. Cooper's address is 5, Park-row, Knightsbridge.

EDINBURGH.—We did not receive the report of the meeting until Thursday evening, which will account for the brief notice we have given of it.

W. H. C., Birmingham.—We cannot advise.

J. SWEET acknowledges the receipt of the following sums (sent herewith) for Victim Fund, viz.:—Mr. Lees, 1s.; Mrs. Perkins, 1d.; W. M., 2½d.; from Carrington, 7s. 6d.; The Seven Stars, 5s. 6d.; The Alderman Wood, 1s. 6½d.; The Colonel Hutchinson, 5s.; The Balloon, 2s.

MRS. M'DOUALL.—Received by the Liverpool Committee.—Per John Knight, 1s. 6d.; Mr. J. Sweet, Nottingham, 6s. 1d.; per Thomas Whittaker, from Newton Moor, near Hyde, 3s.

J. NOCKLES, Glasgow.—We cannot insert your communication unless paid for as an advertisement.

TO THE LAND MEMBERS.

The Directors have received numerous applications from parties who have been inspired *with increased* confidence, in consequence of the decision of the Court of Queen's Bench, asking them to postpone the day for receiving Bonuses, in order to enable them to withdraw their monies, and as this cannot in any wise interfere with the time of taking possession, the Directors have agreed to extend the time for receiving bonuses, till Wednesday, the 13th of June; and in reply to correspondents asking what amount of Bonus would be likely to insure location, the Directors cannot form a guess, nor would it be legitimate for them to attempt one. Every man paying one-third of the amount that the Land and House cost the Company, will receive a conveyance at his own expense, which will amount to between £7 and £8, or rather less, while every man who has paid less than a third by way of Bonus, will receive a lease. Those who pay the largest amount of Bonus will be entitled to the first choice, and so on in proportion to the amount paid, while four per cent. upon the amount paid will be deducted from the annual rent. Some have already paid as much as £140, but this is no guide; but it should be distinctly understood. that those who have paid Bonus, but not of sufficient amount to entitle them to location, will have their funds returned. This is rather a better security than monies invested in Railway Companies.

FEARGUS O'CONNOR,
PHILIP M'GRATH, THOMAS CLARK,
CHRISTOPHER DOYLE, WILLIAM DIXON.

THE CHARTER.

On Monday, the 4th of June, a meeting will be held in Milton-street Theatre, to adopt a petition for the People's Charter, to which FEARGUS O'CONNOR, Esq., M.P., and several other Members of Parliament have been invited. Chair to be taken at half-past seven o'clock.

PORTRAIT OF THE PATRIOT, THOMAS FRANCIS MEAGHER.

On Saturday, the 9th of June, this splendid portrait of THOMAS FRANCIS MEAGHER, together with his biography, will be given with the "*Northern Star.*"

Agents are requested to send their orders, and state to whom they shall be sent for enclosure, or by what conveyance they must be forwarded.

THE NORTHERN STAR.

SATURDAY, MAY 26, 1849.

THE CHARTER.

There is no coercion that the inventive mind of man can suggest, that is not being attempted, to seduce, induce, or intimidate us to modify our political principles, and reduce our demands to the standard of expediency. The Free Traders, who based their title to Chartist support in their struggle for cheap bread upon professions of Liberal principles, assured the people that Free Trade once accomplished they would then struggle for the Charter. To use Mr. BRIGHT'S words, delivered in the Market-square of Northampton, "Let us get the one waggon through the gate first, and then we will open it wide enough for the six;" but now they have contracted their space to four of different dimensions, as we do not recognise one of our vans in their group.

By this party we are now characterised as obstructives; while some few—and, thank God, they are but a few—lick-spittle drivellers, formerly the most enthusiastic Chartists, inspired by the hope of another mock crusade, in which they may be the paid apostles to preach another mouthful of moonshine to the oft-deceived working classes, are pinning *themselves to the broad-cloth sleeves of their* future paymasters, and shadowing forth their future hope, derived from middle class patronage, based upon desertion of Chartist principles. But, thank God, although the English mind is capable of being caught by flies, which turn out in the end to be stinging gnats, and although we stood alone of our order, we have the courage and resolution to resist the bait.

What! have not the working classes of England gained sufficient experience from the nothing achieved from the three great measures of the last twenty years—namely,

EMANCIPATION—REFORM—FREE TRADE?

Were not these three changes considered as *essential political changes*? Did not Emancipation promise the down-trodden Catholic perfect religious freedom, while he still pays tax to the law church, and sees the conquerors' trophy in every church steeple? Did not the promises held out by Reformers excite the expectants to arson and revolution? And was not the confident hope relied upon by the people as the realisation of that measure, that every man should be represented in the House of Commons, leaving the seductive hope of

PEACE, RETRENCHMENT, AND REFORM

wholly out of the question?

Next came Free Trade, which presented not only the flattering prospects of

HIGH WAGES, CHEAP BREAD, AND PLENTY TO DO,

but the still fonder belief, that the ultimate object of its advocates was to insure a "full, free, and fair representation of the whole people in the Commons House of Parliament." Well then, we would ask if a people thus juggled for twenty years, and without whose co operation not one of those measures would have been carried, are again about to surrender that proud position which will ere long make them the real, as they are the legitimate source, of political power, and thus a fourth time be the slayers of popular liberty?

The Free Traders, when struggling for the *means of competing with the world in manu*factures produced by cheap labour, were MORAL FORCE Chartists, and only required Free Trade as the first *stepping-stone to cross* the political ford.

Knowing that the people of England attach paramount importance to political equality, those who struggle for their own financial benefit find it expedient and necessary to mix up *Political with Financial* Reform; but, let our readers rest assured, that their Political Reform is but the trap to catch an auxiliary force to secure their own object; and that the people are but used as political engines to intimidate middle class opponents, and to achieve another middle class triumph; and, that once gained, all thought of extension of political power will vanish, until the support of the masses may be again required to achieve further financial benefits for their taskmasters.

We are now taunted with a sluggish inertness of the masses, and are sneeringly asked, if it is not more prudent to walk with those who have power to light us a portion of the way on our Reform journey? But our answer now is—as it was thirteen years ago—that they will lead us on that road with a dark lantern in their hand, flashing it in our face when they have arrived at their own goal, thanking us for our company, telling us that they have arrived at their destination, and requesting us to grope our way to ours in the dark.

When there was more difficulty and greater danger connected with the advocacy of popular rights, we resisted every bait held out, we laughed at every threat, and cheerfully bore oppression and persecution, rather than allow ourselves to be used as tools to deceive the working millions; and now, that a new campaign has opened, and that another attempt is being made to seduce the Chartists from their allegiance, we swear before Heaven, that we would rather join even in a physical struggle which should terminate in death, than be again led blindfold, gagged, and manacled, as recruits in the RULE-OF-THREE ARMY.

What is life, but liberty? and what is liberty, but the fullest enjoyment of life? And how could we enjoy life or liberty—how could we repose by night, or think freely by day—how could we live without pungent remorse, feeling the sting of conscience, were we seduced from our own path by the scoff of the wily, the threat of the powerful, or the desertion of the slave?

Talk not to us about the promised benefits to be derived from the QUADRUPED. You—brave Chartists of England—pawned your clothes, your little luxuries, your necessaries of life, and stinted yourselves of food to send delegates—*nay hundreds of* delegates—from all parts of England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, to Birmingham, in 1842, to save your loved and honoured principles from the machinations of the wily, whose only PROFESSED OBJECT *was to change your name*, but whose real intention was to slay your constitution; and if you can derive knowledge of the future from the past, bear the fact in mind, that a small minority of that assembly, professors of Universal Suffrage, and of every point in the Charter, abandoned the meeting when defeated in their attempt to destroy us, thus fully establishing their love for the principle of Universal Suffrage.

What, then, are you, brave Chartists of England, so degenerate, and have you lost that spirit which animated you in 1842, to preserve even the name of your Charter? and will you now, with your prisons full of victims, with millions of your fellows starving for want of bread—will you, who made such sacrifices to preserve even your name in 1842, consent, in 1849, to accept the QUADRUPED as a substitute for the Charter?—if so, seven years do in truth work a mighty change in the human mind.

Your taskmasters may rejoice in your silence and prostration, and may take advantage of your apparent apathy to raise their own little flag, but we have made a wrong estimate of English *feeling*, if we could presume that the English mind is prepared to retrograde; while, in this age of progress, new opinion is upon every passing breeze, and the people of all other countries *are contending for the inalien*able rights of man.

What said Mr. WILLIAMS, the late member for Coventry, at the Financial Reform meeting, held in the London Tavern on Tuesday last? He spoke as follows:—

> "The productive power of the people had been fearfully reduced, and the consequence was that last year 3,500,000 received parochial relief, and 100,000 were committed to prison for crime. Surely, then, if something were not done to stay the further progress or this downward system they might live to see a prophecy Sir James Graham, published in a pamphlet thirty years ago, to the effect that 'whenever the country presents the spectacle of millions wanting bread, then would the people sweep away titles, pensions, and honours.' The only remedy for this complication of evils was parliamentary reform; it was useless to expect financial reform till that had been attained. When Lord John Russell introduced the Reform Bill, he made use of these remarkable words: 'I propose by this bill that the people shall send to the Commons House of Parliament their real representatives, to deliberate on their wants—to consult on their interests—to consider their grievances—to hold the purse-strings of the nation—to lay the foundation *for salutary changes in the well-being and comforts of the* people—and that laws shall not be passed for the benefit of classes by men roused from their slumbers at twelve o'clock at night to vote for what they know not.'"

Well, then, have we not millions wanting bread now? While Sir JAMES GRAHAM looks sleek and fat, and is preparing himself as a recipient of a larger amount of bread wrung from the starving millions, by passing from the bleak to the sunny side of the Treasury. But we agree with Mr. WILLIAMS, and fully, that the hope of Financial Reform, except through the instrumentality of Parliamentary Reform is ridiculous and absurd; while we further contend that no measure of Parliamentary Reform short of the PEOPLE'S CHARTER, will ever accomplish that Financial Reform which will *be of any (the slightest) benefit* to the working man.

Comment upon the hope held out by Lord JOHN RUSSELL *when contending for the* Reform Bill, would be useless and mere waste of time, inasmuch as we have shown a thousand times over, that not a single promise held out by the advocates of that measure, and not a hope of those who fiercely contended for it, has been realised. Have we not already drawn from past disappointments a sufficient warning for the future to place the Chartists upon their guard against this new recruiting company? Are they not aware that of all horrors the present system of political persecution is the greatest? And are they not aware that the juries who carry these fierce laws into execution by their verdicts upon Chartist prisoners are composed exclusively of our middle-class

FINANCIAL REFORM FRIENDS?

If we required further proof of the power of the middle classes to rule this country, even under Household representation, could we furnish a stronger one than that which the Irish Poor Law system presents? In that country three years' residence constitutes a title to parochial relief, and the tyrants take care to eject their slaves every thirty months; and once establish the principle of Household Suffrage in this country, and then, as we before predicted, you will have two descriptions of House—H-O-U-S-E, to live in—and H-O-U-S-E, to vote out of; and no man will be secure in the possession of his domicile for one year, much more for three years.

The mask would then not be relied upon by the owner, for, even with the Ballot, the owners of property would take good care that their voting houses should only be occupied by serfs upon whose votes they could depend; and the result would be continuous oustings, and the utter suppression of public opinion, as no occupant of a voting house would run the risk of being ejected. Why, did not the Reform Bill—that great Leviathan—promise all but the Charter, and what has it effected for the millions, who are again to be duped by the repetition of a similar humbug?

While all other nations, for centuries held in servile bondage, are contending for flesh and blood and mental right, will the English people—the foremost of all nations in political knowledge—surrender flesh and blood, and mind, to the dominion of bricks and mortar? Shall it be said of the Saxon, that his mind, and the expression of that mind, shall be swayed, directed, controlled, and governed by the caprice of the owner of his hovel? No! brave Chartists of England, *let your watchword be*

"THE CHARTER AND NO SURRENDER!"

You have been caught in the middle-class trap three times, and we now *tell* you, in conclusion, that—

> "As well may the lamb with the tiger unite,
> The mouse with the cat, or the lark with the kite"—

as to presume *that the labourer* can unite with the moneymonger for any other purpose than to make him a lark in the claws of the kite, or *a mouse* in the fangs of the cat. What is to be done for Labour must be done by Labour, and, as we have consistently fought the battle of Labour, if all others should now desert its banner, *and though we stood alone*, our watchword shall be—

THE FULL RIGHTS OF MAN,
ACCOMPLISHED BY
"THE PEOPLE'S CHARTER."

PARLIAMENTARY REVIEW.

Chartism is too strong a dose to be swallowed entire by our *legislators*; they therefore take it in drops upon the homœopathic system. Last year on the motion of Mr. H. BERKELEY they adopted a resolution in favour of the Ballot, by a majority of eighty-six to eighty-one; *this week they have by a majority* of five declared in favour of shortening the duration of Parliaments. As no specific time was named by Mr. D'EYNCOURT, who introduced the subject, and who merely asked for leave to bring in a bill with that object, the decision was one upon a principle rather than any fixed number of years. Probably the mover *himself* and *many of his supporters* would *prefer Triennial to Annual Parliaments*, but as the decision stands it is merely an affirmation of the justice and policy of short Parliaments, and is therefore as much to be claimed by the advocates of the latter as by those who support the former period. The Ministerial organ on the morning following this decision, tried to throw ridicule upon it. It was a mere joke which was allowed to pass in "the absence of the great bulk of the members." According to the same venerable authority "upon the Derby question," (that is, whether the members should have a holiday to go to the races on Wednesday, instead of attending to their business) there had been a full House and a full division—138 against 119—*as the gravity* of the *subject deserved.* Immediately the division had taken place, the Members presuming that all *serious business was at an end*, ran out to arrange their plans for the morrow. The "*Times*" may consider this style of writing humorous and witty, we think it brutal and insulting. If it represents the feelings or harmonises with the sentiments of those it is supposed to represent, we can only say that we trust that ere long the people of this country will teach them in an effectual and practical way the difference between their opinions as to what constitutes "serious business." In the meantime, however the Puddledock Thunderer may affect to decry the decision of Parliament, on the subjects of the Ballot and Short Parliaments; however true it may be that Ministers could "whip" a counter majority of hacks, whose only business in the Hall of St. Stephen is, in the words of BURNS, "to say aye or no as they are bidden;" yet one thing is certain, Parliament has solemnly recorded its decision in favour of both. There they stand on the Journals of the House of Commons, and the reversal of these decisions can only be effected at the cost of the character of Parliament itself for *integrity* and consistency. Mr. D'EYNCOURT'S speech was studiously subdued and almost Whiggish in its tone, though that does not save him from the ridicule of the Ministerial organ, which complains that he treated the subject "retrospectively, prospectively, historically, *philosophically*, or, as sailors would say, from stem to stern." This is really, to say the least of it, a strange objection to make to a speech, and still stranger the sequence. "We (the "*Times*") can only consider the question in one way, and that is *rationally*." If there be any meaning in words, as used by the recondite authority of Printing-House Square, we are to infer, that to treat a subject "historically and philosophically"—to view it by the light of past experience—in order to justify the conclusions of abstract, and *a priori* reasoning; in short, to look at the whole question in a comprehensive and argumentative way—"as sailors would say, from stem to stern"—is to treat it IRRATIONALLY!" This conclusion affords a key to the approval of Lord JOHN RUSSELL'S opposition to the motion. Whatever is opposed to history and philosophy being *rational* in the estimation of the "*Times*," must receive its eulogiums. How far it, and its *proteges*, will receive the support of the country, in this crusade against common sense, common justice, and common rights, is another question.

The whole of the PREMIER'S address was cast in the old moulds of Toryism. DISRAELI'S most bitting sarcasm on PEEL was, that he had stolen the clothes of the Whigs while they were bathing. Lord JOHN has cried "quits," by borrowing the very arguments which were used against his own Reform Bill, "a long time ago." That Bill, in the course of some seventeen or eighteen years, has given him and his party somewhere about twelve or thirteen years of office. "It has worked well: why do you seek to alter things as they are? I am very well satisfied with them, and see no cause for change, and as long as I can prevent it there shall be none." Such is, in effect, Lord JOHN'S argument. In his present position, perhaps, it is a natural one. But, on the other hand, he ought to recollect, and Mr. D'EYNCOURT'S quotation from his own speech on introducing the Reform Bill, was a timely reminder of the fact, that that Bill was not passed into a law merely that the Whigs might be enabled to oust the Tories from office, and enjoy the comforts of place and patronage in their stead. It was intended to enfranchise *a portion of the people, in order to lay the* foundation gradually for a still wider extension of political rights, in order that these might be exercised for the promotion of the well-being of all clases of the community. When the advocates of Toryism taunt the supporters of political reform, with the crab-like progress which has been made under nominally reformed institutions, we have an answer ready in the fact, that the power of the State has been administered in the spirit of Toryism, for the selfish purposes of individuals and classes; power has been monopolised in order that its benefits might be confined to the holders and their immediate connexions and dependents, and that the people, as a whole, have been looked upon in the true spirit of aristocratical brigandage, as merely subjects for legal plunder. In plain, straightforward despotisms, the people are plundered without any disguise; in this country we are robbed under the guise of constitutional forms—borne down to the earth with general and local taxation—excluded from all direct participation in legislation and administration, and then mocked with the empty name of "freemen!" We are much mistaken, however, *if this state of things* lasts long. Englishmen will not tamely look on and see the nations of the Continent achieving by one bound political emancipation, and extorting *en masse* those suffrages which they have been asking in vain for long years, without taking heart, and endeavouring to copy the example:—

> "The veriest jade will wince when the harness wrings
> So much into her hide, as quite to wrong her."

And perhaps, in the long run, those who are so anxious to maintain the *status quo*—who think that all political wisdom at the present moment is summed up in resistance to the popular will—may find that wisdom to be, like

the "rationality" of the "*Times*," opposed to the deductions drawn from "history and philosophy."

It might have been supposed that, having voted themselves a holiday on the Wednesday, the members of the House of Commons would have no objection to work a whole night on Thursday. Or, had the question they were invited to consider, after disposing of Mr. D'Eyncourt's motion, been a dry or unimportant one, there might have been an excuse for their "counting out." That, however, was not the case. Mr. Slaney rose a second time this session to call the attention of the nominal representatives of the people to the condition of the working classes, and to propose the appointment of an unpaid commission, specially charged to watch over their interests—to consider and report from time to time on practical measures (unconnected with political changes) likely *to improve their condition—to encourage their industry—and increase their contentment.*

Surely more laudable, more desirable objects than those could not possibly have been proposed to a body professing to represent the people of Great Britain and Ireland! The necessity for such a commission, it would have been imagined, might have induced members of all parties to unite in supporting Mr. Slaney's motion. The *friends* of the working classes might have supported it as one mode of achieving that industrial and political emancipation to which they look forward. The *friends* of the present system might also have supported it, because nothing is so dangerous to, and subversive of, established institutions as wide-spread poverty, misery, and discontent among the people. These are the true revolutionisers of nations, not the "good-for-nothing people" of Lord Brougham, or the "handful of vagabonds and foreigners" according to other equally sage authorities, who march into capitals, dethrone monarchies, organise armies, fight pitched battles, and achieve victories over the well-disciplined hosts of despotism. This slip-slop style of denunciation and deprecation is very injurious to the parties whose organs are in the habit of using it. It shuts the eyes of those who are disposed to take it "upon trust," to the real dangers which menace them. It diverts their energies into wrong channels, and, at the moment when they believe they are most effectually suppressing revolutionary elements, they find themselves swept away by forces, of the existence and power of which they had not the slightest idea. Mr. Slaney's exposition of the condition of the producers of wealth in this country—though cut short by the House being counted out—was enough to make the faces of our rulers and wealthy classes blush, and their ears tingle with shame. The immense resources of modern machinery, and improved modes of creating wealth, have been absorbed by the non-producers. The condition of the labourer and artisan has not improved—in many cases it has deteriorated. Increased powers of production have been followed by increased toil and diminished remuneration to the labourer. Society, under the government of "the friends of order, family, and property," is a huge organised system of plunder, which denies to the great mass of the people the enjoyment of the comforts of family or the possession of property. "Order," in the vocabulary of the brigands who plunder wholesale, under the sanction of the laws they have made and the machinery they have constructed—means simply the submission of the producers to be plundered in peace—and when they resist they are reduced to obedience by fire and sword.

Twice this Session have Mr. Slaney and the working classes been treated to a specimen of the interest which the present House of Commons takes in this most vital and paramount question. We trust the fact will be remembered whenever the next general election may take place. It would be well that the members of the present House of Commons, who may again solicit the suffrages of the electors, should be questioned why they were absent. when such a question was brought forward It is time that Labour—the foundation of all wealth—should find representatives for itself, and that the present mockery should be put an end to.

Lord Stanley and the Protectionists have made another strenuous effort to substitute reciprocity for Free Trade in our shipping relations with foreign countries. Either his "whip" was not so good as it was on his first resistance to the Navigation Bill, or some of his supporters were disheartened at their defeat on that occasion. Though the division was in Committee—where proxies do not count—the Ministers had a majority of thirteen, which, with the majority of fourteen peers present against them on the second reading, counts twenty-seven in their favour. The House was, as formerly, well attended, and many of the leading members of the House sat out the debate from first to last. There was not much of novelty in the arguments on either side, though Earl Grey threw somewhat more than his usual bitterness into his attack upon the Protectionist leader. We imagine that this question is now settled. It is possible that alterations may be made in its details, but after the two defeats the Protectionists have sustained, it is scarcely probable they can prevent the ultimate passing of the measure with provisions substantially those introduced by the Government.

The Duke of Richmond last week made an outcry about agricultural distress. It is, perhaps, rather early, seeing that for the last two or three years the farmers have been getting high prices both for corn and cattle in consequence of the failure of the potatoes. Usually, high prices are concomitant with deficient crops; but that was not their case in this instance, they, at least, had good crops, and therefore reaped advantage in both ways. But, though the Duke may have "given mouth" somewhat prematurely, there can be no doubt whatever that a great change is before the British agriculturist. In former periods when wheat sold at a low price, it was when crops were abundant, and the low price was in some measure made up by the quantity they had to dispose of. If they lost in one year they could reckon on making it up the next, and upon an average of seasons could look to a fair interest upon the capital employed in carrying on their occupations. Under the new system this will be impossible. Low prices must rule the market. As soon as the Continent gets through its present political troubles, and settles down once more to the work of production, it will pour in a continuous supply of provisions to our market. In addition, the United States may be expected to increase rather than diminish their exports of food. The consequence must inevitably be, that prices will be kept permanently down. No doubt the farmer will, to some extent, experience the results of that reduction by a corresponding reduction in his outlay for various items of his annual expenditure; but there are numerous expenses to which he is subject on which no reduction is at present likely, and the probability is, that the present race of farmers will be beggared by the period of transition which we must pass through before the country can fully and completely adapt itself to the new system which is just beginning its practical operation. We do not wonder at the landlords taking alarm at this prospect, and scenting what must come in the long run—a great reduction of rent. One thing is certain, that, in order to accommodate our agricultural system to the new commercial arrangements of the Manchester School of Economists, an entire change of that system must take place. Game Laws will have to be swept away—new modes of culture introduced—and new and more secure and independent tenures granted to all tenant farmers.

THE BALLOT.

The question of the Ballot was introduced on Thursday evening, by Mr. Berkeley, the Member for Bristol, and, after a languid debate, of about an hour and a half, in which not one of her Majesty's Ministers took part, the House divided, when the numbers were,

For the Motion	85
Against it	136
Majority	—51

TO JOHN O'CONNELL, M.P.

Breach of Privilege.—Mr. John O'Connell complained. that in a newspaper called the *Times*, there had appeared what purported to be a report of the proceedings of that House upon a former evening, and he observed that in the report of what was set forth as his own speech on the occasion, all the "good points" were omitted, and the strong arguments of his opponents were inserted; he should, therefore, object to the presence of strangers, and the strangers, including the reporters, were forthwith obliged to withdraw.—*Weekly Paper.*

Gratiano speaks an infinite deal of nothing, more than any man in all Venice. His reasons are, as two grains of wheat hid in two bushels of chaff. You shall seek all day ere you find them, and when you have found them they are not worth the search.—*Merchant of Venice.*

My Dear John,—The injustice which the English have done to Ireland, through their Press, in curtailing and mutilating those models of patriotic oratory with which it has been your wont frequently to edify the Imperial Parliament, and the highly characteristic retaliation which you have inflicted upon the offenders, have induced me to address you in this public manner, and to offer my humble condolence to you, as a deeply injured man!

Things have come to a "*purty*" pass indeed when the "dearest son of his mother," and the worthy representative of the "illustrious Liberator," (God rest his sowl,) is so treated by rascally Saxon Journalists! Not only are your speeches abbreviated, but all the "good points" are purposely left out! "Thunder and turf!" Sure this is more than flesh and blood can bear with! enough, in fact, to provoke you to execute your threat of self-immolation upon the floor of the House—a threat which I have no doubt would long ere this have been carried into practice, were it not that your "*hereditary disinterestedness*" has suggested that your services may yet be of use to your *bleeding* country!"

Not only do the newspaper people leave out, intentionally, all your "good points," but the House itself acts towards you as though it were utterly unconscious of the existence of any such quality in your speeches. No sooner do you rise and commence to pour forth your mellifluous brogue, than there immediately occurs a most determined rush of members towards the gangway, the strife among them for egress reminding the beholder of a scene at Epsom on a "Derby-day," the outer door of the lobby being, to the competitors, an object of great contention—a kind of "winning post"—those members remaining behind seeming to be regarded by the deserters as the "distanced ones." But what does this treatment prove, John?—that your speeches are not worth listening to? No, John; quite the contrary. It is evidence strong as "holy writ" of the low grovelling taste of the Saxon members—the dogs!—since they have no appetite for the sublime and beautiful. What do they know about oratory?—they have never graduated at Burgh Quay! Talking of Burgh Quay, John, the emotion which the mention of that hallowed place excites in me at this moment—but, then, it is all over!—I have applied the lappel of my coat to my optics and nasal organ, (you can imagine how they have been affected,) and will face the subject like a man.

The reminiscences which are associated with the history of that now defunct establishment—how they crowd upon my memory! The rents that have been received there—the reputations that have been slaughtered—the promises that have been made, and the coats that have been therein turned, all go to prove the ability with which the affair was conducted. God be with ould times, John, when at the "Loyal National Burgh Quay," you found an auditory who were capable of appreciating *real* eloquence, and who, consequently, got speeches galore. It was not the dirty parliament you were talking to then, John, but to men of "illigant" taste, as numberless noggins of buttermilk, at present not extant, could have amply testified. Those were the days when the Press of Ireland, at least, did you justice. Some people say, but I don't believe them, that certain Irish editors were joint proprietors in the "brass" by which the "tin" was attracted to your mock senate, and which enabled you and them to do so *much* for your country, and so *little* for yourselves. At all events, of the utter unselfishness of all bearing your revered name there can be no question. I was in the gallery of the House of Commons on Friday evening, when you enforced the rule for the exclusion of strangers, and heard the derisive laughter with which the stupid Saxon members treated you for your worthy and heroic conduct. "But," thought I, "he will yet be able to take ample vengeance upon them for that laugh of scorn." I communicated the thought to a friend who was at my side, who asked me, "What I supposed you would do?" "Why," replied I, "he will give notice of motion upon some *Irish* question, perhaps the 'godless colleges,' and will make a speech of two hours upon its introduction!" "True," said my friend, "he *can* punish them *that way*, and if he does I shall pity them."

The *Times*, being the newspaper against which you have directed your complaint more especially, has had the conscience to require of you to speak "common sense," as a condition to the publication of your speeches at length in that paper! Was there ever before such a monstrous absurdity put forth, even by a Saxon editor? "Wanting—an Irish M.P. to utter 'common sense!'" And, as if to cap the climax, and to make the fellow's absurdity more complete, this conscionable overture is made to the member for the "City of the violated treaty," who, of all other Irish members, is *the one* who would scorn compliance with such a demand! Is not this very requirement an additional reason for a *repeal of the union*? Requiring "common sense" from you, dear John,—and this is called "Justice to Ireland!" Is not such conduct on the part of the *Times*, proof that we Irishmen will never get "justice" from England—no, not even an "*instalment*" of that "justice," the obtainment of which was the main object to which your lamented papa devoted his useful public life! If the shades of the departed dead could look down from above, and exercise any influence over us poor mortals "here below," that of your departed sire would, I am sure, be found hovering over Printing-house-square; and if it were permitted them to assume the shapes they graced when upon earth, would not the Editor of the *Times* be honoured with the apparition of the "Liberator," in his favourite and formidable attitude as a Tribune of the people with the tip of his thumb placed "significantly" upon the most prominent point of his proboscis, and his four fingers pointing to the skies! Such a visitation as this at the hour of midnight, would not only bring the offending Editor to his senses, but would furnish some future Irish Shakspere with excellent material for a Milesian tragedy; and you, sir, if not exactly a suitable "Hamlet," would make a most proper "Grave-digger," especially as you are already provided with divers vests, to wit: that of the '82 club, and the one in which you—good, loyal Irishman—appeared last Saturday at the Royal levee. And then how suitable the character of *grave-digger*, at this time, in the *present state* of your "beloved Erin," for which yourself and your venerable dad, Dan, have suffered so much! And then, should you drop across a skull—say of Emmett, or Fitzgerald, or that of any "miscreant rebel of '98," what reflections would it not suggest to you, good, *loyal* John! But there—I will not say more at present: I might say much more, but I refrain lest you should think me intrusive, and turn a deaf ear to my consoling voice. Should the Saxon dogs again speak slightingly of your eloquence, I would recommend you to follow the example of the famous Athenian orator, who, placing pebbles in his mouth, harangued the angry waves; and you will have this advantage over the Athenian, that the waters that surround the "Emerald Isle" are not angry, but *green*!

I am, my dear John, your Countryman,
Hibernicus.

Reporting alone costs each paper from £60 to £100 a week; and it is much doubted whether such expense and such space are at all repaid by the interest which the public take in reading these debates at length.—*Daily News.*

University College, London.—At a recent session of the Council the following legacies were announced:—For the College, £100, duty free, by Mr. Thomas Dyson, of Diss, Norfolk; for the hospital, £500, by Mrs. Kennedy, of Pennsylvania, near Exeter; £250, by Mr. Charles Filicia, of Park-crescent; and £500, by Mr. John Curties, of Devonshire-place. Mr. Dyson's legacy has been paid by his executor, Mr. Thomas Lombe Taylor. The £300 bequeathed by Dr. Fellowes, "to be added to the permanent endowment of the hospital," has also been lately paid without deduction of duty.

Thomas Slingsby Duncombe, Esq.—We are happy to announce that Mr. Duncombe took his seat in the House on Thursday evening, shortly after Mr. Berkeley had commenced his speech on the ballot. The hon. representative for Finsbury, who has not been in the House since the swearing in of the new parliament, appeared in excellent spirits, though he bore about him the traces of ill-health, and coughed a little. He was shaken most cordially by the hand by several members.—*Sun.*

LETTERS TO THE WORKING CLASSES.
XLV.

"Words are things, and a small drop of ink
Falling—like dew—upon a thought, produces
That which makes thousands, perhaps millions, think." Byron.

PATRICIAN RULE AND PLEBEIAN SUFFERING.
THE FRENCH ELECTIONS.

Brother Proletarians,

In the name of Humanity, what is to be done for the unhappy People of Ireland? How long do our rulers mean to stand by unmoved, while thousands and tens of thousands are perishing of hunger? How much longer do *you* intend to allow those rulers to continue in their present state of criminal apathy?

I may be told that I libel the Government and Parliament, in charging them with criminal apathy and heartless indifference to the sufferings of the Irish people. I may be told, that the Rate in Aid Bill of the present Ministry, the sums of Money voted by Parliament, and the speeches of "honourable Members," all testify to the sympathy and earnest benevolence of our rulers; that they do all they can do, and, that if in spite of their sympathy and benevolence the Irish are, nevertheless, perishing of hunger, it is because it is not in the power of mortal men to successfully struggle against the terrible dispensations of Divine Providence.

Sham and subterfuge, mockery and lies. The Irish famine is *not* "a dispensation of Divine Providence;" but *is*—as every being possessing common sense well knows—the natural consequence of land-lord usurpation, and British injustice. Ministers and Members of Parliament have *not* done all they might have done to have stayed the progress of the famine; and they have done nothing—positively *nothing*—towards laying the foundation of a new and righteous order of things. For all that the speechifiers and law makers have done, or are likely to do, the Irish peasantry may perish to the last man, and the country become a wilderness untrodden by human beings.

Read—and shudder, as you must, while you read—the horrible revelations from Ireland in this number of the "*Star*." Read the Ballinrobe Protestant Rector's account of the starving man turned Cannibal, feasting himself and family upon the heart and liver of a ship wrecked human body! Read of other horrors almost as frightful; and then read the following addressed to the "*Freeman's Journal*:—

A famine of four long years and the agonies of hunger, unprecedented in the annals of our Irish history, together with fevers, dysenteries, swellings, cold, and nakedness, and, to crown the climax of our misfortune, a raging cholera or plague has set in for the last fortnight. The people are withering with fear and dying in multitudes. Deaths numerous, but coffins few — buried without coffins in dykes and ditches, and many—many disfigured and destroyed by rats. In this doomed and mountainous parish (Partree) upwards of 1,900 of God's creatures fell victims to this devouring famine—more than 700 families are wandering without a house to put their heads into. They are seeking shelter in dykes and ditches. This is the effect of the Gregory clause. Five years ago there were 1,500 children attending the several schools in my parish; now there are not ten children. Where are they gone to? Famine and eternity can tell. For the last week I witnessed many a disconsolate heart. At Bornahowna, Peter Flanagan, wife, his two daughters, and two granddaughters, died within one hour of each other. A poor sight—four corpses leaving one house together! At Gortmora, about the hour of midnight, there were seven corpses in the same house. There is wailing and crying almost in every house. At Ballybanane, William Walsh and his son were found dead, entwined in each other's arms and both nearly eaten by rats. Martin Walsh, in the same village, together with his father and mother, were also found dead. Anthony Derrig, in the next field, dead under scraws. At Drimeggy I found Martin Walsh and his wife dead in a saw-pit, and near to the place his little child drowned in a stream in the same village. But now there are no villages. Pat. Shaughnessy's two daughters, his mother, and his wife, were found in a hut dead together. There are many similar and equally distressing cases. They are now complaining before their God. On whom will we call—to whom will we make our sad complaints? Our gardens are turned into graves—our fields strewed with the sick and with the dying—our homes mouldering in dark ruins—our people naked, shivering, wandering, and craving for a grain of meal or crust of bread.

You have often heard of the "reign of terror," but did ever the wildest excesses of popular vengeance create any such misery, anything approaching to such horrors as are indicated in the above appaling statement? Yet where are the lightnings and thunders of the Press-gang, so readily launched whenever the people have recourse to "the wild justice of revenge?"

Alas! my friends, those lightnings and thunders though often hurled against you, are never employed for you, or for your order, your interests, your rights, or your friends, by the Press of this country. When Latour, the Austrian traitor,

"——perish'd by the justest doom,
That ever the destroyer yet destroy'd,"

and again, when Rossi, the arch-intriguer, bit the dust,

"Amidst the roar of liberated Rome,"

there was hardly any termination to the sympathetic howlings of the English Press-gang. But these precious moralists have no bowels of compassion for the victims of privileged assassins—assassins who have not the mercy to slay with the sword or poniard, but who condemn their victims to the lingering tortures of death by famine. Oh! unhappy people of Ireland, how much less heart-rending would be your doom would your lords and masters only deign to shorten your sufferings by the speedy execution of the sabre, the cannon-shot, and the rifle-ball.

What has become of our great regenerator, Peel? Where are his healing measures? Tell me not that he is out of office, that he is powerless. Were he an honest man, and a statesman worthy of the name, he would never rest until he had forced upon Parliament the adoption of measures calculated to put an end to the horrors above detailed.

But suffering is not confined to the people of Ireland. On Tuesday evening last, Mr. Slaney brought, or, rather, attempted to bring, under the notice of the House of Commons the condition of the working classes of this Island, in support of a motion for "the appointment of a Standing Committee or unpaid Commission, to consider and report, from time to time, on practical measures (unconnected with political changes) likely to improve the condition of the working classes, to encourage their industry, and increase their contentment." The motion was moderate enough in all conscience. But then "he wished to show the House that whilst the rich and middle classes of this country had been going on improving, the condition of the humbler and most numerous orders of the population had undergone no corresponding amelioration." Mr. Slaney was proceeding to develope the facts on which he founded his motion—facts illustrative of the miserable condition of large masses of the industrious classes—when he was suddenly interrupted by "an Honourable Member," who moved that the House be counted. The counting took place, and of six hundred and fifty-six members it was found that only *thirty-four* were present. The House was thereupon adjourned till Thursday.

Now, observe that the House was not so thinly attended at the commencement of the evening's sitting—on the contrary, there was at one time at least two hundred and fifty-seven Members present. That was when that precious "Protectionist," and "friend of the British labourer," the Marquis of Granby, moved that the House adjourn, at its rising, from Tuesday till Thursday, to allow the members to attend Epsom races on Wednesday. One hundred and thirty-eight members voted for the motion, and one hundred and nineteen against it; majority for going to the races, and leaving the English to suffer and grumble, and the Irish to starve and perish—nineteen. "The announcement of the result was received with *loud cheering*!!!" The *all-important* question of the "Derby-day" having been disposed of, most of the "honourable members" bolted. Still there remained eighty-seven members to vote on that sham D'Eyncourt's sham motion for sham reform. But of these eighty-seven *hard-working members*, fifty-three ran away the moment Mr. Slaney attempted to bring the condition of the working classes under their consideration. It was not likely that "hon. gentlemen" could allow themselves to be bored with statistics of the condition of tailors and tinkers, weavers and labourers? The clubs, the theatres, the opera, and the forthcoming races presented attractions not to be thrown away for the sake of "greasy rogues" of artisans, who, if they are starving, are but fulfilling their destiny. They are "surplus," and there being no room for them at Nature's board, *it is their proper duty to hunger, pine, and die!*

Such is the comfortable creed of your rulers and lawmakers. The fate of Mr. Slaney's motion, is another lesson for you that no good thing can come out of that political Nazareth—the House of Commons, as at present constituted.

The French Elections have terminated in—all things considered—a glorious victory for Democracy. The accurate final returns have not yet reached this country, but it is certain that from two hundred to two hundred and fifty Socialist-Democrats have been elected to the New Assembly. The party of the *Mountain is quadrupled*! It is true that the intriguers, reactionnaires, and Royalist conspirators will be in the ascendant in the new Assembly, and, if united, will have a large majority. But that union is not very probable, and, under any circumstances, cannot be lasting. On the other hand, the union of the *Mountain* phalaux is well assured; the growing *public opinion* on their side is also assured; and last, not least, the Army is rapidly becoming Red Republican. Indeed there is no longer a doubt that, in the event of a physical force struggle between the friends and the enemies of the Republic, the soldiers would join the former against the latter. The enemies of Democracy have hitherto calculated on the Army, to subserve their impious designs against the Republic, but the electoral urn had made manifest the folly of that calculation.

Amongst the traitors, trimmers, and sham Republicans who have been ejected from the National Representation are Marrast and Lamartine. Every true democrat, every honest man, will exult over the fall of these two men—the two worst enemies of the Republic.

The War of Principles is extending. Bologna and Leghorn have been added to the number of martyred cities for which a terrible reckoning must and will be enforced. Rome still holds her own and defies her banded assailants. It is asserted that the Hungarians have already beaten the Russians and carried the war into Poland. The Republican insurrection is gaining ground in Germany. Ere long the French Democrats will measure weapons with the slaves of the Tsar on German soil; and "*France will break the sword of war in the breast of the last of the Kings*!"

L'AMI DU PEUPLE.

May 24, 1849.

PUBLIC MEETING.

PARLIAMENTARY AND FINANCIAL REFORM.

The first public meeting called by the Council of the Financial Reform Association was held on Tuesday, at the London Tavern. The meeting was convened for one o'clock; but long before that hour the large room of the tavern was densely crowded, as also was the gallery. On the platform we noticed Arthur Anderson, Esq., M.P.; R. B. Osborne, Esq., M.P.; J. Williams, Esq., M.P.; J. Wyld, Esq., M.P.; B. M. Willcox, Esq., M.P.; Colonel Thompson, M.P.; L. Heyworth, Esq., M.P.; George Thompson, Esq., M.P., and others.

The chair was taken by Sir Joshua Walmsley, M.P., who briefly opened the meeting, and called upon the honorary secretary to read the report.

Mr. H. T. Atkinson then read the report, which stated that—"The council, upon mature consideration, have decided upon advocating such an extension of the franchise, as will give to every male occupier of a tenement, or any portion of a tenement, the right to be registered as an elector; the only condition coupled with that right being, not the payment of rates, but the fact of being rated, or having claimed to be rated for the relief of the poor in respect of the qualifying premises. The effect of such a measure in strengthening the popular voice in the House of Commons may be inferred from the fact that the present constituency of the United Kingdom would be increased by the addition of upwards of 3,500,000 voters. The council seek to invest this extended right of voting with the shelter of the ballot; and, in order to keep actively alive that sense of responsibility, which, in the public business of the nation as in the private affairs of life, secures the faithful exercise of a power held in trust, they advocate the return to the old constitutional system of Triennial Parliaments; while another and not less important change sought for in our representative system will be that which will give a more equal apportionment of members to constituents. District and periodical aggregate public meetings will be held, tracts will be distributed, aid will be imparted to the various metropolitan registration societies now in existence for watching over the interests of liberal voters, and important facilities will be offered for the acquisition of freehold qualifications in the surrounding counties."

The Chairman said that meeting was an answer to the taunts which had been thrown out, that the middle classes of the city of London did not sympathise with the movement for the extension of the suffrage. There were those amongst them—and he hesitated not to declare himself one—who looked even beyond the principles contained in the report. (Loud and protracted cheering.) They had, however, adopted what they considered the best means of carrying out the great object they had in view; namely, the greatest extension of the suffrage. The hon. gentleman, after stating that each speaker would be limited to twenty minutes in his address, called upon

Mr. R. Taylor, who moved the first resolution:—"That, in the present contest between the advocates of a searching reform in the national finances and the parliamentary representation, on the one hand, and the upholders of a system which favours the few at the expense of the millions, on the other, it is important to strengthen and give effect to public opinion through the medium of an organised body, uniting reformers of all grades; and that the establishment of the Metropolitan Financial and Parliamentary Reform Association is, therefore, a matter not only of expediency, but likewise of paramount necessity."

Mr. W. J. Hall seconded the motion.

Mr. Elliott, who stated that he was a working man, then came forward on the platform, to move an amendment, namely, "That the association be called the Metropolitan Parliamentary and Financial Reform Association." He strongly advocated the adoption of Universal Suffrage.

Mr. Osborne, M.P., said he could have no hesitation in seconding such an amendment as that which had been proposed, and in doing so he could not but exclaim—

"Strange that such difference should be,
'Twixt tweedledum and tweedledee."

(Laughter.) He (Mr. Osborne) could not forget that the last time he sat in that room was to canvass the electors of Middlesex, and if he had not been so much amongst them as probably they had a right to expect, it was for the reason given by the mover of the amendment, that he was essentially a working man; and though he did not work by day, he attended to their interests by night, and he could add that he had not yet acquired that art of political legerdemain by which a man was said to modify his opinion. He had not modified the opinions upon which he had been returned to parliament; and, from all he had seen of the constitution of that House, he was not likely to modify them while he had a seat there. He grieved to say that there was a lamentable want of feeling on the subject of reform in that House of which he was a member. It would hardly be believed, that in the nineteenth century there was no such thing as a popular party existing in the House of Commons. There were certainly true and good men in that House, but he grieved to say that among them sickness and disease had been busy. The great patriarch of reform, Mr. Hume—(cheers)—he was sorry to say, was grievously ill; the two members for Finsbury, those honest and independent men, were not able to take their seats; and the hon. baronet, the member for Marylebone, he understood, was also ill. There was great apathy and distrust among Reformers themselves, and he repeated again, that at the present time there was no popular party, no leader, and no popular principles will be expounded in the House of Commons. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) He who was behind the scenes knew that there was great difficulty on any occasion in scraping together members who had been returned on what were called Liberal principles, and he did not hesitate to say, that many of the eighty members who voted with Mr. Cobden, if they had thought that the vote which they were giving would have turned out the government, would have stayed away rather than have voted at all. (Hear, hear.) Therefore, he said they should never rest satisfied—that those members never would do their duty until they had applied to them that gentle pressure from without which had not only influenced individual members, but even ministers in this country. The want of a popular party in this country was mainly owing to the conduct of her Majesty's present Ministry, for that government which had climbed to power on the shoulders of Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright were the first to throw cold water on those men, and to make the Cabinet the prerogative of the oligarchy which rule this country. (Cheers.) He had great respect for men in high stations when they exhibited ability and principle, but he could not see why they, the middle classes, could see no wisdom except in a lord (cheers), and no probity except in estated gentlemen. He thought the tendency was to make the House of Commons a great burrow for titled rabbits. (Cheers and laughter.) The House of Commons was in consequence nothing better than a taxing machine, by which a minister was enabled to raise a greater amount of taxes than ever was imposed by the most despotic monarch of any period. What was the conduct of the Whigs in 1830, and what was their conduct in 1848? The two periods were very similar, and each year had produced a revolution in France. In 1830 the Duke of Wellington's Ministry was turned out on a Whig motion for Financial Reform; and it was well worth while to ask what had been the experience of the last nineteen years with regard to public economy. In 1830 the public expenditure was £54,000,000. But there was a surplus of £1,711,000. Let them mark that! In 1848 the public expenditure amounted to £58,000,000—(shame,) and the excess of expenditure over revenue—spending more than they got—was £3,000,000. (Shame.) Yet the interest of the debt had been reduced in the mean time. What else had they got? An income-tax of £5,000,000, which had been laid on on false pretences—(laughter, and hear, hear),—for they were told at first that it would only be imposed for three years. (Hear, hear, hear.) But the tax was opposed by the present government,—(hear),—yet when they came into office they turned round, and coolly prepared to increase the tax to £5 per cent. last year—(laughter);—and if the people had not, on putting their hands into their pockets, and finding a deficit, instructed their members to speak out, they would have had an increase of the income tax. In 1830 the estimate for the army and navy, ordnance, and miscellaneous, which nobody could explain, and nobody get at—(laughter), — was £17,500,000. (Hear.) Those estimates, however, included a gate at Buckingham Palace, £80,000, and £600 for taking a bishop to Jamaica. It was a gross delusion to tell the public that their representatives in the House of Commons were able to control the public purse under the present system. In 1830, when the Whigs came in, of course they thought they must do something, and they reduced the item of the expenditure to which he had referred to £14,000,000, taking off upwards of £3,000,000. But what was it last year? Why, they would scarcely belive that it had increased £9,000,000—(shame, shame),—and the present estimate was £23,315,852. (Shame.) But the government said "We are retrenching now," and they began by reducing the number of poor clerks, who had, perhaps, wives and families—they caught the small flies and allowed the leviathans to break through. They had saved a few thousands by reducing the number of clerks; but if they were sincere in what they did, they must begin at the heads of the departments. Then, with respect to their diplomatic expenses, it was enormous, but no one had a chance of being employed in the service unless he were connected with the Lord Tom Noddy family—(laughter)—no man whose name was either Smith, Jenkins, or who possessed the patronymic of Buggins. (Laughter.) It would be next to impossible to send a man with such a name to a foreign court. The diplomatic establishment costs £180,000; and what did they get? The work could be done for much less. (Hear, hear.) For upwards of a year they had had no ambassador at Madrid, who had received £6,500 a year. He was a very amiable man, but he was withdrawn; and it was notorious that their affairs were going on there much better because they had no diplomatic interference, and saved at the same time £6,500—(cheers),—but if they must have ambassadors let the Smiths, the Jenkinses, and the Bugginses have a chance now—they, he thought, would be satisfied to do the work for £1,000 a year. (Hear, hear.) The Prime Minister might come down to the House and say he had reduced the number of the Horse Guards, saying, "See what I have done—I have taken off some of the dead weights." Why, the Horse Guards cost £190,000. The present commander-in-chief received £3,700 a year, with perquisites, whilst Lord Amherst, when commander-in-chief, received only £1,000. (Hear, hear.) And with respect to the perquisites, they were as much looked after as a cook looked after the perquisites she possessed in the suet. (Laughter.)

"'Tis from high life high characters are drawn—
A saint in crape is twice a saint in lawn."

The honourable gentleman concluded by urging the necessity of the middle and working classes possessing themselves of forty-shilling county franchises by the means proposed by the council.

Mr. Thomas Clark said: Sir, as the resolution now before us is an invitation to all classes of Reformers to co-operate with the promoters of this meeting, in carrying out the objects of the association over which you preside, and, as I have the honour of being a Chartist myself—(cheers)—and of belonging to the Chartist party—(loud cheers)—than whom no body of men have, by priority at least, so much right to be heard upon this question of the suffrage. (Hear, and cheers.) I am anxious to offer a few observations, not only upon the resolution itself, but also upon what has fallen from the preceding speakers. The Chairman, in opening the business of the meeting, seemed to me to have had some dread of opposition and therefore ventured upon a caution, bidding you to be aware of the influence of "Tory gold," which, as he said, had been employed in causing divisions at other great meetings in different parts of the country. He appeared to me to have insinuated this remark against the Chartists, owing to the opposition which they at one time offered to the Anti-Corn-Law League, when the same unfounded charge was made against them. (Hear, hear.) But, Sir, my object in speaking here, is not to foment disunion nor to create derision. (Cheers.) I therefore repudiate the insinuation of the Chairman.

Sir Joshua Walmsley here rose and protested to the meeting that the speaker was quite mistaken. He did not mean the Chartists—he repeated that he did not. This announcement was received with loud cheers.

Mr. Clark continued: I am now perfectly satisfied, the Chairman having assured the meeting that he did not mean the Chartists. (Cheers.) I would have been much better satisfied with the objects of the association, had the suffrage been set forth therein as a *right* to which all men are entitled, and wholly untrammelled with rate-paying qualifications. (Cheers.) Still, I cannot deny that the enfranchisement of three millions and a half of the people is a most material consideration, and whilst I uphold the right of suffrage to man, not as a registered rate-payer, but as MAN, I am not disposed to quarrel with those reformers who are not prepared to go the entire length with me. (Great cheering.) I do not only not think it advisable to stop upon the way to quarrel with them, but, on the contrary, I wish them success. (Loud cheers.) I wish it, however, to be most clearly understood, that myself and those with whom I have the honour to be allied, will never cease to struggle until all are admitted within the pale of the constitution. (Loud cheers.) And it is because I think this association will accelerate that grand and paramount object that I wish it God speed. (Cheers.) The report which has been read by the honorary secretary sets forth that the main intent of this association is to abolish class legislation. (Hear, hear.) But, gentlemen, whatever the intent, that object can never be realised so long as you permit the present propertied qualification for senators to remain in force. (Hear, hear, and loud cheers.) The rules of this association will remain radically defective until the abolition of "Property Qualification" shall have made one of them. (Hear, hear.) We of the labouring classes have as much objection to being excluded from the House of Commons as from the political franchise. (Cheers.) Surely the *toiler* is as fit to make laws for this great industrial community as the *idler*! (Loud cheers.) The industrious only can legislate honestly for industry! (Hear, hear.) We have been informed to-day, how advisable it is that the middle and working classes should not quarrel, and their past differences have been lamented. But, Sir, what have we learned from the facts so eloquently set forth by the honourable member for Middlesex? Why that the Reformed parliament, which has been in a great measure the representative of the middle classes, has been more extravagant in expenditure of the public money, and more tyrannical in its conduct generally, than were the old boroughmongering parliaments, and that Russell, the pet of the middle classes, has been a greater spendthrift than Wellington! (Hear, and loud cheers.) Will not the evidence of the honourable member for Middlesex, as to the conduct of the reformed parliament, furnish some reason for the feelings which the working classes have hitherto entertained towards the middle classes? (Hear, hear.) The middle classes have been known to the working men only through the perfidy and tyranny of the representatives of the former in the House of Commons, and therefore, I repeat that the feelings of the working classes have not been groundless. (Cheers.) I do not however mention these things in a spirit of angry vindictiveness or for recriminatory purposes—(cheers)—but simply as a defence for my own order, and as preparatory to a better understanding in the future. (Loud cheers.) I will, however, add, that if anything could tend to keep alive the doubts of the working classes as to the designs of the middle classes, it is such conduct as was pursued the other evening in the House of Commons, by many of the most influential of the liberal members, on the motion of Mr. Drummond, for an inquiry into the system and application of our enormous taxation. (Hear, and cheers.) I confess, that I was not only surprised, but I was much disappointed to find as "Tellers" for the government, for in that instance such they were in effect, the names of Mr. Cobden, and Milner Gibson. (Hear, hear, and "Shame.") I am aware that there were some things said by Mr. Drummond, with which I would not identify myself, but yet he said many good things, and, as Mr Gibson himself said, the motion of Mr. Drummond was quite "unexceptional." Why not, therefore, take the motion upon its own intrinsic merits, and not take vengeance upon the motion instead of the proposer? (Hear, and cheers.) This, too, brings me to what has already been said by the honourable member for Middlesex, who, in the course of his able speech, pointed out the little union there is at present among the friends of the people in the House. I have no doubt but the honourable gentleman spoke feelingly—spoke from experience, when he deplored the want of cordial understanding that existed amongst the few men in Parliament who are, one way or other, identified with the cause of progress. As in the case of Mr. Drummond, it appears to me that there is a childish jealousy as to who shall do the people any service,—(hear)—and, therefore, one will not unite to help the other. (Hear, and cheers.) Now, sir, upon this platform at the present moment there are six members of the House, including yourself, all of whom profess liberal opinions, and I put it to the meeting, whether this recommendation from them to us to unite with each other, would not appear more consistent and have greater weight with us if they would themselves set the example of union by acting together upon all occasions in parliament, and opposing every government, no matter whether Whig or Tory, in every instance, when the interests of the people require such opposition. (Cheers.) The enemies of the people in the House are strong through their union, and so would our friends also be strong were they equally united. Mr. Clark concluded amidst loud cheering.

Mr. Joseph Sturge regretted that physical force principles had too often been associated with the name of Chartism. No doubt many who had professed Chartism had been guilty of violence; but as well might they charge Christianity with the evils of the Established Church, or the horrors of the Inquisition, as to condemn Chartism because some of its supporters were mad enough to resort to physical force. (Hear, hear.) Chartism was founded on Christian principles, and all that was wanted to secure its success was a revival of the motto of "Measures, not men." So soon as good and honest men were found to carry them out, Chartist principles would assuredly triumph. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. Phillimore remarked that the object of the association was to obtain the suffrage for no less that 3,712,676 of the people, and surely such a boon was worth struggling for without objecting that it did not go far enough.

The Chairman then intimated that the amendment proposed to the resolution was of so trivial a nature, that it had been determined to embody it in the resolution itself.

The resolution having been accordingly amended, it was put from the chair and carried unanimously.

Mr. William Williams, the late member for Coventry, was then introduced to the meeting as the mover of the next resolution, which was as follows:—"That, in the opinion of this meeting, the expenditure of the state is characterised by an extravagance the most reprehensible; that to sustain this reckless waste an enormous amount of taxation is required, which, as now levied, presses most unequally upon the different sections of the community; that so large a proportion of the taxes is imposed upon the necessaries of life, that no economy nor self-denial on the part of the poor man can enable him to escape from those burthens; that the effects of such a system are not only cruel, arbitrary, and pernicious towards the industrious classes, but are calculated to produce the wide-spread demoralisation and those flagrant crimes which are the offspring of poverty and distress; and that, therefore, the whole framework of taxation should be so altered as to adjust its burthens to the respective means of those who are to bear them." They were told that one of the effects of the Reform Bill would be to reduce taxation; but what had been the case? Why, since the Reform Bill was passed, the taxes had increased no less than £4,000,000, and the expenditure £7,000,000. The productive power of the people had been fearfully reduced, and the consequence was that last year 3,500,000 received parochial relief, and 100,000 were committed to prison for crime. Surely, then, if something were not done to stay the further progress of this downward system they might live to see a prophecy Sir James Graham published in a pamphlet thirty years ago to the effect that "whenever the country presents the spectacle of millions wanting bread, then would the people sweep away titles, pensions, and honours." The only remedy for this complication of evils was Parliamentary Reform; it was useless to expect Financial Reform till that had been attained. When Lord John Russell introduced the Reform Bill, he made use of these remarkable words: "I propose by this bill that the people shall send to the Commons House of Parliament their real representatives, to deliberate on their wants, to consult on their interests, to consider their grievances, to hold the purse-strings of the nation, to lay the foundation for salutary changes in the well-being and comforts of the people, and that laws shall not be passed for the benefit of classes by men roused from their slumbers at twelve o'clock at night to vote for what they knew not." (Laughter.) Now, he hoped when Lord John Russell saw the report of this meeting in the public press, he would lose no time in sending a subscription to qualify him a member of the association; but, at all events, they wanted no more than what was here promised, and with less they would not be satisfied. (Cheers.)

Mr. Samuel Morley, in seconding the resolution, said he was connected with a house in the City that employed upwards of 2,000 men; and as he had learned from experience that the wages of labour were higher when bread was cheap than when it was dear, he was somewhat surprised to find that Mr. Roebuck, at a meeting in Sheffield, had asserted the contrary. In several districts, doubtless, wages were regulated in some respect by the price of bread, but in manufacturing neighbourhoods wages were regulated by the demand for labour.

Dr. Longstaff supported the resolution, and advocated a system of direct taxation.

Mr. Lawrence Heyworth, M.P., did the same, observing that at present £35,000,000 were extracted from the pockets of the poor man in the shape of direct taxation, which otherwise would be applied—at least a great portion of it—to the purchase of articles of consumption, and thus add to the productive powers of the country. If a direct tax of ten per cent. were adopted, it would induce all parties, from the nobleman with an income of £300,000 a-year down to the poorest operative, to see that the money was properly expended for the benefit of the state. No sinecures would exist under such a system, as it would have the effect of making every man a watch-dog upon the acts of the government. (A laugh.)

The resolution, like the other, was then put from the chair and carried unanimously.

Mr. D. Wire proposed the third and last resolution, as follows:—"That in the opinion of this meeting, the Commons House of Parliament, as at present constituted, represents neither the population—the property, nor the industry of the country; that the election of its members has in numerous instances been the result of bribery and corruption, coercion and intimidation; that the electoral distributions present the monstrous anomaly of a few hundred voters in some districts returning as many members as several thousand constituents in other districts; that the Reform Act has totally failed to realise the expectations of the country, or to harmonise with the spirit of the age; and that therefore a large extension of the franchise, a complete independence in its exercise by means of the ballot, a more equal apportionment of representatives to population, and the limitation of parliament to three years, become not only measures of common justice, but also of prudence or safety."

Mr. G. W. M. Reynolds, the editor of a cheap periodical, in seconding the resolution, announced himself to be an ultra-Republican, and in a violent strain proceeded to insist that every man who conformed to the laws had a right to be represented in the House of Commons. After protesting, amidst much impatience on the part of the meeting, that the aristocracy were more tyrannical and despicable than any in the world, and that one-half of them had obtained their possessions by the prostitution of their female ancestors in the time of Charles II., he recommended his hearers to study his own writings, where they would find all these political questions treated with freedom and liberality.

Some confusion arose out of the intemperance of Mr. Reynolds's language, but it soon subsided, when the resolution was put to a show of hands and carried unanimously.

Thanks were then voted to the Chairman, who briefly acknowledged the compliment, and the meeting broke up shortly after five o'clock.

Death from Fright.—As a young woman was passing the church-yard, Weymouth, a few days since, in the dusk of the evening, a small dog belonging to a person residing close by, jumped through the rails suddenly as she passed. She immediately walked to her father's house, near the spot, had seven fits, and expired the next day.

The Metropolis.

HEALTH OF LONDON DURING THE WEEK.—The 1,033 deaths registered in the week exhibit an increase of 70 on the weekly average; as well as an excess of nearly 90 on the previous fortnight. This unfavourable result is due chiefly to diseases of the respiratory organs. The deaths from hooping cough were 67, or nearly double the average; those in the preceding week were 46. The deaths from bronchitis and pneumonia were 54 and 86, being 17 and 25 above the respective averages, and also showing an increase on the previous week. The deaths from measles were 32, or 11 above the average; those from typhus exactly correspond with it. The mortality from small pox is remarkably low; and scarlatina, after spreading its ravages throughout a long period, has subsided to near the ordinary amount of fatality. The deaths from diarrhœa and dysentery were 18; only one was caused by cholera. The deaths of two persons, one advanced in life, were accelerated by intemperance; and a woman of 77 years died from immersion in water, and bruises received by falling into a common sewer, when under the influence of intoxicating drink. A man of 58 years died of "cerebral affection produced by mental anxiety," after an illness of twelve weeks. And a boy was accidentally killed by suspension with a rope at the neck, when engaged in gymnastic exercises. The mean height of the barometer in the week was 29.498. The mean temperature of the week was 54 deg. 9 min. The temperature was a little above the average of the same period of seven years, throughout the whole week; and the excess, taking one day with another, was 2 deg. 6 min.

CHARGE OF NEGLECT AGAINST A PARISH SURGEON.—On Monday an Inquest was held before Mr. Payne at the King's Head, Tooley-street, Southwark, on the body of Ellen Collins, aged twenty-seven years, whose death was alleged to have been caused by neglect, or non-attendance, during her confinement, of Mr. P. O'Connel, assistant to the parish-surgeon of St. Thomas's, Southwark. The deceased was a native of Ireland, and had only latterly arrived in this country. She was pregnant, and went to live with a female, named Ring, at No. 1, Pitt's-buildings, inhabited by the lower class of Irish. On Friday, the 11th inst., she was taken in labour, and Mr. O'Connel was sent for, who, upon his arrival, found the child born. After applying the usual remedies he left the deceased, and did not prescribe any medicine, which is usual and necessary, nor even attended until after her death. The deceased appeared to be going on favourably, and was attacked suddenly on Friday last with a fit, and died shortly afterwards.—Dr. Holding, physician and accoucheur to Guy's Hospital, stated that it was his opinion that death was irrespective of the confinement. It had been produced by a spasmodic affection of the heart, or by some affection in the brain.—The jury returned a verdict of "Natural Death," and added that they were of opinion that the conduct of Mr. O'Connel was highly reprehensible, and that he had been guilty of great neglect; and they also recommended that a memorial should be sent to the board of guardians, conveying their opinions.—Mr. Corner, the vestry clerk, here stepped forward, and said at the next meeting of the board of guardians, he would communicate the evidence of the witnesses, and the opinion of the jury.

ACCIDENT ON THE RIVER.—TWO LIVES LOST.—On Wednesday afternoon, shortly after one o'clock, an accident occurred on the river, near the St. Katharine's steam packet wharf, by which two men were drowned. It appears that two fishermen were navigating a small Peter-boat down the river, and on reaching the Tower, they made towards the New Unity steam tug, which was about proceeding to Gravesend, to tow a vessel up into the docks. One of the men in the Peter-boat, made fast his boat to the stern of the Unity, for the purpose of being towed down the river. The Unity started shortly afterwards, and the two men sat in the stern of their boat. On reaching St. Katharine's steam packet wharf, the Peter-boat was suddenly upset by the swell from the steam tug, and almost immediately sunk. Several boats were put off from the shore, but before any assistance could be rendered, the men disappeared and were never seen afterwards. The watermen dragged the river, but were unable to find the bodies.

The Provinces.

MURDER OF A POLICEMAN AT BRISTOL.—The inquest held on Friday week on the body of John Pym, P.C. 206, who, on the 3rd of May, was so violently assaulted by two soldiers of the 15th Regiment, and beaten with sticks, terminated that evening at a late hour, when the jury returned a verdict of "Wilful Murder," against the two soldiers, Andrew Daly and John M'Fetten.

MORPETH, SATURDAY.—COMMITTAL OF ANOTHER WIFE FOR POISONING HER HUSBAND.—Considerable excitement prevails throughout the neighbourhood of Morpeth, in consequence of the discovery of another supposed case of secret poisoning, and the committal to the county gaol of the alleged murderess. The circumstances connected with the case, as far as they have yet been ascertained, appear to be as follow:—Some few days since a married man about twenty-six years of age, named William Hornsby, who resided at Haltwhistle, was taken suddenly ill, and he died shortly afterwards, from what was at first supposed to be inflammation of the stomach, produced by natural causes. The man's death having become generally known through the district, a report became current that his wife on the day preceding the death had purchased some arsenic, for the alleged purpose of poisoning rats. The neighbours and other parties at once made inquiries respecting the mysterious affair, which satisfied them that the poison had not been used for the purpose stated. Mr. Bird, the coroner, was therefore made acquainted with the suspicions that were entertained that the deceased had not met his death fairly. The result was, that gentleman gave the necessary instructions for holding an inquest on the body, when, after the examination of sundry witnesses, the inquiry was adjourned, to allow time for a *post mortem* examination of the deceased's body to be made, and also for an analysis of the contents of the stomach. Dr. Glover and another medical gentleman have been directed to proceed with this part of the inquiry, and it is stated that they have discovered indications denoting the presence of arsenic. The magistrate having also taken the case up, the evidence brought before them was of such a nature as to warrant them in committing the deceased's wife to Morpeth Gaol, on suspicion of murdering her husband.

MANSLAUGHTER AT OXNEAD.—On Saturday last at the Guildhall, Norwich, Thomas Ellis, a railway labourer, was brought before the mayor and magistrates, on a charge of manslaughter. The prisoner, on the previous Tuesday night, was at his father's house, standing outside the door. A man named Matthew Peart, in the employment of Mr. Blakely, farmer, of Oxnead, and who lived next door to the prisoner's father, had just returned from work, and seeing Ellis, made some observation in a jeering manner, when Ellis went up to him, struck him in the face, and knocked him down. Peart got up again, but, being a weak man, was unable to defend himself. Ellis struck his head against a stone wall, knocked him down again, and kicked him violently. He was put to bed in an almost insensible state. A surgeon attended the wounded man till the following Thursday, when he died, in consequence of the injuries he had received. He was fifty-three years of age, and he has left a wife and two children. When before the magistrates the prisoner appeared quite unconcerned. He did not deny having assaulted Peart; but merely said, "He called me a thief, and wanted to know my affairs. I kicked him, but did not intend to hurt him." The prisoner was remanded.

THE LYNN BANK ROBBERY.—Sanger, who absconded with a considerable amount of money from the East of England Bank, at Lynn, has lately received a conditional pardon; this will enable him to go to any part of the world except Great Britain and Ireland. It is understood he will shortly leave for France; he is at present a clerk on the peninsula, attached to the convict department, Van Diemen's Land.

CRUELTY TO ANIMALS.—On Friday week Mr. Joseph Hazelden, a builder, residing at Brighton, appeared before the bench of magistrates at Uckfield, in Sussex, charged by Mr. Thomas, the secretary of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, with wantonly and cruelly ill-treating a mare the property of Mr. Read, a postmaster at Lewes of whom he had hired it. Mr. Thomas called several witnesses, who described the conduct of the defendant as brutal in the extreme. In consequence of the treatment the mare received it was unable to work for some days. The defendant was drunk at the time, and had several narrow escapes from serious injury, owing to the docile nature of the animal he was wantonly torturing. When called on for his defence the defendant admitted having hired the mare, but denied using her cruelly, and said he had no recollection of being in Uckfield at all on the day mentioned by the witnesses, who must be mistaken. He had no witnesses to contradict their evidence. The bench said the case had been fully and satisfactorily proved; he had been guilty of wanton cruelty towards the mare, for which he must pay 40s. in addition to £5, for the damage sustained by Mr. Read, the owner, and in default of paying the £7 forthwith he would be sent to the House of Correction for two months, and kept to hard labour. The defendant not being provided with the money was placed in custody.

A WILL FORGER LIBERATED.—We understand that John Ford, convicted and sentenced to transportation some time ago for participating in the forgery of the will of the late Mr. Slack, has been liberated from the Bath Gaol, at the instance of the government inspector, on account of ill health.

TYPHUS FEVER rages to a fearful extent in the Cardiff Union Workhouse, and a great many deaths have occurred. Means are taken to meet the trying emergency and to arrest the progress of the disease. A temporary hospital is to be provided for the sick, and all other necessary measures are to be adopted forthwith.

THE CHAILEY MURDER.—Our readers will remember that at the last Sussex Assizes Hannah Sandles was convicted of the murder of her infant child by throwing it into a well at Chailey, near Lewes, the jury accompanying their verdict of guilty by a recommendation to mercy on the ground of the destitution of the prisoner at the time she committed the act. Shortly afterwards she was respited during her Majesty's pleasure; and the governor of Lewes Gaol has just received from the Home-office an official notification that the sentence had been commuted to two years' imprisonment with hard labour, followed by transportation for life.

THE STANFIELD HALL MURDERS.—DISCOVERY OF THE WEAPON.—WYMONDHAM, Wednesday.—The discovery of the weapon by which Rush perpetrated the murders at Stanfield Hall has created considerable interest in the county. The locality in which it was found certainly tends to show that the presumed search made by the county police was at least carried out in the most slovenly manner. For several weeks they, with sixty or seventy hired labourers, under the personal direction of Col. Oakes, the chief officer of the force, at a very great expense to the county, were engaged in almost the complete demolition of Potash, the turning up of land, and the emptying of the numerous pits of water which abound in the district. In fact, to such an extent was the search said to have been made, that, to use the words of one of the officials, had so small a thing as a pencil-case been secreted, it would have been turned up. It may be stated that the weapon had been so placed after the search by some person, for the purpose of obtaining a large reward, but a general opinion prevails that that portion of the farm where the discovery was made had not been examined at all. Although the process of ejectment has been served on Mr. James Rush, son of the deceased murderer, and the furniture disposed of by public auction; yet he continues to hold possession of the farm. It appears that in the course of last Saturday one or two of the labourers were engaged in clearing away some muck which stood near a shed at the eastern extremity of the barn, scarcely thirty paces from the back-door of Potash, when a double-barrelled short gun or blunderbuss was turned up in the soil. The fact was instantly communicated to Mr. Rush, who took possession of the weapon. It had evidently been concealed a considerable period—several months, as it was corroded. To more properly describe it, it is a small doubled-barrelled carbine, about three-quarters of a yard in length, something similar to the arms carried in former days by mail-coach guards. It has a spring dagger or bayonet attached to it, which seems to have been added since its construction. The maker's name, it is said, does not present itself. Neither of the barrels were charged, and the hammers of the locks were down. Being without a ramrod, the one found in the hall of Stanfield Hall on the night of the murders, was fitted to the weapon, and was found to correspond in size and make in every particular. That it belonged to the instrument was proved beyond a doubt. Somewhat of a *fracas* has taken place between the police authorities and the magistrates for the possession of the weapon. Shortly after the discovery, one of the chiefs of the constabulary waited upon Mr. Rush, and requested a sight of it. It was produced, and the officer rather forcibly seized it. Mr. Rush remonstrated with him as to the apparent illegality of his proceeding, at the same time expressing his readiness to deliver it up to the proper authorities should it be desired, when the officer remarked that Colonel Oakes had requested him to take it, and he should do so. Mr. Rush then rode over to Mr. Cann, and communicated what had transpired. In the course of Sunday it came into the possession of Mr. Cann, who retained possession of it till Monday, when the colonel waited upon him and demanded the gun. At first it was refused; some angry words, and indeed a scuffle, it is said, ensued, when the colonel produced an order from the sheriff for its delivery. It was accordingly handed over to him under protest, and in whose custody it continues. It will be remembered that at the trial Emily Sandford said that after Rush had returned home on the night of the murders, she heard him come down stairs and go out at the back door for a few minutes. The finding of the weapon in the heap of soil so near the rear of the premises will fully explain his object in leaving the house in that secret way, viz., to conceal the instrument by which he had committed the atrocious acts. That that was his motive for going out there is little doubt. By many it is supposed that another weapon is yet to be found, as Rush fired four times. The general belief, however, is, that he had only one, the one now found. After firing at the elder Mr. Jermy, he would have had ample time while proceeding into the mansion by the servants' entrance to reload the discharged barrel; and again, after shooting the younger Mr. Jermy, a few minutes elapsed ere he fired at Mrs. Jermy. He went into the dining-room, and had time and opportunity to again load before he met with the unfortunate lady. The finding of the ramrod in the hall favours the impression that he used it while there. His re-loading would account for the four shots fired. It is somewhat surprising that the police did not, after hearing the admissions of Rush that he had buried the clothes he had worn on the night of the murders near the pigsty of the farm, institute some search in the locality mentioned by the murderer, if only to satisfy themselves as to the truth of the statement. Had they done so the probability is, owing to the close proximity of the pigsty to the place where the weapon was found, that it would have then come to light.

Ireland.

DUBLIN, SATURDAY.—THE CLEARANCE SYSTEM.—In all directions evictions are still in progress, and, in some instances, by landlords who have been hitherto remarkable for forbearance, as well as an anxiety to improve the condition of their tenantry.

At the meeting of the Nenagh guardians, on Thursday week last, Mr. Stoddart announced the name of Mr. Baron Lefroy, one of the Judges of the Court of Exchequer, as amongst the defaulters of the poor rate; but it was explained by Mr. Grace that "the Baron ejected all the tenants out of the land, and, after they had been ejected, the collector had nothing to distrain, but the rates would be paid one of these days."

At the meeting of the Carlow Board of Guardians Mr. Gale, in bringing forward a motion to provide for the employment of able-bodied labourers in the workhouse, stated that the number would be soon increased, as the police were out that day with the sheriff to evict fourteen families, consisting of seventy persons, off the estate of Sir Charles Coote, in the Shrule district. Mr. Gale added:—"The fourteen houses would be thrown down that day, and all our remonstrances with Sir Charles Coote had proved unavailing." The motion passed unanimously. Colonel Bruen, M.P., and Sir Thomas Butler were in attendance at the board.

The *Leinster Express* contains accounts of further evictions near Portarlington and Rosenalis.

DEPARTURE OF THE LORD-LIEUTENANT.—His Excellency left this forenoon by the Banshee, and will arrive in London in time to attend the committee on the Navigation Bill in the House of Lords. A Privy Council was held at two o'clock on Saturday for the swearing in of Lords Justices.

THE STATE PRISONERS.—The *Freeman's Journal* says:—"Yesterday various rumours were afloat through town respecting the removal of the state prisoners from Richmond Bridewell; but, as usual in such cases, these rumours proved unfounded. There was nothing communicated to the prisoners which would warrant the supposition that they will be sent off immediately, but at the same time the gentlemen have been actively engaged in packing up their moveables, with the view of anticipating any sudden order that may be communicated to them. They are all in the enjoyment of the best health, and quite cheerful."

"MR. MARTIN'S CASE.—This gentleman, whose health is stated to have improved, we understand has received an official intimation that the executive do not see any reason why the law shall not take its course in his case, but no immediate order has been given for his removal."

WORKHOUSE CRUELTIES PUNISHED.—The *Cork Examiner* says:—"Two officials of the Youghal workhouse have been dismissed under a sealed order of the Commissioners, for their unhappy connexion with the death of the wretched man Patrick Conolly, into the particulars of whose melancholy case we felt it our duty to enter more than once; and two officials of the Macroom Union are now in custody on a charge of manslaughter, they having struck a pauper of the auxiliary workhouse, named Kelcher, several fatal blows with a drain-shovel and a stone hammer. Patrick Conolly, it will be remembered, was confined in the black hole of the Youghal Workhouse on the 26th ult., for taking a ration of bread, and died in a few hours of starvation."

MURDER OF A BAILIFF.—Two bailiffs, named Coghlan and Hinsey, arrested a tenant to Mr. Robert Cassidy, under a civil bill decree, in the fair of Kinnitty, and conveyed him to Tullamore gaol; on their return, about eleven o'clock last night, they were attacked about a mile this side of the town of Frankford by a party of men, who lay in wait for them. Two of the fellows stopped the car on which they were sitting, while the others beat the bailiffs with bludgeons and stones. The ruffians dragged both off the car, and then the driver drove off. This morning, about six o'clock, Coghlan was found dead, lying on the road, and Hinsey in such a dreadful state that he was unable to move. The latter was removed into Frankford, where he now lies in a dangerous state, under the care of Dr. Thornton. An inquest was held this day before Mr. James Dillon, coroner, on view of the body of Coghlan. The jury found a verdict of "Wilful murder against some persons unknown."

ARREST ON A CHARGE OF MURDER.—It is probably in the recollection of many that in the September of 1847, a bailiff, of the name of Jeremiah Grady, was shot by a man of the name of James Wren, who had a small farm at Knocksragh, near Clonakilty, under the Earl of Shannon, and from which the bailiff (Grady), by direction of the agent, Mr. Leslie, sought to evict him on the day in question. Having succeded in effecting his escape from this country, nothing was known of his whereabouts until within a few days past, when Constable John Sherrin, of the Ballinspittle station, in the Bandon district, obtained a clue to his location, which he discovered to be the town of Bridge-end, South Wales. Having provided himself with the necessary warrant, Constable Sherrin proceeded to Wales immediately, and after a close inspection of the labourers working in the various employs in Bridge-end, he succeeded on Tuesday last in arresting Wren, whom he found working in a brick-yard, amongst two or three hundred men. At first there seemed a determination on the part of the prisoner to resist, but finding himself unassisted, he did not oppose violence to his arrest. Constable Sherrin then proceeded with his prisoner to Bristol, where, embarking in the Juverna, he proceeded to Cork, arriving here yesterday, when the prisoner was fully committed to the county gaol, by B. Shaw, Esq., J.P.—*Cork Examiner.*

DISSENTING WORSHIP IN A CHURCHYARD.—On the question which has been lately raised as to the lawfulness of the dissenting worship in the churchyard of Killdollon, without permission of the officiating minister, the law adviser of her Majesty's government in Ireland has given the following opinion; which has been forwarded by the Under-Secretary to the magistrate who was present on the occasion referred to:—"I am of opinion that the performance of the funeral service in a churchyard, by a dissenting clergyman, without the permission of the clergyman of the Established Church is illegal."—*Dublin Evening Post.*

MONDAY.—STATE OF THE COUNTRY.—For the last three or four months the current expenses of the bankrupt union of Bantry have been defrayed by the commissioners to the average amount of £300 a week. The commissioners are now decreasing their supplies, and several deaths by starvation have occurred there. The state of the district is most miserable.

In the Kilrush union (county of Clare) several of the evicted tenantry are living in turf pits scooped out of the bogs and covered in at the top with some branches of trees. From these cavities the smoke at times is seen ascending, and the passer-by would hardly know that the bog was inhabited by a subterranean population. In one locality there are as many as twenty of these bog-dungeons, with families in them. Your correspondent lately heard one of the highest *employés* of the Poor Law staff give a dreadfully graphic picture of the scene he had witnessed in Kilrush. He had got down into one of these bog dungeons, in which a family were lying in fever, and he succeeded in moving some of them, but the odour of the place was so overpowering that he was compelled to retreat. Part of the county of Clare is now the worst spot in Ireland.—*Daily News.*

RELIEF FOR THE SOUTH AND WEST.—At the meeting of the general committee in this city on Saturday, the Rev. Mr. O'Malley, on handing in the subscription of Dr. Phelan, the Poor Law inspector, said he was authorised by that gentleman to state that he had traversed the south and west in all directions, and that there was not the slightest exaggeration in the newspaper accounts of the destitution, which required all possible aid from voluntary charity to preserve thousands of lives.

LORD LANSDOWNE'S TENANTRY IN KERRY.—The *Limerick Examiner*, in referring to the great extent of pauperism in Kenmare Union, states that there is only one electoral division which has remained solvent all through, whilst, from all the rest, paupers have been sent in shoals to the workhouse, or cast in crowds upon the rates." "But (says that journal) the electoral division in question has neither sent a pauper to the common receptacle, nor received a pound of Indian meal in out-door relief, because that division belongs altogether to the Marquis of Lansdowne, and because all the occupiers—and this is the secret of the solvency of the district—are in the enjoyment of tenant right, a blessing the noble marquis habitually confers."

THE HARVEST.—All accounts state that the crops are greatly improved by the genial weather and refreshing rains of the last week. Potatoes promise well, and the early sorts are beginning to appear in small quantities perfectly sound.

LORD MONTEAGLE AND HIS LABOURERS.—Some weeks since, a violent outrage was committed upon the family of Mr. Loughlin Sharp, a steward of Lord Monteagle, at Mount Trenchard, county of Limerick. In consequence, that noble lord suspended all the useful works upon his property, and transmitted an address to the tenantry and labourers, deprecating such outrages as deeply disgraceful to the district, and calculated to prevent all attempts at bettering the condition of the people by productive employment.

Dr. Langley, accused of cruelty to his wife, has been arrested in Dublin, and is now a prisoner in Newgate.

Mr. Butt has left for London to be examined before the Poor Law Committee. The *Evening Post* has discussed at great length his "rate in aid" pamphlet. The main suggestion of Mr. Butt is, that an Irish Board of Trade should be established, with large and liberal powers of compulsory purchase of reclaimable lands, &c.

EMIGRATION BY WHOLESALE.—The extent to which emigration continues, even at this advanced period of the spring, is really marvellous; and Ulster is now affording its full quota. Three vessels, fully freighted, sailed from Belfast on Friday morning, one for Quebec, and two for the United States. It appears from the *Northern Whig* that the Canadian emigrants were of the most substantial class that have left Ulster for very many years. One of the passengers carried with him £700 in gold, and generally those emigrants took out sums of money beyond their immediate necessities.

Although the poor law guardians are limited in their power to promote emigration, a considerable number of paupers are about to be sent out to Canada by the Athy, Baltinglass, and other unions, in which a certain charge is to be made on the rates for outfit, and some landlords are liberally contributing. I have learned that passages have been provided in Dublin for upwards of one thousand paupers, and that many more are to be sent out before the close of the season. The adoption of Mr. Monsell's suggestions in the New Poor Law Bill would open a wide field for this species of emigration. Many of the Roman Catholic clergy are preparing to emigrate with a portion of the remnant of their flocks. The *Limerick and Clare Examiner* mentions several new cases; and one in particular, of a parish priest in the diocese of Limerick, whose parish has been depopulated to so great an extent that the clergyman has been altogether bereft of income. The Rev. Dr. Moriarty, vicar-general of the Augustinians, is about to proceed to the United States, accompanied by some wealthy laymen, in order to found a colony. It is thus that the failure of the potato is working a revolution in our whole social system.

HORRIBLE ACCOUNT OF THE FAMINE IN THE WEST.

TUESDAY, May 22.—The Protestant rector of Ballinrobe, in a third letter addressed to the Premier, narrates the following horrifying tale of human misery:—"In a neighbouring union a shipwrecked human body was cast on shore; a starving man extracted the heart and liver, and that was the maddening feast on which he regaled himself and perishing family! and, nearer still a poor forlorn girl, hearing that her mother was seized with cholera, hastened to the rescue, alas! too late, but, with a deep religious and filial devotion, desiring at least a decent interment for her dear departed parent, was driven to the shocking necessity of carrying the corpse upon her own back for three long miles to this very union, so that she might make her wants known, and simply obtain a coffin from the relieving officer. Need I tell you, my Lord, the dismal sequel? She herself died of cholera on the following day! These awful facts may have been reported, but if they were they have been cushioned and suppressed, for who has heard of them? I will not, my Lord, dwell at present upon the painful subject of the workhouse, as the evil has gone far to correct itself, the inmates having died off in awful numbers, and more liberal supplies being now remitted for the current weekly expenses—alas! that these supplies should have been withheld so long! I would, however, fix your Lordship's deepest attention upon this appalling fact, that we have, even at best, to encounter three months more of sore, sore famine; and, bear it in mind, my Lord, the three worst months of the year in point of home supply—and this, with 27,000 of our population in the Ballinrobe union on out-door relief, while the remaining 68,000, minus the thousands already lost, are all, with very few exceptions indeed, barely trying to hold on through the dread crisis! The all-engrossing questions with every one, gentle and simple, are these—'What, in the name of Heaven, is to become of us? What are we to do? The country is gone!' We must thus again and again strive to arouse you, my Lord, for it is not possible that you or the English people can be fully conscious of, or alive to, the true state of things in the west of Ireland. I grant that there may be, nay, that there is, much of imposition, but surely there cannot be any in this, that here are the people dropping dead of utter want all around in every direction, night and day; and can we suppose for a moment that the astounding fact is believed when we see no really vigorous and united movement, except through private benevolence, to stay the progress of death? 'Tis poor consolation to an already more than half-starved wretch to say to him—'Go and break stones, no matter how unprofitable, for that is the sole test of your destitution, and if the contractor don't disappoint, you shall get for your eight or ten hours' labour 1lb. of Indian meal, which costs 1d., but we can't give you fuel or clothing.' Still you 'must deliver the tale of bricks;' however, if you die, and die you soon must, for your emaciated, famine-striken countenance and swollen frame, betoken as much, you will, as on the outdoor list, be entitled to a coffin from the relieving officer, though, perhaps, he may not hear of your decease till you have become putrid in the grave! I tell it to you, my Lord, whether believed or not, and I tell to the world at large, and I tell it to our Father in Heaven (for I beseech redress of Him), that these are the sufferings of this people despite of every entreaty, but not of half the people; for who can imagine the thousandth part of the misery of those who, in large numbers, are preferring death itself to such degradation? It is a burning shame and stain upon the legislature in any so-called Christian country."

The *Freeman's Journal* gives the following analysis of the replies of the Rev. Martin Browne, parish priest of Balla, Mayo, to the list of queries circulated by the Dublin Relief Committee. It is one of many similar returns received by the committee:—"The population has been reduced from 8,250 to to 5,500, being a loss of 2,750, of whom it is computed that over 1,200 died from the effects of destitution, or disease resulting from it, the remaining loss being in part accounted for by emigration, and the loss by natural causes, which, as will be seen by the replies to the third query, is not being supplied now as it was in former years—the increase of the species being checked by the excessive misery and wasting of the people. The births and marriages in the parish of Balla in '49, as compared with those in '44, 'are in the ratio of one to four,' in other words, the natural increase of the population has failed to the appalling extent of 75 per cent. In one parish alone 400 houses have been levelled through the operation of the Gregory clause."

STATE OF THE SKIBBEREEN UNION.—This wretched union still preserves its melancholy notoriety. According to the *Cork Examiner*:—"It is nearly £7,000 in debt to merchants for food; and while over 22,000 hungry paupers yearn for bread, which must be provided for them or they perish, there is not the least probability of a rate being collected from the farmers and occupiers who still remain in the country. We do most earnestly, and in the name of humanity, call on government to take the case of Skibbereen, with its 22,000 paupers, and its bankrupt landlords, farmers and shopkeepers, into immediate consideration, and at once relieve the board from its embarrassment and the destitute from the near approach of starvation and death. The government must consider that beyond the credit of a single week's food one respectable house—Messrs. Gould and Co.—have refused to grant, and that contractors are perfectly justified by the state of things in the neighbouring union of Bantry, where all seems hopeless ruin, in refusing to risk even a shilling's worth of their property on the faith of any board of guardians, be they paid or elected, the officers of the government, or the representatives of the people."

The Central Relief Committee, through whose exertions so much good was achieved in the years 46—7, have recommenced operations, and in an address to the country, issued this day, they call for assistance to enable them to relieve "the utter destitution of 1849—a destitution far surpassing anything this country has yet endured."

The accounts this morning from Clare and Galway are scarcely less afflicting than those from Ballinrobe and Skibbereen.

VERDICT AGAINST A RELIEVING OFFICER.—On Sunday an inquest was held on the body of a man named Patrick Dillon in Kilnaboy, Ennistimon union, who died on the previous day. It appeared from the evidence that deceased held nine acres of land, and that for some time past he was living in great destitution, with a wife and two children; he offered to give up the land, but the landlord refused to take it, unless a portion which was held by deceased's brother was also given up; the wife got out-door relief four or five times, to the amount of 1½ stone of meal each week; she afterwards applied to the relieving officer and he told her to get a certificate that the land had been offered to the landlord and she would get relief. A medical gentleman deposed that deceased died from protracted starvation. The jury returned the following verdict:—"That deceased came by his death from protracted starvation, caused by having been refused the relief which he had been formerly getting from the relieving officer, Thomas Macmahon." A coroner's warrant was immediately issued, on which the relieving officer was committed, but bail was afterwards accepted for his appearance.

NEW BARRISTERS.—Seventeen law students are to be called to the British bar, during Trinity Term, which commences this day. This is a large number considering the gloomy prospects of the legal profession in this country.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 23.—SALE OF O'CONNELL'S LIBRARY.—The library of the late Mr. O'Connell was sold by auction yesterday, at Jones's sale-rooms, D'Olier-street. There were very few valuable or rare works in the collection, which consisted chiefly of law books, tracts on divinity, pamphlets, &c. None brought anything like the prices that might have been expected. Even copies having O'Connell's autograph affixed sold at prices not amounting to the mere intrinsic value, and, in many instances, far below the trade price at second-hand! Ten years ago, who could have imagined such a result as the sale of O'Connell's library in Dublin. The sale is to be resumed to-day.

REPRESENTATION OF LIMERICK.—There are two candidates in the field for the seat vacated by Mr. Smith O'Brien, who, on Friday last, was voted civilly dead in the House of Commons. The claimants for the honour are Mr. Samuel Dickson, a large proprietor in the county of Limerick, and Mr. Thomas Fitzgerald, who dates his address from Merrion-square, Dublin. Neither of these gentlemen states what his political opinions are, but it is understood that both profess Liberal principles. The election is fixed for Friday, the 1st of June.

STATE OF THE COUNTRY.—The Archbishop of Tuam, in a letter to the *Freeman's Journal* acknowledging the receipt of several subscriptions for the relief of the destitution in his diocese, states the following distressing circumstances:—"On the morning of last Saturday, on setting out from Headford, the corpse of a young man who died of hunger on the preceding night was seen stretched on the road-side. I saw the scenes of eviction and desolation as I traversed the parish to the shores of Lough Corrib. I could not believe that any one parish could exhibit so many monuments of heartless cruelty. It is no wonder if death in every form of disease and starvation followed in the train of this depopulating system. The misery, however, was deepening as we advanced, and the wretchedness of the poor of this remote and much-neglected region is such that I will not occupy the time or harrow the feelings of the reader by its description."

Mr. Burke, a Galway magistrate, writing from Moycullen, declares that:—"The people are actually being swept away. Burials of victims to famine, cholera, fever, and all the other diseases consequent upon starvation, are (and I declare the fact from my own personal knowledge), on each day, of hourly occurrence. You will scarcely credit that in this Christian country I had myself, within the last three days, to order the immediate burial, without coffins, of two poor wretches who had died of cholera, and whose remains were left to decompose until they spread the pestilence among the unhappy beings around them. I have just seen one good parish priest, and he informed me 'that alarming as the description he had already given me of his diminishing flock was, that state has been rendered more fearful by the presence among us of the cholera.' Morning, noon, and night is the rev. clergyman engaged in the administration of the last sacraments, and still he cannot reach all the cases. In many instances at night the want of light from candle, bogwood, or fire of any kind, renders it almost impossible for him to administer the last rites; and were it not that constant repetition has impressed on his memory the prayers for the dying, many would die without their consolation. He also mentioned to me that in 1844 the population of this parish amounted to 4,680 souls; and during that year there were 180 births, or about four and a half per cent., and that now the people have dwindled down to 2,680, and during the last winter months the births were only fifteen, or about one to each 200. Up to this month in the former year there were about forty marriages, and to this date in 1849, there were but three. These, sir, are about the average data of many parishes in the west of Ireland. Our burial ground, an extensive one, and but lately formed, will bear silent testimony to the rapidity with which the people are passing away; and its clay will soon be insufficient to hide the hundreds of victims over whom 'the grave will have its victory.' Pestilence and starvation are at work among all classes of the people; but those who suffer most are the spirited and industrious poor who have endeavoured to brave the storm, and have clung to the wreck, and who, trusting to the mercy of Providence and the humanity of man, have sold all they possessed on earth in order to find means with which to till their small holdings of land. Hundreds, who up to this period have committed to the soil enough (if heaven prospered their work) to raise them above want next year, are now each day taking their places in death in that earth, the like of which their labour (nce rendered life-supporting. Few will ever reap what they have sown. If relief from any quarter is to be afforded to the wretched and struggling survivors, now is the time. Should this month and the next be allowed to pass away, the most liberal and generous aid will be of no avail for the future. The grateful heart of many a poor wretch is now blessing the charity of the English people, and thanking them for the life which makes it beat; but bitter experience now shows that had that charity been afforded in time, and aid been given to the people to crop their lands in season, they would not be again, as they are now, dependent upon others for means to support life."

A Clonmel correspondent of the *Evening Packet* writes that although the state of that part of Munster is not so frightful as in Connaught, still a tone of despondency pervades the people generally, and all who can in any way scrape up the money are preparing to leave the first opportunity:—"Every patch of ground on this side of the country (adds this gentleman) is tilled by the holders, who, as soon as they can lift the crops, meditate flight. Thus cabin and farm implements are left unrepaired—they will serve the few months wanted as they are. Though the poorhouses are all crammed, legions of starving wretches crowd the streets of the villages and towns, some clamorous, but many more appealing only by their gaunt looks and famine-stricken visages to the charity of the traveller. Amongst a crowd of such poor creatures surrounding the hotel door in the town of Tipperary, I singled out a young girl, sixteen or seventeen, whose handsome profile, dark eye, and rich black hair, thick and unkempt though it was, rendered her still beautiful, though shivering in a few loose dirty rags. Never shall I forget the tale of woe that poor girl told of a dying mother and three small sisters perishing from starvation. Never shall I forget the fervent accents of gratitude a very little charity elicited, amidst her sobs and tears—tears summoned forth by being addressed in a tone of kindness and condolence—tones evidently she was little accustomed to hear. Oh! daughters of luxury—think how many thousands of your sisters, lovely as yourselves, pine for the bread your lap-dogs reject. All hope rests on the coming harvests. Should God please to again withhold the fruits of the earth this season, the consequences will be awful indeed—more so than I dare to contemplate."

WANT OF TENANTRY.—The following case of "re-action," as it may be called, is mentioned by the *Tipperary Vindicator*:—"We understand that in Clare, those landlords who were conspicuous some time ago in clearing their properties, are now doing all that lies in their power to procure tenantry to till the land, which in whole districts is waste. In few instances can tenants be obtained; and the consequence is that these landlords are in the utmost distress. The land cannot pay poor rates and taxes under the circumstances." And again, to quote from the same authority:—"In several parts of the country from which tenantry have been lately ejected, and the lands tilled by proprietors or agents, there is nothing to meet the demands of the rate-collector and county cess man but the growing crops; but these they cannot touch; and the result is that these lands for the present are so far unproductive towards meeting the fiscal requirements of the country or of the unions in which they are situate, unless the owner be compelled to pay by summons."

DARING OUTRAGE ON HER MAJESTY.

On Saturday afternoon London was thrown into consternation by the report that an attempt had been made to assassinate her Majesty. It appears that, soon after the ceremonies of the drawing-room were over, her Majesty, accompanied by his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, the Princess Royal, and the Princess Helen, proceeded, about five o'clock, in an open landau, for an airing in the parks, accompanied by Major-General Wemyss, her Majesty's equerry, on horseback. The drawing up of the royal carriage in front of Buckingham palace was a sufficent indication of her Majesty's intention, to induce a number of the loungers about the Park to gather round and to witness her Majesty's departure. The royal *cortège* proceeded through a portion of Regent's-park and Hyde-park, and after being absent about three-quarters of an hour, turned down Constitution-hill towards the palace. By this the crowd in waiting to see her Majesty return had considerably increased, and formed a double line down Constitution-hill, a considerable number being also collected in the Green-park, which at that spot is separated from Constitution-hill by the park palings. Among the groups assembled here, and nearly in the same spot where Oxford made his attempt on her Majesty's life in 1840, was standing a young man, stout, and under the middle size, about twenty-four years of age, dressed in a dirty flannel jacket, and having all the appearance of a bricklayer's labourer, who accosted a woman near him, and asked if the Queen was coming; and then, as the royal outriders made their appearance at the moment, asked "if this was her." The woman answered in the affirmative, when immediately, as the royal carriage came opposite him, he raised his hand and discharged a pistol at her Majesty. The report of the pistol caused the royal postillions for a moment to check the horses, and the Queen, standing up in the carriage and addressing one of her attendants, asked what had happened. The man replied that her Majesty had been shot at, on which, without making any reply, her Majesty resumed her seat, the carriage drove on, and the Queen alighted at the entrance, and was the first, we understand, to inform her Royal Consort, Prince Albert, of the daring outrage that had been perpetrated.

The discharge of the pistol was witnessed by several parties, and the scoundrel who fired it made no attempt to escape; although, indeed, if he had done so, escape would have been out of his power. He was first seized by Moulder, one of the park-keepers, who was standing near him, and who instantly secured the pistol, which the prisoner was attempting to thrust into the pocket of his trowsers. A police-constable named Topley, 55 A, and a private soldier of the Life Guards, named Stride, who leaped over the park palings, speedily came to Moulder's assistance. Meantime the crowd which had assembled rushed also to the spot, and gave very audible expression to their indignation. Several persons gathered round the prisoner, and were about to inflict summary chastisement upon him for his atrocious conduct, but at that moment Major-General Wemyss came up and interfered to protect him; and a large body of police arriving at the same time, he was rescued from the rough treatment which the crowd were evidently preparing for him.

The prisoner was conveyed in a cab to the police station-house, Gardener's-row, in King-street, Westminster, and was charged before Inspector Darkin, then on duty, with having attempted to assassinate her Majesty. Mr. Mayne, one of the Commissioners of Police, arrived soon afterwards. The prisoner at first maintained a sullen silence, leaning his arms upon the dock and his head upon his hand. In answer to repeated inquiries, he at last stated that his name was John Hamilton, and that he was a native of Adare, county Limerick, Ireland, but that he had been about five years in this country, and worked, when he could get work, as a bricklayer's labourer, and that he lodged with a person named O'Keefe, in Eccleston-place, Pimlico. Major-General Wemyss, and the persons who first seized him, were also examined, as were some others who witnessed the occurrence, and particularly a seafaring man, who was standing in front of the prisoner at the park palings on Constitution-hill, and whose face was scorched by the discharge from the pistol behind him. The pistol itself was produced and examined. It is a small, oldfashioned screw pocket-pistol, with a flint lock, and a barrel not three inches long. It has on it the name "Clarke, London." It was the opinion of General Wemyss and other persons who examined it, that it had not been loaded with anything more dangerous than powder; and we may add here, that it has since appeared he borrowed the pistol from his landlord, and employed one of his children to purchase for him a halfpennyworth of powder, which was all the provision he seems to have made for his daring outrage. In answer to the inquiries of the inspector, the prisoner denied that the pistol was loaded with ball; he said that he intended no harm to her Majesty; and after being pressed with regard to his motives, he reluctantly admitted that he did it only to be talked about.

The prisoner was then removed to a cell, and on being searched, there were found upon his person a few halfpence, the blade of a knife, a leather purse, and some pieces of paper, but the writing on them had no connexion with the diabolical attempt with which he stood charged. His lodgings in Eccleston-place were searched the same night, and some papers were found, but containing no allusion whatever to the outrage. It appears he had formerly worked on the Belgium and Nantes Railway, but had returned to England about a year ago, and he has been out of employment for some months.

Information of the occurrence was instantly forwarded to the members of government, and Lord John Russell visited her Majesty at Buckingham Palace the same evening. Sir George Grey issued orders that the utmost care should be taken of the prisoner, to prevent him from laying violent hands on himself, or otherwise frustrate the ends of justice, and directed that he should be examined in his presence next day.

Accordingly, at two o'clock on Sunday afternoon, the prisoner was brought up to the Home Office, and underwent an examination before Sir George Grey, Mr. Waddington, the Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department; Mr. Henry and Mr. Hall, the magistrates of Bow-street, police-office; and Mr. Mayne, the commissioner of police. The Attorney-General also attended and conducted the examination. The prisoner was brought from the police-station, Gardiner's-lane, in custody of Mr. Superintendent May and Mr. Inspector Ottway. Upon being placed at the table and questioned, he stated that his name was James Hamilton, and that he resided at No. 4, Eccleston-place, Belgrave-road, Pimlico, and was a bricklayer by trade.

MR. HALL told him that he was charged with having, on Constitution-hill, St. James's Park, on the evening of the 19th inst., presented a pistol and fired at her Majesty.

The first witness examined was DANIEL O'KEEFE. On examination by the Attorney-General, he said: I live at No. 4, Eccleston-place, Belgrave-road, Pimlico, and have known the prisoner, James Hamilton, from four to five years. The prisoner came over from Ireland as a bricklayer's labourer, and worked at the business when he could get work. I believe the prisoner has neither father nor mother alive, and that he was brought up at a charity school in Ireland, and when he left Ireland was recommended by a friend to lodge with me. He lodged with me nearly the whole time I have known him, but left me once, about two seasons ago, to go to France. He returned in the month of November in the same year that he left. On his return he lodged with me, but as he was out of work, and had got into my debt, I sent him to a friend of mine at Bow, in order that he might get employment, and pay me something towards the amount he owed me. I then wrote him a letter, and told him I had burned my leg, and was in great want of money, and he came one Saturday night and brought me a sovereign, and came again after that and brought me ten shillings more; but I could not get anything else from him that season. After that I summoned him, and put him to all the expense I could, except issuing an execution. The prisoner came at that time from Bow, and called upon an acquaintance, for the purpose, as I afterwards ascertained, of being taken into custody, so that he might get a billet for the winter in prison. I know the prisoner from his coming from the same place that I did.

Mr. Commissioner MAYNE, at the request of the Attorney-General, now produced the pistol, and, in answer to the Attorney-General, the witness said that the pistol produced was his property.

The next witness was BRIDGET O'KEEFE.—She said: I am the wife of the last witness. I know the pistol. On Saturday last, I was going out into the garden when I saw Mr. Hamilton (the prisoner) at the bench. He said he was making a pistol, and was going to fire a shot or two. He then showed me a sort of barrel which he had fixed upon a piece of wood like a pistol. It was made of tin, and seemed to me to be the spout of a teakettle. I made some remark to him about it, which I do not now recollect, when he said, "Why, Dan has got an old pistol, lend it to me." I then went to my bedroom, and gave it to him out of the window. The prisoner looked at it, and said it was very rusty. I said it was, and that I did not think it was of much account. I afterwards heard him fire the pistol about three times in the garden.—Was the prisoner in or out of work?—I have not known him have seven weeks' work since Christmas.—How did he live? A young woman who lives with me, and is in the milk line, serves a great many persons and collects a good deal of broken victuals, and between the two of us we managed to keep him.

EDWARD O'KEEFE, the son of the last witness, said I am eleven next birthday. The prisoner asked me yesterday to fetch him a halfpenny worth of powder, and I went into Elizabeth-street and bought it, and gave him the powder. He said it was not the best sort of powder. That was about a quarter to three o'clock. The prisoner said he wanted the powder as he could have some fun.—[The witness here produced a piece of wood cut in the form of a pistol stock, on which was tied the spout of an old tin teakettle, so as to form a barrel. He said he purchased it of the prisoner on Saturday last for one penny, and turning to the prisoner, he said, "Here, Mr. Hamilton, I can pay you the penny now (offering a penny); I had not got one on Saturday."]—When did he go out: Almost immediately afterwards. I wanted to go with him, but he said, "No, you must stop at home."

The prisoner was asked, as he had been at the conclusion of the previous witness's examination whether he had any questions to ask the witness, to which he replied, "No, nothing."

DANIEL LAMB was then called, and examined.—He said: About half-past six o'clock on Saturday evening I was on Constitution-hill, when I saw the prisoner standing near a tree in the Green Park. He asked me, when the royal carriage was passing, whether it was the Queen coming. I told him it was. Immediately I saw him raise a pistol, and shoot at her Majesty. I felt something close to my ear, and believed at the time that it was a bullet. At the moment before I had turned to look at the Queen, and therefore I did not see the actual shooting. Feeling assured that the explosion came from the prisoner's pistol, I attempted to get over the railings to secure him, but at the moment I saw the park-keeper seize the prisoner. The park-keeper called to me to assist him, which I did, by holding the prisoner by the coat tails, the railings of the park prevented me from taking hold of any portion of his person.—Had you noticed the prisoner before he spoke to you? Yes; I noticed he had been for some time walking about that spot, with his hands in his pocket.—Did you notice in which hand the prisoner held the pistol? In his right hand.—What did he do with the pistol after he fired it? I thought he put it into his trowsers pocket, but he was taken so soon that I am not positive. I know he was trying to do so. The witness then deposed to the fact of the prisoner being taken to the station-house, adding, that had he not been placed in a cab, he believed that the populace would have torn him to pieces.

GEORGE MALDEN, the park-keeper, deposed that he distinctly saw the prisoner raise his arm as the royal carriage approached, and hearing a loud report he ran up and seized the prisoner, and took from him the pistol which had been produced.

MR. RENWICK, the sergeant footman to the Queen, said that he saw the prisoner point the pistol at the royal carriage, and almost immediately called to the riders to stop, but in the meantime the prisoner had been taken. Her Majesty rose to see what was the matter, and ordered them to drive on.

MR. OTWAY, inspector of the A division of police, deposed to searching the house in which the prisoner resided. He found that he had no property of any kind, and that the shirt which he wore had been lent to him.

Major-General WEMYSS's testimony was to the effect that he was attending her Majesty on Saturday last. When the royal carriage had got a few yards down Constitution-hill he heard the report of a pistol; he turned round, and saw smoke issuing from the direction of the spot where the prisoner was standing. He rode over to the spot, saw that the park-keeper had taken the pistol from the prisoner, and he (General Wemyss) ordered him to be taken to the station-house. He was of opinion that if the pistol had been charged with bullet or shot, he would have received it, as he completely shielded her Majesty by the position he held against the carriage. Her Majesty was on the left side, which was the side of the road the prisoner occupied. He was within the Green Park railings. He (General Wemyss) did not believe the pistol contained either ball or shot.

Several other witnesses were examined, but their evidence only confirmed the above testimony.

At the close of the evidence, MR. HALL, the chief magistrate, said: Prisoner you are committed on a charge preferred against you of endeavouring to frighten her Majesty the Queen. The act under which you are committed is the 5th and 6th Victoria, cap. 51, sec. 2.

The prisoner, who made no observations, was fully committed for trial to Newgate, to which he was conveyed by three policemen in a cab.

Some apprehension was at first entertained that this diabolical outrage was connected with a political feeling; it is, however, satisfactory to find, from all the inquiries that have been made, that the statement made by the prisoner is true, that he really had no accomplices, and that he was altogether unconnected with political associations of any kind.

ADDITIONAL PARTICULARS.

After the examination at the Home-office had been concluded, the prisoner, John Hamilton, was brought into an outer room in the custody of Inspector Shaw, who took the charge, and police constable Topley, who apprehended him, when he was exposed to the gaze of a number of persons connected with the Home-office for upwards of half an hour, but not the slightest change of countenance was perceptible. A perfect indifference marked the whole of his demeanour. Upon the committal to Newgate being signed, an order was also issued, directed to the governor of the above gaol, that the prisoner should be kept by himself, and, in accordance with these instructions, the prisoner is placed in a room by himself, seeing no person but the authorities of the gaol, and these only at certain intervals. His sullenness still continues; he speaks but little; and when he adverts to his offence, he still persists that he had no intention to injure the Queen. Strange as it may appear, after the report of what took place at the Home-office on Sunday, an impression still exists that the pistol was loaded with ball. To remove this impression from the public mind, it is only necessary to state that, by the direction of Sir G. Grey, Inspectors Field and Walker were occupied for upwards of two hours on Sunday in minutely examining the private garden of the Palace, as well as the entire range to which a ball by any possibility could be propelled, but not the slightest missile of any description could be found: and this is still further corroborated by the prisoner's extreme poverty, for the only property which he possessed was the clothes on his back.

With respect to the punishment in the event of the prisoner being found guilty, an erroneous impression exists to the effect that he can be both publicly flogged and transported. The clause of the act, which is as follows, will show the contrary:—"And be it enacted that from and after the passing of this act, if any person shall willfully discharge or attempt to discharge, or point, aim, or present at or near to the person of the Queen, any gun, pistol, or any other description of firearms or of other arms whatsoever, whether the same shall or shall not contain any explosive or destructive material, or shall discharge or cause to be discharged, or attempt to discharge or cause to be discharged, any explosive substance or material near the person of the Queen; or if any person shall wilfully strike or attempt to strike at the person of the Queen with any offensive weapon, or in any other manner whatsoever; or if any person shall wilfully throw or attempt to throw any substance, matter, or thing whatsoever at or upon the person of the Queen, with intent in any of the cases aforesaid to injure the person of the Queen, or with intent in any of the cases aforesaid to break the public peace, or whereby the public peace may be endangered; or with intent in any of the cases aforesaid, &c., every such person so offending shall be guilty of a high misdemeanour, and, being convicted thereof in due course of law

shall be liable, at the discretion of the court before which the said person shall be so convicted, to be transported beyond the seas for the term of seven years, or to be imprisoned, with or without hard labour, for any period not exceeding three years, and during the period of such imprisonment to be publicly or privately whipped, as often and in such manner and form as the said court shall order and direct, not exceeding three."

It will thus be seen that if the sentence of transportation is passed, the flogging cannot be carried into execution; to inflict such a necessary punishment, the court must pass the minimum sentence.

MIDDLESEX SESSIONS.

Tuesday, May 22.—These sessions commenced this morning at Hicks's Hall, Clerkenwell-green, before the usual authorities.

The calendar contains a list of sixty-eight cases for trial, of which fifty-seven are indictments for felony.

Indecent Assault by a Policeman, and Perjury of one of his Witnesses.—William Jennings, a police-constable, who, at the last sitting of the court, was convicted of having committed an indecent assault upon a little girl named Wingrove, was brought up for judgment.

The court had deferred passing sentence on the prisoner, in order that the police might make inquiries as to what connexion, if any, had existed between him and a witness named James Lane, who was called for the defence, and who swore that the prisoner was an entire stranger to him. His evidence was, that he was near the spot where the girl said the offence was committed, having been to visit a niece of his who lived in Wellington-place, Victoria-grove. He said that he asked the prisoner, who was on duty there, the way to his residence, and it was by that means the prisoner found him after the charge was made against him.

Inspector Tarlton, N division, said that he had instituted inquiries, and he had ascertained that the witness Lane had not visited his niece in Wellington-place at all for the last eighteen months, and that on the Tuesday preceding the trial of the prisoner (who was bailed) they were seen together in the Victoria-grove examing the locality, and measuring the ground, so that the witness might be able to describe it on the trial. Lane was also at the police-court when the prisoner was bailed, and a very intimate friend of his (Lane's) was brother-in-law to the prisoner, and was bail for him.

The learned Judge said the result of the inquiry was very much like what he had anticipated that it would be. The witness it was now proved had committed gross and wilful perjury in this case. Now, looking at this fact—that the defendant at the time he had committed this assault was one of the police-force, and, moreover, that he was also on duty, and that he had called a perjured witness to speak in his behalf, with the full knowledge that what that witness was about to swear was altogether false, it was impossible, under such a state of circumstances, but that the Court should visit the defendant with a punishment of some severity. The sentence upon him therefore was that he be imprisoned for the period of three months in the House of Correction, and that before his liberation he find security for his future good behaviour.

Robbery.—William Langley, a well-known member of the "swell-mob," was indicted for having robbed a lady of the name of Webber, of a purse containing three sovereigns, a half-sovereign, and three half-crowns. It appeared that the prosecutrix and a female friend were walking in the neighbourhood of St. John's Wood on the evening of the 28th of April, and upon arriving at a lighter part of the road than they had just been traversing, the former observed something glisten by her side. She looked round with quickness, when she saw her purse, which was worked with steel beads, in the hand of a person whom she fully believed was the prisoner at the bar. As soon as she turned round the man ran off, leaving the purse behind him, but he was pursued by her friend, and eventually the prisoner was overtaken and secured by a young man who joined in the pursuit. The identity of the prisoner was proved, and the jury thereupon returned a verdict of "Guilty." The learned Judge, in passing sentence, stated that the prisoner was a well-known incorrigible thief, and was one of those whose practice it had been to lurk about dark corners and avenues on the watch for ladies. He was very much too perfect, and too much accomplished in his avocation to be allowed to remain in this country and therefore the sentence upon him was transportation for ten years.

IMPORTANT DECISION UNDER THE FACTORY ACT.

A bench of magistrates at Dewsbury, in Yorkshire, have given a unanimous decision against the relay system. The adjudicating magistrates on the bench were Mr. Ingham, of Blake-hall, chairman; Mr. J. B. Greenwood, and Mr. W. H. Wheatley. Colonel Pollard and Mr. Ralph. both West Riding magistrates, were also present, but took no part in the proceedings. The court was filled with millowners and others interested in the point at issue. The parties charged were Messrs. Wilson and Pink, cotton-spinners, of Liversedge, and the offence laid against them was preferred by Mr. Bates, sub-inspector of factories, who charged them with employing a young woman, named Ann Flint, under eighteen years of age, for more than ten hours, on the 27th of April last. Mr. Saunders, the inspector of factories for the Yorkshire district, conducted the case on the part of the prosecution; Messrs. Wilson and Pink were defended by Mr Watts, solicitor, Dewsbury.

Mr. Saunders, in stating the case, said—The second section of the act commonly called the Ten Hours Act, directs that no young person shall be employed more than ten hours in any one day, except in certain cases as provided. There are two clauses in the 7th Victoria, chap. 15, to which I beg respectfully to call the attention of the bench—viz.. the 26th and 52nd sections The words of the information are, "that Ann Flint was employed for more than ten hours; such space of more than ten hours being reckoned and computed according to the mode prescribed by the said act," and this mode is laid down in the two sections to which I have referred. The 26th section provides, "that the hours of work of young persons shall be reckoned from the time when any child or young person shall first begin to work in the morning in such factory;" and the 52nd section provides, "that the time of beginning work in the morning, which shall be stated in any notice fixed up in the factory, signed by the occupier or his agent, shall be taken to be the time when all persons in the factory, except children beginning to work in the afternoon, began work on any day subsequent to the date of such notice." This exception is important, because it expressly excludes from the operation of this notice the only class of persons who may work as a relay class in the afternoon—viz, children under thirteen years of age who have attended school in the forenoon. He called—

Mr. Bates, who said, that he was at Wilson and Pink's factory on the 27th of April last, and found the notice now produced hung up in the mill. He knew it again from having put his initials upon it. They were then there. He saw there the notice as to the hours of work of all young persons employed on that day as follows:—"Friday—From six to eight; from half-past eight to one; from two to half-past five."

John Ashworth, in the employment of Messrs. Wilson and Pink, proved that Ann Flint worked at their factory on the 27th of April; that she came at eight o'clock in the morning. went out to dinner at one o'clock, came back at two; worked till four; came back at half-past four; and worked till eight at night.

Mr. Watts then addressed the bench at considerable length, contending that the witnesses had proved that his clients had employed Ann Flint no more than ten hours on the day in question, and that was the time allowed by the Ten Hours Act.

Mr. Ingham (the chairman) said—This is a case as to the construction of an Act of Parliament; and it is not as to whether any person really worked more than ten hours, but whether any person working certain hours is to be deemed to have worked more than ten hours in the opinion of the justices. Therefore, if there is anything false in our conviction, it is in the law, not us; we act as we think the law requires us to do; we are quite agreed, unanimously in fact, all three of us—and we deemed Ann Flint to have worked more than ten hours in one day. and therefore we convict these parties in the penalty of £3.

General Post-Office, May, 1849.—Many newspapers addressed to New South Wales and New Zealand, having recently been posted unpaid, it has become necessary to repeat the announcement that the packets heretofore conveying the mails between this country and Sydney, New South Wales, have been discontinued, and that all newspapers for the colonies above mentioned, being now transmitted by private ship, are liable to a postage of one penny each, which postage must be paid in advance, or the newspapers cannot be forwarded.

Bad Health for Twenty Years.—Immediate Relief by Holloway's Pills.—Extract of a letter from the Rev. George Prior, curate of Mevagh Letterkenny, Carrigart, Ireland, May 2, 1845:—"To Professor Holloway. Dear Sir,—Within a short distance of my house, resides a small farmer, who for more than twenty years had been in a bad state of health, and never got but a moment's relief. Mrs. Prior procured a box of your pills for him, which did him so much good that I heard him say that for twenty-six years previously he never ate his food and enjoyed it so much as since taking your pills.—(Signed) George Prior."

The Teeth.—These organs are alike essential to health and beauty. It is therefore to be regretted that they are so liable to decay. Yet it is a fact which cannot be too widely known, that if, directly a black speck is seen in a tooth, it be filled with Brande's Enamel, the decay will be arrested, pain escaped, and the teeth preserved to ripe old age. If people allow their teeth to decay until the nervous pulp is wholly exposed, it cannot be wondered at that they find it difficult to ease or cure that terrible pain, the tooth-ache. "A stitch in time saves nine"—and upon this principle, the use of Brande's Enamel will prove a real blessing to all who give it a trial where decay has made its appearance in the teeth.

ADULTERY AND ATTEMPTED HOMICIDE IN PARIS.

Several weeks ago a case of adultery, accompanied by three attempts at homicide, took place in the house of a gentleman named Caraby, No. 80, Rue d'Anjou St. Honoré. The three principal actors in the drama—M. and Madame Caraby and M. de Coetlogon—were arrested, and after an investigation by the judicial authorities, were ordered for trial before the Court of Assizes. The trial commenced on Monday last.

Madame Caraby was the first to enter the dock. She is twenty-eight years of age, very handsome, with brilliant black eyes; she was fashionably dressed. Her husband was placed beside her; he is of middle stature, with large moustaches. De Coetlogon came next; he is good looking, with moustaches, and was attired in black.

In answer to the usual questions, the female prisoner said that she is twenty-eight years of age, and was born at New Orleans; the husband said his name is Calixte Caraby, his age thirty-six, his position in life that of a *rentier*, and his place of birth New Orleans; the other prisoner said his name is Hippolyte E. A. de Coetlogon, his age twenty-nine, and was formerly an officer in the army.

The indictment set forth that the Carabys were married in 1839, and had four children; their marriage was one of inclination—indeed, it was a runaway match. In 1843 they went to live with the wife's mother at Chalons-sur-Saone; but in 1847 returned to Paris and took an apartment in the Rue d'Anjou St. Honoré. The husband thought his wife's conduct in society was not becoming, and this led to dissensions between them, which ended in their living separate, though under the same roof. Caraby did not suspect his wife of being unfaithful to him until the 27th of February last, when he heard Annette Fernet, the cook, say to her, "I can hold up my head, and you cannot." The next day the *bonne* of the children, Louise Becu, in reply to some observation he made to her respecting his wife, said, "Mon Dieu! I wish to say something to you, but I dare not!" When pressed by him to explain herself, she stated that she had often seen a man in her mistress's bedchamber; and she added, "If you would wish to surprise him there, you must take precautions, for he is armed!" Caraby, in a state of great agitation, went and purchased a brace of pocket pistols, and caused them to be loaded in his presence. Caraby then went to his mother's house, and begged his brother Eugene to accompany him home. He told him his suspicion. Eugene went to the Commissary of Police to get him to go to the house to obtain formal proof of the commission of the adultery; but, as that functionary was not at home, he knocked up the *concierge* of his brother's house, and told him to be on the watch. Eugene then joined his brother, who at that time had with him another brother, named Etienne. The three brothers arranged with the servant Louise that she should watch her mistress's chamber, and give a signal when she should see the lover enter it. The apartment occupied by the Carabys was on the fourth story of No. 80, Rue d'Anjou, and it had a balcony on which the window of Madame Caraby's room and of two other rooms opened. At about a yard from one end of the entrance was the window of a garret, which garret De Coetlogon rented. It was from this garret that he was in the habit of passing by means of a gutter, into Madame Caraby's bedroom. At about eleven o'clock on the night of the 28th of February, Louise being, as just stated, on the watch, heard a bell ring in the room of Madame Caraby, which was responded to by another bell in the garret; presently she saw a man pass along the balcony into the bedroom of her mistress, and close the window. She immediately informed the three brothers; they waited for about a quarter of an hour, and then Caraby, putting on his great coat—in the pockets of which were his pistols—went by the balcony to the window of his wife's room. He was followed by his brother Eugene and Louise; Etienne went to the door of Madame Caraby's chamber. Caraby saw that two lights were burning on the table, but the emotion he felt prevented him from distinguishing anything in the room. Eugene, however, saw a man lying in bed by the side of Madame Caraby, and reading a newspaper. Caraby ran for his National Guard musket, to break open the window. On his return, almost at the same moment, he broke two panes of glass, and cried "Open!" The man who was in bed jumped out, and advancing to the window, said, "Give me time to dress myself!" He then returned to consult Madame Caraby. The husband heard her distinctly say, "Take your pistol and shoot him." (*"Arme toi, et tire sur lui!"*) Coetlogon disappeared for a moment behind the curtain, and then opened the window; but as soon as Caraby made a step to enter, he discharged a pistol at him and wounded him in the arm. Thereupon Caraby pulled one of his pistols from his pocket, and discharged it full in Coetlogon's breast, seriously wounding him. Coetlogon stepped on the balcony, but, owing to the darkness, Caraby could not distinguish him. Presently the latter heard another report of a pistol, and rushed into a room to avoid his assailant. Louise saw the man pass from the end of the balcony to the garret. Caraby's brothers finding that he was wounded, sent for a doctor. Caraby, his brothers, and the doctor descended the staircase. On arriving at the foot, a young man named Borgognon, who had been passing the evening with an English family residing in the house, was descending the staircase. The wife of the *concierge*, on seeing him, cried, "There he is—the assassin!" and Eugene Caraby exclaimed, "It is he! I recognise him!" Borgognon was immediately roughly seized by the brothers, and all his remonstrances were disregarded. At length Caraby, excited to fury at the sight of the man he considered the accomplice of his wife, discharged his pistol in his face, whereby his jaw was smashed. Borgognon was then dragged to the office of the Commissary of Police, and was subsequently conveyed to the Hospital Beaujon. It was only the next day that his innocence was proved. Whilst this was passing Madame Caraby had disappeared and followed Coetlogon from the balcony to the garret, and thence to his residence in the Rue de l'Université. The next day she went home to her family. The indictment concluded by stating that the charge against the woman Caraby was that of adultery; against Coetlogon of being an accomplice in the adultery, and of having on the 28th of February committed an attempt of homicide on the person of Caraby; and against Caraby of an attempt at homicide on the person of Borgognon.

In the course of her examination by the President, Madame Caraby admitted that a criminal intercourse had existed between her and Coetlogon; and in reply to other questions, replied as follows: Had you not a signal to summon Coetlogon to a rendezvous? I rang a bell, and M. Coetlogon replied in the same way.—On the 28th of February you notified to him in that manner that he could come? Yes, Sir.—What time was it when he came to you? Half-past eleven o'clock.—You were in bed? Yes.—By the side of your child, aged two years? Yes; he was in the little bed which I made for him whenever M. de Coetlogon was to come. I made this bed with a pillow on two arm-chairs.—De Coetlogon got into bed to you? Yes.—You heard your husband cry on the balcony, "Open, open! I have witnesses?" M. De Coetlogon had been 20 minutes with me when I heard—(here the accused paused for a moment, and then, bursting into tears, exclaimed)—"But I beseech you, M. President, to spare me this recital." The statement she had made to the examining magistrate was accordingly read.—Did you pronounce the words, "Take your pistol and shoot him? This is infamous!" If M. de Coetlogon had wished to kill my husband, he might have done so. He had a four-barelled pistol, and my husband fled before him. Coetlogon had told me that he had pistols, but that they had no percussion caps. I did not see his pistol on the 28th of February. It is false that I said "Take your pistol and shoot him!" Coetlogon asked me what he was to do. I said "Do what you will. How can I tell!—how can I tell!" He cried, "Wait until I am dressed." When he went towards the window he had the pistol behind his back, and it was pointed towards the ground. I heard a report when his pistol was still in that position. I did not remark that Coetlogon was wounded. He fired in the air.

The answers of M. Caraby to the questions put by the President were in accordance with the facts stated in the indictment.

The third accused, M. Coetlogon, acknowledged that it was not till after a long and persevering pursuit that he had succeeded in seducing Madame Caraby. He denied that he had been the first to fire. He declared that he had not fired at M. Caraby at all, and that his wound must have been occasioned by the rebound of the ball after striking the wall.

Witnesses were then called.

Annette Fernet, the cook, said that M. Caraby had struck and kicked his wife in her presence. They did not live happily together.

M. Borgognon described how he was wounded on descending the staircase of Caraby's house; but he asserted, to the astonishment of the Court, that it was not the accused Caraby, but his brother Etienne, who had fired on him.

On this Etienne cried, "I solemnly swear to God that this is not true."

Another brother, Eugene, declared that the pistol was really fired by the accused.

Several other witnesses were examined, but their testimony added nothing to the information already given.

After speeches from the public prosecutor and the counsel for the prisoner,

The President summed up, and, after about an hour's deliberation, the jury returned a verdict of "Guilty" on the charge of adultery, and "Not guilty" as regarded all the other charges.

M. Caraby was consequently immediately set at liberty, and the Court condemned Madame Caraby and Coetlogon, for the adultery, each to two years' imprisonment, and the latter to 1,000f. fine.

LOSS OF TWO HULL WHALERS.

The Hull vessels sent to Greenland this year have been very unfortunate in their fishing; but this is unimportant contrasted with the intelligence we have to convey of the total loss of the William Ward and the Pledge, of this port. The former was a barque of 295 tons, and a crew of forty-five men; the latter, a smack of thirty-one tons, and a crew of nineteen men.

A letter has been received by Mrs. Gravill, wife of Captain Gravill, of the William Ward, which contains the further details of the loss of that vessel. It is dated the 7th instant, on board the Dublin of Peterhead, lat. 60 deg. N. The writer states that the loss of the William Ward occurred on the 24th March, in a tremendous gale from the N.E., amongst heavy ice, in lat. 47 deg. 30 min. N., and long. 10 deg. W. "Every precaution," observes Captain Gravill, "had been used for her safety, having sent down topgallant yards, and struck mizen-topmast, and close reefed the topsails, on the morning of the above day, while it was calm. The gale commenced about three a.m. most terrific, for we had to stow away all but the close-reefed main-topsails. The frost was very severe, with constant thick weather. The Traveller of Peterhead was in company. We had all hands on deck attending to the braces which we could scarcely haul through the blocks for the frost; many of the men's faces were frost-bitten, and although not above the deck, it was impossible to make the men hear without the trumpet. The ship being amongst heavy ice, with a tremendous sea, about three p.m. hove down upon the weather side of a heavy 'stream' (of ice) with no possibility of getting clear. We were, therefore, compelled to let her go into it. Her larboard side was soon stove fore and aft, and, before we got through, the water was up to the hold beams. Our situation was now most alarming, there being no ship to be seen; we had lost sight of the Traveller some time before. Our condition was aggravated by the continued severity of the frost, and many of our men suffering under its inflictions, but we got the ship's head to the eastward, and all hands were employed at both pumps. We cut away the mainmast to keep the vessel from turning on her beam ends. In this condition we continued until two days afterwards, when, in the morning, there was a cry, fore and aft, 'The ship's going down head first.' I gave orders to cut away the foremast, which being done eased the ship greatly, and every exertion was made to keep her above water, the men dropping off from the pumps daily, through fatigue and having their feet frost bitten; and so we remained, from the 24th until the 29th, constantly at the pumps, and with the water sometimes in the cabin. On the morning of the 29th we could only muster twenty-eight at the pumps out of forty-five hands, but, through the intervention of an ever-watchful Providence, a ship hove in sight, and, with difficulty, made us out to be a wreck, as we appeared to be like a large heap of ice, but the mizen-mast being still standing, convinced the other ship's crew that it was a vessel in distress. They, therefore, bore down to us, and proved to be the Fairy, of Dundee, Captain Robert Ker, who with the feelings of a father and a friend, sent his boats immediately to our relief, and took us all from the wreck. The weather proved moderate that morning, but as the sea ran high, we were compelled to keep to the pumps up to the last moment, until his boats got alongside for us. We then got all the sick up as well as we could, amounting to eighteen at that time. Some we were obliged to carry on our backs to the side, and lower into the boats, their feet being very much frost-bitten, and their legs wrapped up in pieces of blankets. It took the greater part of the day to get us all out, and the Fairy had only time to save three boats after we were all on board. The ship (the William Ward) was filling fast, and a gale increasing, before midnight the Fairy was obliged to come under a close-reefed main-topsail and foresail, so that had we not been taken off before that storm I greatly doubt whether any of us would have been left, as the poor men were giving up every hour. Both myself and the crew will never forget the kindness to the sick, and the attention paid to us all by Capt. Ker and his ship's company. I left the Sarah and Elizabeth a little more than a week ago, to come home by the Dublin, Capt. Mackie. He has about 8,000 seals, about 115 tons. He had given up all hope of ever getting out of the ice, as it is a heavy 'pack,' and there is no 'young ice' to shelter them. Many ships are stove, and those that have escaped consider it a miracle. The smack Pledge is lost, but the crew saved. Some of them are on board the Dublin. I am afraid there is another vessel lost, as I have been told of a main boom that was picked up. It appears to have been a brig. The smack Turk, Brown, had about 400 seals, but she is stove. I know very little about the Hull ships, but heard they were all badly off. The Sarah and Elizabeth had 150 seals when I left her, but I hope they will all do well. The Traveller is very much stove, as are also the Resolution and many more. I am sorry to say many of our men have lost the toes off their feet, and I am afraid some of them will lose their feet. Poor Arthur had lost five toes last time I saw him. I intend landing at Shetland, as I think we shall be better able to get home. Young Lee, Smith, Tather, and Robinson are with me."

A letter has also been received from the mate of the Pledge, and is, we believe, the only communication which has arrived from that vessel. The master is still at Greenland. It is dated as the above, and, after briefly stating the loss of the Pledge on the 28th ult., contains the following particulars addressed to the owner:—"Sir, I have to inform you of the wreck of the Pledge in Greenland. On the 12th of April it was blowing a heavy gale, and we were completely disabled, having no seam from ice-knees down to keel, no mainboom, no mainsail (the mainsail having blown to ribbons) and water by this time in the lower bed cabins, and gaining on us. The Traveller of Peterhead, being in company with us, was under close-reefed topsails. We hoisted our ensign to the Traveller, and the captain sent two boats and took us on board. On the 28th of April we came on board the Dublin of Peterhead (mate, second mate, cook, and rest of the crew), leaving the master and two boys till morning. It was then blowing fresh, and, coming on thick during the night, we lost sight of the Traveller, and left the master.—Your obedient servant, Henry Trott, late mate of the Pledge."—*Hull Advertiser.*

SURREY ADJOURNED SESSIONS.

These sessions commenced on Monday at the Sessions-house, Newington-causeway, before Thomas Puckle, Esq., and a full bench of magistrates.

Increase of Crime and Want of Education.—The calendar contained the names of seventy-nine prisoners for trial, thirty one of whom could neither read nor write, twenty read and write imperfectly, twenty-five read imperfectly, and only three could read and write well.

A Lucky Escape from Transportation.—Henry Lee, 24, was indicted for stealing at Lambeth a coat the property of William Webb.—The wife of the prosecutor said on the morning of the 21st ult. she was standing at the parlour window, when she saw the prisoner pass the house several times. The hall door was open, and suddenly she heard some one leaving the hall. She then saw the prisoner run past with the coat under his arm. She instantly gave the alarm, but the prisoner escaped.—Mr. Robinson, on behalf of the prisoner, contended that the witnesses must be mistaken as to their identity, as he was instructed to deny the charge.—The jury, after a few minutes' consultation, returned a verdict of "Guilty."—The prisoner was afterwards indicted for stealing two coats, the property of Thomas Hawkins, a tradesman in the borough. This was a case similar to the above, and the jury found him "Guilty."—Mr. Keene, the governor of the gaol said the prisoner had been four times in his custody, for re-examinations, but to his knowledge had not been convicted.—The chairman told the prisoner that he had been a lucky fellow; had he been only twice summarily convicted he would have been transported, as there could be no doubt that he was an old offender. Prior to the passing of the new act, such, no doubt, would have been his fate, but as a warning to him, the court would sentence him to twelve months' hard labour in Brixton House of Corretion.

Pernicious Influence of Privileges.—The human character could not have been more effectually degraded than by giving a man absolute power. Birth, riches, and all the extrinsic advantage that, without any mental exertion, exalt a man above his fellows, sink him in reality below them. In proportion to his weakness, he is played upon by designing men, until he loses all traces of humanity. That tribes of men should quietly follow such a leader is truly extraordinary. Where shall we find men who, educated in slavish dependence, and enervated by luxury and sloth, will stand forth to assert the right of man, or to claim the privilege of moral beings, who should have but one road to excellence? Servility to monarchs and ministers, whose deadly grasp stops the progress of the human mind, is not yet instinct. Let not men, then, in the pride of power, imitate the arguments of tyrannic kings and venal ministers, and assert that woman ought to be subjected to man because she has always been so. When man, governed by reasonable laws, enjoys his natural freedom, let him despise woman if she do not share it with him; but, till that glorious period arrives, let him not, in descanting on the folly of the other sex overlook his own.—*Mary Wollstonecraft's Rights of Woman.*

EPITAPH IN A COUNTRY CHURCHYARD.

"As you are now, so once was *me*;
As I am now, so you must be;
Therefore prepare to follow me."
Below which a wag had written—
"To follow you I'm not content,
Unless I know which way you went."

Imperial Parliament.

MONDAY, May 21.

HOUSE OF LORDS.—Firing at the Queen.

The Marquis of Lansdowne called attention to "the unfortunate occurrence" which had happened on Saturday, when, said his lordship, "an odious and disgusting, but at the same time an absurd and contemptible attempt had been made upon the person of the sovereign." The inquiry which had followed clearly established that there were no circumstances which would justify in this instance a commitment for high treason. He therefore should not propose to the House to go up to the throne with any expression of sympathy for the Queen, or of abhorrence of the attack. He should leave the law to take its course, believing that the act of 1842 would be found singularly applicable to the case, and trusting the wretched culprit would receive the degrading and contempt inspiring punishment he so richly merited.

Lord Stanley expressed his approval of this course, and Lord Brougham observed that, under any circumstances, he should have objected to an address, because the culprit had not been tried, and any address must assume his guilt. But as to this, Lord Lansdowne said that an address would have referred to the character of the offence, and not to the person of the offender; and the subject dropped.

Works of Art in Rome.—Lord Brougham said that he had received a letter from Manzoni, who was in this country, and who would have petitioned their lordships if such a course would not have been informal, solemnly stating, in the most positive and distinct terms, that the reports in the French and English newspapers, as well as in private letters, that he had brought away works of art from Rome, was entirely without foundation. He thought it due to M. Manzoni to take the earliest opportunity of making this statement.

The Land Improvement and Drainage (Ireland) Bill was read a second time; and the standing orders of the House having been suspended, it was also passed through committee, so that it may be read a third time and receive the royal assent immediately.

Navigation Laws.—The House then went into committee on the navigation laws.

Lord Stanley rose to bring forward amendments of which he had given notice, and the House, which was noisy at the time, was immediately hushed into silence. He observed emphatically that he considered "reciprocity" for our own trade ought to be preliminary to any advantages which Great Britain bestowed on the trade of foreign countries. The principle of the government was to abandon the navigation law and then to retaliate on other nations which did not follow the example. His principle, on the other hand, was to maintain the navigation law, but to reciprocate the advantages which other nations might be anxious to extend to us. This distinction embodied the line of policy adopted by Mr. Huskisson. He denied that, without reciprocity, they should surrender no more than was absolutely required by the exigencies and for the advantages of commerce. The country cried out to them to take this course. All the naval men, all the commercial men, and all who were connected with shipping throughout the country were urging them to avoid the rash step they were at present taking. Ministers were acting against the sense of the country, and they knew it. (Loud opposition cheers.) He protested against the principles of "retaliation" which they proposed to adopt. It would be a difficult principle to carry out; it would be an invidious, hostile, and uncourteous policy; it would be a policy under which we must make sacrifices without the power of resuming our rights. He left it to the House to decide, then, between "reciprocity" and "retaliation," and concluded, amidst loud cheers, by moving his amendment to Clause 1.

Earl Grey commenced by observing that the alteration would make nonsense of the whole bill, and was evidently only proposed in its present shape in the hope of catching the stray votes of noble lords who felt the difficulty of again taking a division on a question of principle which had already been decided. Lord Stanley shrunk from coming to close quarters. (Ministerial cheers.) He wanted them to adopt a principle of "reciprocity." But would "reciprocity" answer the objects of the British merchant? By a system of reciprocity, instead of the trade of the world being open to us, we should only have open to us the trade of some particular nations, and then only in articles the produce of those countries. The question, therefore, lay between absolute restriction or a free system. If we continued to insist upon the former court of policy, it was matter of certainty that other nations would follow the example, and a great benefit would be lost, not only to ourselves, but to the world at large. He reminded them of the fable of the dog and the shadow, and urged them not to throw away their own trade while grasping after that of others. Lord Stanley had refrained that night from referring to the colonial trade. He had done wisely. His proposal with regard to the colonial trade was futile. He was absolutely going, by his amendment to clause 6, to create a protection in favour of the United States as regarded the trade of the St. Lawrence. (Hear, hear.) This was not what Canada wanted. Canada wanted the European vessels which brought out emigrants to be able to take back corn and timber. And whilst the noble lord permitted United States ships to convey the produce of Canada to Europe, he afforded no single inducement for United States ships to go to Canada to get it. (Hear, hear.) The noble earl concluded by expressing his belief that the opinion of the country was not against this measure, and by urging the House not practically to rescind their vote upon the second reading.

Lord Wharncliffe, from the cross-benches, expressed his intention of supporting the government. The amendment of Lord Stanley was entirely at variance with the whole spirit and purpose of the bill, and it was impossible for any one who had supported the second reading to vote to-night in favour of the alteration. He dissented altogether from the clause affecting the Canadian trade; and with regard to foreign trade, Lord Stanley's policy seemed to make restriction the rule, and relaxation the exception. One great evil of the present navigation law was its extraordinary complexity: Lord Stanley, instead of simplifying it, would make it more complex.

The Earl of Harrowby (the brother-in-law of the last speaker) combated his arguments. He thought there were many peers who had voted for the second reading who were by no means prepared to pass the bill without modifications, or to abandon the navigation law *in toto*, without obtaining some reciprocal advantages from other countries. He thought the "complexity" referred to was more in his noble friend's imagination than it would prove to be in operation. Noble lords ought to recollect the vastness of the step they were taking. This was not a measure from which they could ever retreat. Once passed, they could never draw back. Who demanded the measure? The people — the merchants—the shipowners—the sailors of the nation? Not one of them! (Oh.) If they did, why did they not say so? (Opposition cheers.) By hydraulic pressure a petition for the bill had been squeezed out of Liverpool. It had 143 signatures: no more. (Laughter.) They had not established that with safety the present system could be abandoned. They proposed to give away a vast trade. Were they to make so great a sacrifice without making an effort to obtain some reciprocal advantage? He hoped that by adopting the amendment their lordships would decide that question in the negative.

Earl Granville made a discursive speech, in the course of which he again defended Mr. Porter and his statistics from Lord Brougham's assaults.

Lord Colchester followed, condemning the bill, but adding nothing new to the arguments in opposition to it.

The Marquis of Clanricarde addressed himself to the statement of opposition peers that the people were opposed to the bill. When they talked of meetings against the bill, what, let him ask, came of the great meetings in the City, to attend which so many noble dukes migrated from the west to the east, and found themselves unsupported? The bill came up recommended by a majority of the representatives of the seaport towns, and was not that a circumstance entitling it to consideration?

The debate had flagged for some time, when Lord Brougham rose to give his reasons, as he said, for supporting the amendment. He commenced by ridiculing Earl Granville, whose speech, he said, made men forget the passage of time, unless they roused themselves to look at the clock. His defence of Mr. Porter had only one fault, it was too candid—it admitted too many of his failings. Mr. Porter's life had been one of errors, and the greatest error of all was that he was detected. He was a fallible mortal, and more especially fallible in respect of figures, and most of all in respect of the magician. (Loud laughter.) He then adverted to the petitions against the bill, and to that presented from Liverpool in its favour. Ten-elevenths of that town had signed against it; the petition of the one-eleventh had been got up at a hole-and-corner meeting, upon which he cast ridicule. The noble marquis said that a majority of the members of seaport towns were in favour of the bill. Was the member for Hull (Mr. Baines)? On the contrary, if not misinformed, he had voted against the bill, although a member of the government. (Hear, hear.) Where was the Lord Mayor of London? He was as good a Whig as any in England, but he had not voted once with the government on this question. What was the majority? Last year it was 117; this year it had dwindled down to 54, in spite of all the exertions of the government. The noble lord then entered into an argument to show the advantage of the "reciprocity" project. He begged them to consider what prodigious interests they were placing at stake by this ill-advised and ill-digested measure. He saw from the appearance of the House what prodigious efforts had been made; he saw that precautions had been taken which were more than unprecedented; he saw peers summoned from far and near—from every quarter of the nation; he saw a right rev. prelate just enter the House (to vote, he hoped, with the opposition)—(a laugh)—who had not heard a word of the debate; he saw present the representatives of the Sovereign abroad—come, he supposed, to represent the opinion of their countrymen in foreign parts in opposition to the opinion of their countrymen at home. It would seem as if the fate of a constitution, and not the fate of a government, was at stake. He then gave a glowing account of the rise and progress of the navigation law, and of the mercantile and national marine which had grown up and been fostered by it. On all occasions an advocate of free trade and an opponent of needless restrictions, he was, nevertheless, with Adam Smith, a supporter of the navigation laws, more important by far than wealth—nay, more important even than trade itself—was the defence of the nation.

Earl Fitzwilliam remarked on the discursive character of Lord Brougham's speech, and owned himself a convert upon this subject. With reference to our boasted superiority at sea he asked if the nation did not owe more to the Almighty power that had beneficently arrayed our coasts and havens than to any navigation law that ever was devised.

The noble Earl was followed by the Earl of Ellenborough, who addressed himself to the technicalities of the amendment, pointing out what would be its practical operation.

The Marquis of Lansdowne then rose and spoke with all the skill of a practised debater. He commenced by reverting to Earl Grey's address, which had remained entirely unanswered. He pointed out that there was a wide difference of principle between the bill and the amendment. Whilst the government sought to remove every possible restriction, retaining none but such as were absolutely necessary, the noble lord proposed to keep up all restrictions, removing those alone from which he was driven by the force of circumstances. The amendments which the noble lord had moved were completely at variance with all the principles upon this subject which he had previously laid down. He wished to satisfy Canada: he desired that no favour should be shown to the United States. But whilst he entirely failed in carrying out the first object, his amendment to the sixth clause would effectually accomplish the second. The noble marquis then adverted to the allegation that the sense of the country was against the bill. It was a matter, he said, of history, that no one measure of commercial reform had ever been introduced into the British parliament that had been popular with the class, whom it specially affected. It was said that Liverpool was against the bill, but at Glasgow, he learnt from a Tory paper, the merchants were called together last Saturday to petition against this bill, and only 150 persons attended, of whom there were not half-a-dozen connected with shipping. He then told a good story of the pilots of the Tyne, and concluded by adjuring their lordships to adopt the bill and reject the amendment.

Their lordships then divided—

Contents—for the amendment	...	103
Non-contents—against it ...	...	116
Majority for the government ...		—13

The majority was considerably larger than appeared to be expected, but it elicited no expression of feeling.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—A new writ was ordered for Sutherland, in the room of Sir D. Dundas, who has accepted the office of Judge-Advocate-General, void by the appointment of Mr. W. G. Hayter as one of the joint Secretaries of the Treasury.

Firing at the Queen.—Lord J. Russell, before moving that the order of the day be read, observed that it appeared to him to be desirable, in order to allay apprehension in connexion with the attempt represented to have been made on her Majesty's life, that he should inform the House that, although it was true that a pistol had been discharged at her Majesty, there was no reason to accuse the person who had discharged it of a treasonable attempt on the Queen's life, and that the crime was more remarkable for its baseness than its atrocity. Had the attempt been one of a different character, he was sure that he would have had the cordial and unanimous assent of the House to an address to her Majesty congratulating her on the preservation of so valuable a life. (Cheers.) Her Majesty, under circumstances well calculated to inspire alarm, had acted with her usual coolness and fortitude. (Cheers.) [The noble lord, in delivering this brief address, spoke in a tone of voice so tremulous as to betoken considerable agitation. He was loudly cheered while making his communication to the House.]

Mr. J. O'Connell begged permission to say, that if anything could aggravate the misery of his unfortunate country, it was the reflection that the miscreant charged with this outrage was an Irishman. During the wildest excitement of popular phrensy in Ireland, he believed that no one harboured the slightest idea of personal insult to the sovereign, and even now he believed that misfortunes would be forgotten in the general burst of congratulation at the fact that her Majesty had escaped this base attempt. The hon. member's observations were also interrupted by loud cheers during their delivery.

Health of the Metropolis.—Sir G. Grey replied to Sir W. Clay, that there would not be any public health bill introduced for the metropolis during the present session, the first report of the commission having been mainly carried out by the consolidation of the Commissioners of Sewers, and the general survey. He could not say when the final report would be ready, the labours of the commission having been very much increased by the outbreak of cholera in different parts of the country.

Agricultural Distress.—Lord John Russell answered Mr. Grantley Berkeley, by stating that the government had no special measure in contemplation for the relief of agricultural distress, neither was it intended to reduce the income tax chargeable on farmers.

Kaffir War.—The Chancellor of the Exchequer, in answer to Mr. V. Smith, stated, with respect to the accounts of the money spent in the Kaffir war, which the Commissioners of Audit had pronounced to be unintelligible, that he had sent them back to the colony for revision, and until the amended accounts were supplied, he could take no further steps in the matter.

Encumbered Estates (Ireland) Bill.—The House then went into committee on the said bill, some of the earlier clauses occasioning debate, efforts being made to elicit from the government who the commissioners under the bill were to be, but which proved unsuccessful.

The Solicitor General stated the official arrangement to be as follows: a chief commissioner with a salary of £3,000 a year, and two other commissioners with salaries of £2,000; a secretary, some clerks, and one or two messengers; the whole expense, which would not be large, to be defrayed out of the public exchequer. That it was not proposed to create any office for the purposes of valuation under the bill; and, with reference to travelling expenses, should such a necessity arise, which was not anticipated, then only the actual expense incurred to be repaid.

On arriving at clause 19,

Mr. Turner moved a proviso, to the effect that no order of sale should be made on the application of any owner or encumbrancer, the value of whose interest was not equal to the amount of the encumbrance; nor unless the whole of the encumbrances amounted to two-thirds the value of the estate.

The Solicitor-General opposed the amendment, as it would involve the necessity of a previous inquiry as to the respective values of the estate and the encumbrances, which in the depressed state of landed property in Ireland, was perhaps now not worth more than half its amount, as compared with the period when the mortgages were effected.

After a conversation, Mr. Grogan suggested that estates encumbered to the extent of "one-half" be substituted for "two-thirds."

Mr. Turner having assented, the committee divided, when the amendment altered as suggested was negatived by a majority of 57, the numbers 9 to 66. The remaining clauses were then agreed to, the House resumed, and the report was ordered to be received on Thursday.

The other business on the paper was summarily disposed of, *pro formâ*, and the House adjourned at eleven o'clock.

TUESDAY, May 22.

HOUSE OF LORDS.—Episcopal Church in Scotland.—Lord Brougham presented petitions from members of the United Church of England and Ireland, temporarily settled in Scotland, involving questions of doctrine, as between two bodies and their ministers, both of whom professed the episcopalian religion, but who in Scotland were sectarians; and who differed with respect to the use of the liturgy.

The arguments in reference to these petitions were purely of a religious character, and were participated in by Lord Brougham, the Bishop of Salisbury, the Earl of Suffolk, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Gloucester, the Duke of Argyle, the Bishop of Exeter, the Bishop of Cashel, the Earl of Minto, the Duke of Buccleuch, the Bishop of Oxford, the Earl of Harrowby, Earl Powis, and the Earl of Galloway.

Lord Brougham, who had originated the discussion, finally put it to their lordships, whether they had not had quite enough of the matter. (Laughter.) The real grievance was, that an English clergyman having resided some time in Scotland, could not, on his return to England, get a licence to preach, being thus worse off than the Romanist priest, whose ordination was recognised in the church of England. The English clergyman, under such circumstances, it appeared, being looked upon by certain right rev. prelates as merely a schismatic from the church of Scotland.

The petition was then ordered to lie on the table.

The Navigation Bill.—The Marquis of Lansdowne said, that at that late hour he would not proceed with the navigation bill, but postpone the committee.

Lord Brougham: To this day six months? (A laugh.)

The Marquis of Lansdowne: To Thursday next—with the understanding that there shall be no petitions discussed. (Laughter.)

Their lordships then adjourned, at ten o'clock, to Thursday.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—A new writ was ordered for South Warwickshire in the room of Mr. E. J. Shirley, who has accepted the Chiltern Hundreds.

Friendly Societies.—Mr. P. Scrope asked the hon. member for North Wilts whether the Friendly Societies Bill which he had introduced would have the effect which was apprehended in some parts of the country of depriving all such societies of the management of their own affairs, and of taking possession of their funds for the use of the government.

Mr. Sotheron admitted that much alarm had arisen among persons not conversant with acts of parliament because in one clause of the bill the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt were mentioned, and that consequently they feared their funds were to be applied to that object. It was hardly necessary for him to say that there was no foundation for the apprehension. On the contrary, the object of the bill was, to give friendly societies proper control over their affairs, by empowering them to call for and examine their accounts whenever they deemed it necessary for the purpose of ascertaining their solvency.

Ballinasloe Workhouse.—Mr. Reynolds put some questions to Sir G. Grey on the subject of the poor in Ballinasloe workhouse, referring to the alleged fact of cholera and typhus having carried off 1,150 of the inmates, asking whether the commissioners had received instructions to inquire into this frightful system?

Sir George Grey denied that there was anything frightful in the system. The mortality referred to had arisen from cholera, and was in no way connected with the workhouse system further than that the houses were used in the emergency to mitigate the virulence of the epidemic.

The Derby Day.—On the motion of the Marquis of Granby, that the House should not sit on Wednesday (the Derby Day),

Mr. Aglionby opposed the motion, and an animated debate ensued, which terminated in a division in favour of a holiday, the numbers being 138 to 119.

Duration of Parliament.—Mr. T. D'Eyncourt then rose to move for leave to introduce a bill to shorten the duration of Parliament. He trusted he would not be charged with impropriety if, instead of waiting the result of agitation, he thought the preferable course was to bring this question before the House now. (Hear, hear.) It was a question which at the time of the Revolution of 1688 occupied a considerable share of attention; and in the Bill of Rights it was declared to be the right of the people of England that Parliaments should frequently assemble. In 1694 the question was brought more into shape, and the Triennial Act passed, though, as he would afterwards show, unnecessarily repealed. It could not be said that this question had been pressed unnecessarily; on the contrary, he had been blamed for being too lax regarding it. He had suffered two Parliaments to go by without bringing it forward, precisely for the same reason that the people had during that period not petitioned the House on the subject, viz., because they did not believe there was any disposition on the part of Parliament to give a favourable consideration to the proposal. Whether the present Parliament would show a more favourable disposition remained to be seen; and therefore, after a period of twelve years, he had deemed it his duty to bring it forward as a question of public right. (Hear, hear.) By "public right" he meant that Parliaments should not continue longer than was sufficient to secure their responsibility to the people. (Hear.) Formerly the people of this country enjoyed by practice and habit sessional parliaments. That habit and practice continued up to the time of the Tudors and Stuarts, when there took place a gross usurpation on the part of the Crown. In 1694, as he had already stated, the Triennial Act was passed, being intended to secure the country from the disadvantages that had flowed from the Long Parliament. The preamble of that bill recognised frequent parliaments as warranted by the ancient law of the kingdom. It continued in operation for twenty-two years, and he believed there were no statutes that more adorned the statute-book, or had greater regard to the dignity of parliament and the liberties of the people, than those passed during this period. But the Rebellion of 1715 was made a pretext for putting an end to the Triennial and passing the Septennial Act, for it was supposed that at the next election an attempt would be made, on the part of those who supported the cause of the Pretender, to return men who would endeavour to change the dynasty, and restore the Stuarts. The passing of the Septennial Act, he contended, was a complete *coup d'état*—an act of revolution; because, nothing could be more outrageous than that a Parliament elected for three years should vote its own continuance for seven years. He then proceeded to show that the main grounds assigned for its passing were unjustifiable; viz., that Triennial Parliaments occasioned more expense than Septennial, and that they were destructive of the peace and security of government. These were mere pretexts. The Septennial Act, however, became the law of the land; and, so disgusted did the people of England become with its working, when they found the great difference there was between the conduct of their representatives under it and their conduct under the Triennial Act, that a motion for its repeal was made in the House of Commons in 1734, and supported by Mr. Pulteney and others, which motion was rejected in a House of more than 400 members by a majority of only 63. The Septennial Act continued to produce so much mischief, and excited so strong a feeling in the public mind against it, that at length a cry was raised for a general reform of parliament, and the question of shortening the duration of parliaments became merged in that of a general reform in the representation of the people. The reform which was contended for consisted of two branches, the one being the amendment of the representation of the people, and the other being an increase of the responsibility of members by more frequent parliaments. The declaration of the "Friends of the People," with Lord Grey at their head, recognised this as the legitimate division. Well, in March, 1831, his noble friend (Lord J. Russell), on introducing the Reform Bill, knowing that the whole nation expected both branches of reform to be embraced by the bill, thought it needful to explain that the question of the shorter duration of parliaments had been considered by his Majesty's Ministers, but that upon the whole they thought it would be better to leave it to be brought before the House by any members who might choose to take it up, than to bring it in at the end of a bill regulating matters totally distinct. (The right hon. member here read the passage in the noble lord's speech relating to the subject.) The friends of short parliaments, though naturally disappointed at the omission of that branch of reform from the bill, felt much consoled by the prospect of having it discussed by itself at a future time. He (Mr. T. D'Eyncourt) accordingly brought the question forward in 1833, again in 1834, and again in 1837. The noble lord opposed the motion on all those occasions; but he (Mr. D'Eyncourt) had never had the benefit of the noble lord's opinion whether he really thought seven years a fit term for the duration of parliament or not. All the opinion the noble had given was that he would not vote for his motion, because it did not state the term to which parliaments should be shortened. His (Mr. D'Enycourt's) answer had always been that he was willing to leave that point to the decision of the House itself, but that, if forced to name a term, he should of necessity adopt that which had been sanctioned by the constitution previously. Would the noble lord tell him whether he agreed in that opinion? (Hear.) In 1833 his motion was rejected by a majority of only 49. In point of fact, it was lost by the weight of the Administration—because, but for the votes of the Ministry and its adherents, his motion would have been carried. He begged the House to notice, also, that his motion was not met by a direct negative, but merely by the previous question. In 1834 his motion was rejected by a majority of 50, and in 1837 by a majority of only nine. (Hear, hear.) The question had remained in that position till the present moment. The House might rely upon it, however, that the absence of petitions and the want of public meetings out of doors to urge the question upon the attention of parliament afforded no evidence whatever of the want of interest in this question on the part of the public. The question was one upon which interest was always felt, and which would continue to be urged upon the House at all times of public excitement, until at length they might be forced to consider it under circumstances which might be painful to deal with. They would therefore do more wisely to consider it now, before any such painful necessity arose. (Hear, hear.) He asked how was it possible to ascertain public opinion clearly and satisfactorily unless by means of frequent elections? New questions of importance must always arise within the course of three or four years, upon which there could not possibly have been any previous understanding between representatives and their constituencies, and when this happened, as it frequently did, the consequence was that many constituencies under the present system were unrepresented, if not absolutely misrepresented, with regard to such questions. If the House wished to secure a universal feeling of agreement between the Crown and people, there was no means so sure of effecting this as frequent parliaments. By these means they would at once increase the confidence of the people in their representatives, and diminish the corruption and influence which were at present almost unavoidably and imperceptibly exercised by government over members. There was no other country in Europe which had so long parliaments as we had. Why should we be behind others countries? If the noble lord should say he was in favour of fivey ears as a good and wholesome term, as far as he (Mr. D'Eyncourt) was individually concerned he should be perfectly ready to concur; but, until he heard some proposition of that kind

from a high authority, he would not compromise the constitutional demand for Triennial Parliaments. The right hon. gentleman concluded by moving for leave to bring in a bill.

Lord D. Stuart said, he had great pleasure in seconding the motion of his right hon. friend. He considered the subject as one of the most important that could be discussed in that House. There were few subjects which had been more frequently discussed, or upon which more able arguments had been addressed to the House; but it had never been discussed precisely under the same circumstances as at present, and therefore he hoped that, although it had not been carried formerly, it would now find favour with the House, and if the House should pass it he was sure it would find favour with the people at large. (Hear.) He did not know what might be the state of opinion upon this subject in the saloons and ball-rooms of this metropolis, but he believed that on railroads, omnibuses, and steamboats, and in other public places, the opinions would be found pretty unanimous in its favour. After glancing at the historical facts of the case, the noble lord proceeded to observe that, though the term of seven years had been enacted to meet an emergency, which had long since passed away, the people had never ceased to require short Parliaments. The proposition before the House was not, like the ballot, open to the assertion that it was un-English, for it was known to our laws. If the noble lord at the head of the government only reflected on what had passed for the last year and a half upon the continent, he would see of what importance it was that the legislature should be the fair representative of the people. One trembled to think what might happen if they were not so. In a moment Louis Philippe lost his throne because the legislature of France was but a mockery, a delusion, and a snare. Although the expenses of elections had increased so much under the Septennial Act as to have ruined noble families, he did not advocate the repeal of that statute so much on the grounds of economy, as that it would be impossible to obtain a fair, full, and efficient representation of the people without it. Hon. gentlemen often forgot the promises they made on the hustings, but short parliaments would make them less likely to neglect or violate their duties; undoubtedly corruption did not exist to such an extent as formerly, but no one could be ignorant of the immense power possessed over members by the increasing patronage of the government. Some persons urged that short parliaments would interfere with the prerogatives of the crown, but it appeared to him that the theory of the exercise of the prerogative was not that the crown should have the means of intimidating parliament when it pleased by the threat of a new election, but that when the crown doubted if parliament represented the people, it might ascertain the fact by a dissolution. He was equally satisfied that short parliaments would not interfere with the influence of the House of Lords—an institution to which he looked with no degree of hostility, and which often, he believed, had exercised a salutary power on our progress. With respect to the motion before the House, all those who thought the present duration of parliament too great should vote for it, whether they believed Quinquennial or Annual Parliaments the best. He did not know what course government would take with respect to it; indeed the noble lord had altered his opinions so much on this question, that he might be fairly said to have "boxed the compass" upon it. (Hear.) First he was in favour of Triennial Parliaments; when the Reform Bill was introduced he expressed himself in such a way as to hold out an invitation to any independent member to propose such a measure; then in 1833 the noble lord opposed the motion of his right hon. friend in the most violent terms; in 1834 he gave a silent vote against the proposition; in 1837 he said he thought the country did not require it; and last year, when it was made by the hon. member for Montrose, he declared that, sooner than have Triennial he would have Annual Parliaments. [Lord J. Russell: But I said I was against both.] Yes, but the noble lord's declaration, though he had no doubt it was made in debate, and that the noble lord would vote for the longer period, had had a great effect on the country. He appealed, in conclusion, to every Reformer in the House to vote for the repeal of the Septennial Act, which had been demanded by the people for upwards of 100 years, and which had been always understood to form a part of every scheme of reform which had been advocated by Chatham, Pitt, Fox, Romilly, and Mackintosh; and which, while it interfered with no other measure of reform, more than any other secured the House, and tended to promote the happiness of the nation by bringing the legislature into harmonious co-operation with the people. (Hear, hear.)

Lord J. Russell considered that the effect of the motion was to shorten the duration of parliaments to three years. In dealing with the historical part of the subject, he observed that the grievance against which our ancestors were anxious to provide was the suspension of parliaments, and the Triennial Act contained a clause requiring that a parliament should be called within three years. Twenty-one years after the passing of that act, those who had been most instrumental in framing it complained of its evil effects, which were enumerated in the preamble of the Septennial Act, namely, the enormous and continual expense to which it subjected the elected, and the violent and lasting animosities which it engendered amongst the electors. The question, therefore, was not merely one of abstract reasoning and theory, but had been tested by the experience of our ancestors, who had, after a trial, demanded a change of the law. There were other considerations of very great weight. If parliaments were triennial, it would be found that much time would be lost through the inexperience of new members, and in the third year there would be an indisposition on the part of the House to decide upon great questions, which might exert an effect upon a general election; so that two out of the three years would be disturbed by these causes. He admitted that the advantages attending the present law would be dearly bought if the opinions of the constituency and of the public did not influence the conduct of the members of that House; but his opinion was, that since the Reform Act general attention had been paid to the wishes and opinions of the constituency and the public on the part of the representatives, upon whose conduct and vote they had as much influence as they ought to have; for if the influence were carried to a greater extent, in too many instances members would sacrifice their honest convictions, and defer to the transient passions of their constituents. He disputed the position that the influence of the Crown would be less felt in short parliaments than in long ones; and upon the whole he had come to the conclusion that there was no reason why the present law for the duration of parliaments should be disturbed. Whether, if the question were open, it would be wise to settle six years (the practical period) as the precise term for the duration of parliaments it was unnecessary to inquire; he had at one time thought that five years would be better than seven, as a general question; but he did not think there was any sufficient reason for making a change that would after all merely diminish the term by one year. From 1828 to 1841, the average duration of the Parliaments had been less than three years. (Hear, hear.) The noble lord concluded in the following genuine Tory style:—My right hon. friend remarks that we have a different duration of parliament from other countries, and that, looking into other constitutions in Europe, we cannot find any one which provides for a duration of seven years in the case of a representative assembly, and that five and four years are the more frequent limits prescribed for the duration of popular assemblies. With great deference to my right hon. friend, I am not disposed to quarrel with those new constitutions of other countries. We have seen monarchy in France overthrown. We have seen the advisers of the Crown in that country exposed to violent popular disapprobation, and the throne itself perish beneath the ruins of that general convulsion. But we have seen, likewise, that the form of government which has succeeded has not established itself in popular opinion, and that those who, with the most brilliant talents and the most unquestionable integrity, have declared themselves favourers of the form of government thus established, have fallen themselves within these few days under the displeasure of the same popular opinion which overturned the monarchy. When in other countries we see all government disturbed and broken—constitutions voted which are never put in force—constitutions which have long existed overthrown, and cast in the dust—men seeking for some form of government to which they can attach themselves—for some leader who is worthy to guide them—I find no fault with those who, exposed to such storms, are seeking for better forms of political government; the imperfect forms under which they have long lived may have rendered necessary such struggles—may have awakened doubts—may have made such lamentable contests inevitable; but I rejoice that we ourselves have long ago passed through such contests; and I for one am not prepared to imitate any part of those constitutions which I see so little trusted—which are still so uncertain—which are still so little likely to endure. Far from me be the sentiment that it is agreeable to stand on the shore, and see others labouring in the depths, to behold the storm without having any part in the danger; but, on the other side, when I see that storm rising, when I see other barks labouring under the effects of the wind and waves, I am not prepared to launch my vessel into the same ocean to be exposed to the same perils. My right hon. friend must, therefore, excuse me if I am disposed at this time, whatever I might be at another, rather to cling to the security and to the advantages we have, than be caught by the prospect he holds out to me, when he tells me that other nations have no laws similar to those which he wishes us to change. I conclude, as I concluded on a former occasion, by opposing my right hon. friend's motion. I don't think the duration of parliament, as at present fixed, too long. I think that public opinion has a very great and a sufficient influence on members of this House, and that if you made elections so exceedingly frequent as my right hon. friend proposes, you would lose much on the ground of public security—much on the ground of habits of business—much on the ground of stability of counsels and due deliberation on measures; and you would not gain, in respect of public liberty, anything to countervail the disadvantages I have stated. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. S. Crawford said, that in discussing this question it was right to know what the constitution was—whether that House was to represent the people. If that was the constitution, then this House ought to be under the control of the people. But the people complained that this House did not fairly represent their wishes and feelings, and one of the causes why it did not was owing to the duration of parliament. He did not deny that evils might arise and did arise from all forms of government, but the question they had to determine was, whether the public good would be best promoted by keeping the House of Commons under the control of the people. He maintained that it could not be under their control as long as parliaments continued for seven years. It had been observed that this measure had not excited any popular feeling out of doors. The reason of that was, that this was but one of a series of measures which the people believed to be necessary for the amelioration of their condition. The principal of these measures was the extension of the suffrage, which they looked upon as the prime means of placing the House in the position of their real representatives. (Hear.) It was said that the frequency of elections would increase the expenses. What those expenses were he could not tell, unless they were expenses for the purposes of corruption; and that was one of the reasons why he maintained that parliaments ought to be more frequent, for persons would be less likely to spend much money in corrupt practices when they knew they would be elected for only a short period. Again, it was said that the representatives of that House should not be under the control of the people. If that was so, then they ought to have recourse to that which was the practice formerly in Ireland—namely, elect the representatives for life. But that would be the very reverse of the constitution. He did not think that frequent elections would give rise to frequent changes in the persons elected. On the contrary, he believed that those who did their duty would have a better chance of being re-elected than under the present system, and that greater harmony and good feeling would exist between the representatives and the represented. (Hear, hear.) But he did not think it would be worth while to promote a change, for the purpose of establishing a five years' duration of parliament. Indeed, he hardly thought it worth while to promote a change for Triennial Parliaments; but at the same time, as Triennial Parliaments was the principle of the old constitution, he was willing to take that step. (Hear, hear.)

The House then divided. The numbers were,—

For the motion	46
Against it	41
Majority	—5

The announcement of the numbers was followed by loud cheers.

The Working Classes.—Mr. Slaney then moved the appointment of a standing committee, or unpaid commission, to consider and report from time to time on practical measures (unconnected with political changes) likely to improve the condition of the working classes, to encourage their industry, and increase their contentment. He had not to apprehend opposition or contradiction from the House at that moment. What he had rather to dread was, that hon. members would quietly and silently steal forth from that House, and leave him with so small an audience that he should be counted out. If such were to be his fate, he trusted a good cause would procure for him a hearing on some future occasion. But, if he were permitted to proceed, he should observe that the improvement in the condition of the working classes had not kept pace with the improvement in the condition of the more opulent classes. With respect to the peasantry, the parliamentary committees of 1817 and of 1819 reported that abuses prevailed in many of the southern counties. And the same result was shown from the proceedings of the committee of 1824 on labourers' wages, over which the noble lord at the head of the government presided. He then referred to the reports of a parliamentary committee of 1830 and a commission of 1833 for additional evidence of the unsatisfactory and neglected condition of the agricultural labourers, which he said led them to commit acts of outrage in the southern counties. Then was passed the stringent law of 1835, which had slowly effected some improvement in the agricultural districts. The evils which that law was intended to remove had been admitted to exist for twenty years before the remedy was applied. That could not have happened if there had existed some government department whose duty it would have been to watch over the condition of the working classes and endeavour to improve it. What now was the condition of an agricultural labourer? When he attained the age of seventy all he could hope for was to be able to eke out a miserable existence by means of parochial aid. The hon. member then proceeded to the case of the population of large towns, of those engaged in manufactures, mines, and railway construction, and read extracts from a report of a parliamentary committee of 1840, of the Poor Law Commissions of 1843, of a commission issued under the government of Sir R. Peel in 1843, of the Mining Commission of 1843, of the Handloom Weavers Commission of 1841, of the Committee on Railway Labourers in 1846, and of the Sanitary Commission of 1842, to show that, as regarded the sanitary, moral and religious condition of those classes, improvement was imperatively demanded.

At this time notice was taken that forty members were not present, and the House thereupon was adjourned, at a quarter past eight o'clock.

THURSDAY, May 24.

HOUSE OF LORDS.—Navigation Laws.—The House went into committee on this bill. Amendments moved by the Earl of Ellenborough and Earl Waldegrave having been negatived on a division, by a majority of 13 in one instance and 12 in the other,

Lord Stanley declared, that after what had taken place, and the extraordinary measures resorted to by the government to secure a majority, he would no longer oppose the further progress of the measure.

Lord Wharncliffe also withdrew an amendment of which he had given notice, and the bill went through committee, and is ordered to be reported this day.

Adjournment of the House. — The Marquis of Lansdowne gave notice that he should move that, at its rising this day, the House do adjourn to Monday, the 4th of June.

HOUSE OF COMMONS. — Vote by Ballot.—Mr. Henry Berkeley moved for leave to bring in a bill to enable the votes of parliamentary electors to be taken by ballot. After adverting to the success which his motion had met with last year, he urged upon the House the propriety of following up its vote on that occasion by now permitting him to introduce a measure to carry that vote into effect. In support of his proposed measure he recapitulated the arguments with which he had last session supported his motion, and quoted Conservative as well as Liberal authorities in support of the ballot.

Mr. John Williams seconded the motion, illustrating the necessity which existed for the adoption of the ballot, by describing the system of intimidation practised upon tenants by their landlords, upon traders by their customers, and upon workmen by their masters.

Mr. Grantley Berkeley supported the motion, and read a great number of letters from tenants of Lord Fitzhardinge, to show the intimidation under which they suffered, and from which the ballot would rescue them. Amongst those who voted for the ballot in 1842 were Sir G. Grey, Captain Berkeley, Lord Marcus Hill, Mr. Tufnell, Admiral Dundas, Mr. Sheil, and other occupants of the Treasury bench. He trusted that the motion would have the support of the same honourable members on this occasion.

Mr. Fox supported the motion with reluctance, thinking it unfortunate that a matter which formed but a mere branch of a greater scheme should be brought forward alone, instead of in combination with those other measures which were all necessary for the purification of our representative system. He trusted, however, that the House, for the sake of its own consistency, would not refuse to receive the Bill.

After a few words from Sir Harry Verney, and from Mr. H. Berkeley in reply, the House divided, and the numbers were—

For the motion	85
Against it	136
Majority against	—51

So the motion was negatived.

Government of Colonies.—Mr. Roebuck then in a speech replete with historical details respecting the principles of colonisation, moved for leave to bring in a bill for the better government of certain of her Majesty's colonial possessions.

Mr. Hawes followed in reply, stating his reasons for opposing the introduction of the measure, which were grounded on no desire to resist a change, when any change should be found necessary, but on the ground of the impracticability of the plan propounded.

Exclusion of Strangers.—Col. Thompson, after a short discussion, at the suggestion of Sir G. Grey, withdrew his motion on the subject of the exclusion of strangers from the House, the proposition being that the right of exclusion should rest with the House, and not with an individual member.

Triennial Parliaments.—Mr. D'Eyncourt brought in the bill for shortening the duration of parliaments, which was read a first, and ordered to be read a second time on the 27th of June.

The House then adjourned.

FRIDAY, May 25.

HOUSE OF LORDS.—The Bill for the Protection of Women was read a second time on the motion of the Bishop of Oxford.

Their lordships then adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—Parliamentary Reform.—Sir J. Walmsley, in reply to Mr. Campbell, stated that it was the intention of Mr. Hume to bring forward his motion on the subject of parliamentary reform on the 5th of June.

Navy Estimates.—Colonel Sibthorp called the attention of the House to the salaries of the principal officers of the admiralty. He proposed to "knock off" two of the lords, and to reduce the salary of the first lord by £500 a year, and the salaries of the secretary and other officers, making a reduction in the aggregate vote of £3,550.

Sir F. Baring defended his own salary modestly, the other salaries with more confidence, and resisted the reductions, showing the diminution which had already been made in this item of expense.

Ultimately, the motion was withdrawn.

The report having been agreed to, the House went into a Committee of Supply on the Army Estimates, when certain supplementary votes were passed after discussion.

The House adjourned at half-past nine o'clock until Thursday next.

THE VICTIMS ON WHIT-MONDAY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NORTHERN STAR.

Dear Sir,—It gave me pleasure to observe in the Star, of Saturday week, another appeal to the Democrats of this country from an Old Chartist of Nottingham on behalf of the victims and their families, in which he states that one halfpenny per week from the Chartists of that county would be more than is subscribed throughout the country. As the Whitsuntide holidays are approaching, I hope an effort will be made by all good men and true to cheer the captives in their dungeons, by not only sympathising with them in their imprisonment, but by a firm resolve henceforth to do what each one has the power to do, always bearing in mind that the widow's mite is as acceptable as others from their abundance. Let every Chartist make a calculation what he can do by so small a sum as one halfpenny. I will take the true and decided Chartists, those who are fully convinced in their minds that the objects sought for in the People's Charter are for the benefit of the whole people, at 100,000, and surely it is a small number, when we know that millions have signed a petition for that object; one hundred thousand persons subscribing one halfpenny per week each, would amount to £208 6s. 8d., and at the end of the year would amount to £10,833, which sum, applied to the purchase of tracts and lectures, would disseminate our principles in the minds of thousands who have not begun to think for themselves. My present purpose in addressing you, sir, is that you may endeavour once more to impress on the minds of the veritable Chartists that it is their duty to make an effort to obtain a sum for the relief of those who are suffering for their cause, and I can see no fitter time than on Whit-Monday. The plan I would propose is that one or more, if the place required it, should take upon himself to collect one penny each from all who are friends to the cause, and let the whole be forwarded to the office of the Star immediately. And now, brother Democrats, let the enemies of mankind see you are united to support the oppressed, and firmly resolved to emancipate yourselves from the thraldom in which you are held. Show them that you still are true to the cause of justice and humanity by subscribing throughout every city, town, and village, through the length and breadth of the land. Don't forget it on Whit-Monday, and you will then cheer the hearts of the oppressed, and make the oppressors tremble.

A Chartist of Twelve Years Abiding.

THE LATEST FOREIGN NEWS.

FRANCE.

Paris, Wednesday.—To-day the National Assembly, after a great deal of noise and confusion, proceeded to divide on the motion brought forward yesterday by General Cavaignac, modified by a phrase proposed by MM. Jolly and Bastide, to the following effect:—"To take measures necessary to preserve the independence and liberty of nations." General Cavaignac objected to this addition on the ground that it went beyond what he wished or proposed. The motion of General Cavaignac was then put and carried par assis et levé. The additional phrase was rejected by a majority of 346 votes to 269, and finally the ensemble of the order of the day, as proposed by General Cavaignac, was adopted, on a scrutin de division, by a majority of 436 to 184.

The following is the text of General Cavaignac's motion, as finally adopted by the above division:—"The National Assembly calls the serious attention of the government to the events and the movements of troops which are taking place in Europe; and, pre-occupied by the danger of that state of things, as well for the welfare of liberty as for the interior and exterior interests of the Republic, it recommends to the government to take the measures necessary to protect them energetically, and passes to the order of the day."

Paris, Thursday.—Quantities of troops are coming into Paris. The 6th battalion of Chasseurs à Pied left Strasbourg on the morning of the 20th inst. for Paris, being suddenly summoned thither. The battalion of the Mobile Guards which showed such a Socialist feeling at Blaye is about to be disbanded, and the men draughted into divers regiments. Nothing is yet positive about the formation of General Bugeaud's ministry. Great efforts are being made to join with him both Odillon Barrot and Dufaure; no agreement, however, has been as yet come to.

The debate in the National Assembly to-day wandered very much from its original purpose—namely, an inquiry into the conduct of General Changarnier. M. Ledru-Rollin, in supporting his demand for a committee of inquiry, made use of strong language in reference to the President of the Republic, and was replied to with great warmth by the President of the Council. The Minister of Public Instruction also spoke at some length, defending the government from the insinuations of its having had a coup-de-main in contemplation. The discussion was adjourned.

ROMAN STATES.

The Veloce, which reached Marseilles on the 22nd inst., brought from Civita Vecchia M. Forbiri Janson, French chargé d'affaires at Rome, who probably brings the terms of an arrangement which has been come to between the Romans and the French. Meanwhile an armistice has been come to, and hostilities will cease, no doubt, not to be resumed.

AUSTRIA.

Vienna, May 20.—The Augsburgh Gazette informs us that the master of the ordnance, Welden, has dismissed a dozen generals from his army. Madejski, the superior of a convent at Cracow, having been convicted by a court martial of an attempt to suborn the Russian troops, was condemned to one year's imprisonment on the 16th, and conveyed to the fortress of Olmütz. Strzemecki, a village schoolmaster, in the Cracow territory, was shot for seditious behaviour.

Fatal Accident on the Derby Night.—An inquest was held before Mr. Payne, at Guy's Hospital, on the body of Hannah Cronin, aged 60 years. It appeared in evidence that the deceased and a relation proceeded on the night of the Derby to witness the return of the carriages from Epsom. There were several thousands of persons congregated round the Elephant Castle Tavern for the same purpose, and whilst the deceased was running across the road she was knocked down by an omnibus. The driver endeavoured to stop the horses, but before he could do so the off fore-wheel passed over the deceased's body. She was taken to the above hospital, where she died from the effects of the injuries.—Verdict, "Accidental Death."

More Accidents on Returning from Epsom.—Another accident happened to a boy named George Reed, aged 13 years, of Kensington-place, Westminster. The unfortunate lad was on his way home from work, and while crossing the road near the Victoria Theatre, he ran between the legs of a gentleman's horse, which was returning at a fast rate from Epsom, and before the rider could stop the animal the boy was dreadfully injured about the face and chest, by being trampled upon. He was seen by a surgeon, and afterwards removed to the hospital.—A serious accident occurred to Henry Wilkins, aged 29, residing at Providence-place, Dockhead, Bermondsey. It seems that he was on the way home from Epsom on the top of a four-horse stage coach, when he by some means fell from the roof into the road, whereby he received a compound fracture of the left leg, and such other injuries that it was deemed necessary to take him to Guy's Hospital, where he was placed under the care of Mr. Langford, the house surgeon. Several other casualties took place, and many were admitted to the borough hospitals, but those abovenamed are the principal.

Colliery Accident.—On Saturday morning last another distressing accident occurred at Lantwit Vardre Colliery, near Treforest, belonging to Thos. Powell, Esq., the extensive colliery proprietor, when five men were killed on the spot, and others dreadfully injury. The men were descending about 7 o'clock, and were about ten yards down, when the engine lost all power over the fly-wheel, and the poor fellows were precipitated to the bottom of the pit, nearly one hundred yards deep. The heavy chain which suspended the carriage then fell with great force on them. Every effort was then made to assist the sufferers, and it was not until one o'clock that all the bodies were taken out. Medical aid was sent for, and every attention paid to the injured.

MANCHESTER VICTIM COMMITTEE FOR THE SUPPORT OF THE KIRKDALE PRISONERS.

(From the 31st December, 1848, to the 27th of March, 1849.)

INCOME.

	£.	s.	d.
1848.			
Dec. 31—Manchester, collections ...	1	8	11
1849.			
Jan. 2—Rochdale, per William Bake ...	0	10	0
3—Bury, Mr. Jones	0	2	0
7—Manchester, collections ...	1	19	0½
8—Higher-lane, Pilkington, per J. Herstwood	0	9	0
8—Leagh, per James Cook ...	0	7	0
9—Borrowed of Thomas Fildes ...	0	10	0
12—Todmorden, female Chartists...	1	0	0
14—Manchester, collections ...	3	3	2½
15—Ditto, collection in Corn Exchange, at Mr. Barker's Lecture	2	14	10
21—Manchester, collections ...	2	0	3½
22—Bacup, per James Wilson ...	0	5	0
28—Manchester, collections ...	2	8	10
Levensholm, per John Gaskill	0	2	6
30—John M'Rown	0	5	0
Chartists of Salford	0	15	0
Rochdale, per William Bake ...	0	10	0
31—Leeds, per Mr. Brook ...	1	0	0
Todmorden, Female Chartists	0	5	0
Sutton-in-Ashfield, G. J. Harney	0	13	0
Feb. 4—Manchester, collections ...	3	7	0½
6—Coventry, per George Freeman	0	5	0
11—Manchester, collections ...	2	11	6
Levensholm, per John Gaskill	0	2	8
13—Rotherham, per John Turner	1	0	0
14—Todmorden, per Richard Barker	1	0	0
Hull, per George Barrett ...	0	4	4
18—Manchester, collections ...	3	14	1½
25—Rochdale, per William Bake	0	10	0
Manchester, collections ...	1	16	4½
Mar. 4—Manchester, collections ...	2	13	3
5—Middleton council	0	6	0
9—Pilkington, per John Herstwood	0	14	7
11—Levinsholm, per John Gaskill	0	3	0
Manchester, collections ...	2	2	4½
13—Bacup, per James Wilson ...	0	6	0
18—Todmorden, per Richard Barker	0	17	11
Manchester, collections ...	1	18	2
25—Manchester, collections ...	3	4	7½
Total income	47	5	7

Thomas Ormesher, Secretary.

EXPENDITURE.

1849.	£	s.	d.
Jan. 2—Remitted to Prisoners Post-office Order, and Eighteen Stamps	2	1	9
Mrs. Leach, printing 300 Labels	0	4	6
9—Prisoners, Order	2	10	6
Thomas Roberts's Family ...	0	2	6
15—Fifty Collecting Books, 2 Cash Books, and Minute Book ...	0	9	4
16—Thomas Roberts's Family ...	0	2	6
Paid T. Fildes, Borrowed Money	0	10	0
Bad Coin	0	1	0
Relief to Prisoners' Families...	1	6	0
Prisoners, Post-office Order ...	2	10	6
Mr. Barker, Cab Hire from Corn Exchange	0	1	6
To Visiting Families ...	0	1	0
Mrs. Leach, printing 112 double crown Addresses	1	13	0
23—Bill Posting	0	2	0
Thomas Roberts's Family ...	0	3	6
Prisoners, Post-office Order, and Eighteen Stamps ...	2	1	9
30—Thomas Roberts's Family ...	0	3	6
Prisoners, Post-office Order, and Eighteen Stamps ...	2	12	0
Feb. 6—Thomas Roberts's Family ...	0	3	6
Prisoners, Post-office Order, and Eighteen Stamps ...	2	2	0
Cooking Utensils for Prisoners	0	18	1
13—Prisoners, Post-office Order, and twenty-seven stamps ...	2	12	9
Thomas Roberts's Family ...	0	3	6
Twelve Victim Boxes, to Mr. Willake, at 2s. 9d. each ...	1	13	0
20—Prisoners, Post-office Order, and eighteen Stamps	2	1	9
Thomas Roberts's Family ...	0	3	6
27—Prisoners, Post-office Order, and eighteen Stamps ...	2	12	0
Thomas Roberts's Family ...	0	3	6
Mar. 4—Prisoners, Post-office Order, and eighteen Stamps ...	2	1	9
Thomas Roberts's Family ...	0	3	6
11—Prisoners, Post-office Order, and eighteen Stamps ...	2	12	0
Thomas Roberts's Family ...	0	3	6
18—Prisoners, Post-office Order, and eighteen Stamps ...	2	1	9
Thomas Roberts's Family ...	0	3	6
27—Prisoners, Post-office Order, and eighteen Stamps ...	2	12	0
Thomas Roberts's Family ...	0	3	6
In the late Treasurer's hands	2	7	6
To twenty-eight Meetings of the Committee	1	8	0
Postage of Letters received by the Secretary	0	0	10
Stamps for the Secretary ...	0	12	10
Stationary	0	5	1
Balance in hand by Auditor's account	2	19	5
	£47	5	7

Thos. Ormesher, Secretary.

ADDRESS OF THE COMMITTEE FOR THE PRISONERS.

TO THE CHARTISTS OF GREAT BRITAIN.

We, the members of the committee elected to protect our friends now incarcerated in Kirkdale Gaol, return our sincere thanks to all those who have tendered their assistance for the support of our brethren, but we are compelled to complain that subscriptions to a sufficient amount are not forwarded for their support in due time, and in accordance with the demand our brethren have upon us, and the Chartist body in general. We have also to complain that some localities have sent private donations to our friends, which has caused a difference amongst them. We, the committee, are of opinion that if any contributions can be spared, it ought to come through the hands of the committee, who are determined to support them to the last, if possible. We have Leach, West, White, Donovan, Rankin, Grocott, Clark, and Chadwick, and you will see by our balance sheet that we are no respecters of persons, but do to one and all alike; but unless the Chartists generally render us their assistance and that speedily, we must resign, as we cannot act without funds, and our friends will have no alternative but to subsist upon the prison allowance. Should this be the case, the blame must rest on the whole body, and not upon us. There now remain nearly seven months for us to struggle on their behalf, and we hope sincerely that this appeal will not be made in vain.

We remain, yours in the cause of liberty,
Thomas Maddocks, William Dain,
Joseph Booth, Francis Maddocks,
William Shelmerdine, Treasurer.
Thomas Mather, Chairman,
Thomas Ormesher, Secretary.

All money orders must be sent and made payable to Thos. Ormesher, 52, Bridgewater-street, Manchester.

Manchester Committee Rooms,
May 15th, 1849.

CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NORTHERN STAR.

Sir,—In my brief notice last week of the condition of Glasgow, I endeavoured to be faithful, and studiously guarded against over-colouring the picture. The poor and degraded inmates of the houses I described are not themselves truly sensible of the wrongs they suffer, the miseries they endure. We are all one family, chained together by common ties of interest and association, but the links are small and the chain long, and those at the extremities have a difficulty in seeing each other. Let me illustrate my meaning in my own way. A workman fully employed is not far removed from the workman half employed, nor is he at a great distance from the small employer. The small employer can find access to the merchant—the merchant to the extensive manufacturer—the manufacturer to the lord; but the lord cannot associate with or know the half employed man. Society is a sliding-scale, and it sometimes happens that the rich slide downwards and the poor upwards. The extremes, however, seldom meet There are two worlds, although one universe; and many of those who are born in the poor world, live and die in their poverty, hunger, and dirt; and those who live in the rich world only examine the inhabitants of the poor world through a telescope, as they would the mountains in the moon.

Glasgow lying contiguous to Ireland and the Highlands, is inundated with Irish and Highland misery. Irish misery, like the cholera, is not confined to any particular locality; it travels along the banks of our rivers, and finds a location in our cities. In Manchester we have a district called "Little Ireland," and almost every city and town has its "Little Ireland." Our colonies, too, have their "Little Irelands"—large nestlings of the down-trodden children of Erin. Thus English, Irish, and Scotch misery are all related, and Irish destitution reduces Scotch and English destitution to its own level. We must therefore expect but little relief, so long as Ireland remains the great difficulty; and the continuance of the difficulty is destined to make England and Scotland great difficulties also. The inhabitants of those islands have therefore one common interest.

I will not repeat scenes of wretchedness too common to be unobserved or unknown to your readers. I am anxious to notice what the folks in the rich world are doing for the folks in the poor world. First, there are the church building and bible-distributing astronomers; and I give them credit for good intentions—they are to reform the poor world with bibles, prayers, and grace. The same scheme was tried years ago, in hopes that it would Protestantise Ireland. The Irish got the bibles—sold or pawned them, in many instances—and experienced booksellers of twenty years' standing know that the most profitable branch of their business was buying up the Protestant bibles in Dublin and elsewhere, and selling them to their customers in England. Bibles are now low-priced, and the temptation to sell or pawn may not be so great, but the necessities of the poor are greater; and those who will borrow one halfpenny on a bottle would bless you most heartily for even a cheap Testament. As for the prayers and the grace, I need say but little. The bills of mortality, and the return of annually-increasing pauperism speak out but too unanswerably.

Next come our park and wash-house reformers, for whom I have much sympathy. They seem to have discovered that man is a material as well as a spiritual being—a discovery which I wish to become more general. I have visited most of their parks. In the forenoon they are deserted; in the afternoon you find a few nursery maids, airing the children of the middle classes. In the evening a few warehousemen and clerks, walking hurriedly along. A few groups of shouting schoolboys, playing cricket—not the children of the poor, but of the rich. The weary feet of the poor toilers seldom tread them. They are too far from their dwellings, and they have neither strength nor habit to walk so far, even on Sundays. They are chiefly the youthful and better-paid operatives that are to be found within their gates. Our parks are nearly non-effective. Baths and wash-houses are valuable, to those who have the requisite pence to spare, but are also non-effective so far as masses of the poor are concerned. It has been well hinted, that human misery is stronger than the "Tale of a Tub."

The cheap literature and mechanic institution philosophers, call for a special notice. Many of them are men of vast resources in intellect and property. They start from the profound saying of Bacon:—"Knowledge is power," a maxim, which, I hope, few thinking men will dispute. They found us with an aristocratic philosophy, and they resolved to popularise it by circulating libraries and a cheap literature. There was, however, a cold selfishness and haughty "doctrinaire" philosophy distilled through the alembic of the useful knowledge teachers, which the more intelligent of our working men detested, and the less informed neither knew nor wanted to know. The Malthusianism of Brougham had but little in common with the warm heart of a generous parent. The mechanic loved his children and hated Malthus. Prudence and law are very good things in their places, and every wise man practises them daily, but there is a law older and stronger than that taught by the useful knowledge school, and their dry teachings and preachings were uninviting. Our mechanics' institutions are all "respectable," and in this country respectability is another name for property. If you are poor you may be moral; and good and wise men may esteem you, that is the few such who know you, but the many will pass you by; even if you be an author of talent, poverty will often be the pretext of the rich for shunning you. In their shop-language they say, "He is a clever fellow, but very poor," which simply means, I must not meet him if I can avoid it. I am richer than he, and more "respectable." Oh, cruel, cold, accursed vanity and pride, you have been a barrier to progress, and sent not a few of earth's best spirits hence, ere they have reached even the bloom of manhood. This "respectability" has closed the doors of our mechanics' institutions, and made them middle class Athenæums. In the course of a week's stay in Glasgow, I visited a splendid reading room in the Trongate daily, newspapers and magazines in abundance, admission one penny, but I saw no mechanics there. Shopkeepers, clerks, and monied men were the constant attendants. Such places do not reach the necessities of the people, and the people cannot reach them. We have had the cheap literature, the penny magazine, and the three halfpenny journal, yet are we not saved. What do or what can your halls and lecture rooms do for the starving, depressed and demoralised poor of our large towns, those colonies of want and death which but few enter? and yet they fatten and flourish at your feet. They gasp for breath and you stuff their mouths with tracts; they ask for light and you open your rich saloons and tax their windows; there is a knowledge surely to be found of more worth than your "useful knowledge."

I pass over numbers of schemes for the elevation and improvement of the poor. Each of which may deserve praise for good intentions, and not a few of which are patronised by rich lords, and speech-making bishops. All these societies may do good in their way, but they seem to me to be totally incommensurate with the evils they try to overcome; and I confess that I have a horror of a state of society, that aims at nothing more solid than stop-gaps and charities. It can be at best a bankruptcy delayed by bills and promises to pay, and is not at all consistent either with national security or the highest perfection of individual happiness.

We require a government strong enough and willing enough to put an end to this let-alone doctrine that has been practised for so many years. The Irish landlord says, "as a freeman I claim the right of doing with my own as I please," and he is pleased to turn a hundred families adrift, to starve, beg or die. The result is, the Irish landlord's love of liberty becomes the source of the misery and slavery of thousands. But the government cannot interfere. It is not the province of government to do so. What a miserable beggarly thing is this that we call government. If the government want money, society must pay it; if government make laws, society must be ruled by them; but if society require amendment, government cannot take the initiative.

Our workmen require homes, good clean places of rest and enjoyment—a sweet word is home, but how few know or feel its full worth. It is home and home associations that keep alive a love of country and of rectitude. The dens and barracks of our poor are not homes, they are hiding places, to be loathed and shunned even by their unfortunate inmates, and hence it is that the gin-shop and tap-room are preferred. The owner of these hovels pockets his wretched money, and what cares he who live or who die, who drink or who are sober, God and the Devil are all one to him, if his rent be paid. Our workmen, too, require the opportunity which every man ought to have, of earning his bread by the sweat of his brow. Labour is natural and honourable; but men, now-a-days, cannot live by labour. The labourer begs for leave to toil, and steals, or dies, when he cannot find employment. Free trade and cheap corn mend matters but very little indeed; cheap labour and cheat neighbours neutralise even the expected trifling relief, that some but too fondly anticipated from such measures. The condition of the people will not be remedied hastily or easily, but man must be roused to thought on the subject. We have been fiddling with Rome in flames too long. Our speech-making parliament and pompous parish authorities have not governed too wisely. Our mathematical sneerers have had too much influence. We require more of heart and head than we have yet had. All honest and true men must speak out, and leave the make-shifts and smatterers in the rear. If society be not moved, government will remain in statu quo, taxing and talking, pensioning and killing, as of yore. To day a flatterer, to-morrow a tyrant. I do not wish to dogmatise, and submit that the condition of our large towns—ay, and small ones too—calls for immediate attention.

Samuel Kydd.

Pulpit Personality.—A curious incident recently occurred at the Old Church, Calcutta, during Divine Service. The night was a wet one, and there was but a scanty congregation. Among those assembled, however, was a jolly tar, who no doubt either thought a church a very justifiable retreat from the rain, or intentionally went there to be benefitted. While the Rev. Henry Thomas was preaching and expatiating on the duties of good soldiers, Jack listened attentively till the rev. gentleman had ended; when, starting up, and holding forth his hand in a deprecating attitude, no doubt to arrest attention, he exclaimed, "And what do you say for the sailors—do they not do their duty?" The blood rushed up the preacher's face, the clerk nearly swooned with horror, the whole orchestra were in visible agitation, and it was feared the organist would not be able to play the voluntary after service—the congregation stared—but Jack cared not for the whole of them—he took his hat, and walked out with an air of indignant defiance.—Calcutta Englishman.

There has been a boat-race on the Tyne. One skiff was made of wood, the other—of gutta percha! Gutta percha "won easy."

A correspondent of the Times remarks how the humiliated public sneak into Westminster Abbey as though they were entering the back-door of a pawnbroker's instead of a Poet's-corner.

Chartist Intelligence.

Haslingden.—On Sunday last Mrs. Theobald, of Derby, delivered a lecture on the Rights of Man and the People's Charter, in the Chartist room, which gave unbounded satisfaction to an overflowing assembly.

Nottingham.—At a meeting of delegates held at the Seven Stars, it was unanimously resolved:—"That this meeting will redouble their exertions for the overthrow of despotism, and are determined to agitate for each and all of the principles contained in the document called 'The People's Charter,' and further to support the Government-made victims to the uttermost of our power, and call upon the localities to declare their intentions whether they will act with the Democratic body generally or not." "That we meet every Sunday, at three o'clock, at the Seven Stars, Barker-gate, where all the localities are requested to send delegates."

Sheffield.—The Chartists held a meeting on Sunday last, in the Democratic Temperance Hotel, 33, Queen-street; Mr. John Taylor in the chair; when, in consequence of the progress of Democracy on the Continent, and deeming the present a proper time for renewing the agitation for the Charter, it was resolved, "To hold a series of meetings for that purpose, due notice of which will be given."

Birmingham.—On Monday week a public meeting was held in the Public Office for the purpose of petitioning the Legislature for a full representation of the people, as embodied in the People's Charter; Mr. Goodwin in the chair. Resolutions and the petition were moved, seconded and supported by Messsrs. Dalzell, Ward, Connor, Blaxland, Higgins, Brewster, Rev. A. G. O'Neil, and Councillor Baldwin. The petition was signed by the Chairman, and forwarded to G. F. Muntz, Esq., M.P., for presentation to the House of Commons.

Birmingham.—A public meeting was held on Sunday evening, in the People's Hall, Mr. Dalzies in the chair, when Mr. Ward delivered an excellent address on "Passing Events," which gave evident satisfaction; after which, Mr. Goodwin read two letters from the members of the borough, pledging themselves to support the Chartist petition to their utmost.

Carlisle.—A meeting of the members was held at No. 6, John-street, Caldewgate, at which the following resolution was passed:—"That this meeting do adjourn until Sunday, June 3rd, at two o'clock in the afternoon, and that steps be taken to summons the members to attend, to decide upon the best mode of putting in force the resolution passed by the Conference at Birmingham, respecting members in arrears."

Edinburgh.—A public meeting was held on Monday evening in the Rev. William Reid's Church, Lothian-road, for the purpose of adopting the petition for the People's Charter. Mr. Menzies in the chair. The meeting was addressed by the Rev. Mr. Duncanson, the Rev. Mr. Shaen, and Mr. S. Kydd, and the petition and other resolutions were carried unanimously. At the conclusion Mr. Muirhead moved the following resolution, and that an address be drawn up in accordance with its tenor, and transmitted to the proper quarter:—"That we congratulate the Roman people upon their enlarged views of civil and religious freedom, and in having secured an Assembly of representatives chosen by Universal Suffrage, we rejoice that they have boldly, determinedly, and irrevocably willed, that no priestly power should ever interfere with their political rights." The motion was carried unanimously, and the following gentlemen were appointed to draw up the address: Mr. Menzies, Mr. Musket, Mr. Muirhead, Mr. Burkett. After thanks had been moved to the managers for the use of the church, and to the chairman for his conduct, the meeting adjourned.

Bristol.—A public meeting was held in Aldin's-court chapel on Wednesday evening, when the Chartist petition and other resolutions were adopted.

Cripplegate Locality.—At a meeting of members on Tuesday, Mr. Bentley in the chair, it was resolved that this locality endeavour to circulate the forthcoming Democratic Review among the working classes: also, that an excursion by vans to O'Connorville, take place on the first Monday in July, from 28, Golden-lane. The tract committee reported that Mr. Bishop had presented another thousand tracts, making in the whole four thousand, which had been given to the public. Moved, That the rent of the Theatre being required early, this locality will feel obliged for funds sent to the committee any evening from nine to ten o'clock.

Markets, &c.

CORN.

Mark-lane, Monday, May 21.—There was a small show of wheat samples from the near counties this morning, and the stands were partially cleared by the millers at 1s under last Monday's prices. Of foreign wheat and flour we had a good supply; the former sold in retail 1s cheaper, and the latter, unless of finest quality, went off very slowly. Grinding barley meets with buyers at previous rates; but malting in less demand. Beans scarce, and held at higher prices. Peas quite as dear. Rye firm. The arrivals of oats, principally foreign, were moderate; sellers consequently asked rather more money; but at last week's prices there was a good sale. Linseed Cakes unaltered.

Wednesday, May 23.—We are fairly supplied with grain this week, and the weather being favourable for the growing crops, our trade is very heavy to-day. Prices without variation.

BREAD.

The prices of wheaten bread in the metropolis are from 7d to 7½d; of household ditto, 5½d to 6½d per 4lbs loaf.

CATTLE.

Smithfield, Monday, May 21.—The arrivals of beasts fresh up for our market this morning were seasonably good, and, for the most part, of excellent quality. Notwithstanding that the attendance of buyers was somewhat extensive, the beef trade, owing to the unfavourable state of the weather for slaughtering, was in a very sluggish state, at barely Friday's decline in the quotations. The primest Scots were selling at from 3s 6d to 3s 8d per 8lbs—the latter being an extreme figure. The numbers of sheep were considerably on the increase; hence, all breeds were very dull in sale, and prices ruled quite 4d per 8lbs beneath those realised on this day se'nnight. The primest old downs sold at 3s 10d per 8lbs. Lambs, the supply of which was good, sold heavily, and the quotations were 2d per 8lbs lower. Prices ruled from 4s 8d to 6s per 8lbs. The supply of sheep and lambs from the Isle of Wight comprised 444 head. In calves very little business was transacted, and late currencies were not supported. The pork trade was heavy, and last week's prices were barely maintained.

Head of Cattle at Smithfield.

Beasts	3,359	Calves	171
Sheep	25,070	Pigs	310

Price per stone of 8lbs. (sinking the offal)

Beef ..	2s 4d to 3s 8d	Veal ..	3s 6d to 4s 2d
Mutton ..	3s 2d .. 3s 10d	Pork ..	3 2 .. 4 2
Lamb	4s 8d to 6s 0d.		

Per 8lbs. by the carcase.

Newgate and Leadenhall, Monday, May 21.—Inferior beef, 2s 2d to 2s 4d; middling ditto, 2s 6d to 2s 8d; prime large, 2s 10d to 3s 0d; prime small, 3s 0d to 3s 2d; large pork, 3s 2d to 3s 6d; inferior mutton, 2s 8d to 3s 0d; middling ditto, 3s 2d to 3s 6d; prime ditto, 3s 8d to 3s 10d; veal, 3s 2d to 4s 0d; small pork, 3s 8d to 4s 2d; lamb, 4s 10d to 5s 10d.

PROVISIONS.

London, Monday.—Without animation in markets, business in the past week was slow and limited. Of butter nothing worth notice was done in old Irish. The arrivals of new, consisting mostly of Limerick and of Cork low qualities, were nearly all cleared off; the former at 72s to 74s for firsts, the latter at 68s for thirds; 54s to 56s for fourths, and 43s to 45s per cwt for fifths. Foreign was not freely dealt in, and for the best prices declined 6s to 8s per cwt. —Bacon.—There was no activity in the demand for Irish or American singed sides, and the transactions accordingly were of a moderate character, at steady prices. Middles, hams, and lard presented no material change in value or demand.

English Butter Market, May 21.—Our trade rules very dull, and prices still present a downward tendency; the plentiful supply of foreign butter, at twenty-five per cent. under the rates of last year, now operates much against the sale of English, which will occasion many of our west country dairymen to hold back their future make, although this course presents a poor prospect, as the article will be worth less when made stale than if sent us in a fresh state. Dorset, fine weekly, 80s to 84s per cwt; ditto, middling, 60s to 70s; fresh Buckinghamshire, 9s to 11s per dozen; ditto West country, 7s to 10s.

POTATOES.

Southwark Waterside, May 21.—The continental arrivals continue to be more than equal to the demand, which has been heavy the past week, and with some samples lower prices have been submitted to. The following are this day's quotations:—Yorkshire Regents, 200s to 220s; Scotch ditto, 140s to 150s; Ditto Whites, 90s to 100; French Whites, 80s to 90s; Belgian 80s to 90s; Dutch, 80s to 100s.

COAL.

London, Monday, May 21.—The market very heavy, with little doing. Left from last day, 29; fresh arrivals, 68. Total, 97.

(Price of coals per ton at the close of the market.)

East Adairs Main, 11s 6d; Holywell Main, 13s 6d to 13s 9d; Ord's Redheugh, 12s; Ravensworth West Hartley 13s 6d; Tanfield Moor, 13s; Towaley, 12s 6d. Wall's-end:—Brown's 12s 9d; Bewicke and Co., 14s; Gibson, 13s 3d; Hilda, 13s 3d; Hedley, 13s 9d; Percy, 13s 0d; Eden Main, 15s; Belmont, 15s 3d; Braddyll's Hetton, 16s; Bell, 14s 6d; Hetton, 16s 6d; Haswell, 16s 9d; Lambton 16s; Pemberton, 13s 9d; Whitwell, 15s; Caradoc, 15s 6d; Hartlepool, 16s 6d; Heugh Hall, 14s 6d; Bishop's Tees, 14s 6d; Cowndon Tees, 14s 6d; Denison, 14s; Seymour Tees, 14s 9d; Tees, 16s 3d; West Cornforth, 14s 6d; West Hetton, 14s 6d; Cowpen Hartley, 14s 6d; Grangemouth, 12s 6d; Nixon's Merthyr, 20s 6d; W. E. Elgin, 14s.

WOOL.

City, Monday, May 21.—The imports of wool into London last week included 1,391 bales from South Australia, 649 from Odessa, 265 from Spain, 109 from the Cape of Good Hope, and a few from Italy. The public sales of wool are progressing favourably at the Hall of Commerce, and high prices have been realised, in some instances.

DEATH.

Died a few days ago, at Rochdale, Betty Hargraves. She was a good wife, a kind neighbour, and a sterling Democrat. She died respected by all who knew her.

Printed by WILLIAM RIDER, of No. 5, Macclesfield-street, in the parish of St. Anne, Westminster, at the Printing Office, 16, Great Windmill-street, Haymarket, in the City of Westminster, for the Proprietor, FEARGUS O'CONNOR, Esq. M.P., and published by the said William Rider, at the Office, in the same street and parish.—Saturday, May 26th, 1849.